

FALL OF UZUNOVITCH AND PREMIERSHIP OF YEFTITCH

The appointment of the Yeftitch Government was received with confidence by the international press, which considered that appointment to mean the beginning of a new internal political development and to indicate the liquidation of the dictatorship and of the pseudo-constitutionalism and mock parliamentarism previously prevailing, as also a serious endeavour to bring about conciliation at home. The negotiations respecting the formation of the Cabinet, the pourparlers between Yeftitch and the leaders of the older parties which since 1929 had been ostracised from the political life of the country, the dismissal of Lazarevitch, the dreaded Belgrade commissioner of police, — who is said to have been ultimately responsible for the expulsions *en masse* effected in December —, as also the pardon granted to Maček, the Croatian leader, and the removal of Peritch, director of the semi-official news agency "Avala", are undoubtedly all moments and facts which as promising tokens of new methods would seem to justify the confidence reposed in advance in the Yeftitch Government. This favourable view of the situation is for the moment not in the least prejudiced

even by the official declaration read by Yeftitch in the Skupstina and in the Senate which, taking into account the present composition of the Parliament and the relative strength of parties, accepted as the basis of government the Constitution introduced by edict in the year 1931. This attitude adopted by compulsion and evidently out of purely tactical motives does not justify our drawing too far-reaching conclusions. No steps can be taken to draft a sweeping programme of reform possibly including the re-adjustment of the State on a federal basis — still less to carry that programme into effect — until the expiration of the term of office of the present Parliament, which will ensue during the current year, opens the way for such a procedure and until, with the co-operation of real representatives of the Croatian, Slovene and Bosnian peoples elected by the free will of their constituents, it proves possible to attempt a satisfactory solution of the most difficult internal problem of Yugoslavia. Whether Yeftitch will prove capable of successfully solving this exceptionally difficult and delicate problem is a question to which the immediate future will supply the answer.

HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

THE CENSORSHIP

The Public Prosecutor ordained the confiscation of the "Národní Listy", the organ of M. Kramarž, former Prime Minister, because in its December 13th. issue it published a cartoon entitled "Long Live The Conqueror!" depicting Foreign Minister Benes after his return from the League of Nations session which discussed the Yugoslav-Hungarian conflict. This incident too shows that Beneš's statement to the effect that the Geneva decision meant the victory of the Little Entente and the defeat of Hungarian revisionism, was not generally believed even by the public opinion of Czecho-Slovakia. The December 17th. issue of the "Kárpáti Magyar Hírlap" — the organ of the Magyars of Ruthenia — was confiscated for having reproduced a report published in "The Times" protesting against the expulsion of the Hungarians living in Yugoslavia. And the "Magyar Néplap", the organ of the Christian Socialist Party, was confiscated at Christmas owing to the publication in its columns of statements by Géza Szüllő, President of the Joint Parliamentary Club of Hungarian Deputies and Senators, and by Count John Esterházy, President of the National Christian Socialist Party, and of an article by Deputy Nicholas Fedor (the two latter being representatives of the Christian Socialist Party in Parliament). All these cases of confiscation show clearly that the vaunted democracy of Czecho-Slovakia exists only on paper, not in reality.

EIGHTEEN CHARGES AGAINST THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF THE „SLOVÁK“

As a consequence of the anti-Czech demonstration on the occasion of the "Pribina" festival at Nyitra in August, 1932, a whole avalanche of suits have been brought against the Slovaks, — as we have repeatedly explained in the columns of our review. Against Charles Sidor, Editor-in-Chief of the "Slovák", organ of the Slovak People's Party, the Public Prosecutor has filed a bill of indictment containing no fewer than eighteen charges based upon articles which have appeared in the said paper in connection with the events at Nyitra. At the proceedings held on January 9th. the commission of the Pozsony District Court sitting to investigate the indictment rejected the objections put forward by the defendant and ordered him to be sent to trial on eighteen counts being breaches of the Act relating to the Defence of the Republic. Sidor is therefore in danger of being sentenced to several years' imprisonment.

