

THE
HUNGARIAN MINORITIES
IN THE
SUCCESSION STATES

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For how can tyrants safely govern home,
Unless abroad they purchase great alliance ?

3 Henry VI, m. III. 69-70

Those who are quite satisfied sit still and do nothing; those who are not quite satisfied are the sole benefactors of the world.

W. S. LANDOR
Imaginary Conversations
(Barrow and Newton)

The first true recognition of national rights, national being, of the very essence and meaning of nationality, can only dawn on the world when nations recognize one another as members of a society whose law they constitute together and bind themselves to obey.

BASIL DE SÉLINCOURT
*An Aspect of the League
of Nations*

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PREFATORY NOTE

I have written this book at the suggestion of certain of my parliamentary colleagues who desired to have placed before them in a concise form a recital of those grievances under which the Hungarian minorities in the Succession States are suffering. I have taken the utmost care not to err on the side of exaggeration or to make any statement which I am not satisfied is completely justified by the facts.

I desire to thank Mr Cyril A. F. Mason for the great assistance he has rendered me in the writing of this book and in its preparation for the press.

ROBERT GOWER

HOUSE OF COMMONS

WESTMINSTER

June 1937

INTRODUCTION

Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the
truest wisdom.

EDMUND BURKE

*Speech on moving his Resolutions
for Conciliation with the Colonies*

INTRODUCTION

THE question may reasonably be asked why British public men should concern themselves with a problem such as that of the treatment inflicted upon the Hungarian minorities in the Succession States. The answer is simple. Great Britain is not merely a member of the League of Nations, but its chief moral support. Some States have withdrawn from the League: others are remiss in fulfilling the obligations of membership. It is therefore necessary that Great Britain, profoundly believing in the principles of the League and exercising the most powerful influence in its counsels, should closely follow the course of events on the Continent and acquaint itself with those numerous political problems whose gravity is far from being justly appreciated either at Geneva or at Westminster. It is no exaggeration to say that the successful solution of such problems may perhaps permanently avert all danger to the peace not only of Eastern Central Europe but of the whole Continent.

There is another important point to be taken into account. Great Britain, deluded into the belief that the Peace Treaties had inaugurated a lasting peace, considered it safe to pursue a policy of disarmament. But certain Continental powers began to increase their armaments and to enter into defensive alliances, thus bringing Europe to its present dangerous state. Great Britain has been faced with the grim necessity of rapid rearmament for fear of jeopardizing both its international prestige and its national security. Addressing the Foreign Press Association in London on 12 January last, Mr Eden, in a speech expounding the ideal of international collaboration, declared that no other policy than that of rearmament was open to Great Britain in a rapidly rearming world. It will be agreed that Mr Eden's declaration is right; but it certainly cannot mean that, if war is to be ultimately averted, efforts to preserve peace should be relaxed. One of the most effective contributions to the maintenance of peace would be the redress of those legitimate national grievances whose continued existence is a formidable obstacle to the general pacification of Europe. It is for Great Britain to take

the lead by doing all in its power to facilitate the just treatment of the aggrieved nations.

It is depressing to real about the attempts at peace-making in 1919: how the momentous negotiations of the Allies were characterized by intrigue and ignorance, and how, as a result, the world was misled into believing that the settlement offered equitable and honourable terms to the vanquished powers. 'International law, like other law,' Macaulay observed in his account of the Peace of Ryswick, has its chicanery, its subtle pleadings, its technical forms, which may too easily be so employed as to make its substance inefficient.' Macaulay observation might be applied with perfect propriety to the Peace Treaties of 1919.

The Hungarian case derives a peculiar importance from the fact that Hungary—a compact geographical unit, watered by the Danube and defended by the natural bulwark of the Carpathians—was practically the nucleus of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Thus, in the Middle Ages, Hungary repulsed the Tartars and the Turks; and, in the following

centuries, it effectually checked the westward advance of the Russians and the eastward advance of the Germans. Having successfully held its position through the struggles and vicissitudes of a thousand years, it at length, in 1919, fell a victim to the inordinate greed and ambition of the newly constituted States of Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. It had been fundamentally opposed to the War: its attitude was revealed by the Austrian government in publishing the official memoranda of Count Tisza, Hungarian Prime Minister in 1914. In view of its genuine opposition to the War, it scarcely deserved so cruel a fate as to be stripped of two-thirds of its territory.

Who can tell whether, in consequence of the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Russia or Germany may suddenly appear in the Middle Danube valley and in the Adriatic? The effect would be to embroil the present intricacies of the Mediterranean question. The fear that Germany might seize Austria by force has been one of the crucial problems of Central European politics since the conclusion of the Peace Treaties. The penetration of Russian influence into Czecho-

Slovakia is the source of uneasiness and irritation to several neighbouring States, and one of the avowed reasons for German rearmament. It is therefore true to say that the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy may become the scene of a struggle for power that will not be the less deadly because of the silent and gradual nature of its operation.

The Little Entente serves to maintain the arrangement by which the ancient Hungarian monarchy was apportioned among foreign States and every third Hungarian subject was transferred to foreign nationality. The original intention of France in creating the Little Entente was a defensive alliance against Germany: France looked to the States composing it for strong military support in the event of an armed conflict with Germany. But, in dreaming of such support, France made one fatal mistake. It failed to realize that Czecho-Slovakia would be powerless to resist German aggression; for the Czechs themselves number barely half the inhabitants of 'Professor Masaryk's theoretic invention, and there are nearly as many Germans as Czechs, to say

nothing of discontented Slovaks and oppressed Hungarians. Yugoslavia is in like case. The Croats seek national independence. They assassinated the King to whom they attributed the frustration of their ambitious political designs. A State torn by internal dissensions can never be a really effective member of a defensive alliance. The territories annexed to Rumania in 1919 have not become organic parts of the State: mere subject provinces, they share no feeling of unity with the world of Bucharest.

It took France ten years to realize that the Little Entente did not serve French interests at all. In point of fact, it profited by French short-sightedness to procure French loans and armaments for keeping Hungary in subjugation. Whoever objectively reviews the part played by the Little Entente in Europe must recognize that its real purpose is to retain the territories taken from Hungary under the terms of the Treaty of Trianon.

Conscious of its mistake, France entered into an alliance with Russia. Czecho-Slovakia also joined this alliance. As these arrangements were considered to have weakened the Little Entente and disturbed the balance of

power, the Balkan *bloc* was formed. Every alliance provokes a counter-alliance. Hungary tries to find friends: Italy is glad to offer its services. No far-sighted statesman can deny that such alliances profoundly influence the foreign policy of Great Britain, now accustomed to work in close diplomatic collaboration with France. Why does France continue to support the Little Entente, which is a constant danger to the peace of Europe? It is seriously misleading to advocate at Geneva constructive international collaboration and at the same time to support an alliance that may well be the cause of destructive war. Those who are alarmed at the military preparations of Germany should not lose sight of the Middle Danube valley.

Experts in minority questions state that there are at present 40,000,000 minority subjects in Europe: that is, subjects belonging to a different race or speaking a different language from that of the predominant subjects of the State in which they are obliged to live. This number is considerably increased if certain religious communities are taken into account.

Germans in Czecho-Slovakia, in Poland, and in Russia; Ukrainians in Poland; Poles in neighbouring States: these constitute the greater number of minority subjects in Europe. But their position is satisfactory in comparison with that of the Hungarian minorities, the problem of which it is the purpose of this book to examine.

The reasons for the special position of the Hungarian minorities are multifarious: the more important may be succinctly explained.

There are nearly as many Poles in Germany as Germans in Poland: both States therefore have the good sense to respect the rights of their minorities. As to Hungary, the situation is fundamentally different. Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Czecho-Slovakia have nearly twenty times as many Hungarians within their frontiers as Hungary has Rumanians, Serbs, and Slovaks. The Treaty of Trianon dismembered Hungary to such an extent that every third Hungarian is obliged to live under foreign rule. It is only natural that these Hungarian minorities regard their present situation as a temporary one, to which the return of international justice will put an end.

Another difference between the situation of the Hungarian minorities and that of other minorities is this: the Hungarian minorities are firmly convinced that their present situation is due to the errors of a misguided and ill-conducted Peace Conference, whereas other minorities owe their existence to circumstances such as neither human foresight can avoid nor human skill control.

It is proposed in this book to devote a separate chapter to the Hungarian minority in each of the Succession States. A sincere endeavour is made to treat a controversial subject in a judicial spirit. No statement is made that cannot be substantiated by irrefragable evidence; for exaggerated and distorted statements, or—worse still—statements without foundation, weaken a strong case. Writing of the charges that Dryden's enemies had levelled against him, Dr Johnson asked a characteristically pointed question: 'If accusation without proof be credited, who shall be innocent?' In the belief that all arguments are the more persuasive for the restraint with which they are urged, care is taken to eschew

the tiresome jargon and glib rhetoric of political propaganda. some of the abuses enumerated in the following pages may fairly be described as sensational: it is therefore important that the style in which they are recorded shall be free alike from crude invective and from polemical extravagance. Moderation and accuracy are essential to the proper treatment of so controversial a subject.

RUMANIA

Justice is the essence of government, and without justice all forms, democratic or monarchic, are tyrannies alike.

J. A- FROUDE, *Caesar: A Sketch*

RUMANIA

THE signature of Rumania to the Minority Treaty on 9 December 1919 was a pledge to recognize its provisions as a fundamental law of the realm. The pledge was strengthened by the final ratification of the treaty on 30 August 1920. Yet the Rumanian government did not incorporate the provisions in the new Constitution of 1923, which is still in force. 1 The very first sentence of the Constitution declares Rumania to be a united national State and utterly ignores the existence of minorities. Recognition is given only to Rumanians of different ethnical origin, language, and religion.

In spite of vehement and reiterated protests on the part of minority representatives, the Rumanian government has not yet framed a law to enforce the provisions of the Minority Treaty. In point of fact, the various Rumanian laws not only omit to accord due consideration to the rights of the minorities: they even run counter to the express provisions of the Minority

Treaty¹. Moreover, Hungarians complain that in practice they are applied differently to the minorities and to citizens of Rumanian origin. The new criminal law passed in 1935 contains a paragraph (215) depriving the minorities of their right to submit complaints to the League of Nations. The signatories to such complaints are punishable with heavy fines and long terms of imprisonment.

In 1931, twelve years after the signing of the Minority Treaty, a Minority State Secretariate was established by the Rumanian government. The futility of this organization may be estimated from the fact that the 2,000,000 Hungarians in Rumania were given the right to have only one representative on the council. Its existence was brief: it ceased to function after a year, and, on the pretext of economy, has not been revived by the present government.

I

The first breach of those provisions of the Minority Treaty that guarantee full protection

¹ See *Informations sur la situation de la minorité hongroise en Roumanie*, published at Geneva in 1934. This pamphlet shows how many of the Rumanian laws run counter to the provisions of the Minority Treaty.

of personal liberty to members of the Hungarian minority was committed when, in ostentatious defiance of international law, the Rumanian government summarily dismissed the greater number of the Hungarian civil servants and stopped the payment of their salaries. This sweeping and arbitrary act reduced to penury many members of the Hungarian ofEcial classes. The Pension Act of 1929, which adjudged them their pensions, together with the arrears due to them, was a virtual admission of the illegality of their dismissal.

