

THE BALKANS.

TOGETHER WITH HUNGARY

HUNGARY ~ RUMANIA ~ YUGOSLAVIA
ALBANIA ~ GREECE ~ BULGARIA
*Geography ~ History ~ Natural
Resources, Trade and Industry ~ Government ~
Foreign Relations ~ Developments During the War*

*Maps: Physical Features; Austria-Hungary
and the Succession States; Communications;
Frontier Changes, 1939-41 ~ List of Books
for Further Reading*

ral Institute of International
Affairs

The Royal Institute of International Affairs is an unofficial and non-political body, founded in 1920 to encourage and facilitate the scientific study of international questions. The Institute, as such, is precluded by the terms of its Royal Charter from expressing an opinion on any aspect of international affairs. Any opinions expressed in this publication are not, therefore, those of the Institute.

The copyright and all rights of reproduction and translation are reserved to the Institute. Application for permission to reproduce or translate any material contained in this publication should be made to the Secretary.

Information Notes are prepared in the Information Department of the Institute and are designed to give the basic facts essential to an understanding of the areas concerned. They are primarily intended for use in connection with lectures on current affairs to H.M. Forces and the Civil Defence Services. They may be obtained through booksellers, or direct from the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, 10 St James's Square, London, S.W.1. In the United States they are distributed by the New York Publications Office of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1 East 54th Street, New York 22, and in Canada, India, Australia and South Africa by the Oxford University Press.

Other Notes in this series are:

No. 1. THE MIDDLE EAST (*out of print*)

No. 2. NORTH AFRICA (*out of print*)

No. 3. THE U.S.S.R.

No. 4. THE U.S.A. (*out of print*)

No. 5. THE FAR EAST

No. 6. SOUTH EAST ASIA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC ISLANDS

Price 6d. net each.

No. 7. FRANCE (in preparation)

The maps in this pamphlet, which are copyright by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, have been specially drawn by Serial Map Service, Dunham's Lane, Letchworth, Herts.

This pamphlet covers the course of events up to the end of September 1944 when it was sent to press. Publication has been held up owing to unavoidable delays in printing.

First published 1945

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE BROADWATER PRESS, WELWYN GARDEN CITY
HERTFORDSHIRE

THE BALKANS, TOGETHER HUNGARY

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE is a region of many races, languages and creeds. The main trade routes linking Europe and Asia have from earliest times passed across it along the Danube valley. Great migrations and invasions of peoples from Asia followed these routes. The long and rugged mountain barriers and narrow river valleys of the area, which even now make contact between various parts difficult, help to account for the division of these peoples into scattered groups separated by origin, language and creed from their neighbours. Differences in outlook and tradition have been accentuated by century-long subjection to different conquerors. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries the Balkans westward as far as the frontiers of old Serbia were under Turkish domination, and for a century and a half from 1541 to 1699 Turkish power extended as far as Budapest. The Magyars, the Croats, the Slovenes, and various groups in Transylvania formed part of the Habsburg Empire until 1918, and lived under different administrative and social conditions from those of the peoples who had been longer under Turkish rule, i.e. the Serbians, Rumanians, Bulgarians and Greeks, who became independent only in the nineteenth century.

The Peace Treaties¹ which ended the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 and the European War of 1914-1918 re-drew the map of South-Eastern Europe. These Treaties, while they undoubtedly left fewer people separated by frontiers from their fellow-countrymen than before, succeeded in satisfying one set of aspirations at the cost of creating a fresh set of claims. There were still about six million people who formed permanent minority groups: Ukrainians or Ruthenes, Jews, Germans and Slovaks, some of which had never had national States of their own within the area. Moreover, Allied statesmen at the Peace Conference were unwilling, or found it difficult on political or historical grounds, to apply the principle of self-determination at the expense of nations who had supported the Allied cause. In consequence of these difficulties Rumania's new frontiers included: in Transylvania 1½ million Magyars and 500,000 Germans; in the Dobrudja 250,000 Bulgarians; in Northern Buko-

¹ London, May 30th, 1913 (Balkan States and Turkey); Bucharest, August 10th, 1913 (Balkan States and Bulgaria); St Germain-en-Laye, September 10th, 1919 (Austria); Neuilly, November 27th, 1919 (Bulgaria); Trianon, June 4th, 1920 (Hungary); Sèvres (abortive), August 10th, 1920 (Turkey); Lausanne, July 24th, 1923 (Turkey).

vina and Bessarabia 500,000 Ukrainians. Apart, too, from the existence of these minorities, the States created by the Peace Treaties on the basis of the principle of self-determination were not all equally capable of maintaining their political and economic independence. Countries from which territory had been taken by the settlement tended to align themselves together against those which had gained at their expense, but the group of beneficiary States which formed itself into the Little Entente in 1920-1921 feared different outside Powers; Rumania feared Russia, Hungary and Bulgaria; Yugoslavia feared Italy; Czechoslovakia feared Hungary and later Germany. Two of the Little Entente Powers, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, were composed of several different races, and were therefore threatened by the possibility of domestic instability in the face of economic difficulties or pressure from an outside Power. Economically the States were neither individually self-sufficient nor complementary one to another.

If cooperation between the States of South-Eastern Europe was therefore not likely to be easy, it was made the more difficult by the fact that the Great Powers were no less interested, directly or indirectly, in the affairs of the area than they had been in the nineteenth century when the Ottoman, Tsarist and Habsburg Empires had fought for domination in the Balkans. Russia's permanent interest remained the outlet to the Mediterranean through the Straits of the Dardanelles and in the régime controlling them. Moreover, in her relations with the States bordering her territories, she aimed first at building up a network of bilateral neutrality pacts, although after 1933 she began to seek security against German aggression by means of collective action. She never recognized Rumania's right to include Bessarabia within her national frontiers. France wanted to maintain the situation created by the Peace Treaties by building up a series of defensive alliances with States whose security depended on keeping down Germany; thus, it was essential to her to maintain the independence of Austria, "the keystone of the Danubian arch." She also wished to prevent Italy from extending her influence in South-Eastern Europe. Italy, in her turn, having failed to satisfy her aspirations, felt herself cheated by the Peace Settlement; in particular she was hostile to Yugoslavia, who had been given territory which Italy had hoped to obtain. She, too, wished to maintain Austrian independence against Germany, but her rivalry with France for influence in South-Eastern Europe, and also in the Mediterranean and North Africa, led her, in an era of rival political groups, to support Hungary's and Bulgaria's revisionist claims, and finally, after the Abyssinian conflict, drew her into the abandonment of Austria and into alliance with Germany. German policy was

passive until 1933; then the Nazis' determination to revise the Peace Treaties in Germany's favour led to marked opposition to Russian influence in Europe, which in due course was strengthened by the Czecho-Russian and Franco-Russian Pacts of 1935, and to a policy of economic penetration in South-Eastern Europe, and finally to the annexation of Austria and the destruction of Czechoslovakia. Great Britain had no direct interest in South-Eastern Europe other than the maintenance of the *status quo* in general and of Austrian independence in particular, the support of a "Balkans for the Balkan people" policy, and the prevention of the domination of this area by a single Great Power. This interest was indeed negative rather than positive, to prevent any challenge developing to her position in the Mediterranean based on Gibraltar, Malta and the Suez Canal and consequently to the short route to India and to the oil of the Persian Gulf and Iraq, and finally to prevent herself from becoming involved in a new European war. Turkey's chief interest was, of course, to maintain her position as guardian of the Straits by the prevention of the domination of the Balkans by any one Power and by the avoidance of unfriendly relations with Russia and Britain. She looked with suspicion on Italy's ambitions in South-Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean, and herself played a leading part in the movement for Balkan consolidation which led to the Balkan Pact of 1934.

The external relations of South-Eastern Europe must be viewed against this background of conflicting interests and ambitions, and also in the light of economic conditions described in the next section. Any attempt to summarize briefly these external relations over the whole inter-war period is bound to result in some degree of oversimplification and therefore of distortion. Broadly speaking, however, they fall into two periods, 1919-1933 and 1933-1939. From 1919 to 1924 all the States of South-Eastern Europe were struggling to produce order out of chaos. In 1920-1921 Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania joined together in a series of bilateral treaties to form the Little Entente to maintain the *status quo* and prevent any attempt by ex-enemy countries to alter frontiers or restore the Habsburg dynasty. In 1921 a Franco-Polish Treaty of Friendship and a Treaty of Alliance between Rumania and Poland were signed, and in the following year France, Great Britain, Italy and Czechoslovakia undertook jointly to respect Austrian independence. The League of Nations financed the reconstruction of Austria in 1922 and of Hungary in 1924, and organized the exchange of populations and their settlement between Greece and Turkey, and Bulgaria and Greece. Land reforms were passed in all the States of South-Eastern Europe, although those in Hungary were on a small scale.



SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE. PHYSICAL FEATURES

There was, up to 1923, a hope that political agreement might have been reached, even between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, divided politically by fierce differences over the Macedonian question, and perhaps even some kind of South Slav federal union between the peasant Governments of these countries. The murder of the Bulgarian and Croat peasant leaders in 1923 and 1928 respectively, and the fall of the peasant Governments probably ruled out hope of agreement, and in any case Italian policy had been working in both countries to prevent it, in order to weaken Yugoslavia.

Rivalry between France and Italy led to the emergence of two groups among the States of South-Eastern Europe. While France worked to establish her influence over the States of the Little Entente by means of loans, alliances, military and cultural missions, and to strengthen them against any possible threat of an *Anschluss*

between Austria and Germany, or a Hungarian demand for revision of the Peace Treaties, Italy established a virtual protectorate over the small State of Albania in 1926-1927 and signed Treaties of Friendship with Hungary in 1927 and Greece in 1928, thus linking together countries with claims or grievances against Yugoslavia. An Italian princess was married in 1930 to King Boris of Bulgaria.

The years 1929-1932 were dominated by the great economic depression. Economic plans to achieve some kind of cooperation in an effort to deal with a disaster which affected all alike were thwarted by one group or another from political motives. Balkan Conferences were held in 1930, 1931 and 1932, and some progress was made towards economic collaboration, but Bulgarian minority questions remained a stumbling block in the way of effective cooperation. An Eight-Power Agrarian Conference in the latter part of 1930 was followed by an East European Agrarian Conference in December, 1931; the London Conferences in April, 1932, which included discussion of a French plan for a Danubian economic federation, and an Economic Conference at Stresa in September of the same year also achieved no permanent results. Thus the year 1933 found South-Eastern Europe hopelessly divided against itself, disillusioned or cynical at the comparative failure of these attempts at economic cooperation and at the prospective failure of the Disarmament Conference, and confronted with yet another problem in the shape of a resurgent National-Socialist Germany.

The effect of the National-Socialist Revolution in Germany on the States of South-Eastern Europe was, naturally enough, to make the several regional groupings attempt to draw closer together. On February 16th, 1934, the Little Entente Statute provided for complete coordination of policy through a Central Secretariat and a Permanent Council, and for military conversations and exchange of information, but no pact of mutual assistance was signed. Again, a Pact of Mutual Understanding, providing for mutual guarantee of frontiers and for consultation in the event of any threat to common interests,¹ was signed in Athens in the same month between Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia and Rumania, but did not include Bulgaria, who was unwilling to give up her claims to frontier revision, or Albania who was already under strong Italian influence. In January, 1937, however, Bulgaria, on the initiative of Turkey, signed a Pact of Perpetual Friendship with Yugoslavia. Later, in July, 1938, she joined with the four Balkan Powers in a Non-Aggression Pact in which, while she was not asked formally to abandon her claims, she agreed not to try to change her frontiers by force. The

¹ A Greek reservation was designed to exclude the possibility of Greece being involved in war with Italy.

initiative of the U.S.S.R. in drawing up a Convention defining aggression in 1933, and her growing interest in collective security, paved the way for her recognition by Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Albania and Rumania (in Rumania's case on the assumption that she need not fear Soviet designs on Bessarabia). Unfortunately these attempts on the part of the States of South-Eastern Europe to draw closer together did not go far enough to be effective in the face of increasing German pressure.

In May, 1934, Signor Mussolini and the Prime Ministers of Austria and Hungary signed the "Rome Protocols," intended to achieve cooperation and consultation between those Powers and thereby to strengthen Italy's position as "patron" of South-Eastern Europe; but her Abyssinian adventure put an end to the temporary phase of cooperation with France (dating from the Rome Pact of January, 1935) and thereby left her isolated. As a result she turned to Germany and the Berlin-Rome Axis was created in 1936.

The incorporation of Austria into National-Socialist Germany in 1938 was the first of a series of acts of aggression on the part of the Axis Powers which menaced the security of the States of South-Eastern Europe and culminated in the outbreak of war in September, 1939. The incorporation of Austria created a common frontier between Germany and Yugoslavia. The break-up of Czechoslovakia begun at Munich in September, 1938, and completed in March, 1939, by the establishment of a German protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia, and the annexation of Ruthenia and Slovakia by Hungary destroyed the Little Entente and also brought under direct German control an important market and source of supply for the countries of South-Eastern Europe. The conquest of Albania by Italy in April, 1939, menaced both Yugoslavia and Greece.

In face of this increasing pressure by the Axis Powers, Turkey had tried to encourage the States of South-Eastern Europe towards more effective cooperation. She used her good offices to improve relations between Bulgaria and the other Balkan States, and at a Balkan Entente Conference in February, 1940, Bulgaria undertook not to press her territorial claims against Rumania while the war lasted. At the same Conference Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia adopted resolutions emphasizing the essentially peaceful relations existing between them and the importance of economic cooperation. Great Britain and France supported Turkey in her actions in South-Eastern Europe, first by their promise on April 13th, 1939, that they would at once lend all the support in their power if any action were taken which clearly threatened the independence of Greece and Rumania and which these Governments respectively considered it vital to resist with their national forces,

and, secondly, by the Treaty which they signed with Turkey on October 19th of the same year, providing for mutual action if Turkey were attacked or involved in an act of aggression leading to war in the Mediterranean, or if they themselves were involved in war as a result of their guarantees to Greece and Rumania.

The fall of France and the entry of Italy into the war in June, 1940, changed the whole European situation. In the same month the U.S.S.R. demanded the cession of Bessarabia and also that of the Northern Bukovina. In August Rumania was also forced, by the Vienna Award of the Axis Powers, to give up part of Transylvania to Hungary, and in October German troops moved in to occupy Rumania. When the Germans attacked Greece in 1941 the Bulgarians followed on their heels and occupied Thrace and Macedonia, including also the whole of Yugoslavian Macedonia. Bulgaria's action, and still more her attempt to Bulgarize the territories she has occupied, cannot but embitter future relations between the Balkan Powers concerned and make more difficult the achievement of a satisfactory peace settlement.

The sections which follow describe the effects of the economic depression and the increasing dependence of each of the countries of South-Eastern Europe on Germany. They also show how in one country after another the democratic constitutions set up after the last war came to be replaced by dictatorships, either open or veiled. It would, however, be unwise to draw lasting conclusions either from these facts or from the present state of affairs in South-Eastern Europe on the eve of its liberation from German occupation. The Soviet Union's victories in the war, added to her historic rôle as the greatest Slav Power, make it certain that she will exercise a strong influence over the Balkan States in the future. Minority problems in plenty will remain to be solved after the forcible frontier changes of the last five years have been restored. It may be that European statesmen in the coming peace settlement will seek to solve them by transfers of population as much as by a re-drawing of the frontiers themselves. In taking steps to prevent future German aggression in Europe they will have to consider the causes, political as well as economic, of Germany's successful domination of South-Eastern Europe as a necessary preliminary to helping the Governments of these countries to achieve strength and stability.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

South-Eastern Europe is dependent primarily on agriculture, for though the area has considerable mineral wealth and within recent years there has been an increase in mining, industrialization is only on a very small scale. Before the war three-quarters of the popu-

lation derived their livelihood from agriculture, and the density of population on cultivable land, of which there is no surplus, is high. Farming methods are still primitive, and agriculture suffers from either poor soil or inadequate rainfall, and in much of the area from both. As a result of these and other factors there is agricultural over-population or, in other words, more people live on the land than it can provide with a reasonable level of subsistence. This agricultural over-population is most severe in the relatively infertile mountain regions like the Dinaric provinces of Yugoslavia, and the mountain regions of Rumania and sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, and also in parts of Bulgaria. In the area as a whole the population increased steadily during the period 1921-1938, although the actual rate of increase declined. Before the last war emigration to other European countries and to overseas countries, in particular to the United States, was an important outlet, but during the period between the two wars emigration, more especially the outflow overseas, showed a decline.

Only in Hungary are there still many large estates; elsewhere the land is for the most part farmed by peasant proprietors in holdings which are generally small, sometimes not more than one or two acres. With the distribution of land in small plots, the most usual forms of agriculture are those which need little capital, although labour is often applied intensively. The two main cereal crops are wheat and maize, grown in the countries of the Danube valley where there is rich soil. In recent years under the necessity for providing Germany with exports¹ increased cultivation of oil-seeds—in particular sunflower seed and soya beans—hemp, cotton and other products of which Germany is in short supply has been much encouraged. Climate and market conditions for dairy-farming are unfavourable, and except in Hungary there is little cattle-raising on a large scale. Pig-fattening on maize is carried out extensively on the plains of Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia, and sheep-raising in Bulgaria is not unimportant. Both in Bulgaria and Greece there is intensive cultivation in suitable districts of such crops as tobacco, vines, various fruits, roses and a certain amount of cotton.

