

# NATIONALITY POLICY PROBLEMS OF YUGOSLAVIA

That section of the world press which was not taken in by the dastardly calumnies propagated against Hungary under the direction of Beneš, has designated as background and ultimate source of the Marseilles tragedy the conditions prevailing in Yugoslavia and the exceptionally bitter inner antagonisms of the South Slav State.

When, after the attempt in the Skupstina on June 20th., 1928, the Serb dictators absorbed the Croatian nation in that "Yugoslavism" which was intended to disguise the efforts to establish a pan-Serbian hegemony, at the same time simply wiping off the map of Europe the Croatian State which had been in existence for more than a thousand years, the vast majority of the Croatian nation adopted an attitude of resolute refusal, not only as against Government, but as against the State too; and because the arbitrary régime suppressed freedom of speech and made impossible all political movements, a section of the younger generation of Croats banded in secret, illegal organisations which appealed to the

propaganda of *deeds* and to the instrument of direct action in place of the verbal and written protests which in their opinion were of no avail. The most horrible manifestation of this action — a manifestation most fatal in its consequences — was the attempt at Marseilles.

Anyone familiar with previous events must needs admit that the change of States did not involve any benefit to Croatia, but must on the contrary acknowledge that Croatia lost every particle of that political independence and internal autonomy which she had enjoyed prior to the change, as a country in union with Hungary, on the basis of constitutional and legal guarantees. This far-reaching change fully explains the complete disillusionment of the Croatian nation with the „liberation and union”, as also its justifiable embitterment.

For the information of our readers we propose to give abstracts of the articles on the Croatian question published in our October issue and of the more important fundamental resolutions and conventions.

## AUTONOMY OF CROATIA UNDER HUNGARIAN RULE

The formation of the Yugoslav State put an end to the autonomy possessed by Croatia and Slavonia — as "associate countries" — within the Kingdom of Hungary. We believe that — at a juncture at which great events of a tragical character have concentrated attention upon the internal conditions of Yugoslavia — we shall not be abusing our readers' patience if, for the benefit of those not sufficiently familiar with the state of things prevailing in Central Europe, we give a short summary of the essential points of the autonomy of the countries of Croatia and Slavonia as finally laid down in the so-called Hungarian-Croatian Compromise — Act XXX. of 1868 — which was the culmination of the development of more than eight centuries.

To secure complete authenticity we quote the original text of the Act itself.

§ 47 of the Act runs as follows: "In respect of all matters not reserved under the Convention for the common Parliament and for the central Government, complete self-government (autonomy) is ensured the countries of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia in point alike of legislation and of the executive power". The extent of the said autonomy was thus defined by § 48 of the Act: "The right of self-government of the countries of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia shall extend — alike in point of legislation and of government — to the matters of internal administration and of religion and public education of the said count-

ries, as also to matters of justice, the latter to include in addition to the administration of maritime law all grades of the administration of justice".

The supreme organ of this autonomy was the Diet (Sabor), which exercised also legislative powers in autonomous matters. The head of the autonomous government was the Ban, whose position was thus defined by the Act: "The head of the autonomous government in the countries of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia shall be the Ban, who shall be responsible to the Croat-Slavonian-Dalmatian Diet" (§ 50). "The further development of the autonomous government shall, on the basis of representations made by the Ban and with the approval of His Imperial and Apostolic Royal Majesty, be determined by the Croat-Slavonian-Dalmatian Diet" (§ 54).

In connection with the language question the Act contains the following provisions: "In the whole territory of Croatia and Slavonia, the language of the legislature, of the public administration and of the judicature, shall be Croatian" (§ 54). „The Croatian language is herewith appointed also as the official language of the organs of the common government within the boundaries of Croatia and Slavonia" (§ 57). "Representations and applications from Croatia and Slavonia drafted in Croatian must be accepted by the common ministries and must be answered in the same language" (§ 58). "It is further declared that the representatives of Croatia and Slavonia being a political nation possessing a separate territory

and countries having their own legislature and government in internal affairs, may use the Croatian language too alike in the common parliament and in the delegations representing the same" (§ 59). "Laws to be passed by the common parliament for Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia shall be promulgated also in an original Croatian text to be signed by His Majesty, and shall be sent to the Diet of the said countries" (§ 60).

