

BULGARIA AND THE REVOLUTION IN GREECE

The events that have just occurred in Greece caused grave anxiety in the whole of Europe, though more particularly in the Balkan States. Bulgaria regarded the events as a threat to her frontiers, — and that not only from the side of Greece. The Bulgarian frontier on the Thracian side was defended by only a very few detachments of frontier guards; and the effects of the deadly feud in Greece might easily have penetrated into Bulgarian territory. And this would very probably have complicated matters. However, to every rational person it was evident that Bulgaria was not going to plunge into adventures; and the speech made in the Royal Theatre by Premier Zlatev, as also the statement given to representatives of the foreign press by Foreign Minister Batolov, emphasised unmistakably Bulgaria's determination to preserve peace. Yet the peace of the Balkans was actually in danger. For at the very outset of the insurrection Turkey concentrated formidable military forces on the Bulgarian frontier. This move would in itself not have been of any importance, had the Turks — as they themselves would have us believe — done so merely because their treaty with Greece requires them to watch the territorial integrity of that country. However, if we take into account that the Turkish press has for over a year been conducting a bitter and causeless campaign of calumny against Bulgaria, while during the last year or more big forts have been built in Turkish Thracia, we will understand that the measures taken by Turkey caused grave misgivings in Bulgaria. This procedure on the part of Turkey was anything but a demonstration of the strength of the Balkan

Alliance, for the defence of the Balkan frontiers is not the duty of Turkey only. The reason must be sought elsewhere. There is, for instance, the question of the passes and of the European Turkish hinterland of the passes. This is a question affecting, not only Bulgaria, but also Greece, the ally of Turkey. So we have every ground for supposing that the disarmed condition of Bulgaria and the doubtful value of a Greek army wasted by internal struggles suggested to the Turks that the present was a favourable opportunity to satisfy their territorial claims. This explains the appeal of Bulgaria to the League of Nations. The watchful eyes of the European Powers, combined with the telegrams of a peaceful character exchanged between the Bulgarian and Turkish Governments on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Izmet İnönü's appointment as Prime Minister, luckily justify us in believing that the tension in the situation has slackened and that with the advent of settled conditions in Greece the warlike atmosphere will be removed for some time to come. The lesson to be gathered from recent events is that the Balkan Alliance gained nothing by Turkey's behaviour. On the contrary, the fact that the concentration of the Turkish troops was effected without the previous consent of the other Members of the Alliance, shows that the existence of this Balkan Alliance does preclude the possibility of individual action on the part of individual Members, even if such action is calculated to lead to war. Consequently the consolidation of the peace of the Balkans must be effected, not by a Balkan Alliance, but in some other way.

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

TWO STANDARDS FOR MINORITY PETITIONS

Under the title "*In Geneva Two Standards Are Employed When Dealing With Minority Complaints*" Dr. Ewald Ammende, Secretary General of the Permanent Congress of European Minorities, wrote an article in the March 13th. issue of the *Ujvidék* (Novisad) "*Deutsches Volksblatt*" in which he complained that, whereas the League of Nations without delay referred to the Hague Arbitral Tribunal the petition filed by the Greek Minority against Albania, the petitions filed — for instance — by the German Minorities of Pozen and Pommerellen are systematically rejected. (The same course has been taken also with most of the petitions submitted on behalf of the Magyar minorities. *Ed.*) The article stresses the fact that the Greek petitioners were represented by the same Greek diplomat, Politis, who had previously spoken before the League in favour of the Mellon-Franco principle of absorption; he had thus turned his back on his previous attitude and appeared in the arena as a champion of minority rights, merely because it was a question of the rights of a Greek minority.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

CZECHS AND SLOVAKS

We have repeatedly spoken in these columns of the political suit brought by the Czech authorities against Louis Bazovsky, the well-known Slovak politician who was the first Czecho-Slovak župan (sheriff) of Nógrád County, under the Protection of the Republic Act, and of the trial having been postponed owing to the illness of the accused. One of the ramifications of this political suit, which at the time created such a stir, is the trial begun on March 8th. before the District Court of Besztercebánya against Milos Vančo, former Secretary of the Turócszentmárton (Turčiansky Svety Martin) Chamber of Advocates and one of the leaders of the autonomist Slovak National Party, for having multiplied copies of the indictment against Bazovsky and having sent these copies to politicians, advocates and editorial offices. So proceedings are being taken against Vančo on the charge of having made public confidential official papers, and for that reason he has been deprived of his office as Secretary of the Chamber of Advocates. The Court

has ordained the filing of supplementary evidence and has adjourned the trial. The Censor is taking the most ruthless measures, not only against the Magyar papers, but against the Slovak papers too. A special stir was caused by the confiscation of the March 10th. issue of the "Slovak", which was effected by order of the Public Prosecutor also on account of an article written by Dr. Joseph Tiso, former Czecho-Slovak Minister who is at present Vice-President of the Autonomist Slovak People's Party and is regarded as moderate even by the Czechs.

