HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

PERSECUTION OF MAGYARS AND SLOVAKS

The policy of the "strong hand" resorted to by the Czecho-Slovak Government against the opposition parties and the national minorities during the past year, with a ruthlessness reminiscent of the first years following the formation of the State, is even now flagrantly in force in the provinces of Slovakia and Ruthenia torn away from Hungary.

In the year 1933 the laws enacted for the strict repression of dissatisfaction (dissolution of parties, tightening up of the standing orders of Parliament, confirmation by Government of the election of communal elders, increasing severity of the Law on the Protection of the Republic) failed to serve the desired purpose. For this reason the Government caused Parliament to pass a bill making the law on the Protection of the Republic even more strict, that Law, among other things, extending to six months the period for which the prohibition of newspapers once prohibited is possible. The plain object of the new law is to gag the press organs fighting for the rights of the national minorities, rights secured to them in international agreements. It is unnecessary to explain further that the stoppage of a newspaper for six months means its complete material ruin.

During the past few months in other ways also the Czecho-Slovak authorities have done everything in their power to terrorise the minority press, especially that run by Magyars. The confiscation of Magyar periodicals is ever on the increase. In the little city of Rozsnyó (Rožuava) alone three Magyar papers ("*Sajó Vidék*", "*Rozsnyói Hirlap*", "*A mi Ujságunk*") have been stopped. Proceedings have been taken on the basis of the law for the Protection of the Republic, against *Edmund Tarján*, publisher of the Prague Magyar Hirlap, the greatest Magyar Minority daily. *Elias Köves*, proprietor of the "*Kassai Ujság*", has been under arrest for months, cause unknown. *Aladár R. Vozáry*, editor of the "*Őslakó*", a daily published at Munkács (Mukacevo), under the pretext that he failed to denounce a crime infringing the law for the Protection of the Republic, but without any suitable legal basis, was sentenced to eight months confinement.

Spy hysteria has grown to such proportions that no Hungarian, however innocent, can be sure that he will not be imprisoned for several months. Very characteristic in this respect is the case of *Nicholas Rábely*, a bookseller in Rimaszombat (Rimovska Sobota) who was detained for nearly a year until the magistrate was compelled to declare him innocent. *John Pecsenye*, an engine-driver of Orló, according to the statement of the "Lidové Noviny" (February 2nd.), a paper which generally supports Beneš, was arrested on a charge of spying merely because he distributed Hungarian Levente cigarettes among his friends and because his passport showed that he had frequently been to Hungary. It may be mentioned here that members of the Hungarian Levente Association (a physical culture organisation) who happen to cross the Czecho-Slovak frontier, are immediately arrested and deprived of their liberty, often for years, while in Hungary no one thinks of molesting the members of the Czech Sokol, a similar association.

In spite of the boasted Czecho-Slovak national unity, the Slovaks are scarcely treated more leniently. *Louis Bazovsky*, the first Czecho-Slovak zsupan (sheriff) of Nógrad County (Novokrad), with several of his companions, has been languishing in prison for the past 10 months on the charge of correspondence with foreigners for the purpose of preparing the rupture of Slovensko and its eventual restoration to Hungary.

The Divisional Court of Pozsony, on 28th. May, sentenced a shopkeeper of Zohor named *Vendel Kratochvil* and his six companions to periods of imprisonment ranging from 3 months to one year on the charge of distributing the anti-Czech Slovak newspaper, "*Rakusky Slovák*", published in Vienna, and other printed matter prejudicial to the State; furthermore for having maintained relations with Professor *Francis Jehlička*, the leader of the Slovak refugees, and for having made anti-Czech statements and glorified Professor Béla Tuka, who, as is well known, was sentenced to 15 years' hard labour in 1929 for his autonomist feelings. For distributing Jehlicka's circulars *Dobrota*, a farmer of Klenóc, was also sentenced to one month's imprisonment. Very shortly will be held the trial in the political action against 50 Slovak autonomists, on charges arising out of the events which took place last year at Nyitra on the occasion of the Pribina celebrations. On 15th August 1933, the Slovak autonomists, in the presence of many members of the Government, foreign diplomats and prelates, at the festival arranged in honour of that figure of the Slovak heroic saga, insisted that their leader Andreas Hlinka should address the people before M. Malypetr, the Prime Minister.

