

in foreign countries stating that "all is well" in Croatia, though as a matter of fact Croatian blood has been flowing — and is still flowing — in streams.

6. Alexander is responsible for the deaths of Oreb, Begovitch and others, seeing that he allowed them to be condemned to death.

7. Alexander is responsible for still allowing the propagation by the "Avala" Agency of the lies declaring that the Croatian people has acquiesced in the condemnation to death of Oreb and his fellows and that the Croatians of Zagreb have protested against the action of the Croatian insurgents and their leaders.

In view of all these facts we hereby sentence to death Alexander Karageorgevitch and the whole Belgrade Government. This sentence must be execu-

ted within the shortest time by the Croatian insurgents. For this purpose we address to Dr. Ante Pavelitch — the leader of the insurgents — the following summons:

"We request our Leader to immediately enjoin that the insurgent groups, in addition to complying with other orders, shall execute the above sentence.

"We desire revenge! We desire war! A war to the knife! We desire revolution! If we fail once, we shall try again a hundred times; and Croatia and the whole Croatian people shall create an independent Croatian State!

"The revolution shall come, even if the whole of Europe should shake in its very foundations! We offer the last drop of our blood; but we cannot wait any longer."

## ANTI-HUNGARIAN PROPAGANDA

The past few months have seen a very considerable increase in anti-Hungarian literature: if we may so call the large number of books, pamphlets and articles which have appeared in magazines and dailies, practically all over the Continent and England.

The writers' connections or the sources of their information can invariably be traced back to Little Entente official circles; and it seems likely that the recrudescence of anti-Hungarian propaganda is due to the fact that the leaders of the Little Entente are getting nervous. And yet they by no means necessarily represent the feelings and wishes of the majority of the people whom they govern and most certainly do not represent it when they claim that the Hungarian demands for a revision of the Trianon Treaty, however peacefully that may be attempted, means war.

But why should the Little Entente Leaders get nervous at Hungary's peaceful attempts at revision — which after all is Hungary's full right even under the terms of the Trianon Treaty, the strict adherence to which is the supreme claim of the Little Entente?

Do they doubt the honesty of the Hungarian policy of peaceful arguments for revision? Are they in their tremendous supremacy of numbers and technical war preparedness afraid of disarmed Hungary? Of secret armaments which, even if they were true, could not for 24 hours save Hungary from destruction?

We much rather believe that they are afraid of the sound, honourable and therefore convincing argumentation of Hungarian revisionism and now attempt to drown it under an avalanche of apparently scientific historic and economic argumentation and of false sentimentalism in favour of the so much needed world peace.

They know that if they now crush the awakening world conscience as to the true causes of continued disturbance in Central and Eastern Europe they may succeed in prolonging for decades the present unwholesome situation and put the blame for it upon Hungary or at the best upon a "scourge of God" and thus may continue to rejoice in their doubtful victory.

Hungary unhappily has not the resources of the three combined Little Entente States and cannot publish or distribute in millions of copies a rejoinder to all falsehoods broadcast about her; and even when she tries to do so, she is hindered by the malvolence of many powerful interests.

The danger of arguments of hatred was again visible recently, when Prague attempted to make a scapegoat out of Hungary and accused this country of responsibility for the murder of King Alexander and Barthou at Marseilles. It is claimed that Hungary has given refuge to Croatian immigrants and fantastic conclusions are drawn therefrom, forgetting that the same conclusion could justly be drawn from the fact that Germany, Belgium, France, Italy and Switzerland have also given refuge to Croatian and Macedonian refugees, that Germany is claimed to have financed the Nazi movement against Austria, and that the Yugoslav government gave a refuge to Nazis when they fled from Austria after the wanton murder of Chancellor Dollfuss. Does not the fact that there were so many Croatian and Macedonian refugees in practically all European countries, prove that something may be wrong in Yugoslavia, that they are by no means, now, the happy and liberated brethren.

In spite of all difficulties which the diffusion of true facts about Hungary and the fate of Hungarian minorities in the Little Entente States encounters, all Hungarians rest their hope in the wisdom and love of justice of the Western Powers.

They hope that a time will soon come when no onesided statement of the Little Entente will find a hearing, when it will become public knowledge that the Little Entente States grossly violate Treaty obligations internationally binding upon them and incidentally binding upon the great powers which were a party to these treaties.