THE SITUATION IN RUTHENIA

On March 1st. the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic appointed Constantine Hrabár, bank director, to be Governor of Ruthenia. Seeing that this appointment may lead to misunderstandings among foreigners unfamiliar with the conditions prevailing in Ruthenia, we believe it is necessary to offer the following information:

Under Articles 10—13 of the Minority Treaty concluded between Czecho-Slovakia and the Allied and Associated Powers on September 10th., 1919, the Czecho-Slovak Republic is required to grant to the territory lying to the south of the Carpathians the most far-reaching autonomy compatible with the unity of the State. This autonomy is to extend to questions of language, religion, education and public administration. In these questions the legislative power is to be in the hands of the Diet of the autonomous territory, to which the Governor to be appointed by the President of the Republic shall be responsible. The public officials of the autonomous territory shall as far as possible be appointed from among the inhabitants of that territory.

Fifteen years have passed since that treaty was signed; but so far the Czecho-Slovak State has not carried into effect a single letter of the obligations undertaken at Saint Germain. The territory does not possess any autonomy in respect of the linguistic, religious, educational and administrative questions, for these matters are arranged by Prague, the laws being passed by the central Czecho-Slovak Parliament and executed by the Prague Government. The autonomous Diet of Ruthenia has not yet been summoned to assemble, so that the Governor just appointed is responsible, not to the autonomous Diet, but exclusively to the Prague Government. At least 90% of the public officials of the autonomous territory are of Czech nationality, though — even according to the 1930 Czecho-Slovak Census — the Czechs and the Slovaks combined comprise only 4.79% of the total population of this territory and number only 33,961 souls.

Down to early in 1933 Ruthenia had a Governor in the person of Anthony Beskid; but in view of the fact that the autonomous Diet was never convened and that consequently the autonomous questions were arranged and settled in the ministries in Prague, he was merely a puppet in the hands of the Prague Government and did not possess even the power to appoint a messenger. The present Governor will be a puppet of the same kind; for the Czecho-Slovak Government did not provide simultaneously with his appointment for the convening of the autonomous Diet and for putting the autonomy of Ruthenia into effect as provided in the international treaty relating thereto. In a speech made at Ungvár in May, 1934, Foreign Minister Beneš promised to have the laws required for the purpose passed before the expiration of the present session. We are on the eve of the new Czecho-Slovak elections, which must be held not later than next autumn; yet so far the Government has done nothing to fulfil the promise made by Beneš. But the inhabitants of Ruthenia have long known that they must not take the Czech promises seriously . . .

The temper of the Ruthenian people is strikingly illustrated by the recent disturbances in the village of Nagycserte. This village is in the Mezőlaborc (Medzilaborc) hundred, which — though administratively belonging to Slovakia — is inhabited mostly by Ruthenians and should therefore, under the Saint Germain Minority Treaty, have been incorporated in Ruthenia. On March 13th., on the occasion of the execution of a distress warrant in the house of one of the farmers living in the village, the inhabitants attacked the gendarmes, demanding the suspension of the distress proceedings and the payment of the long-promised compensation for the damage inflicted by the war. On the arrival of gendarme reinforcements the bells were tolled and the gendarme barracks besieged, one of the detachments of gendarmes having to force a way into the village in a veritable hand-to-hand fight. According to the official reports five gendarmes and one of the officials of the hundred delegated to the scene were wounded, while it is impossible to ascertain the number of demonstrators who were injured. This is not the first case of the fury of the Slovak and Ruthenian inhabitants of the territories torn from Hungary against the ruthless exaction of taxes and distress procedure finding vent in regrettable acts of violence of the kind. Similar cases occur every year; and in certain districts the inhabitants have made veritable offensive and defensive alliances against the gendarmes for the purpose of preventing the executions effected under the protection of Czech gendarme bayonets.

