

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

PARISH COUNCIL ELECTIONS POSTPONED AFTER THE INCIDENT IN TEPLITZ

During the past months Czecho-Slovak activities of an internal political character have been engaged mainly in preparing for the Parish Council elections. Namely, the mandates of most of the Parish Councils expire now, and the public expected that, following the usual custom, the elections would take place everywhere simultaneously. But the Government, it would seem, was afraid that the results of numerous Parish Council elections held on the same day would too clearly demonstrate the unabated, in fact augmented, strength of the Opposition Parties, viz. of the Henlein Party in the historical provinces and the United Hungarian Party in the areas wrested from Hungary. So the Minister of the Interior decreed that elections should take place only in 550 villages. On the 16th October it was made public that this first instalment of the Parish Council elections would be held on the 14th November, and canvassing began immediately. Barely a week later, on the 22nd October, however, the Government decided to postpone the elections and at the same time put a ban on all political meetings. This measure, rather curious in a democracy, was undoubtedly connected with the well-known incidents in Teplitz-Schönau. Namely, serious fighting had occurred in that German town of Czecho-Slovakia between a crowd of Germans cheering Henlein and the police, in the course of which three policemen and several civilians were wounded. The excitement of the crowd was fanned to flame when the police not only arrested Herr Frank, M. P., Herr Henlein's deputy, as he was entering his motor-car, but also struck him. Later on, it is true, Herr Frank was released, but Herr Richter, another Henlein Party M. P., was arrested. These incidents have given rise

to widespread indignation, not only among the Sudeta Germans, but also in the German Reich.

OPENING OF THE STATE COURT AT POZSONY

At the beginning of October the newly created State Court began its activity in the premises of the District Court of Pozsony (Bratislava). On October 4th, ten accused appeared before the Court charged, under § 2. of the Defence of the Republic Act, with conspiracy against the State, under § 6 with military treason, and under § 12 with failing to disclose a case of military treason. The trial is to last for three weeks and is to be held in camera. ("Uj Hirek", October 7th). — y —

IS THE PITTSBURG CONVENTION A FORGERY?

Much excitement was caused throughout Czecho-Slovakia by an article that appeared in the "Slovák" (the organ of the Slovak People's Party) on 12th October, shortly after the death of President Masaryk. This article quoted verbatim the text of a letter Dr. Masaryk, the first President of the Republic, wrote in reply to a telegram addressed to him by Father Hlinka in connection with the candidature of M. Tuka, who had been sentenced to 15 years' penal servitude a few days previously. In this letter, dated Tapolcsány, 12th October 1929, President Masaryk, *inter alia*, mentioned the Pittsburg Convention concluded on 30th May 1918 between the Czech and Slovak Leagues in America, which guaranteed Slovakia full autonomy in legislature, administration and the administration of justice. In spite of the fact that his own signature appears on this important document, Dr. Masaryk declared the treaty to be a forgery, because a few signatures had been added later on, and especially because at the time when the American Slovaks concluded the agreement the American Slovak League did not exist officially, not being recognized by the United States Government until 1919. To complete the picture let it be said that the two columns of the "Slovák" preceding the letter, which were evidently a criticism of it, were deleted by the Czecho-Slovak Public Prosecutor.

On the publication of this letter of Dr. Masaryk's the debate whether the Pittsburg Convention was valid or not broke out again with fresh violence. Dr. Masaryk's standpoint, as stated in his letter, savours too much of formality to decide the question against the Slovaks. For in the case of a pronouncedly political treaty upon which civil law has no bearing, it is not of the slightest importance whether in terms of the American associa-

tion laws the American Slovak League legally existed on 30th May 1918 or not, and whether certain members affixed their signatures the day the treaty was concluded or at a later date. That the American Slovak League did exist in 1918 and was the representative association of the Slovaks in America, was not questioned by Dr. Masaryk, for he treated with its members as with the representatives of the Slovaks in America and concluded political agreements with them. For this reason the Slovaks have every right to invoke the treaty as a legal instrument and as the political and moral justification of their struggle for autonomy.