In all matters to which the Croatian autonomy did not extend, competency rested with the Hungarian Parliament and the Budapest Government. Nevertheless, the Act provided also for an adequate ensurance to Croatia of influence in these "common" matters too. The Croatian Diet (Sabor) deputed to sit in the Hungarian Parliament 40 representatives (that being how things stood immediately prior to the Great War) as Members of the Lower House (of Deputies) and 3 as Members of the Upper House (of Magnates), these representatives being elected corporatively, while the other Members of the Lower House of the Hungarian Parliament were elected individually by the various constituencies. The courteous consideration of the Hungarian legislators is illustrated by the following provision contained in § 38: "The common affairs shall be discussed by the common legislature, as far as possible, previously and in succession, and under all circumstances care will be taken to allow the representatives of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia a period of not less than three months in every year for the discussion and settlement of their own internal affairs in their own Diet". Equally characteristic is § 39, which runs as follows: "All the expenses of the common parliament, including also the daily allowances and charges for residence, shall be borne by the common Treasury".

In the common Cabinet the Croats were represented by a minister of their own: "For the purpose of representing the interests of the countries of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, there shall be appointed for the said countries a Minister (without portfolio) for Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia to be Member of the Central Government in Budapest. The said Minister shall be a voting Member of the joint Cabinet and shall be responsible to the common parliament. He shall also form the bond of connection between His Majesty and the national Government of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia" (§ 44). The common government was required on the one hand to proceed in all "common" affairs too in agreement with the autonomous government and on the other hand as

far as possible to appoint its own officials too serving in those countries from among the inhabitants of the autonomous territory. The pertinent provisions or the Act run as follows: "The Central Government shall in the territories of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia endeavour to proceed in agreement with the autonomous government of those countries" (§ 45). "Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia are, in deference to their desire, ensured that the Central Government will as far as possible appoint from among the Croat-Slavonian-Dalmatian nationals — with due regard for the prescribed qualifications — not only the employees of the Croat-Slavonian sections of the central offices, but also the organs of that Government functioning in the territories of the said countries" (§ 46).

Finally, we must note that Hungarian public law showed the most painful consideration for Croatian autonomy even in matters of detail, as may be seen from the following provisions "In their internal affairs, and within their own boundaries, Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia may employ their own national colours and arms, though the latter is to be surmounted by the Crown of St. Stephen" (§ 61). "During the discussion of common affairs, on the building in which the joint Parliament of the countries of the Hungarian Crown are sitting shall be hoisted also the Croat-Slavonian-Dalmatian flag" (§ 63). "On coins to be minted by the countries of the Hungarian Crown the royal title shall contain also the words "King of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia" (§ 64).

The autonomy possessed by Croatia within the Kingdom of Hungary was the joint creation of the political genius of the Hungarian and Croatian peoples, and in pre-War Europe was without a parallel. Since the Great War autonomy under international guarantee has been ensured certain territories — e. g. Ruthenia, the Memel District and the Aaland Islands. So far as the autonomy of Ruthenia is concerned, it is easy enough to show that it was modelled upon the older autonomy of Croatia; while the others, though perhaps not in questions of details, are in their fundamental conception based upon the same. There is, however, a very essential difference between the autonomy of Ruthenia and that of pre-War Croatia; for, whereas Hungary for a whole half-century honestly and conscientiously observed every iota of the latter, Czecho-Slovakia has during fifteen years not done anything to realise a single letter of the obligation undertaken by her at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in respect of Ruthenia.

## STATE DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE UNION OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES

### 1. THE CORFU DECLARATION (JULY 20TH., 1917.)

"The authorised representatives of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes . . . have agreed to organise their common State on the basis of the following up-to-date democratic principles:

"1. . . . the State of the Serbians, Croats and Slovenes shall be a constitutional, democratic and parliamentary monarchy under the rule of the Kara-georgevitch dynasty . . .

"2. Not only the obligatory State flag and arms, but also the independent Serbian, Croatian and

Slovene flags and arms — as being equal in status — may be used freely on all occasions.

"5. The three national names — Serbian, Croatian and Slovene — shall be equal in status throughout the territory of the Kingdom; and either of the same may be used freely on all occasions in public life and by all authorities . . .

"9. . . . on the basis of the principle of the right of self-determination of the peoples no single part of the whole of our people may be severed legally or transferred to any other State without the consent of the people itself.