RUMANIAN MINORITY EMIGRATION FROM CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

A process of re-emigration to Rumania — in which very many are taking part — has begun among the 12.000 Rumanians living in Ruthenia. In the villages of Alsó-apsa, Középpapsa, Tiszafehéregyháza, Faluszlatina and Aknaszlatina situated in that part of the county of Marmaros which was assigned to Czechoslovakia by the peace treaties, the Rumanian population, for the most part lumbermen, have lost their means of livelihood owing to the crisis in the timber trade. The barren soil and the climate are responsible for the population being in dire distress and on the verge of starvation. Their lot has

grown much worse since Rumania placed an embargo on the exportation of maize. This embargo has deprived the Rumanians in Ruthenia of their staple food. As a way out of this straitened and hopeless situation the Rumanians in Ruthenia propose emigrating *en masse* to Transylvania. So far over 3000 Rumanian families have decided to leave Ruthenia.

R U M A N I A

THE SPIRITUALISATION OF FRONTIERS

The statement of the Rumanian Foreign Minister *Titulescu* relating to the "spiritualisation of frontiers" addressed in reality to Hungary has been answered also by the Hungarian (Magyar) minority living in Transylvania. One of the leaders of that minority has shown that from the point of view of understanding and peace as between the peoples of Rumania *the words spoken by Titulescu must remain mere empty catchphrases until the situation of minorities has been adjusted and ways and means found to bring about a friendly co-operation.* There can be no sincerity or truth in *Titulescu's* words unless an endeavour is made to carry them into effect in respect of the Hungarian minority too. This same leader of the Hungarian minority — Count George Bethlen — last October declared that *the Hungarian minority had to contend with a fever of chauvinism of such violence that no one could tell where it would end.*

And indeed in Rumania today we find the Rumanian statesmen making statements displaying the utmost intolerance, while the Bucharest press is carrying on a veritable campaign of agitation against the Hungarian minority. This unceasing systematic agitation and incitement finds its foremost mouthpiece in the "*Curentul*", which in a special column bearing the title "plebiseite" keeps pouring forth a veritable flood of hatred against the Hungarians. A former deputy of the name of *Lothar Raduceanu* has pointed out that *a veritable crusade is being carried on against the minorities in the form of chauvinistic incitement to hatred and agitation.* ("*Aradi Közöny*", No. 225, October 9th., 1934.)

The oppressive situation of the Hungarian minority living in Transylvania last December impelled the leaders of the Magyar Party to resolve to submit to Parliament — with the object of adjusting the minority question — a motion requesting that a parliamentary committee including the leaders of all the Rumanian parties should be delegated to bring about a settlement of the minority question by keeping it apart from the political contentions of the day. All the Government did in answer to this motion was to make a statement through the Ministers *Lapodatu* and *Iamandi* to the effect that *it did not consider the delegation of a parliamentary committee necessary.* To all appearances the Rumanian Government does not attach any great importance to the solution of the minority question, seeing that *neither the speech from the throne with which the autumn session was opened nor the address submitted in answer by Parliament considered it necessary even to mention the minorities.* The work of investigating the grievances of the Hungarian minority was entrusted to Minister *Lapodatu*: that is the only result achieved by the parliamentary representations of the Magyar Party.

However, special mention is due to the governmental statement made by Minister *Iamandi* in connection with those parliamentary representations. "*We must not forget*" — said the Minister — "*that there are more than four million minority citizens living in Rumania, or that in certain parts of the country the minorities represent historical continuity and are in every respect entitled to claim the same civil rights as we ourselves. To pursue an official State policy directed against four million persons the vast*

majority of whom cannot possibly be accused of a want of loyalty — would not be a decent procedure." In the further course of his speech Minister *Iamandi* noted that "*people talk rather readily of the nationalisation of towns, but it should not be forgotten that the towns of Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia did not belong to us for a very long time; and it is impossible in 15 years to carry out a policy able to convert into absolutely pure Rumanians the populations of towns which are 90% foreigners (that being the original proportion of non-Rumanians in our towns).*"

Minister *Iamandi's* fearless statement concerning the Hungarian (Magyar) character of the towns of Transylvania — a statement adhered to by him later in an interview given to the press — provoked a violent dispute. The Bucharest "*Universul*" (December 19th., 1934) attacked *Iamandi*, declaring that his statements and assertions were treasonable. A further attack against *Iamandi* appeared in the same paper (December 22nd.) from the pen of the Editor-in-Chief *Stelian Popescu*, whose article was entitled "*Out With Him!*" The leaders of the Rumanian parties keep assailing *Iamandi* in the bitterest manner. According to *Maniu* the speech made by *Iamandi* was "*national heresy*"; while *Alexander Vaida-Voivod* considers it very sad that a Rumanian Minister should make such a speech in the Rumanian Parliament. Premier *Tatarescu* himself found it necessary — in the speech delivered by him on the occasion of his recent visit to Kolozsvár — to declare that "*the towns of Transylvania have always been Rumanian towns and have never for a moment ceased to be Rumanian in character*" ("*Brassói Lapok*", December 30th., 1934).

