

and economic and from the ethnographical point of view; and it desired to provide ways and means for the future rectification and redress of the great injuries and wrongs.

In any case we must point to the fundamental difference between the respective spheres of authority of the boundary commissions as defined in the treaty of peace and in the Covering Letter respectively. The decisions taken by the commissions spoken of in the treaty of peace are to be final and definitive, whereas the commissions to be delegated under the Covering Letter are only to express opinions which — even if only the opinion of minorities — are to be submitted for approval to the Council of the Great Powers or to the League of Nations respectively. It is therefore evident that the spirit and intention of the Covering Letter signed by M. Millerand was quite different in character from the interpretation which the interested parties would now put upon it.

The frontiers of Hungary were not demarcated by judicial procedure with the consent of both parties. Hungary was never asked whether she approved of the frontiers forced upon her, or whether she regarded as just and equitable the boundary line fixed in the Treaty of Trianon? Injustices cannot therefore result from a true interpretation of the Covering Letter signed by M. Millerand, particularly since it is well known that the general tenor of the treaties of peace is to emphasise the necessity of respecting the nationality blocks and the ethnographical boundaries, Hungary alone being in the unfortunate position of having almost four millions of Magyars severed from the mother country by the frontiers demarcated in the Treaty of Trianon, while the number of nationals of other tongues left within her present frontiers is an absolutely trifling one. Consequently, the work of the peace-makers

would certainly not fall to pieces in respect to either its spirit or its material provisions, if the Great Powers were to carry out the spirit of the Covering Letter and restore certain territories to Hungary; on the contrary, a measure of that kind would merely serve to strengthen the faith of the peoples in those high ideals which the Entente — and more particularly Great Britain — declared to be the fundamental principles underlying the whole structure of the peace treaties.

One more thing in conclusion. The whole world is becoming more and more sensible of the disastrous effects exercised by the Paris treaties of peace in both economic and political respects. That explains why in their endeavour to discover the sources of the troubles prevailing the fact that the principal cause of the crisis lies in the Peace Edicts has been realised also by those States which so far have simply refused to hear of any amendment of the peace treaties. The life of mankind finds expression in ever-changing external forms; and so far there has never been an instance of the world proving able for any length of time to force progressing life into obsolete forms. Though people are only just beginning to admit the fact, the consciousness of the truth is bound to become stronger and stronger, finally creating an atmosphere on which the elimination of the injustices and economically absurd provisions of the treaties will appear, not merely as a political and economic necessity, but also as a means of reassuring humanity's sense of justice. In this atmosphere with the aid of all available peaceful means, it will not be difficult matter to enlist the support of the public opinion of the world in carrying out certain changes in the present situation in a manner not calculated at all to involve any upheaval.

THE SITUATION OF THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN RUMANIA

by

Dr. Ladislas Fritz

Judge

Rumanian statesmen deal with the minority question in two different ways; abroad, they treat foreign public opinion to declarations of humanitarian feelings for their minorities, while at home they do just the opposite. The minority programme of the present Premier, M. Tatarescu, is also that *Transylvania must be rumanianised at all costs*, the Premier endeavouring to make this programme appear to be the redress of some alleged historical injustice and declaring that the Rumanian inhabitants of Transylvania must at last be placed on a footing of equality with the Hungarians and Germans living there. In reality this "levelling" means dragging down the Hungarian and German minorities from

the position of superiority attained by the natural development of centuries and thus in practice leading to the greatest inequality.

As a consequence, in Rumania the principle of equal treatment can never be carried out in practice in respect of the minority question. Although their conduct and their activity as subjects of their new country is quite unexceptionable, the minorities are not granted by the Rumanian Government even the minimum human rights guaranteed in the minority treaty, the result being that the two minorities in Rumania which are strongest numerically — the Hungarian and the German — have both been impelled to establish the fact that they have reached the most in-

tolerable stage in their history as minorities and that the struggle carried on by them to obtain their minority rights has developed into a mere struggle for existence.