The Slovak Press also is persecuted to a great extent. No fewer than 70 criminal actions have been taken against the "Slovak", the organ of the autonomist Slovak people's party. This paper as a matter of fact was prohibited for three months after the affair at Nyitra. *Charles Sidor*, the editor, was sentenced on 1st. June by the Divisional Court of Pozsony to one month's imprisonment for one of his articles in which he referred to the letter sent on 20th September 1933 by the papal nuncio Ciriacci (who since then has ostentatiously left Prague) to Hlinka, a letter in which he spoke of the noble Slovak nation (generosa gens slovaca). Recently the paper entitled "*Nástup*" of the younger section of the Hlinka party was prohibited for critisising very sharply the Czech system.

Even the record of the events of the past few weeks, though we may ignore them as a whole, throws sufficient light — we believe — upon the great dissatisfaction of the Slovak and Magyar population of Slovakia with the Czech system and upon the terroristic methods by which the Prague Government seeks to repress the dissatisfaction. The statements made under constraint by certain leaders of the Slovak people should deceive nobody, since against these declarations we may set that of Andreas Hlinka, in which he said: "We shall remain Slovaks even at the price of destroying the Republic. Our programme is the sovereignty of the Slovak nation and an autonomous Slovakia with legislative and executive powers". ("*Lidové Noviny*", 22nd. February). The real feeling in the territory severed from Hungary is also strikingly illustrated by the fact that on 24th. May, when the Prague National Assembly elected Masaryk as President for the fourth time, the majority of the members and senators of Slovensko and Russinsko (54 out of 96) abstained from voting for Masaryk.

In Prague also people are beginning to find out that the maintenance of the system hitherto adhered to must necessarily lead sooner or later to the downfall of the Republic, for it is after all impossible that in a State half of whose population consists of non-Czech nationalities (Germans, Magyars, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Poles) not one of those nationalities should feel at home. In his speech delivered at the banquet of the foreign section of the Syndicate of Czech Journalists held on 13th. July, Beneš stated that after the adjustment of the Czecho-German problem just effected, the adjustment of the Czecho-Slovak relations and the Ruthenian question would have to be taken in hand, particularly as a means to counterbalance the revisionist propaganda. To this we must in the first place remark

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that the Czechs did not by any means succeed in solving the problem of the 3,500.000 German minority inhabiting their State. Of what good is it if since 1926 two ministers have their seats in the Czecho-Slovak Cabinet, when the Czechs have not fulfilled a single concrete demand of the Germans and when the majority of the Germans are National Socialists. We must furthermore observe that Beneš does not even mention the necessity of improving the position of the one million citizens of Magyar nationality, though Prague behaves worst of all to these among all the other nationalities of the State. Anyhow Beneš' declaration is an unmistakable admission that Czecho-Slovakia, during one and a half decades, has been unable to find the modus vivendi with her Slav minorities. Only now that the idea of revision has taken such deep root in the souls of the peoples of the Danube Valley are the Czechs beginning to see that things cannot go on as they are. Is not even this a splendid justification of the Revision Movement?

THE RIGHTS OF MAGYAR CATHOLICS IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Unlike the former Hungarian régime, the Czecho-Slovak Government pursues a policy of curtailing more and more the traditional rights of self-government enjoyed by the Churches in the formerly Hungarian provinces of Slovakia and Ruthenia. The Constitution of the Reformed Church passed ten years ago is still waiting for confirmation by President Masaryk. The organisation of the Roman Catholic Church allows less scope to the State for interfering with its government; however, the Czecho-Slovak Government has done its utmost in this respect too, to restrict the influence of the lay element — especially that of the Magyars — in matters of Church administration. The Roman Catholic community of Pozsony (Bratislava) enjoyed rights of self-government dating back to the 14th century. This autonomy was suspended, however, by the Czech Government in 1926. A board of commissioners was put in charge, which so badly mismanaged the community's finances that the once prosperous body was burdened with debts amounting to 1,500.000 C. K. After much protracted bargaining, the regulations elaborated by the commissioners were approved at last by the Prague Ministry of Education at the end of 1933. The governing body of the self-governing community consists, according to this scheme, of 80 elected, 40 nominated and 23 "ex officio" members. Although the combined Germano-Magyar list obtained 48% of the votes cast at the subsequent elections, the panel of nominated members contained practically none belonging to their nationalities; besides 37 Czech and Slovak nominees, but 2 Germans and 1 single Magyar were appointed to the governing body. It ivas intimated later by Canon Okánik, the curé that the Apostolic Administrator of Nagyszombat (Trnava) proposed to appoint considerably more Magyar and German members, but his intentions were foiled by the Czech Minister of Education, who approved the community's regulations only on condition that he should be given adequate influence in the formation of the governing body, The governing body thus selected then naturally refused to grant the Magyars representation in the presidential council. If, as is held by many English authorities, democracy means self-government, it will be difficult to admit the claim that Czecho-Slovakia is a truly democratic country.