"12. All nationals in whatsoever part of the territory shall be equal in status and possess equal rights in dealings with the State and before the law.

"14. The Constitution, which shall be framed by a Constituent National Assembly to be elected on the basis of universal suffrage to be exercised direct by secret ballot, shall be the foundation of the whole State life and the source of all power and law . . .

"The Constitution must be accepted at the Constituent National Assembly as a whole by a majority numerically absolute."

"(signed) *Dr. Ante Trumbić*

President of the Yugoslav Committee.

(signed) *Nikola P. Pashitch*

President of the Cabinet, Minister of the Interior of the Serbian Kingdom."

#### 2. RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE CROATIAN SABOR ON OCTOBER 29TH., 1918.

"The Constituent Assembly of the whole united nation of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs shall decide definitively respecting the form of government, as also respecting the internal order and organisation of the State based on complete equality of rights as between Slovenes, Croats and Serbs."

#### 3. RESOLUTION OF ZAGREB NATIONAL CONCIL DATED NOVEMBER 23RD., 1918.

The National Council gave the following instructions to the delegates to be deputed to take

part in the negotiations with the Belgrade Government

"The definitive organisation of the new State may be determined only by the Constituent National Assembly of the whole united nation of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and that *by a majority of two-thirds*. The Constituent National Assembly must be convened not later than six months after the conclusion of peace . . ."

#### 4. PROCLAMATION OF YUGOSLAV KINGDOM, (OF SERBIANS, CROATIANS AND SLOVENES) AND OATH OF THE REGENT ALEXANDER (DECEMBER 1ST., 1918.)

On December 1st., 1918, at 8 p. m. the Regent Alexander received in audience the delegation of the Zagreb National Council and, after being greeted by Dr. Ante Pavelić, now President of the Senate, took the following solemn oath:

"I promise to be king of the *free citizens* of the State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and to remain true at all times to the sublime, constitutional, parliamentary and broadly democratic principles based upon general suffrage."

This oath was repeated in the proclamation addressed to the nation on January 6th., 1919:

"As king of a free and democratic nation I promise in all things unswervingly to observe the principle of constitutional government based upon a parliamentary system, which shall be the corner-stone of the State called into being by the free will of the nation."

## DESCRIPTION IN OUTLINE OF SITUATION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES IN YUGOSLAVIA

In Yugoslavia, in addition to the internal question — that of the antagonisms between Serbs and Croats, Serbs and Slovenes, Serbs and Bosnians — which came to a head in the Marseilles attempt, there is another problem of an extremely grave character. This is the question of the national minorities. These minorities numbering more than two and a half million souls — apart from insignificant exceptions — are all living in outlying districts, for the most part in territories either immediately adjoining or situated in the vicinity of the frontiers of national States of kindred peoples. This geographical situation of the national minorities would appear to make it imperatively necessary that Yugoslavia, by observing faithfully the obligations undertaken under the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en Laye, should ensure the minorities also the full and unrestricted enjoyment of the rights to which they are entitled. Instead of doing so, however, the Belgrade politicians, whose movements are confined to the magic circle of Pan-Serb imperialism, merely augment the centrifugal forces by continuously persecuting and economically "fleecing" the minorities, by suppressing their national cultures and denying them their most elementary rights.

By way of illustration we give below a transverse section of the situation of the minorities living in Yugoslavia.

#### YUGOSLAVIA'S MOST IMPORTANT ETHNICAL ELEMENTS IN NUMBERS

The following statistical table from C. A. Macartney's "National States and National Minorities" (Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford. Issued under

the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs 1934.) shows what his estimate of the numbers of Yugoslavia's most important ethnical elements is. Although his statistics concerning the number of Magyars — in contrast with the majority of the rest of his data — are based on Yugoslav official statistics, the authenticity of which we have every reason to believe is open to doubt, we are still willing to accept the estimate made by this well-known British authority on the minority question — if only because it comes from one who is not likely to be accused by Yugoslavia of nationality prejudices.