PERSECUTION OF HUNGARIAN OPPOSITION

Count John Esterházy, President of the National Christian Socialist Party, which is fighting for the autonomy of Slovakia and Ruthenia, quite recently — after having completed his term of 14 days' confinement for a speech made at a mass meeting — again entered the prison of the Public Prosecutor in Pozsony (Bratislava) to serve the term of 10 days' confinement inflicted on him for a speech made at the Érsekújvár Congress of the Party. In this connection we would note that the representative of the authorities unexpectedly dissolved the Bacska meeting of the National Christian Socialist Party — without previously warning the speaker — during a speech made by Esterházy in which he criticised the policy of Government. The Rimaszombat District Court has sentenced Andrew Jaross, who represents the Magyar National Party in the Slovak Provincial Diet, and Julius Koczor, former National Assembly Deputy of this Party, to 14 days' confinement each for speeches delivered at a meeting held at Pelsőc. According to the indictment Jaross spoke of the Trianon frontiers in a manner laying him open to the charge of sedition. The accused, however, denied the charge. The charge against Koczor was that he had given a description of the Czech land reform, of the income tax and of the employment of Magyars by the State insinuating that the Hungarians had been treated unjustly. Koczor declared that he had really spoken of these grievances and injustices; but he was ready to prove the truth of his statements by official documents, and begged the Court to ordain the filing of the relevant evidence; however, the Court refused to do so. Julius Koczor has been sentenced also by the same Court to a further term of 14 days' confinement for a speech delivered by him at Rimaszombat. In this speech, according to the indictment, among other things he said that the Magyars had not been given any land under the land reform, only ministers and lawyers receiving shares, that being the main cause of the misery prevalent today among the Magyar agriculturists. He also said that the Magyar farmers were paying twice as heavy taxes as the Czechs, for in Slovakia and Ruthenia

the basis of assessment (earnings) was 1.400 Czech crowns *per cadastral yoke*, whereas in Moravia it was the same *per hectare*, and added that no Magyars were employed in the State service. The Court did not allow the accused to submit his evidence in respect of the charge.

EIGHT DAYS' HARD LABOUR FOR A POST-CARD ADDRESSED TO THE CZECH NATIONAL BANK

The Reichenberg District Court has passed a sentence strikingly illustrative of Czech chauvinism on Rudolf Lucke, exporter living in Gablonz, who has been sentenced to eight days' hard labour under § 14 of the Defence of the Republic Act for traducing the Czech nation. From the January 24th. issue of the "*Prager Tagblatt*" we learn that Lucke wrote the National Bank an open postcard on which he begged the Bank "to write in German, because I do not know Czech and so the information received is of no value to me; should you not be willing to write in German, you may write in any of the world languages, in French, English, Italian or Spanish". This answer the Court regarded as a criminal act. It was no use for the accused to quote by way of excuse the following passages of his letter, in which he said that "if I knew Czech, I would just as willingly write you in Czech as I would write to an Englishman in English or to a Frenchman in French". The Court sentenced the accused, although his previous record was a clean one, unconditionally to eight days' imprisonment, because, though he was entitled to ask the National Bank to correspond with him in German, the fact that he did so on an open postcard nevertheless comprised an act of defamation of the Czech nation.

THE CZECHO-SLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL ADVOCATES CZECHISA- TION OF MINING

Of late the question of the nationalisation of mines has again been raised in Czecho-Slovakia. The Czecho-Slovak National Council also discussed the question, but while opposing the scheme of nationalisation most energetically demanded the Czechisation of the mines. In the opinion of the Council the mining undertakings constitute a powerful factor of germanisation which has so far defied attempts at czechisation.

A leading article published in the February 1st. issue of the paper "*Bohemia*" deals with this question and refers to the essay by the Czech statistician Dr. Boháč published in the "*Statistický obzor*", according to which since 1921 the number of hands of Czech nationality employed in mining in Bohemia has declined by 34% and that of hands of German nationality by 41.3%. The decline in Silesia amounts to 58%, though there has been an increase in the number of Czech miners employed in the at country. There has been a decrease in the number of officials twice as big as that recorded above.

RUMANIA

"RACIALISM" RUNS AMOK IN RUMANIA

Hardly any catchwords have raised such a commotion in Rumania as those enumerated above. At a conference of his followers held recently, Alexander Vaida, ex-Premier and leader of the National Peasants Party, broached the idea of a "numerus valachicus". the realisation of the idea — of a "front national" — being advocated at meetings subsequently held at Kolozsvár