Apart from the fact that the Hungarian minority living in Rumania has been driven on more than one occasion to avail itself of the protection of the League of Nations against the infringement of its minority rights, the political body representing that minority — the National Magyar Party — has repeatedly pointed out, in the form of declarations made in the Rumanian Parliament, that Rumania refuses to fulfil her obligations towards the minorities stipulated in the minority treaty. At a meeting held on February 19th the Parliamentary Group of that Party once more with profound regret established the fact that during the recent parliamentary recess all classes of Hungarians had been driven to submit to the party executive a whole series of grave and important complaints. One of the dailies of the Germans of Rumania, the "Kronstädter Zeitung" — which is in its hundredth year — quite recently, in an article badly cut up by the Censor again complained that of *the rights and guarantees formerly enjoyed by the Saxons in Hungary in every field of State life, the only ones still left under Rumanian rule were church and school autonomy, though even these rights were not sufficiently respected by the Rumanian Government, which had instituted a whole series of dictatorial measures directed against the minorities.*

*

The description of the situation of the minorities in Rumania summarises the results of the policy carried on by Government for the last sixteen years consistently and unceasingly against the minorities.

Although by signing the Paris Minority Treaty dated December 9th, 1919, she undertook to pass fundamental laws endorsing the provisions of the minority treaty, engaging thereby that there should not be any law passed or official measure taken in defiance of those provisions, *Rumania did not include in her new Constitution of 1923 the provisions of the Minority Treaty; indeed that Constitution actually fails to take cognizance of the existence of minorities.* Despite repeatedly being urged to do so by the representatives of the minorities, the Rumanian Government *has not yet drafted the Minority Act; indeed, the several Acts and legal regulations dealing with particular questions are actually contradictions of the provisions of the Minority Treaty, the manner in which the same are carried into effect being an enforcement of the principle of "inequal treatment".*

The methods adopted by Rumania to ensure the *lives and liberty of her minorities* (Article 2 of the Minority Treaty) are strikingly illustrated by the fact that labour and material assets of the inhabitants belonging to the Hungarian minority were for a considerable period commanded by the Rumanian authorities under martial law. In Széklerland in many cases Hungarian labourers were forced to do lumbering work at their own

expense for 4—5 weeks at a stretch at places far from their homes. This system has been perpetuated in the villages by the gendarmerie in a disguised form; it is still in force, the gendarmerie levying contributions in kind and other imposts on the inhabitants of Hungarian villages. Even today, despite the direct veto contained in the law, *the gendarmerie are still compelling in particular the Hungarian inhabitants of villages in Széklerland to undertake public works — to build State roads and keep the parish roads in repair.* In the village of Uzon (Háromszék County), for instance, *arbitrary acts and atrocities committed by police and gendarmes are still everyday occurrences.* Quite recently the Hungarian press of Transylvania reported that *in Széklerland Hungarian farmers do not dare to return to their homes unless in possession of safe-conducts issued by the gendarme command, for otherwise the all-powerful sergeant of gendarmes would summon them every day to the gendarmerie station, where he would beat them black and blue.* Even today we find the minority press full of accounts of cases of *charges of irredentism* brought without the slightest ground ending in the acquittal of the accused, — the suspects being kept for months despite their innocence in confinement and compelled to bear considerable material expenditure (see "Danubian Review", Vol. I. No. 4, p. 5).

The right of privacy at home — the principle of "my house my castle" — was made illusory in the early years of the new rule by the *requisitioning of lodgings*, the majority of the inhabitants belonging to the minorities being compelled to sell their houses for a song to Rumanians. This procedure is a means serving to rumanianise the town inhabitants. During recent years *domiciliary visits* have also been everyday occurrences. Whole rows of houses inhabited by Hungarians have been repeatedly searched from top to bottom in quest of prayer books, breviaries etc. Last year a whole series of *domiciliary visits* were made to the houses of the leaders of the Hungarians in Szilágy County, the same treatment being meted out also to the monasteries and rectories in Arad and Arad County.

The pretext for all these restrictions of civil rights is furnished by the *martial law* still in force which was re-introduced on December 30th, 1933. The state of siege and the other prohibitions *seriously hamper the activity of the Hungarian associations and are an outrage on their freedom of movement*, in many cases actually resulting in the complete frustration of all cultural work. (See "Danubian Review", Vol. I, No. 4, p. 6). In Rumania *the right of assembly* is also illusory so far as the minorities are concerned. To mention only one or two of the most recent cases of restrictions of the kind, we would refer to the prohibition forbidding the literary, artistic and scientific lectures and addresses arranged by the Cultural Section of the Arad Magyar Party; as also to the embargo placed in December, 1935, on the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Magyar Party in Dicsőszentmárton.

