

## POLITICAL MOSAIC

### COUNT JOHN ESTERHAZY'S STATEMENT IN RE THE PROBLEMS OF THE HUNGARIANS IN SLOVAKIA

The New Year's Day issue of the Pozsony "Uj Hírek" contains a statement made by Count John Esterházy, the leader of the United Hungarian Party of Slovakia, in which, amongst other things, he says:

"During the Czecho-Slovak era I had an opportunity to read the Autonomy Bill prepared by the Hlinka Party. That Bill definitely stated that the nationality groups in Slovakia were to enjoy full equality of rights. Today only the German national group enjoys equality, the Hungarians certainly do not. We who from the very outset struggled together with the Slovak People's Party for Slovak autonomy cannot afford to be silent now, for that would give the impression that we are satisfied with the course of events. I trust that the Slovak Government will abide by its original idea of equal rights for all and will not be diverted from that intention by those incidents which we deplore as much as the Slovaks themselves. We have had no part in them, on the contrary, we have done and shall continue to do what lies in our power to prevent such incidents and make reparation for them."

In the rest of his statement Count Esterházy proclaims the brotherhood of Hungarians and Slovaks, but lays stress on the point that the Hungarians of Slovakia cannot leave the management of their affairs in the hands of others. He therefore appeals for closer co-operation and intensified Hungarian work. In conclusion he thanks the Hungarians of Slovakia for their praiseworthy unity under the most difficult circumstances, their self-sacrificing loyalty to Christian and national ideas, and their self-discipline.

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## BURNING BIDDIES: BLOODY RECORDS

A number of brutal cases recently occurring on the Hungaro-Slovak demarcation line fixed by the resolutions of the Vienna Conference show that Prague is still unable to throw off the spirit initiated by the Beneš régime. It is this same spirit that has always constituted a constant danger to the peace of Europe and is still busy creating new troubles to throw fresh obstacles in the way of a Hungaro-Slovak rapprochement.

The Czechoslovak State, which was an unnatural formation from the very moment it was created at the Trianon, has become an even more unnatural political formation in consequence of the loss of parts of its territory after the Munich Conference. This situation was clearly seen by the Slovaks and Ruthenes, who realized that a collaboration with Hungary was an essential factor of their future existence. With a view to counterbalancing this pro-Hungarian tendency the Czechs have arranged the tragic collisions which recently occurred between the Slovak population and the Hungarian gendarmerie in the villages of Nagysurány and Nagyszalánc on this side of the demarcation line, and of which the Czechs gave their Slovak and Ruthene population a grossly exaggerated and distorted description. As soon as they felt sure that these bloody incidents had at last helped to shake their Slovaks and Ruthenes somewhat in their pro-Hungarian sympathies, the Czechs ordered a coup d'état-like census on New Year's, Eve in the hope that those who had formerly sympathized with Hungary would now profess to be Czechoslovaks. This kind of procedure is characteristic of that "Benešian" spirit which will debase itself so far as to sacrifice the lives of innocent children, merely to change the results of a statistical manipulation.

Obviously enough, the Hungarians could not possibly remain silent in face of this malignant campaign against Hungary. Accordingly, the Hungarian Government proceeded to lodge several protests in Prague concerning which the following official report was published on December 31-st for the information of public opinion in Hungary:

"The Czechoslovak Press and Radio recently launched a violent campaign against the administration and government of the Hungarian State in most exceptionable and opprobrious terms.

"The Hungarian Government has repeatedly attempted to ascertain both in Prague and at Pozsony (Bratislava) as to what exactly may lie behind the lies calumniating Hungary, which — as may be seen from the Slovak and Ruthenian broadcasts of the Vienna Radio — have been disseminated even abroad. The Government has obtained several assurances, but the news-campaign has not ceased.