(February 25th.) and Temesvár (March 1st.) *General Stephen Tatarescu*, President of the Rumanian National Socialist Party, one of Alexander Vaida's staunchest supporters. This movement, which is assuming continually increasing dimensions, is not in keeping with the provisions of the minority treaties or with the Rumanian Constitution; nor is it in harmony with the conception of a "spiritualisation of frontiers" so often stressed by Titulescu. Vaida's movement has created a great stir in the Rumanian Press; declarations both for and against the idea having been made by Rumanians. An ex-Minister of the name of *Sever Bocu*, for instance, unequivocally damns the suggestion, declaring that suggestion to be nothing more or less than popularity-hunting ("*Temesvári Hirlap*", February 26th., 1935). The same principles were professed on its formation by the Iron Guard too, the movement leading eventually to the murder of Premier Duca. In a speech delivered by him ("*Erdélyi Hirlap*", February 28th., 1935), *Sever Bocu* established the fact that the application of a "numerus clausus" in private enterprise would be an attempt on the sanctity of private ownership, adding that Rumania could not afford to ignore the opinion of France, of the other Allies of the country, and of the civilised world regarding all these matters. *Nicholas Lupu*, Vice-President of the Peasants Party, points out pertinently that the movement is likely to create in France an impression very unfavourable to Rumania, seeing that it is a manifestation of hitlerism and of a *rapprochement* towards Germany. According to the "Adeverul" (February 26th.), Vaida's movement is morally a contradiction of the promises made at Gyulafehervár and is in direct defiance of the terms of the treaty of peace. The "Adeverul", the "Dimineata" and the "Lupta" all point out that in internal politics the movement will drive the minorities to make a united front, while internationally it will undermine the confidence in Rumania felt in foreign countries. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Peasants Party, *Julius Maniu* himself repudiated the suggestion made by Vaida.

Nicholas Jorga too, who has just returned from abroad, has expressed his disapproval of the movement, describing it as Vaida's romantic phantasm. And the permanent committee of the National Peasants' Party, at an extraordinary meeting in Bucharest, removed Vaida from his office as president of the *Transylvania organisation of the Party*, the management of that organisation being entrusted to Mihalache, President of the National Peasants' Party. The "Curentul" is however informed that Vaida is determined to found a new party which will also bear the name of "National Peasants' Party" and will include all those who have openly joined him.

On behalf of the Saxons *Friedrich Müller* (suffragan) addressed an Open Letter — published in the "*Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt*" (February 14th., 1935) — to Alexander Vaida requesting him to withdraw his proposal. He stressed the point that the minority question demands an organic solution, it being therefore unpopular to advocate such a solution; but essentially it was of far greater value to the Rumanians themselves than pseudosolutions such as a "numerus clausus". The "*Deutsche Tageszeitung*" (February 10th., 1935) establishes the fact that Vaida's proposal is in direct defiance of Article 8. of the Minority Treaty concluded on December 9th., 1919, which ensured all minorities living within the Rumanian State a free and unimpeded economic development.

These protests — expressed most vividly in the press of the Magyar minority living in Rumania — are but faint echoes compared with the approval voiced in the greater part of the Rumanian Press — in particular in the two dailies (the "*Universul*" and the "Curentul") closely connected with Titulescu. Of the speeches made at the anti-minority meeting of the Rumanian Lawyers'

Federation held in Bucharest special mention is due to that of the advocate *Anibal Teodorescu*, who flatly denied the right of the minorities to base their privileges upon international treaties. "We do not owe our existence to the treaties", he said, "and therefore the Rumanians may infringe those treaties. The treaties have no power to protect the minorities at the expense of the majority." *Istrate Micescu*, one of the most prominent Rumanian jurists, actually allowed himself to be betrayed into declaring that he protested even against the minorities being permitted to unite in separate political parties on the basis of national feeling. In an address given recently at Arad *Tistrate Micescu* pointed out that *the minority protection treaties have no value in common law, seeing that neither the Emperor of Japan nor the King of England is entitled to grant the rights of Rumanian national to persons to whom no such rights are due*. Nor is the League of Nations entitled to force sovereign States to acknowledge minority rights; for that League is not a Power having control of those States, merely an advisory body for the benefit of the sovereign States. Consequently all those neo-Rumanians who desire to live in Rumania must learn to take part in village occupations and must learn to scrape manure from under oxen, otherwise they are not entitled to a subsistence.

In a speech made by him at Temesvár, *Vaida* protested against his movement being branded as anti-cultural, barbarian and cannibalistic. In another of his statements he declared that there was a "*numerus Judaicus*" in force at present in Rumania. As to What France and the League of Nations might say to it all, *Vaida* answered as follows: "My '*numerus valachicus*' is a domestic affair; and if the League of Nations desires to appear to be generous, let it do so at its own expense, and not at ours. France, which has recently taken such drastic measures to protect herself against the influx of foreigners, will surely not take it amiss that we too try to defend our national interests. I do not believe that Christian France is likely to agree with the Magyar Party or *Filderman* or *Scrutator* as against the Rumanians." ("*Erdélyi Hirlap*", Vol. XIX., No. 4986, March 5th., 1935. "*Brassói Lapok*", Vol. XII., No. 53, March 6th., 1935).