Serbs . . . . .	5,000,000
Croats . . . . .	3,500,000
Slovenes . . . . .	1,000,000
Albanians . . . . .	70,000
Bulgars (Macedo- Bulgarians) . . . . .	670,000
Germans . . . . .	600,000
Magyars . . . . .	467,658 (official figures)
Rumanians . . . . .	229,398 (official figures)
Slovaks . . . . .	70,000
Czechs . . . . .	47,000
Other Slavs . . . . .	175,000
Jews . . . . .	65,000
Italians . . . . .	9,632 (official figures)

According to Macartney, there are also, a few thousand Turks living in Macedonia and Bessarabia; furthermore a considerable number of gypsies and a smaller number of people belonging to other racial minorities are to be found in Yugoslavia.

#### MAGYARS

According to the data of the 1921 Yugoslav census "corrected" in 1930, the number of Magyars in Yugoslavia was 467,658, whereas the number computed on the basis of the 1931 Census — which naturally shows a decline (of 1,858 souls) — was 465,800. The Magyar minority refuses to accept as authentic these figures recorded by Yugoslav statistics, for on the occasion of the taking of the Census the census-commissioners decided officially on the basis of the notorious system of "name analysis", ignoring the wishes of the individuals, the question as to whether the persons in question were of Magyar nationality or not. According to estimates made by the Magyar minority the number of Magyars living in Yugoslavia may be computed at not less than half a million. The bulk of the Magyar minority is living in the Danube Banate, the greater part of which consists of the former "Vojvodina", the Southern Region of Hungary. These Magyars were torn from their native country against their wishes and without being consulted.

Concerning the inconsolable political, cultural and economic situation of this minority we continually publish reports in the columns of our Review: so for the present we shall confine ourselves to giving a summary abstract illustrative of that situation:

The organisation of any independent minority political party on a racial or denominational or regional basis is rendered impossible by the new Constitution of 1931 (Article 13) and by the new Act dealing with associations (Article 12), as also by the laws dealing with the election of national assembly deputies and senators. The consequence of this is that the Magyar minority is not represented at all either in the Skupstina or in the Senate. If we add further that the Banates and towns are still without autonomy, and that these bodies are being administered by Serbian officials nominated for the purpose who are all dependent upon Government, while the affairs of the parishes (villages) are also being conducted by parish clerks appointed by Government who are all of exclusively Serbian or Slav nationality and that the staff of State and Banate employees numbering some 250,000 souls includes only a very few officials of Magyar nationality (though in the event of the enforcement of equality of rights and equal treatment — as also on the basis of their numerical quota — the Magyars would be entitled to 9,000 or 10,000 posts in the public service), and finally that in default of any liberty of the press the Magyar newspapers are unable to do their duty and represent the interests of the Magyar minority, — we shall have given a clear and comprehensive picture of the injuries inflicted on the Magyars of Yugoslavia, of their civil disabilities and their downtrodden situation.

#### GERMANS

The German minority — the bulk of which, roughly 386,000 souls, is living in the territory of the Danube Banate — according to the Census of 1921 numbered 505,790 persons. The Census of 1931 decreased the strength of the German minority too — viz. to 495,509 souls. It should be noted in this connection that — just like the other minorities — the Germans too refuse to accept as reliable the results shown by the official Census, estimating the strength of their minority at not less than roughly 800,000. At the outset the situation of the German minority was more favourable than that of the Magyars. This was due to two causes. First of all, the powers that be in Belgrade desired to create dissensions between the Magyar and the

German minorities. Then, again, the Belgrade people were exceedingly gratified at the fact that, early in 1919, a year and a half before the conclusion of the peace treaties, Dr. Stephen Kraft and another leader of the Germans called on Dr. Joca Laloshevich, President of the National Government Board of Vojvodina, and — although they were not entitled, as Germans of Croatia, to do so, and were also not authorised to act on behalf of the Germans of Vojvodina — and declared in his presence that the German inhabitants of Vojvodina desired to join the new State formation.

The encouraging start was however soon followed by bitter disappointment. In April, 1924, the Swabian-German "Kulturbund" was dissolved, the assets of the Union being at the same time confiscated, — a measure inflicting upon the Germans of Slovenia alone a loss of more than 50 million dinars. During the National Assembly elections of 1925 Dr. Stephen Kraft, President of the German Party, and Graesl, candidate for Parliament, were dangerously wounded by Serbian nationalists. In economic respects too serious grievances were suffered by the German minority, chiefly as a consequence of unjust excessive taxation and of the agrarian reform, from the benefits of which the claimants of German nationality were also excluded. The most important of the educational advantages granted in January, 1931, in connection with the strengthening of the position of the German Empire, was the permission to open a private teachers' training institute using German as the language of instruction and possessing the same rights as public institutes of the kind, that being followed in September, 1933, by permission to establish a private girls' city school (Bürgerschule). This favouritism is evidence that the internationally guaranteed minority rights are being employed by Belgrade in lieu of veritable gifts of charity and as objects of political bargains. The view held by the German minority, despite this favouritism, on the question of its own educational matters, may be seen from the situation report on the question submitted to the Minority Congress held in 1931, from which we quote the following sentence: — "The fact must be unequivocally established that the German minority does not possess a single school of a pronouncedly German character, and that indeed it has not even a single class of the kind".