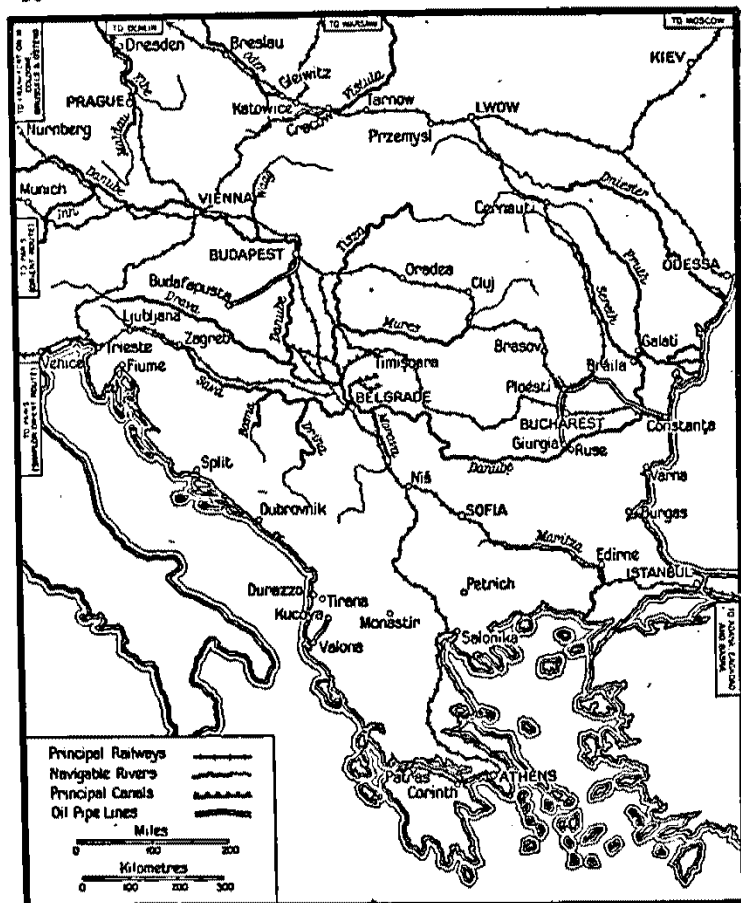
It is difficult to make any accurate generalizations about crop-yields and income levels over so wide an area, but it is safe to say the most characteristic feature of peasant life is poverty; it has been estimated that the average net output of those dependent on the land ranges, or did range, in various parts of South-Eastern Europe from perhaps £10 to £20 per year. The standard of living in many areas is thus very low compared with Western standards. In Hungary, one of the richest countries, about a quarter of the agricultural

¹ See p. 20.

population before the war were landless labourers who had only casual employment at a starvation wage. In Greece, the richest of the countries, where two million inhabitants in the large towns enjoyed a standard of living little below that of Western Europe, there were still many farmers, returned refugees from Asia Minor, who could only wrest from their very small holdings a very precarious existence. As to nutrition, it was only in Greece, Hungary, the Danube districts of Yugoslavia and the Rumanian Banat that plenty of wheat bread and some fats and proteins were obtainable, while Western Hungary and Greece were the only areas where most diets contained plenty of fats and proteins. In Rumania proper the peasants lived mainly on maize with very little else to relieve the monotony. In the mountain regions of the north (Transylvania and sub-Carpathian Ruthenia) the staple diet was rye-bread and potatoes with insufficient meat and fats. While poverty was a main cause of malnutrition, for the peasants were often forced to sell produce they needed for themselves, the lack of transport for the transmission of food, especially to remote districts, was also a difficulty. Rural housing varies from primitive hovels to well-built farmhouses. It is a question, not so much of level of income as of local supplies of timber and stone; for instance, in some mountain areas where timber is plentiful, dwellings are often reasonably good and indeed superior to those in much richer districts where no building materials are available on the spot.

Although South-Eastern Europe is mainly dependent on agriculture, mention must be made of her mineral resources. Rumania is, of course, the main producer of petroleum, but recently Hungarian production has been much expanded, and both Yugoslavia and Albania have small resources. In Hungary there are very large supplies of bauxite (the principal ore for aluminium), and Yugoslavia has valuable resources. In Yugoslavia and Greece there are important chrome deposits. Among other minerals produced are nickel, copper and lead, and though the output is not large compared with world production, they, together with petroleum, bauxite and chrome, have played an important part in Germany's war effort. Coal resources are small, but the great water-power potential in South-Eastern Europe, which as yet has not been extensively developed, should prove of importance for the future.

In the field of manufacturing, where the numbers employed are very small, concentration has naturally been given to industries most closely connected with agriculture—milling, sugar-refining, the manufacture of alcohol and wood products (the area has large forest reserves), and the processing and packing of tobacco and dried fruits. The textile industries have, however, in recent years made



COMMUNICATIONS IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

considerable progress. Chemical production is also of some importance, and Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia all have some steel works and a few engineering industries. In Hungary, and in very small quantities in Yugoslavia, aluminium is produced from the local supplies of bauxite.

It must be added that before the war the merchant fleets of the South-Eastern countries were of importance. Greece owned the bulk of the tonnage and ranked ninth among the maritime countries of the world.

The solution of the continual problem of agricultural overpopulation except by emigration on a considerable scale appears to

necessitate some fundamental changes in the economic structure of the countries concerned. Much can no doubt be done by progress in industrialization, particularly as regards light industries and food processing, and there is room for much agricultural improvement. In the past any rapid progress has been hampered by lack of sufficient capital. If therefore in the future conditions are to be improved and standards of living raised there will be need, not only for better organization and scientific advancement, but for new capital and also for market outlets.

An important factor in the economic weakness of South-Eastern Europe in the past, and a contributory cause of its internal difficulties, has been its great dependence for trade on the industrialized countries of Western and Central Europe. Of the total trade of the area in 1938 rather less than a tenth consisted of inter-trade between the South-Eastern countries themselves; of their trade with the outside world three-quarters was directed to other European countries. The exports which South-Eastern Europe can offer to the world are all primary products, such as wheat from Rumania and Hungary, maize from Yugoslavia and Rumania, tobacco from Greece and Bulgaria, petroleum products from Rumania, timber from Yugoslavia and Rumania, and chrome and copper from Yugoslavia. For all such products the industrialized countries of Western and Central Europe have access to other and larger suppliers and are thus not dependent on the South-East. In the years of world depression which preceded the present war, the South-Eastern countries, like all primary producers, suffered heavily, for their export prices fell more steeply than their import prices, and partly as a result of political developments and partly of the heavy general fall in agricultural prices after 1929, their main customers resorted to protective measures.

The growth of economic nationalism within the Succession States of the Habsburg Empire and their immediate neighbours, the effect of sanctions applied to Italy in 1935 by the League of Nations, and the policy adopted by Nazi Germany of trading with countries both easily accessible in time of war and economically dependent upon her resulted in changes in the direction of the trade of the South-Eastern countries. From 1933 onwards Germany made a determined drive to secure economic domination over South-Eastern Europe by increasing her share in its trade, and was successful as regards both imports and exports. By 1938 when the share of the United Kingdom in the trade of the area with the outside world accounted for only 10 per cent, the share of Greater Germany including Austria amounted to well over 40 per cent, or, if Czechoslovakia is included, to roughly one half.

The methods adopted by the Germans to secure a large proportion of the trade of the South-Eastern countries was to offer them high prices, above world levels, for their exports, which for the most part she took in large quantities. Owing to the acute depression in the countries concerned and the over-valuation of their currencies, they resorted to the device known as the "Clearing Agreement." The essence of this agreement with Germany was that she paid for the imports she received from the South-Eastern countries by means of credits in Reichsmarks on the Clearing Account. These credits, however, could only be used by the supplying countries for the purchase of goods from Germany, and as large credit balances accumulated they found themselves forced to buy from Germany whatever goods she was prepared to export to them even though they might have preferred to buy elsewhere. Germany also followed the policy of granting long-term credits for the purchase of German machinery and other durable goods. Further, German influence on South-Eastern Europe was greatly increased by capital penetration, particularly in Rumanian oil and armaments, Hungarian textiles, and in minerals and chemicals generally. In addition Germany sent to South-Eastern Europe, ostensibly to look after her economic interests, an unduly large number of commercial representatives and technical experts. Owing to these various forms of penetration, when war ultimately broke out in 1939 the external relations of the South-Eastern countries were largely governed, except for special political considerations, by their high degree of dependence on the German market.

HUNGARY

Hungary is a landlocked country, lying between the Alps and the Carpathians, whose frontiers have undergone considerable changes during the past twenty-five years. During the 1914-1918 war, as part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy,¹ she fought on the side of Germany against Great Britain and France, and suffered very large territorial losses when the Peace Treaties were made. Soon after the age of St Stephen (died 1037) who brought his people into the fold of Western Christendom, Hungary achieved the frontiers which she retained, with little modification, for the next thousand years. The restoration of the "millenary frontiers" has been the dream of most Hungarian statesmen since 1918, although they have been forced to concentrate on the more moderate task—in

¹ See map p. 17.

which they achieved some success between 1938 and 1941—of recovering an ethnic frontier to include all predominantly Magyar areas.

In 1918 the "lands of the Holy Crown" consisted of Hungary, including Transylvania, Croatia-Slavonia and the territory and Adriatic port of Fiume. By the Peace Treaty Croatia-Slavonia was included in Yugoslavia; Fiume became a bone of contention between that country and Italy, who finally secured it. Much of the mountainous rim and parts of the adjacent lowlands were shorn off from Hungary proper, when three-fifths of her territory and two-thirds of her population were lost, being allotted to Rumania and the newly-formed States of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The lost lands comprised (1) Slovakia and Carpatho-Ruthenia in the north, which went to Czechoslovakia; (2) Transylvania, lying to the east in the sweep of the Carpathians, and the adjacent areas of Maramures, Crisana and part of the Banat, which were added to Rumania, and (3) the Vojvodina—comprising part of the Baranya, the Bačka and the rest of the Banat—in the south, which was incorporated in the new kingdom of Yugoslavia. In addition a small strip in the west, the Burgenland, was united with Austria.

GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

The River Danube forms the frontier between Hungary and Slovakia for some distance, then turns due south and continues in the same direction some way into Yugoslavia, when it again turns east. The region to the west of the Danube, known as Transdanubia or Pannonia, differs in many respects from the Nagy-Alföld, the great Hungarian plain, to the east. Transdanubia is traversed by a range of low mountains running from north-east to south-west, on the southern flanks of which lies Lake Balaton. It has a more settled history than the great plain, not having been under Turkish rule, and its affinities are rather with Western than South-Eastern Europe. Agriculture is intensive and long years of comparatively peaceful conditions have allowed its peasants to live in villages, in contrast to the large conglomerations of dwellings—which yet lack the amenities of proper towns—in which the people of the great plain originally collected for safety. More recently, isolated farm-houses and village settlements have grown up.

The great plain shows considerable differences of soil. There are some extensive alkaline patches fit only for live-stock rearing, but also much fertile cornland and many areas growing fruit and grapes. Both drought and floods are troublesome.

The climate is variable, the greatest extremes being found in the plains. The high summer temperatures are valuable for ripening

maize and other crops, but may become dangerous if rain has been scanty. Rainfall roughly decreases from west to east, the average range being from 35-15 inches, although there is considerable yearly variation. Rain occurs mostly in May-June, and again in October, and the great plain suffers from occasional damaging storms. One of the merits of the Hungarian climate is the long autumn, during which all crops ripen well.

Half the population is engaged in agriculture. Although there were land reforms after the last war, Hungary still has a number of very large estates, about a quarter of the total area of agricultural holdings consisting of estates of over 1,420 acres. These large estates produce yields of grain 25 to 30 per cent higher per acre than the small-holdings, and concentrate on growing wheat. A redistribution of the big estates might make corn-growing less efficient, and would tend to divert production towards stock-breeding, poultry, fruit and vegetables which are relatively more profitable.

Of cereals wheat is the main crop, closely followed by maize, other grains grown being rye, barley and oats. Potatoes are widely cultivated; vine-growing and the production of wine has also great importance, and Hungarian wines were being increasingly exported before the war. Horse-breeding, which dates back to the days when the Magyars, coming from the Russian steppes some thousand years ago, took possession of Hungary, is an important branch of farming. Hungarians have a great love for horses, and their excellent breeds were exported in great numbers—about 19,000 annually. Cattle and poultry are raised and were largely exported, and much attention was devoted to fruit culture. After the depression around 1930-1931, the Hungarian Government adopted various methods to encourage agriculture, such as buying wheat above world market prices, and subsidizing milk.

Hungary was deprived of more than half of her forests by the Treaty of Trianon, since these, especially the pine forests, were mostly situated on the slopes of the Carpathians in the regions given to Czechoslovakia and Rumania, and from being a timber-exporting country Hungary was obliged to import lumber. The other main forest region is in the Bakony Mountains, in Transdanubia.

The mineral resources are not important, except bauxite, of which Hungary was estimated to possess nearly a quarter of the total world supply, and of which she was producing before the war some 14 per cent of the world supply. Other minerals are coal, lignite and iron. New oil wells sunk before 1938 by the Standard Oil Company would, it was hoped, soon produce enough oil to cover home consumption.

TRADE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Before 1914 75 per cent of Hungarian trade was with other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Industrialization began in earnest at the end of the nineteenth century. After the last war and the break up of the Empire she found her home market reduced from £50 million to about £8 million, and her exports, which were mainly agricultural, confronted with tariffs. The Peace Treaty, by depriving her of many of her raw materials, such as iron-ore, chiefly found in Slovakia and Ruthenia, left a surplus of industrial plant in Central Hungary. Nevertheless, she intensified the development of industries and protected them by high import duties, and between 1921 and 1938 the volume of her industrial output about doubled. The principal branches are metallurgy and engineering, food, textiles, glass and pottery, the manufacture of leather, wood and rubber goods, chemicals and electrical equipment. After 1930 a trade war with Czechoslovakia led to a sharp decline of exports to that country, and exports to Austria also showed a downward trend, but some compensation was found in increased trade with countries further afield—Great Britain, Scandinavia, North America and Eastern countries—and with Germany.

Budapest, the capital, has excellent rail and river communications with the rest of Hungary and with Europe, but communications between other parts of Hungary are poor. A radiating system of railways leads to Vienna and thence to Germany and Western Europe; to Poland, Eastern Germany and the Baltic; to Rumania and the Black Sea; and through Yugoslavia to Fiume and the Mediterranean. The Danube affords water connection with the Black Sea, and through the German canal system, with the Baltic and the North Sea.

THE PEOPLE

The population, particularly in the plains, is predominantly composed of Magyars, a Finno-Ugrian race with an admixture of Turki stock, who came into the plains of Hungary towards the end of the ninth century, and who, although during the years they have absorbed elements from adjoining races, still retain their language and characteristics. The Finns are the European nation to which they are most akin. Besides the Magyars there are many large and small settlements of other nationalities; in fact, a map of pre-Trianon Hungary drawn on racial lines looked like a patchwork quilt with a fairly plain centre. Hungarian policy, particularly during the nineteenth century and onwards, has aimed at Magyarizing the other races, who on their side have tried to preserve their own customs and culture. The Magyars are convinced of the superiority of

their own ways; they do not, however, wish to exclude other, inferior, peoples, but to convert and absorb them.

The peasants, who form half the population, enjoy in many parts a higher standard of living than the peasants of the other lands of South-Eastern Europe although their life, particularly in the eastern part of the country, is primitive in many ways. More than half of the people are Roman Catholic by religion, some 30 per cent are Calvinist, and there are many professing Jews.

It is Hungary's misfortune that the frontiers which seem suitable for geographical reasons are not justifiable on racial grounds. The Peace Treaties after the last war, which adopted ethnography as a basis on which to determine frontiers, provided for a greatly reduced Hungary, but one which was reasonably homogeneous. A minority remained of half a million Germans, mostly west of the Danube near Budapest and in the Pécs area, and there were also almost half a million Jews. On the other hand the lost territories contained about two million Hungarians, of which three-quarters were in Transylvania and the part of the Banat given to Rumania, and the remainder in Slovakia, and in the Vojvodina allotted to Yugoslavia. Some of these Hungarians were in fairly compact bodies close to the new frontiers, but many of those in Transylvania lived on the slopes of the Carpathians, to which the former frontiers had extended, whilst between the Carpathians and the new eastern frontier of Hungary the population was mainly Rumanian. This was in part unavoidable owing to the extreme mixture of races already referred to. Racial principles, however, were sometimes sacrificed on economic or strategic grounds, and the decisions were usually unfavourable to Hungary. For example the Magyar inhabitants of the lowlands of Slovakia were included in Slovakia because it was considered uneconomic to separate the poor mountains from the richer plains; and land occupied almost wholly by Magyars in Western Transylvania was given to Rumania because it was crossed by a railway linking Rumania to her north-western territories.¹

From 1920 Hungary's aim has been to recover the lost territories; it has been the guiding principle of her foreign policy and has overshadowed all political problems at home.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The political system of Hungary, based on a restricted franchise and, until recently, on an open ballot except in the case of the cities, resembles in many ways that of Great Britain in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and reflects a semi-feudal

¹ See also Rumania.

social structure which has only of late years showed signs of crumbling.

After the collapse of the Central Powers and the fall of the Dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918, short-lived Socialist and Communist Republics, the latter, under Bela Kun, generally known as the "Red Terror," were set up in Hungary. A counter-revolutionary "White Terror" followed at the end of 1919, and then the old political system was reinstated, the only difference being that a Regent, Admiral Horthy, was substituted for the King.

For the next twelve years Governments ruled in which the "magnates," or great landed proprietors, held power. In old days the power had lain between the "magnates" (the big landowners) and the "gentry" (the smaller landowners and official class). Both held almost identical, and essentially conservative, views on social questions, their main differences being in their attitude towards the union with Austria, and later to a Habsburg restoration. The magnates were more pro-Austrian, while the gentry rather typified Hungarian separatism. The former issue no longer existed after 1918, and, after two unsuccessful attempts on the part of the ex-king Karl to return in 1921, the distinction between the two groups gradually faded. Count Bethlen, who was Prime Minister from 1921-1931, was chiefly concerned to maintain the *status quo* in home



AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND THE SUCCESSION STATES

affairs, and managed to come to terms with Left Wing opposition by moderate concessions. He also carried through a small land reform. The supreme question remained the revision of the frontiers. Friendship with Italy was cultivated as a possible defence against the Little Entente, and an agreement was reached in 1927.

