

that a few days before the trial the members of the Cabinet discussed what date should be mentioned in Court as the day on which the outrage was committed). The opinion is widely enough held that when sufficient time has elapsed there will be a re-examination of the case. Much concerning the Saloniki conspiracy and trial will perhaps remain an impenetrable secret for ever in consequence of the tragic times in which it occurred, times similar to those which accompanied the movement of Serb liberation and unification, from the murder of the founder of the Karageorgevitch dynasty, the circumstances of whose assassination were never clearly revealed, and the mysterious death of Prince Michael to the attempt on the life of King Milan, etc. A fairly extensive literature on the subject of the Saloniki conspiracy has come into being abroad, e. g. O. Bogičević, "Colonel Apis Dimitrejević"; Swetozár Pribičević, "The Dictatorship of King Alexander", Bassuet, Paris, etc. Serb public opinion reproaches Pribičević for making use in his book of a document stolen from the archives of the Ministry of the Interior at the time when he was in office." (p. 403).

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When M. Šeba treats of the causes of the differences between the Serbs and the Southern Slavs, who formerly belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and are called "Prečans" in Serbia, it would appear that his sympathies are with the former. He says that the lot of the Southern Slavs who lived in

Austria-Hungary was undoubtedly better than that of the Serbs in Old Serbia.

As a result of their historical development the *Prečans* — he writes — belonged to Central Europe, and an regards culture, religion, language and other intellectual assets, although politically oppressed(?) they were able to keep pace with Western and Central Europe. Under a foreign yoke, they were yet able to preserve their national and cultural sphere of Latin Catholicism; and this was an advantage to the population also from a material point of view. The territories of the *Prečans* were spared the horrors of war for wellnigh a century, and thanks to progressive agriculture and the development of industry individual and collective wealth attained a high level. In the furtherance of this progress a great role was played by State administration, which, with all its faults, could not be said to lack a certain measure of western perfection. His opinion of conditions in Old Serbia, on the other hand, is that the long years under the Turkish yoke have left their mark on the progress of civilization there. A particularly deep impression was left on the administration of the country. The lengthy struggle between the Obrenovitch and the Karageorgevitch dynasties kept the country in a state of constant unrest and deprived the State of the labours of some excellent men who either fled the country with the overthrown dynasty or were silenced by persecution.

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## HOW MINORITIES LIVE

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

#### THE NATIONALITY-STATEMENT OF GOVERNMENT FAILED TO SATISFY THE MINORITIES

Not long ago, as is well known, negotiations were opened between the Czecho-Slovak Government and the German Party fractions supporting that Government for the purpose of adjusting the minority question on the basis of a Memorandum drafted by the so-called German "activists" — the German Parties supporting Government. The epilogue to these negotiations appeared on February 21st, in the form of a Declaration made by Government, the substance of which runs as follows:

"The Government will take care that in all places — i. e. in the territories inhabited by Germans too — orders and labour respectively in connection with public works and public building enterprises shall be given first to local contractors and workers respectively. The central authorities responsible for providing the work must strictly supervise the activity of the organs subordinated to them in order to be sure that those organs adhere closely to the principle of economic justice. Government particularly warns all its organs to remember that they are personally responsible for the observance of these instructions. In carrying out the regulations concerning social provision and public health Government will take into due consideration, not only the number of inhabitants, but also the number of unemployed in the respective hundreds (districts). In respect of the social and hygienic provision to be made for the younger generations Government will take care that the direction of such provision shall be in the hands

of persons belonging to the people in question and will use every effort to provide that the social institutions shall be secured and further developed. In respect of admission to the public service of persons belonging to national minorities Government will take a further step and will take into account as thoroughly as possible, not only questions of general qualifications and regional interests, but also the interests of the minorities attaching to more equable distribution. In respect of the correspondence between hundred and other authorities and villages with a population predominantly non-Czech in language Government has put into force regulations providing that all documents drafted in the State language shall have appended to them — without it being necessary to make any particular request to that effect and free of charge — translations in the languages of the national minorities of the respective villages. The Government is prepared to adjust the scope of the language tests in keeping with actual requirements and with consideration for the employment of the applicants in the public service and to agree to the issue of manuals. The Budget Estimates will reflect the decision of Government to contribute to the education, not only of the German and Hungarian (Magyar), but of the other national minorities too, in proportions due to the respective minority. Government is quite ready to expand as far as possible within the limits of the educational organisations already existing the system of taking special account of the cultural requirements of the several nationalities. Where there are any deficiencies in evidence in the local government organisations injurious to the interests of any national or minority groups, Government will use every effort to eliminate those deficiencies."

The first thing that strikes us about the above Government statement is that the complaints voiced during the past eighteen years against the Prague Government by the national minorities of Czecho-Slovakia — complaints recorded month after month

by our Review too — have all been fully justified and well founded. For this Government statement itself admits that in nationality districts public works have been so far carried out, not by the local inhabitants, but by the Czechs or possibly Slovaks brought from other parts of the country. The statement admits that neither the allotment of public works nor the appointments to State offices has so far been effected on the principle of proportionate distribution, the Czechs having enjoyed special privileges in both fields at the cost of the other inhabitants of the Republic. Thus — to give one or two illustrations only — Slovakia and Ruthenia (provinces wrested from Hungary), which supply roughly 15% of the total amount of public imposts, have never received a larger quota of public investments than 5—6%. Not more than 1% of the public employees are of Magyar nationality, although even according to the 1936 Czecho-Slovak Census the Magyars represent almost 5% of the total population of the Republic. And even those Magyars who have been admitted to the public service are compelled to content themselves with posts of a subordinate character.

If the Prague Government does really and honestly intend to enforce the principle of justice and proportionate representation in connection with the allotment of public contracts and with the filling of vacancies in the public service, such a procedure would certainly to some extent alleviate the situation prevailing today; but it would fail to solve Czecho-Slovakia's gravest problem — that of the nationalities —, for there could not possibly be any improvement in this field until the next generation. And indeed the Government statement itself only offers a prospect of the enforcement of the principle of proportionate representation in the future, whereas during the last eighteen years the Czechs have so completely swamped the public offices that it will be impossible to restore the balance of equable ratios until many decades have passed.