#### BULGARIANS

The largest group of Bulgarians living in Yugoslavia is that domiciled in the territory 32,000 square kilometres in area which was allotted to Yugoslavia out of Macedonia and — since October 21th., 1931, the date of the new administrative and territorial distribution of the country — bears the name of the Vardar Banate. These are the so-called Macedo-Bulgarians. They number roughly 6—700,000 souls. The smaller group — some 70,000 in number — lives on the strip of territory 150 kilometres long and on the average 10 kilometres broad severed from Bulgaria which stretches from the Danube to the Rataritsa Peak; these Bulgarians are the sole inhabitants of that territory.

The Yugoslav Government simply refuses to acknowledge the existence of this Bulgarian minority. According to the Southern Slav thesis, "the Slav population of Southern Serbia is not a minority either in tongue or in race or in religion; and for that reason there cannot be either a religious or an educational Bulgarian minority question".

On the basis of this arbitrary thesis the Yugoslav Governments simply "spirited away" a national minority numbering far more than half a million souls, closed the 640 Bulgarian schools functioning until 1913 in this territory severed from Macedonia and annexed to Yugoslavia, drove away the 1013 Bulgarian teachers engaged in these schools, and abolished the Bulgarian national Church, which at the outbreak of the first Balkan War (1912)

# ETHNIC MAP OF YUGOSLAVIA



possessed 1 archbishop, 5 bishops and 833 priests and 761 churches.

In this unexampled procedure so arbitrary in character the Yugoslav Governments were not in the least disconcerted by the fact that the entire abolition of the Bulgarian schools and educational facilities was at the same time a most flagrant breach of the Minority Protection Treaty concluded at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, seeing that under paragraph 3 of Article 9 of that Treaty the provisions relating to the educational matters of minorities are to be applied to all the territories allotted to Serbia or the Yugoslav Kingdom respectively subsequently to January 1st., 1913.

The same fate has overtaken the Bulgarian cultural institutions, associations and other organisations too. They have all been dissolved and their assets confiscated. The use of the Bulgarian language is subjected to all kinds of restrictions and is even prohibited in private intercourse, while the singing of Bulgarian songs is punished by the infliction of penalties. The employment of Bulgarian Christian names is also prohibited; and at their christening children may be given only such Serbian names as are contained in the list published by the Serbian-Church. The work of denationalisation is aggravated by the fact that the Bulgarians are compelled to serbise their surnames too by adding the Serbian suffix "itch". The persecution of the Bulgarian language is carried to the extent of insisting upon the removal of the Bulgarian inscriptions on churches. It is forbidden to propagate printed matter drafted in Bulgarian or to import Bulgarian newspapers and periodicals; while all Bulgarian books found in schools, reading rooms or libraries are confiscated or destroyed.

In the economic field practically all measures taken by the authorities aim at weakening the material resources of the Bulgarian minority. This is the object in particular of the unjust overtaxation, the exceptionally high parish rates and the continuous requisitionings. But the same object was served also by the agrarian reform, in the course of which the bulk of the real estate possessed by parishes inhabited by Bulgarians was sequestered, while the Bulgarian element was given no share at all in the distribution of land.

As concerns political rights, the Bulgarian minority has from the very outset been living in absolute civil disability. Not only the law relating to the enhanced defence of the State, but even the "law relating to bandits" is applied as against the Bulgarian minority. The results of this procedure may be seen from a report made on the spot by Messrs. Rhys J. Davies and Ben Riley, two Members of the British Parliament, who state that during their sojourn at Skoplje they were barely able to find anyone willing to defy the terror employed and enter into conversation with them. But those results may be seen also from the fact that during a year or two, in the territory severed from Bulgaria, no fewer than 144, and in the Macedonian territory annexed to Serbia several hundred, innocent persons — including children and old men — have been killed by the Serbian frontier guards, policemen and gendarmes. The Bulgarians subjected by force to the rule of Serbia have had to pay dearly — in many cases by severe imprisonment, inhuman torture, or even their lives — for their loyalty to their nationality and their ancient culture.