Count Bethlen resigned in 1931. The world economic crisis had hit Hungary hard, and administrative extravagance, mismanagement of State enterprise and financial scandals were undermining the Government's prestige. From now onwards the Government *bloc* became increasingly disunited, and with the resignation of Bethlen's successor, Count Gujula Karolyi, in 1932, the rule of the magnates ended. The new Premier, General Gömbös, was anti-Habsburg and a keen revisionist and also had great sympathy with the rising Nazi party in Germany. Under him, and still more under the next Premiers, M. Daranyi and M. Imredy, various National Socialist groups began to raise their heads, all with very similar programmes. They offered agrarian and electoral reform to the landless section of the population, and appealed to the official and professional classes with promises of anti-Jewish legislation. During the years before the war the Government's policy was double-edged: it tried to ensure stability by increasing the powers of the Regent and the Upper House, by raising the age and educational qualifications for the franchise, and by repressing extremist Nazi leaders, and it also took steps to meet some of the most pressing demands. The secret ballot was introduced in the country districts, and anti-Semitic measures were promulgated. The Jewish minority in Hungary totalled some 500,000, that is, about 5 per cent of the population, but, owing to the Magyars' distaste for finance and commerce, the middle and upper class Jews had attained a virtual monopoly of the banking, commercial and industrial interests, and also filled many professional posts, and their share in the national income was reckoned at nearly 29 per cent. The first anti-Semitic Bill fixed 20 per cent as the number of Jews who might be employed in business and the professions, and a later bill reduced this percentage. Anti-Semitism, however, was not generally rabid, and these provisions had not been fully carried out before the German occupation, chiefly owing to the impossibility of finding substitutes to replace the Jews.

RELATIONS WITH THE AXIS

Meanwhile, Hungary was being drawn closer into the German orbit. The agreement with Italy in 1927 had been followed in 1934 by the Rome Protocols between Italy, Austria and Hungary, which were an attempt to form a *bloc* against the growing power of Nazi

Germany, but as this power increasingly asserted itself Hungary decided to profit by Germany's schemes of aggrandisement to further her own revisionist aims, especially after the occupation of Austria in March, 1938, had given her a common frontier with Germany.

When, after the Munich Agreement, the Court of Arbitration met in Vienna in November 1938 to determine the frontiers of Czechoslovakia, Hungary's northern frontier was redrawn, and almost all the areas in Slovakia and Carpatho-Ruthenia, which she had claimed on racial grounds, except the city of Bratislava, were restored to her, and she regained 4,200 square miles of territory with some 900,000 inhabitants, of whom 700,000 were Magyar.¹ The following March, when Czechoslovakia was finally dismembered, Hungary took over the whole of Carpatho-Ruthenia, thus reaching a common frontier with Poland.

The rapid defeat of Poland at the beginning of the war left Hungary lying between the two Great Powers of Germany and Russia. She wished to avoid domination by either, and a policy serving "exclusively Hungarian interests," in the words of the Prime Minister, Count Teleki, was and has remained her ambition. Diplomatic relations with Russia, which had been broken since Hungary adhered to the Anti-Comintern Pact in February, 1939, were resumed, and a closer union was sought with Italy.

The recovery of Transylvania was now the main revisionist aim of Hungary. Both Rumanians and Hungarians have a strong sentimental feeling for this territory. The former regard it as a refuge where the Latin tradition never died and whence their forefathers, after the barbarian invasions, again descended to the plains. Hungarians think of the Carpathian valleys as a place where their ancestors never came under Turkish domination and as the home of many of their national heroes. To complicate matters, Transylvanians of all races have developed a certain provincial patriotism. Germany cared little for the rights of either country, but did wish to preserve Balkan peace, for her own ends. Hungary might have postponed pressing her claims to Transylvania if Rumania had not been forced to cede Bukovina and Bessarabia to Russia in 1940, but since Rumania was being dismembered, Hungary, like Bulgaria, demanded her share. The Axis Powers, not wanting war between the two countries, felt forced to intervene and decided by the

¹ All population statistics are only approximate. The figures given by different countries for the same districts vary widely, both from a tendency to over-estimate the numbers of their own nationals and because the standards on which nationality is based are different, e.g. "language of use," or "mother tongue."

Vienna Award of August 30th to appease Hungary by allotting to her two-fifths of Transylvania comprising 42,700 square kilometres of territory and rather more than 2½ million inhabitants of whom, according to the Hungarian 1941 census, 1,347,012 were Magyars.

These triumphs had their disadvantages. Hungary now had within her borders Rumanian, German, Slovak and Ruthenian minorities of 2½ million, out of a total population of 14 million, and the minority rights exacted by Germany for her nationals gave them a very considerable degree of independence.

Economically and politically Hungary was becoming more bound to Germany. Her place in the New Order was to supply Germany with raw materials and agricultural produce and to serve as part of the German defence scheme. Hungarian industries have suffered severely in the war, and only since the development of the Allied air offensive against Germany have they been encouraged by Germany, mainly for production of armaments and latterly aircraft. Hitler's demands, coupled with a series of poor harvests, resulted in a shortage of foodstuffs and the need for rationing, and the peasants have shown themselves stubborn in their refusal to grow crops which might be requisitioned.

Count Teleki disliked this subserviance to the Axis, yet after the Vienna Award his Government was obliged to adhere to the Tripartite Pact, meaning in effect a promise to fight with Germany should the latter be at war with Russia. Before this promise called for fulfilment, however, Hungary's revisionism had led her, in spite of having signed a Pact of Eternal Friendship and non-Aggression with Yugoslavia only four months previously, to join on April 11th, 1941, in Germany's attack on that country, bribed by promises of territorial concessions in the Vojvodina, where she was rewarded by receiving the Baranja and the Bačka and small districts on either side of the river Mur. Germany kept the Banat and exploited it economically for her own benefit. Count Teleki, who had wished for friendship with Yugoslavia, committed suicide a week before the attack. His successor, Bárdossy, made little effort to withstand German demands, believing, like the Hungarian Army, that the Axis Powers were certain to win the war.

Germany attacked Russia on June 22nd, and on June 27th, four days after making a non-belligerency announcement, Hungary also declared war with, on her own showing, no territorial aims. The war was not popular; Hungarian hopes were still fixed on obtaining the southern part of Transylvania from Rumania, and the troops cared little for winning glory in Russia. Germany continually exerted pressure on Hungary to send more men to the front, and hinted that the frontier awards were not necessarily final settlements, but

might be reversed if Slovakia and Rumania gave more valuable help than Hungary.

The Voronesh disaster in the winter of 1942, and the subsequent Russian advance, made Hungary eager to withdraw her army from the eastern front and this was practically done by May, 1943, after she had lost between 100,000-140,000 men and all her heavy modern equipment. Kállay, who had succeeded Bárdossy as Premier in March, 1942, though still protesting loyalty to the Axis, now talked of Hungary's only being able to bear sacrifices in proportion to her strength, and pointed out that he was not responsible for bringing his country into the war against Russia; he also delayed the execution of anti-Jewish measures.

Pre-occupation with revisionist aims still remained the keynote of the press and of political speeches, and prevented a realistic point of view. To stand aside from the war, retaining all territorial gains and somehow adding the southern part of Transylvania seemed a desirable and reasonable goal. Some measures were adopted to maintain unity at home, both by combining the Nationalist bodies and strengthening the police force, and by the more conciliatory attitude of the Government to the People's Front, in which the three chief Left Wing parties were now combined.

The rapid Russian advance to the Carpathians in the spring of 1944 dislodged Hungary from her insecure seat on the fence, since Germany dared not allow the fortress of Europe to be jeopardized by a half-hearted ally. Horthy was summoned to meet Hitler and received various demands,¹ some of which he is believed to have refused, whereupon, on March 19th, German troops occupied Hungary. A new Government, largely composed of members of the National Socialist Imredy group, was set up, with Sztojay as Premier, and Veessenmayer was sent to act as Minister and Plenipotentiary of the Reich. The Germans asserted that this change was the result of mutual agreement, but a thorough German domination now exists; vigorous anti-Jewish measures were at once taken, and Hungarian troops again appeared in the front line.

RUMANIA

Rumania is apt to suggest to British minds a picture of gypsies and gaily-dressed peasants, of brilliant uniforms and beautiful women, in fact the whole musical comedy atmosphere of "Ruritania." The Rumanians are indeed very different from their Balkan

¹ Before the occupation Germany had the right to send forty trains a day across Hungary, and the passage of planes was unrestricted.

neighbours. Though the Romans occupied the area, then known as Dacia, for only 163 years in the second and third centuries, they left a permanent imprint on the inhabitants of the region, and the Rumanians claim to be an outpost of Latin civilization in the East. The Slavs who later invaded had little influence on these early Dacians, who retired into the Carpathians, and in their mountain fastnesses also escaped to a large extent assimilation by the Turks. It is from these mountain shepherds that the modern Rumanians are descended and they regard the Carpathians as the cradle of their race.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The original provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia lay roughly in a circle round the sweep of the Carpathians, Moldavia running down between the mountains and the River Pruth, and Wallachia occupying the rich plain stretching south from the Carpathians to the Danube. Under Russian protection these provinces were granted almost complete autonomy from the Turks in 1829, but this Russian influence was feared by the Western Powers. Napoleon III of France therefore particularly sponsored the case of Rumanian independence, and from the time of the Crimean War onwards French cultural influence has been predominant in Rumania, with Bucharest as a second Paris. The two provinces were nominally united by the Convention of Paris, but care was taken that they should have separate Princes and Cabinets. The Rumanians defeated the intentions of the Powers by electing the same man as Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia. Eventually a genuine union was achieved, with Turkish consent, in 1862. After the Congress of Berlin in 1878 an independent Kingdom of Rumania was recognized under the rule of a Hohenzollern Prince, Carol I. Until 1914 Rumania was largely pre-occupied with internal affairs, though she joined in the Second Balkan War in 1913 and wrested from Bulgaria the Black Sea Province of the Dobruja. In 1916 she entered the war on the side of the Allies, in spite of the kinship of her king with the German Emperor, and her armies were defeated by those of von Mackensen.

The 1919 Peace Treaties established a Greater Rumania more than double in size; she had now a total of 19 million people in an area equal to that of England and Wales. From Hungary she gained Transylvania and the Banat on the west side of the Carpathians, the Northern Bukovina from Austria, and from Russia the Bessarabian plain between the Rivers Pruth and Dniester, thus making her territory roughly circular in shape with the Carpathians running through the centre of the country. This Greater Rumania comprised a medley of peoples typical of the whole minorities problem of the Balkans. The peoples of the Old Kingdom had been

almost entirely Rumanian in race and language, but in the new unit only 74 per cent of the total population spoke Rumanian as their mother tongue. Nearly a million Rumanians were left outside the new frontiers, however, about 25,000 on the west border, between 20,000 and 40,000 on the Ruthenian frontier in the north, nearly a quarter of a million in Yugoslavia, a considerable number in Bulgaria and Greek Macedonia, while the Rumanians claimed that there were about 800,000 across the Dniester. Inside Rumania there were about one-and-a-half million Magyars in Transylvania, about three-quarters of a million Germans in Transylvania, Bessarabia and the North Bukovina, half-a-million Ukrainians and Russians and many Bulgarians in the two last-named areas, and a predominantly Bulgarian population in the Dobruja. The Peace Conference attempted to guarantee the protection of the rights of these minorities, but the effectiveness of the minorities treaties largely depended on the spirit in which they were carried out. Considerable difficulties were caused, particularly with the Magyar minority in Transylvania, by the reversal of rulers and ruled; the Magyars resented being under the rule of Rumanian peasants of inferior culture and standard of living, whose officials, with little tradition and administrative experience, could often not resist the opportunity to "get their own back" on their former political masters. Moreover, racial differences were reinforced by those of religion, for the Magyars were predominantly Roman Catholic and the Germans Lutheran, while the Rumanians belonged almost entirely to the Orthodox Church.

MINORITIES

The minorities had certain grievances in common. They all complained of the unfair incidence of the land reforms carried out after the war which deprived the great Magyar and Russian landowners in Transylvania and Bessarabia of their estates, while the Bulgarian proprietors in the Dobruja resented the Rumanian policy of settling Rumanian colonists on their land. They also objected to the methods of taxation and to the fact that very little money was spent on public works in their border districts but all went to the capital. They felt that they were not fairly represented in national life and that there was excessive discrimination against their languages. The land reforms had certainly dealt a severe blow to the minorities' denominational schools since they had deprived the churches of their means of maintenance. The scattered German communities only began to acquire a sense of unity as they came under Nazi influence and there was no solidarity between them and the Magyars. The Ukrainians and Russians, though badly hit by

the loss of markets and dislocation of trade following the severance of Bessarabia from Russia, were not pro-Communist and therefore not particularly anxious to seek Russian support to redress their grievances. But the Magyars and Bulgarians presented a constant threat to the unity of the Greater Rumania on account of the strong irredentist and revisionist feeling in their mother-countries. The question of Transylvania created particularly bitter hatred, for both Hungary and Rumania had strong sentimental attachments to the area. The Rumanians regarded it as the mountain refuge of the early Dacians and the very heart of their heritage, while the Hungarians claimed that it formed a natural unit with the Hungarian plain, and that it had been a desolate empty area when their armies entered it in the eleventh century. Rumanian peasants and shepherds constituted more than half the population of Transylvania in 1918 and the largest single ethnic element there; but its transfer to Rumania brought under Rumanian rule a Magyar majority in the towns along the west frontier as well as a compact group of about 540,000 Hungarian-speaking Szekely in the east right in the very centre of the Greater Rumania. The new frontier ran along the eastern edge of the plain of the River Tisa and included within Rumania the railways and roads at the edge of the plain and a number of important industrial towns such as Arad, Oradea Mare, and Timișoara in the Banat, thus cutting off from Hungary a number of communications and vital commercial centres in which the Magyars constituted a majority of the population.

Apart from the minorities in the newly-acquired border provinces there were about 750,000 Jews in Rumania. They formed 4.2 per cent of the total population and in many of the larger towns more than 50 per cent, for before 1914 there was hardly any Rumanian middle-class and most of the retail trade was taken over by the Jews. There is a strong tradition of anti-Semitism in Rumania, however, and since 1918 this has been reinforced by the competition the newly-educated peasants have met from the Jews when they attempted to enter business or the professions. The Congress of Berlin in 1878 insisted that the Jews in Rumania should be given equal citizenship but this was evaded, and it was only after the Minorities Treaty of 1919 that they had to be allowed a place in national life. The position of the Jews still remained precarious, however, in face of Rumanian anti-Semitism, particularly under the violently anti-Semitic Government of M. Goga in 1938.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Rumania, like all the Balkan States, is predominantly agricultural and about 80 per cent of the population work on the land. Until

the 1919 land reforms the Rumanian peasants were miserably exploited by the great landowners, the boyars, but the break-up of the great estates into small holdings, 75 per cent of which are less than 5 hectares, though it has restored the self-respect of the peasants, has not appreciably increased their wealth. In the absence of improved methods of agriculture the standard of living of the peasants is as low as in the rest of South-East Europe; they wear beautiful hand-embroidered clothes and live in clean, brightly painted houses, but they have little variety of food, their staple article of diet being mamaliga (a kind of maize pudding). The birth-rate is high and though the infant mortality-rate is the highest in Europe, the growing population increases pressure on the land. Roughly half the population was illiterate when the Greater Rumania was formed but great strides have been made in education, largely on the initiative of the peasants themselves; the flight of the educated from the land to swell the unemployed in the towns has presented new problems. More intensive methods of agriculture and the development of co-operative farming and marketing might make farming more profitable and raise the standard of the peasants, but it is possible that group-farming, recently sponsored by the Germans for their own purposes, might prejudice the peasants against similar methods.

The main products of the fertile plains are maize and wheat, but whereas the production of the former large estates made Rumania a great wheat exporter, the small peasant-holdings, in the absence of mechanization, produce almost the lowest wheat yield per hectare in Europe. Tobacco is also grown but at high production cost under State subsidy, and the growing of sugar-beet is also encouraged. Under German sponsoring, the cultivation of industrial plants such as oil-seeds and flax has been undertaken, and poultry and cattle rearing are also fostered. Timber is another important export and the Carpathian forests have been recklessly exploited.

Oil occupies a most important place in the Rumanian economy, though it employs less than 25,000 workers and only provides about 5 per cent of the national income. Since the peak year of 1936, however, oil production has been falling off in spite of German attempts to exploit the resources to the utmost. This decline is largely due to the exhaustion of existing fields. These fields have been almost wholly worked by foreign companies, principally Anglo-Dutch, French and American, but since the war these foreign interests have been taken over by the State, while German shareholdings have greatly increased. Rumania has other mineral resources, coal, lignite, iron and manganese, while there are considerable quantities of bauxite; gold is also produced.

A policy of industrialization has been undertaken since 1918, but at the expense of agriculture, and therefore the standard of living of the mass of the people has not been raised. The new industries needed foreign machines and raw materials and these have been imported to the exclusion of consumption goods. The neglect of agriculture in order to foster industry has not led to an increase in purchasing power among the people as a whole, however, and only after rearmament was begun in 1935 did industrial expansion make any real progress. Considerable programmes of public works, of building in Bucharest and of road and rail development were also undertaken.

FOREIGN TRADE

Rumania's foreign trade mainly consists of her exports of oil, cereals and timber and she is largely dependent on imported consumption goods. Even before the 1914-1918 war Germany was one of her best customers and largest suppliers, but after the war Rumania tried to deal mainly with the Western Powers. These attempts met with the same fate as those of the other Balkan countries.¹ The Little Entente tried to foster mutual trade between its members, and until 1938 there was a considerable exchange of Rumanian wheat and oil for Czech armaments. But Germany's needs and geographical position made her a natural customer for Rumania, and she was prepared to pay high prices for Rumanian products; for instance, in 1938 she paid double the world price for Rumanian wheat. Until the war, however, Rumania restricted 25 per cent of her exports of oil and also of wheat to Germany in an effort to divert exports to free-exchange countries. After the fall of Czechoslovakia she became completely dependent on German goodwill for continued supplies of arms from the Skoda and Brno works and in March 1939 a comprehensive trade agreement was signed with Germany. An attempt was made to counter this German move by the Franco-Rumanian Trade Agreement of March 31st and the Anglo-Rumanian Protocol of May 11th providing a British credit of £5 million and the British purchase of 200,000 tons of wheat from the next Rumanian harvest. But the course of the war made these measures ineffective; German economic as well as political domination of Rumania became complete after the summer of 1940 and a second trade agreement in December of that year aimed at the complete reorganization of the Rumanian economy to supply German needs. As with all other South-Eastern European countries Rumania has suffered from lack of markets with the Western Powers and has had no alternative but to trade more and more with Germany.