This statement of Premier *Tatarescu* has been thoroughly refuted — in an essay recently published — by *Aloysius Kovács*, Director of the Hungarian Statistical Bureau. He refers to a work by a Greek Catholic priest named *Nicholas Togon* — "*Romani din Transylvania la 1733*" — published in 1898 in Nagyszeben, which contains the data of the church census prepared in 1733 by the Rumanian bishop *Klein* — the figures being given by villages and townships — and shows how many persons of other tongues were living in the respective village or township. The work did not even mention the villages or township where at that time no Rumanians were living. To illustrate the "Rumanian" character of the Transylvania towns at that time, *Aloysius Kovács* cites a few sporadic cases. It appears therefore that in 1733 there were 10 Rumanian families in Kolozsvár, 60 in Marosvásárhely, 70 at Torda, 34 at Nagyenyed, and 26 at Szilágysomlyó. Taking a family to contain 5 persons, we find the number of Rumanians living at that time in the towns referred to to have been as follows: in Kolozsvár, 50; in Marosvásárhely, 300; at Torda, 350; at Nagyenyed, 170; at Szilágysomlyó, 130. The situation was the same in the other Hungarian towns too. Nor must we forget to mention that the census refers to "suburbia" in connection with the Rumanian populations, that showing that the small number of Rumanians found in these towns lived in the outskirts — this in its turn being a proof that they were settlers of a subsequent date who belonged to the lower classes. So this was the Rumanian population which according to Premier *Tatarescu* gave the towns of Transylvania their Rumanian character.

Tatarescu said further in his speech at Kolozsvár that what had happened was that in course of time the Hungarians had driven the Rumanians out of the towns, which they had then magyarised. As may be seen from what has been said above, the Hungarians could not have driven the Rumanians out of the towns for the simple reason that those towns had practically no Rumanian populations at all. And that these towns were not magyarised, is documented by the fact that at a later period during the Hungarian régime the number of Rumanians in the towns of Transylvania actually showed a constant

increase. The development of population in the 29 towns of Transylvania between 1880 and 1910 was as follows:

	1880 (absolute figures)	1910	1880	1910
Magyars	105,824	205,728	48.6%	58.7%
Germans	51,839	56,347	23.8%	16.1%
Rumanians	52,374	81,931	24.0%	23.4%
Others	7,889	6,254	3.6%	1.8%
Total	217,926	350,268	100.0%	100.0%

So during the last forty years of the Magyar (Hungarian) régime the number of Rumanians living in the towns increased by thirty thousand, their quota of the aggregate population remaining practically unchanged. And between 1900 and 1910 there was an increase also of their quotas in 16 out of the 29 towns. How can it be asserted that the Rumanian populations of the towns of Transylvania were magyarised? This assertion is refuted also by the fact that at all Censuses the number of members of the Greek Oriental and the Greek Catholic Churches has almost invariably been the same as that of the persons of Rumanian nationality. According to Aloysius Kovács, all these convincing data were included in the documents submitted to the Peace Conference and have been published in the volumes dealing with the peace negotiations issued in the languages of the West. Premier Tatarescu too must have had an opportunity to consult these data.

Can there be any talk of a spiritualisation of frontiers until the grave grievances of the Hungarians of Transylvania have been redressed? These grievances were dealt with quite recently at the mass meeting of the Magyar Party at Gyergyószentmiklós attended by the parliamentary representatives of the Hungarians. Deputy Gabriel Pál declared that it was impossible to pass over in silence the mismanagement of educational questions and protested against the expropriation by the Rumanians — on the basis of "name analysis" of a hyper-medieval character — of the descendants of a people (the Széklers) with a past history reaching back ten centuries. And this is all being aggravated by a violent and blustering press agitation. Under the plebiscite arranged by the "Curentul" Rumanians of all classes and professions (priests, judges, teachers, craftsmen, merchants and tradesmen, farmers) alike propose the removal of the minorities; and indeed people are found actually suggesting the sterilisation of Magyar (Hungarian) mothers as a means of preventing the increase of the Hungarians.