But there is also another side to the question which is often forgotten by the Czechs. If it is true, as they declare, that the Pittsburg Convention is invalid, then the only legal grounds wherewith they succeeded in persuading the Peace Conference that the incorporation of the Slovaks in the Czecho-Slovak Republic was politically and morally justified, cease to exist. The Slovaks of Slovakia were never asked whether they wished to abandon Hungary and throw in their lot with Bohemia. No plebiscite was held in the Slovak territories. All the Czechs can plead in their own justification is that the American Slovaks (i. e. not the Slovaks at home) agreed to Slovakia's being attached to the Czech Republic, but only on the understanding that the Slovaks were to enjoy full autonomy. If Dr. Masaryk, the founder of the Czecho-Slovak State, did not admit the validity of the Pittsburg Convention, even the weak legal basis upon which the Czechs try to establish the thesis of voluntary union on the part of the Slovaks collapses.

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An incident that occurred in Rózsahégy (Ružomberek) at a meeting of the Town Council is also connected with the publication of Dr. Masaryk's letter. The following report of the incident appeared on 19th October in the "Slovensky Dennik", the Slovak organ of the Czech Agrarian Party.

"The proposal made by the Slovak university students to name one of the streets in Rózsahégy T. G. Masaryk Street came up before the Town Council a month ago. A writing signed by 35 association of the town, headed by the military command the legionaries and the Slovak Matica, seconded the motion.

When after two meetings of the Town Council no resolution had been adopted in the matter of this most natural suggestion, M. William Houdek, member of the Republican Party (The Czech Agrarian Party, Ed.) on Saturday 16th October addressed a question to the Town Council, demanding why the unanimous wish of the entire population of Rózsahégy had not been attended to. When M. Houdek began to speak, Father Hlinka interrupted him. "Have you nothing better to do?", he asked. And when

M. Houdek advised the Council to decide the matter at their next meeting, Father Hlinka, in a loud voice, said: — "First of all take back the word forgerly!"

Since Father Hlinka who is the parish priest of Rózsahegy has much authority in the town, it is unlikely that any of the streets will bear Masaryk's name in the near future."

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BILL INTRODUCED BY THE SLOVAK PEOPLE'S PARTY
TO OBTAIN EQUAL RIGHTS FOR THE CZECH AND THE
SLOVAK LANGUAGES

M. Charles Sidor with his colleagues of the Slovak People's Party have introduced a Bill proposing an amendment of the Czecho-Slovak Language Act. The amendment suggested would make Czech and Slovak the official languages of the Czecho-Slovak Republic and decree that schools, offices, the courts of justice, institutions, the army and gendarmerie and all State departments in Slovakia would be bound to use the Slovak language. In the preamble it was stated that § 1 of the 1920 Language Act was an absurdity, incorporating in law as it did the notion of a "Czechoslovak language", a fictive idea, since no "Czechoslovak language" exists or has ever existed. The intention was to prevent the public use of the Slovak language in Slovakia, replace it with a "Czechoslovak" language and thus prepare the soil for a cultural movement, the aim of which was to forge the two languages into one.

RUTHENIAN PASSIVE RESISTANCE TO THE
NEW GOVERNOR ACT

The new Governor Act, which, as we stated at the time, does not signify a single step towards the autonomy guaranteed to Ruthenia in pars. 10—13 of the Treaty of Saint Germain, came into force on October 8. Bonfires were lit on the hills in Ruthenia to celebrate the satisfaction of the Czecho-Slovak authorities, but the "Nás But", the organ of the Ruthenian Autonomists, declares that the Ruthenian Nationalists refuse to have anything to do with the Governor's Council created by this Act, since, as the Council is merely to be a body advising the Governor, it has no actual significance and has no connection with real autonomy. The leaders of the Autonomist National Party have decided against accepting seats on the Council, therewith demonstrating their disapproval of it. It is worthy of note that the "Národny Listy", an important newspaper of the Czech Nationalists, is of the opinion that the authority of the Council

will not be great. 15 of its members will sit on it by virtue of elections that were held before there was any question at all of a Governor's Council.