The re-introduction of a state of siege in December, 1933, was accompanied by the institu-

tion of *preliminary censoring*. This measure also is felt most seriously in its effects by the minorities. The censorship which completely neutralises the liberty of the press weighs intolerably heavily on the minority organs. The red pencil of the Censor *prevents the publication even of those events an account of which may be read by the inhabitants of the same community without let or hindrance in the columns of all the Rumanian papers*. The Censor does not allow the use of the Hungarian names of towns, streets and squares; and indeed the word "ERDÉLY" (Transylvania) may only be written in its Rumanian form in the Hungarian newspapers.

We might cite a whole series of cases of *Hungarian daily papers being compelled to change their titles* as containing the old Hungarian name of some town, whereas in pre-War Hungary the Rumanian papers were allowed to freely use the Rumanian town-names in their titles. The excesses committed by the Censor include measures — already everyday occurrences — for *placing an embargo on numbers of Hungarian papers and confiscating those organs*. These measures are effected without any motive being given unless it is asserted that the cause is that the paper in question has failed to observe the regulations relating to the censorship. The *persecution of Hungarian journalists* forms a chapter of its own in the history of the liberty of the press as practised in Rumania. Some Hungarian journalists have by sentences of courts of law been forbidden to follow their profession for years. The propagation of numerous calendars has been prohibited on the ground that they are instruments of irredentism; indeed, measures were quite recently taken to prevent the propagation of an "Illustrated ABC and Reader" in Hungarian which had been *approved and passed by the authorities*, — because forsooth it contains stories from Hungarian history. *Foreign products of the press — in particular products of Hungarian origin — cannot be imported into Transylvania even today except after previous approval by the Censor and on the basis of special permits*. The enormous advance in the tariff of customs duties on books (from 6—9 lei to 150 lei per kilogramme) combined with the raising of the railway freight charges on foreign products of the press, is a further stage in the creation of that *intellectual closing of the frontier which is aimed primarily against the minorities*. Another typical case of infringement of the principle of equality of treatment is the anomaly that, while under the Theatres Act the theatres employing a minority language are required to surrender 26% of their receipts under the head of ticket-tax, the Rumanian theatres are granted considerable State subsidies.

The Rumanian Constitution simply ignores *the right* of the Hungarian minority in Rumania — guaranteed by § 4 of Article 8 of the Minority Treaty — *to freely use its language* while there is no special law regulating the free use of their languages by minorities. We find measures taken by the authorities, however, which *not only restrict but actually prevent the free use by minor-*

ities of their mother tongues. Quite recently the *Rumanian Minister of the Interior* addressed to the office of the mayors of the towns a *circular ordinance* forbidding the use of the original Hungarian names of villages and streets. According to the ordinance it is forbidden to use any inscription in Hungarian on shop-signs or on street-signs. The names of counties, towns and villages may only be written in Rumanian. The original Hungarian names of villages (towns) or streets may not be used in newspapers or any other printed matter even in brackets. The Rumanian Parliament is now discussing the *Public Administration Act*, which *provides that membership of the town (parish) councils shall be open only to such persons as are able to speak and write Rumanian and forbids the use of any minority language in the parish councils*. According to the amended text of the Direct Taxes Act those undertakings which keep their books in any other language but Rumanian shall pay a *special supplementary tax* equivalent in amount to 12% of the earnings tax (earned income tax). The system of promulgating and publishing laws and ordinances exclusively in the State language is still in force. Even the notices published in the counties and parishes (towns) with purely Hungarian populations appear in Rumanian only. The postal authorities have forbidden the addresses on postal consignments to be written in Hungarian; this applies also to street-names, which cannot be put on *even in brackets, as otherwise the consignments will not be delivered*. But the post sends back also those letters on which *the whole address* is not in Rumanian — e. g. if the addressee's Christian name is written in its Hungarian form. In Temesvár the telephone exchanges refuse to connect if the call is not given in Rumanian. Even the sporting clubs have been compelled to change their names and adopt Rumanian ones.

The administration of justice also uses exclusively Rumanian. The judges appointed to minority districts are such as do not know the language of the people. They refuse to accept applications written in Hungarian; and the findings of the courts are drafted *exclusively in Rumanian*. In the court of law at Sepsiszentgyörgy *even the witnesses are forced to give their evidence in Rumanian*. (See "Danubian Review", Vol. I, Nos. 1—3, p. 47 and Vol. I, No. 4, p. 6).