"The Hungarian Government has, today, again informed the Prague Government that it is not prepared to remain inactive in face of the hostile propaganda being conducted against Hungary both in Czechoslovakia and abroad. The Government does not propose to follow the same course as the organizations of the Czechoslovak news service have chosen to pursue. It considers it both below its own dignity and thoroughly impracticable to assume this unusual style of propaganda, which — it feels sure — cannot possibly serve the interests of either Hungary or Czechoslovakia. It wishes to preserve the most friendly relations with its Slovak neighbour, the primary conditions of which it has already postulated both in Hungary and abroad.

"We regret to point out, however, that a significant proportion of the Hungarian public, which has hitherto displayed a feeling of sincere friendship towards the Slovak people, is painfully surprized at this sudden attack on the part of the Slovak Press and Radio, and it begins to wonder whether this unexpected anti-Hungarian propaganda — initiated, so to say, at a word of command — does not serve the purpose of influencing the results of the census which has been ordered in Slovakia by surprize? And, indeed, it is not impossible to imagine from a human point of view that the Hungarian population of Slovakia — under the pressure of artificially increased terror — as well as the pro-Hungarian part of the Slovak population — acting under the influence of such wild rumours about Hungary — may ultimately react in a way that actually seems to justify the feeling of optimism which the political authorities of Slovakia have officially expressed in respect of the results of the census".

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#### WHAT HAPPENED AT MECENZÉF

As a result of the demarcation of the new frontier between Hungary and Slovakia the upper part of the valley in which Mecenzéf, a village inhabited by Germans, is situated, has been left within the territory of Czecho-Slovakia, the new frontier having been fixed at a distance of 1.5 kilometres from the village. As a consequence the situation of Mecenzéf in economic respects has become exceptionally precarious: for, while on the one hand the demarcation of the new frontier has severed its economic connections, on the other hand the persons living in the farther part of the valley have to cross a hill (Mount Stoss) to reach the nearest large township, Szomolnok. The inhabitants of Mecenzéf thus badly hit economically have appealed to various forums with the request that they should be incorporated in Hungary and sent a deputation to Chancellor Hitler, who advised the deputation

to apply to the Vienna Court of Arbitration. The appeal has everywhere fallen on deaf ears; indeed, attempts have been made to make the population of the village, by drill and the display of national flags, forget their grave material situation. It was to this end that, on Sunday, December 11th., the Carpathian German Party arranged a meeting at Alsó-mecenzéf. The meeting was attended also by Secretary of State Karmasin, at the head of 200 Members of the German Party Defence Organisation. A section of the population began to demonstrate against the Secretary of State and his suite. When they marched into the village the strangers were received with shouts of disapproval and a shower of stones. However, the German Party insisted upon holding the meeting. As a consequence, the demonstration continued, and several shots were fired. A stray bullet wounded a girl; and many people who took part in the meeting were injured by stones. The windows of Secretary of State Karmasin's car were smashed.

In a communication to the press issued by the Deutsche Nachrichtenbureau, which had been misled and cajoled by the anti-Hungarian propaganda of the Czechs, it was alleged that what happened at Mecenzéf was that Hungarian "terrorists" attacked Secretary of State Karmasin and his 200 followers. These Hungarian "terrorists" — so the said communication alleged — crossed into Slovak territory from Hungary armed with machine-guns and bombs.

In connection with this affair Count John Esterházy, Hungarian Deputy elected for Slovakia, in the December 14th. issue of the "Uj Hírek", a paper appearing in Pozsony, published a statement giving the facts, which runs as follows:

"The affair at Mecenzéf is known to me only from the report of the "Grenzbote"; so I do not intend to make any statement regarding the event itself. I must however establish the fact that the last official offer made by the Czecho-Slovak Government and by the Slovak Government respectively to Hungary prior to the finding of the Vienna Court of Arbitration included the village of Mecenzéf and its environs in the territory to be re-incorporated in Hungary. On the day when the Vienna Court took its decision... (here several lines have been cancelled by the Slovak Censor)... the sections of territory referred to above were left in Slovakia. Anyone looking at this region from a Slovak point of view must see at once that... (another line cancelled by the Censor)... are embittered in consequence. This must have been the cause of the otherwise regrettable incident, which in all probability..." (the rest of the statement cancelled by the Censor).