RUTHENE PROTEST AGAINST THE APPOINTMENT OF A CZECH PROVINCIAL VICE-PRESIDENT

Articles 10-13 of the (Minority) Treaty concluded between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Czechoslovakia on September, 1919, at St. Germain-en-Laye 10, invested the "Ruthene Territory South of the Carpathians" with "the widest measure of self government compatible with the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State". The Treaty stipulated that the Territory shall have an autonomous Diet possessing legislative powers in matters relating to religion, language, education and the inner administration of the province. It was agreed further that the Governor shall be responsible to the autonomous Diet and that the officials shall be selected "as far as possible" from the native population. The legal status of the province resembles therefore the constitution of the British Dominons previous to the Balfour Report and the Statute of Westminster. Its actual position, however, hardly equals that of a British crown colony, the Czechoslovak Government having refused so far to carry out a fraction even of the obligations incurred at St. Germain. Ruthenia has neither a Diet nor a responsible government, and 90% of the officials residing in the country are Czech immigrants. The Reform of the Administration Act of 1927 which divided the country into four administrative provinces, one of which is the province of Ruthenia (or Carpathian Russia), has nothing whatever to do with the self-government stipulated in the Minority Treaty: the provincial council, which is precluded from dealing with political matters, just faintly resembles a French "conseil général" which latter is, however, more powerful as well as more representative. The provincial president is M. Rožypal, a Czech, the post of vicepresident was held, so far, by M. Jechl, an immigrant from the Ukraine. When this latter retired, a Czech official, M. Meznik was delegated to replace him at Ungvár (Uzhorod), the Capital of Ruthenia. The provincial council, however, was so inflamed with rage at this decision that it unanimously adopted a resolution moved by M. Demkó, leader of the Ruthene Farmers' Association, urging the immediate recall of M. Meznik. We wonder, indeed, whether Prague will be moved by this earnest request to appoint a native vice-president? The experiences of the past 15 years would hardly justify an optimistic forecast. It is significant that the four leading officials of the provincial office are Czechs, the fifth only is a Ruthene, while not a single Magyar will be found among the members of the staff, although even according to the latest Czecho-Slovak census, that of the year 1930, 63.04% of the population of Ruthene and 15.30% of Magyar nationality, while the proportion of "Czecho-Slovaks" is but 4.96%.

RUMANIA

SUMMARY OF THE GRIEVANCES OF THE MAGYAR MINORITY IN RUMANIA

As in Czecho-Slovakia, in Rumania also, an ever increasing pressure is weighing down the members of the Magyar minority.

The mild behaviour shown especially by the higher authorities towards people belonging to the Rumanian majority in the sphere of retaliation for excesses has up to the present also caused fatal consequences to the Magyar minority. We refer to the riots made in December 1928 by the University students at Nagyvárad, Kolozsvár and Bánffyhunyad, when the police stood inert as calm spectators of the destruction caused by the students resulting in the ruin of the synagogues of the Jewish Hungarians, their shops, as well as the printing presses and publishing offices of the Magyar dailies at Kolozsvár. These student riots are, one might say, repeated every year, most recently on the occasion of the Rumanian students' congress *held at Easter at Herkulesfürdő* when the Rumanian students commandeered the motor-cars and motor-buses of the minority inhabitants, made excursions in them and finally went away without paying their restaurant and hotel bills; and later at Temesvár they plundered the Candia sugar factory, while at Lugos and Karánsebes they perpetrated similar acts of violence.

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Not even a hair of the heads of these student bandits was hurt.