¹ See p. 11.

GOVERNMENT

The Rumanian Constitution was modelled on that of Great Britain and until the 1914-1918 war progressed smoothly with alternating conservative and liberal Governments. The pro-German policy of some of the Conservatives was discredited by the war, however, and the 1919 land reforms brought to an end the political influence of the boyars. Henceforth the two main elements in Rumanian political life were the commercial and financial oligarchy of the towns and the peasant masses and, as in the rest of the Balkans, the former by superior organization and education succeeded in dominating the latter. The Liberals, headed by the Bratianu family, now formed the Conservative element, favouring a policy of centralization and national self-sufficiency, while the National Peasant Party (an amalgamation of the National Party of Transylvania and the former Peasant Party) constituted, under Juliu Maniu, the most important Left Wing group and favoured a completely different policy, fostering the peasant's interests and encouraging the use of foreign capital and the lowering of tariffs. The Liberals governed almost continuously from 1922-1928 and from the end of 1933-1937, and the National Peasants held office only for two short periods from 1929-1931 and from 1932-1933, when all attempts to carry out their agrarian programme were hampered by the general economic crisis.

The political system is riddled with graft and corruption, and the failure of the parties to check this or to deal with the economic crisis of the early nineteen-thirties was largely responsible for the breakdown of parliamentary government. Extreme Right Wing elements came into prominence, most significant of which was Codreanu's Iron Guard, which originated during the nineteen-twenties as a group of rather adolescent malcontents preaching anti-Communist, anti-capitalist, anti-Semitic, anti-constitution doctrines. This movement was symptomatic of a country notoriously ill-governed and riddled with corruption, but it soon became influenced by Fascist movements abroad and worked against alliance with the Western Powers.

In 1926 the Liberals succeeded in forcing Crown Prince Carol to renounce his right to the throne, largely on account of the scandal of his domestic life, but the National Peasant Party supported his return from exile in 1930 on condition that his private affairs were straightened out. The influence of this party was considerably curtailed thereafter, however, through the opposition of Dr Maniu to the King's bid for personal power. In that the King was aided and abetted by his mistress, Madame Lupescu, who returned with him from exile in 1930 in spite of his promises to the National Peasant

Party and sought to acquire predominant political influence. Within a year or two of his return, the King became the most powerful political force in Rumania and his astute playing of one party against another placed him by February, 1938, in a position to abolish the democratic Constitution of 1923 and replace it by one which gave the King greatly increased executive powers. The political parties were abolished, the leaders of the Iron Guard were arrested and killed in November, 1938, and a strict press censorship was imposed. From 1938 until his abdication in September 1940 Carol ruled as a royal dictator and this dictatorship was afterwards continued by the military government of Marshal Antonescu.

FOREIGN POLICY

The Greater Rumania based her foreign policy essentially on an endeavour to maintain her new frontiers and to protect herself against the revisionism of her neighbours. Russia never formally recognized Rumania's acquisition of Bessarabia, and Rumania's first protective measure therefore was to sign a defensive alliance with Poland in March, 1921, to guarantee their eastern frontiers. Under the influence of M. Titulescu relations with Russia improved, but he never succeeded in securing a definite agreement with the Soviet and the Bessarabian question always remained open.

The need to guarantee her acquisition of Transylvania against Hungary's openly revisionist policy led Rumania into alliance with the other Succession States of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. The Rumanians originally desired a Baltic-Aegean *bloc* of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Greece to act as a buffer between Germany and Russia, but these plans were ultimately restricted to Hungary's immediate neighbours. France strongly supported this Little Entente and in 1926 Rumania also signed a pact with France; French cultural influence had always been predominant in Rumania and both the Liberal and the National Peasant parties were strongly pro-French.

The Bulgarian desire to regain the South Dobruja remained a constant threat to the *status quo*, and once again the States who had something to lose from a revision of frontiers joined together for mutual protection in the Balkan pact of 1934 between Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece. In 1926 Rumania also signed a Pact of Friendship with Italy but by 1934 this had lapsed owing to Italy's increasing sponsorship of Hungarian revisionism.

The fall of Austria brought the first threat to this carefully constructed hedge of guarantees and a hasty attempt was made to come to terms with all possible aggressors. In July 1938 an agreement was signed between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria and in August

between the Little Entente and Hungary. First Munich and then the break-up of Czechoslovakia revealed that an even more drastic review of foreign policy must be undertaken.

The outbreak of war found Rumania intent on remaining neutral and maintaining a policy of anti-revisionism. But the collapse of France and the entry of Italy into the war upset all her calculations; the Anglo-French guarantee of the spring of 1939 was now worse than useless and was denounced on July 1st, 1940. King Carol's Government hastened to throw themselves into the German camp and to seek German protection against revisionist claims; but this *volte face* came too late to save them. In any case Germany was not prepared to oppose Russia's demand on June 24th for the return of Bessarabia, and the Rumanians were obliged to yield this territory and the North Bukovina. Similar success attended Bulgarian claims for the South Dobruja, but Rumania hoped that her new German ally would protect her against Hungarian demands for Transylvania. Instead, by the Axis-dictated Vienna Award of August 30th two-fifths of Transylvania, together with considerably over one million Rumanians, was handed to Hungary.

This break-up of Greater Rumania brought about the downfall of King Carol, and General Antonescu, with the support of the Army, took over his dictatorial powers. The Iron Guard now hoped for political powers, but the Germans preferred not to deal with such inexperienced and irresponsible elements. At the end of 1940 a wave of terrorism, inspired by the Iron Guard, swept the country, but Antonescu crushed the unrest and established a purely military dictatorship; henceforth the Iron Guard were only to be used by the Germans as a threat against any opposition to their demands.

Antonescu collaborated wholeheartedly with his German allies and placed all Rumanian resources of grain and oil at the Germans' disposal. At the time of the Vienna Award Germany had guaranteed Rumania's new frontiers, and she used this as an excuse to pour troops into the country, ostensibly to train the Rumanian army and to protect the oil wells. Antonescu acquiesced in this conversion of Rumania into a German base and in June 1941 carried this policy of collaboration to its logical conclusion by attacking Russia alongside the Germans. Once Bessarabia had been regained the Rumanian people, who were growing increasingly resentful of German exploitation of their resources, had no desire for territories further east beyond the Dniester and wished to conserve their forces for an attempt to regain Transylvania or to prevent the Hungarians from pressing for the remaining half of the territory. Instead, Antonescu ordered the Rumanian armies on to the siege of Odessa and to Stalingrad: Rumanian military strength was dissipated in a purely

German cause and could put up no resistance to the advance of the invading Russian armies.

Rumania, as a predominantly peasant country and also as a direct neighbour of Russia, has always feared the influence of Russian Communism. Moreover she has suspected Russian designs on control of the Danube delta and the Black Sea port of Constanza. M. Molotov's statement of April 2nd, therefore, declaring that Russia had no desire for Rumanian territory (after Bessarabia had been regained) and no wish to change the Rumanian social system, may have a considerable effect on the Rumanian nation. The onward sweep of the Russian offensive in the East and the Anglo-American invasion of France in the summer of 1944 appear to have convinced the Rumanians of their folly in continuing to fight for the Germans and it was announced on August 23rd that Rumania had accepted armistice terms offered by the Soviet Union, with the approval of Great Britain and the United States. In the course of a broadcast to the Rumanian people King Michael declared that ". . . at the side and with the help of the Allied armies, by mobilizing all the resources of the Fatherland; we shall cross the frontiers which have been imposed upon us by the unjust Vienna Award in order to liberate the soil of our Transylvania."

YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslavia first received formal recognition as a State in 1919 in the Treaty of Versailles.¹ The principal component parts of the new State consisted of the independent kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro, and territory formerly under the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy. Bosnia-Hercegovina had been administered jointly by Austria and Hungary; Slovenia and Dalmatia by Austria, and the kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia had had a limited autonomy under Hungary.

HISTORY

In the thirteenth century there had been an independent Serbian^a kingdom with a civilization which compared favourably with other European States of the time. In 1389 the last medieval Serbian king was defeated by the invading Turks at the epic battle of Kosovo, and the Serbians remained under varying degrees of Turkish

¹ The new State was first officially proclaimed on December 1st, 1918, as the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. Its name was changed to Yugoslavia (South Slav State) by a law of October 3rd, 1929.

^a The noun and adjective Serbian is used to refer to the Serbs of Serbia while the noun and adjective Serb refers to the Serbs as a race.

domination until the nineteenth century. During this period their spirit of independence was kept alive by their Serb Orthodox Church and their national legends and poetry. In 1804 Karageorge, originally a dealer in swine and the founder of the present dynasty of that name, led an insurrection against the Turks, thereby becoming the elected leader of the Serbians. There followed a period of struggle for independence, principally under the rival Obrenović dynasty, in which Serbia attained autonomy, but it was not until the Congress of Berlin in 1878 that full independence was obtained. In this struggle for her independence Serbia was often supported by Russia who encouraged pan-Slav nationalism in order to strengthen her position in the Balkans, and sometimes by Austria-Hungary. Serbia's successes in the Balkan wars of 1912-1913 greatly increased her prestige, territory and population at the expense of the Turks and relatively to Bulgaria. Her fighting record from 1914-1918 earned her not only the support of the Allies but the moral leadership of the South Slav States, with the result that in 1919 the reigning Serbian Karageorgević dynasty became that of Yugoslavia.

Owing to her rocky fastnesses, Montenegro, which became a separate unit in the fourteenth century, was never completely conquered by the Turks and maintained at least a partial, although somewhat precarious, independence until her incorporation in Yugoslavia.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries Croatia enjoyed a period of independence, which ended in Hungarian domination from 1102 until 1918, broken only by Turkish conquest of most of her territory in the sixteenth century lasting over nearly the whole area until 1699. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the French under Napoleon occupied part of Croatia for a short period, during which the people were stirred to national consciousness. Under Hungary the Croats enjoyed a wide measure of autonomy, varying in degree at different periods; and after 1868 they had their own parliament though their economic life was controlled from Budapest. The failure of subsequent efforts to secure wider autonomy turned Croatia towards the solution of a South Slav State and support of a programme of union with Serbia embodied in the Declaration of Corfu of 1917. On October 29th, 1918, her Parliament declared her independence of Hungary.

Bosnia and Hercegovina, originally for the most part Croatian, came under Hungarian rule in the thirteenth century, but local leaders achieved independent rule for the next two centuries. Hercegovina broke away from Bosnia and continued the struggle against the Turks for a few years longer, before all resistance ceased

at the end of the fifteenth century. Turkish influence is to-day more marked in Bosnia than in Hercegovina. Owing to the existence in Bosnia of the Bogomil heresy (not unlike Islam), the Turks succeeded in attracting many Bosnians, especially of the land-owning class, to Muhammedanism and thus fomented religious and social discord among the people. With the Turkish conquest a large Orthodox population entered Bosnia and gradually became assimilated to the Serbians and by the nineteenth century formed nearly half of Bosnia's inhabitants. Towards the end of the nineteenth century there was a widespread revolt of the Bosnian Serbs who desired union with Serbia and Montenegro. Austria-Hungary, however, under the Treaty of Berlin of 1878 secured the occupation and subsequent annexation of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Although the beginnings of parliamentary government were granted in 1910, the agitation for union with Serbia was repressed. This repression led to the murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian and Hungarian thrones, by a Bosnian Serb at Sarajevo in June, 1914.

In the eighth century the Slovenes, at that time an independent people, were conquered by Charlemagne and later in 1278 incorporated in the Habsburg dominions. Stirrings of national and Slav consciousness, already not wholly unknown under Austrian rule, were stimulated between 1809 and 1813 during Napoleon's more lenient occupation but received no encouragement when the area again came under Austrian control. From 1860 onwards, the Slovene national movement made rapid advances and, with the grant of manhood suffrage, the Slovenes controlled the local government of Carniola and shared in that of other provinces. Finally, by 1918 the Yugoslav idea enjoyed wide Slovene support, including that of the Catholic clergy formerly opposed to it through fear of contact with the Serb Orthodox Church.

Dalmatia's strategic position has made her an almost perpetual battleground. She shared Croatia's independence and subsequent association with Hungary. In 1420, after a prolonged struggle, Venice gained control of most of the coast, which she held until her fall in 1797. Austrian rule followed and the province continued to be administered in Italian, according to the multi-lingual tradition of the Habsburg Empire. But, with Slav education after 1850 and the broadening of the franchise, Dalmatia became almost exclusively Serbo-Croat by 1914.

The Vojvodina, comprising the Bačka, Baranja, and the Banat, an area of some hundred square miles north of the Danube-Drava line and adjoining Hungary, was inhabited by Magyars in the Middle Ages. To it came Serb refugees fleeing before the Turkish

invasion in the fifteenth century. The Magyars, whose territory it was, were glad of the military services of the Serbs against the Turks, who nevertheless conquered the area in 1526 and held it until expelled in 1697. Thereafter the area, which had been largely depopulated, was colonized with a variety of nationalities. To reward the Serbs for fighting for the Habsburgs against the Magyars in 1848, most of the area was formed into a Serb duchy, but this arrangement was abolished in 1860 and, shortly afterwards, the whole area came under Hungarian rule, a state of affairs which lasted until 1918. With their own church and schools the Serbs of South Hungary played a considerable part intellectually and culturally in the South Slav movement.

Although mutual interests and Slav origin united the component parts of the new State, their differences, which they owed to the widely divergent traditions of the countries which had dominated them, lay deep. The religion of the Serbs, covering roughly the area of Serbia, Montenegro, and large parts of Bosnia and Hercegovina, was Eastern Orthodox, while that of the Croats and Slovenes was Roman Catholic. Moslem communities exist in Bosnia, along the Albanian border and in Macedonia. According to the 1931 census, 48.7 per cent of the total population were Serb Orthodox, 37.4 per cent Roman Catholic, and 11.2 per cent Moslem, the remainder being of various and numerically unimportant denominations. The Croats and Slovenes under the rule of Austria-Hungary used the Latin alphabet, and by contact with the West had attained a higher standard of culture, of which the centres were Zagreb and Ljubljana, than the Serbs using the cyrillic alphabet had achieved under Turkish domination. The Slovenes and Croats were inclined to despise the Serbs for their lack of culture, while the Serbs looked down on the Croats for their failure to achieve independence. Language is not a dividing factor to the extent it might be, as Serbo-Croatian with local variations is spoken over the whole country with the exception of Slovenia. Slovene is a language that has developed considerable differences from Serbo-Croatian.

THE COUNTRY AND ITS RESOURCES

Of a total area of 96,134 square miles (approximately the size of Great Britain and Ireland) roughly half is mountainous. The Dinaric Alps, stretching the length of the Dalmatian coast, are a formidable barrier between the hinterland and the sea. In Montenegro and Hercegovina the mountains rise grey, awe-inspiring and desolate, supporting little life, while Bosnia's pine-covered slopes are intersected by green valleys. In South Serbia the mountains were denuded of trees in the Turkish period, and malaria-infested



FRONTIER CHANGES IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE, 1939-1941

swamps resulted. Slovenia's heights are thickly wooded and her valleys well cultivated. The most fertile regions lie to the north and north-east in the Vojvodina, Slavonia and Northern Serbia, in the valleys of the Danube and its tributaries, the Sava, the Drava and the Morava. Nearly a third of the country is covered with forests, mainly State-owned, and timber for building forms one of the principal exports. Nearly three-quarters of the population are directly dependent on agriculture and forestry for their livelihood, maize and wheat being the principal cereal crops. The peasants eat mainly maize, as it is cheaper than wheat. Sugar-beet, tobacco, hemp, flax, plums, oil-seeds and cotton are also grown. The raising of live-stock, particularly pigs, is an important industry, and about a quarter of the total exports before 1941 consisted of live and slaughtered pigs and cattle. Yugoslavia was the most important producer of minerals in South-East Europe and is thought to be rich in as yet unexplored mineral deposits, particularly in Bosnia. Nevertheless in 1931 only 0.19 per cent of the total population were employed in mining her copper, lead, zinc, bauxite, iron, chrome, antimony, gold, silver and brown coal. Copper, of which about 40,000 tons was produced annually, was her most valuable mineral, but, even so, in 1937 accounted for only 7.8 of the total value of her exports. Owing to the high capital costs of mining and Yugoslavia's own poverty, her principal mines were foreign-owned, the Bor copper mines being French, and the Trepča lead and zinc mines British. The extent to which foreign capital was invested in industry and banking was a source of resentment to many Yugoslavs. Only some 5 per cent of the total population were employed in manufacturing industries before 1931, the majority of these being connected with agriculture. Power for industry is at present very limited, as little coal is available, but the mountains form a potential source of hydro-electric power as yet almost undeveloped, except in Slovenia.

FOREIGN TRADE AND COMMUNICATIONS

While in 1927 Italy and Austria were Yugoslavia's best customers, with Austria and Czechoslovakia first among countries supplying her imports, between 1929 and 1937 Germany had doubled her trade with Yugoslavia, and by 1938, after the incorporation of Austria, she was taking 39.4 per cent of Yugoslavia's total exports, and supplying 42 per cent of her imports. By comparison, the United Kingdom was taking 9.6 per cent of her exports and supplying 8.7 per cent of her imports.

Bad communications have retarded the development of the country. Although there is the Budapest-Istanbul line which traverses

the eastern section of the country, passing through Belgrade and Niš down the Danube and up the Morava valleys, with a branch line down the Vardar valley to the port of Salonika, and other standard gauge lines running from west to east through Ljubljana and Zagreb to Belgrade, and from Zagreb to Sušak and Split on the Adriatic coast, with various additional narrow-gauge lines. The country has no adequate access to ports on the Adriatic, largely owing to its mountainous nature. Owing to the high cost of railway freight the bulk of exports were sent via the Danube, her most important waterway.