And, again, the nationality question of Czecho-Slovakia is not merely a question of the allotment of public contracts or the filling of public offices. There are many ramifications of that question not even alluded to in the above Government statement. All that the statement does in this connection is to promise that the authorities will correspond with villages the majority of whose inhabitants belong to some minority, in the language of that minority. This is the only concrete point to be gathered from that statement; and it is exceptionally insignificant. Today the nationality question of Czecho-Slovakia does not hinge on trivial details of the kind; the pivot round which that question moves is the demand for an emendment of the Constitution and for guarantees adequately ensuring the local self-government of the national minorities: for the 1920 Constitution was framed in the absence of representatives of the national minorities by a so-called "revolutionary national assembly", for which reason the "minorities" which in reality constitute the majority of the population of the State are impelled to regard that Constitution as having been foisted on them and as a document taking no account whatsoever of their individuality. After all the many fine speeches and unfulfilled promises of which there has been no lack in the last eighteen years, the nationalities of Czecho-Slovakia cannot take seriously even the not very weighty promise just uttered.

Ostrich-like, the Czecho-Slovak Government hides its head in the sand in order that it shall not hear the sincere complaints of its nationalities. It would forget that at the 1935 parliamentary elections more than two-thirds of the German inhabitants voted for

Conrad Henlein. It refuses to take note that the vast majority of the Magyars have joined the ranks of the United Magyar Party, or that Andrew Hlinka stands much nearer the Slovak people — and that the autonomist endeavours of Ivan Kurtyák represent the real feelings of the Ruthenian people far better than the centralistic tendencies of certain renegades. Prague is guilty — not only of deluding the world — but of self-delusion too when it comes to terms with the German "activists" who have no roots in the German people or with the Slovak and Ruthenian centralistic opportunists, — not to speak of the Hungarian "exiles" whom it subsidises so richly, though they have been ostracised by Hungarian society.

Under such circumstances we need not be surprised that the statement issued by Government on February 20th. has completely failed to satisfy the public opinion of the non-Czech nationalities. The organ of the Henlein Party, the "Die Zeit", for instance, writes as follows:

"The papers supporting Government appearing in German and therefore quite intelligible to the public opinion of the outside world, have glorified 'the initiative towards the great work of compromise'. The Czech papers which are friendly disposed towards Government, on the other hand, — papers which serve to finally influence the opinion of the tens of thousands of 'subordinate organs' —, are evidently intent on converting the 'great work of compromise' into a matter innocuous and insignificant. We must be clear about this double game before adopting any attitude respecting the 'first stage' of the negotiations of the Government 'activists'. For Sudeta German practice has formulated a single principle based upon experience, — promises are of no interests at all, the decisive point being how they are carried into effect. The carrying into effect of the promises is however in the hands of thousands of public officials who know nothing of the world except what their papers serve up to them in a distorted form. How will men of this kind, who are the thralls of one-sided political views' act in practice? If the authorities are in earnest about this understanding, why do they give false directions to the men who will ultimately decide? Why does the official communiqué pretend that there never has been any discrimination in connection with our investments policy? why does it throw the responsibility for the Sudeta German misery exclusively on the 'coincidence of circumstances'?"

But the most decided answer of the Sudeta Germans was that given by Conrad Henlein in a speech delivered at Aussig on February 28th. in which he made the following statements:

"When in 1918 — in defiance of the principle of self-determination and without our being consulted at all — we were incorporated in the Czecho-Slovak Republic, official declarations were made ensuring us equality of rights and an equal share, — a promise sufficiently dinned into the ears of the public opinion of the world. Not only these solemn statements on the part of Czech statesmen, but the provisions of the Treaty of Saint Germain too guaranteed us equality of rights and prospects; and that Treaty was subjected to the guarantee of the Powers. We cannot therefore agree to our free development guaranteed in treaties being converted into a Babylonian captivity. Again, not only are we entitled to appeal to the League of Nations for redress of the injustice done to us; we are equally entitled to remind those of the Powers which are chivalrous of the guarantees and the moral obligations undertaken by them. And we shall avail ourselves of that right in the future."

Henlein then summarised the demands of his Party in the following fundamental principles:

"1. Self-government does not run counter to the unity of the State, since it does not affect the sovereignty of the State or its frontiers, meaning only the combination of all nationals of the same race to ensure the existence of that race on the basis of a national cadaster.

"2. Persons belonging to any ethnic group cannot however be combined effectually unless their totality is granted recognition as a political body possessing uniform representation. This uniform representation must be granted the right guaranteed in law of co-operating with the members of the said ethnic unit in those questions of that unit which are not State questions and of co-operating on the basis of equality of rights in the work of reconstructing the State, alike in its own sphere of activity and in any such sphere conferred upon it from without.

"3. It is by a self-government and a corporate representation of this kind that the principle of self-determination and joint action which liberates all forces must be realised in fact in the area of settlement and in all central State institutions.

"4. This ethnic self-government and this corporate right of joint decision must be guaranteed by suitable legislation."

The February 21st, issue of the "Slovák" — organ of the Slovak People's Party — which dealt with the above Government declaration —, was confiscated by order of the Public Prosecutor; it is easy to imagine, therefore, the kind of things written about that declaration by Hlinka's friends.