Similar lenience on the part of the authorities brought about the sanguinary events at Sinfalva and Borrév which broke out at the close of the anti-revision assembly held at Torda on 28th May, 1933. A Rumanian mob of about 500 returning home from the anti-revision assembly, led by Rumanian students, attacked Sinfalva, a Magyar village, destroyed the houses of the Magyar inhabitants, robbed the dwellings, and even the Unitarian church. The damage done to the Magyar population of Sinfalva was approximately half a million lei (448.648 lei), and resulted in the death of one Unitarian and the wounding of several others. In the neighbouring village of Borrév the Rumanian mob, in its uncontrollable national chauvinism, caused damage to the extent of 170.260 lei. The Hungarian National Alliance submitted a memorial in this affair to the League of Nations. The *triple committee*, however, deemed it unnecessary to call the Council's attention to this, as with the measures subsequently taken they considered the proceedings of the Rumanian Government justified. We may remark that in the course of the criminal proceedings all those accused of participating in the riot had already been acquitted by the Rumanian Court at Torda. On the other hand, the Magyar journalists who wrote of the events were condemned in the course of criminal proceedings taken before the various Rumanian tribunals. In such circumstances the attitude of the *triple committee* in no case strengthens the faith of the Magyar Minority in the League of Nations.

The persecution and oppression of the minorities is becoming more and more general. The removal of the civil servants belonging to the minorities from their situations is going on en masse. A veritable campaign of baiting and extermination has been started against the minority, chiefly Magyar employees of the railways, post-office and teaching profession. On the pretext of their being insufficiently versed in the official language, the Magyar railway employees are dismissed without pension or commutation. Without stated cause all the minority postmasters, most of whom were Magyars, have been dismissed. Minister Anghelescu requires all the minority — chiefly Magyar — teachers to pass a new examination in the Rumanian language, and a ruthless dismissal is the prospect before all who fail. Nothing shows the injustice of these proceedings more than that the persons concerned have already passed an examination in the Rumanian language, so that the new examination is only an excuse for getting rid of them.

In every field today, fifteen years after the signing of the Minority Agreement, the principle of "victoribus spolia" is being strikingly asserted. The new law on the protection of national labour, renders it obligatory for the minority enterprises to do their book-keeping in Rumanian. The preliminary censorship in force since the beginning of the year prohibits the names of places and streets to be published in Magyar in the Magyar Minority newspapers; the post offices do not forward communications on which the name of the place of destinationis written in another language than the Rumanian; in the cities inhabited by minorities the street signs in several languages are being changed to Rumanian only; the inscriptions on the films at the picture theatres must be in Rumanian only.

The *complete protection of the life and liberty of the minorities* undertaken as an obligation on 10th December, 1919, in the Minority Agreement of Paris is fulfilled by the Rumanian Government in such a way that brutalities perpetrated by gendarmes and the police chiefly against the Magyar population are of everyday occurrence. Here we refer to the public letter of Dr. Gabriel Pál M. P. sent to the Commander of the Gendarmes in the affair of the constant brutalities of the gendarmes in Szeklerland, enumerating the cases of brutality committed in the village of Rákos in Csik county. Also the gendarmerie is carrying on an extermination campaign in Udvarhely county against Szekler popular art, confiscating the distaffs carved in colours and prohibiting the carving of gates with artistic Szekler decoration.

The blind Rumanian chauvinism shows no mercy to the few Hungarian memorials to be found here and there which have not yet been destroyed. Thus the authorities of Brassó county on the 14th June caused to be destroyed the 1849 Honvéd memorial which proclaimed the heroism of Louis Kossuth's soldiers and which had been standing for decades at the crossing of the roads between Ágostonfalva and Barót.

The cultural fêtes of the Magyar minority are being prohibited one after the other. Thus the authorities have refused to allow the "Magyar Day" at Brassó, or the "Thousand Szekler Girls' Day" planned at Csiksomlyó.

There is no equity in Rumania even in the sphere of the administration of justice. We can observe this especially in connection with the execution of court sentences. In this connection let us mention a recent event which was discussed by the representatives of the Magyar minority at the session of the Rumanian Parliament on 27th June. The 139 yokes of land taken from the Magyar medium-sized estate owners of the village of Zentelke, Kolozs county, in course of the agrarian expropriations, were ordered to be restored by the court. However, the order is still awaiting execution, because it is favourable to the Magyar minority. More than that, the Minister of Agriculture, Manolescu Stringa, made a promise to the Rumanian population concerned, saying that he would leave them in possession of the land which had been ordered to be restored to the Magyar.