THE PEOPLE

The character of the people has been moulded to an unusual degree by history and geography. The Montenegrins and Hercegovinians are tall and stalwart, a race of warriors whose women do most of the manual as well as the domestic labour, existing on a minimum of food. In South Serbia (Macedonia), long subjection to Turkish rule, disease—particularly malaria—and a desperate struggle for existence, combine to make the people among the most backward in the country. The fighting quality and tremendous vitality of the Serbs partly accounts for their dominant position in the Yugoslav State, but their preoccupation with fighting has contributed to deny them the higher standard of culture of the Croats and Slovenes. Serbia has been a country of peasant proprietors ever since the end of Turkish rule, when the estates of the Moslem landlords were divided among the people. Traces of Turkish occupation are not as marked as in Bosnia, where Sarajevo, the capital, has every aspect of a Moslem town, and a large section of the population is in fact Moslem. Many of Croatia's peasants were tenant farmers under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, until the Yugoslav Government distributed the land among them. They are a less vigorous type than their neighbours in Serbia, and their struggle for independence has taken political and legal rather than violent forms. The Dalmatians are a tough, sea-faring race, and the personnel of the Yugoslav navy and merchant service is almost exclusively Dalmatian. The majority of them are Croats, although there are Serbs around Kotor and in the northern hinterland. The Slovenes enjoy the highest literacy rate and general culture of any of the countries of the composite State. Like the Croats, they were mostly tenant farmers before 1918.

Throughout the modern State of Yugoslavia, composed of these diverse peoples, primitive conditions of living are still fairly widespread. Although considerable advance in housing has been made since 1918, in the more remote districts some of the dwellings are little more than hovels shared with the cattle. Belgrade, the capital,

on the other hand, is now a modern city transformed since 1918. The character of a house in Yugoslavia is usually determined by geographical factors and by the race and religion of its inhabitants. Thus, Moslem houses in Bosnia have no windows at ground-floor level on the side facing the street, but have a projecting upper storey to allow space for balconies used by the women. Dalmatian houses, particularly those in towns, show marked Venetian influence. Members of one religion usually live in the same part of the town or village, thus in one village there may be a Moslem quarter, a Serb Orthodox quarter and a Roman Catholic quarter.

The life of the peasant throughout Yugoslavia is steeped in custom and ceremony, often of pagan origin and, in the remoter districts, regulated by superstition and tabu. Although these customs vary according to the locality, they centre on the important events of life, such as birth, marriage and death, the different seasons of the year, and the principal dates in the church's calendar. Thus, as part of the christening ritual in a Bosnian village, the godfather, holding the infant, spits out the devil over the baby towards the assembled company; the bride during the wedding ceremonies in the Krusevać district of Serbia must stand on a handkerchief, turn round three times, pick it up and throw it over her right shoulder to ensure a quick delivery of her first child. Even where, as in Carniola, the wedding ritual survives more from fidelity to custom than from superstitious belief, it is carefully observed in every detail. In some parts of Slovenia the dead are provided with food and wine, which they are thought to need in the next world, and cripples are buried with their crutches for the same reason.

The *zadruga*, or large self-supporting peasant family group, of some hundred people, although now largely obsolete, was once characteristic of most of Serb Yugoslavia.

National costume is still widely worn, although Western dress is being increasingly introduced through contact with the towns. These peasant costumes vary considerably in colour and character according to nationality and district and the status of the wearer. Thus, unmarried girls wear one type of costume, and married women another.

In many of the more remote districts, particularly in Macedonia and Montenegro, women do all the heavy manual labour as well as the domestic work, and are treated as mere chattels. A story is told of a Macedonian woman being sent by her husband to fetch wood when the birth of her infant was imminent. The woman returned carrying the child, on which the irate husband inquired where was the wood. The infant mortality rate in 1938 was 144 per thousand as compared with 55 per thousand in the United Kingdom. Even

this relatively high rate was only achieved after years of work to improve the health of the people by a remarkable man named Dr Štampar, who became head of the Department of Public Hygiene in 1919. In the face of official opposition and the apathy and prejudice of the people themselves, he set up a network of health centres throughout the country, recruited a devoted nursing service on the lines of our own district nurses, installed sanitation where there was none, brought water to villages which had always fetched it from a distance of several miles, planted forests in malarial districts to eliminate swamps, and accomplished untold benefits to the people before official opposition secured his removal from his post in 1930. Yugoslavia is to-day the most over-populated country in South-Eastern Europe, and has the lowest average level of income per head. More than half of the population is illiterate.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Rivalry between France and Italy in the Balkans dominated foreign relations until the rise of German National Socialism in 1933. Italy's ambition to control the Adriatic made her wish for a weak Yugoslavia. To secure this end she supported the irredentist claims of Hungary in the Vojvodina, of Bulgaria in Macedonia, and after 1929 promoted discord within the State by supporting a Croat terrorist movement known as the Ustaši. France, on the other hand, wished to see the Little Entente, promoted by herself as a security measure against Germany and of which Yugoslavia was a member, maintained at full strength. Movement towards a Balkan Federation resulted in the Balkan Pact of 1934,¹ signed by Turkey, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia, which was marred, however, by the abstention of Bulgaria and Albania. The period from 1933 is marked by Germany's increasing control of both the internal and external affairs of the Balkan countries by obtaining a stranglehold on their trade and exploiting their fears of her growing power.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Internal politics from 1921 to 1941 were dominated by the problem of relations between the Serbs and Croats. In 1921 Serbs and Macedonians formed approximately 45 per cent, and Croats 29 per cent of the total population. By a Constitution enacted in June, 1921, Yugoslavia became a unitary State with a constitu-

¹ The Balkan Pact provided for a mutual guarantee by the signatories of the security of all their Balkan frontiers and for joint consultation on the measures to be taken "in the face of eventualities capable of affecting their interests" as defined in the Agreement. No political negotiations with other Balkan States were to be undertaken by any signatory without the consent of the other Contracting Parties.

tional monarchy and a single Chamber of Parliament based on manhood suffrage. Her King was Alexander of the Serb Kara-georgević dynasty. Belgrade became the administrative centre and officials in the new State were preponderantly Serb. Even before the enactment of the Constitution there was opposition from the Croat Peasant Party, representing the vast majority of Croats under its leader Stepan Radić. He at first demanded an independent Croat Republic and later an autonomous Croatia in a federalized Yugoslavia. His party, which won fifty seats out of a total of 399 in the first Constituent Assembly, boycotted Parliament until in 1924 Radić changed his tactics for a policy of cooperation, becoming Minister of Education for a short period. In 1926, however, he resumed his opposition to the Government and the existing régime, his increasingly virulent attacks adding to an already inflammatory atmosphere. In 1928 he and two other Croat deputies were shot in the Skupština (Parliament) by a Government supporter. Radić died shortly after, and parliamentary government broke down. King Alexander, on January 6th, 1929, assumed absolute power under a dictatorship which, in theory, lasted until 1931, when a new Constitution was proclaimed on September 3rd, but in practice this authoritarian rule lasted until his death in 1934. During this period Yugoslavia continued to experience all the terrors of a secret police, and the tortures practised on political prisoners in the special prison in Belgrade rivalled the worst the Nazis have done since. The Communist Party, which had been banned since 1921, gained adherents, especially among young people, because it was already organized as an underground movement. A new Electoral Law passed under the 1931 Constitution resulted in there being a single political party which supported the Government, which in turn was under the close control of the King. In October, 1934, King Alexander was assassinated at Marseilles and, as his successor, King Peter, was only eleven years old, three Regents were appointed, the senior of whom was Prince Paul. No change was made in the Constitution, and the Government, composed of a coalition of the Serbian Government Party, the Catholic Slovenes, and the Bosnian Moslems, known as the Yugoslav Radical Union, under the premiership of Dr Stojadinović, carried out a policy which was far from radical. Meanwhile the Opposition grew in strength under Dr Maček, leader of the Croat Peasant Party and successor to Radić. In October, 1937, the principal Serb and Croat opposition party leaders reached agreement and issued a joint programme.

Germany's increasing stranglehold on Yugoslav trade and her growing military might were met by a policy of appeasement by

Prince Paul, which was bitterly opposed on ideological grounds by the Opposition. In January, 1937, a Pact of Eternal Friendship was signed with Bulgaria, and in March of the same year a Pact of Non-Aggression with Italy. In February, 1939, the unpopular and pro-German Dr Stojadinović lost the premiership, but Prince Paul's policy showed little alteration. Meanwhile the Regent's anxiety to secure unity at home, and if possible to break the joint Serbo-Croat opposition, led him in August, 1939, to concede autonomy to Croatia. Early in 1941 Yugoslavia found herself almost surrounded by territory either under Axis occupation or influence. Pressure was brought on her to sign the Axis Tripartite Pact, and on March 25th, 1941, Prince Paul's policy reached its logical conclusion and Yugoslavia, by her signature, became part of the Axis. Popular reaction was immediate. A *coup d'état* followed on March 27th amid great rejoicing in Belgrade. General Simović headed the new Government and the young King Peter was declared to be of age with full sovereign powers.

THE GERMAN INVASION AND DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY

On April 6th the Germans struck. Belgrade was devastated by air, and German troops invaded Yugoslav territory, meeting little effective opposition. Organized resistance ceased at the end of a fortnight, and the King and Government (with the exception of Dr Maček and four other Ministers) left for London. The country was divided, either as annexed territory or as zones of influence between Germany, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria. Croatia was re-created as an independent State and included, besides most of the originally autonomous areas of Croatia-Slavonia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Srem, and part of Dalmatia. This area and an "independent" kingdom of Montenegro came first under Italian influence, but as Italian prestige declined, control of Croatia passed to Germany. A greatly reduced Serbia, with a puppet Government composed of its own nationals, came under German influence and occupation, while the Banat, with the most productive agricultural land and the largest German minority in Yugoslavia, was administered by the local Germans under Reich German control. Italy annexed Slovenia south of the Sava, part of the Dalmatian coast and islands, and some districts in Montenegro and Southern Serbia were annexed to Italian-controlled Albania. Germany took Slovenia north of the Sava, while Bulgaria seized a strip of Eastern Serbia and nearly the whole of Serbian Macedonia. Hungary took back the rich lands of Baranja and Bačka, together with districts on either side of the River Mur. Germany and Italy pursued a deliberate policy of reviving national and religious differences,

playing off Croat against Serb, and Roman Catholic and Moslem against Orthodox Church. The Germans, judging the Serbs to be their most dangerous enemy, at once instituted in Serbia a régime of ruthless oppression, later massacring the male population of whole villages and exacting the execution of a hundred Serbs for every German killed. Serb minorities in other parts of Yugoslavia were subjected to a policy of extermination or expulsion. The Slovenes suffered mass deportation and Germanization in the north, and although at first conditions in the Italian-occupied area were better, they soon deteriorated. Croatia, where a dictatorial régime had been set up under the Italian-supported terrorist Pavelić and his Ustaša police force, received lenient treatment, as the Germans hoped that by conciliating the Croats they would enlist their support against the Serbs and be able to use the hated Ustaše in place of their own troops. In Italian-annexed Dalmatia the schools, administration and entire public life were Italianized. Resistance was met with deportation and the destruction of villages. Armed resistance in Montenegro made it necessary by July, 1941, for the Italians to substitute for the pretence of independence a military governor carrying out a policy of ruthless repression.

THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

Although the resistance movement in Yugoslavia has been principally associated with the names of Mihajlović and Tito, innumerable small bands, independently organized from a wide variety of motives, erupted throughout the country, particularly in the early stages of the struggle, and have fought as circumstances permitted. The opposition between Mihajlović's Chetniks and Tito's Partisans, which has led to bitter fighting between the two groups, is an extremely complicated issue which has its roots partly in the antagonism between the Serbs and Croats and partly in the widespread hatred among all the nationalities of the pre-1941 régime. Mihajlović, as a Serb and a regular soldier, represents this régime, and until very recently was supported by the émigré Government. From available evidence there seems little doubt that his forces, originally composed of units of the Yugoslav Army, were the first to resist the Germans on an appreciable scale. Mihajlović has adopted a policy of husbanding his ill-equipped forces at all costs until such time as the Allies can render him substantial aid. The extreme form taken by German reprisals on the civilian population, particularly in Serbia, has no doubt influenced this decision. After Russia's entry into the war in June, 1941, Partisan resistance flared up throughout the country, at first in Serbia, then in Montenegro and Bosnia, and later in Croatia, organized principally by the

Communists who were already experienced in underground fighting, but widely supported by the peasants and every shade of opinion. The Partisans under Tito (Josip Broz) have allowed no scruples regarding danger either to the civilian population or to themselves to stand in the way of their constant and tenacious fight against the Germans and Italians. Until the summer of 1943, since when supplies have been reaching Tito from the Allies in increasing quantities, this fight has been carried on in the face of heavy odds, the Partisans having insufficient ammunition and no heavy equipment, while the Germans had every type of armament as well as air support. When the Italian Army disintegrated in September, 1943, and the Germans overran the Italian portions of the country, the Partisans succeeded in holding sections of the Dalmatian coast in the hope of Allied landings, which did not materialize. It was estimated in February, 1944, that the Partisans were engaging fourteen German divisions. In November, 1943, the Partisans set up an Executive National Committee of Liberation to act as a Provisional Government, as they claimed that the existing émigré Government, which had moved to Cairo from London, was exclusively Serbian in outlook and in no way represented opinion inside the country. The Provisional Government, although strongly Left in character, was nationally widely representative. Among its stated aims was a federal constitution, with autonomy for Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia.

In July, 1944, it was announced that King Peter had formed a new Government, consisting of two Serbs, two Croats and two Slovenes, under the premiership of Dr Subasić, a Croat, and which included representation of Marshal Tito. General Mihajlović was not included. This Government on June 16th, 1944, concluded an agreement with Tito's National Committee of Liberation, the principal features of which were the recognition of "the national and democratic achievements" of the Committee by King Peter's Government and an undertaking by the National Committee of Liberation to postpone the issue of the Monarchy until after the liberation of the country.

ALBANIA

THE COUNTRY AND ITS RESOURCES

Albania is bounded on the west by the Adriatic sea, with Greece to the south-east and Yugoslavia to the north and north-east. An alluvial plain, marshy and malarial, varying from ten to forty miles in width, skirts the coast from the north to Valona, where

the Acroceraunian mountains approach the sea. The eastern side of the country is made up of a complicated mountain system of three parallel ranges running from north to south, crisscrossed by other ranges. The southern mountains are generally barer and less rugged than the northern, whose jagged peaks rise above the dense forests of beech, oak and fir, which harbour wolves, wild pigs and bears. Rapidly flowing streams, which are not navigable, cut through the mountains down to the Adriatic. The 1939 Albanian frontier runs through the large lakes of Shkoder (Scutari) in the north, and Ochrida and Presba on the east.

The climate is Mediterranean on the coast and in the plains; where terrific thunderstorms are frequent. In the mountains the winters are severe, and there is a heavy snowfall.

The soil in the plains is fertile, and with proper cultivation might provide for the population, but agricultural methods are primitive, and much potentially good land remains unreclaimed. A beginning had been made with Italian help, even before the annexation of Albania, to develop drainage schemes which would not only increase the area of cultivable land but also make conditions more healthy; there has been a shortage of labour on the plains, as the hillsmen could not endure their unhealthy climate. Much land, in spite of the Agrarian Reform Law of 1930, still remains in the hands of about two hundred large proprietors. The main crops are maize, wheat, barley and oats; and olives, cotton, rice and tobacco are grown. Rice is also imported in considerable quantities, and in a bad year, maize and wheat. Citrus fruits of excellent quality are produced.

In the mountains, where most of the land is owned by the Communes, pastoral farming is the main occupation; sheep, cattle and horses are numerous, and there are very good summer alpine pastures. The abundant forests have not been exploited because of poor communications, and timber has to be imported. The main forest products up to now have been charcoal and firewood.

The important water-power of the country is almost entirely undeveloped. Mineral resources, which are fairly plentiful but of a low grade, have been developed to a certain extent by the Italians, who paid particular attention to the oil supplies. An Italian company built an oil pipe-line to Valona in 1936, but all oil supplies were shipped to Italy for refining, and the promise of the Italian Government to erect a refinery in Albania was never implemented. There are also deposits of asphalt, copper, chrome, iron-pyrites and gypsum. Considerable results were expected from developing these, particularly iron pyrites and chrome.

Industry is practically non-existent, but handicrafts are of great

importance in the remoter districts. Normally more than half Albania's foreign trade has been with Italy, but considerable quantities of goats' milk cheese went to the United States (to be eaten by Albanian and Italian immigrants) and charcoal and live-stock to Yugoslavia and Greece.

Lack of communications, due to the physical structure of the country, have hampered the development of trade and of settled government. A road runs from north to south through the plain, and the principal towns are linked together; roads also go over into Yugoslavia and Greece. The condition of all roads was extremely poor until development was taken in hand by an Italian company in 1927, and after the occupation more new roads were made. Railways did not exist until 1940 when work was begun on a line, Durazzo-Elbasan-Labinoti, mainly to facilitate the exploitation of chrome and iron ore in the Labinoti region. This line was intended to link up at Florina (Greece) with the Monastir-Salonika line.

The coast does not afford really good harbours, the coastline being rocky and precipitous in the south up to Valona, and consisting of mud-flats further north. Of the four main ports Durazzo which serves Tirana, the capital, has been considerably improved by the Italians.

THE PEOPLE

The Albanians are believed to be descended from the Illyrians or from the ancient Thracians who arrived in the Balkans some two hundred years before Christ. They call themselves Shkypetars—the "Children of the Eagle"—and their flag bears a double-headed red eagle on a black ground. Although there has been much racial admixture the national type—tall and slight, with dark eyes—remains well defined, particularly in the north among the Ghegs. The Tosks of the south have many Greek characteristics, and the men of the plains show the effect of years of Turkish rule in an oriental attitude towards life.

The Albanian language, the only survivor of the Thracico-Illyrian group of languages once spoken in the Balkans, contains a large proportion of words from other languages.