And now we would once more ask how this renewed war of extermination against the minorities can possible be brought into harmony with *Titulescu's* slogan concerning the "spiritualisation of frontiers"?

MANIFESTO OF MAGYAR PARTY

The Conference of the parliamentary group of the Magyar Party of Rumania held in Bucharest on February 7th. and the following days discussed exhaustively the situation of the Magyar minority living in Rumania and established the following facts:

1. The *incitement against the Magyars* in evidence for some time past in the Rumanian Press and at meetings of Rumanians, is making the lot of the Magyars more and more intolerable. This incitement has already created a public temper which has resulted in encouraging *the most ruthless administrative abuses*, — so much so indeed that the economic subsistence of the Magyar minority, its general standard of culture and its national feeling is threatened with the greatest dangers. *In no single case has the Public Prosecutor instituted criminal proceedings against the campaign of incitement that involves nationality agitation*; while the Government has not taken any measures to prevent a repetition of the actions resulting.

2. The dismissal from active service of public employees belonging to the Magyar minority still continues. *It is openly admitted already that a deficient knowledge of Rumanian is pretext enough for casting persons of Magyar*

origin out into the streets. From official documents it is shown that in many cases public employees are dismissed the service simply because they are Magyars by origin and without being allowed to take a language test.

3. The recent tendency to *endeavour to cut off all possibilities of thriving even in the field of private enterprise* — a tendency first given expression in a statement made by the former Prime Minister *Alexander Vaida* — has evoked the utmost consternation among the Magyars of Rumania; for previously no serious politician had even dreamed of taking up an attitude of the kind. The parliamentary group of the Magyar Party protests most energetically against all endeavours aiming at restricting the facilities of subsistence in the professions and private enterprise too; for *not only is such a tendency an infraction of human rights, but it is diametrically opposed to the unequivocal provisions of the Constitution and of the international treaties, so that in the event of a mere attempt being made in that direction the Party would be driven to put the attacks upon the vital conditions of the Rumanian nationals belonging to the Magyar minority before the public opinion of the world*. The still more far-reaching demand to the effect that *private enterprises should be required to employ in the industrial and commercial establishments founded with their own capital and managed personally by the owners serving also as their technical advisers workers forced upon them from without, aims ultimately at depriving Hungarian (Magyar) labourers, clerks and officials serving private enterprise of their means of earning a livelihood*, — a procedure or rather scheme against which the Magyar Party protests most decidedly. The "*numerus valachicus*" proclaimed by *Alexander Vaida* is not feasible as a scheme, if only because there are no legal rules ensuring a person's freedom to choose the nationality to which he belongs, the question of nationality being decided arbitrarily by the authorities against the will of the person in question; so that it may happen that his Magyar origin will deprive of his post a Rumanian national whose children are excluded from the Hungarian schools which partly use Magyar as the language of instruction *because they are not of Magyar origin*. *Vaida* must himself be well aware that *the proportion of Magyars in the several branches of the public service is nothing like as large as the quota to be allotted to this minority as representing its proportion of the total population of the country*. Consequently the protest raised by the Magyar Party all over the world is in vindication of acknowledged human rights.

4. *Inequality in respect of taxation* is a general anomaly ruling all over the country well known everywhere and complained of by the nationals belonging to the Magyar minority, which is also the chief sufferer from the methods of restraint now in force in Rumania.

The repeated brutalities committed by members of the gendarmerie have provoked violent protests also from the Rumanian Press; but the brutalities committed in regions inhabited by Magyars are such as to make everyday life intolerable for the people at large, complaints filed in the past having failed in most cases to bring about a redress of the grievances. In innumerable cases *the public administration officials employ the most brutal means to impede the cultural activity of the Magyars, even interfering with the activity of associations of a religious character*. The parliamentary group of the Magyar Party was also dumfounded on being informed that one of the "*primpretors*" of *Háromszék County*, referring to measures taken by his superiors, for the purpose of furthering the re-rumanisation of the "*originally Rumanian but magyarised*" *Széklers*, ordained that *elderly women and men should be required to attend evening courses on pain of severe penalties for non-attendance*, — which measure is absolutely illegal and throws an instructive light on the depths to which private despotism has sunk.

The Minister of Education is dissatisfied with the

system of name analysis involving an arbitrary determination of racial origin, and has foisted a Rumanian origin on whole villages or on the Székler inhabitants of whole districts by means of blood tests effected with the aid of sciolistic public administration organs, — a procedure the object of which is evidently to make the Magyars appear as a minority representing an insignificant quota of the population and thus to deprive them even of the rights acknowledged in the minority treaty forming a supplement to the treaty of peace.