The Little Entente likes to forget that international treaties stand above State laws and it is no breach to the Sovereignty of a State if, by its free and sovereign will, it accepts international obligations.

True, in the case of Rumania, her leaders tried to evade the undertaking of such obligations and Mr. Bratianu on behalf of Rumania at first refused to sign the minority Treaty of 1919 (Paris), and it was only after an ultimatum addressed by the Principal Allied Powers and intimating that the acceptance by Rumania of the minority Treaty in question was a *conditio sine qua non* of her territorial claims being recognised by the allies, that Mr. Vajda, who formed a new Rumanian Cabinet, condescended to sign this treaty which gave some kind of protection to the nearly 2 millions of Hungarians who were, against their will, subjected to Rumanian rule. (Temperley, History of the Peace Conference vol. IV., page 221.)

And yet what do we see? A constant breach of the minority obligations by Rumania and a constant denial of remedies required and vainly asked for by the victims.

If we pick out at random some statements found in the recently published Roumanian pamphlets, we could easily prove that their Governments violated the minority treaties because they did not insert in the new Rumanian constitution all principles of minority protection, and in some instances when their constitution gave a semblance of equality to the different races of their aggrandised Kingdom, it was by government decrees that the word and sense of the constitution was perverted.

What could be a more sacred right of a minority than their clinging to their own race? Several articles of the Rumanian constitution safeguard on paper

this right of religious, school etc. liberty, and nevertheless, by government ordinances Nos 98.405/1926 and 127.973/1927, the parents' desire as to which school their children should attend is not final, the decision being left to the State organs.

Endless are the complaints of the Hungarian minorities against all kind of vexatious measures, prohibition of the use of their language, differentiation in taxation, confiscation of their private property. And there is no relief. One proof only out of many thousands.

The private property of a Szekler community, about 62.800 yokes, had been confiscated by the Rumanian State. After endless argumentation between the parties concerned before the Council of the League, a compromise was arrived at on Sept. 8th 1932 at Geneva, by which the Rumanian Government undertook to restore one fifth of the property to the rightful owners. For nearly two years the Rumanian Government did nothing. On June 24th 1934 an Act of Parliament was supposed to put into effect the Geneva agreement. But how? In an entirely perverted way. Among other grievances, instead of leaving the management of the so greatly reduced estate — only 20% were left to them — to the rightful owners, the new law entrusts with the administration of the estate the prefect of the county — i. e. a government official.

Full information on a series of breaches of treaty and constitution are given in a short sketch of the actual situation of Hungarian minorities in Rumania, which may be ordered from the Printing and Publishing House "Pesti Hirlap" in Budapest.

## HUNGARY AND THE INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

by

**Ladislav Ottlik**

**W**e may without exaggeration say that the Hungarian public followed breathlessly the debates in Geneva on the international protection of Minorities. There is surely no country in the world so profoundly interested in the maintenance and enforcement of what the late Aristide Briand called the "sacred" rights of national minorities, since something like one third of the whole Magyar race — 3,500.000 souls — now live under alien rule. So, while appreciating the peculiar position of Poland and while realising even that the Polish action may lead to the revision under Article 19 of the Covenant of the Minority Treaties and thus create a strong "precedent" to be invoked in support of the Hungarian claim to treaty revision: the Hungarian public noted with much anxiety that the general trend of the comments raised by the Polish move indicated a marked readiness on the part of important international factors to abandon the present system of international protection under the guarantee of the

League for a system of bilateral agreements to be entered into by the States immediately concerned.

It could hardly be claimed that the League system enjoys much popularity in Hungary, this being due to its failure to enforce the stipulations of the Minority Treaties. Nevertheless, it is realised that the Treaties under League guarantee have a considerable value "in being" the exact significance of which it would be easy to underestimate. It is feared therefore that their removal without putting anything of at least equal value in their stead might lead to consequences absolutely disastrous to the national minorities.

The proposal, tentatively put forth by Dr. Benesh, to solve the problem of minorities by way of direct bilateral agreements on the basis of "reciprocity", has been received therefore with interest in this country, although it is regretted that, after having suggested that Hungary too failed to comply with obligations incurred in this respect, the Foreign Minister of Czecho-Slovakia preferred to side track Dr.