It has for seventeen years been the regular practice in Rumania to deprive the few remaining Hungarian civil servants of their posts by the notorious and, it is submitted, illegal system of language tests. It need hardly be said that the consequent vacancies are filled with Rumanians. The present Rumanian government imposed on those Hungarian civil servants who had already passed several language tests a further test, in which, on pain of dismissal, they were required to satisfy the authorities. The result was that many of them, some of whom had long records of meritorious service to their credit, were dis-

missed from their posts without pensions or compensation. It is understood that a petition dealing with the dismissal of Hungarian civil servants has been presented to the League of Nations.

Nor has the Rumanian government been content merely to dismiss those Hungarian civil servants to whom reference has been made. It has condemned very many of them and their families to exile. By the end of 1924 197,000 Hungarians—mostly civil servants and their families—had been banished from the country. They were forced to leave their homes and sell their belongings at the shortest notice. It is estimated that the losses incurred on this head by the Hungarian minority amount at least to 2,000,000,000 *lei* (about £3,000,000).

The primary object of the language tests is to sift out the minorities, and it is complained that the examinations are so drastic as to make it impossible for Hungarians to pass them. Incontestable proof that the language tests are directed against the Hungarians is furnished by the fact that in Kolozsvár in August 1935 factory hands and other manual workers were subjected to a test involving questions on

history, literature, and other subjects not even remotely connected with their work. It would appear that the authorities were bent on finding some pretext for depriving the Hungarian workers of their jobs.

Another grievance on the part of the Hungarians is that, even in the dismissals, discrimination is made between minority and minority. In Temesvár, for instance, the Rumanian authorities allowed seventeen Swabians who had failed in the language test in March 1936 to retain their posts, but dismissed all the Hungarians.

According to the law of 24 February 1924 dealing with Rumanian citizenship, the inhabitants of the territories newly attached to Rumania acquired Rumanian citizenship if they had rights of domicile in those territories on 18 November 1918. This provision is not in conformity with the principle of the Minority Treaty; for it affords possibilities of refusing Rumanian citizenship to many persons whom the authors of the Minority Treaty had no intention of debarring from that right. Any minority inhabitant who petitioned for Rumanian citizenship was required to appear in person before the authorities. This ordinance made

it impossible for many minority inhabitants to acquire Rumanian citizenship, for which they were otherwise fully qualified. It was not till December 1932 that the Rumanian government, in deference to the repeated protests of minority representatives, took measures to exempt petitioners from this disabling ordinance. It is the uncertainty about the question of citizenship and the failure of the Rumanian government to observe the relevant provisions of the Minority Treaty that are responsible for the numerous cases of banishment.

The National Labour Protection Act, passed by the Rumanian parliament in July 1934, makes explicit reference to 'alien subjects of the Rumanian State'. The rigour with which this Act is being enforced plainly shows that its real purpose is to penalize the minorities. Matters have come to such a pass that private firms operating with Hungarian capital dare not employ Hungarian labour. The proprietors of cafés and restaurants in Arad were informed that eighty per cent. of the waiters employed by them must be Rumanians. Though there are only fifty Rumanians among the 230 members of the waiters' union in Arad,

the competent authority, refusing to withdraw the order, insisted on the employment of Rumanians, even if they were not trained waiters. The order issued in January 1935 by the district head of the Temesvár Post Office to his subordinate postmasters expressly mentioned 'alien ethnical origin'. This order directed that all alien dispatchers should be dismissed within three months. At least 1,000 families were thus left without the means of subsistence.

The Hungarian minority has been deprived of its autonomic rights in local government by the system of interim committees, which have superseded the old elected county, municipal, and parish councils. There is rarely a single Hungarian member to be found on these committees in the purely Hungarian districts. It is complained that these committees care little for the matériái interests of the Hungarian inhabitants of the districts committed to their charge. Two examples may be given to corroborate this statement. Before the War a concert-hall had been built in Marosvásárhely at a cost of 2,200,000 crowns, and the interim committee proposed to sell it to the State at a merely nominal price. Real estate, valued at

20,000,000 *lei* (about £30,000), belonging to the town of Nagyszalonta was put up to auction in July 1936, the interim committee having neglected to pay the town's debts.

The political equality guaranteed to the Hungarian minority has not been realized. Parliamentary representation has been substantially reduced by the premium system of elections. Under this system the party that gains forty per cent. of the votes cast throughout the country receives not only one half of the mandates but also a proportional share of the other half. This means that the party with a plurality of votes receives as a premium half the mandates won by the other parties.

The last parliamentary elections, held in December 1933, were unsatisfactory from the Hungarian point of view. The constituencies were altered in the most arbitrary manner. Hungarians complained that election propaganda was suppressed, that candidates and electors were arrested, that the populace was intimidated by the *gendarmes*, and that votes were tampered with.

Mention should here be made of the Land Reform, which the Rumanian government effected to the detriment of the Hungarian

minority. The Rumanian parties themselves admitted that it was designed to serve Rumanian nationalist aims. The law was more rigidly enforced in Transylvania, where many large estates were owned by Hungarians, than in the Regat (the old kingdom), where Rumanians were the landowners. It is officially recorded that 3,118,570 cadastral acres of land were expropriated in Transylvania. 2,718,146 acres were in the possession of Hungarians. The loss to them amounted to 42,000,000,000 *lei* (about £63,000,000). The rates of compensation operated to their disadvantage; for the sums paid to them on that account represented but a minute fraction of the pre-War value of the land. 310,583 claimants, of whom only 82,640 (26.61 per cent.) were minority nationals, received shares of the expropriated land.

The foregoing survey, brief as it is, demonstrates how Rumania, whose treatment of the Hungarian minority has consistently been at direct variance with both the letter and the spirit of the Minority Treaty, has failed to safeguard those civil and political rights which its signature to that treaty pledged it to do. It is proposed now to pass to a consideration of the

remaining civil rights: the inviolability of the home, the liberty of the Press, and the right of assembly. It is submitted that the minority subjects in Rumania do not enjoy the same treatment or possess the same guarantees as the majority subjects.

The inviolability of the home has been annulled by the institution of a system of domiciliary visits. The Press in Transylvania has published accounts of numerous instances where whole streets have been searched for prayer-books, breviaries, and monopoly articles like lighters and playing-cards. Moreover, a series of domiciliary visits was paid to Hungárián political leaders in various counties and towns where the population was predominantly Hungarian. Nor were monasteries, convents, or the houses of parish priests, spared. In 1935 a search lasting several days was conducted in the Minorite monastery in Arad, in the Franciscan monasteries in Radna, Kaplony, and Szatmár, and in several convents. In Szatmár fourteen buildings, comprising Hungarian institutes and the houses of leading Hungarians, were exhaustively searched in February 1936.

Article xxv of the Rumanian Constitution

provides, *inter alia*, that 'no censorship or any other preliminary regulation may be introduced' and that Press productions may not be suppressed or their publication suspended. Though for the last seventeen years no juncture has arisen of sufficient gravity to endanger the safety and independence of Rumania and to supply an excuse for proclaiming the state of siege provided against in such an event by Article CXXVIII of the Constitution, this Article has been invoked on many occasions, and various civil rights, including the liberty of the Press, have thereby been suspended. A decree issued on 30 December 1933 ordered all Press productions throughout Rumania to be censored before publication. This decree, which is still in force, weighs most heavily upon the Hungarian minority. The Rumanian censor cannot be complimented on the manner in which he performs the duties, always invidious and sometimes embarrassing, of his office. No effectual measures are taken to restrain the Rumanian Press from publishing systematic diatribes against the Hungarian minority¹: on

¹ Articles published in the *Glas Romanesc* (12 November 1936) and the *Turda* (December 1936) proposed that the Hungarian minority in Transylvania should be

the other hand, a rigorous censorship is applied to the Hungarian Press. Titulescu's *expose* on foreign affairs was permitted to appear only in a censored form in the Hungarian papers, whereas verbatim reports of it could be read in any of the Rumanian papers. The speeches for the prosecution in the case of Colonel Precup and his accomplices¹ were subjected to a like censorship.

The censor has prohibited the Hungarian papers from using, not only in the text but also in the titles, the Hungarian names of places in the historical parts of the country. Under the threat of suppression certain Hungarian papers have been forced to change their titles. For example, the *Nagyvárad*, a Hungarian paper established sixty-four years ago, now appears as *Szabadság* [*Liberty*], and the thirty-seven-year-old *Nagyvárad* *Napló* [*Nagyvárad Daily*] has adopted the simple title of *Napló* [*Daily*].

massacred like the Huguenots on St Bartholomew's Day.

¹ It was alleged that, having failed in their endeavours to effect the reconciliation of King Carol to the Queen, Colonel Precup and his political associates conspired the King's assassination. At the last moment the conspiracy was revealed to the police, who proceeded to arrest Colonel Precup and two other Transylvanian officers.

In 1936 the term *Erdélyi* (Transylvanian) was banned on the ground of its being a 'Hungárián geographical term'. This ban forced such papers as the *Erdélyi Hirlap* (*Transylvanian Gazette*), the *Erdélyi Lapok* (*Transylvanian Review*), and the *Erdélyi Néplap* [*Transylvanian Peoples News*), to change their titles.

It is appropriate at this stage to refer to the persecution of Hungarian journalists, who are not only fined and imprisoned but even in some cases forbidden to pursue their calling. The severe sentences pronounced in the course of proceedings against them called forth an indignant protest even from John Clopotel, president of the Rumanian Journalists' Association. On 25 June 1935 Lóránt Daday, who writes under the pseudonym of Moses Székely, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment because of his book *Zátony*. Court-martial proceedings were instituted against Dr Martin Roska, an archaeologist of international reputation, because of three essays, written for a work entitled *Historical Transylvania*, in which he adhered to his original theory that the Hungarians made their appearance in Transylvania in A.D. 896. Many a Hungarian journalist has been sentenced for publishing a

report, received from an international Press agency, of some statement in favour of treaty-revision made in the British Parliament. At the hearing of a libel case at Kolozsvár the public prosecutor stigmatized the minority journalists as 'professional criminals'.

The right of assembly unconditionally granted by Article XXVIII of the Rumanian Constitution is not enjoyed by the Hungarian minority. Meetings of the various Hungarian societies may not be held without the permission of the authorities. The Minister of the Interior banned the meeting of the Hungárián party in Rumania fixed to take place at Sepsiszentgyörgy on 18 July 1936. This ban, for which no reason was given, prevented the 2,000,000 Hungarians in Rumania from exercising their most elementary political rights. At the same time various Rumanian party meetings and demonstrations were unreservedly sanctioned by the authorities.