#### ALBANIANS

According to the data of the 1931 Census the number of Albanians living in Yugoslavia is roughly 479,000 — viz. in the Vardar Banate (Macedonia or Old Serbia), 342,000, in the Zeta Banate (Montenegro), 74,000, and in the Morava Banate, 63,000. The situation of the Albanian minority is not in the least better than that of the Bulgarian minority. Of course the official reports leave no stone unturned to disguise and palliate the state of things prevailing today, which is equivalent to a complete neutralisation

of the provisions of the Minority Protection Treaty. Thus, V. Živatić, Head of Department in the Foreign Ministry, in a French paper offers a misleading conception of the state of things, saying that "of the total of 2609 classes of the 1401 schools functioning in the whole territory of Yugoslavia inhabited by Albanians, in the school year 1927/28 545 classes (20.88%) in 261 schools (18.62%) were attended by Albanian children". But he forgot to add that in these schools the teaching — carried on absolutely exclusively in Serbian — is almost exclusively in the hands of *Serb* teachers. It is strikingly illustrative of the whole minority protection procedure of the League of Nations that the committee of three delegated to inquire into the petition relating to this matter submitted by the Albanian minority accepted as sufficient the official information referred to above and did not consider it necessary even to put the question — which practically suggests itself — of the nationality of the teachers teaching in those schools and of the language of instruction used there.

The shocking state of things involved by the fact that the Albanian minority has not a single cultural, social, sporting or economic association of its own, is explained by official circles, not as the result of the Yugoslav authorities using every means in their power to prevent the establishment and maintenance of associations of the kind, but as due to "the Albanians not having so far felt any need of organisation in cultural or economic fields". By way of illustrating — as against the *pro domo* attempts to explain things away and to officially "amend" the objective truth — the treatment received from the very outset by the Albanian minority subjected to Serbian rule, we would refer to the Valona Memorandum addressed to the civilised peoples of the world in 1921, which states that "the Serbian conquerors have killed no fewer than 12,371 Albanians in the Field of Blackbirds (Kosovo-Polje) district alone, imprisoning 22,110 Albanians and robbing 10,520 Albanian families of their all and destroying 6,060 houses". This statement itself speaks volumes and shows quite clearly the methods by which the Serbian régime have begun the work of conciliating the "liberated" Albanian territories.

#### RUMANIANS

The Rumanian minority of Yugoslavia is divided into three groups. The largest of these groups — which according to the data of the 1921 Census numbers 136,998 souls — is living in the Morava Banate, another group numbering 79,621 souls in the Danube Banate (i. e. the territories of the former Hungarian counties of Torontál, Temes and Krassószörény annexed to Yugoslavia), and the smallest group — numbering 9451 souls — in the Vardar Banate. The last group consists of so-called "Macedo-Wallachians". It is certainly strikingly illustrative of Yugoslav conditions and of the reliability of Yugoslav statistics that the 1931 Census shows only 134,514 Rumanians as against the former quota of 231,068; that meaning a decline of nearly 100,000 in a single decennium. This remarkably large decrease in numbers is particularly improbable in view of the fact that the Rumanians — as is well known — are one of the most prolific of all races; the only possible explanation for the anomaly is that a considerable proportion of the Rumanians have simply been included among the Serbians on the basis of a common religion.

It is exceptionally characteristic of the whole minority policy of Yugoslavia, further, that the only Rumanian group acknowledged as a national minority is that living in the Danube Banate, and that even despite the fact that Yugoslavia is in alliance with Rumania the Yugoslav authorities refuse to give the other two groups even the minimum rights guaranteed by the Minority Protection Treaty — being still less inclined to grant the benefits reciprocally guaranteed under the Convention concluded

on March 10th., 1933, in favour of the Rumanian minority in Yugoslavia and of the Southern Slav minority in Rumania.