In this connection we would call our readers' attention to the methods employed by the Rumanian Government to remove from the public service the majority of the judges and other public servants whose native language was Hungarian.

In 1919 the Rumanian authorities anticipated history and, though not yet entitled to do so, demanded that the public employees should take the oath of allegiance, and in direct defiance of the Hague Convention and of the provisions of the Armistice dismissed them from their posts, suspended the payment of their emoluments and by this procedure plunged into social misery and indigence this most valuable section of Hungarian society. Indeed, the Rumanian Government did not stop there, but between 1919 and the end of

1924 expelled and removed from Rumania 197,000 Hungarians — mostly public servants — and their families. Those Hungarian public servants who were provisionally allowed to retain their posts have since been gradually replaced or dismissed from office respectively: this work, which has been in evidence for the past fifteen years, is still going on. One of the most effectual means to this end is the repeated language test — *the subjection to a series of "examinations" in Rumanian of the minority employees whose ranks have in any case been thinned and decimated, the employees then being dismissed without pensions or even compositions on the ground that they are not sufficiently versed in the State language of Rumania. The dismissal en masse of these public servants in this manner means plunging them into the greatest misery.* During the term of office of the present government (that of M. Tatarescu) the application of the catchphrase *numerus valachicus* has led to *the extension of the language tests to practically every branch of occupation, it having recently been proposed to subject the minority members of the legal profession also to a language test.* The lack of familiarity with the State language is already openly used as a pretext for throwing public servants who are Hungarians by origin on the streets.

Although *liberty of conscience* is expressly guaranteed by the Constitution, nevertheless official measures and the excesses committed by agents of the authorities make the free exercise of religion in practice extremely illusory. *Members of the clerical profession belonging to minorities are still being persecuted,* the treatment meted out to them by the organs of the State consisting of arrests, atrocities, domiciliary visits and heavy sentences. We would add that in many cases the gendarmes do not shrink even from desecrating the House of God. *The fact that a person belongs to a minority denomination is a disadvantage when applying for a post; indeed, it is apt to militate against an employee being able to keep his post.* Efforts are being made by the Rumanian cultural associations *to divest the Székler Hungarians of their religion* even in villages where there is not a single inhabitant belonging to the Orthodox Church. The "rerumanianisation" action is endeavouring — by blood test etc. — to prove the Rumanian origin of whole villages or of the Székely population of whole districts. The abundant data referring to this matter to be found in Vol. I. No. 4 (p. 7) of the "Danubian Review" and indeed in practically every issue of that periodical, make it superfluous to enumerate details here. We believe it necessary, however, to note that *in connection with the remittance of the grants (allowances) legally due to the clergy of the minority churches* we find the principle of inequality of treatment enforced in favour of the priests of the Greek Oriental (State) Church. The allowances remitted to minority clergymen are 60—70% less than those given to priests of the Orthodox Church.

The *denominational schools* in Transylvania are of very ancient origin. For until the end of

the eighteenth century education in that principal-ity was provided practically exclusively by the Churches in denominational schools, the system of State schools having been introduced only in 1873. The right of the denominations to maintain schools was regarded as supplementing liberty of conscience. The post-War Rumanian régime has never been — and is not today — in the least concerned with the historical past of the *denominational schools*; and, seeing that its chief concern is to *denationalise* the minority population, it keeps introducing innumerable measures with the object of throwing difficulties in the way of — or indeed *altogether preventing the maintenance of — denominational schools.* The establishment of colleges or teachers' training institutes using a minority language as the language of instruction is precluded by the provisions of the 1935 Private Education Act. *The State has sequestered the assets of school maintenance endowment funds* of the minority Churches, at the same time *refusing to support the denominational secondary schools* and indeed ordering many schools of the kind to be closed. The Private Education Act *has degraded the ancient denominational schools to the status of private schools and made them bilingual.* By the introduction of the matriculation (higher certificate) examinations the educational authorities have thrown fresh obstacles in the way of pupils belonging to the minorities, seeing that the percentage of candidates ploughed at those examinations is nearly 90%. Similar obstacles have also been introduced into the elementary schools by the 1924 Elementary Education Act. By way of illustration we would note that during the past seventeenth years *some 500 Hungarian denominational schools have been closed by order of the Government.* The Kolozsvár Hungarian Conservatoire — an institution 117 years old — was in 1935 also degraded to the status of a private school.