The activities of Hungarian societies in Rumania are in effect paralysed. Two of the oldest Hungarian cultural societies, the Cultural Society of Transylvania and the Museum Society of Transylvania, were placed under the most oppressive restrictions. The former,

having long been prevented from functioning, was, after the passing in 1924 of the special law dealing with the question of fictitious persons (*persona juridica*), officially recognized in its corporate capacity. But such recognition obliged the society to accept non-Hungarian members. This may well lead to an influx of Rumanian members and, when they are in the majority, to the dissolution of the society and the confiscation of its assets.

The *gendarmes* have steadily and vigorously supported the Rumanian rulers in their attempts at depriving the Hungarian minority of the right of assembly. They have frequently prevented the Galvinist Women's Alliance from organizing sacred concerts. On various occasions they have dispersed religious meetings. In August 1934 they stopped the tourist meeting held by the county Gsik branch of the Transylvanian Carpathian Society. In the autumn of 1935 they issued peremptory directions prohibiting the vintage festivities.

II

The educational rights guaranteed in the Minority Treaty were determined with a view

to preserving the national characteristics of the minorities. This is a matter of especial importance in Transylvania, where denominational education has a long historical past. To the close of the eighteenth century education in Hungary was almost exclusively in the hands of the Churches, which provided for its needs with denominational schools. The system of State education in Hungary was instituted in 1868; but the right of any denomination to establish and maintain schools was in no way prejudiced. The denominational schools ranked with the State schools, provided their curriculum was the same.

Not one of the five universities and academies in the districts wrested from Hungary has been reserved for Hungarians, who are thus deprived of the right of a higher-grade national education. Only one (Kolozsvár) of the four Rumanian universities maintains a chair of Hungarian literature. The Private Education Act of 1925 has made it impossible to establish minority universities. Mention should here be made of Anghelescu's law, which abolished the faculty of pharmacy in the Kolozsvár and Jassy universities on the ground that the students were for the most part re-

cruited from the minorities and that the State was averse from granting diplomás to minority citizens.

There is at present no Hungarian secondary school even in the districts of Transylvania inhabited by Hungarians [*Székely*). The language of instruction is Rumanian, and the so-called Hungarian departments do not in fact exist. Corresponding classes in Rumanian and Hungarian are conducted in only two places: Arad and Nagyvárad. Of the 214 Hungarian pupils who took their baccalaureate examination in June 1936 only sixty-four (thirty per cent.) were allowed to pass, while 150 (seventy per cent.) were made to fail. By that time the new decree concerning this examination was in force. Hungarian candidates for the baccalaureate certificate must now write their papers and answer questions in Rumanian and make translations from Latin and French into Rumanian.

Inequality of treatment prevails in the sphere of elementary education, which was regulated by the State Elementary Education Act of 1924. some of the provisions of that Act have since been amended; but in essentials it is still a crushing burden on the Hungarian minority.

The political units (villages, boroughs, and municipalities) are required to make large annual contributions to the establishment and maintenance of State elementary schools. This requirement imposes a heavy financial burden on the Hungarian minority in places where elementary education is provided by an efficiently conducted denominational school. The State elementary schools established in such places resort to various illegal expedients—for example, name-analysis and the imposition of fines—to induce the pupils of the minority denominational schools to attend their classes.

In fulfilment of the obligation undertaken in the Minority Treaty, the State Elementary Education Act provides for the establishment of schools in which the language of instruction shall be that of the inhabitants of the places in question. This provision has never been put into effect. In point of fact, there are many Hungarian villages where Rumanian is the sole language of instruction. It is thus impossible for the minority to receive elementary education.

Article ix of the Minority Treaty is virtually annulled by the decree prohibiting Rumanian

nationals who belong to linguistic minorities from sending their children to minority schools. The educational liberty granted to the minorities by the Private Education Act of 1925 is rendered an illusory privilege by the provision that forbids the registration of any pupil whose mother tongue is not the same as the language of instruction in the school in question. Hungarian parents are thus at the mercy of the State educational authorities.

They are further harassed by the system of name-analysis, to which a passing reference has already been made. Name-analysis is the term applied to official investigations into the ethnical and religious history of the ancestors of children whose surnames are not obviously of Hungarian extraction. Such investigations are bitterly resented by parents; for they deprive them of their rights as guaranteed by the Minority Treaty. On 25 May 1930 a complaint of this inquisition was lodged with the League of Nations, but the Committee failed to draw the attention of the Council to it.

A further breach of the equality guaranteed by the Minority Treaty was committed when school-books reviling the Hungarians were

introduced into the State elementary schools. On 31 August 1931 a complaint was lodged with the League of Nations, but the Committee again failed to draw the attention of the Council to it.

The Rumanian government has evaded its obligation to allocate to the minorities an equitable share of the funds devoted to educational purposes. However serious its financial difficulties may be, the State cannot properly refuse to discharge such an obligation; for the denominational schools are institutions of vital social importance and inestimable cultural value. But here, too, equitable treatment does not prevail: there is always State aid at hand for the Rumanian denominational schools. In fact, a special law was framed in 1929 to provide for their support. State aid has been granted to the Hungarian denominational schools only twice: on neither occasion was the sum anything like that which was due under the terms of the Minority Treaty. It is pertinent to record that before the War the Hungarian State granted regular aid to the Rumanian denominational schools, which in 1914 received from this source the sum of 1,880,358 gold crowns (about 68,000,000 *lei*).

Yet the Hungarian denominational schools in Rumania have not received during fifteen years a quarter of that sum from the Rumanian State.

Inequality prevails in the distribution of the sums demanded from the villages and towns as their budgetary contributions to education. A law regulating such distribution was promulgated in 1930, but there was much delay in its execution. The question of contributions is still being most unjustly settled. A frequent consequence is that the Hungarian denominational schools receive nothing at all. The inequality is the more glaring since the minority inhabitants bear the double burden of paying the village-school rates and supporting their own denominational schools.

III

The Rumanian Orthodox Church is the dominant ecclesiastical authority. Precedence is given to the Greek Catholic Church, and the minority Ghurches are relegated to an inferior position. This inequality of status is emphasized by Article LXXI of the Constitution, which, while guaranteeing seats in the Senate to all the bishops of the Greek Orthodox and

Greek Catholic Churches, allocates only one seat to each of the 'denominations recognized by the State', provided the number of its adherents exceeds 200,000. This anomaly has deprived the four Román Catholic bishops and the Unitarian bishop in Transylvania of their seats in the Senate, and prevents the bishops of the two newly formed Protestant dioceses—the Reformed Church diocese of Királyhágó and the Hungarian Lutheran Church diocese of Arad—from becoming *ex-officio* members of the Senate.

The inferior position of the minority Churches is further emphasized by the provisions of the Administration Act of 1936. They are not especially represented on either the parish or the municipal councils. While the two Rumanian Churches are officially represented on the county councils, all the minority Churches together are accorded only one seat on each council.

A perusal of the episcopal reports covering the early years of the new *imperium* reveals indignant protests against the persecution to which the minority clergy were subjected. Arrests, beatings, and tortures, were of daily occurrence. even in recent years the sen-

tences of the courts indicate the treatment they receive at the hands of the executive power. The Religion Act of 1928, which ostensibly guarantees religious liberty to the minorities, is characterized in all its provisions by a spirit of mistrust. It invests the State with excessive powers of control and interference in ecclesiastical affairs.

In May 1936 the Churches received a general order stating that in the future religious meetings and festivals might not be held without the previous sanction of the authorities. On 3 September 1934 the Synod of the Unitarian Church at Székelykeresztúr was rudely scattered by *gendarmes* armed with bayonets. On 10 November 1935 the prayer-meeting of the Y.M.G.A. at Panet was dispersed by *gendarmes*. In March 1936 Francis Katona, a dean of the Unitarian Church, was stopped by *gendarmes* on his official rounds in the county of Udvarhely.

The Minority Treaty provided that no subject of the Rumanian State might be prevented from using any language he wished. The case of the ancient race of Csángó-Hungarians in Moldova suffices to prove that this provision is being ignored. No word of

Hungarian may be spoken in the churches of this considerable enclave of Hungarians. They may not have priests to speak in Hungarian: they may not make their confessions in Hungarian. Divine service is conducted in Rumanian. Religious instruction may be imparted only in Rumanian and only by authorized teachers. Minority pupils are thus deprived of the right to learn the tenets of their religion in their native language.

During the past fifteen years the Rumanian government has strenuously opposed the right of minority citizens to maintain schools. This opposition bears with especial severity on the denominational secondary schools, whose sources of income have been transferred to the State. For example, the State has expropriated 23,387 acres of land belonging to the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status and 24,563 acres belonging to the Transylvanian Reformed Church. The compensation in each case was negligible. The Unitarian Church has been dispossessed of the Berde foundation of 1,400 acres, the object of which was the daily provision of food for 200 Hungárián secondary school-children.

The Private Education Act of 1925, which

is substantially in force even today, degraded the old denominational schools to the level of private schools and, under the pretext of State supervision, abolished the traditional autonomous sphere of authority of the Churches maintaining them. The Churches concerned have appealed for protection to the League of Nations.

IV

The impartiality of the Rumanian judicial system must be seriously called in question. It is complained that, when a judgement happens to be in favour of a minority litigant, there is an unreasonable delay in its execution. It is even stated that many such judgements are never put into execution at all, and that judicial orders are disobeyed with impunity. No effectual measures have been taken to enforce the order for the restoration to its rightful owners of the confiscated Elizabeth Maria Sanatorium in Kolozsvár. The final decision of the Court of Cassation in favour of the dispossessed Csángó-Hungarians of Déva has been contemptuously ignored.

Hungarians are unfairly handicapped by the order prohibiting them from using their

native language before the courts of law, which issue all their notices in Rumanian. Most of the judges of the higher courts and many of those of the lower do not speak Hungárián: they invariably deliver their judgements in Rumanian. even Hungarians who have a tolerable acquaintance with Rumanian are at a serious disadvantage; for their command of the language is rarely sufficient for them to grasp the subtleties of forensic arguments conducted in it and, under the nervous strain of cross-examination, to express themselves in it with perspicuity and cogency. Only a competent linguist would stand a fair chance of acquitting himself well under such unfavourable circumstances. The consequence is that most Hungarians in Rumania are obliged to employ interpreters whenever they appear before the courts. Seventeen years have elapsed since the signing of the Minority Treaty; yet no official measures have been taken to provide Rumanian nationals of non-Rumanian speech with adequate facilities for the use of their respective languages before the courts.

Hungarian law students have no opportunity of procuring professional employment in

the courts; for judicial appointments are made in strict accordance with the principle of continuity, and vacancies are filled with the sons or other kinsmen of the retiring Rumanian judges. The Rumanian Minister of Justice has frankly stated that it is not proposed to appoint any Hungarian judges. According to the official statistics of the Ministry of Justice for 1933, there was in that year only one Hungarian among the sixty-three public prosecutors at the courts in Transylvania. The thirteen public prosecutors at the King's Bench were all Rumanians. Seventy-eight of the justices of the King's Bench were Rumanians and only four Hungarians. Of the 691 justices in Transylvania only sixty-five were Hungarians, who had retained their posts after the change of *imperium*. The number is now much less. There is not a single Hungarian among the 139 notaries public.