The "Prágai Magyar Hírlap" — organ of the Magyar Party — commented as follows on the declaration:

"Unfortunately it does not contain anything new. What it promises is already to be found in the laws. All it promises is the carrying into effect of the laws, though in a manner fairer and more equitable than today. Had the laws been carried into effect literally, it would be superfluous. In Czecho-Slovakia the Constitution guarantees the non-Czech nationalities a proportionate share in political rights, — a proportionate share of public offices and public benefits. But unfortunately the law and its practice are two different things. In Slovakia and Ruthenia the proportion of Magyars is 17.35% and 15.44% respectively; and they should be allotted a proportionate quota of public offices, public contracts, cultural and social benefits and economic subsidies. But in practice we find that there are no Magyar officials in the public offices; while it is characteristic of the hundred (local) administration that, although there are fifteen hundreds with a majority of Magyars, there is not a single Magyar hundred magistrate, and the school inspectorates of districts where there are Magyar majorities are all exclusively under the control of "Czecho-Slovaks" and there is not a single Magyar secondary school with a Magyar as director. And this is true of all fields of public life except only the courts of law; it is particularly true of the railways and the post office administration. And then there is the practice in force in the Magyar hundreds in respect of the use of languages; there is not a single village with a Magyar majority or a substantial Magyar minority in which the railways or the post office administration uses Magyar inscriptions. That is the difference between the good provisions and the bad carrying into effect of a law. 99% of the grievances of the non-Czech nationalities are due to the subordinate organs failing to carry into effect the letter of the law or to their putting a narrow interpretation on that law. The Statement made by Government promises only measures of an administrative character. So far all we have been told is that we cannot have any cause to complain, as everything is going on in perfect order. And now — after the „nationality statement" — the Government itself has proved that there have been defects in connection with the carrying into effect and application of the laws; for it has been compelled to promise something which has long been part of the written law."

## DENATIONALISATION OF HUNGARIAN CHILDREN

In a speech made during the debate in the House of Deputies on the Accounts, Andrew Jaross, President of the United Hungarian (Magyar) Party, re-

ferred to the case of the school at Ény, a Magyar village, a case in reference to which he had previously questioned the Minister of Schools in which he demanded that the Magyar school applied for some time back by the Hungarian inhabitants of the village should at last be granted. Thereupon the district notary had summoned the inhabitants to appear before him and had endeavoured to persuade them to withdraw their signatures appended to the application for a Magyar school and to declare themselves to be "Czecho-Slovaks". In the territory of the Zselin district, which contains only villages with absolute majorities of Magyar inhabitants, the de-magyarising action was started under the land reform measures. The Breiner domain lying within that district was not divided among the "land-hungry" Magyar agriculturists, but was retained by the State, the domain having just been leased by the Ministry of Agriculture to the Oroszka sugar refinery belonging to the concern of the Zivno Bank, which has converted the Magyar elementary school belonging to the domain into a school with Slovak as the language of instruction. In the village of Zselin the post of parish priest had become vacant; but the authorities had appointed, not the Hungarian "administrator" who had been working there for years, or any other Hungarian priest, but a Slovak. "The Czecho-Slovak Republic" — declared Jaross — "which was established on the pretext of a liberation of oppressed nations, has made itself unpopular in the eyes of the whole world by its system of oppressing nations which though not admitted openly, is being carried out in practice; and that is why it has today to increase its armaments."

## WHAT HAS THE LAND REFORM DONE FOR THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY?

According to a speech made by Count John Eszterházy, Acting President of the United Hungarian Party, at the February 26th. session of the House of Deputies, the area of land requisitioned *in territory inhabited by Hungarians* (Magyars) was 130.280 hectares. Of this area only 26.863 hectares (20%) were allotted to Magyars — even a large proportion of that amount (6736) being only leased to Hungarians. The latifundia in the "Csallóköz" district (an almost purely Magyar island on the Danube) have been converted into State latifundia; while the land reform has led to an increase in the number of owners of latifundia, the proportion of "Csallóköz" territory occupied by such estates being 6.5%, whereas in the pre-War period of natural development that proportion had shown a declining tendency. The number of larger small holdings (57.5—86 hectares) in the "Csallóköz" — as also that of medium-sized estates (86—430 hectares) has remained practically unchanged or has slightly increased, though not to an extent involving any particular benefit to our economic life; for holdings and estates of the kind have been allotted to settlers and owners of residual properties not possessing the necessary training or capital or properly supported by co-operative societies, whereas if the lands in question had been allotted to Magyar peasants living in that district, the land reform would have led to the creation of a properly educated class of owners of medium-sized estates of peasants. Another defect of the land reform is that in Hungarian districts the indigent were allotted far less land than they should have been. According to the 1932 manual of the Statistical Bureau the owners of the smaller parcels (lots) of land were allotted 72%

of the land requisitioned — though the proportion allotted to such owners in the "Csallóköz" district was only 20.12%. In addition the system of parcelling was effected on a larger scale in the "Csallóköz". Whereas in the territory of the Republic generally there is one landowner affected by the land reform to every 74 sq kilometres. This naturally affects the interests also of the masses of permanent and seasonal labourers, navvies and reapers. One natural consequence of this state of things is that there is an increase of the proletariat in the provinces; the continual increase of unemployment leads to an aggravation of communistic leanings. Furthermore, we should be very far from the mark if we asserted that the land reform has led to farming becoming more intensive; for there is a set-back, for instance, in cattle-breeding.

## RUMANIA

### BRITISH PETITION TO LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN RE ANTI-UKRAINIAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF RUMANIAN GOVERNMENT

On 16th. February 10 persons prominent in British public life (Dickinson, Rhayader, Francis D. Acland, J. A. Lovat Fraser, Robert Gower, Walter S. Liddall, G. P. Gooch, Gilbert Murray, Walter Napier, Henry W. Nevinson) submitted a petition dealing with the situation of the Ukrainian minority in Rumania and it stated that their position was diametrically opposed to the Minority Treaty concluded in Paris on 9th. November 1919 and the Treaty of Sévres re. Bessarabia of 20th. October 1920. The petition refers to Article 10 of the Minority Treaty and then goes on to say that

In 1896, out of 335 elementary schools in Bukovina there were 131 Ukrainian schools where all the subjects were taught in the Ukrainian language. Twelve were Ukrainian-German schools, twelve Ukrainian-Rumanian, eight Ukrainian-Rumanian-German, two Ukrainian-Rumanian-Polish, 165 Ukrainian or partly Ukrainian schools with 313 classes. Out of 700 teachers 240 were Ukrainians. The number of Ukrainian schools increased, and shortly before the War (1910/1911) there were in Bukovina 531 elementary schools, out of which 216 were Ukrainian schools, 179, Rumanian, 82 German, 12 Polish, 5 Hungarian, 6 mixed Ukrainian-German and 2 Ukrainian-Rumanian-Polish.