The Czecho-Slovak Government instituted an official inquiry into the matter of the demonstrations at Mecenzéf.

According to the official communiqué issued on December 16th. the inquiry made by the Commission of Investigation established the fact that only local inhabitants took part in the demonstrations. The shots must also undoubtedly have been fired by villagers. The inquiry showed the unfounded character of the report which alleged that the demonstrators had machine-guns, the only machine-guns being those in the possession of the authorities, while no use was made of the machine-guns, seeing that the demonstrators made no attempt to defy the authorities.

In its December 17th. issue the "Szepesi Híradó", a paper appearing at Igló, in Slovakia, published an Open Letter from the inhabitants of Mecenzéf in which the villagers frankly and unequivocally reveal the truth and describe what really happened:

"Down to 1918" — so runs the Open Letter (written in German) of the good folk of Mecenzéf — "there was no distinction whatsoever in Zipserland between Magyar and German, Slovak, Ruthenian and Pole; we were all brethren united in feeling as "Zipser" (Men of Zipserland). In 1919, however, certain people came to think they had just discovered that they were really Germans and began to cultivate the so-called pan-German orbit, — a policy of an entirely local character: we on our part were content to confine our activities to the limits prescribed by the Zipserland German Party. A few years ago, at Késmárk, there was established the Carpatho-German Party, which was however under the direction, not of a Zipserland German, but of a Czech German, who was fain to regard us Men of Zips as second-rate persons. The Secretary of this Party was M. Karmasin. Then ensued the decisive events of recent months. Fate has visited us most severely, — not from the national, perhaps, but from the economic point of view. Until 1918 all of us alike — small burghers, craftsmen and farmers — were well-to-do. We were able to sell our products in Hungary, primarily in Transylvania. The Treaty of Trianon left us at least Kassa and its environs; and, though in the past twenty years our lot has been an unspeakably hard one, we managed to live somehow. But the situation into which we have been plunged by the Vienna decision is an absolutely desperate one. We have been deprived of our last market and are cut off from all road and railway connections; we have been reduced to a state of veritable destitution. The deputations sent by us to Kassa, Prague and Berlin refrained from stressing the political side of the matter, confining themselves exclusively to the economic causes. Nevertheless we have been completely misunderstood by the Carpatho-German organisation, which has spoken of us as traitors to our people. We have always emphasised that we are just as proud of our German race as every other honest German; and in the rooms of all our people you will find portraits of Adolf Hitler, our deeply beloved