There is *no State college using Hungarian as the language of instruction; nor is there a single State teachers' training college with Hungarian as the language of instruction: indeed the State does not maintain any commercial, industrial or agricultural schools using Hungarian for teaching purposes. Instruction in dancing is also given exclusively in Rumanian. Only in two places — Arad and Nagyvárad — is there any instruction in Hungarian (in parallel classes) in State secondary schools.* However, the principle of inequality of treatment is most strikingly expressed in the field of *State elementary education.* The Elementary Education Act of 1924 makes the political parish authorities responsible for the establishment and maintenance of State elementary schools using Rumanian as the language of instruction — a measure involving most unjustifiable charges on the Hungarian parishes (villages) possessing ancient school buildings. Attendance in these schools — *the language of instruction* of which is *exclusively Rumanian* — is made compulsory for all children with names of non-Hungarian sound whose parents are however Hungarians in origin and probably do not know a single word of Rumanian, — this

being the application in practice of the „name analysis” methods.

A very remarkable provision of the Elementary Education Act is that which declares the nine counties to be a „culture zone”. In this area — which includes also the four Székely counties of Udvarhely, Háromszék, Csík and Maros-Torda — the teachers employed in the unnecessarily large number of State elementary schools — teachers recruited from Old Rumania most of whom do not speak Hungarian — are given special premiums to encourage them to de-nationalise the Hungarians and convert them into Rumanians. In the area of the „culture zone” the children of those public employees of Hungarian origin still retaining their posts are not allowed to enter any but Rumanian State schools using exclusively Rumanian as the language of instruction; they may not attend the Hungarian denominational schools using Hungarian for teaching purposes. Even the *infant schools* are recruited to assist in the work of rumanisation. The Elementary Education Act of 1924 provides that only Rumanian may be used for teaching in the infant schools. The Government has established a particularly large number of infant schools in the „culture zone” region. By way of illustration we would note that, whereas the increase in the number of infant schools in the most distinctively Rumanian counties in 1933 was 51%, that making 1 infant school for every 11,999 inhabitants, the increase in infant schools in the Székler counties was 186%, making 1 such school for every 3,945 inhabitants. There are 666 State infant schools today in Transylvania — all using Rumanian exclusively as the language of instruction.

Government is always telling foreign public opinion that *it maintains State schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction. As a matter of fact these alleged schools using Hungarian for teaching purposes are mere fictions.* For the State schools using Hungarian as the language of instruction previously existing in the Counties of Torda-Aranyos, Maros-Torda, Brassó and Udvarhely were closed last year. Nor must we forget to mention that the Rumanian State does not fulfil the obligation undertaken in the Minority Treaty (Article 10) to effect that *it will guarantee the minorities a „fair share”* of the usufruct or appropriation respectively of the amounts set aside for educational, religious or charitable purposes as charges on public assets in the budgets of the State, of local government bodies or of other bodies corporate. As things stand today, *the Rumanian State does not grant the Hungarian minority schools a single leu under the head of State subsidy.* Nor is any attempt being made to carry into effect the Act of 1930 which provides for 14% of the budgetary resources of parishes (villages) and towns being appropriated for the use of the minority schools. The principle of inequality of treatment is manifested also in the system of *school fines*. To give an instance of the working of this system, hundreds of Hungarian parents are fined

for the „truancy” of their children resulting from their having been registered as prescribed in denominational schools and being sent to school there.

We cannot close this — no doubt very deficient — enumeration of abuses without pointing out that *Rumania still refuses to put into force the religious and educational autonomy ensured the Széklers in Article 11 of the Minority Treaty.*