In terms of the new Act, 9 members of the Governor's Council are to be appointed by Prague. Great indignation was felt by the Hungarians in Ruthenia when, after the Act came into force, the Government did not appoint one single Hungarian member of the Council, despite the fact that even according to the Czech census of 1930 the Hungarians were shown to be 15.44% of the total inhabitants of the province and thus would be fully entitled to one or two seats on the Council. The Hungarian members were elected by the Provincial Diet, which has the right to elect 6; for the Ruthenian Autonomous Farmers' Alliance and the Ruthenian National Party voted for Hungarian candidates (Messrs. Aladár Vozáry and Eugene Ortutay).

Here we mention that there is no single Hungarian official in the newly created Governor's Office, a fact against which the Hungarian press in Czecho-Slovakia energetically protests.

THE HUNGARIANS OF THE DANUBE REGIONS OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA DEMAND A SEPARATE DIOCESE

In our last issue we wrote of the unanimous resolution in which the Hungarian Party of Czecho-Slovakia expressed its satisfaction that a *modus vivendi* had been arrived at by the Vatican and the Czecho-Slovak Government as regards the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church in the Republic. At the same time the resolution unanimously expressed a wish that *since all the Roman Catholic dioceses in Slovakia are under Slovak bishops, and in consideration of the large number of Catholic Hungarians in the Republic a Hungarian suffragan should be appointed*; that provision should be made for the adequate cure of souls in the Hungarian districts and for the training of Hungarian priests. On 26th September, at a meeting of the *Actio Catholica* of Komárom, a unanimous resolution was passed stating that to facilitate the work of ecclesiastical administration as well as in the universal interests of church and religious life it was considered necessary to *unite all the Roman Catholic Hungarians living in a solid block along the Danube in one diocese under the spiritual guidance of one bishop. To this diocese would belong 400,000 Catholic Hungarians.* A memorandum of this resolution was sent to the Papal Nuncio in Prague. With resolutions of a similar nature, one after another the Catholic parishes with

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a Hungarian majority are launching a campaign for a Hungarian diocese in the Danube regions.

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THE HUNGARIANS WOULD BE ENTITLED TO 24.000 STATE POSTS INSTEAD OF 8343

At the meeting of the Hungarian Party held in Pered on 6th October M. Géza Porubriky, Member of the National Assembly, produced data proving that the Czecho-Slovak Government was ruining Slovakia. He stated that of the 55.000.000.000 crowns deposited in the Republic 38.800.000.000 fell to Bohemia and 11.700.000.000 to Moravia, while Slovakia's share was only 4.200.000.000 and Ruthenia's only 300.000.000. — On the strength of numbers the Hungarians would be entitled to 24.000 posts in the civil service, but had only 8343. 13.000 Hungarian children attended Slovak schools. Could they attend Hungarian schools, 300 Hungarian teachers would find employment.

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NOT ONE HUNGARIAN JUDGE OR ATTORNEY IN THE HIGH COURTS

At question time Count János Esterházy, member of the Czecho-Slovak National Assembly and President of the United Hungarian Party, called the attention of the Government to the fact that Hungarian judges and attorneys are not allowed to occupy leading positions in the Law Courts of Slovakia, while in the High Courts there are no Hungarian judges or attorneys at all.