YUGOSLAVIA

Without freedom, I do not merely say that you cannot be good citizens, I say you cannot be good men. Without liberty there can be no true morality, for there can be no free choice between good and evil; and liberty means just that, the right to choose what is good.

C. W. STUBBS, *Village Politics*

YUGOSLAVIA

WHEN the provisions of the armistice agreement concluded in Padua on 3 November 1918 and of the military agreement concluded in Belgrádé on 13 November 1918 were being carried into effect, Serb and French troops were sent to occupy the district of Southern Hungary which the Serbs, without any historical or political justification, called the Voivodina. Under the protection of these troops, and in most cases in obedience to the orders of the Serb military command, Serb national councils or committees took over the civil administration in all the territories within the line of demarcation. The Hungarian prefects, who were at the head of the magistracy in each county and royal free borough, were displaced by Serb officials.

The result of this arbitrary measure, which constituted a flagrant breach of international law, was that the Great National Assembly (*Velika Narodna Skupstina*) convened by the Serb national council at Újvidék (Novisad)

proclaimed on 25 November 1918 the separation of the Voivodina from Hungary and its annexation to Serbia. The Hungarian, German, and Rumanian minorities, which together formed an absolute majority of the population, were debarred from attending this momentous assembly. The principle of self-determination was thus violated. Ruthless oppression of the Hungarian minority was the inevitable consequence of this unilateral—and therefore, it is suggested, legally invalid—resolution.

It must be reluctantly concluded that the real aim of the policy consistently pursued by successive Yugoslav governments is the matériái and morál ruin of the Hungarian minority. Such a policy is hard to reconcile with the pledges given by Yugoslavia in the Minority Treaty of 1919 and with the terms of the Yugoslav Constitutions of 1921 and 1931, each of which contains the provision that 'All subjects of the State are equal in the eyes of the law and shall receive equal protection from the authorities'.

I

The first act committed by the Yugoslav government in violation of the Minority

Treaty was the extortion from the Hungarian civil servants of an oath of allegiance to a State of which they were not subjects till the conclusion of the Peace Treaties. As they could not take such an oath without a breach of their former oaths and of their official obligations, they were first dismissed without pensions and then ordered out of the country. The sentence of banishment was usually executed within twenty-four hours: this meant that, having to leave all their property behind, they were faced with min.

As the Hungarians in Yugoslavia constitute one twenty-eighth of the entire population, they are entitled, on a proportional basis, to 9,000 posts in the public service, instead of the few hundred at present apportioned among them. The total number of State employees is about 250,000. There would be no difficulty in reserving to the Hungarian minority its due share of appointments in the public service. The linguistic argument can no longer be urged with any conviction; for the younger generation of Hungarians speak the language of the State fluently. The Hungarian minority is therefore justified in demanding a redress of this grievance.

The new Yugoslav Constitution, promulgated on 3 September 1931, did nothing to improve the lot of the Hungarian minority. even Dr Seton-Watson and Mr Wickham Steed, staunch champions of Yugoslavia, described it as a pseudo-constitution. It is sufficient to observe that it recognized neither the existence of minorities nor their rights as defined and guaranteed in the Minority Treaty office.

In point of fact, it is impossible for the minorities in Yugoslavia to organize political groups and parties for the purpose of securing and protecting the special rights internationally guaranteed to them. The election law passed in September 1931 ordains that each party list shall embrace the entire territory of the kingdom. If the Hungarian minority wishes to take an active part in the general elections, it must have a candidate of its own at the head of the general list. Moreover, each of its candidates must produce sixty signatures of recommendation from the administrative districts (constituencies) throughout the country, the capitals of the nine banates, and the Belgrade municipal district, and 200 further signatures from the electors of

the administrative district or the capital of the banate in question. Seeing that there are 305 administrative districts in the country, it means that, together with the signatures for the general list, at least 79,300 signatures are required. It is obvious that such requirements effectually prevent the Hungarian minority from participating in the general elections with a party and a programme of their own.

The practical consequence of the election law was that the government alone found it possible to draw up a general list for the Skupstina elections held on 8 November 1931. One Hungarian, Dr Gábríel Szántó, was elected. The Hungarian minority was thus virtually disfranchised. The election law was modified by the new law of 24 March 1933, which in effect did nothing to rectify this intolerable situation. One of the amendments adopted provided for the division of the country into 342, instead of 305, administrative districts. This means that the Hungarian minority would need to have its candidates nominated in no fewer than 171 districts. even the considerable reduction in the required number of nominators that was effected by the new law of

1933 has not made it possible for the Hungarians to draw up a separate Hungarian list.

For the present the municipal corporations are appointed by the government. The following cases will show how the appointments made in 1936 ignored the Hungarian minority. In the town of Ókanizsa (Stara-Kanjiza), where ninety-four per cent. of the population are Hungarian, only seventeen Hungarians were appointed members of the municipal council of thirty-four. Their preponderance entitled the Hungarians to thirty-one or thirty-two of the thirty-four seats. According to the statistics compiled by the Alliance of Voivodina Towns, the 43,000 Hungarians in the town of Szabadka (Subotica) have only six representatives on the new municipal council of seventy-two members, whereas their proportion of 41.7 per cent. entitles them to thirty. Zombor (Sombor) has a municipal council of forty-five members; but the Hungarian minority, though entitled to eight or nine seats, actually received only four. In Újvidék (Novisad) the Hungarian inhabitants, who make up one-third of the total population, are not represented in proportion to their strength;

for on 15 April 1936 only five Hungarians were appointed members of the municipal council of fifty-four.

The law regulating the autonomy of the villages deserves especial notice. This law enacts that villages of less than 3,000 inhabitants shall unite with other villages for the purpose of administration. At least thirty-one villages in the Voivodina which have a predominantly Hungarian population of less than 3,000 inhabitants are now united with villages which have a predominantly Serb population. The villages in question have thus lost their former administrative independence.

The law provides that, where there are two or more lists of candidates, the list securing a majority of votes shall receive two-thirds of the mandates. This system of priority is a grave injustice to the Hungarian minority in villages of mixed population. Supposing there are three lists and the votes are cast in the proportion of 4: 3: 3, the first list receives two-thirds of the seats on the local council and the remaining one-third is divided between the other two lists. In point of fact, the winning list also gets its share of the remaining one-third. The candidate at the head of the list

securing a relative majority of the votes cast becomes the first magistrate of the village. How little local autonomy counts for may be judged from the fact that the real head of the village—the notary—is actually appointed by the ban of the banate to which the village belongs. His election is a mere formality: his tenure of office is at the pleasure of the ban. He is thus a serviceable tool in the hands of the administrative authorities, who seize every opportunity of attacking the very principle of representation. Their agents are forced on reluctant voters, especially in villages where Hungarians are in the minority. The last of the Hungarian notaries was discharged at the beginning of 1929: not a single Hungarian notary has since been appointed in the villages inhabited by Hungarians.

It is appropriate to conclude this section by referring to a singular but very characteristic action of the Yugoslav government in this connexion. Anxious to conceal the real state of affairs, the government, it is submitted, misled the Council of the League of Nations with inaccurate statistics. In its 'annotations' on a complaint about administration grievances lodged with the Council in April 1932 the

government made bold to assert that there were many Hungarian nationals among the village officials and that the absolute majority of the officials in the purely Hungarian villages were Hungarian nationals. In support of this statement the government, in its official reply addressed to the secretary-general of the League, gave a list of thirty-two villages in the Danube banate where Hungarians were at the head of the administration. But an examination of the accurate and certified list of officials in the thirty-two villages enumerated by the government reveals the fact that there are only one Hungarian and six German deputy clerks among the thirty-eight notaries and deputy clerks employed in twenty-six of them. The rest of the village officials are all Slav nationals, mainly Serbs. Government is superfluous. Perhaps it should be added that the Committee of Three sent out to pass judgement on the complaint of the Hungarian minority accepted the 'annotations' of the Yugoslav government as authentic. It would be difficult to procure more conclusive evidence that the whole procedure of minority protection leaves much to be desired.

II

A severe blow dealt at the economic life of the Hungarian minority was the expropriation of land euphemistically described as agrarian reform. The Land Reform was made rather to serve nationalist interests than to promote the realization of economic and social ideals. In his book entitled *Our Agrarian Policy*^x Dr Slavko Secerov, a former Financial State Secretary, declares (p. 32) that the real aim of the Land Reform was to break up—that is to say, expropriate and distribute—the latifundia belonging to non-national elements in the Bánát, Bácska, and Baranya. As most of the latifundia in those parts were in Hungarian hands, it may fairly be concluded that the Land Reform was directed against the Hungárián minority.

The expropriation of the landed estates was authorized by a royal decree and an order in council on 25 February 1919, fifteen months before the signing of the Treaty of Trianon. It was carried out by ordinary ministerial decrees. Its execution should have been entrusted, not to the administrative departments

¹ *Iz nase agrarne politika* (Belgrade, 1930).

subordinate to the government, but to the independent and impartial courts of law.

The Land Reform involved all estates in the Voivodina of more than 100 cadastral acres if the proprietor had a tenant and of more than 521 cadastral acres if he was farming the land himself at the time of its expropriation. The total amount of land affected in the Voivodina was 751,149 *hectares*, 435,812 of which were ploughed land. In the course of a few years 285,592 *heetares* (495,216 cadastral acres) were distributed among 12,265 *dobrovoljaci* (Serbian war volunteers), 4,730 settlers, op-tants, and refugees, and 57,193 other claim-ants. All of them, without a single exception, were Serb—that is to say, Slav—nationals. 436,112 *heetares*, 149,693 of which were arable land, remained in the possession of their former proprietors.

The effect of the Land Reform was to reduce by fifty per cent. the amount of land owned by Hungarians, which did not exceed thirty per cent. of the agricultural areas in the Voivo-dina. The Hungarian minority in the Voivo-dina was ultimately left with less than half the land to which, on a proportional basis, it was entitled.

Though nineteen years have passed since the execution of the Land Reform, the dispossessed landowners have not yet received any compensation. The State-guaranteed bonds, bearing interest at four per cent. and redeemable in twenty years by the drawing of lots, have not yet been issued. In accordance with the terms of the law (24 June 1933) supplementary to that which was passed on 19 June 1931, the bonds should have been issued by 26 September 1933 at latest.

The redemption price per cadastral acre was originally fixed at 160 times the cadastral net income. This, according to the lie of the land and its quality, was between 800 and 2,000 dinars per cadastral acre of sixteen *ares*. On the other hand, the market price of arable land in the Voivodina, which in the years of the boom (1919-1929) was anything from 30,000 to 50,000 dinars per acre, is even now, in the prevailing agricultural depression, between 6,000 and 12,000 dinars per acre. The law provided that the landowners, most of whom were Hungarian nationals, were to be compensated with something between a fifteenth and a twenty-fifth of the value of their land in the years of the boom and between a

third and a twelfth of the present low price of land.

