

"After the peasant insurrection in Bulgaria in 1923 hundreds and thousands of Bulgarian insurgents crossed the Serbian frontier and not only found hospitality in Yugoslav territory but were allowed to carry on their work of organisation undisturbed. They made frequent raids into their own country, attacked the Bulgarian frontier villages, robbed, pillaged and murdered the innocent inhabitants, and then were permitted to return unimpeded to Serbian territory. These raids became particularly frequent after the horrible attempt against the Cathedral of Sofia in 1925, and resulted in the death of more than 200 persons. On the day preceding this outrage an attempt was made on the life of King Boris in the Pass of Araba-Konak, two members of the royal suite being killed, while the king himself escaped without injury. The leaders and inspirers of the traitors were the former Bulgarian ministers Alexander Obov, Kosta Todorov, Nedelko Atanasov and others, who all used Yugoslav passports and resided, not only in Yugoslavia, but also at Prague and in Paris, where they quite openly met official persons of high rank and wrote articles in depreciation of their own country in papers very closely connected with the Government. The maintenance for years of the large numbers of refugees (emigrés) cost no end of money; the leaders referred to above had large sums of money at their disposal, lived in great style and manifestly played important political roles. The Bulgarians now ask why the Bulgarian Government did not protest publicly

against these machinations of the *emigrés* and why it did not file a complaint against Belgrade and Prague with the League of Nations, the supreme forum of the community of nations? The analogy is self-evident, with the difference perhaps that during the period between 1923 and 1925 the Bulgarian State was in far greater danger than Yugoslavia is at present".

To the points put forward by the correspondent of the "Pester Lloyd" on the basis of authentic data we would only add that the far-reaching support accorded by Yugoslavia to the Bulgarian *emigrés* is exactly paralleled by the assistance in defiance of international law given in the past by the Yugoslav Government to the Albanian *emigrés* living in Yugoslavia and to their leader, Zogu, the present king of Albania, who invaded that country with troops organised for the most part by the aid of Yugoslav money and provided with Yugoslav arms, and thus secured the power in that country. This analogy is of course — for very comprehensible reasons — passed over in silence by the Yugoslav Press; nor did the Czech Press — a worthy rival of its Yugoslav fellow in the work of inciting hatred of Hungary — make any mention of the half-open, half-secret support which, according to the three memorandums submitted to the League of Nations by Poland on January 21st., April 6th. and August 2nd respectively, was accorded by the Czech Government to the Ukrainian *emigrés* in their work of preparing a series of attempts committed in Polish territory.

## HOW MINORITIES LIVE

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

#### LAMENTABLE CULTURAL CONDITIONS AMONG HUNGARIANS IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

During the debate on the Budget held recently in the Prague Parliament, Charles Hokky, Christian Socialist (Magyar) Deputy, whose speech was published in the December 2nd. issue of the "Hiradó", gave the following description of the cultural conditions among the Hungarians of Czecho-Slovakia: — "As concerns the cultural budget, all that is allotted to the Hungarians out of the whole sum amounting to billions is 0.25%, whereas they are justly entitled under Articles 8 and 9 of the Treaty of Saint-Germain to 5.5%. The "Slovenska Liga" (Slovak League) has established 170 schools in Magyar districts, while since the foundation of the new State more than 200 Czech schools have been built. In Ruthenia 17,400 Magyar children are crowded into 100 schools and are being taught by 210 teachers. Each Magyar school in Ruthenia has 80—90 children crowded into it. But when we examine the data relating to the whole territory of Ruthenia, we find that the 3318 Czech children there have 306 Czech teachers to teach them, that meaning that there is one teacher for every 11 Czech children attending elementary schools... We proposed to collect funds for the establishment of a Magyar Teachers Training College in Ruthenia, but the Ministry of the Interior forbade us to collect. This is an open breach of the Treaty of Saint-Germain. But it is not an isolated case. The establishment of "city schools" (Bürgerschulen) is rendered possible