One of the latest proceedings of the Rumanian Government against the Magyar minority population is the Bill — which since then has become law — in which the Rumanian Government incorporates the decision of the League of Nations taken at its session held on 27th September, 1932, on the subject of the return of "Csik county private property" in a way which does not agree with the obligations undertaken at Geneva. The Magyar minority members of Parliament were obliged to take a most decisive stand against this, stating that the Rumanian Government wishes to back out of the agreement made in Geneva in 1932. The closing of Magyar denominational schools is an everyday occurrence. Without any legal basis whatever the Rumanian Government closed the Roman Catholic school at Geneva established in 1628 and also the denominational schools of Fitód and Csikszentlélek. This latest law closed the pharmacological faculties of the universities of Kolozsvár and Jassy on the ground that the students of these faculties came from the sphere of the minorities, and it is not desirable that members of the minorities should obtain diplomas. Another anti-minority law of Anghelescu, Minister of Education, the effect of which is already to be felt — came to light in the subject of the baccalaureates. This law according to which, at the matriculation examination, the interrogation in philosophy and nat ural history shall take place not in the mother tongue of the pupil but in Rumanian and that for the written examinations the text must be translated from Latin into Rumanian, was this year sprung as a surprise at the matriculation examinations. From the really distressing results of the examinations the minority Magyars are in a position to establish the fact that the Roumanian Government wishes to employ an intellectual numerus clausus against them. At the matriculation examinations held in June, 65—80% of the Magyar minority candidates failed.

A prominently unequal treatment was manifested by the Rumanian Government against the Magyar religious minority by their prohibiting the erection of a Unitarian church at Brassó. Similarly the prevention of the free practice of religion shows prominently in those measures which were taken by the authorities; for instance when they prevented the closing on holiday afternoons of the shops belonging to Magyar Catholic tradesmen at Székely-Keresztur.

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DECLARATION BY THE MAGYAR PARTY IN THE RUMANIAN PARLIAMENT

Count George Bethlen and Senator *Joseph Sándor* read a Declaration of the Magyar Party in the Rumanian Chamber and Senate respectively, in the course of the debate upon the Address in answer to the King's speech, held on February 23rd and 24th. This Declaration demands the unrestricted fulfilment of the stipulations contained in the Minority Treaty concluded between Rumania and the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in Paris, on December 9, 1919. It lays special stress upon the putting into effect of Article 11 assuring local self-government in regard to religious and educational matters.

The Declaration begins by deploring that no mention is made in the Address of the national minorities, although it would be desirable both from the viewpoints of internal and external politics, that serious efforts be attempted, after a lapse of 15 years, to solve the problem of the minorities. The Declaration then proceeds to point out that the Rumanian Government had thought it expedient to conclude a convention with Yugoslavia dealing with the schooling problems of the Serbs living in the Rumanian parts of the Banat. It suggests, in connection with this, that the Magyars living in far greater numbers than the Serbs in Rumanian territory should be entitled to claim at least similar privileges in the field of education as have been granted to the Serbs by the said convention. The Magyar Party feels obliged, moreover, to claim, in accordance with the principle of equal treatment, a proportional share in State grants for the Churches, the clergy, the teachers and cultural institutions of the Magyar Minority. It asks further that the right of using the Magyar language in dealing with the authorities be assured. The Declaration notes, too, that public offices are filled by Magyars but extremely rarely, Innumerable Magyar employees have been dismissed, on the other hand, especially from the service of the State Railways, without obtaining even the pensions they had acquired by right of their term of employment. They have thus been exposed to utter ruin after decades of faithful service. In dealing with the general complaint of the burdens of taxation being unbearably high in these years of crisis, the Declaration observes that, according to official data compiled by the Ministry of Finance, the financial burdens imposed on the population of the Székely Counties (Csik, Háromszék and Udvarhely) are comparatively higher even than those borne by other Counties. The Declaration submits, further, that conditions ought not to continue preventing thousands of inhabitants of the country born within its confines from acquiring certificates of citizenship, owing to the strict formalities prescribed by the Law. The Declaration insists that the Magyar Minority do not oppose the claim that their children should learn the Rumanian language. They do not want to evade the burdens of citizenship either: they only demand that rights as well as duties be evenly distributed among the subjects of different nationality.