To form an accurate notion of the financial losses suffered by the Hungarian landowners it is necessary to bear in mind not only the enormous decline in the annual yield of the land but also the difference between its minimal redemption price and its market price—a difference that varies from 4,000 to 8,000 dinars per cadastral acre. As ninety per cent. of the 495,216 cadastral acres confiscated belonged to Hungarians, this means a loss to the Hungarian minority of from 1,800,000,000 to 3,600,000,000 dinars. By taking as the basis of calculation the difference of 28,000 and 48,000 dinars per cadastral acre between the redemption price and the highest prices in the years of the boom, we may compute that the loss to the Hungarian minority in consequence of the Land Reform is between 12,600,000,000 and 21,600,000,000 dinars.

The profits made by the State on the Land Reform amounted to nearly 10,000,000,000 dinars. But it was not merely a lucrative transaction for the State: it was a scheme of unmitigated extortion, devised, it is suggested, as an instrument of economic coercion.

The discrimination against the Hungarian minority in the sphere of taxation strikingly illustrates the aims of the fiscal authorities. The unification of the taxation laws effected in 1928 did nothing to adjust the unequal assessment or relieve the oppressive taxation of the Hungarian minority in the Voivodina. The new assessment raised the taxes threefold. This burden, which lies very heavy on the Hungarian minority, is aggravated by the merciless rapacity with which the taxes are collected. Impoverished Hungarians frequently find themselves unable to pay their taxes punctually. When this happens, their property is distrained. The law provides that, before a defaulting taxpayer is sold up for arrears of taxes, first he must be warned and then his property may be attached. Moreover, specified intervals must elapse between the measures taken in this procedure. Hungarians complain that, in defiance of the explicit provisions of the law, the three measures are in many cases taken simultaneously. Destitute and helpless, the defaulting taxpayer is forced to go bankrupt. 'The power of a society to pay debts', Macaulay justly observed, 'is proportioned to the pro-

gress which that society has made in industry, in commerce, and in all the arts and sciences which flourish under the benignant influence of freedom and of equal law.' Freedom and equal law, though guaranteed by the provisions of the Minority Treaty, are strenuously denied to the Hungarian minority in the Voivodina: its members, victims of tyranny and injustice, are frequently unable to meet all their obligations. It may therefore be confidently affirmed that a beggared and bankrupt society is the natural outcome of despotic rule.

Confiscation and overtaxation are not the only means employed to hasten the economic ruin of the Hungarian minority. Recourse is had to the expedient of nationalization. After the change of State the Serbs began to nationalize the Hungarian banks and industrial undertakings. Those that have escaped nationalization have been forced either to go into liquidation or to become merged in some Serb undertaking. The Serbs have attained their object; for of the 168 Hungarian banks operating in the Voivodina before the War only a few unimportant savings-banks remain. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the crip-

pling effect of the Serb policy on the economic life of the Hungarian minority.

To sum up: every dispassionate and impartial inquirer, reviewing the facts presented in the foregoing paragraphs, will draw the reluctant conclusion that the aim of the Serb policy is the economic ruin of the Hungárián minority. It is for the League of Nations to devote itself to a thorough examination of this vitai problem and to the task, at once delicate and arduous, of finding a satisfactory and practical solution. Will the League assert its authority and make an effective contribution to the triumph of reason and conciliation? The dominant hope is that it will rise to the occasion.

III

The Yugoslav authorities have from the outset made persistent attacks on the educational rights and privileges of the Hungarian minority. The death-blow to the old system of Hungarian education was dealt by the order in council issued on 20 August 1920, which made the Serb Elementary Education Act of 1904 and the Serb Secondary Education Act of 1912 operative throughout the Voivodina.

This order was supplemented on 27 August 1920 by an ordinance decreeing the nationalization of all the schools. All the property and funds belonging to private, parish, and denominational schools were confiscated without compensation.

According to the memorandum submitted to the government on 24 July 1924 by Dr Bauer, Roman Catholic archbishop of Zagreb, and Bishop Budanovitch, the buildings of the twenty Notre-Dame convents and of all the Roman Catholic parish schools in the Bácska were confiscated. No less than 920 cadastral acres of agricultural land were seized at Szabadka (Subotica) alone. The income derived from that land had been devoted to the maintenance of Roman Catholic schools. No compensation or rent was paid for the confiscated property. It was only recently, after the Church had won several lawsuits, that negotiations were opened between Church and State concerning a proposal to restore the confiscated buildings and to fix a certain annual rent for the use of them.

In addition to these arbitrary measures the government has instituted a system of name-analysis. The ultimate object of this system,

which has been fully described in the section on Rumania, is to abolish the Hungarian departments in the State elementary schools. In point of fact, the pupils in the classes composing these departments are even now being taught in the language of the State. The explanation of this anomaly is that most of the teachers in question know no Hungarian, or only a very little. It is the wish of the Hungarian minority that only teachers of their own nationality should be employed in the Hungarian departments.

A further grievance of the Hungarian minority is that most of the inspectors who examine the pupils in the Hungarian departments of the State elementary schools do not speak Hungarian. The result of this situation is that teachers, either anxious to please the inspectors or acting on their express, though merely oral, instructions, teach their pupils, not in the prescribed Hungarian, but in the official language of the State. If the pupils cannot answer in Serbian the questions put to them in that language by the inspectors, the teachers are held responsible. Since in that event they get bad reports and their promotion is endangered, it is to their interest to

teach at least the national subjects in the language of the State.

The educational facilities of the Hungarian minority were further drastically curtailed by the three Acts of 1929 and the Act of 1931. All four Acts had one common object: the ruin of the Hungarian educational system and the denationalization of the Hungarian minority. In defiance of the provisions of the Minority Treaty, they all expressly forbade the establishment of private schools, whether parochial or denominational. The Elementary Education Act of 1929 and the Board School Act of 1931 both provided that existing private schools might continue their work if they conformed to all the conditions and regulations prescribed by the Acts in question within four months of their becoming operative; but this provision did not apply to the Hungarian minority. So far as Hungarian interests were concerned, it was of no value; for the Hungarian private schools had all been closed in August 1920.

No attention has yet been paid to the complaint of this provision lodged with the League of Nations by the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia. The explanation of this lies partly

in the dilatory procedure of the League and partly in the circumstance that the charges were flatly denied by the Yugoslav government, which was permitted to have the last word in the matter.

One is reluctant to draw the conclusion that, by gradually retrenching all the educational rights and privileges once enjoyed by the Hungarians, Yugoslavia seeks to thwart the cultural development of the Hungarian minority. Thus deprived of their distinctive traditional culture, its members would slowly lose the idiosyncrasy of their race and would become merged in the Serb population.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

We may consider, then, as one criterion of the goodness of a government, the degree in which it tends to increase the sum of good qualities in the governed, collectively and individually; since, besides that their well-being is the sole object of government, their good qualities supply the moving force which works the machinery.

J. S. MILL, *Representative Government*

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

IT is stated in the preamble to the Minority Treaty of 1919 that the peoples of Slovakia decided of their own free will to unite with the peoples of Bohemia. This statement is misleading. President Benes never even said that the 1,000,000 Hungarians concerned had voluntarily taken such a decision. On 9 December 1918 the Germans of Upper Hungary held a mass meeting at Késmárk, at which they emphasized their wish to remain citizens of the Hungarian State and protested against the arbitrary method of deciding so vitai a question as their future citizenship without Consulting their wishes or obtaining their consent. As for the Slovaks, it should be borne in mind that, hoping to escape Czech rule, they proclaimed the Republic of the Eastern Slovaks in Kassa (Kosice) on 12 December 1918. The declaration issued at Turócszentmárton (Turciánsky Svätý Martin) on 30 October 1919, which Czech propaganda habitually cites in support of the statement

that the Slovaks voluntarily joined in the formation of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, was merely the irresponsible manifesto of a Western Slovak faction, which had no authority to decidé in the name of the peoples of Slovakia. The case of Ruthenia is analogous to that of Slovakia. There is no reason to doubt that the Hungarian inhabitants of Ruthenia wished to remain citizens of the Hungarian State. So far as the Ruthenians themselves are concerned, it should be recalled that their largest National Assembly, held in Ungvár (Uzhorod), declared for Hungary. If the declarations of those revolutionary National Assemblies are to be taken seriously, that of the Ruthenians certainly does not support the argument that they voluntarily acquired citizenship of the newly constituted Czecho-Slovak Republic.

I

The Czecho-Slovak Constitution guarantees equal rights, civil and political, to every citizen of the Republic; but it does not expressly provide that minority citizens shall enjoy the equality of rights guaranteed to them in the Minority Treaty of 1919. In the sphere of politics the Hungarian minority is at a

serious disadvantage; for constituencies have been so divided as to prevent its being represented in proportion to its strength. The result is that the number of Hungarian deputies in the Czecho-Slovak National Assembly is only nine, whereas it should be fourteen or fifteen. The new election law of 1926 prescribing the course of the third parliamentary elections is also prejudicial to the rights of the Hungarian minority; for it discriminates in favour of the largest minority parties, which are German. The work of the two parties representing Hungarian interests—the General Christian Socialist party and the Hungarian National party—has been impeded from the outset by pertinacious official interference. Mistaking persecution for self-defence, the Czech rulers have imposed crushing disabilities on the Hungarian parties, whose legitimate political aspirations they are bent on frustrating. They even went so far as to give their energetic support to the Communist exiles from Hungary; for the Communist newspapers made a practice of attacking the political leaders of the Hungarian minority with all the savage scurrility of a desperate fanaticism.

The Czechs flatter themselves that Czecho-Slovakia is the perfect type of the democratic State. A republic in name, it is an oppressive oligarchy in fact. Whereas there are no minority political prisoners in Hungary, the prisons of Czecho-Slovakia are crowded with them. On the occasion of the first elections to the Czecho-Slovak National Assembly early in 1920, and on that of the abortive attempt of King Charles (1887-1922) to regain the Throne of Hungary in October 1921, many men prominent in Hungarian public and social life were thrown into prison and there treated with inexorable cruelty.

There is ample proof that Czecho-Slovakia is far from being the land of liberty and democracy that the Czechs delight in representing it to be. Their treatment of the Hungarian minority is strangely at variance with their fervid professions of loyalty to democratic principles. However cautious and circumspect a Hungarian may be, he cannot be certain how long he will remain at liberty; for scarcely a day passes without the arrest of one or two Hungarians on the most frivolous pretexts.

Since 1933 the Hungarian minority has

been subjected to a relentless persecution, reminiscent of the early years of the Republic. The foundations of the State have been undermined, partly by the dissemination of National Socialist doctrines in the German districts, partly by the rise of the Slovak autonomist movement. Fear has been excited by the rapidity with which the movement for the revision of the Treaty of Trianon has grown in power and influence. 'Constitutions', Froude observed, 'are never overthrown till they have pronounced sentence on themselves.' It is not surprising that the Czech rulers are apprehensive for the safety of a Constitution that has proved itself a signal failure in practice. Fear lies at the root of the persecuting spirit: it is the fear lest the Constitution may be violently subverted that impels them to deprive the aggrieved minorities of all legitimate means of effectually resisting their tyranny, and to inflict severe penalties alike on those who show the least signs of disaffection and on those who threaten to offer a really formidable opposition.