Leader. But we desire to continue to live by our German industry and work and to continue to do credit to our race. Seeing that it is impossible, owing to geographical difficulties, for us to be incorporated in Greater Germany, we have been compelled — and are justified in doing so — to try to find a solution ensuring our subsistence. We were informed that these endeavours of ours had been frustrated by M. Karmasin; it is therefore perfectly comprehensible that our hearts should have been filled with hatred of M. Karmasin. For we failed to understand why we could not be quite good Germans without choosing M. Karmasin as our leader. And why should we not be able to preserve our German self-consciousness while desiring to be incorporated in Hungary — in the strength of Nibelung loyalty? We are quite unable to believe that our deeply beloved Leader — Adolf Hitler, Chancellor of Germany — could regard our procedure as being shameful. On the contrary, we are perfectly convinced that our honesty will be highly esteemed by every true German. Weeks ago we notified M. Karmasin that his visit to our village was anything but welcome to us. We described our desperate situation; and the reply we received was to the effect that everything necessary to our subsistence would be sent us. We declined the offer, protesting that we were not beggars soliciting alms. We were informed on reliable authority that M. Karmasin had for weeks been making preparations to "conquer" the people of Mecenzéf. We were dumfounded at his having taken no notice of our message and still insisting on paying us a visit on December 14th. And he did so. M. Karmasin came to Mecenzéf accompanied by 200 "bodyguards". The meeting that had been announced was actually held; but the only people to show any enthusiasm were the 200 "bodyguards", the rest of the audience adopting a passive attitude, though it was impossible to prevent some of those present from showing their disapproval by throwing stones. But it was not an attack made by traitors and terrorists; merely the defiant expression of the embitterment of the people: certainly not a crime. All other statements made in connection with the meeting are pure inventions. What naiveté to pretend that Hungarian soldiers intervened and to assert that tear-bombs had to be used to drive them away!! Where were the alleged machine-guns? Who saw any wounded? And where was the alleged damage done? The sole reason why these fables were invented was that those who had proposed to conquer Mecenzéf were horribly annoyed at the failure of their scheme. Attempts are always made to gloss over a defeat; otherwise the leader is dismissed. We are not "terrorists" or "Hungarian footpads": still less are we "traitors": we are merely honest, industrious German burghers desirous only to be given an opportunity to work diligently, to educate our children and to train them to be loyal to the land of their birth."

## VOLOSIN SURROUNDS HIMSELF WITH FORMER COMMUNISTS

The Volosin Government, which, as is well known, owes its appointment to the confidence placed in it by Prague and not to the will of the Ruthenian people, is co-operating with men who a few months ago were the most rabid Communists and played a prominent rôle in the life of the Communist Party. Until the 24th of September these men attacked with fury the nationalist movement in their newspapers; today they would fain have the Ruthenians believe them to be the apostles of nationalism. The following are a few names of well known Communists who are now supporters of the Volosin Government:

*Julius Revay* is a member of the Volosin Cabinet. He was a People's Commissar in Hungary during the Communist Dictatorship of evil memory. After the collapse of the Red rule, he escaped to Ruthenia, where, first as Communist and later as a member of other parties, he wormed his way into lucrative State posts. He was elected in 1935 on the Social Democrat list, but only by means of residue votes, as the Czecho-Slovak Social Democrat Party in Ruthenia, which was Ukrainian in its sympathies, was not able to collect sufficient votes for a single mandate. This fact certainly shows how popular the Ukrainian movement is in Ruthenia. — *Fedor Fuscic*, Communist leader and Communist Party Senator, is one of the organizers and leaders of the "Szitsh" Ukrainian terrorist organization. — *Fedor Revay*, brother of the Minister of the same name, deserted the Czecho-Slovak Social Democrat Party because he did not think it sufficiently Marxist, i. e. Communist. Today he is publisher and responsible editor of the pro-Ukrainien Government's official organ. — *Victor Kurach* is a school-inspector in Huszt. During the Communist Dictatorship in Hungary he played a leading rôle in Sárospatak. — *Basil Borkanuk* is a Parliamentary representative of the Ruthenian Communist Party, who has never been able to speak of people with nationalist sympathies in his public speeches without imprecations and curses. He was one of those who were loudest in their abuse of Germany, and of the leaders of the Reich. — *Dr. Vladimir Komanisky*, *Dr. J. Ochrimovic*, *Andrew Rudy Cuperek*, *Dr. Rualovsky*, and *Dr. Dolinsky*, who today are the leaders of the Ukrainian terrorism which oppresses the unfortunate Ruthenian people, are all Ukrainian immigrants from Galicia, Bukovina and Russia, who have nothing in common with Ruthenia and its people. — *Stephen Klocurak*, head of the Press Department of the Volosin Government, was also a prominent Communist and the hero of several embezzlement scandals. — *Dimitry Nimcuk*, former Communist Leader, is known to have committed robbery and murder in 1919.