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WHAT THE CENSOR CONSIDERS DANGEROUS TO THE STATE IN ONE DISTRICT IS NOT REGARDED AS SUCH IN ANOTHER

The following is a typical example of how the censor works in Czecho-Slovakia. M. Ladislav Měcs, a Canon of the Premonstratensian Order, is the most famous Hungarian poet in Czecho-Slovakia. His poetical genius has been recognized by the French. Several of his poems have been translated into French; a French anthology of his works is being edited now; and his matinée in Paris, at which Cardinal Archbishop Verdier was present, was very favourably criticised in the French press. His poems have made their appearance in most of the Hungarian newspapers in Czecho-Slovakia, and he has recited them not only in the towns of Slovakia and Ruthenia, but also in Prague and Brünn. Now the recitation of some of these poems which

have already passed the censor so often is being forbidden here and there in Slovakia. In one district the police prohibit poems that are allowed by the authorities of another districts. The police in Galánta, for instance, has censored a poem that it passed a year ago without raising any objections.

The same authorities in Galánta also objected to the costumes of the girls who performed a dance at a Hungarian concert in Szenc, because among the seven colours used were also the three colours of the Hungarian flag, red, white and green. Strange to say the same Prefect of the Galánta district saw nothing wrong in those costumes when the girls of Galánta turned out in them last year to welcome President Benes!

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HUNGARY

GERMAN COURSE INSTITUTED IN HUNGARY FOR TEACHERS OF THE GERMAN ELEMENTARY MINORITY SCHOOLS

Dr. Valentine Höman, Minister of Education, has inaugurated a German course for the training of teachers destined to teach in the German elementary minority schools. Of the 137 candidates 19 male and 11 female teachers were, after a preliminary examination, admitted to the course, which is to last 10 months under the superintendence of Dr. Julius Lux. The students have been lodged in an institute at the expense of the State. Training will not be confined to theoretic studies alone. The students will have opportunities of practising teaching now and then in the German schools in the vicinity of Budapest, so that theory will be combined with practice.

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RUMANIA

HUNGARIANS SUBMIT TO LEAGUE OF NATIONS A MEMORANDUM AGAINST CIRCULAR LETTER ISSUED BY MINISTER POP

For months past the minorities living in Rumania have been in a constant ferment of agitation owing to the rumour originating from a responsible source to the effect that an Ordinance would shortly be issued containing an amendment of the National Labour Defence Act to be effected for the purpose of Rumanianizing minority commercial and industrial undertakings. The minorities living in Rumania protested energetically in advance against the proposed new measure. The Hungarian Party, for instance, protested at meetings held on May 28th and

29th, against a measure which is a defiance of both the Constitution and an international treaty. The Government Party itself rejected the relevant proposal of M. Valér Pop, Minister of Industry and Commerce.

Nevertheless, on September 16th M. Pop carried the scheme proposed by him into effect in the form of a ministerial circular letter. He dispatched the letter to 72 big undertakings in Transylvania, the Banate and Bukovina, the text of the letter being as follows (according to the "Rador", the semi-official Rumanian press agency): —

"The development of Rumanian industry is largely the result of assistance granted directly and indirectly by the State; for the State has been pursuing a decided policy of protection in favour of our inland industry. In the past all the protection enjoyed by our inland industry was that afforded by our customs tariff and by the Encouragement of Industry Act of 1912: today, however, we have a whole series of laws and other measures protecting our industry (e. g. the ordinances relating to quotas, the Cartel Act, etc.), which offer industry effectual protection despite foreign competition and have created a veritable system of monopolies in the inland market. This protective policy demands considerable sacrifices on the part of the consumers; the country has however willingly undertaken the sacrifices because it is conscious of the importance attaching to our industry in securing the economic independence of Romania. In view of what has been said above, we believe it is your duty too to understand the postulates of the age and show your appreciation of all these measures, and in particular to endeavour even at the price of material sacrifices to do all in your power to further the advance in strength of the elements which are ethnically Rumanian in the staff of employees paid by your undertaking. Consequently, we call upon you to provide that by the end of the present year at latest the quota of employees of Rumanian race working in your establishment(s) shall not be less than the following percentages: — 50% in the staff of managers and head officials; 50% in the staff of skilled workers; 50% in the higher technical staff; 50% also in the lower technical staff; and 75% in the staff of unskilled workers. We beg you to notify us of your approval of the idea not later than October 1st; a failure to reply will be taken as equivalent to a refusal." ("Keleti Ujság", September 18th).