The treatment meted out in educational matters even to the group of the Rumanian minority living in the "Banate" and therefore benefiting by the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye, is shown, among other things, by the fact that, whereas there is one elementary school class for every 305 Serbo-Croat inhabitants and one teacher for every 293 souls, in the case of the Rumanian minority of the country there is one elementary school class only for every 723 inhabitants and one teacher only for every 2057 souls!!! This being the situation in educational matters of the "acknowledged" group of the Rumanian minority in Yugoslavia, it is easy to conceive what must be the state of things in the educational field in the cases of the two other—*unacknowledged*—groups of that minority!!

A further characteristic circumstance is the tendentious explanation of the official circles of Yugoslavia to the effect that "the national connection between the Rumanians of the Banate and Rumania is very slight and is expressed exclusively in the machinations and individual actions of the Rumanian priests". This is how the authorities explain also the striking lack of political activity on the part of the Rumanian minority, wisely forgetting to mention the fact that those leaders of the Rumanian minority who had intended to take part in the 1931 Minority Congress were arrested, — as also that at the 1931 National Assembly elections the three candidates of the Rumanian minority included in the general list in terms of a compromise were defeated at the elections by the aid of subtle election abuses, — and that the villages inhabited by Rumanians are without exception under the control of Serbian officials.

#### TURKS

The Turkish minority, the bulk of which is living in the Vardar Banate, according to the Census of 1921 still numbered 150.322 souls. V. Životić, Head of Department of the Foreign Ministry, still estimates the number of Turks in Yugoslavia at 80.000, whereas in 1931 T. Radivojević, Professor in the University of Belgrade, failed to show any Turks at all in the statement drafted on the basis of the 1931 Census data, — a circumstance which does not throw a very favourable light upon the statistical methods employed in Yugoslavia. At the National Assembly elections in 1925 the Government crushed the Turkish minority party, dissolved its political organisation ("Jemijo"), though the latter had — together with the Albanian Mussulmans — secured 14 seats at the National Assembly elections in 1923, and placed under an embargo its only political daily, the "Hak". Yet in the absence of an independent press and of suitable minority organisations minority rights must remain dead letters.

#### ITALIANS

According to the latest Census (1931) there are only 8.860 inhabitants of Italian nationality living in Yugoslavia, the same being domiciled in the vicinity of Šušak and in Dalmatia. This tiny Italian minority enjoys an exceptionally favourable situation in every respect; that situation being secured by the Treaty of Rapallo and the Rome Convention, by the provisions of the Nettuno Protocol and by the power of the Italian nation.

## THE HOUSE OF ÁRPÁD AND MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

by

**Eugene Horváth**

For more than fifty years people have been dealing in constantly increasing numbers with the question as to the identity of the English princes who found their way to the Court of St. Stephen and the manner of their coming there, — of the princes of whom we are told by English and Scandinavian literary records: but the question proved incapable of solution until it was brought into connection with events on the European Continent.

The first connection between England and Hungary was not by way of Germany; for in the West too it is only recently that scholars have determined the community of the histories of the Saxons of the English and German kingdoms respectively. It was during the present period that scholars ascertained the interdependence of the *Anglo-Saxonia* which existed in the British Isles and the *Saxonia* which flourished on the Continent. The English wife of Otho the Great by her marriage induced a *rapprochement* between the German-Saxon and Anglo-Saxon policies; and it was not until Otho wedded a Burgundian princess that the policy of Germany was diverted in the direction of Italy. The bonds uniting the Saxon community were loosened; and

in 1002 the Saxon political system of Germany fell to pieces, that being followed in 1066 by the collapse of the Saxon political system of England.

After the catastrophe in Germany in 1002 the Scandinavians attacked England. They were led by Sweyn, King of Denmark, after whose death in 1004 the leadership was taken over by his son Cnut (the Great). At the same period the Dukes of Normandy — Richard and his son Robert — appeared in England at the head of the frenchified Normans coming from the South. Between the Norman assailants and the Saxon defenders stood the brave, beautiful daughter of Duke Richard II., Emma of Normandy, who after the death of her first husband Ethelred the Unready, in 1016, had wedded Cnut. From then onwards her children were divided between the conquerors. Her sons by her first husband — Edmund Ironside and Edward the Confessor — defended the independence of the English; the Scandinavian troops of Hardicanute — her son by her Danish husband — fought under his leadership against the English: while her English and Danish kindred were attacked by Robert, Duke of Normandy, that being the beginning of general warfare.