The liberty of the minority population *in the economic field* is just as little ensured by the Rumanian Government as is their liberty in the other matters already spoken of. First mention in this respect is due to the manner in which the Rumanian Government treated the Hungarian minority when carrying into effect the *agrarian reform*. This reform measure, which was carried out with unparalleled corruption and in a way furthering only the national interests of the Rumanians, sequestered 2.7 million cadastral yokes from the Hungarian minority, handing the land thus expropriated practically for nothing over to Rumanians. This agrarian reform — which we might rightly call a confiscation of property — did not spare even the property of the minority Churches, expropriating 84.5% of the land in their possession. A striking instance of the anti-minority measures connected with this reform scheme was the reduction to one-third of the landed property comprising some 48,000 cadastral yokes which belonged to the Hungarian settler families numbering altogether about 3000 souls. The League of Nations fixed only an insignificant sum — 700,000 gold francs — to be paid these families by way of compensation. In this connection we must refer also to the absolutely illegal confiscation by the Rumanian Government — as far back as 1923 — of the landed property of the area of 62,500 cadastral yokes and other assets belonging to the so-called „*Csiki Magánjavak*” („Csik County Private Property”). *In 1932 the League of Nations decided that the Rumanian State should be required to restore 11,659 cadastral yokes; but the Rumanian Government has so far failed to comply with the obligation then imposed upon it.* In 1931 the Rumanian State — acting on the precedent created in the above case — confiscated the „*Háromszékmegyei Tanalap*” (Háromszék County Educational Fund) which is in reality a Székely-Hungarian public endowment originally serving for the support of poor Székely pupils. We would refer also to the absolutely illegal expropriation of the Rumanian estates of the *Hungarian optants*, — a case so often submitted to the decision of the Council of the League of Nations and to the international tribunals; and to the *sequestration by force of the assets belonging to Hungarian associations and other social institutions*. That these cases were not the effects of the first years of intoxication, but have developed into a veritable system, is shown by the *confiscation in 1929 of the buildings and complete equipment of the Kolozsvár Elisabeth-Maria Sanatorium* — an *altruistic institution* whose

property thus confiscated was worth many millions. This institution, brought into being exclusively by the generosity of the Hungarian society of Transylvania, was transferred by a simple administrative act to the possession of the State to be used as a cancer research institute. And, *though the supreme administrative court by a finding valid in law required the Rumanian Government to restore the institution within fifteen days, so far nothing has been done to carry out the instructions.* Thus Government itself must be made responsible for introducing a system of lawlessness in that it has refused altogether to take any notice of the finding of its own court of law.

In the economic field the principle of inequality of treatment is enforced everywhere against the minorities. This principle is in evidence also in the refusal of the Rumanian National Bank and the Rumanian Industrial Credit Institute to support Hungarian undertakings by granting them loans. The same principle is manifested also in respect of the *re-discount credit* granted to minority banks by the Rumanian National Bank; as it is in the fact that the Hungarian Co-operative Societies (of which there are 299, with a total membership of 115,000) do not receive any State subsidies. And there is an Act passed in 1934 which requires undertakings to *take care that at least 80% of their employees shall be Rumanians.* In practice the *National Labour Protection Act* is applied in a manner depriving the workers belonging to the Hungarian minority of all earning possibilities. In respect of *taxation* too there are two different standards. Doctors, lawyers, merchants, craftsmen and manufacturers often pay many times the amount of taxes imposed on their Rumanian colleagues, though the latter enjoy every form of support from the State and are able to produce on easier terms. And matters in this respect are aggravated further by the ruthlessness of the methods adopted in the collection of taxes — in particular by the serious losses involved by the absolutely gratuitous removal of the goods seized by distraint being effected.

Nor is there any trace in Rumania of the impartiality of judicial protection postulated by the principle of civil equality. The minorities are not allowed an *equality of political rights either.* As a consequence of the so-called "premium" election system still in force in Rumania *the Hungarian minority has only half the number of representatives in the Chamber which its numerical strength would entitle it to have. These deputies are deprived even of the possibility of using their mother tongue in any form in the Rumanian Parliament.* In the public administration the Hungarian minority has been *deprived of its local government rights* by the systematic appointment of so-called „*interimar*” commissions to replace the county and municipal, town and parish councils. For the Members of these commissions are appointed officially; and in the pure Hungarian towns in most cases the control has for years been in the hands of "interimar" commissions not including among their members a single Hungarian. The new Public Administration Bill now under discussion will provide for the activity of "interimar" commissions in the future too in places in which there is no means of ensuring the rumanianisation of the administration. The National Magyar Party has pointed out that in the Hungarian (Magyar) and Székely districts of Transylvania it will be impossible to constitute any parish councils in the event of it being a *sine qua non* that the councillors should be able to write and speak Rumanian.

The development of the lot of the Hungarian minority living in Rumania — as the picture painted above shows — has reached its low point. We have seen that the Government displays — alike in cultural, political and economic matters — an attitude towards the Hungarian minority which veritably flouts and tramples under foot the minority rights postulated both in the Minority Treaty and in the Rumanian Constitution itself and makes it impossible for members of the Hungarian minority to enjoy even the most elementary human rights or to establish even a modest subsistence in the land of which they are the original inhabitants.