5. The parliamentary group of the Magyar Party is to place the above matters without delay before the Premier, particularly seeing that, to judge by previous experience, no redress of grievances may be expected to result from protests made before the Parliament. ("Magyar Ujság", Vol. III., No. 52, March 3rd., 1935.)

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To a representative of the news agency "Miscarea Minoritara" Count George Bethlen has made a statement to the effect that the Rumanian Constitution must be amended, seeing that the Constitution framed in 1923 does not take into account the fact that the new Rumania includes also minority nations the position of which in the State cannot be settled by a mere general statement of principle relating to equality of rights. Rumania is the only Succession State whose Constitution does not even mention the minorities. According to Count George Bethlen the Constitution must contain a provision to the effect that everyone is entitled to schooling in his own mother tongue, while it is the duty of the State to assist the schools required by the grant of proportionate subsidies. The Székler and Saxon corporations must be given autonomy. (As is well known, Article 11 of the Rumanian Minority Treaty guarantees this autonomy. *Ed.*) The Constitution should further provide that in official intercourse persons should be allowed to use their mother tongues, while there cannot possibly be any restrictions hindering the free use of the mother tongue in intercourse that is not official in character. The Constitution must contain also a provision stipulating that all acts of denationalisation are to be punished.

COMPLAINT AGAINST RUMANIA SUBMITTED TO MIXED ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL

On behalf of Michael Poór, landed proprietor, of Magyaregregy, Dr. Jules Petain, of Paris, advocate, has submitted to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal a complaint against Rumania. Under the Land Reform all the landed property belonging to the Hungarian proprietor and his wife — altogether 1800 cadastral yokes — was sequestered except only 100 yokes. In cases where a husband and wife are left only 50 yokes each out of the property sequestered by expropriation the Rumanian Land Reform Act provides that the amount of compensation is to be paid in cash. In the case in question, however, after wearisome and costly proceedings involving the outlay of millions and after protracted proceedings at law, the authorities remitted to Poór for the landed estate taken from him *expropriation bonds* of the nominal value of 3.5 million lei. Poór then brought a case against the Rumanian Treasury, winning his case before all the

various courts of law; but, notwithstanding his having obtained a definitive finding, he proved unable to secure his legitimate claim. It should be noted that there are large numbers of Transylvanian landed proprietors in a similar situation; whereas in Bessarabia in many cases payment has been made in cash where the parties concerned would have been satisfied with bonds. We may refer, for instance, to the case of Ratzimann, a Bessarabian landowner, who received 3 million lei in cash, though his claim could have been paid also in bonds. ("Brassói Lapok", Vol. XLI., No. 43, January 22nd., 1935.)

HOW THAT "SPIRITUALISATION OF FRONTIERS" WORKS IN PRACTICE

Without troubling to motivate their action the authorities have prohibited the circulation in Rumania of the German translation of a book of verses entitled "Help!" by Alexander Reményik, a well-known Transylvanian poet. An embargo has been placed also on the "Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie", a monthly scientific periodical published in Budapest. The authorities have also prohibited the performance of Zoltán Kodály's world-famed "Psalmus Hungaricus", the music of which has also been placed under an embargo, — the reason given being that this work of Kodály's, which has already made a tour of practically the whole world, is the "anthem of Hungarian irredentism". The Rumanian conductor Radu Urlatianu has been forbidden to ever again conduct in Rumania — for having allowed his orchestra to play that famous musical work. It should be noted by the way that the Rumanian violinist Enescu has also spoken with admiration of the said composition.

The inquisition to which Urlatianu was subjected has ended in a tragedy. The eminent Rumanian conductor has committed suicide...

MINORITY PAPERS PLACED UNDER EMBARGO: FRESH SERIES OF LIBEL CASES

A general ordinance has been issued by the Censor to the effect that no so-called "blank spots" must be left in texts that have been "censored". Seeing that the passages objected to by the Censor can only be removed by chiselling them off the moulds, it is often quite out of the question to give effect to the measure. For not observing the terms of the ordinance many Hungarian dailies have been placed under an embargo by the Censor — e. g. in December last the Nagyvárad "Magyar Hirlap" for 3 days and again in January for a further 10 days, and early in January the Temesvár "Temesvári Hirlap" for 3 days. At the end of January a Hungarian journalist of the name of Joseph Tódor was sentenced by a court of law to 6 months' confinement and a fine of 10.000 lei for having criticised the measures for instituting language tests taken by the General Manager of the CFR. (Rumanian State Railways). Proceedings were also instituted by the Public Prosecutor — on the ground of a manifesto addressed in 1932 to their constituents