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ILLITERACY IN RUTHENIA SYSTEMATICALLY  
ENCOURAGED BY CZECHS

The level of culture differs greatly in the several provinces of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. A much higher grade prevails in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia than in certain parts of Slovakia, though even in that province matters might be worse. But in Ruthenia the situation is so hopeless that one is forced to the conclusion that ignorance and illiteracy have been systematically encouraged among the Ruthenians.

At the time of the last census very few of the inhabitants of Bohemia proper over ten years of age were found unable to read and write. The average was 1.2 per cent, and even less — not even 1 per cent — among the Germans of that province. The figures were practically the same in Moravia and Silesia (1.5 per cent). There, too, the proportion of illiterates among the Germans was less than 1 per cent. The average for the Czechs in those provinces was 1.5 per cent and 2.5 per cent for the Poles.

In the province called Slovenskó (Slovakia) the state of affairs was much worse. Here the proportion was 8.2 per cent. The fewest illiterates were to be found among the Germans (4.3 per cent), then came the Magyars with 5.0 per cent. The proportion of the so-called Czecho-Slovak elements unable to read and write, though greater, did not exceed 7.8 per cent, but the Carpatho-Russians (Ruthenians) dwelling in that province were extremely backward in education, and the proportion of illiterates among them was 29.7 per cent. Slovakia with its 8.2 per cent of illiterates is on a much higher level of culture than Ruthenia. In the latter province every third person over ten years of age — 30.9 per cent — is unable to read or write. The proportion of German illiterates (4.5 per cent) is not greater here than in Slovakia, but compared with the western parts of Upper Hungary we find a deterioration among the Magyars of Ruthenia, for the proportion of illiterates among them is 8.9 per cent — a sign that the educational policy of the Czechs has done its best to neglect the Magyar minority. Most lamentable of all is the cultural level of the Ruthenians themselves, 42.4 per cent of whom can neither read nor write. Of these 34.3 per cent are men, the rest women.

Conditions in the towns restored to Hungary are satisfactory enough, certainly much more so than in the parts of Upper Hungary remaining to Czecho-Slovakia which lie outside the Hungarian cultural zone. The proportion in Upper Hungary of people over ten years of age able to read and write is 89.7 per cent, while in the towns restored it is on an average over 95 per cent, the only exceptions being Beregszász and Munkács with but slightly more than 90 per cent. The figures are: 94.5% for Kassa, 96.5% for Komárom and 97% for Léva and Ungvár, these



last two of all the towns restored having the largest proportion of inhabitants able to read and write.

In the Hungarian towns of Ruthenia the situation is only very slightly less satisfactory than in the Hungarian towns lying more to the west. In Ungvár, for instance, the census found only 3 per cent of illiterates, i. e. the same proportion as in Léva. This is another proof that even Czech oppression proved powerless to exterminate Hungarian culture. On the other hand these figures throw a glaring light on the cultural conditions prevailing in the part of Ruthenia left to Czecho-Slovakia. For if we subtract the populations of the towns restored to Hungary from the total of Ruthenia's inhabitants and then compute the proportion of Ruthenians able to read and write, we shall find it well under 50 per cent. *The majority of the inhabitants of Ruthenia are illiterates.* This is the result of twenty years of Czech cultural work in that province, of the Czech educational policy which from the very outset regarded the Ruthenians with enmity and treated them as an oppressed minority.

The following table shows the number and proportion of persons able to read and write in the towns restored to Hungary.

		Number of persons over ten years of age able to read and write	Percentage of population over ten years of age
Kassa	70.111	55.411	94.5
Komárom	21.158	17.338	96.5
Beregszász	19.007	13.569	90.0
Érsekújvár	22.457	17.387	95.6
Léva	12.576	10.019	97.0
Losonc	15.459	12.863	95.5
Munkács	29.361	18.388	90.5
Ungvár	33.133	19.801	97.0
Czecho-Slovakia			
before Nov. 2.	14,729.000	11,241.648	95.5
Slovakia	3,329.000	2,265.240	89.7
Ruthenia	725.000	248.378	48.5

Czech statistics do not mention Jolsva, Rimaszombat and Rozsnyó separately, as the number of their inhabitants is under 10.000.