The press of the minorities of Rumania has written with the greatest indignation of the circular letter.

The German press regards the circular letter as an experiment made with the object of evading the situation and surreptitiously enforcing a proposal rejected by the Government owing to its being in defiance of Constitution and the laws. The "Siebenbürgisch Deutsches Tageblatt" things it strange that M.

Valer Pop should attempt to realise his "numerus valachicus" despite the fact that the President of his Party and the Government Press too — have in order to reassure the opinion of foreign countries — declared expressly that they will set things right in the matter of the "numerus" schemes. It most decidedly rejects the Circular Letter as being a flagrant breach of the legal equality rooted in the Constitution and a flouting of the ideas of a constitutional State. (September 18th, 21st and 24th).

What the Hungarian papers fear most is the injurious psychological effect which the letter is calculated to cause. "It is true, indeed", — so wrote the "Keleti Ujság" (September 18th), the official organ of the Hungarian Party — "that the Circular Letter is not a law or even an Ordinance; but its significance and its effect must be incalculable if only because it has been signed by a Member of the Government and because there is not a single undertaking able to emancipate itself from the psychological influence exercised by a hint amounting to a command given by one of those in control of the country". Later on (September 20th) the same journal calls the attention of its readers to the fact that — not so very long before the same experiment had been made elsewhere too. On January 28th, 1936, the Czecho-Slovak Minister of National Defence had issued a Circular Letter to the industrial undertakings of Czecho-Slovakia in which he required that undertakings participating in public contracts should introduce the "nationality quota" system, as otherwise the undertaking in question would not be given any State orders. In reply the Germans of Czecho-Slovakia on April 24th, 1936, submitted a Memorandum of protest to the League of Nations. A consequence of this Memorandum, on June 19th, 1936, the Czecho-Slovak Government issued an Order in Council providing that in the case of public contracts the conditions relating to nationality should not be made a stipulation, the circumstance that he happened to belong to some linguistic, racial or religious minority not being sufficient cause for the dismissal of any person from the service of any undertaking.

The Hungarian Party of Rumania also submitted to the League of Nations a Memorandum of protest against the measures contained in the Circular Letter issued by M. Pop; the Memorandum contains the following statements: —

"Minister Valer Pop — as is well known — has despatched to numerous industrial and commercial undertakings a Circular Letter stipulating the employment of a definitely fixed percentage of officials and workers of Rumanian race. In view of the fact that — as proved by the circumstance that the Circular Letter has been issued — the Hungarian Party has applied in vain in this matter to various Members of the Government, — in view further of the very short term fixed in the Minister's Circular Letter for the sending in of answers and the carrying into effect

of the stipulations of the Letter, — in view also of the fact that the vital interests of hundreds of thousands of human beings are at stake —, the President of the Hungarian Party, being unable to undertake the responsibility for the dangers that may arise from any further delay, has been compelled to submit to the League of Nations a Memorandum of protest against the measures implied in the said Circular Letter." ("Székely Közélet", October 2nd).

It would appear that the Memorandum submitted to the League of Nations — in reference to which M. Antonescu, Rumanian Foreign Minister asked Geneva to give him accurate information, in order that he might reassure the foreign undertakings which have invested large amounts of capital in Rumanian undertakings — combined with the energetic attitude of protest adopted by the Rumanian workers, impelled M. Valer Pop to issue another Circular Letter for despatch to the industrial undertakings concerned, the text of this Circular Letter being as follows: —

"Seeing that certain persons have interpreted our Circular Letters Nos. 49,458, 51,770 and 51,774 as containing instructions that run counter to the law, we beg to inform you that this interpretation is a mistake. Our Circular Letters referred to above are of the character of urgent suggestions addressed to you in the interest of the normal development of your undertaking and for the purpose of ensuring a harmonious co-operation between all Rumanian citizens alike. While once more offering the said suggestions I feel absolutely convinced that you will show the utmost appreciation and understanding." ("Hírlap", October 5th).