through the press containing inciting matter — against Count George Bethlen, President of the Magyar Party of Rumania and four associates. Count George Bethlen was acquitted; but *Dr. Joseph Gál*, one of his "accomplices", was sentenced to a month's confinement and a fine of 5000 lei. A stir was caused throughout the country by the finding of the court in re the appeal of *Joseph Manyák*, Editor-in-Chief of the "Szatmári Ujság", against the sentence passed in the libel suit brought against him: the court rejected the appeal, Manyák being arrested immediately and made to begin the term of five months' confinement imposed upon him. In all probability this finding will lead to a prolonged legal discussion, there being no precedent for the procedure followed by all three instances in refusing to give a hearing to the witnesses for the defence or to permit the presentation of the material evidence collected by the defending counsel.

CLOSING OF HUNGARIAN SCHOOLS AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

The Rumanian Ministry of Education has *forbidden the Reformed elementary school in the village of Illyefalva in the County of Háromszék to function*, giving as his reason that the school is not licensed to function. The truth is, however, that in 1929, at the same time as all the other denominational schools, the school that has just been closed submitted all the papers required to the Ministry; and it is probable that those papers "disappeared" while in the possession of some school inspector or other, there having been innumerable instances of such things happening. The Ministry of Education has definitively suspended the Magyar section of *the State elementary school in the village of Váralmás in the County of Kolozs*, dismissing from service the only Magyar teacher there employed. Now there are 60 Magyar children unable to obtain any instruction in their native tongue, because the woman teacher recently appointed does not know a word of Magyar. Again, by ordinance of the Prefect, *the "Calvin Cultural Institute" in the village of Bács in the County of Hunyad* has also been closed on the ground that three years ago an amateur company performed a piece there without permission and that the Institute is used by the Magyars for secret meetings. By order of the Minister of the Interior *the "Szivgárda" (Heart Fellowship) Association of Transylvanian Roman Catholic Elementary School-children* has been suspended, although its work was solely and exclusively of a religious character.

UNPRECEDENTED ELECTION ABUSES

At a meeting of the Rumanian Senate on March 6th. Joseph Sándor, Magyar Senator, asked a question in re the abuses committed on the occasion of the administrative elections in Háromszék County. On the occasion of the parish elections at Kovászna on February 6th. only 120 out of 1500 Magyar electors were given voting

certificates. Charles Hadnagy and John Deák, election agents, were beaten black and blue. In the village of Uzon, on the occasion of the parish elections held there on February 11th., the local leaders of the Magyar Party — Ladislav Ágoston, President, and Charles Bartha, Charles Széplaki, and Joseph Kőpe, election agents — were subjected to domiciliary visits under the pretext that they were irredentists. So we need not be surprised that in this village inhabited almost exclusively by Magyars, when the ballot-boxes were opened, only 9 votes were found to have been given for the Magyar Party as against 335 for the official list. In illustration of the mentality of the Rumanian Senate we would note that for asking this question Senator Sándor had disciplinary proceedings started against him.

YUGOSLAVIA

THE NATIONAL MINORITIES AND THE ELECTIONS

As is well known, the National Assembly (Skupstina) elections have been fixed for May 5th. These elections will be held as provided in the Election Act of September 10th., 1931, and in the Novels of September 26th., 1931, and March 24th., 1932. Seeing that § XIII. of the Constitution of September 3rd., 1931, as also § XII. of the 1931 Act dealing with Associations and Assemblies, forbids the establishment of parties on a religious, a clan or a regional basis, *the only parties able to take part in the elections are those established on the basis of absolute State and national unity*, the same to file general lists for the whole country which must be submitted by not fewer than 30 electors (acting as nominators) from each administrative hundred, — this being done in a manner ensuring that not less than one half of the total number of administrative hundreds in the country shall be represented in the nomination, the said half (50%) of the total number of hundreds to include however hundreds selected from two thirds of the nine Banates (i. e. hundreds situate in the territories of at least six Banates). In addition to the nominators required to figure on the general lists, each of the candidates for a constituency or hundred respectively must be nominated also by at least 200 nominators — that meaning in the case of 153 hundreds (being one half of the total number of hundreds) no fewer than 30,600 further nominators, so that a *sine qua non* of the approval of the general lists is the signatures of no fewer than altogether 35,190 nominators. According to the "premium system" postulated in the Act, that general list which receives the largest number of votes — even in the event of it obtaining only a relative and not an absolute majority — is to receive three-fifths of the seats. The remaining two-fifths of the seats are to be distributed in proportion to the numbers of votes recorded for the several other general lists, the list of candidates receiving the largest number of votes to be given a share also of these seats.