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#### MINORITY CITIZENS MAY NOT ACQUIRE REAL ESTATE IN RUMANIA

An edict has been issued by the Rumanian Government empowering the State by virtue of its right to forestall others to buy any real estate for sale, for the purpose of insuring that it shall pass into the hands of members of the Rumanian ethnic unit. This law precludes the possibility of minority citizens

acquiring real estate in any of the towns or villages. As we know, the Agrarian Law of 1921 gave the State the prior right to purchase any land offered for sale. The new law in the first place unifies all the relevant provisions in force in the various parts of the country and then decrees that the State must exercise its right of pre-emption in all cases where the land for sale exceeds one hectare in extent. This right may also be enforced if the real estate in question lies within the interior confines of a municipality. The "Universul" of 21st December points out that this law is intended to ensure that only Rumanians may purchase real estate. To further this end the State will create a separate fund within the budget of the Ministry of Agriculture and will authorize the Minister of Agriculture to negotiate extraordinary loans if necessary. At the same time the Casa Rurala, an agrarian institution, has been authorized by the Ministry of Finance to raise its capital funds to 100 million lei in order to facilitate the nationalization of real estate. Half of that capital is to be subscribed by the State. The task of the Casa Rurala will be to purchase all the real estate which, in spite of its right to forestall, the State is not able to take over. A further task will be to buy the lots which under the provisions of the Land Reform became the property of peasant farmers, who now, for some reason or other, are compelled to sell them.

A measure particularly prejudicial to the interests of the minorities is that which entrusts the Casa Rurala with the task of establishing settlements in "certain districts", for this means that the land sold by minority citizens in minority districts will pass into the hands of Rumanians settled there by the *Casa Rurala*.

Much anxiety has been caused in minority circles by the fact that the *Casa Rurala* has been authorized to pay for the real estate purchased with "Municipal vouchers" (*Bonuri Rurale*). In terms of this measure the *Casa Rurala* will take possession of the land or houses to be sold by minority citizens without actually paying an equivalent for them. This will create a situation similar to that which arose at the time of the Land Reform, when, as is well known, the owners of the expropriated estates were paid with worthless long-term bonds.

It is interesting to note that under § 148 of the Agrarian Act of 17th July, 1921, the Casa Rurala may acquire possession of real estate either by agreement with its owner or by forcible expropriation. In future, therefore, the expropriation of any minority estate may be declared necessary in the interests of the State, and in terms of the above-mentioned paragraph the property will pass into the hands of the Casa Rurala. A separate provision stipulates that real estate purchased by the Casa Rurala and sold by that institution to citizens of Rumanian ethnic origin may never again pass into

the possession of non-Rumanians. This, in effect, means that in future minority citizens will not be able to buy houses or land in Rumania.

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## THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN YUGOSLAVIA

The general elections held on December 11, 1938, resulted — as seemed doubtless from the outset — in a victory of the Government. The voters had a choice of three general lists, namely: first, the general Government Party list, headed by the Premier, M. Stojadinovitch; secondly, the general opposition list headed by M. Maček, representing the temporary union of not less than 11 different opposition parties; and, thirdly, the general list of the so-called "Zbor" Party, headed by M. Lyotić.