by Law 189 of 1919; but the Directions for the carrying into effect of the same have not yet been issued, while it is not in force in the territories of Slovakia and Ruthenia. At Nagyszöllös, where there are 400 Magyar children of schooling age, I have tried in vain to urge the establishment of a Magyar "city school", though the parents have also applied for the establishment of such a school. This year the "city school" maintained by the Evangelical Community at Kassa was also closed. We must once more protest against the embargo placed upon cultural products originating from Hungary, particularly seeing that it is quite absurd that in a civilised State books should be placed under a ban and obstacles placed in the way of learning and training. Not even "widows' mites" are granted for the support of the theatre; though it is surely a breach of good taste to deprive the Magyars of Magyar endowments. I would in this connection call the attention of the Minister of the Interior to the case of the employees of the town of Munkács, some 19 of whom are said to be threatened with dismissal because of an alleged failure to pass an examination in the State language. The persons in question have passed an examination in Ruthenian, — old officials, who are going to sue the town and will levy heavy charges on the corporation. This is a very grave matter, particularly in the case of Munkács, because that town, which in pre-War days used to give loans to other towns (e. g. to Nyiregyháza), is now being swamped by an ocean of debts. We are expected to show the utmost loyalty in everything. And we are loyal too; only we must be entitled at least to request the redress of the injustices committed against us. Even if our only grievance were the manner in which the question of citizenship is managed, that would be enough in itself. It is unheard-of

that a person who has resided here for 50—60 or even 70—80 years and was born here, should on the basis of an old law now obsolete be told that he has no citizenship. Pupils born here have to apply for *permis de domicile*. Insane persons born here are turned out of asylums because they have no citizenship. A day-labourer who has been living here for the past 30—40 years and almost lost his eyesight in the Great War, has been desprived of his disablement allowance because he has no citizenship".

### "PROTECTION OF THE REPUBLIC"

How readily Hungarians are accused of the crime of espionage, is shown also by the criminal trial in which, on November 17th., the Rimaszombat District Court passed sentence on *Madame de Tornallay*, a distinguished Hungarian lady, and her "accomplices". Madame de Tornallay was arrested early in 1934 under the Protection of the Republic Act, was confined in the depth of winter in an unheated tent, was maltreated and kept in prison for months until finally the Court referred to sentenced her to 14 days' imprisonment, her three "accomplices" being acquitted. The Public Prosecutor having filed an appeal, not only against the acquittal, but also against the accused being set at liberty, the accused had to spend a further two weeks in prison. Of peculiar interest as illustrating the Czecho-Slovak methods in political trials is also the procedure taken against the owner and Editor of the "*Kassai Ujság*", Dr. *Köves*. Dr. Köves was arrested about a year ago. The trial began on November 28th.; and by desire of the prosecution the Court ordered that the proceedings should be secret. For that reason the general public proved unable to obtain any information relating to those proceedings. It was under such circumstances that the Court on November 30th. passed sentence, condemning D. Köves to three years' imprisonment. A considerable stir was caused by the arrest immediately after the trial of the two advocates for the defence, Dr. *Nógrády* and Dr. *Tänzer*, it being alleged that they had procured evidence from Hungary in an illegal manner. Two days later Dr. *Tänzer* was set at liberty; but Dr. *Nógrády* was kept in prison. — It was under the Protection of the Republic Act that the Czech frontier police arrested the Polish *Princess Matilda Sapieha*, who is alleged to have given expression to anti-Czech feelings in an altercation with a railway porter on her way through the country to Hungary, where she had been invited to attend an aristocratic wedding.

### CZECHO-SLOVAK MEASURES AGAINST THE HUNGARIAN BROADCASTING SERVICE

The police authorities at Ungvár posted a proclamation forbidding more than one person to listen in at the same time either in houses or in the street to foreign broadcasting programmes. This ordinance is aimed really against the Hungarian broadcasting service, whose news relating to events in Geneva was in the opinion of the Czecho-Slovak authorities calculated to be adverse to the Republic and the Little Entente.

## R U M A N I A

### MAGYARS OF TRANSYLVANIA DEMAND EQUAL RIGHTS AND EQUAL TREATMENT

The meeting of the Executive Committee of the Rumanian Magyar Party held at Kolozsvár on November dealt exhaustively with the grievances which have recently threatened the very existence of the Magyar minority in Rumania as a consequence of the language tests and dismissals of public employees, of the language examinations of teachers, of the censorship and state of siege, of the temporary administrative commissions, of the system of "name analysis", and of the danger menacing

the existence of bank and other clerks and industrial workers under the National Labour Protection Act. After a discussion of the grievances the Executive Committee passed a resolution establishing the following points:

"The Executive Committee of the Magyar Party representing the Magyar minority living in Rumania expresses its utmost horror when establishing the fact that various laws, combined with a continuous series of measures taken by Government and the authorities are daily infringing in the most conspicuous manner the obligation of equal treatment and systematically undermining and destroying the foundations of existence of all grades of the Magyar population. The Executive Committee would point out, further, that for months past certain organs of the Rumanian Press have been publishing articles unceasingly agitating against the Magyars, without criminal procedure having in any single case been taken against them. The Censorship on the other hand prevents the ventilation in the press of the most crying grievances of the Magyar minority. The Executive Committee protests also against the illegal measures which render impossible, not only the cultural activity of the Magyars, but also the free practice of religion, by forbidding the building of churches and the holding of legal sessions of church institutions. The Executive Committee demands, not only that the breaches of law already committed should be put an end to, but also — on the basis of the principle of equal rights and equal treatment — that the younger generation of Magyars should be given employment in the State and other public offices in numbers in proportion to the contribution of the Magyars to the public charges and to their quota in the population, and in keeping with their cultural standard." ("Magyar Nép", Vol. XIV., No. 47, November 24th., 1934.)

### A FEW DATA RELATING TO SITUATION OF HUNGARIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA

Below will be found a few cases taken at random illustrating the unceasing chicanerie inflicted — in particularly during recent weeks — on the Hungarians allotted to Romania.

The column to the memory of *Francis Kölcsey* (1790—1838) — author of the Hungarian National Anthem and one of the glories of Hungarian literature — which stood in the square behind the Reformed church at Szatmár has, on the initiative of the Anti-Revisionist League, been taken down and transferred to the Reformed cemetery ("Keleti Ujság", No. 234, October 13th., 1934). The Town Council of Arad — despite the protests of the representatives of the Hungarians — has passed a resolution to remove from their present position in one of the public parks of the town and to place in a closed room of the Hall of Culture the statues erected in memory of great Hungarian sons of the town — *Gregory Csiky*, dramatist (1842—91), *Gabriel Fábán*, writer and translator (1795—1877), and *John Darányi*, philanthropist —, the reason advanced for this action being the desire to "place the statues in safety", that "they might not offend the nationality feelings of the Rumanian inhabitants." The resolution of the Town Council was the result of the affair of the Fábán statue, which was first thrown down by unknown persons and then replaced by the Town Council. That it is a question of deliberately and expressly removing the memorials of Hungarian (Magyar) culture, is proved strikingly by the fact that only a few weeks previously the German minority of Arad and Ujarad was allowed to set up a memorial tablet to one of its celebrated writers ("Aradi Közlöny", No. 238, October 24th., 1934).

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During the month of November a further flood of punishment was let loose on the Hungarian journalists in Rumania. Some months ago a journalist of the name of *Kálmán Kahán* resident in Máramarossziget published in his

paper an article translated by him from the Bucharest daily "Curentul" dealing with the Hungarian revision movement on the basis of information received from London. In another article he dealt exhaustively with the now familiar anti-Hungarian demonstrations in the County of Torda. For these two articles the Rumanian court passed sentence of two months' confinement on the journalist, who has appealed against the sentence. ("Szamos", November 10, 1934.) For a verse entitled "Transylvanian Song" Gregory Sárközy has been fined 1000 lei by the Kolozsvár military tribunal. The verse was published in April, 1934, in the Nagyvárad daily "Erdélyi Lapok", the said paper being forbidden to appear for a period of 8 days for having published the same. ("Kolozsvári Esti Lap", November 13, 1934.) For an article of his on the Rumanian Census published in the "Keleti Újság" Béla Jávör, journalist resident in Kolozsvár, has been sentenced by the Kolozsvár Court of Law to 15 days' confinement and a fine of 2000 lei. The sentence has been confirmed also by the court of second instance. ("Romania Nova", November 17, 1934.) Dr. Andrew Vuchetitch, editor-in-chief of the "Déli Hirlap", a journal appearing in Temesvár, who — following the reports of the Rumanian daily "Patria" — had written about the abuses which had become rife in the public offices and had published an article from the Rumanian daily "Vestul" dealing with the revision question, has been sentenced by the Temesvár Court of Law to 6 months' confinement, a fine of 10,000 lei and three years' civil disablement. ("Keleti Újság", November 19, 1934: "Déli Hirlap", November 18, 1934.) For an article about the "name analysis" effected in the schools a Kolozsvár journalist of the name of Aladár Bakos has been condemned by the Kolozsvár King's Bench — which in its capacity as court of second instance increased the sentence of 1 month's confinement passed by the court of first instance — to three months' confinement and a fine of 4000 lei. ("Brassói Lapok", December 7, 1934.)

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At the end of November Rumanian doctors visited two towns and several villages in the County of Háromszék and with the assistance of the authorities forced the inhabitants to undergo a blood test, taking samples of blood from the persons chosen for the purpose, though they were not entitled to do so by any legal provision. This "blood analysis" survey is in connection with the scientific experiment initiated for the purpose of proving that the composition of the blood of the Szeklers is identical with that of the Rumanians; though there is really not much sense in such an investigation, seeing that a person's "nationality" is not a matter of blood, but of feeling.