NATIONAL PEASANT COMMENT ON THE LATEST RUMANIAN GENERAL ELECTIONS

Victor Moldovan, a Deputy, member of the National Peasant Party, recently discussed in Parliament the general elections held in the Magyar (Székely) County of Udvarhely. He affirmed that the Udvar hely elections were well-nigh unique and contended that the most startling excesses were committed in this county. All but one of the trustees of the National Peasant Party were prevented in some way or other — according to M. Moldovan — from doing their duties at the urns and even that single man, the only exception to the rule, had a pistol smuggled into his pocket and was arrested on this pretext. One of the National Peasant Party's candidates was taken into jail straight from his bed, in the middle of the night, — another was arrested on the charge of hiding a bomb in his flat. In most of the counties the results had been published at 8.30 p. m. already; in Udvarhely, however, at 1 a. m. there was still no information available. Such was the prelude to the result which gave the Liberals 60% of the poll, while the Magyars forming 95% of the county's population had but 4800 votes booked to their credit, and all the other parties were dismissed for 2%. "Those who are preaching a political truce and understanding — said M. Moldovan — ought to realise that justice must be done either by punishing the cul prits or by carrying out the declared will of the people."

YUGOSLAVIA

DESPOTISM OF DICTATORSHIP IN THE NAME OF "NATIONAL UNITY"

The leitmotif of the internal politics of Yugoslavia from the very beginning, side by side with the rigid centralism of the Government system, is the fiction of "National Unity" which conceals the Serb hegemony. Everything that seems liable to dissolve this enforced unity is noxious and must therefore be nipped in the bud. Such a principle may be given force only by the ruthless arbitrariness of dictatorship, especially in a country where not so much the state-forming elements as rather the conquerors, the Serbs, hardly amount to 39% of the total population. This arbitrariness determines the policy of Belgrade towards the Croatians, the Slovenes and their Bosnyak "racial brethren", as well as towards the national minorities.

We might keep a permanent column for reports of the sanguinary suppression of the Croatian national ambitions. One number of "La Macédoine" not long ago published particulars of the four years' activity of the State Protection Court, from which we may see that from the middle of 1929 to the end of 1933, more than 200 Croatian patriots fell victims to the Belgrade dictatorship. Of these 19 were sentenced to be hanged, 8 to imprisonment for life and 176 to a total of 900 years' penal servitude. Not included in these data are those Croatian victims whom the officials of the Serb oppression murdered when under detention, in prisons, or in many cases even in the public streets, or who perished in consequence of the tortures they suffered from the Serb police. This is a true picture of the so often reiterated "national unity".

In the attempts at "unification" by all means, the Government offices and the irresponsible nationalist formations well nigh rival each other. This is also shown by the two characteristic examples quoted below : —

The postal authorities recently issued an order in re the manner of writing place-names, to the effect that postal consignments whether from abroad or posted inland, will be delivered only if the name of the place of destination be written in accordance with the regulations or to the Serb-Croat manner of writing at the Yugoslav place of destination. This means that the foreign senders of postal consignments must also be familiar with all the mysteries of the Serb-Croatian method of writing, otherwise they will be annoyed by the post office probably returning or destroying their letters, because they omit an accent or put it in the wrong place.

In its extreme Serb chauvinism the Pan-Serb nationalist organ called the "*Narodna Obrana*" which, years ago, arranged the assassination of the Crown Prince of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy at Serajevo, goes even further, and to-day also has a decided influence on the domestic and foreign policies of the State. This notorious

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organisation in Zagrab (Agram) and in other towns of the country, recently called upon the inhabitants, with great emphasis, to use exclusively the "*Yugoslav*" (?? !) language as their language of intercourse, completely setting aside the Magyar and the German languages. At the same time it warns shopkeepers that it will not suffer foreigners to be employed in their shops. The "*Narodna Obrana*" simply ignores the fact that there exists an agreement for the protection of the minorities, which also secures the language rights of the national minorities; but in doing so it merely follows the bad example of the Government.