Count John Esterházy, president formerly of the General Christian Socialist party and now of the united General Christian Socialist

and Hungarian National parties and a Hungárián member of the Czecho-Slovak National Assembly, was twice imprisoned for speeches alleged to be dangerous to the State. A morbid dread of spies has been responsible for the unlawful imprisonment of innumerable Hungarians. To take one notorious case: Nicholas Rábely, a bookseller of Rimaszombat (Rimovska Sobota), having been arrested on a charge of espionage, was detained in prison from the autumn of 1933 till the summer of 1934. At length the magistrate was constrained to pronounce him innocent and to set him at liberty. No compensation has been paid to him for the losses he suffered by reason of his detention.

One of the most effective weapons for persecuting the Hungarians is the Defence of the Republic Act of 1923. This measure was made stricter in 1933: all members of the family are in certain cases held responsible for the acts of any one of them. There are numerous instances of imprisonment for offences infringing its provisions.

Joseph de Szent-Iványi, a Hungarian member of the Czecho-Slovak National Assembly and leader of the Hungarian National party,

was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for an article, published in the *Pester Lloyd*¹ on 27 March 1933, in which he pointed out the failure of the Social Democrat party in Hungary to defend the interests of the Hungarian minority and cited several cases of the wrongs it had suffered at the hands of the Czech authorities. Professor Béla Tuka, a prominent leader of the Slovaks, was sentenced in 1929 to fifteen years' penal servitude for his autonomist convictions. He was subjected to gross insults and indignities: his health has sunk under the rigours of prison life, and it is now feared he will go blind. Only the storm of public indignation raised by the Tuka trial induced the Czech authorities to frame a law permitting the courts to grant certain privileges to political prisoners.

Since the foundation of the Czecho-Slovak Republic a strict censorship has been imposed on the Hungarian Press, which dare not print a word reflecting on the government. It is illegal to print even the mildest criticism of the ruling powers without the approbation of the censor. Three Hungarian newspapers were recently suppressed in the little town of

¹ A Budapest daily newspaper.

Rozsnyó (Roznava) alone. The *Prágai Magyar Hírlap* the leading organ of the Hungarian minority in Czecho-Slovakia, has been twice suppressed for several months. On neither occasion can suppression be justified; for, though the newspaper is opposed to the party in office, its opposition is commendably free from factious rancour, and it manifests a sincere desire to avoid all occasions of futile conflict with authority. Convinced that the Hungarian cause is best served not by violating oppressive laws but by moving constitutionally for their repeal, it has wisely abstained from inciting the oppressed to extrémé courses.

Thanks to the unremitting vigilance and captious ingenuity of the censor, even the Slovak newspapers are often forced to appear with whole sheets blank. The *Slovak*, the leading organ of the Slovaks, was suppressed for three months after the Pribina celebrations at Nyitra. Its editor, Charles Sidor, was sentenced to one month's imprisonment for an article in which he referred to the letter sent to Andrew Hlinka, leader of the Slovak Catholic party, by the papai nuncio Giriacci on 20 September 1933—a letter in which the nuncio

wrote of the 'noble Slovak nation' (*generosa gens slovacá*¹).

The Czech rulers have frequent recourse to the weapon of confiscation. The editor of a Hungarian newspaper never knows on what pretext an issue may be confiscated. An appeal from the prosecutor's order may be made to the appropriate tribunal; but there is said to be no record of a case in which the tribunal reversed the order in question. To avoid the losses caused by confiscation and the possibility of suppression certain local papers have agreed to being censored before publication. This method is welcomed by the prosecutors; for the censors often avail themselves of it to prevent the publication of reports displeasing to them.

Though the Constitution guarantees the inviolability of correspondence conveyed by the postai service, nevertheless the censor functions at the Post Office. On one occasion, at a meeting of the Senate, a Hungarian senator, Géza Grosschmidt, offered for examination some letters addressed to him that had been censored at the Post Office. The Czech senators listened to his statement without attempting either to deny or to extenuate the

grave irregularity that it disclosed. The telephonic Communications of Hungarian politicians are frequently tapped.

II

Czecho-Slovak economic policy has subjected the Hungarian minority to countless injustices. The most flagrant of these was the Land Reform, which really aimed at denationalizing the Hungarians in Czecho-Slovakia. The scheme, it is submitted, was far from being inspired by a disinterested zeal for agrarian reform: its authors were not primarily concerned with an equitable redistribution of landed property or a satisfactory settlement of the just claims advanced by the agricultural population. It should be remembered that when the Land Reform was being carried out the minor claimants of Hungarian nationality were virtually ignored.

According to official statistics 140,106.63 *hectares* were nationalized. In the territories wrested from Hungary 39,159-52 *hectares* were allotted for settlement purposes, each settler receiving, on an average, 17-35 *hectares*. The process of denationalizing these territories was expedited by the institution of 'remnant estates'.

'Remnant estates' are those parts of confiscated large estates which were not broken up into small holdings, but were allotted intact to new owners. Czechs and Slovaks comprise the majority of the new owners. There are 544 'remnant estates' covering an area of 75,593-70 *hectares*. The land available for distribution after the work of settlement had been completed and the 'remnant estates' created was not reserved for claimants of Hungarian nationality. Their priority of claim was not recognized. It is estimated that at most only one in five of them ultimately received any land at all.

The financial loss suffered by the landed proprietors of the Hungarian minority in Czecho-Slovakia amounted, in round numbers, to 3,500,000,000 Czech crowns. Nor did the Hungarian farmers fare any better; for they received practically none of the confiscated land. One of the ostensible aims of the Land Reform was to improve the condition of the farmer; but the promised benefits were illusory.

Favouring Czech interests, the economic policy of Czecho-Slovakia has resulted in the enforced amalgamation of many Hungarian banks with Czech and Slovak banks. The

number of Hungarian banks has fallen from 177 to thirty-seven. There was no branch of any Czech bank in 1919: there are now forty-eight branches. Moreover, sixty-nine branches have been acquired from Hungarian and Slovak banks. The sagacious and enterprising Czechs have gained the financial mastery of the territories formerly belonging to Hungary. The capital of 61,500,000 Czech crowns and the reserve capital of 30,500,000 Czech crowns owned by the Hungarian banks in 1920 had dwindled to 20,700,000 and 12,200,000 respectively by 1930. The estimated assets of the Slovakia branch of the Czecho-Slovak Legion Bank at the beginning of 1933 were 400,000,000 Czech crowns. The Czech banks in the aggregate own approximately forty-four per cent. of the entire capital in Slovakia.

The industries that had once flourished in the territories wrested from Hungary were systematically transferred to the Czech provinces. The great iron-foundry at Korompa, which had provided regular work for nearly 10,000 hands, was closed down. Measures were introduced which effectually disabled the industries of these territories from competing with those of the Czech provinces. Industrial

undertakings have had to bear the burden of excessive taxation, and the State subsidies due to them have been withheld. Industry and trade cannot be expected to thrive under such unfavourable conditions.

III

Act 189 of 1919, which provides that elementary schools for minority children shall be established in all places where the number of prospective pupils is at least forty, was somehow put into execution in the historical provinces, where the minorities are Polish and German, but not in Slovakia and Ruthenia. This irregularity was intended to prevent the establishment of a precedent which the Hungarians might cite in support of future demands for schools. The Czecho-Slovak government preferred to leave them to the niggardly treatment of the educational authorities. Nor has the law concerning educational autonomy been put into execution. The Hungarian Act of 1876 provides that specially appointed self-governing bodies shall administer the State elementary schools and exercise local supervision over them; but the educational authorities in Slovakia and Ruthenia do not

choose to comply with this provision. The essential principle of self-government is thus violated.

It is officially recorded that, at 31 October 1930, there were 14,900 elementary schools in Czecho-Slovakia. Those in which Hungarian was the language of instruction numbered 835, most of which were supported by denominational, parochial, and private beneficence. To ascertain the exact proportion of such schools to the total of 14,900, it is necessary to compare the number of Hungarian teachers with that of teachers of other nationalities; for a school with only one Hungarian teacher is obviously not equal in importance to a school with thirty such teachers. A calculation based on such a comparison shows that the proportion of Hungarian teachers is 4.3 per cent. of the total number of teachers employed in the elementary schools of Czecho-Slovakia. According to official statistics, the accuracy of which may reasonably be impugned¹, Hun-

¹ The percentage is undoubtedly higher than 5.7. The methods of census-taking employed by the Czecho-Slovak government have been condemned by (among others) Professor Emmanuel Rádl in his two books, *Válka Cechu s Němcum (The Struggle between the Czechs and the Germans)* and *Národnost U nás (Nationality in our Country)*.

garians settled in Czecho-Slovakia constitute 5-57 per cent. of the total population. The Hungarian teachers employed in the elementary schools of Czecho-Slovakia therefore bear an inadequate proportion to the Hungarian settlers. Official statistics show that there is a steady annual decrease in the number of State elementary schools in which Hungarian is the language of instruction. In the year 1921-1922 there were 845 such schools: by the year 1931-1932 this number had fallen to 822.

Owing to the parsimony of the Czecho-Slovak government, the Hungarian elementary schools are very poorly equipped. They are also overcrowded: in Beregszász, for example, there are only twelve class-rooms for 1,800 pupils. This reluctance to provide adequate funds would seem to indicate that Hungarian education is treated from a political and not from a pedagogic point of view.