There were in 1939 about 100,000 Roman Catholics in the north, 200,000 Orthodox Christians mostly in the south, and 700,000 Moslems scattered all over the country. There is no "State" religion in Albania, and religion takes second place to nationalism. Politically, except for some Moslem fanaticism in the central plains, religion is not important, and Moslems and Catholics intermarry fairly freely. Mention must also be made of the influential Bektashis, a philosophical and broad-minded sect and leaders of nationalism,

who are officially included among the Moslems, though differing widely from them in outlook and creed.

In the northern mountains life is still very primitive. The peasants live even more frugally than their counterparts in other Balkan countries, eating chiefly maize bread. They are divided into a multitude of clans, and used to carry on an energetic and complicated system of blood-feuds which, in the few years preceding the outbreak of war, the police were able to check to a limited extent. The lowlands and south are more orderly. Much of the work in all parts is done by the women since the men consider it beneath their dignity. The south is in many respects the most progressive part of the country, largely due to the presence of small peasant farmers who are returned emigrants from the United States.

There are Albanian minorities in the Balkans, of which the largest are in southern Yugoslavia and in the Ciamura district of Greece. It is interesting to note that numbers of Albanians migrated to southern Italy and Sicily in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to escape Turkish persecution. There is also a considerable colony of Albanians in the United States. In the Khimara district of southern Albania there is a small Greek minority.

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT, 1913-1939

Modern Albania dates from July 29th, 1913, when, at the end of the Balkan Wars, the former Albanian provinces of the Turkish Empire were constituted an autonomous State under the sovereignty of Prince William of Wied. After the last war Albania just escaped partition, Italy's demand for a mandate over Valona and Central Albania was rejected at the Peace Conference, and her troops which were occupying the country were driven out by the Albanians. The Albanian frontiers were settled by the Conference of Ambassadors on November 9th, 1921, after a tug-of-war between Italy and Yugoslavia and a lengthy dispute with Greece. A Delimitation Commission was appointed to see that their decisions were carried out, and their arduous labours lasted until 1923. Henceforth two considerations governed Albanian policy: the need to obtain foreign loans for economic and administrative development, and the maintenance of independence. It was difficult to reconcile these aims and, indeed, by accepting Italian financial aid, the country gradually became an Italian dependency after 1926. The fact that she did not lose her independence until 1939 was due to the importance attached to it by other Powers.

A so-called democratic Government ran the country under a Council of Regency from 1920-1924. A Republic was proclaimed in 1925 after a rebellion led by the exiled Ahmed Bey Zogu, who had

been an outstanding figure in Albanian politics since the Great War, and who became the first President. In September, 1928, he was proclaimed as Zog I, King of the Albanians, by vote of the Constituent Assembly.

The Kingdom of Albania was declared to be a democratic, constitutional and hereditary monarchy, in which the legislative power was vested in the King and a Parliament of one House (fifty-eight members) elected by a vote based on adult suffrage. As was perhaps inevitable in a backward and largely illiterate country, the real power was exercised by the King and his immediate clique.

The most urgent need of the country was law and order, as a first stage on the road to modernization. From 1925 to 1928, military service was instituted and Italian officers took over the training of the Army. The gendarmerie was reorganized under British officers, whose prestige was very high, and the population disarmed as far as possible, and brigandage thereby suppressed. Ministries of Agriculture and Education were set up, and new Penal and Civil Codes came into force.

All this could only be achieved by foreign help and, above all, by foreign money. Italy was the only country willing to supply this, and although King Zog had secured power largely with Yugoslavian help, he found himself later compelled to turn to Italy. As early as March, 1925, a convention was signed to establish the Italian-run National Bank of Albania, through which Italian loans to the Albanian Government were mainly granted. At the same time the S.V.E.A. (Society for the Economic Development of Albania) an Italian company which directed public works and controlled many State enterprises, was founded.

ITALIAN CONTROL AND CONQUEST

In 1926 Zog, faced with a serious rebellion, turned to Mussolini for help, which was secured—at a price. By the Treaty of Tirana Italy acquired the right to intervene in the external or internal relations of Albania whenever the latter so requested. In the following year a Treaty of Defensive Alliance was signed for twenty years. In subsequent years Italo-Albanian relations went through various periods of tension. Particularly from 1932–1934 attempts were made by King Zog to lessen Italy's growing influence; a Customs Union was rejected in 1932, and the King tried to check Italian immigration and to free the Army from Italian control. These efforts were answered by an Italian naval demonstration at Durazzo in June, 1934—a warning which was not unheeded. During 1936–1937 relations became closer again when Italy showed

herself prepared to be accommodating in such matters as repayment of loan capital and interest.

The exact sequence of events leading up to the Italian invasion of April 7th, 1939, is still somewhat obscure, though it appears that King Zog had attempted to resist demands which would increase still further Italy's political and military hold on his country. The occupation was virtually completed within a few days, and on April 14th it was announced that the Italian Government had accepted, on behalf of King Victor Emmanuel, the Albanian crown which had been offered by an Albanian Constituent Assembly on April 12th. In June a new Constitution vested legislative and executive power in the King, with the assistance of a Supreme Fascist Corporative Council. Defence and foreign representation were transferred to Italian control.

The Italian occupation of Albania was certainly undertaken mainly for strategic reasons, to secure control over the Straits of Otranto, and to gain a footing in the Balkans, although Italy no doubt hoped to secure some useful raw materials. By the summer of 1940 it became apparent that she meant to use Albania as a base for an attack on Greece. A campaign on the question of Albania's minorities was launched in the Italian press following on the murder of a notorious Albanian brigand, Daut Hoggia, whom the Italians pretended was a national champion, by two Albanians who were arrested in Greece. Finally Italy delivered an ultimatum to Greece on October 28th, 1940, which was not accepted, and then immediately began an invasion across the Albanian border.¹

Although there was quite a strong pro-Italian faction in Albania and some Albanians, chiefly northern Moslems, fought against Greece, there were many reports of revolts both in northern and southern Albania caused by the requisitioning of cattle and food-stuffs and the attempted imposition of military service, and it was estimated that three or four Italian divisions had to be left to safeguard the Italian rear during the Greek war. When the Greeks turned the tables and began to invade Albania they were welcomed, but with reserve; the southern Orthodox Albanians, who in many ways had the most sympathy with the Greeks, at the same time clung firmly to their independence, and feared that Greece might wish to annex their district. In the south there was no enthusiasm for King Zog, whose supporters had largely come from the central Moslems; and the northern tribes probably rather welcomed any form of disorder, in spite of their strong national feelings.

After Germany came down and crushed Greece, the Italians extended the frontiers of Albania so as to include a considerable area

¹ See p. 56.

of southern Yugoslavia, where there is a large Albanian population. (As a result of this frontier extension the population rose from about 1,000,000 to 1,750,000.) A large part of Greek Epirus was also administered from Tirana, although it was not formally incorporated into Albania. German and Italian propaganda made much of the fact that Albania had at last secured her ethnical frontiers. The problem of the disposal of these territories annexed in 1941 is likely to be a troublesome one at the end of the war. Both Yugoslavia and Greece will reclaim their former territory, and in addition Greece may lay claim to much of southern Albania which is ethnically of a mixed Albanian-Greek origin.

The fear of partition between their old enemies Yugoslavia and Greece after this war has been much present in the minds of Albanians, but the British Government has stated that they wish to see Albania independent, and that "the form of régime and government to be introduced into Albania will be a matter for the Albanian people to decide at the end of the war." Mr Eden, who made this statement on December 17th, 1942, also added that "the question of the frontiers of the Albanian State after the war is a question which will have to be considered at the peace settlement," and this has been endorsed by the Greek, Yugoslavian and Russian Governments. No émigré Government of Albania has been recognized by the Allies. King Zog, who since his flight has lived near London, declared, just after the above statement, that in the event of his return he has given a pledge that his people should have freedom to decide upon the future constitution.

Shevket Verlaci was leader of the first quisling Government (April, 1939, to December, 1941). He was succeeded by Mustafa Merlika Kriya, but his régime, which had gained strength by posing as a champion of Albanian indivisibility, was upset by the Allied declarations mentioned above. Ehrem Libohova, a former Foreign Minister under King Zog, succeeded him.

There is a considerable resistance movement which has carried on guerrilla warfare for some time. By the beginning of 1942 there existed large bands led by Colonel Muharrem Bayraktari, a former gendarmerie officer, who was reported to have established relations with the Serbian Chetniks. The bands grew in number and membership and a General Council of National Liberation was formed of all parties. Besides the group mentioned above there have been particularly active centres of resistance near Tirana under Myslim Paza and in the south under Colonel Bilal Nivica, another ex-gendarme. An Allied Military Mission is working with the guerrillas. Brigadier Davies, its head, was wounded and taken prisoner early in January, 1944, but the Mission is carrying on.

In addition to the activities of the armed bands throughout the countryside many hostile demonstrations and attacks on Axis and quisling officials have occurred in the towns. The Germans, who have controlled Albania since the collapse of Italy, are even more unpopular than the Italians and seem to have few supporters. Attempts to raise an Albanian force for the Russian front produced no volunteers.

The union of the Crowns of Italy and Albania was dissolved by a new Regency-controlled Government which replaced the Italian quisling Government. The new Government declared that Albania considered herself to be a neutral State which was not at war with any belligerent.

GREECE

The mainland of Greece, running down to the Mediterranean, forms the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula. To the north are Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria; to the east Turkey and the Aegean Sea; to the west the Ionian Sea. Many islands fringe the indented coasts; Corfu is the most northerly of these in the Ionian Sea; Crete lies away to the south of the peninsula; and the numerous Cyclades are dotted in the Aegean Sea between the south-east corner of Greece and Asia Minor, forming part of the same system as the Dodecanese Islands, formerly occupied by Italy, off the south-west coast of Turkey. Greece also owns several islands close to the coast of Asia Minor, of which Mitylene and Chios are the largest.

GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

The country is very mountainous. The ranges, which reach in places a height of 7,000 to 9,000 feet, run roughly from north to south, enclosing fertile valleys and plains, the most extensive of which are in Macedonia, Thrace, Thessaly and the Peloponnese. In Northern Greece there are some extensive lakes, which are apt, during the dry season, to shrink and leave malarial marshes. The largest rivers are also found in the north, diminishing to the south, where they are little more than creeks. None are navigable. Many of them flood in the winter, but since the last war drainage schemes have been undertaken to lessen the damage due to this, and also to reclaim the lakes and marshes.

The climate is variable; in the northern and mountainous districts the winter is severe, with much snow and rain, and endures for several months; the maritime regions enjoy a temperate climate,

winter lasting barely from December to March, while the summers are not unduly hot. High temperatures, sometimes well over a hundred degrees Fahrenheit, are experienced in the plains. Rain-fall occurs chiefly in the winter, and is greater in the west than in the east. The skies are rarely cloudy, and the atmosphere is clear. The hills are partly covered with forests of pine, fir and oak; but more of their rocky surface bears scrub or scanty pasture, with a brief, vivid outburst of flowers in the spring.

No description of Greece can omit a mention of the remains of her early greatness which still dominate the countryside. Athens, spread out below the temple-crowned Acropolis, can scarcely fail to be conscious of her past history. Elsewhere, for instance at Olympia, the scene of the ancient Greek Games, or at Epidaurus, with its open-air theatre which astonishes modern architects by the perfection of its acoustics, are monuments which bring visitors from all over the world.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Greece is mainly an agricultural country, although over half the land is sterile. Of the remainder about 18½ per cent is cultivated, the rest being pasture-land and forest. Of the cultivated area some 3 per cent is devoted to vineyards and orchards of olives and fruit, leaving 15 per cent for all other crops. Other Balkan countries have 30-60 per cent of arable land, and export cereals and cattle; Greece normally imports both; her rural population is denser than in the rest of the peninsula and about a third of her inhabitants live in towns. Yet her standard of living was considerably higher than that of her neighbours, thanks largely to the fact that her climate and soil are suited to the production of valuable crops for export, of which the chief are tobacco, currants and raisins, wine, olives and figs. Of these tobacco is the most important, and before the war Germany was by far the largest customer. During the nineteen-thirties there was a great increase in the amount of cotton grown, and it provided material for a substantial cotton industry. The Ministry of Agriculture has done much to increase crop-production by giving instruction in improved methods, providing selected seeds, and encouraging the use of machinery through agricultural co-operative societies; the wheat crop had almost trebled in the ten years before the war. A few years after the last war over 1½ million Greeks came from Asia Minor, and many of them were settled on the land with considerable help from the League of Nations. Sheep and goats in many parts are cared for by nomadic shepherds, particularly in the north; better breeds are raised by the settled farmers, who also rear cattle, pigs and horses.

Greece has a great variety of mineral deposits, but the output is not important in quantity, except for bauxite, nickel and chromite. She produces no coal or oil, though there is some lignite. Although mainly an agricultural country, considerable industrial development has taken place of late years, the principal industries being textile factories, metallurgy and cigarette-making and the preparation of tobacco.

Like Britain, Greece depends largely for her prosperity on her mercantile marine. At the outbreak of war she had nearly 600 steam and motor vessels and over 700 sailing ships, representing a tonnage of more than two million tons, and at present about half that tonnage is sailing under the Greek flag. Sea communications are the chief link not only with the outside world but also between different parts of Greece, since the nature of the country makes internal communications difficult. The Corinth Canal provides a short route for vessels between the Aegean and Ionian Seas. Railways, which are few, connect with the main European system by the line through the Vardar valley from Salonika. Few roads were first-class, though they were being improved, before the war.

THE PEOPLE

The Greeks are of mixed stock, but have succeeded in combining into a united nation. Except for some 80,000 Moslems in Western Thrace, Greece has now no important minorities within her frontiers. The great majority of the people belong to the Greek Orthodox Church, which is the State religion, but complete liberty of worship is allowed to all other sects.

The Greeks are intelligent and hardworking, and have great commercial ability. Life in the towns approaches that of Western Europe in amenities. The peasants live very simply, their food is of the plainest, although most of them can afford wheaten bread, and their houses are small and rough. They are hardy, in spite of malaria and diseases caused by insanitary conditions, which recent Government measures were lessening. Old stories, songs and dances persist to-day, and are a living link with the past. Greeks have a long political memory and combine intense patriotic feelings with considerable intolerance in internal politics.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS SINCE 1919

During the last war Greece observed an uneasy neutrality until 1917, when a revolutionary Government under the leadership of M. Venizelos, Admiral Conduriotes and General Danglis raised an army of volunteers to fight with the Allies. The Central Govern-

ment was overthrown, and King Constantine deposed in favour of his second son, Alexander.

By the abortive Treaty of Sèvres (1920) the greater part of Thrace and also Smyrna and its hinterland in Asia Minor were assigned to Greece, Greek troops having landed at Smyrna in 1919 with the sanction of the Supreme Allied Council. Meanwhile King Alexander had died in 1919, M. Venizelos was defeated at the 1920 elections and King Constantine was recalled. The Allies refused to recognize him, withdrew their financial support, and signified their intention of reconsidering the Treaty of Sèvres. The new régime was unwilling to consider any amendments to the Treaty, and persisted in a campaign which ended disastrously in the capture and sack of Smyrna by the Turks in September, 1922, and the expulsion of 1,400,000 Greeks from Asia Minor. King Constantine abdicated, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the present King George II, but during his reign, which only lasted until December, 1923, the real power had been exercised by the Army, which left an indelible mark on Greek politics by executing five Royalist Ministers whom it held responsible for the defeat in Turkey. On March 25th, 1924, the 103rd anniversary of Greek independence, after years of political upheavals, a Republic was proclaimed, and after yet more troubled years, a new Constitution was eventually drafted and published in 1927, only to undergo many subsequent alterations. Henceforward the Royalist-Republican dispute, embittered by personal jealousies and self-seeking, became the fundamental difference in Greek politics. M. Venizelos, who became Prime Minister in 1928, tended, owing to his long opposition to the King, to be identified with republicanism, although he had no objection to monarchy as such. He remained in control until 1933, when financial difficulties due to a series of bad harvests, and discontent caused by defects and abuses in administration, brought an end to his power. He was more successful as an international statesman—witness the friendship with Turkey established in 1930 and intensified in 1933—than in home politics.

At the elections of 1933 the Populists (Royalists) came into power, with M. Tsaldaris as Prime Minister, and members of the Republican party were gradually ousted from Government posts and the armed forces. This led to a revolt by discontented elements in the Army and Navy in March, 1935, which was easily suppressed by General Kondylis, the War Minister. A vigorous purge of the Government services and the forces followed, and a commission was set up to draft a new Constitution. Before this had produced any result a *coup d'état* in October by army officers obliged M. Tsaldaris to resign, and General Kondylis was appointed Prime Minister and

Regent. A plebiscite was then held on the question of the restoration of the Monarchy, resulting in a 97 per cent vote in its favour, but the plebiscite was undoubtedly stage-managed by the Army.

King George at first tried to rule constitutionally and granted an amnesty to political offenders. He did not reinstate the Republican officers, but he also politely dismissed General Kondylis and asked Professor Demerdjis to form a non-party Government of experts. Unfortunately the various political parties were unwilling to work together, although there was no outstanding political issue except the reinstatement of the Republican officers. Added to this the deaths occurred in quick succession of General Kondylis, M. Venizelos (who, from France, had expressed his goodwill to the King), M. Demerdjis and M. Tsaldaris, the only men of outstanding ability who might have helped the King to maintain constitutional rule. In April, 1936, he called on General Metaxas to form a Government. During the summer there were strikes and other labour troubles, and finally in August General Metaxas was permitted by the King to abolish Parliament, arrest all suspect persons and establish martial law and a strict press censorship.