Titulescu's theory of "spiritualisation" is at utter variance with the real state of things. We shall be unable to believe in the reality and sincerity of this theory until the Hungarian minority living in Transylvania is accorded a treatment putting an end to the inequality at present in force.

TWO NEW HUNGARIAN PETITIONS SUBMITTED TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Dr. Gustavus Kóvér, the Vice-President of the Magyar Party of Rumania who has been deported from that country, has in the name of the Geneva "Bureau Central des Minorités" submitted to the League of Nations two complaints against the Rumanian Government. In the first Dr. Kóvér explains that since the murder of Premier Duca there has been a veritable state of war in Rumania which frequently outrages minority feelings and infringes the provisions of the minority treaties. One of the largest towns in Transylvania, Temesvár, is being administered unlawfully by a "provisional committee" appointed by Government. This committee has confiscated the church, house and appurtenant institutions belonging to the Piarist Order, which it has made over to the town. The

Committee also gave orders for the removal from the front of the Piarist church of the statues of the Hungarian kings St. Stephen and St. Ladislas; but as this "cultural work" would have taken 1—2 days to execute, orders were given that the statues were to be broken in pieces. This is a grave outrage on the feelings of the Catholic inhabitants. The petition begs the Council of the League of Nations to procure satisfaction for the outrage; for the representative of Rumania is continually telling the League of Nations that in Rumania no difference is made between Rumanians and persons belonging to the ethnic minorities. Incidents of the kind are not at all calculated to further that "spiritualisation" of frontiers of which Titulescu is so fond of talking. In the second petition Dr. Kóvér complains that the Rumanian Government has placed an embargo on the Nagyvárad "Magyar Hirlap" for the third time in the course of a few months.

EMBARGO ON HUNGARIAN NEWSPAPERS

The biggest Hungarian daily of the Banate — the „*Temesvári Hirlap*” — was placed under an embargo for three days for having in its New Year number published an article by Senator Elemér Gyárfás which was allowed to appear word for word in several other papers. The article was sent in good time to the Censor's office, which found much to object to in the text and only sent it back after the usual time for the paper to appear. Consequently the paper had no time left to re-cast the first page, simply leaving out the passages which had been objected to. The Censor took exception to the blank spaces; and the prefect for that reason ordered that the paper should not appear for three days.

An embargo was also placed by the military commander on the "Magyar Hirlap", a paper appearing in Nagyvárad, the pretext given being that it had infringed the provisions incidental to the state of siege. ("Magyar Hirlap", January 6th., 1935.)

YUGOSLAVIA

63,000 HUNGARIANS DEPORTED SINCE 1918

The expulsions *en masse* carried into effect last month (December, 1934) by the Yugoslav Government involving the deportation of more than 3000 victims, most of whom were Hungarians, remind us forcibly of the expulsions on a far larger scale effected between the middle of November, 1918, and the end of 1924. The dimensions of the loss in numbers caused by the expulsion during that period by the Yugoslav Government, in defiance of the international obligations undertaken under §§ 3—6 of the Minority Protection Treaty and of §§ 61—66 of the Trianon Peace Edict, of Hungarians living in the territories severed from the mother country, may be ascertained by a glance at the authentic figures given below. During the period between 1918 and 1924 no fewer than 44,939 persons of Hungarian (Magyar) nationality were either deported beyond the frontiers or compelled to flee, — 5,495 in 1918, during a brief period of barely a month and a half, 19,239 in 1919, 10,551 in 1920, 4,023 in 1921, 4,705 in 1922, 541 in 1923, and 385 in 1924. The deportees included 8,511 public employees and their families. The illegality of the

procedure of the Yugoslav Government is shown by the fact that the vast majority of the deportees had settled in the Southern District (Voivodina) allotted to Yugoslavia long before January 1st., 1910, and therefore complied in every respect with the stipulations relating to nationality contained in § 62 of the Trianon Peace Edict.