The results in the various Banates were as follows (the figures in brackets show the results of the elections of 1935, held by the Yevtitch Government):

	M. Stoyadinovitch's list	M. Macek's list	M. Lyotic's list
Drave Banate	170.252 (125.105)	45.123 (21.226)	1.132
Save "	111.483 (171.504)	529.812 (440.393)	2.137
Danube "	372.085 (348.179)	129.269 (132.019)	17.291
Mour "	248 733 (255.071)	77.818 (54.652)	802
Drina "	189.291 (115.186)	136.297 (106.557)	3.806
Vrbas "	107.421 (119.409)	101 873 (97.563)	1.071
Coast "	42.781 (68.380)	159.428 (136.307)	2.387
Vardar "	227.716 (255 528)	74.977 (44.092)	133
Zeta "	128 174 (154.701)	70.765 (34.847)	1.041
Belgrade City	39.683 (31.957)	11.561 (9.933)	510
Total :	1636.519 (1748.024)	1336.823 (1075.389)	30.310 (25.705)

The above results show that M. Stoyadinovitch's list canvassed 115,505 votes less than M. Yevtitch's list in 1935, and that while the majority of M. Yevtitch's over M. Maček's list amounted to 672.635, M. Stojadinovitch secured only 299.696 votes more than M. Maček's list, which canvassed 261.434 more votes this time than in 1935. The total number of electors in 1935 was 3,914,945, of whom 2,881,915 (73.61%) actually voted, while this time the number of electors amounted to 4,100,000, of whom 3,003,652 (73.26%) actually exercised their right of suffrage; that is to say, 121,737 more electors actually took part in the voting this time than in 1935, but this increase of the number of voters resulted in a shifting of the situation in favour of the united opposition list, and not in favour of the Government.

Let us now consider how many ways and means the Stoyadinovitch Cabinet had at its disposal to influence the course of the elections, such as: the extraordinary successes of the Govern-

ment both at home and abroad since 1935, the application of the entire machinery of official administration and the system of censorship, the careful preparation of the elections, the numerous and sometimes very significant facilities given to certain sections of society, especially to associations and communities, and — last but not least — the enormous advantages for the Government induced by the provisions of the Franchise Act. If we consider this advantageous situation of the Government, we cannot help thinking that M. Stoyadinovitch's Cabinet has won a victory of very doubtful value, as it has only secured 54.7% of the votes, as against 44.3% of the votes secured by M. Maček's general opposition list.

As regards the minorities — who represent about 17.4% of the total population (numbering more than 2,600,000) — they will be represented by only 3 members, which means in reality the total exclusion of the minorities from parliamentary representation. Of the minority representatives one is a Hungarian, one is a German, and one an Albanian, while the Macedo-Bulgarian minority (c. 800,000) and the Rumanian minority (c. 134,000) will not be represented at all in the Skupshtina. This is what the practical realization of political equality in Yugoslavia looks like!

As to the distribution of seats in view of the present results, it should be noted that — according to the system of premiums which is secured in the Franchise Act — the Government Party will receive first of all three-fifths of the total number of seats; in addition to this, it will partake in the distribution of the remaining two-fifths in all constituencies where its list has secured the majority of votes. According to preliminary calculations, then, the Government Party will hold 303 seats in the Skupshtina, while the Opposition will receive only 68 seats.

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## NEW FOREIGN MINISTER IN HUNGARY

On 28th November the Regent, Admiral Horthy, addressed a cordial letter to M. de Kánya, accepting his resignation, which with reference to his advanced age and the state of his health, the latter had tendered, and on 10th December appointed Count Stephen Csáky Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, to the vacant office. M. de Kánya received his training in diplomacy in the foreign service of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and he worked there, as permanent deputy of the successive Foreign Ministers and with the rank of ambassador. After the War, as Foreign Minister of Hungary, he took part in shaping the new policy dictated by the difficult and dangerous situation of the dismembered, independent country. The leading principle of this policy was that the future interests and the rights of an ambitious and self-conscious Hun-

garian nation must be preserved amidst the arbitrarily imposed conditions. This foreign policy required incessant work in the interest of peaceful revision, which was bound to come sooner or later. M. de Kánya was a "real" politician and his greatest success was achieved when after the assassination of King Alexander a conflict arose between Yugoslavia and Hungary and he, together with Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, League of Nations delegate, effectively co-operated in the maintenance of peace without sacrificing Hungary's self-esteem, despite the fact that "Europe brushed war with its elbow". He has now retired from office at the age of seventy, when this nation has reached the first milestone on the path of revision.