The official organ "Munitorul Oficial" of 24th July 1927, No. 101, gives the number of elementary schools in Bukovina for the year 1919—1920 as 508; of this Rumanian schools numbered 257, Ukrainian 157, German 64, Polish 27, Hungarian 3. It shows that, only a few months after occupation, the number of Rumanian schools increased by 78 and the number of Ukrainian schools decreased by 59 in comparison with the pre-war times. The figures for 1922—1923 are: 575 elementary schools, out of which 319 were Rumanian, 155 Ukrainian, 47 German, 27 Jewish, 25 Polish and 2 Hungarian. But in the 155 nominally Ukrainian schools most of the subjects were already being taught in Rumanian.

In 1927, the Rumanian language was introduced as the language of instruction in all schools. It was even prohibited for the teachers to explain in the Ukrainian language; the children were prohibited to speak amongst themselves in Ukrainian, and they were instructed to use only Rumanian greetings in the street.

As a result of widespread protests throughout the

country, on December 31st., 1929, the Government issued a decree, No. 184882, that:

"From 31st December 1929, in schools where the population is Ukrainian, north of the River Pruth, eight hours per week may be devoted to teaching the Ukrainian language, including the teaching of religion at least two hours a week. These eight hours are not included in the ordinary curriculum, and are voluntary. The teachers who do this work have to teach these subjects outside their own official number of hours." ("Czas", February 6th, 1930. No. 396.)

This decree did little to improve the situation or restore legitimate rights, but at the same time showed that the Government admitted that their provisions were inadequate. But even this decree, therefore, leaves the Ukrainians south of the River Pruth, as well as in Bessarabia, where great numbers of Ukrainians reside, entirely without the "adequate facilities" to which they are legally entitled. In Bessarabia there are no Ukrainian schools at all, and there is no instruction in the Ukrainian language although the Ukrainian population of Bessarabia is as great, if not greater, than the Ukrainian population of Bukovina.

As regards secondary schools in Bukovina (numbering seven German, four Rumanian, three Ukrainian-Government and one Ukrainian private school), there were in 1910/11, 5,600 students, i. e. 2,946 Germans (majority Jewish), 1,194 Ukrainians, 1,193 Rumanians, 238 Poles, 10 Slovaks, 10 Magyars, and none others. ("Czas", March 8th, 1931. No. 713.)

In 1914, there existed a Government Ukrainian High School at Wiznitz, with 600 students and 28 teachers; and another at Kotzman with 670 students and 37 teachers; a bilingual Ukrainian-German school in Czernowitz with 560 students and 34 teachers; and in Seret with 200 students and 10 teachers. Also in Waszkouts there was a private Ukrainian Real-Gymnasium with 120 students and 8 teachers.

None of these schools now exist; they are either abolished or converted into purely Rumanian schools.

So far as technical schools are concerned, there existed before the Rumanian occupation the following Ukrainian schools; a lower Agricultural School in Kotzman, a Home Industries School at Storczynez, a Weaving School in Czernowitz, and a School for Carving at Wiznitz. The two latter schools were abolished and the two first were made into purely Rumanian institutions.

The University of Czernowitz was created in 1875, being enlarged from a theological college which had existed from 1827. The Ukrainians had, before the War, several Chairs at this University, which was German. Ever since the beginning of 1875, there existed in the Faculty of Philosophy a Chair of Ukrainian Literature and Language, and a Chair of Slavonic and East European History; and both these Chairs had Ukrainian Professors. With the advent of the Rumanian occupation, the University became a Rumanian University, and at the Faculty of Theology, where some of the subjects had been taught in Ukrainian, all such subjects were taught in Rumanian. In 1920, the Chair for Ukrainian Language and Literature was abolished and in its place a Chair for Slavonic Literatures was introduced with a Rumanian Professor. All requests on the part of the Ukrainians to retain the Ukrainian Chair for Literature and Language failed. All kinds of restrictions were placed in the way of students, and whereas in 1910/1911, 207 Ukrainian students attended the University, in 1932, there were scarcely 50.

These few examples will be sufficient to show that the Rumanian Authorities do not appear to have carried out Article 10 of the Minorities Treaty either in the spirit or in the letter.

As the records of the League will show, this matter has been the subject of frequent petitions to the League of Nations.

The question was considered by a Committee of Three in 1929 and 1930, and a report of the Committee of Three signed by the Representatives of France, Italy and Venezuela and communicated to Members of the Council in League Document No. C. 120. 1930. I of 4th February 1930.

In that report it is stated that the Rumanian Government proposed to introduce measures which would give complete satisfaction to the Ukrainian population, thereby admitting that the protests to the League had been justified.

Unfortunately, the conditions remain unchanged and the new measures promised by the Rumanian Government are still unfulfilled.

The League of Nations should take immediate steps to ensure that the provisions of the Minorities Treaty should be applied to the treatment of the Ukrainians not only in Bukovina but also in Bessarabia.

## PUBLIC PROSECUTOR DISMISSES CHARGE AGAINST NEWSPAPER ADVOCATING A ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S NIGHT

Count George Bethlen, President of the Hungarian Party of Rumania, lodged an indictment against M. Octavian Dobrota, editor of the "Glasul Românesc", with the Public Prosecutor's Office, charging him with inciting against the nationalities in that he published — as has been repeatedly stated in our Review — an article demanding a St. Bartholomew's night in Transylvania and the extermination of the Hungarians. Now Count Bethlen has been handed the decision of the Public Prosecutor, stating that in the absence of a criminal offence, proceedings have been stopped. This, in other words, means that the Public Prosecutor does not consider that a grave act of incitement against the Hungarian minority constitutes a criminal offence ("Keleti Ujság", Feb. 27).