DICTATORSHIP OF GENERAL METAXAS

General Metaxas received his military training in Germany, and had been pro-German in the last war. He much admired German efficiency, and was himself skilful, intelligent and hard-working, and chose his subordinates for their knowledge and devotion to his policy. His aims were to train and discipline the Greek people and to improve social and economic conditions. He was particularly interested in youth movements, with their emphasis on service to the State. Public works, such as land reclamation and the construction of roads and railways, were prosecuted with renewed vigour, and provisions were made for minimum wage regulations, unemployment insurance, maternity benefits, etc. There was heavy expenditure on the police and rearmament, and fortifications—the Metaxas line—were constructed near the Bulgarian frontier. Order was maintained throughout Greece, but at the expense of liberty, all opposition to the dictatorship being suppressed and political opponents banished to the Greek islands, although Metaxas did not equal the ruthlessness of Mussolini and Hitler in dealing with his enemies. His régime, however, left a legacy of hatred and distrust which is causing bitter dissensions among the Greeks to-day.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

At the outbreak of war the relations between Greece and those countries most closely connected with her were, on the whole,

amicable. The ill-feeling caused by the Turkish war of 1922 and the expulsion of the Asia Minor Greeks had been replaced by most cordial relations. By a Pact signed at Ankara in 1933 the two countries had guaranteed the inviolability of their common frontiers. There still remained some 80,000 Turkish Moslems in Thrace.

Since losing Western Thrace after the last war Bulgaria had always wished to regain direct access to the Aegean Sea, and would have liked a Bulgarian corridor and possession of the port of De-deagach (Alexandropolis) in Western Thrace. This was refused by the Allies at the instance of Greece. An alternative offer of a free zone in the port of Salonika or at Kavalla was not accepted by Bulgaria. Soon after the beginning of the war Bulgaria made a declaration of neutrality which somewhat reassured Greek opinion. Greece and Yugoslavia were on good terms. The Greco-Albanian frontier in the Epirus district was not entirely satisfactory to either country, as the population there is very mixed, but it was not an urgent political issue. After the Italians occupied Albania this question was used by them for propaganda purposes, and magnified quite out of its proper proportion.

Relations with Italy, in spite of protestations of friendship, had not been fundamentally easy for years, and the annexation of Albania in the spring of 1939, and rumours of Italian designs on Corfu, were not reassuring. However in September, 1939, the Greeks and Italians withdrew their respective forces from the Albanian border and reaffirmed the principles which inspired the Pact of Friendship, Conciliation and Judicial Settlement signed at Rome on September 23rd, 1928. The Dodecanese Islands, with Rhodes, were another problem, although lately kept in the background; Turkey objected for strategic reasons to their possession by Italy and Greece, because the majority of their inhabitants were Greek, felt that she had a better right to them than had Italy.

Germany had always been interested in Greece, and had spent large sums on archaeological research and cultural propaganda. Prominent men, such as Goering, Goebbels and Schacht, had recently visited the country, not to mention numerous trade agents and "tourists." Although economically Greece was less important to Germany than were other Balkan countries, Germany had followed her policy of economic penetration with such success that Greek foreign trade was far greater with her than with any other country. Friendship with Great Britain was traditional since the days of Lord Byron and the War of Independence, and also vitally important to Greece, as a maritime country, so long as Britain held naval supremacy in the Mediterranean.

In these circumstances Metaxas felt it best to pursue a policy of

neutrality, though at the same time he took measures to strengthen the defences and make the Greeks realize the possibility of war. Great care was taken to publish news from both sides, and particularly not to offend Italy.

In January, 1940, a financial agreement which gave great satisfaction was signed with Great Britain, whereby Britain agreed to buy the greater part of the tobacco crop. An Economic Conference between the Greeks and the German Government was held in May-June, 1940, and plans made for increased trade quotas from the following September. While this was taking place the whole war situation was changed by the collapse of France and Italy's entry into the war, and the economic value to the Axis of the Balkan countries became secondary to their strategic importance. The Italian occupation of Albania proffered a land route to Salonika and thence to the Middle East, while the Allied position in the Eastern Mediterranean had been greatly weakened by the loss of the French naval forces and by the doubtful attitude of the French troops in Syria.

THE ITALIAN ATTACK IN 1940

In the summer of 1940 Italy started a political campaign against Greece, in which Germany later joined, raking up the old difficulties about the Albanian borders, and accusing Greece of allowing British ships to use Greek territorial waters. In August the Greek cruiser *Helle* was torpedoed off Tinos by what was later proved to be an Italian submarine, Italian planes bombed Greek destroyers, and Italy re-occupied the demilitarized zone on the Albanian frontier. German and Italian demands for special privileges for their nationals and their air-lines increased, and finally at 3 a.m. on October 28th the Italian Minister had General Metaxas awakened in order to present to him an ultimatum, to be accepted within three hours, demanding certain strategic points near Albania. This was rejected, and its presentation reckoned as a declaration of war.

The Greek people forgot all political differences and received the war with the greatest enthusiasm. Their forces were nothing like as strong as those of the enemy. The army, given sufficient equipment, might have been raised to half a million men; the navy was a small, mainly defensive force, which actually did remarkably good work in harrying Italian ships in the Adriatic, and the air force had some 400 planes, of which barely a quarter were up-to-date.

The war started with a forward thrust by Mussolini's "army of Fascist victory" all along the Albanian frontier, but by mid-November the Italian offensive got stuck, and then turned into retreat. The Greeks counter-attacked, and by early December had driven the enemy off Greek soil and then proceeded to push them far

back into Albania. The Greek soldiers, under-equipped and outnumbered, had the advantage of high morale and knowledge of the difficult terrain.

Great Britain had promised military support if Greece should be attacked. Five R.A.F. squadrons were immediately sent, and did very good work. A great convoy bringing guns and supplies reached the Piraeus on January 10th, 1941. United Kingdom and Imperial troops, about 60,000 in all, were also sent, first to Crete and afterwards to the mainland. It must be remembered that General Metaxas still hoped to avoid war with Germany, consequently British help was used in ways which would be the least likely to offend Hitler. Relations with Great Britain remained excellent throughout the war. By sending planes, equipment and troops from Egypt General Wavell had to forgo the position won in the first North African campaign, a fact which the Greek Government always recognized.

GREECE IN THE WAR

On January 29th, 1941, General Metaxas died after a throat operation. He was succeeded as Prime Minister by M. Korizis, the Governor of the National Bank of Greece, who pledged himself to carry on the same policy. By this time it was obvious that only German intervention could save Italy, and German troops were already in Italy and in Bulgaria. In February the Greek Government told the British Government that they would resist German aggression, and combined staff talks later took place in Athens. On April 6th the Germans attacked both Greece and Yugoslavia, and sweeping on with overwhelming strength in planes and armour, reached Salonika on April 10th. The following day they came into contact for the first time with British troops, who offered gallant resistance, but the position was hopeless. The Greek armies in Epirus, under General Tsolakoglu, hemmed in by the Germans and Italians and cut off from the Yugoslav forces, made an unauthorized capitulation. Meanwhile M. Korizis had committed suicide on April 18th, and five days later the King announced that he was moving his Government to Crete. It was decided to carry on the fight there, with General Freyberg as Commander-in-Chief. Already on April 21st the Greek Government had advocated the withdrawal of the Imperial forces from the mainland, since further resistance would only waste valuable lives. Terrific air-attacks and landings of airborne troops quickly made Crete untenable, the troops were evacuated with great difficulty, and the King and his Government went to Cairo.

Immediately after entering Athens the Germans set up a puppet Government under Tsolakoglu, who managed to collect a few sup-

porters. The career of this Government was a sorry one; it utterly failed to induce the people to cooperate with the Germans or to pay any attention to its orders, neither was it capable of opposing Axis demands nor of remedying internal conditions. The Germans and Italians soon began to support different quislings, thus further undermining the puppet Government's authority. In November, 1942, Tsolakoglu resigned and was succeeded by Logothetopoulos, reputed to be a whole-hearted supporter of Germany. His Government resigned in April, 1943, shortly after serious riots in Athens, and John Rallis became Premier.

Greece was occupied by German, Italian and Bulgarian troops, and from the beginning much friction existed between them. In theory, apart from the districts allotted to Bulgaria, the occupation was to be mainly Italian, but large numbers of Germans remained, particularly in the towns, and kept control of communications and airfields, and of the coast-line. As the time for a decisive campaign in North Africa approached Greece became increasingly important as a base, more German troops arrived, and the coast was extensively fortified. After Rommel's offensive in 1942 failed, the morale of the Italian troops in Greece deteriorated badly, having already been much shaken by the activities of the guerrillas. After Mussolini's fall and the subsequent Italian capitulation hostility between Germans and Italians became quite open, many Italian officers and men being disarmed and arrested.

When the Germans attacked Greece the Bulgarians followed on their heels, occupied Macedonia and Thrace without a fight, and finally annexed Western Thrace in October, 1941, although right up to the previous month Filov, the Bulgarian Premier, had promised not to invade Greece. The Germans kept a hold on Salonika but later allowed the Bulgarians to cross the Vardar north of the city. Although there was only a small Slav minority in the occupied districts the Bulgarians proceeded to do everything possible to destroy Greek nationality. Many Greeks were expelled or deported to Bulgaria, surnames had to be given a Bulgarian form and the best land was given to Bulgarians, whilst Greeks had to pay higher taxes and received less rations.

Greece has suffered unparalleled hardships during the occupation. As her industrial production was of little account to the Axis war effort the Germans felt no inducement to import food for useless mouths, and simply said that it was not their responsibility. The food shortage quickly became desperate and, in spite of shipments from Turkey and the United States and Canada which the Allies have allowed to be sent in, thousands have died as a result of starvation. There have been many strikes and bread riots, re-

sulting at times in some slight rise of wages and increased food imports. Diseases, particularly those due to malnutrition, have increased enormously, and also malaria, since quinine, and indeed all medical supplies, are very scarce. Even the children's school-lessons had to be drastically shortened, since they had become too weak to stand long hours. Economically Greece has been chiefly useful to the Axis as a source of labour, both for building roads and fortifications in the country, and for supplying workers for German factories. Both threats and bribes have had little success, however, in persuading people to offer their services, and labour conscription has met with much resistance.

King George II and M. Tsouderos, who became Prime Minister in April, 1941, and remained in office until April, 1944, went from Cairo to London, arriving there in September, 1941. The Greek Government had been re-formed and contained representatives of several parties, and it was then decided that the Cabinet should be divided and that the Prime Minister and the Finance and Labour Ministers should be in London, and the heads of the three services in Cairo, since the Royal Hellenic Forces were being rebuilt in the Middle East. Members of the Greek Air Force were already in the Western Desert in the summer of 1941, and units of the Army appeared there in the summer of 1942 and gave a good account of themselves at Alamein and in Tunisia. The very heavy Greek naval losses have been more than replaced by ships supplied by Great Britain and the United States, with both of whom Greece has Lease-Lend agreements, whilst the Merchant Navy is to-day sailing over 1,000,000 tons of shipping.

THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

Meanwhile in Greece and Crete guerrilla bands have been fighting continuously. They were causing serious trouble to the Italians and Bulgarians as early as the autumn of 1941. In the following summer the Allies began actively to coordinate this resistance movement through British officers who were introduced to the country from time to time. They found countless guerrilla bands, of which the largest was the E.L.A.S. (National Popular Liberation Front) under Colonel Sarafis, which was controlled by the E.A.M. (National Liberation Movement) a Left Wing political organization which had formerly opposed Metaxas. Other large bodies are the E.D.E.S. (National Democratic Greek Army) under Colonel Zervas who professes Republican principles, and the E.K.K.A. (National Movement of Social Progress). These various forces worked in fair harmony for some time, attacking strategic points such as the Athens-Salonika railway, which they rendered useless for a time,

and almost driving the Germans and Italians out of many country districts. Differences arose between them, however, particularly when, after the Italian collapse, E.A.M. secured the lion's share of abandoned Italian arms, and fighting actually occurred between the forces of E.A.M. and E.D.E.S. during the autumn and winter of 1943-1944. British liaison officers did their best to reconcile them, but it was not until February, 1944, that any settlement was reached. These quarrels, skilfully fomented by the Germans, caused great hardship to the civil population. The distribution of food was hampered, and the Germans were able in places to form "security battalions" of Greeks (who in their turn terrorized the countryside) to combat the guerrilla excesses. At the same time the reprisals for guerrilla activities grew even more barbarous.

The guerrilla disputes were only one of the political difficulties in the Greek camp. The whole problem of the present and future form of the Greek Government became increasingly urgent after the successes in North Africa seemed to bring the end of the war much closer, while the subsequent failure of the Allies to gain control of the Aegean in the autumn of 1943 caused some bitterness and disappointment. The King returned from London to Cairo in March, 1943. In the following September six guerrilla representatives visited Cairo to ask that three members of the resistance movements should be included in the Greek Government, and that King George should undertake not to return to Greece until a plebiscite had been held to determine the future of the Monarchy. Their demands were refused. It became, however, increasingly clear that many members of the Royal Hellenic Forces and other Greeks were in sympathy with these demands. A Political Committee of National Liberation was set up in March, 1944, by E.A.M. and E.L.A.S., and on March 31st certain Greek officers strongly urged M. Tsouderos to form a Government of National Unity based on this Committee. They were arrested. This was followed by the mutiny of the 1st Greek Brigade and by a large proportion of the Greek Navy. The Greek Brigade was encircled and finally assaulted by British troops, when 4,000 men surrendered and were interned, and after three weeks of futile negotiations the naval mutiny was quelled by Greek naval forces. Meanwhile the Greek King, who had been in London, returned to Cairo, and issued a statement promising to submit freely to the judgment of the Greek people when the enemy had been expelled from Greece. M. Tsouderos, whose efforts to arrange a meeting of representatives of Greek opinion were unsuccessful, resigned, and after a brief interlude when M. Sophocles Venizelos, son of the old Republican statesman, held office, the King asked M. George Papandreou to

form a Government. M. Papandreou was the leader of the small Greek Social Democratic party and had been exiled by Metaxas; he had only recently arrived from Athens, where, though he had taken no active part in guerrilla warfare, he had promoted the resistance movement. He was not widely known, and was reported not to enjoy the confidence of E.A.M.

M. Papandreou's task was to bridge the gap between the bulk of the Greek people in Greece—themselves split by many factions—and the émigré Government, the armed forces and other Greeks at present residing outside Greece. In May he presided over a Conference in the Lebanon, to which came delegates from E.A.M. and the other guerrilla bands, and from the old Greek political parties, and certain Greeks who had for some time been in the Middle East. After a four-day meeting the twenty-five delegates passed a unanimous resolution in favour of cooperation with M. Papandreou and accepted the five points of a National Charter which he outlined as follows:

1. The reformation and disciplining of the Greek armed forces in the Middle East; "from the day of the formation of the National Unity Government . . . military discipline shall be merciless, and political views may not exist in the army."

2. The unification and disciplining of all the guerrilla bands of Greece.

3. The suppression of terrorism throughout Greece and the return of the Government to Greece as early as possible.

4. Continued planning for the dispatch of food and medicine to all parts of Greece.

5. A guarantee of order and liberty during the coming liberation of Greece "so that, free from material and moral compulsion . . ." Greeks "may express their sovereign will about the constitution, social order and government."

After the Conference M. Papandreou was entrusted by the King with the formation of a new Government of National Unity. After some delay a new Cabinet was sworn in on June 8th, two days after the Allied invasion of France, with M. Papandreou as Prime Minister and M. Sophocles Venizelos as Deputy Prime Minister. The Cabinet consisted of representatives of many political parties, but not of E.A.M. nor of the Communist Party.¹ Towards the end of August E.A.M. agreed to join the Cairo Government and on September 2nd 1944 the Prime Minister announced the inclusion of representatives of all parties in his Government.

¹ M. Venizelos resigned on August 30th.

BULGARIA

Bulgaria is a land of poor hard-working peasants who have little of the glamour of their more volatile Rumanian and Greek neighbours. The country lies between the Danube and the Rhodope Mountains and extends from the high mountains west of the Struma valley to the Black Sea coast. Part of the southern frontier adjoins European Turkey but it includes no section of the Aegean coast for the narrow plain of Western Thrace between the Rhodopes and the Aegean belongs to Greece. These were the pre-war frontiers of Bulgaria; an account of her expansions during the war at the expense of her neighbours will be given later.

Bulgaria is on the whole less mountainous than the other countries of the South Balkans. There are high mountains in the west and south-west along the Yugoslav border and the Balkan range runs like a spine down the centre of the country, but the wide plain south of the Danube and the valley of the River Maritza, as well as the flat country along the Black Sea coast, provide fertile agricultural land. Even so, only about 40 per cent of her total area can be used for agriculture. In an area of about 40,000 square miles, Bulgaria has a population of some 6 million, of whom 83 per cent are members of the Orthodox Church and 14 per cent Moslems. The people are a blend of two main elements, a conquering Turki tribe, the Bulgars, and the previous inhabitants, mainly Slavs. The language is definitely Slav, though a large part of the Moslem minority (a relic of centuries of Turkish rule) is Turkish-speaking.

HISTORY

Bulgaria was only the fourth of the Balkan States to be liberated from Turkish rule. Russia, who had always taken a great interest in the Bulgarian Slavs and to whom the mass of the Bulgarian peasants looked as their natural protector, was anxious to create a Great Bulgaria under Russian influence, but her efforts to achieve this by the Treaty of San Stefano in 1877 were thwarted by the Western Powers. The Congress of Berlin therefore in the following year erected an independent Principality in the northern part of Bulgaria and left the southern half, known as Eastern Rumelia, as an autonomous State under a Turkish Governor. In 1855 Eastern Rumelia threw off its Governor and joined Bulgaria but it was not until 1908, and this time with Austrian rather than Russian encouragement, that the Bulgarian Prince proclaimed himself Tsar of all the Bulgars and completely independent of Turkey.

TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS

All indications, at the time when she gained her independence, pointed to Bulgaria's developing into a prosperous State, but the

tragedy of modern Bulgaria has lain in her inordinate national ambition. She has always wished to extend her frontiers, and in particular to possess the much disputed territory of Macedonia, which would give her an outlet to the Aegean Sea. Macedonia stretches from Lake Ochrida in the southern corner of Yugoslavia to the Pirin mountain massif in the east and from Skolpje in the north to Salonika in the south. Its people are a mixture of all the Balkan races, claimed by the Bulgars as predominantly Bulgarian and by the Serbs as predominantly Serb. Balkan politics of the last fifty years have centred mainly round the disputed possession of this region. In 1912 the four Balkan States joined together to wrest it from Turkey, but they quarrelled over its division and the following year Bulgaria found herself at war with the other three States. By the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913 Bulgaria was forced to surrender North Macedonia to Serbia and South Macedonia and Salonika to Greece, while she only retained a seventy-mile strip of the Aegean coast, excluding the port of Kavalla. Moreover she had to abandon the area of the South Dobruja on the Black Sea coast to Rumania.