It is still quite uncertain how many parties will take part in the election campaign conducted under an election

system of so unexampled a structure, which is made even worse by the employment of an open ballot. But it is quite sure that the national minorities numbering altogether two and a half million souls — including also the Magyar and German minorities, each half a million strong — will be unable to organise independent political parties or to take any independent part in the elections. At best they may possibly be able to obtain 2—3 seats on the official general list of Government, if, in addition to concluding the usual election pact, they undertake to unconditionally support the policy of Government.

LAND DISTRIBUTION IN THE FORM OF FREE GIFTS IN YUGOSLAVIA

The allotment of land under the plea of agrarian reform to the Serbian and other South Slav claimants — as also the granting to these persons of disproportionately great benefits — is still going on, causing incalculable material and moral losses to the landowners and to the Magyar claimants who are being excluded altogether from the distribution of land. Quite recently two villages with enormous Magyar majorities — Óbecse (Stari-Becej) and Péterréve (Lacko-Petrovoselo) — were compelled by pressure from the authorities to surrender to Serbian "dobrovoljatz" and other Yugoslav agrarian claimants a part of the village lands at the price of 300 or 400 dinars respectively per cadastral yoke of 1600 square fathoms. Considering that the market value of the vegetable earth (richly fertile soil) of the southern regions (Vojvodina) severed from Hungary is at least 6000—10.000 dinars per cadastral yoke, as a consequence the Serbian and other persons thus allotted land have made an illegitimate profit of 5650—9650 dinars a yoke, the landowners having suffered a loss of the same amounts.

DANGER MENACES MINORITY SPORT CLUBS

Dr. Ljudevit Auer, Physical Training Minister, has elaborated a Bill which, in order to secure the uniformity of the control and development of physical training, stipulates that all military knight and sporting formations — while preserving their independence — must become members of a central organisation. This draft-bill is extremely disquieting from the point of view of the minorities, seeing that the subordination of the minority sport clubs to central organs exclusively under Serbian control must during the carrying into effect of the new provisions result in those clubs (associations) losing their minority character and their independence. This danger threatens in particular the Magyar (Hungarian) sport clubs (associations), which have so far too been driven to "nationalise" and in most cases to exchange their Hungarian names for Serbian names, not only by being compelled to accept the State language as the official language of administration, but also by the having to admit of Serbian and other South Slav elements as members and even as executive officials. The Hungarian (Magyar) minority sport clubs of Hungarian

villages and towns have for years past been compelled to figure under Serbian names (Granicar, Napredna, Omladina, Napred, Napredak, Krivaja, Radnicki, Triglav etc.) — to the glory of the protection of minority rights!!!

IN RE A DECISION TO CHANGE A STREET-NAME

At the recent general meeting of the officially appointed Council of the town of Stara-Kanjiza (a town with 19.000 inhabitants) the street named after Arany János, one of the greatest Hungarian poets, was renamed Nusicevalica after the eminent Serb writer Nusic. As a consequence the name of the Hungarian poet has been removed from the boards marking the street (this being one more instance of the systematic destruction in Yugoslavia of every reminder of the Hungarian past); though by no means because that was the wish of the inhabitants, 94% of whom are Hungarians, but simply because the pressure brought to bear upon the Hungarians from the very outset has at last succeeded in forcing through the change of names. How much finer and more human a gesture it would have been if the authorities, showing respect for Arany's memory, had called some other street after Nusic, — or if the eminent Serb writer had expressed his respect for the immortal name of his fellow-poet by refusing — in the name of literary fellowship — to allow a distinction involving an outrage on the feelings of the Hungarians to be forced on him!

BLOODY DISTURBANCES IN SLAVONIA

On February 19th., at Sibiu, a village near Slavon-Bród, the arrest of three Croatian peasants led to a serious conflict between the inhabitants who demanded the release of the prisoners and the gendarmes. The casualties were 7 dead and 6 seriously wounded; while in addition a large number of persons were arrested and taken the same day to the prison in Slavon-Bród. On February 20th. some 200 agriculturists started off from the neighbouring village to Slavon-Bród, where they demanded the release of those of their fellows who had been arrested on the charge of a breach of the peace. During the demonstration the gendarmes again used their rifles, killing five of the rioters and seriously wounding three. No official statement has been issued of the number of persons slightly wounded or of the number of persons subsequently arrested. On February 23rd., after the requiem for the souls of the Croatian victims celebrated in Zagreb the crowd demonstrated loudly against the Government, though on this occasion there was no bloodshed.

On February 18th., in Cettinje and Podgorica, two towns in Montenegro (Zata Banate) the students demonstrated against the Government in protest against the events which had occurred at the Belgrade University, which events had led to numerous arrests and one death.