The following instances serve to reveal the

Language). The Czech authorities have without shame or scruple availed themselves of every artifice by which they might contrive to reduce the number of Hungarian nationals in the territories wrested from Hungary. They have been compelled to resort to such discreditable expedients for fear of giving the lie to the statistics of the 1919 census, which were submitted to the Peace Conference.

attitude adopted by the Czecho - Slovak government towards Hungarian secondary education. One of the first acts of the government was to close the Catholic college at Ungvár (Uzhorod), founded by the Counts Drugeth in the eighteenth century. A Czecho-Ruthenian secondary school was established in its place; but the Hungarian inhabitants of the town wished to establish a Hungarian secondary school at their own expense. One of the Hungarian leaders in Ruthenia was bluntly told that such a proposal could be agreed to only on certain political conditions. Rozsnyó (Roziiava) once boasted both a Premonstratensian and a Lutheran college: the former was closed immediately after the foundation of the Republic and the latter has been made thoroughly Czech in character. In 1922 the town council of Léva, where the Hungarian element of the population preponderates over the Slovak, unanimously voted for the introduction of corresponding classes in Hungarian. Yet even now there is not a secondary school in which the language of instruction is Hungarian. An order issued by the School Inspectors' Office in Pozsony (Bratislava) directs the headmasters of the Hungarian

secondary schools to remove from the pupils' libraries not only all books dealing with Hungárián history but also the works of Petőfi, Jókai, Madách, Goethe, and even Pestalozzi—works published long before the foundation of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

During the period of Austrian absolutism a chair of Hungarian was maintained at Prague. Today, when Czecho-Slovakia has 1,000,000 Hungarian subjects, the universities at Prague, Brünn, and Pozsony (Bratislava) do not maintain even readerships in Hungarian. In 1928 the Minister of Education decreed that certificates obtained in Hungary were not to entitle their holders to study at any of the Czecho - Slovak universities, and that any semesters spent in Hungary were not to count. Under these circumstances Hungarian students living in Czecho-Slovakia cannot attend Hungárián lectures either in the Republic or in Hungary. even those whose vocation it will be to teach their native language in the few Hungarian secondary schools left in Czecho-Slovakia are given no facilities for studying it by the systematic methods of exact scholarship. On the other hand, the State supports with ungrudging liberality three educational

institutions for Russian and Ukrainian refugees: a Russian academy of laws and a Ukrainian university in Prague and a Ukrainian economic high school in Podjebrad. According to the *Journal Officiel* submitted to the League of Nations by the Czecho-Slovak Ministry of Education, the State bore the cost of maintaining 2,000 Russian and 900 Ukrainian students. Hungarian students, on the other hand, received no material assistance from the State. It may be noted in conclusion that, whereas the other States bound by the Minority Treaties are obliged to provide only elementary schools for minority pupils, Czecho-Slovakia undertook to provide schools of every type. The attitude adopted by the government towards the educational rights of the Hungarian minority is therefore the more reprehensible. The government, it is suggested, has not merely committed an occasional unconstitutional act: it has systematically violated those very provisions of the Minority Treaty which it should be at pains to observe with scrupulous fidelity. In defiance of its solemn pledges it has clearly sought to deprive the Hungarian minority of educational rights held under the sanction of inviolable law.

CONCLUSION

The world takes its own way, regardless of logic, impatient of theory, merciless to failure: nor is it until the years have heaped their dust over the asperities of the conflict that understanding comes with pity.

J. W. MACKAIL

The Life of William Morris

CONCLUSION

AN attempt has been made, within the limits imposed by three brief chapters, to give a clear and accurate account of the plight to which years of oppression have reduced the Hungárián minorities in the Little Entente States. The account rests on a foundation of well-authenticated facts: instances of the cruelty and injustice to which the Hungarians are being daily subjected have been described in detail with the view of bringing home to the English reader the mortifying inferiority of their situation. The prescribed limits have necessitated severe compression: some readers may be inclined to criticize so brief an account as jejune in matter and colourless, or pedestrian, in manner. But even an exhaustive account would convey only an imperfect notion of the Hungarians' heroic struggle against overwhelming odds. This little book will amply fulfil its purpose if it succeeds in awakening public opinion in this country to the gravity of the minority problem in Eastern

Central Europe and to the urgency of adopting vigorous measures for its solution.

The Allied powers promised in 1918 to accord the vanquished peoples the right of determining for themselves the States to which they wished to belong. Recourse was had to various expedients for the purpose of denying them this right. No plebiscite was held in any of the territories wrested from Hungary. It is safe to assume that, had plebiscites been held in fulfilment of the promise given by the Allied powers, the Hungarians would not have opted for States inferior in civilization and in the capacity for good government.

Knowing that 4,000,000 Hungarians had been thus robbed of their birthright, the Little Entente States proceeded to subject them to a crushing tyranny. They strove to denationalize the Hungarian minorities: persecution and spoliation were their weapons of attack. No wonder the movement in favour of treaty-revision is receiving strenuous support from the oppressed Hungarians, whom a just and tolerant rule might have induced to become loyal subjects of the newly constituted States. A sense of defeat and humiliation, which their rulers have seized every opportunity of aggra-

vating, is not conducive to loyalty. The consequence is that discontent and unrest now prevail in the Middle Danube valley.

The League of Nations is both morally and legally responsible for the protection of minorities. What, in fact, is the League? It is an association of States, of which Great Britain is the most important in authority and the most powerful in influence, established for the prevention of war and for the promotion of international justice. There is no doubt that the great majority of responsible and thoughtful citizens throughout the world, to whatever State they may happen to owe formal allegiance, are at heart devoted to the fundamental principles of the League: however deeply they may deplore its past errors and failures, and however strongly they may criticize its administrative defects, they are yet convinced that, if peace is to be preserved among the nations, those principles must ultimately prevail. 'We believe that the ideals of the League represent the only road towards lasting peace': this belief was expressed in a memorable letter [*The Times*, 14 April 1937] signed by men and women of diverse political opinions. So intensely real a conviction has

no affinity with the pious aspiration of the theorist or the chimerical hope of the visionary: it springs from the certain knowledge that the very fabric of civilization, reared by the toil of centuries, is in peril of collapsing in irretrievable ruin. The wisest course, therefore, is not to abandon the League but to reform it. 'But we believe', the letter to *The Times* continues, 'that the way to restore the League is not to turn it into an international war office, but rather to prove that it is an effective instrument for reconciliation, for the settlement of international disputes by pacific means, and for the removal of the causes of war.'

It must be admitted that in the past the League has failed to take decisive measures for the protection of the oppressed minorities of Europe: diplomatic pressure has been brought to bear upon it by France and the Little Entente States, and it has consequently proved itself dilatory and inefficient in grappling with the minority problem. What solution of so grave a problem is it possible to indicate? It should seem that the only practicable one is twofold. First, States having minorities within their boundaries should be

effectually controlled by the League in all minority matters. Having repeatedly and flagrantly violated the treaty in its most essential provisions, they should not be left to domineer unchecked over the defenceless minorities. For this purpose it is suggested that a permanent committee should be established in Geneva. Its principal function would be to devise and set in operation machinery for dealing impartially and expeditiously with grievances submitted by the minorities. Tact and conciliation should characterize its methods. Secondly, the League should invoke Article xix ¹ of the Covenant, which provides for the reconsideration of treaties that, having become obsolete in the rapidly changing conditions of the modern world, are a menace to international peace. Treaty-revision, it is submitted, offers the essential solution of the problem of the Hungárián minorities, whose fundamental desire is to live in peace under a moderate and humane rule. Other solutions would be only

¹ 'The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.'

partial and temporary: they would afford no permanent security against oppression. Oppression engenders hatred: hatred engenders strife. 'The spirit of combativeness itself', Mr Basil de Sélincourt writes in an illuminating essay on *The Evolution of World Peace*, 'cannot be gainsaid; we must find how to reconcile it with national as we have reconciled it with individual rivalries.'

APPENDIX

*For the convenience of the reader, the Preamble
and
relevant Chapter(s) of each Treaty are
reproduced
in this Appendix.*

TREATY

BETWEEN THE PRINCIPAL AND ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS
AND RUMANIA

Signed at Paris 9 December 1919

THE United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, on the one hand; and Rumania, on the other hand;

Whereas under Treaties to which the Principal Allied and Associated Powers are parties large accessions of territory are being and will be made to the Kingdom of Rumania, and

Whereas Rumania desires of her own free will to give full guarantees of liberty and justice to all inhabitants both of the old Kingdom of Rumania and of the territory added thereto, to whatever race, language or religion they may belong, [and]¹

Have, after examining the question together, agreed to conclude the present Treaty, and for this purpose have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries, the following, reserving the right of substituting others to sign the Treaty:

Who have agreed as follows:

Chapter I

Article 1

Rumania undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this Chapter shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

¹ This word is an obvious error in the text.

Article 2

Rumania undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Rumania without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Rumania shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order and public morals.

Article 3

Subject to the special provisions of the Treaties mentioned below, Rumania admits and declares to be Rumanian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality all persons habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty within the whole territory of Rumania, including the extensions made by the Treaties of Peace with Austria and Hungary, or any other extensions which may hereafter be made, if such persons are not at that date nationals of a foreign State other than Austria or Hungary.

Nevertheless, Austrian and Hungarian nationals who are over eighteen years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said Treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Rumanian territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

Article 4

Rumania admits and declares to be Rumanian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality

persons of Austrian or Hungarian nationality who were born in the territory transferred to Rumania by the Treaties of Peace with Austria and Hungary, or subsequently transferred to her, of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty they are not themselves habitually resident there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present Treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Rumanian authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Rumanian nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Rumanian nationals. In this connexion a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Article 5

Rumania undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the Treaties concluded or to be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with Austria or Hungary, to choose whether or not they will acquire Rumanian nationality.

Article 6

Ali persons born in Rumanian territory who are not born nationals of another State shall *ipso facto* become Rumanian nationals.

Article 7

Rumania undertakes to recognize as Rumanian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality Jews inhabiting any Rumanian territory, who do not possess another nationality.

Article 8

All Rumanian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Rumanian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admis-

sion to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Rumanian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the Press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Rumanian Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Rumanian nationals of non-Rumanian speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

Article 9

Rumanian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Rumanian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

Article 10

Rumania will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Rumanian nationals of other than Rumanian speech are resident adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Rumanian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Rumanian Government from making the teaching of the Rumanian language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Rumanian nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

Article II

Rumania agrees to accord to the communities of the Saxons and Czecklers in Transylvania local autonomy in regard to scholastic and religious matters, subject to the control of the Rumanian State.

Article 12

Rumania agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing Articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these Articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Rumania agrees that any Member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Rumania further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these Articles between the Rumanian Government and any one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers or any other Power, a Member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. Rumania hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant.

TREATY

BETWEEN THE PRINCIPAL ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED
POWERS
AND THE SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE

Signed at Saint-Germain-en-Laye 10 September 1919

THE United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, on the one hand; and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, on the other hand;

Whereas since the commencement of the year 1913 extensive territories had been added to the Kingdom of Serbia, and

Whereas the Serb, Croat and Slovene peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy have of their own free will determined to unite with Serbia in a permanent union for the purpose of forming a single sovereign independent State under the title of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and

Whereas the Prince Regent of Serbia and the Serbian Government have agreed to this union, and in consequence the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes has been constituted and has assumed sovereignty over the territories inhabited by these peoples, and

Whereas it is necessary to regulate certain matters of international concern arising out of the said additions of territory and of this union, and

Whereas it is desired to free Serbia from certain obligations which she undertook by the Treaty of Berlin of 1878 to certain Powers and to substitute for them obligations to the League of Nations, and

Whereas the Serb-Croat-Slovene State of its own free will desires to give to the populations of all territories included within the State, of whatever race, language or religion they may be, full guarantees that they shall continue to be

governed in accordance with the principles of liberty and justice;

For this purpose the High Contracting Parties have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

The Principal Allied and Associated Powers, taking into consideration the obligations contracted under the present Treaty by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, declare that the Serb-Croat-Slovene State is definitely discharged from the obligations undertaken in Article 35 of the Treaty of Berlin of 13 July, 1878.