Bulgaria's losses of territory were as nothing compared with the bitter hatred of her Balkan neighbours engendered by the Macedonian issue. She felt humiliated and outraged and in 1915 sought her revenge in alliance with Turkey and the Central Powers. All hopes of revenge proved vain however, the Bulgarians were routed in 1918, and the Treaty of Neuilly in 1919 forced her to abandon all claims to Macedonia, except for a section of the Pirin in the east, and all territory on the Aegean coast. Considerable reparations to her Balkan neighbours and restrictions on her armaments were also enforced.

Like Germany, Bulgaria was faced with grave difficulties after the last war, for she was bankrupt, politically and economically. All the foreign ambitions on which she had spent her man-power and economic wealth had come to nothing and instead her neighbours had been given important groups of Bulgarian people, those in Thrace to Greece, those in the Tsaribrod, Strumitsa and Bosilegrad districts of Western Macedonia to Serbia, and those in the South Dobruja to Rumania, while there were large numbers of Bulgarian refugees from these areas homeless and unsettled in Bulgaria herself.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR LIVELIHOOD

Bulgaria is essentially a peasant country, a land of farms, with no great mineral deposits and no large manufacturing towns. Eighty per cent of the people are normally engaged in agriculture, most of them being small proprietors holding from one to six acres, and the large majority live in the 100-mile wide strip of fertile

plain south of the Danube. There are really only two classes in Bulgaria, the peasant small-holders and the bourgeoisie of the towns, but none of the towns, not even the capital, Sofia, is very large. There has never been any great landlord class in Bulgaria, and the land reform which took place after the last war consisted largely of the distribution of Crown lands among Bulgarian refugees who returned from neighbouring countries. There is a considerable social cleavage, however, between the poor peasants in their primitive villages and the more advanced bourgeoisie of the towns, although this cleavage is perhaps less marked than in other Balkan States. In spite of provision for compulsory free education for children up to the age of 14, considerable illiteracy and very backward ways of life prevail in the countryside.

Though much of its soil is fertile, Bulgaria is a very poor country, largely as a result of the dissipation of its economic resources in war and the failure of its Governments to deal with economic crises. Like all Balkan countries, Bulgaria is over-populated and it would seem difficult to raise the standard of living as a whole unless some reforms of its economy are undertaken. The absence of modern mechanized methods of agriculture makes it impossible for the peasants, in spite of their hard work, to gain more than an extremely frugal livelihood. Since 1918 a change has been made towards more "intensive" agriculture in an attempt to increase the wealth of the country. The main agricultural products are tobacco, cereals, fruit and vegetables, cotton, oil-seeds, poultry and eggs; tobacco has come to take an increasingly important place among Bulgarian exports. Apart from the fertility of the soil, coal is the chief natural resource, and there are also small deposits of iron, copper and zinc. But only a few industries have been established, and produce mainly local consumers' goods such as poor quality cotton and woollen cloth, shoes, cigarettes, beer and soap; one of the most successful local industries is devoted to the production of attar of roses. The prices of manufactured goods are fairly high, however, and most of them have to be imported. It is not likely that an intensive policy of industrialization would solve Bulgaria's social and economic problems. There are hardly the natural resources for such industrialization, and in any case it would provide a very artificial economy for a land whose people are essentially peasants. The modernization of agricultural methods and the fostering of small industries to use local products and absorb the seasonal unemployment would probably best further the country's prosperity.

The cooperative system has done much to assist the peasant farmers in Bulgaria. In 1934 the Government amalgamated the

Central Co-operative Bank with the State Agricultural Bank to form the Agricultural and Co-operative Bank, and this institution forms the main instrument of the Government's direction of agriculture. The disastrous state of Bulgarian economic life at the end of the last war, when her national debt equalled the total wealth of the country, and the economic crisis during the early nineteen-thirties necessitated an extensive State control to maintain a balanced economy. The State controls all exports and imports, the Agricultural and Co-operative Bank holds about three-quarters of all bank deposits, agricultural prices are controlled and subsidized if necessary by the State, and in the industrial sphere the Minister of Industry, in order to prevent over-production, is empowered to declare an industry "saturated" and to forbid new entrants.

FOREIGN TRADE

Before 1933 about a quarter of Bulgaria's foreign trade was with Germany and since then it rapidly increased, until by April, 1940, 89 per cent of her exports were sent to Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and 66 per cent of her imports came from Germany. Nazi Germany was prepared to buy everything Bulgaria was willing to sell and agreed to supply her in return with raw materials such as cotton and "colonial products," mainly coffee. Germany encouraged the cultivation of soya beans and oil-seeds in Bulgaria and was willing to take almost all her tobacco crop. Germany's purchases were made at fixed prices at rates of exchange fixed by clearing agreements, but Bulgaria preferred to receive free exchange for her wheat and up to 1938 sold little to Germany. The trend of her trade policy was towards increasing dependence on Germany, however, and in the absence of alternative markets she could not escape the German stranglehold on the economy of South-Eastern Europe. Her credit balance with Germany increased and could only be reduced by accepting German manufactured goods, mainly armaments. This supply of manufactured goods which Bulgaria had previously bought elsewhere, virtually cut her off from other than German trade; and though her guaranteed markets in Germany brought her relative prosperity, in effect they bound her more and more closely to the German economic system. When Bulgaria joined the Axis cause in 1941 her economy was completely subordinated to German war needs.

Communications have been improved since 1918 but Bulgarian roads on the whole are extremely poor. The railway system is not very extensive but Sofia forms an important railway centre on the main line from Central Europe to Istanbul. The Bulgarian railway network is now of immense strategic importance to the Germans for

supplying their troops in the Balkans, and Sofia is one of the key points in this system.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Since 1886 Bulgaria has been ruled by members of the house of Coburg. King Ferdinand was driven into exile by the defeat of the last war and was succeeded by his son Boris III. The constitution prescribes government by a Cabinet of Ministers responsible to a single Chamber, the Sobranye, elected by universal adult suffrage. Democratic government has never really worked in Bulgaria however, but has always led to an orgy of party and personal politics which must be crushed by a military or royal dictatorship. The root of the failure of democratic government lies in the peculiar nature of Bulgarian society and the fundamental clash of interests between the peasant masses and the more advanced bourgeoisie of the towns and the Army. Moreover internal politics since 1918 were for long complicated by the activities of the terrorist organization, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization.

As might be expected in a predominantly agricultural country, the peasants' party or Agrarian League was an important political party but only during the four years 1919-1923, when its leader, Alexander Stambuliski, was Prime Minister, did agrarian interests play a dominant part in determining Government policy. This Government inevitably heightened the antagonism between town and country, while the Macedonian revolutionaries were violently opposed to its policy of collaboration with Yugoslavia. The success of the Agrarian League in the 1923 elections convinced the Opposition that they could never combat the sheer voting power of the peasant masses by constitutional means. A *coup d'état* was therefore carried out by the professional and Army officer class. Stambuliski was murdered and a violent campaign against the Agrarians and Communists followed. The interests of the peasant masses were never to be allowed another chance to dominate Government policy.

An era of party and personal politics followed, during which the country was governed by a series of coalition Governments. The inability of these Governments to deal with the economic crisis of the early nineteen-twenties was accompanied by their failure to check the activities of the Macedonian terrorists. Their raids into Greece and Yugoslavia were an international as well as an internal scandal, and by 1934 it became essential to rescue the country from the inefficiency and terrorism of the previous ten years.

In May, 1934, therefore a second *coup d'état* was executed by the Army leaders of the Military League under Colonel Veltcheff and a

small group of political reformers, the Zveno, under Colonel Gheorghieff. Both the military and civil group were anxious to abolish the inefficiency of party rule and desired to establish a corporative State with a strong Government capable of dealing with the political and economic crisis. Parliament was dismissed, the political parties dissolved, and a strict censorship imposed on the Press; moreover the I.M.R.O. was crushed. But the military dictatorship proved as incapable as previous Governments of dealing with the economic crisis; it also found difficulty in substituting a new constitution in place of the democratic régime.

By 1935 the Army was tired of its political responsibilities. The King had managed to extricate himself successfully from the previous political tangles and in April, 1935, he took over from the Army the direction of Government policy, and was henceforth to be the dominating personality in Bulgarian politics. He was faced with the difficulty of healing the rift between the various elements in the country, between the Army, which opposed any return to party politics, and the mass of the people who desired a return to representative government. Moreover his attempts to return to constitutional government were opposed not only by the Army but also by the Right Wing National and Social Movement of Prof. Tsanhoff, which advocated a Fascist Government with the King at the head. Boris resisted all attempts to establish such a Government however. By a decree of 1937 he restored a form of parliamentary government, but with considerable restrictions on electoral freedom. The reconstitution of the former political parties was not allowed, and though a coalition of the former Agrarian, Liberal, Radical Socialist and Democratic parties formed a considerable opposition in the Sobranye, he was able more or less to impose his will in government policy.

FOREIGN POLICY

Bulgaria's foreign policy since 1918 has been that of a dissatisfied "have not" State, anxious to reverse the settlement of the Treaties of Bucharest and of Neuilly. Her first desire was to obtain Macedonia, her second to regain an outlet to the Aegean, her third to retrieve the South Dobruja. These revisionist aims were sponsored by the dissatisfied Great Powers, particularly by Italy, and were frowned upon by France and Britain. They caused her constantly to put a spoke in the wheel of Balkan unity and embittered her relations with her Balkan neighbours. Bulgars and Serbs have been rivals ever since the Middle Ages, and though there were Bulgarian statesmen like Stambuliski who realized the need for peace with Yugoslavia, fanatical Bulgarian nationalists, and particularly the I.M.R.O., always resisted any acceptance of the loss of Mace-

donia. With regard to Greece, Bulgaria maintained a consistent, unaccommodating attitude in the face of Greek offers of a free zone in Salonika or Dedeagach to provide her with an outlet to the Aegean, though an exchange of populations did much to solve the problem of the Bulgarian minority in Thrace. In relations with Rumania, Bulgarian politicians repeatedly protested against the treatment of the Bulgarians in the Dobruja. Bulgarian relations with Turkey were better than with her other neighbours, since she abandoned all hope of regaining Adrianople and Lule Burgas, recaptured by Turkey during the second Balkan War in 1913; in 1925 she signed a Pact of Friendship with Turkey, which remained for over ten years her only pact with any of her neighbours.

Bulgaria refused to join the Balkan Pact of 1934, since she would not abandon her revisionist claims. But in January, 1937, under the influence of German diplomacy which desired to break up the Little Entente by creating a Southern Slav *bloc*, she signed a Pact of Perpetual Friendship with Yugoslavia. This revolutionary step in her foreign policy was followed in July, 1938, by a Non-Aggression Pact with the Balkan Entente, whereby her right to rearm was allowed, while, without formally accepting the existing frontiers, she undertook not to change them by force.

RELATIONS WITH HER NEIGHBOURS DURING THE WAR

The example of Germany's successful expansion into Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1939 considerably modified this accommodating attitude, and the outbreak of war found her as intensely revisionist as ever. She was determined this time to remain neutral, however, and declared her intention to act as "a loyal member of the Balkan family of nations." But following Russia's re-entry into Bessarabia, the Bulgarian Government on July 16th, 1940, protested against the Rumanian treatment of their minority in the South Dobruja. The Rumanians agreed to the establishment of a commission to inquire into the question and ultimately agreed on August 21st to the cession of the territory to Bulgaria.

Bulgaria's attitude to the war reveals the fundamental clash of interests between the ruling class and the peasant masses. Germany had always sympathized with Bulgaria's revisionist aims as a means of preventing Balkan unity. Moreover Germany was Bulgaria's best customer, and even the peasants were won over at first by their guaranteed markets in Germany, while the Army officers were loud in their praise of German military efficiency. But the mass of the peasant population were pro-Russian by sentiment, race and tradition, though they were earlier by no means pro-Communist. The King and Government on the other hand feared the extension of

ssian influence into the Balkans and desired to remain independent of both Great Powers. Bulgaria was at first well disposed towards Germany, particularly while Germany was allied with Russia, but in November, 1940, she refused to join the Tripartite Pact. The following spring stronger German pressure was brought to bear; the Germans were by then firmly in control of Rumania and were ready to pour across the Danube and through Bulgaria into Greece. On March 1st, 1941, the Bulgarian Government signed the Tripartite Pact and a little over a month later Bulgarian troops had invaded Greece and Yugoslavia in the wake of the German armies and had been given by Germany the task of occupying most of Macedonia and Thrace.

Thus with practically no spilling of Bulgarian blood all her revisionist aims had been secured. But the Bulgarian people viewed their alliance with the Germans with grave apprehension since they always had only one wish, to keep out of the conflict. The pro-Russian sentiments of the rank and file of the Army served as an excuse for not entering the war against Russia, but the policy of Bulgarization and terrorization which has been undertaken in Macedonia and Thrace has roused the hatred of the Greek and Yugoslav peoples and the Bulgarian occupying troops have been constantly harried by partisan activities. Moreover the conversion of Bulgaria into a German base inevitably led to a declaration of war by Britain and the United States at the end of 1941, and Sofia and other Bulgarian towns and railway centres became targets for Allied bombing.

The Bulgarian people have suffered heavily from the use of their country as a German base, and Bulgarian agriculture has been more and more exploited for German purposes. As early as April, 1940, two meatless days a week had been imposed in order to send more supplies to Germany, and by the following April all essential food-stuffs and other goods, like leather and wool, were strictly rationed. There has been an acute shortage of fuel, since all available supplies have been sent to Germany. Widespread unrest resulted early from the people's hatred of the Germans, and acts of sabotage became more and more numerous. This has been followed by mass arrests and executions by the Gestapo and the police and by an increasingly dictatorial attitude on the part of the Government.

The position of King Boris and his Government became increasingly precarious as the war progressed; on the one hand the King was threatened with a complete German occupation of the country if he resisted the German demands, and on the other with a revolution if he gave way to these demands in the face of popular opposition. His sudden death on August 28th, 1943,

sitated the appointment of a Council of Regency for his six-year-old son, Simeon. This Council of Regency, consisting of Prince Cyril, the former Prime Minister Filov, and the former War Minister Michov, was regarded as predominantly pro-German in sympathy, but the turn of the war against Germany caused the Bulgarian Government to try and make a separate peace. After prolonged negotiations, in which Bulgaria attempted to adopt a position of neutrality, Russia declared war against her on September 5th, 1944. The Bulgarian Government asked for an armistice on the following day and on September 8th, 1944, declared war on Germany.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

GENERAL

- Macartney, C. A.: *THE DANUBIAN BASIN*. (Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. 10.) 1939. Oxford University Press. 6d.
- Macartney, C. A.: *NATIONAL STATES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES*. 1934. Oxford University Press for R.I.I.A. 18s.
- Macartney, C. A.: *PROBLEMS OF THE DANUBE BASIN*. (Current Problems, No. 13.) 1942. Cambridge University Press. 3s. 6d.
- OCCUPIED EUROPE*. 1944. R.I.I.A. 1s. 6d.
- AGRARIAN PROBLEMS FROM THE BALTIC TO THE AEGEAN*. Discussion of a Peasant Programme. 1944. R.I.I.A. 3s.
- Wanklyn, H. G.: *THE EASTERN MARCHLANDS OF EUROPE*. 1941. Philip. 12s. 6d. (Part III: The Danube Lands.)
- Warriner, D.: *ECONOMICS OF PEASANT FARMING*. 1939. Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d.
- Yates, P. L., and Warriner, D.: *FOOD AND FARMING IN POST-WAR EUROPE*. (World Today Series.) 1943. Oxford University Press, 3s. 6d.

HUNGARY

- League of Nations: *EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON RURAL LIFE. HUNGARY*. 1939. 1s. 6d. (Illustrated monograph.)
- Macartney, C. A.: *HUNGARY*. (Modern World Series.) 1934. Benn. 21s.
- Macartney, C. A.: *HUNGARY AND HER SUCCESSORS*. 1937. Oxford University Press for R.I.I.A. 25s.
- Mende, T.: *HUNGARY*. (Crossroads Series.) 1944. Macdonald. 5s.

RUMANIA

- Logio, G. C.: *RUMANIA, ITS HISTORY, POLITICS AND ECONOMICS*. 1932. Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes. 6s.
- Seton-Watson, R. W.: *A HISTORY OF THE RUMANIANS FROM ROMAN TIMES TO THE COMPLETION OF UNITY*. 1934. Oxford University Press. 25s.

YUGOSLAVIA

- Adamic, L.: *THE NATIVES RETURN*. 1934. Gollancz. 12s. 6d.
- Hogg, R. D.: *YUGOSLAVIA*. (Crossroads Series.) 1943. Macdonald. 5s.
- League of Nations: *EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON RURAL LIFE. YUGOSLAVIA*. 1939. 1s. 6d. (Illustrated monograph.)

ALBANIA

- Robinson, V.: *ALBANIA'S ROAD TO FREEDOM*. 1941. Allen and Unwin. 15s.
- Swire, J.: *KING ZOG'S ALBANIA*. 1937. Hale. 12s. 6d.

GREECE

- Caclamanos, D.: *GREECE*. (Crossroads Series.) 1943. Macdonald. 5s.
- Kenzie, C.: *THE WIND OF FREEDOM, THE HISTORY OF THE INVASION OF GREECE BY THE AXIS POWERS, 1940-1941*. 1943. Chatto and Windus. 15s.
- in the Dilyss: REMEMBER GREECE*. 1941. Hodder and Stoughton. 7s. 6d.

BULGARIA

- League of Nations: *EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON RURAL LIFE. BULGARIA*. 1939. 1s. 6d. (Illustrated monograph.)
- King, G. C.: *BULGARIA, PAST AND PRESENT*. 1936. Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes. 12s. 6d.
- J.: *BULGARIAN CONSPIRACY*. 1939. Hale. 12s. 6d.