The new Foreign Minister, Count Csáky, is 44 years of age. His appointment signifies the advent of a new personality in the world of Hungarian diplomacy. The beginnings of his career coincide with those of an independent Hungarian foreign policy. His first official mission was a mournful one. He took part in the work of the Hungarian delegation to the Peace Conference, and thus was an eye-witness of the manner in which historical, ethnographical and geographical rights were trampled under foot and of what the loudly proclaimed right of self-determination in reality meant. This must surely have left an indelible impression on his soul. With these reminiscences he set out on what was to prove a diplomatic career of exceptional ability, vigour and success. He served his country abroad and also in the most important departments of the Foreign Ministry, from the Press Department to the office of Private Secretary. The Ministers under whom he worked entrusted him with the most important negotiations abroad, which gave him an opportunity of making many friends in foreign countries. His journeys to Rome and Warsaw at the time of the Czecho-Slovak crisis were of great service. The foreign Press commented on his appointment with unusual sympathy. It is of more than symbolic significance that as M. de Kánya's career closed with the restoration of Upper Hungary, Count Csáky's real career begins with the inauguration of a new era in foreign politics, the first stage of which was that important event.

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## REFORMS INTRODUCED BY HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT IN 1938.

Although the Hungarian Government and legislature were kept unusually busy by the international tension necessitating mobilization, the Munich Agreement and the restoration, in terms of the Vienna arbitral award, of Upper Hungary and its organic amalgamation with the Hungarian State, the Hungarian Parliament was particularly active in the sphere of social reforms

during the past year. The reforms introduced in 1938 are as follows:

*Secret Ballot.* Hitherto the votes at Parliamentary elections were cast by secret ballot in certain places only, but in the majority of the constituencies voting was open. Universal secret ballot has now been introduced. In the provincial constituencies the old system of individual candidature remains, but parallel with this the municipalities will elect their representatives by lists. Honest elections are guaranteed by severe sanctions. It should be noted that parish and town council elections have always been secret.

*Practical science in secondary education.* Alongside of the old humanist schools the organization of others of a practical nature has been decided.

*Distillery and Vineyard Act.* The industrial manufacture of spirits has been made a State monopoly, a measure which will help to improve the prospects of agricultural distilleries and thus provide better chances of employment for large sections of the agrarian population. The Vineyard Act will encourage the production of Hungarian fine wines, do away with vineyards in areas unsuitable for vine-growing, and ensure a uniform method of fighting the diseases of vines and other fruit-trees.

*National Bank Reform.* The National Bank Reform provides for the re-discounting of small short term loans to farmers, craftsmen and tradesmen.

*One billion pengő for investments.* Parliament has voted the sum of one billion pengő for investments. This sum is to be employed to develop the National Defence Army, build roads and bridges and improve social and public health institutions, and will also be appropriated to enable small farmers, craftsmen and tradesmen to thrive. Of this 1000 millions, 600 will be raised by a capital levy, the rest will take the form of a 400 million debenture loan.

*Wage minimum, working-hours maximum and paid holidays.* The wage minimum and working-hours maximum in the various branches of industry have been fixed, and private enterprise has been required to give its employees annual paid holidays.

*Family protection.* Public employees, who have hitherto received a family grant for every child, will now get more, and this system has now been introduced in the case of private employees too. Public servants who have held their posts for a considerable period will receive an extra allowance. A central fund has been established for the benefit of workmen, out of which they will receive family grants. Fathers of large families will pay less in taxes and receive other privileges: they must get the first chance of employment and if several of their sons have served their military years, the others will be exempt from military service.