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## THE PROPERTY OF THE PREMONSTRATIENSIS IN NAGY- VÁRAD SEQUESTERED

The Premonstratensian Canons of Nagyvárád — a town situated in the part of pre-Trianon Hungary attached to Rumania — have for nearly four centuries been engaged in the education of the young and the cure of souls. The property of this branch of the Order was a donation from the Church received 407 years ago and never belonged to the Hungarian State. It consisted of a church and monastery in Nagyvárád, a vineyard and a lyceum. This Nagyvárád lyceum was opened in 1574, but was closed in 1923 without any legal right by the Rumanian authorities. Until quite recently the Premonstratensian Order of Canons figured in the Land Register as the owner of these properties. Not long ago, however, on the instigation of Professor Ghibu of the Kolozsvár University, the Land Registry Office conveyed all the properties of the Premonstratensian Order in Nagyvárád to the State. The Order appealed in the Nagyvárád Courts of Justice against this decision of the Land Registry Office and applied for a cancellation of the confiscation effected at the request, not of the Rumanian

State, but of a private person which was diametrically opposed to the Concordate between the Papal See and Rumania. The Rumanian Court of Justice rejected the appeal and now the final decision rests with the Supreme Court of Cassation, to which the Order has appealed ("Keleti Ujság", Feb. 22).

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## MINORITY COMPANIES RUMANISED

A new Bill for the protection of national labour is being prepared by the Rumanian Ministry of Commerce, the provisions of which Bill weigh even more heavily upon the minorities than the laws in force at present. Thus it changes the percentage of the non-Rumanian employees of minority companies; every commercial and industrial establishment will be obliged to recruit 75% of its staff from individuals of Rumanian origin (origina etnica Romaneasca — "Hirlap", March 7).

Even the more authoritative factors of Rumanian political life have thought it fit to raise their voice against the Bill. Thus, for instance, M. Dinu Bratianu, President of the Liberal Party, has declared that it was impossible to pass such a law. "The Liberal Party", he said, "represents constructive nationalism and it has actually carried out the principle of ethnical priority in all the establishments it has founded; yet, if we consider the occupied territories, the situation we find there is not the result of a certain historical process, but a tradition of the past. We are not entitled to pursue what might be termed "speculative nationalism", nor must we imitate any other methods or otherwise allow ourselves to be led into legislative improvisations or social agitation. We are not Germany, where the minority element represents only a few hundred thousands out of 70 millions. Rumania has a minority population of 4 millions. Nationalism in this country", concluded M. Bratianu, "has to be exercised with consideration and resolution, but by degrees, else it may sooner or later cause the ruin of the economic life of the country" ("Keleti Ujság", March 8).

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## NEWSPAPERS SUPPRESSED FORCED TO CHANGE THEIR TITLES AND RIDICULOUSLY CENSORED

The Staff Commander of the 6th Division stationed at Kolozsvár on 29th January issued an order — No. 24.620 — suppressing without any explanation the "Tudósító" of Kolozsvár, a religious monthly magazine of twenty years' standing ("Magyar Lapok" Febr. 2).

The "Krassó-Szörényi Lapok", a fortnightly paper published in Lugos, was obliged by order to change its title at 24 hours' notice. The new name of the paper is "Caras és Severini Lapok" ("Keleti Ujság" Jan. 29). By order of the Press Department the "Csiki Lapok" of Csikszereda has been obliged to adopt the title "Ciuci Lapok", and in future the "Erdélyi Napló" must, by order of the police, bear the title of "Transilvaniai Napló" ("Keleti Ujság" Febr. 3 and 5).

In his speech on the censorship in the Senate on 26th January Senator Elemér Gyárfás (Hungarian) stated that at New Year he had sent the same article to Kolozsvár, Arad, Temesvár and Nagyvárád. One newspaper was allowed to publish it in full; the censor in the second place deleted one-third of it; in Temesvár half was cut out, and in Nagyvárád not even the title was allowed to appear in print. M. Gyárfás said

he was ready to submit to the Senate his article, which did not contain a single sentence to which objection might be taken ("Hírlap", Jan. 28).

M. Stephen Gábor, Nagyvárad correspondent of the "Brassói Lapok", has been sentenced by the Court in Brassó to 6 months' imprisonment and a fine of 10.000 lei, and also ordered to pay 5.000 lei costs. The charge of which he was found guilty was that in an article on last year's leaving certificate examination in Nagyvárad he had protested, because the presiding examiner, M. Onisifor Ghibu, only allowed two Hungarian students to pass ("Déli Hírlap", Jan. 18).

Under Order No. 503—1936 the Prefect of County Brassó has forbidden the "Kronstädter Zeitung" of Brassó to use German placenames ("Keleti Újság", Jan. 2).

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## ANOTHER HUNGARIAN DAILY SUPPRESSED

By Ordinance 10.119 of 21st February the Minister of the Interior has suppressed for an indefinite period the "Reggeli Újság", a Hungarian daily of Marosvásárhely. No explanation was given. The daily in question, known to be loyal in its sentiments, was published conjointly by its editor, M. Sigismund Gyulai, and his old staff of journalist printers ("Keleti Újság", Feb. 24).

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## HUNGARIANS NOT ALLOWED TO GO TO THEATRES, LITERARY LECTURES, AND BALLS

The Rumanian authorities have refused to license the Hungarian charity dance at Nagyvárad (Keleti Újság, Jan. 18), and the literary meetings of the Kölcsey Society at Szatmár (Népujság, Febr. 4). The theatrical performances of the Bácskay company at Nagyszalonta have been prohibited without any further explanation (Magyar Újság, Febr. 5).

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## AUTHORITIES PARALYZE HUNGARIAN CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

At the meeting of the Parliamentary Group of the General Hungarian Party of Rumania held in Bucharest on 21st January it was resolved to send a delegation led by its president, Count George Bethlen, to the Minister of the Interior and the head of the State Security Office to protest against the measures which were paralyzing all cultural activity and request their withdrawal. Points heard were:

That one result of the violent campaign against the Hungarians which had been going on in the press for years now was that in many places the *constitutional activity of the churches and the activity of the cultural societies as prescribed in their statutes had been made impossible*. That the Agricultural Development Bill contained startling provisions and would lead to complications likely to paralyze all independent farming. *That the Bill proposing a revision of the lists of Rumanian citizens would afford ample opportunities to further harass the minorities. That the question of those civil servants who had begged to be pensioned on the ground of illness and whose bona fides had*

*been established by an investigating committee, had not yet, after the lapse of eighteen months, been settled*. In conclusion the Group solemnly protested against the Protection of National Labour Act being executed in a manner that deprived *en masse Hungarian workmen and private employees of a means of livelihood*.