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The Kolozsvár military tribunal has sentenced Charles Kürthy and Stephen Lakóczy, Reformed ministers in the County of Szatmár, to 3 days' imprisonment and fines of 500 lei each. For the authorities had ordained that the Magyar colours decorating the wall of the Reformed church at Dabolc should be obliterated, though the carrying out of the ordinance must result in the destruction of the valuable frescoes to be found in the church.

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The stones and other building material required for the building of the Greek Oriental Church at Székelykeresztur are being carried by Szeklers from distances of 30—40 kilometres. It should be noted that at Székelykeresztur — apart from a few officials — there are no Rumanians belonging to the Greek Oriental Church. ("Ellenzék", November 20, 1934.)

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At Algyógyfürdő (County of Hunyad) "persons of unknown identity" have removed the roof of the Roman Catholic chapel and begun to pull down the walls too. This act of vandalism is also a manifestation of that national intolerance which we meet continually ("Ellenzék", No. 247, October 27th., 1934.)

## YUGOSLAVIA

### CROATIAN MEMORANDUM ADDRESSED TO REGENCY (COUNCIL)

As is well known, after the tragical death of King Alexander more than 200 eminent members of the public life of Croatia addressed to the Regency (Council) a memorandum the full text of which was first made public in the columns of the "Reichspost" on December 7th. Although stressing the point that the Croatians too acknowledge the State, the signatories to the memorandum nevertheless feel impelled to establish the fact that the vast bulk of the Croatian nation do not consider the present situation as at all desirable. The State is a veritable hotbed of abuses; and there are very few citizens who have not experienced the effects of those abuses in their own persons. The first thing to be done is to restore a state of legality and to materially mitigate the excessively severe laws at present in force. In its present form the censorship is absolutely intolerable and exceptionally injurious. Public meetings must be permitted without restriction of any sort; and such meetings must not be made the privilege of any single party. The independence of the judiciary must be ensured; and — at least by way of experiment — the State Protection Act and the activity of the State Protection Courts must be suspended. The memorandum further demands the immediate release from prison of Vladimir Maček, the leader of the Croatian people, a far-reaching amnesty and the restoration of the confiscated property of political prisoners, it being thereby emphasised that the police, gendarmerie and army are fully sufficient to maintain the order of the State and that the irresponsible elements must be brought under control. The indispensable concentration of all the popular forces cannot be realised except by a fulfilment of these demands.

The Croatian memorandum — the signatories of which included men like Bauer, Archbishop of Zagreb, Meštrović, the world-famed sculptor, Svryuga and Mazuranić, former Ministers, Tartalja, former Ban, and Krbek, formerly Mayor of Zagreb — was soon followed by another drafted by 50 men figuring in the public life of Serbia which approves of the demand of the Croatians for a concentration of national and political forces but at the same time urges the introduction of a system of government which, supported by the united forces and the confidence of the whole people, would be calculated to extricate the country from the present grave crisis.

Here we have therefore to deal with a programme for a settlement really modest in character which has very little in common with the radical demands of Maček and the other political leaders of the Croatian people and with the well-known "Zagreb Points".

The two memorandums were passed over in silence — by order of the highest quarters — by the Yugoslav Press; and it was only early in December that the "Glasnik I. N. S." — the official organ of the Government Party, the Yugoslav National Party — dealt seriously with the memorandum submitted by the Croatians, the signatories of which it simply dubbed "defeatists". What it chiefly casts in their teeth is that they proclaim the great work of the martyr king to be a fundamental mistake and indeed a bad achievement and once more strive to enforce separatistic endeavours in State policy. Their action — says the "Glasnik" — is particularly reprehensible in view of the fact that they represent only a tiny group (?) separated by a great gap from the people as a whole (?). The Yugoslav National Party brands and condemns the dangerous attempt and will inflexibly continue the policy it has so far followed.

So everything will be as before. How long that will last, is a question which the future must be left to decide. For the moment people in Belgrade insist as rigidly as ever on abiding by the fiction of Yugoslavism — of a *united nation* — which serves so well to mask the pan-Servian ambitions. History, however, teaches us that a people which, like the Croats, desires to live has never been effaced by brute force and the power of might.