In reply to a request on the part of the "UGIR" (the Union of Rumanian Manufacturers), the Ministry of Industry and Commerce extended the term fixed for giving answers from October 1st to October 25th. ("Keleti Ujság", October 3rd).

All this does not however in any way change the facts: for — we would ask — what difference in essence does the Minister calling the contents of his Circular Letter merely urgent suggestions really make? Can we regard as a mere suggestion the instruction given — whether in the form of a simple circular letter or not — by the Minister under whose control the relevant laws have placed the question of the composition of the staffs of the undertakings? Can we regard as a mere suggestion the pressure brought to bear by a Minister who need do no more than give a hint if he desires the National Bank to foreclose the re-discount credit granted to minority undertakings or wishes to have the undertaking in question deprived of the special benefits which it enjoys under the Encouragement of Industry Act, — the Minister who need only give a mere hint for the tax-thumbscrew to be tightened?

In connection with the Circular Letter it should be noted

further that the industrial circles of the country are themselves in a dilemma as to where to get the Rumanian elements prescribed in the Letter, seeing that there are no unemployed at all of Rumanian race.

Why, in its September 26th issue the "Argus" — an economic journal appearing in Bucharest — published an article from the pen of I. Radu establishing the fact that after watching the advertisement columns of the economic papers carefully for weeks he had failed to find any advertisements of skilled workers in search of work. On the other hand, however, he had found no end of advertisements enquiring for technical experts and skilled workers. A certain Brassó industrial undertaking had dismissed 3 foreign specialists but had so far failed to obtain others to take their places.

Senator Moteanu, President of the Commission controlling the carrying into effect of the National Labour Defence Act, in his report submitted to the Minister of Industry and Commerce complains that the National Labour Defence Act had not produced the desired results; for the number of persons belonging to minorities engaged in the undertakings has increased, while that of Rumanians — except in the case of unskilled workers — has decreased. One of the causes of this phenomenon Senator Moteanu believes to be the deficient training of those students who have completed courses at professional or technical schools. The "Lumea Romaneasca", a Bucharest daily, very aptly asks how the undertakings can possibly engage Rumanian technical staffs and skilled labourers if — as Moteanu himself admits — the professional schools do not afford a sufficient training.

In conclusion we would stress most emphatically the point that the first 72 Circular Letters issued by Minister Valer Pop were not despatched to the big petroleum concerns of Older Rumania (the Regat), but only to undertakings in Transylvania, the Banate and Bukovina. This was how he attempted to evade the Achilles-heel of the question — the protests of the foreign investors directly interested.

THE MINORITY POLICY PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN IN PREMIER TATARESCU'S SPEECH AND IN THAT OF M. MADGEARU

On 9th October the Rumanian press published Premier Tatarescu's long-promised Nagyvárad speech, which was closely connected with the diplomatic conversations begun in Sinaia between Hungary and Rumania and continued afterwards in Geneva. M. Tatarescu declared that Rumania was desirous of living in friendly relations with those whom the vicissitudes of historical events had turned against her. Evidently he was re-

ferring to the Hungarians. He then expressed Rumania's intention to co-operate in the work of stabilizing and defending peace, not forgetting, however, to add that he had come to Nagyvárad to inspect the work of frontier fortification.

Mention was also made in the Premier's speech of Rumania's minority policy. "The minorities" — said M. Tatarescu, speaking in defence of the *numerus Valachicus* — "must not take objection to the protection of the Rumanian elements, which we have never carried out, and shall never carry out, by means of acts directed against the minorities. The oppressed of yesterday will never become oppressors."