However, the large number of expulsions in defiance of law are not the only cause of the decline in the numerical strength of the Hungarians living in Yugoslavia, who have suffered also from the forced emigration which between 1920 and 1930 inflicted upon them a further loss of 15,074 souls. The main causes of this emigration were the persecution and overtaxation resorted to by the authorities, though an equally important role was played undoubtedly by the agrarian reform effected on the basis of purely nationalist principles in the course of which the Hungarians of the Southern District — nearly 400,000 strong — were so completely ignored that of the total area of 285,592 hectares of land (495,216 cadastral yokes) expropriated out of latifundia 90% of which were the property of Hungarians and then distributed, *not a single inch was allotted to any of the claimants of Hungarian (Magyar) nationality.*

If we add up the figures given above, we see that the total number of Hungarians expelled or constrained to migrate from Yugoslavia amounts to 60,013. However, if we add also those persons who during the 1921 and 1931 Censuses were separated from the main body of Hungarians by the application of the notorious "name analysis" and other arbitrary measures initiated by the authorities (e. g. by the declaration as a distinct nationality of the 19,000 Jews who when the change of rulers came were Hungarians to the backbone; and the recent expulsion of more than 3000 persons) we may estimate the aggregate decline in the strength of the Hungarians of Yugoslavia down to the present (i. e. during a period of barely fifteen years) at least at 90,000 souls — that being no less than 18% of the total number of Hungarians living as a minority in that country.

BLOODY STUDENT TUMULT IN ZAGREB

On November 22nd. the Zagreb University was the scene of a big student tumult. The Serb Nationalist students made a violent demonstration against Dr. Stipetić, the Rector of the University, who was also a signatory of the Memorandum submitted to the Regency early in November by more than 200 prominent members of the public life of Croatia in which the signatories requested, among other things, that Maček should be set at liberty and that the State Protection Act should be annulled and the State Protection Tribunal abolished. The extremist Serb students came to blows with the Croatian students who approved the action of the Rector. During the scuffle that ensued several of the students were seriously wounded by revolver bullets. The fighting, which assumed formidable dimensions, was put a stop to only by the interference of the police.

IT IS FORBIDDEN TO SPEAK HUNGARIAN IN THE STREETS

At Ujvidék (Novisad), the capital of the Danube Banate, of late Hungarian has been banned even from the streets. Persons speaking Hungarian in the streets or other public places are immediately called to account by irresponsible blusterers acting under the protection of the authorities. These persons carry slips of paper with the words "*Cu vajmo Jugoslaviju! Govori drzavnim jazikom!*" (Yugoslavia for ever! Speak the State language!) on them in Cyrillic characters and thrust them into the hands of passers-by with gestures of a by no means friendly nature. Human rights, minority protection, League of Nations?! Who cares about these things in Yugoslavia?

ABSURD SITUATION IN FIELD OF MINORITY RELIGIOUS TRAINING AND TRAINING OF CLERGY

In the territories severed from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and annexed to Yugoslavia the appointment, transfer and dismissal of religious teachers was originally within the sphere of authority of the several Churches. According to the Yugoslav laws regulating the legal status of the Churches this right is enjoyed by the Ministry of Public Education. But the manner in which this right is exercised by the Minister of Education when appointing non-Serb (non-Orthodox) teachers of religion may be seen from the fact that for the past two years there has been no Roman Catholic religious teaching at all in the boys' "city school" at Subotica (Szabadka), although more than 90,000 out of a total population of 100,000 souls are Roman Catholics. The most extraordinary procedure adopted by the Government when appointing the non-Serb (non-Orthodox) teachers of religion is illustrated in a remarkable manner also by the edifying cases referred to below. As prescribed, the Office of the Ban of the Danube Banate transmitted to the competent hundred magistrates — for the purpose of expressing an opinion and of certifying nationality and knowledge of the State language — the papers of the candidates for the posts of teachers of religion nominated for appointment by the Reformed Church. Hereupon one of the magistrates inquired of the Church authorities concerning the *height* of the minister nominated for the post of teacher of religion by the Church, while a second instructed the candidate to have his *height* and his knowledge of Serbian ascertained by the clerk of the political community (parish), and a third demanded that the candidate should pass an examination in the Serbian language in the *elementary school* of the parish in question.

The inequality of treatment is seriously affecting also the Roman Catholics of Magyar and German nationality, seeing that in the seminaries the second language of instruction — in addition to Latin — is the State language. This is taken so seriously that the seminarists are forbidden to use their mother tongues also in their personal intercourse with one another. This is how the training of the clergy is being converted into an instrument of denationalisation and of slavisation; though this is not so much the fault of the State as rather of the Yugoslav Roman Catholic Church standing under the direction of Slav bishops, which is thus guilty of a grave omission.