At the last general meeting of the elected County Council of the almost purely Hungarian county of Csík it was submitted that *the formation of farmers' societies was also banned by the authorities*. It was also said that *the gendarmes were making the activity of societies of a religious character impossible*. Family gatherings were being described as secret meetings. The 14% contribution from the parish rates towards education was *not being handed over to denominational schools* ("Keleti Újság", Feb. 5.).

At the last general meeting of the County Council of the county of Marostorda the majority of the inhabitants of which are Hungarian, it was stated as a grievance that the Country Council *had not voted any support to the minority churches and schools*, and that the Roman Catholic parish priest of Borszék *had been forbidden by the school inspector to teach religion* in the State elementary school. The Greek Oriental priest had been entrusted with the task of teaching the Roman Catholic faith ("Brassói Lapok", Feb. 4).

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## FRESH BLOWS TO HUNGARIAN CULTURE

A memorandum has been submitted by Dr. Joseph Willer, a Hungarian member of Parliament, to the Minister of Interior in which the Association of Hungarian Choral Unions complains of the ungenerous attitude of the authorities towards such perfectly harmless bodies as church choirs ("Magyar Lapok", Febr. 20). On March 1st the town authorities of Székelykeresztúr (I. G. Duca) discontinued the activities of the local Hungarian choral society without any further explanation ("Keleti Újság", March 7, No. 54).

The Minister of the Interior has prohibited the performances of Eugen Heltai's beautiful play, the "Dumb Knight", a drama of high literary value which had been played in Vienna several times; it is a dramatization of Galeotti's Chronicle, one of its heroes being King Matthias of Hungary (1458—1490), whose monumental equestrian statue still stands in the main square of Kolozsvár (Cluj), the capital city of Transylvania (Temesvári Hírlap, Febr. 19). — The Minister of the Interior has ordered the cinema "Urania" in the city of Szatmár to be closed; the proprietor of the picture house was a Hungarian called Zoltán Papp. The secret of this affair is that another picture house has been opened in the city, many of its shareholders being eminent members of the Rumanian Government Party (Keleti Újság, Febr. 28).

The national culture of the minorities is being exposed to another imminent danger; the new *Theatrical Bill* — in the defence of that very elastic and arbitrary idea called "national interests" — entitles every municipal leader (burgomaster, parish constable, etc.) and even the Director of the local Rumanian theatrical company (i. e. the business rival) to stop the performances of any Hungarian company or any other cultural performance. The Bill does not provide for a Government subsidy to the minority companies, while the Rumanian companies enjoy ample support without the obligation of tax paying. This, again, sounds like a denial of the principle of equal and just treatment which has been laid down in the minority agreement (Keleti Újság, March 3).

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## DEMOLITION OF HUNGARIAN MONUMENTS STILL GOING ON

Very many years ago a bust was erected at Érmindszent, the birthplace of the great Hungarian writer and linguist, Francis Kazinczy (1759—1831), in commemoration of the centenary of his birth; the Rumanian authorities have now ordered this bust to be removed from its place and to be taken to Zilah (Magyar Szó, Jan. 10). — Thirty-seven years ago a memorial tablet was inserted in the wall of the Town Hall of Újszentes, a village not far from the city of Temesvár, to the memory of Alexander Petőfi, the world-famous Hungarian lyric poet, and General Bem, one of the outstanding leaders of the Hungarian War of Liberty of 1848—49; this tablet has now been stolen at dead of night by unknown hands, and so far its place of hiding has not been discovered (Temesvári Hírlap, Jan 28).

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## FRESH VICTIMS OF LANGUAGE TESTS

The teachers of the Roman Catholic Agrarian School in Kézdivásárhely have been ordered by the Ministry of Agriculture to take the language test ("Magyar Lapok", Jan. 31). The Ministry has also ordered the Woods and Forests Offices to make every minority department chief, official and employee, even the village woodrangers, take the language examination. In the County of Csik this order applies to 103 public servants ("Keleti Ujság", Febr. 1). The number, running to many thousands, of minority public servants — post office employees, teachers, railway employees and municipal and county officials — has been swollen by a considerable number of employees from the Kolozsvár Municipal Electric Works. That a great number of electricity consumers in Kolozsvár are Hungarians does not count. Most of the employees who failed to pass the language examination held towards the end of last year have been dismissed. Of the 31 persons employed at headquarters (officials and servants) who had to take the examination last year, only 8 passed, and only 27 of the 47 workmen. At a recent meeting of the management of the Municipal Electric Works it was resolved to dismiss those who had failed. As the Kolozsvár Municipal Electric Works has no pension fund, the discharged employees will be entirely unprovided for ("Magyar Ujság", Febr. 6).

The Interim Committee in Kolozsvár has unexpectedly ordered another 28 minority officials and employees to take the language test ("Ellenzék", Febr. 28). The minority officials and employees in the Ministry of Agriculture have likewise been ordered by the Minister to pass a language examination. Thus, another 217 minority citizens will have to appear before the examining committees ("Népujság", Febr. 15). No whisper of a revision of the cases of the thousands of minority officials and employees who were discharged on the pretext that their knowledge of Rumanian was insufficient, has yet been heard in official places; but already the extreme Right "Porunca Vremii" is protesting against the idea of their being reinstated in their posts as the result of re-examination ("Keleti Ujság", Febr. 18).

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## SIGN-POSTS AND SHOP-SIGNS MUST BE WRITTEN IN RUMANIAN

On 25th February the Prefect of the County of Arad issued a decree ordering that in future only Rumanian geographical names were to be used throughout the entire area of the county. Henceforward every name and superscription and text on all public and private sign-boards must be in Rumanian. The use of the old names will be severely punished ("Hirlap", Feb. 26).