The opportunity of comparing M. Tatarescu's statements with another speech is too good to be missed. The latter was delivered on 4th October at the general meeting of the National Peasant Party Youth Group in Bucharest by M. Virgilius Madgearu, Minister of Finance. In it he gave *an exposé of the minority policy of the Party and of his plans for a Rumanization of economic life*. "Everyone will find it natural", said M. Madgearu, "that the question of Rumanian national existence must arise in a country with five million minority citizens. But this momentous question cannot be solved by demagogic speeches, or a trampling under foot of the rights guaranteed in the Constitution and by a few misleading and very harmful measures. They are guilty of national crime, those great patriots who are determined at all costs to make enemies of the five million minority citizens in our midst. For the time may come when our exceedingly long frontiers will be threatened by hostile forces; and who is to defend them? Shall we entrust the defence of our borders to minorities who hate the Rumanians? The principles of democracy preclude such support of the Rumanian elements as is liable to give rise to feelings of hatred between them and the minorities." After this introduction, however, M. Madgearu continued as follows: "*But this does not signify that we shall continue to tolerate minority citizens in the most important economic posts. We do not identify ourselves with Alexander Vajda's notorious programme, which advocates placing economic life on a proportional basis. We do not want to share the natural and economic resources of the country with the minorities on a proportional basis. What we want is that all these resources should be in the possession of Rumanians only. But we do not want to attain this by illegal and violent means, by unsystematic and precipitate measures, such as are employed by the Liberals. Fully respecting the rights of private individuals, we desire to make use of the whole policy of the State to further our ends, for only thus shall we be able to accomplish serious and lasting results.*" In the rest of his speech M. Madgearu explained that

the first step towards a Rumanianization of economic life was the creation of Rumanian capital. "The State" — he said — "must help by suitable measures to Rumanianize industry and commerce; must create undertakings able, with the aid of adequate privileges, cheap credit and other advantages, to *compete with similar undertakings in the hands of the minorities*. Sites for houses must be given to Rumanians with every facility to induce them to settle in minority districts, *Rumanian shops and workshops enjoying special privileges must be established, and the State must exercise its right of option to buy the land owned by the minorities and distribute it among the Rumanian peasantry.*"

There is but a slight shade of difference between the programme of the Liberal Government and M. Madgearu's speech in which he outlined the programme of the Party most likely to succeed the Liberals. The schemes in both cases to Rumanize economic life and deprive the minorities of their economic and intellectual resources are practically indetical; and neither is calculated to promote peace and harmony in the Danube Valley.

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PROLONGATION OF THE STATE OF SIEGE AND CENSORSHIP

Apart from an interval of a few years, a constant state of siege and censorship are being maintained in those formerly Hungarian territories which have been attached to Rumania. This suspension of personal rights — it is needless to say — is felt most keenly by the national minorities. The state of siege and censorship — which were recently prolonged until the 16th of September, 1937 — are now prolonged, by a Royal Decree published in the Official Gazette (Monitorul Oficial), for another six months, i. e. until March 16, 1938. ("Aradi Közlöny", September 14).

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PROTESTANT PRAYER-HOUSE PROHIBITED FOR POLITICAL REASONS

The parish council of Berkenyes rejected an application concerning the erection of a prayerhouse for the Reformed Congregation; the refusal, it is understood, was explained with the "present unsettled condition of international relations" ("Magyar Nép", September 18). Addressing the general assembly of the Reformed Diocese at Nagybánya the Superintendent declared that all activities of missionary work in the country had to be sus-

pended owing to the hostile attitude of the authorities ("Brassói Lapok", Sept. 22).

In no less than 17 cases did an Orthodox Rumanian priest, Plotogea Harie, in the village of Aldoboly, County of Háromszék, influence the law courts to bring a verdict by which the religion of Protestant children was altered to "orthodox" in the birth register, because he had found that their names had a Rumanian sound. ("Brassói Lapok", September 10). — The four children of a Roman Catholic Hungarian farmer, Máté Elekes, from the village of Gyergyóujfalu were entered in their birth certificates as "Greek Catholics". ("Keleti Ujság", September 11.) — A Greek Catholic priest in the village of Gyimesbükk, the Rev. Victor Gergely, was reprimanded by the Gendarme because he had refused to baptise fifteen children whom the registrar — Jon Mursea — entered in the register as "Greek Catholics", in spite of their parents' protests.