Legislation does not lag behind in the curtailment of civil rights and the disregard of the national minorities. One of the most recent laws of the Yugoslav Parliament bears witness to this. A few days ago the Skupstchina and the Senate accepted the proposition presented by Lazitch, Minister of the Interior, regulating the autonomy of 74 towns of Yugoslavia, which is quite as reactionary as all the other laws of the present Governmental system and a real caricature of real autonomy. The municipal board of representatives, in proportion to the number of the population shall consist of 27—72 members, two thirds of whom shall be elected by popular vote and one third shall be chosen by the Ban (Governor). The list to which relatively more votes fall shall receive two thirds of the mandates to be filled after the election, while the remaining one third shall be divided among all the lists in proportion to the votes obtained. The leader of the list which receives the most votes shall be the "president", that is to say the burgomaster of the city. Since only parties standing on the basis of *national unity* may participate in the election and the approval of the lists which have to be presented in advance depends on the whims of the authorities, the Magyar minority cannot even elect a burgomaster of Magyar nationality in towns, for instance, like Zenta or Magyarkanizsa (Stara Kanjiža) where 87—90% of the population are Magyars. It is the same with those towns where the majority are Germans. On the day when the law is put in force all municipal employees in actual service are placed on the retired list and at the same time the rights and pensions to which the municipal employees are entitled are to be revised. This latter measure causes anxiety from a minority standpoint, because on the basis of experience up to the present, we must fear that this opportunity will be used to dismiss the few Magyar and German town officials left in the severed southern areas, the so-called Vojvodina, and to reduce the pensions of the municipal Magyar pensioners or even perhaps unlawfully to withdraw them.

The anti-minority persecution in the areas severed from Hungary is principally directed against the half million Magyar minority. Now things have gone so far that a friendly meeting of two or three Hungarians, or even the meeting in accordance with the statutes of the leaders of such Magyar cultural and social organisations as are still permitted, is stigmatised as a secret and prohibited meeting and punished as such. Under such a pretext, within the period of a few weeks, 12 Magyars were sentenced to 10—30 days' imprisonment or a fine of 1000—3000 dinars. Quite recently the most fatal blow to the cultural life of the Magyar Minority was dealt by Dobrica Matkovitch, notorious for his slaughter of the Macedon-Bulgarians of south Serbia, who at present is Ban of the Danube Banat. He illegally dissolved the two greatest and most active social and cultural organisations of the Magyars of Yugoslavia, the Public Cultural Union of Nagy Becskerek and the People's Club of Szabadka (Subotica). These two associations were the central organisation of the Magyars of Yugoslavia which, supported by statutes sanctioned by the Minister, endeavoured to extend their activities to all the parishes and towns of the Danube Banat populated by Magyars so that by central and practical direction they should give fresh impetus and secure new possibilities of development to the groping and sporadic cultural endeavours of the local unions weak in their isolation. It was the very infiltrating activity serving the Magyar national and also universal culture that the Serb Government wished to render impossible by the abolition of the People's Club and the Public Cultural Union and by the confiscation of their property valued at more than three million dinars. And all this happens under the League of Nations and with insolent disregard of the obligatory dispositions of the Minority Protection Treaty which has so far provett an utter failure.

Dictatorship has generally one more companion besides despotism, namely corruption. As to the dimensions this has reached in Yugoslavia, among other things the following literal translation of an edifying order of the Minister of Finance will afford illustration: "In order to calm the public who are infuriated at the ever increasing cases of embezzlement occurring at the tax offices, the tax department of the Ministry of Finance was obliged on 14th. April this year sub No. 25, 170—34 to issue the following order to the Revenue Offices: "The Minister of Finance has resolved that those taxpayers whose periodical instalments have been embezzled by revenue employees, shall not be obliged to pay the embezzled sums over again and that even in case the money cannot be recovered from the criminal officials the sums must be booked to the taxpayers' credit in the tax ledger", All comment is superfluons.

The frequently recurring revolutionary events in Austria serve as tragic mirrors reflecting the heinous monstrosities contained in the provisions of the Peace Treaties. These events have shown that what the Peace Treaties have brought into being is not a new and ideal order — not a new world of right and liberty and democracy — but a critical disunion in Europe and a state of disorder already becoming permanent.

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