The Chief Constable of Székelykeresztúr, M. I. G. Duca, has ordered all the shopkeepers of the place whose sign-boards bear Hungarian inscriptions too to have new ones made, or the Hungarian inscription removed ("Keleti Ujság", March 7).

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## FIFTY-NINE PARISHES TO BE GIVEN RUMANIAN NAMES

The Rumanian authorities of the County of Szatmár have decided to Rumanize the names of 59 parishes, because their present names have not a purely Rumanian character (Keleti Ujság, January 21st).

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## SPECULATION AND EXPROPRIATION OF MINORITY PROPERTIES

M. Goga's Party has recently introduced a Bill for the expropriation — for settlement purposes — of all landed property within a zone of 100 kilometres from the Western (i. e. Hungarian and Yugoslav) frontiers. Properties of less than 25 acres will be expropriated if purchased after the year 1914, while those exceeding 50 acres are to be expropriated irrespectively of their situation and date of purchase. The Bill thus introduced is positively anti-constitutional; it hurts the feelings of the minority population, and is a living example of unequal and unjust treatment. Owing to the intervention of the minority leaders the Government has not identified itself with the intentions of the Bill, so that the danger has been warded off for the time being. Some unscrupulous speculators, however, have already taken advantage of the introduction of the Bill by going round the frontier district and causing a fall of prices by intimidating the population of these districts (Magyar Ujság, Febr. 28).

The leaders of the German minority have protested to the Minister of Agriculture against the Bill. They have pointed out that the Bill is in direct contradiction of the constitutional right of equal and just treatment and that it would cause the material ruin of the German farming population of the Banate inhabiting the zone within 100 kilometres of the Western frontiers. Most of the landed estates in this zone of less than 25 acres are held by German farmers. The introduction of the Bill caused a sudden fall of 20% in the price of land in the Banate (Siebenbürgisch Deutsches Tageblatt, Febr. 27).

The "Universul", which is the mouthpiece of the "right wing", expresses the opinion that the very existence of the Rumanian State and People demands a speedy Rumanisation of the frontier land facing Hungary (Febr. 25).

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## SUFFERINGS OF BULGARIAN MINORITY IN SOUTH DOBRUDJA

The court of justice in Silistra (Durostor) should have pronounced sentence at the beginning of February in a great political trial. No fewer than 337 Bulgarian subjects of Rumania were arraigned. The charge against them was that they had taken part in a Communist conspiracy with a view to violently overthrowing order within the State. The "Dimineata", an important Rumanian daily, was the first to deny this. The trial, however, was postponed till 22nd February because the defence announced the intention of producing a number of new witnesses to prove that during the examination of the accused, third degree methods reminiscent of the tortures of the Spanish Inquisition had been employed to induce them to make the confessions the examining authorities wished to hear.

This trial, which was instituted on the strength of charges framed by paid informers, is merely one link in the chain of a series of measures the openly avowed aim of which is to force the autochthonous Bulgarian population of South Dobrudja either to emigrate or to become absorbed by the Rumanian majority.

The terrible sufferings of the Bulgarian minority in Rumania were set forth last year in "*Excès contre la minorité bulgare dans la Dobroudja du Sud*", a volume published by the *Institut Bulgare des Minorités*. For the benefit of our readers we give below a brief summary of some passages of that work. They will serve as an illustration of the extreme anti-minority policy under which not only the Bulgarians, but also more or less all the minorities in Rumania are languishing.

In the field of economics — says the book — the greatest blow dealt to the autochthonous Bulgarian inhabitants of South Dobrudja was the expropriation for settlement purposes of a full third of the somewhat more than 500,000 hectares of land in their possession. No compensation was paid for the land confiscated and its former Bulgarian owners were compelled to pay the taxes on it. The confiscation was effected in a manner ensuring that the fertile lands should pass into the possession of the State, while the Bulgarian farmers were left with the poorer parts, in some cases with absolutely barren land. Claimants belonging to the Bulgarian minority were, without exception, debarred from enjoying the "blessings" of the Land Reform; and seeing that the laws passed in 1930, 1934, and 1936 give the State the right of option on all land for sale, the autochthonous Bulgarian inhabitants are in reality deprived of the possibility of acquiring land by purchase. Among the other means used to cripple the Bulgarian minority in the field of economics we find the system of socage, of compulsory unpaid labour, a crushing burden of over-taxation, and, last not least the circumstance that almost without interruption since 1925 the houses of the Bulgarians have been occupied by Rumanian settlers, while their owners are obliged to live in the stables.

A few statistics taken from the memorandum addressed to the Rumanian Prime Minister in 1936 will serve to illustrate the cultural situation of the Bulgarian minority. In 1913 the Bulgarians of the two counties of South Dobrudja had 61 churches with a Bulgarian ritual, and 72 Bulgarian priests. Today they have only 12 priests, most of whom are obliged to conduct Divine Service in the Rumanian language. At the time of the change of rule the Bulgarians of South Dobrudja had 250 elementary schools (in which the language of tuition was Bulgarian) with 17,000 pupils and 800 teachers. Today all they have is a few private elementary schools, 2 lyceums and 2 four-class

gymnasiums with 130 teachers and 2000 pupils, while on other hand 21,000 pupils of Bulgarian nationality are forced to attend Rumanian schools.

Now as regards the political trial above mentioned. It is a classical example of political persecution and tyranny of the authorities. Since the middle of February 1936 the police and gendarmes, aided by the Rumanian settlers, have been on the hunt among the Bulgarians of 10 villages in the county of Silistra in South Dobrudja. Over 800 persons have been arrested who, according to an article written on the spot by a special correspondent of the Rumanian daily, the "Dimineata", were subjected to the following treatment. For weeks the innocent victims were starved; then, loaded with fetters to which heavy stones or logs weighing from 20 to 30 kilogrammes were attached, they were driven or dragged on foot from one village to the next to be examined again and again. Many of the married women and girls were violated. A favourite way of examining them was as follows. Stripped naked they were made to lie face down on a wet floor. A tin can full of ice-cold water was placed on the back of the victim and left there until he broke down and "confessed". Confessions extracted in this way form the evidence submitted in the public prosecutor's bill of indictment.