### NOTEWORTHY FINDING OF ARBITRAL TRIBUNAL

When the change of régime took place, the bulk of the private property of Hungarians in the three Succession States belonging to the Little Entente was sequestered. This is what happened also to the lines of the Bars-Pakráč Railroad Co. Ltd., which were seized — together with the whole park of wagons and all the immovables — by the Yugoslav Government, which simply forgot to offer compensation. The Mixed Commission delegated by the

League of Nations to deal with the complaint of the interested parties recently took a decision, in terms of which in lieu of compensation for the period from January 1st., 1923, to the end of the present year the Yugoslav Government is required to pay 175.000 gold francs a year over a period of 41 years and in addition — during the period of validity of the company's concession, i. e. down to November 3rd., 1975 — in lieu of payment for use of the railway yearly 22.5% of the gross receipts of the same. This percentual participation in profits of the company must not be less than 218.000 gold francs a year; and every year a separate account of the receipts must be handed in. This finding is a stigma on the illegal and unfair procedure of the Yugoslav authorities and at the same time evidence in justification of the Hungarian attitude — it being merely a recurrence of what has happened in almost every case in which the breaches of law and right committed by the Little Entente have been submitted to Arbitral Tribunals or to the Permanent International Tribunal sitting at The Hague, the findings having been in favour of the Hungarian attitude.

## B O O K S

### SITUATION OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Recently the Hungarian Frontier-Readjustment League issued a monograph containing some 144 pages and entitled "Memorandum Respecting the Situation of the Hungarian Minority in Czecho-Slovakia". The author — one of the many thousands of Hungarian refugees who have been compelled by the arbitrary régime in Czecho-Slovakia to abandon their native country — gives us, on the basis of carefully sifted and reliable data and with a painful objectiveness, a thrilling and moving picture of the grave situation of Hungarians in Czecho-Slovakia.

The first chapter of the book describes the situation of Hungarians in political life, in the State administration and in local government, as also in the ecclesiastical organisations of Czecho-Slovakia, and in addition the intolerable chaos prevailing in the question of nationality and citizenship. In this connection the author establishes the fact that the oft-lauded democracy of the Czechs is merely — mock-democracy.

The second chapter offers a comprehensive survey of the methods of czechisation, — the dismissal of Hungarian officials, employment of large numbers of Czech officials in districts inhabited by Hungarians, land reform, the ruining of Hungarian banks, systematic "fleeing" methods in Slovakia and Ruthenia, and an economic war of destruction claiming its victims, not only among the members of the Magyar and German minorities, but also among the Slovaks and Ruthenians. In connection with the policy of reducing the educational possibilities of the Hungarian minority, the Prague Government has forbidden all cultural intercourse between Czecho-Slovak nationals who are Magyars in tongue and the Hungarians living in Rumania, Yugoslavia and Dismembered Hungary, while even the autochthonous furtherance of Hungarian culture has obstacles thrown in its way by various measures of Government which continually outrage the national feelings of the Hungarians. On this point the Memo-

randum provides a succinct survey supported by abundant data.

The third chapter deals with the Czecho-Slovak Censuses and their methods. The latter have been subjected to a severe yet objective criticism — with particular reference to the curtailment of the language rights of the Hungarians in Pozsony (Bratislava), Kassa (Košice) and Ungvár effected last year.

On the basis of all that has been said, the fourth chapter comes to the conclusion that in its treatment of the Hungarian minority the Czecho-Slovak system of government infringes all the Articles of the Minorities Treaty concluded with the Allied and Associated Powers at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on September 10th., 1919, thereby both legally and morally undermining the legal foundations upon which Czecho-Slovakia was built. Now that the procedure of the League of Nations for the protection of the minorities has proved completely abortive, the author declares that the only way to a solution of the problem of the Hungarian minority in Czecho-Slovakia is the application of the principle of nationality in a manner for the moment enabling that section of the Hungarian minority numbering roughly a million souls which is living in a compact mass along the Czecho-Hungarian frontier to be re-allotted to the mother country. This re-incorporation must be effected by peaceful means under Article XIX. of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The supplement annexed to the Memorandum contains numerous statistical tables, diagrams, texts of laws, excerpts from newspapers etc. in support of the complaints to be found in the text of the book. And finally the supplement contains three maps, — the first showing the ethnographical conditions of the territories of pre-War Hungary allotted to Czecho-Slovakia, the second graphically illustrating the denationalisation and czechisation of the districts of Slovakia and Ruthenia inhabited by Hungarians, while the third offers a survey of the effects of the enforcement of land reform and the transmutation of the compact Hungarian settlements by an admixture of Czech and Slovak colonists.