Chapter I

Article 1

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this Chapter shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

Article 2

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of the Kingdom without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

Article 3

Subject to the special provisions of the Treaties mentioned below the Serb-Croat-Slovene State admits and declares to be Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality, Austrian, Hungarian or

Bulgárian nationals habitually resident or possessing rights of citizenship (*pertinenza: Heimatsrecht*) as the case may be at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty in territory which is or may be recognized as forming part of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State under the Treaties with Austria, Hungary or Bulgária respectively, or under any Treaties which may be concluded for the purpose of completing the present settlement.

Nevertheless, the persons referred to above who are over eighteen years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said Treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territory of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connexion with the removal of such property.

Article 4

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State admits and declares to be Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality persons of Austrian, Hungarian or Bulgarian nationality who were born in the said territory of parents habitually resident or possessing rights of citizenship (*pertinenza: Heimatsrecht*) as the case may be there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty they are not themselves habitually resident or did not possess rights of citizenship there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present Treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Serb-Croat-Slovene authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Serb-Croat-Slovene nationality, and they will then cease

to be considered as Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals. In this connexion a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Article 5

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the Treaties concluded or to be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with Austria, Bulgária or Hungary, to choose whether or not they will acquire Serb-Croat-Slovene nationality.

Article 6

Ali persons born in the territory of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State who are not born nationals of another State shall *ipsofacto* become Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals.

Article 7

Ali Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Difference of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Serb-Croat-Slovene national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Serb-Croat-Slovene national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the Press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals of other speech than that of the official language for the use of their own language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

Article 8

Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

Article 9

The Serb-Croat-Slovene Government will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals of other speech than that of the official language are resident adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals through the médium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government from making the teaching of the official language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Serb-Croat-Slovene nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

The provisions of the present Article apply only to territory transferred to Serbia or to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes since 1 January, 1913.

Article 10

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State agrees to grant to the Musulmans in the matter of family law and personal status provisions suitable for regulating these matters in accordance with Musulman usage.

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State shall take measures to assure the nomination of a Reiss-Ul-Ulema.

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State undertakes to ensure protection to the mosques, cemeteries and other Musulman religious establishments. Full recognition and facilities shall be assured to Musulman pious foundations (Wakfs) and religious and charitable establishments now existing, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government shall not refuse any of the necessary facilities for the creation of new religious and charitable establishments guaranteed to other private establishments of this nature.

Article II

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing Articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the consent of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these Articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State agrees that any Member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such directions as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these Articles between the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and any one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers or any other Power, a member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League

of Nations. The Serb-Croat-Slovene State hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant.

TREATY
BETWEEN THE PRINCIPAL ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS
AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Signed at Saint-Germain-en-Laye 10 September 1919

THE United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, on the one hand; and Czecho-Slovakia, on the other hand;

Whereas the union which formerly existed between the old Kingdom of Bohemia, the Markgraviate of Moravia and the Duchy of Silesia on the one hand and the other territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on the other has definitely ceased to exist, and

Whereas the peoples of Bohemia, of Moravia and of part of Silesia, as well as the peoples of Slovakia, have decided of their own free will to unite, and have in fact united, in a permanent unión for the purpose of forming a single sovereign independent State under the title of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, and

Whereas the Ruthene peoples to the south of the Carpathians have adhered to this unión, and

Whereas the Czecho-Slovak Republic in fact exercises sovereignty over the aforesaid territories and has already been recognized as a sovereign independent State by the other High Contracting Parties,

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japán on the one hand, confirming their recognition of the Czecho-Slovak State as a sovereign and independent member of the Family of Nations within the boundaries which have been or may be determined in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Peace with Austria of even date;

Czecho-Slovakia on the other hand, desiring to conform

her institutions to the principles of liberty and justice, and to give a sure guarantee to all the inhabitants of the territories over which she has assumed sovereignty;

The High Contracting Parties, anxious to assure the execution of Article 57 of the said Treaty of Peace with Austria,

Have for this purpose named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

Chapter I

Article 1

Czecho-Slovakia undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this Chapter shall be recognized as fundamental laws and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

Article 2

Czecho-Slovakia undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Czecho-Slovakia without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Czecho-Slovakia shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

Article 3

Subject to the special provisions of the Treaties mentioned below Czecho-Slovakia admits and declares to be Czecho-Slovak nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality German, Austrian or Hungarian nationals habitually resident or possessing rights of citizenship

(*pertinenz: Heimatsrecht*) as the case may be at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty in territory which is or may be recognized as forming part of Czecho-Slovakia under the Treaties with Germany, Austria or Hungary respectively, or under any Treaties which may be concluded for the purpose of completing the present settlement.

Nevertheless, the persons referred to above who are over eighteen years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said Treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife, and option by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Czecho-Slovak territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connexion with the removal of such property.

Article 4

Czecho-Slovakia admits and declares to be Czecho-Slovak nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality persons of German, Austrian or Hungarian nationality who were born in the territory referred to above of parents habitually resident or possessing rights of citizenship (*pertinenz: Heimatsrecht*) as the case may be there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty they are not themselves habitually resident or did not possess rights of citizenship there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present Treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Czecho-Slovak authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Czecho-Slovak nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Czecho-Slovak nationals. In this con-

nexion a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Article 5

Czecho-Slovakia undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have under the Treaties concluded or to be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with Germany, Austria or Hungary to choose whether or not they will acquire Czecho-Slovak nationality.

Article 6

All persons born in Czecho-Slovak territory who are not born nationals of another State shall *ipso facto* become Czecho-Slovak nationals.

Article 7

Ali Czecho-Slovak nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Czecho-Slovak national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Czecho-Slovak national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the Press or publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Czecho-Slovak Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Czecho-Slovak nationals of non-Czech speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

Article 8

Czecho-Slovak nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Czecho-Slovak

nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

Article 9

Czecho-Slovakia will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Czecho-Slovak nationals of other than Czech speech are residents adequate facilities for ensuring that the instruction shall be given to the children of such Czecho-Slovak nationals through the médium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Czecho-Slovak Government from making the teaching of the Czech language obligatory.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Czecho-Slovak nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

Chapter II

Article 10

Czecho-Slovakia undertakes to constitute the Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians within frontiers delimited by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers as an autonomous unit within the Czecho-Slovak State, and to accord to it the fullest degree of self-government compatible with the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State.

Article II

The Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians shall possess a special Diet. This Diet shall have powers of legislation in all linguistic, scholastic and religious questions, in

matters of local administration, and in other questions which the laws of the Czecho-Slovak State may assign to it. The Governor of the Ruthene territory shall be appointed by the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic and shall be responsible to the Ruthene Diet.

Article 12

Czecho-Slovakia agrees that officials in the Ruthene territory will be chosen as far as possible from the inhabitants of this territory.

Article 13

Czecho-Slovakia guarantees to the Ruthene territory equitable representation in the Legislative Assembly of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, to which Assembly it will send deputies elected according to the constitution of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. These deputies will not, however, have the right of voting in the Czecho-Slovak Diet upon legislative questions of the same kind as those assigned to the Ruthene Diet.

Article 14

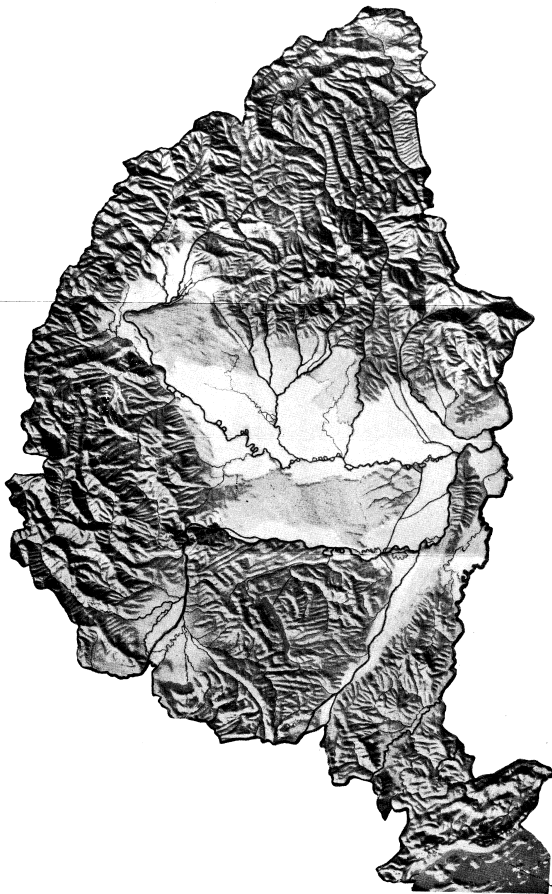
Czecho-Slovakia agrees that the stipulations of Chapters I and II so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these Articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

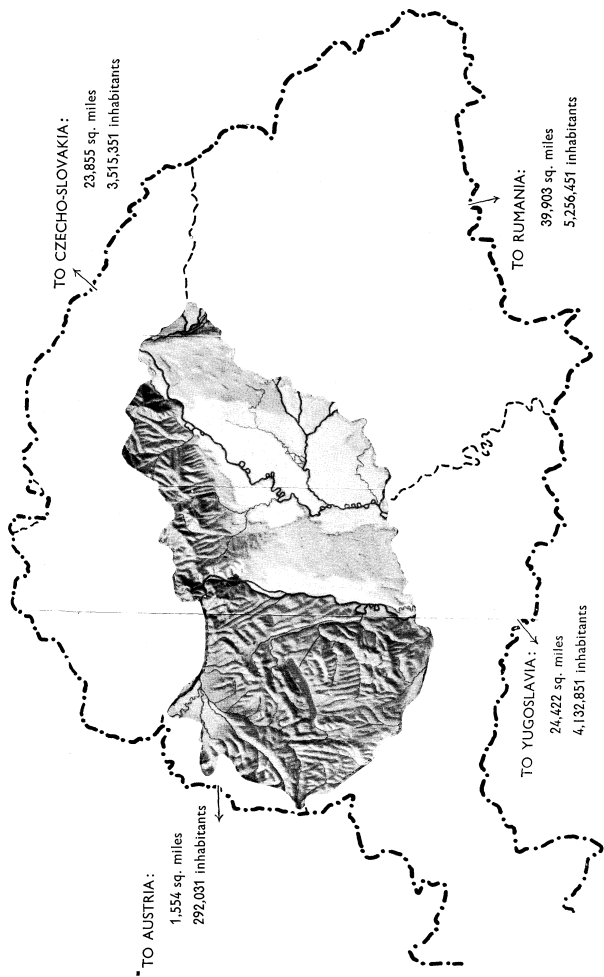
Czecho-Slovakia agrees that any Member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Czecho-Slovakia further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these Articles between the Czecho-Slovak Government and any one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, or any other Power, a Member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Czecho-Slovak Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party hereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant.

THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE ANCIENT HUNGARIAN KINGDOM
EFFECTED BY THE 1919 PEACE CONFERENCE

PRE-WAR HUNGARY. Area : 125,609 sq. miles. Population : 20,886,467 inhabitants





POST-WAR HUNGARY. Area : 35,875 sq. miles. Population : 7,615,117 inhabitants