And all this is taking place in the era of internationally guaranteed minority protection. What a farce that protection is, is proved more than anything also by the lamentable fact that there was not one man on the whole League of Nations Council ready to lift his voice in protest against the persecution and systematic ruining of an entire racial group.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### THE CHURCH AND SCHOOL AUTONOMY OF THE SERBIANS OF HUNGARY FIGURES AS IDEAL OF THE GERMAN MINORITY IN YUGOSLAVIA

At the session of the Skupshtina on March 3rd. Dr. Stephen Kraft, German Deputy, made an important speech in which he first objected to the Minister of Education, *Stonovitch*, having failed in his speech on the Budget to even mention the national minorities and their legitimate claims in the field of education. In the course of his arguments he dealt exhaustively with the situation of the parallel elementary school sections of the Germans of Yugoslavia, establishing the fact that there was not a sufficient supply of German teachers and that in many places the sections with German as the language of instructions were being taught by teachers who were not familiar with German, — a circumstance concerning which he had convinced himself by personal experience, *inter alia* in respect to the elementary school sections of the German minority at Crvenica in the "Bácska" district, Indjija in the "Szerémség" district, Ruma, Franztal and Zemun, where of 77 teachers only 14 were of German nationality, the others knowing very little or nothing of German. One result of this absurd situation was that the children did not learn properly either

their mother tongue or the language of the State, leaving the schools after completion of the courses as half-illiterates. The number of unfortunate children of the kind was large enough relatively speaking; and the trouble was aggravated by the circumstance that of 47,000 children of schooling age 10,000 were not receiving any instruction in German at all.

Continuing, Dr. Kraft declared that the minorities protested most energetically *against their being — despite their reliability as citizens of the State — made the victims of the policy of reciprocity, and that they were not prepared to acquiesce in their being still treated as citizens of inferior rank.* In his opinion the question as to what was to become of the younger generations of minority pupils when they had finished their schooling, was of the utmost importance; those younger generations — in view chiefly of the fact that almost insurmountable obstacles stood in the way of their finding employment in the public service — must be ensured possibilities at least of earning a mere subsistence and of obtaining some employment.

A circumstance of importance as illustrating the educational situation of the German minority was that the Schwäbisch-Deutscher Kulturbund had for three years trying in vain to establish an infant school with German as the language of instruction at Újvidék (Novisad). In this connection he believed it necessary that minority education should be separated in the Ministry administratively from education in the language of the State. He noted finally that as far back as 1928 the German Deputies had submitted to Government a proposal for the equitable adjustment of the question of schooling which had however not yet achieved any results. In the said proposal the German Deputies had pointed out most emphatically that *a veritably ideal solution of the educational problem of the German minority would be the reproduction of the church and school autonomy freely enjoyed by the Serbians of Hungary down to the end of the Great War.*

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## OFFICIAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF HUNGARIAN ART MEMORIALS

On March 10th. the Court of Law at Újvidék (Novisad) began the trial of *Oberknezhevitch*, Head Keeper of the Town Records, who during the course of the year 1935 stole from the town hall the portrait of Queen Elizabeth of Hungary painted by the famous Hungarian painter Vastagh, which in the early days of the change of rule the Serbians had placed in the lumber room of the town hall. During the trial *Slavnitch*, former Keeper of the Town Records, when asked by the counsel for the defence *whether the town had ever received a confidential ministerial ordinance with instructions to destroy all old pictures, coats of arms and other objects serving as reminders of the Hungarian régime*, answered in the affirmative. Similar evidence was given by *Dr. Markovitch*, town councillor, who in reply to a question put by the counsel for the

defence as to why the valuable picture in question had not been entered in the inventory of the town, answered simply that it was not necessary to keep any record of the picture, seeing that it was a symbol of the Hungarian régime of former times.

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## FRESH DATA CONCERNING NATIONALISTIC OBJECTS OF LAND REFORM

At the March 7th. session of the Skupshtina M. Stan'kovitch, Minister of Agriculture, declared that on the 714 latifundia so far expropriated in the "northern territories" — i. e. in the "Voivodina" district wrested from Hungary, in Croatia and in Slovenia — and distributed exclusively among claimants of Serb and other Yugoslav nationality 31,700 families (including 19,442 "Dobrovliatz" families) had been settled, that the applications of more than 7000 "Dobrovliatz" claimants had not yet been settled and that it would not be possible to allot land to more than one half of these claimants, while the others would have to be indemnified by receiving State bonds. From "Dobrovliatz" families 48 new settlements had been established in the "Bácska" region and in the Baranya triangle alone — chiefly along the Hungarian frontier and in the immediate vicinity of villages inhabited by Magyars. Another exceptionally interesting statement made by the Minister was to the effect that during the course of the past ten years the area under cultivation has been increased by 1,400,000 hectares, — a circumstance which, if really true, proves that the land required to carry into effect the land reform measures might have been acquired without having recourse to the expropriation and parcelling out of the latifundia and that the settlement of the Yugoslav claimants on the territories requisitioned was inspired, not by economic or social, but by *exclusively nationalistic aims.* That is evident also from the address delivered on January 19th., before the Association of Yugoslav Agronomists, by *M. Ristitch*, a high official in the Ministry of Agriculture, who declared that the agrarian reform served the objects of national policy and that the settlement of the national elements was effected irrespective of whether they were interested in agriculture or not. In his opinion the main object of the settlement was the nationalisation of territories the nationalism of which was doubtful.

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## FINANCIAL RUIN OF HUNGARIAN TOWN

The corporate town of Nagykanizsa (Pavlovgrad) is 95% Hungarian in character. At a meeting of the Town Council (appointed not elected) on 5th March it was resolved, in response to a motion made by *M. Agbaba*, the Serb Mayor of the town, that in order to escape total bankruptcy the status of the town should be reduced to that of a borough. The sole reason for this astonishing step is that thanks to the mismanagement of a series of inept and untrained officials — appointed officials — the once wealthy town has become so impoverished that its inhabitants are no longer able to pay the costs of an expensive municipal administration.

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