The priest, in defence, argued that he could not perform the baptism, because he knew of the parents' protests.

YUGOSLAVIA

PROMISES MADE TO HUNGARIANS STILL UNFULFILLED

We have spoken on several occasions already of the negotiations carried on last October (1936) and in April and September, 1937, between certain Members of the Yugoslav Government and the leaders of the Hungarian minority *in re* the redress of the grievances of the Hungarians and of the fulfilment of the legitimate wishes of the Hungarians based upon provisions of the laws of the country or of the minority treaty. On all occasions alike the competent Members of the Government have made *most definitive promises* respecting the redress of the grievances and the fulfilment of the wishes accepted as legitimate, — the latter relating in particular to the suspension of the "name analysis" system, the re-transfer to the so-called "Hungarian sections" of the State elementary schools of the Hungarian teachers of Magyar nationality appointed to schools with Serbian as the language of instruction, the return to active service of the Hungarian teachers placed illegally on the retired list and the re-opening of the Hungarian elementary school sections which have not functioned for years already owing to a lack of teachers qualified to teach in Magyar.

Despite the promises made by the Ministers, however, all that was done prior to the opening of the new school year was to re-open the first class of the Belgrade State Teachers College which had been closed for three years (this being done in terms

of an Ordinance of M. Stoshovitch, former Minister of Education). The other promises have remained-promises. As a consequence, M. Leo Deák, one of the leaders of the Hungarian minority, on September 26th headed a deputation representing the Hungarians of four villages in the Bácska district which called upon M. Stankovitch, Minister of Agriculture, who happened to be in Zombor, and once more requested him to intervene with the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education for a speedy redress of the grievances referred to above.

In illustration of the manner in which the educational affairs of the Hungarian minority are being handled, Dr. Deák, *inter alia*, submitted to the Minister the following characteristic data. At Bajmok and at Regöcze (a frontier village) a sufficient number of pupils of Hungarian nationality had been enrolled in the Hungarian sections of the elementary schools; but it had proved impossible to begin the teaching owing to the lack of teachers of Hungarian nationality or teachers at least able to teach in Magyar. In the Hundred of Zental for years past there had been no teaching in Magyar in 17 school buildings owing to a lack of suitable teachers. In many places in the Hungarian elementary school sections there is only a single teacher, who has to teach 100—120 pupils. At Bajmok the Hungarian teacher of the Hungarian section had been transferred to the German section, despite the fact that he knew scarcely any German at all and as a consequence of the transfer the Hungarian section was still without a teacher.

Minister Stankovitch declared that he considered the complaints to be perfectly justified and promised that he would intervene personally with the competent minister in order to ensure the redress of the grievances. The only question is whether this ministerial promise — the *fourth* of its line — will at last lead to something more than the three previous decided promises which were endorsed by the Prime Minister himself?

The following case is also a striking illustration of the situation of the Hungarians of Yugoslavia in educational matters.

THE ACT WHICH MAKES MINORITY CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IMPOSSIBLE HAS NOW COME INTO FORCE

The Yugoslav unified Co-operative Society Act of 24th September 1937 came into force on the date of its publication in the official gazette. In terms of this Act every co-operative society must be member of a controlling alliance of co-operative societies, the task of which is to supervise the activities of all co-operative societies at least every second year. Besides this, every co-operative society must also be member of some business alliance

of co-operative societies. Alliances with 50 such members already in existence may remain, but *at least 300 co-operative societies are essential to the formation of new ones.* An exception is made in the case of producers' co-operative societies, for which 100 member societies suffice to form an alliance. The various alliances must form a central alliance which will be under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture. As has already been stated in this paper, the Hungarian and other minorities are not likely to be in a position to create such a large number of co-operative societies, and thus under the new Co-operative Societies Act the national minorities in Yugoslavia will be debarred from forming an alliance of minority co-operative societies under their own management.

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