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THE QUADRATURE OF THE CIRCLE

by

Dr. Elemér de Balogh

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1919 — at Versailles, at Saint Germain and in the Trianon Central Europe was subjected to a territorial re-distribution: and since then France and the Little Entente have watched over the new map of Central Europe armed and prepared for every emergency.

1936 — we find Heads of States and statesmen deliberating in London, Paris and Geneva; and in their statements to the press the persons taking part in those deliberations told the whole world that *they had been holding conferences at the bedside of a Europe sick to the death!*

What is one of the chief causes of Europe's sickness? The Treaties of Saint Germain and Trianon tore to pieces the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and shattered its ideal economic unity. The new treaties substituted for the 8000 kilometres of customs frontiers of pre-War days customs frontiers of the interminable length of 14,000 kilometres. Dismembered Hungary was placed within a ring of enemies armed to the teeth, she being at the same time rendered absolutely incapable of self-defence against attacks from without. *The treaty-makers believed they could fix the map of Central Europe for all time by the aid of military conventions.* The Succession States were not in the least concerned at having thereby surrounded themselves too with hostile neighbours.

The situation of *Czecho-Slovakia*, for instance, is by no means an enviable one, wedged in as she is between Germany, Poland, Austria and Hungary; particularly when we remember that the Slovak people — which is not even akin to the Czechs ethnically — has been ruined both economically and politically by this marriage. The value of the army of Czecho-Slovakia is practically nil, seeing that the Czechs — who constitute only a minority in their new country — would in the event of a war be quite unable to control even their own nationalities. This accounts for the restlessness of the Czechs. This is why Beneš leagued with the Russian Beelzebub. And this is why Milan Hodža is travelling from country to country to somehow ensure Czecho-Slovakia's existence and save the "blind gut of Europe" from having to be operated.

Yugoslavia is also surrounded by three disagreeable neighbours. She has also absorbed an

internal enemy in Croatia, a country which formerly enjoyed full autonomy as a part of the ancient Kingdom of Hungary. Today the best Croatians are pining in Serbian prisons or have taken refuge abroad. In order to ensure the supremacy of the Serbian minority Yugoslavia is employing a differentiated policy of taxation with a view to dispossessing the nationality minorities (i. e. 60% of the population).

The boundaries between *Rumania* and Russia, Bulgaria and Hungary respectively are under dispute. She proposes to "disarm" her strongest antagonist, the Russian Soviet, *by opening the gates of Europe to bolshevism.* She prefers to voluntarily beard the lion in his den rather than admit her mistakes.

Austria is also writhing helplessly in a dilemma between two extremes — "*Anschluss*" with Germany and a *restoration of the House of Habsburg.*

The Peace Edicts have raised insurmountable barriers between the countries of Central Europe; and the resulting isolation has driven the several nations to have recourse to self-supply. The agrarian countries possess large surpluses of agrarian products; but they have no markets to sell them in. The industrial States — Austria and Czecho-Slovakia have to contend with similar troubles; only here the surpluses are surpluses of industrial products. Their attempt to introduce agricultural autarchy *diverted the development of their economic life into an unnatural channel.* The cost of production in these countries has advanced; and their capacity to compete has declined. There has been a set-back in the standard of living of their inhabitants; and the capacity if the latter to consume has decreased. The optimism once prevailing there — without which there can be no progress and indeed no life — has been replaced by despondency. The peoples oppressed by Balkan methods are becoming impoverished or driven to emigrate. Yet the fate of 80 million human beings is at stake there. *Is that a matter of indifference to Europe?*

British public opinion has long realised that the economic disorganisation of Central Europe cannot possibly be eliminated until all the conditions indispensable to ensure a peaceful co-operation have been brought into being. That is the

attitude adopted by more than 200 Members of the British House of Commons. The people of Great Britain demand a peace based on international justice. In his speech in Geneva *Eden* declared that the chief object of the League of Nations was, not merely to ensure a respect for treaties, but also to prevent and eliminate the causes of war. The States of the Little Entente, on the contrary, do all in their power to create antagonisms and inspire hatred, thereby aggravating the feelings of bitterness, by refusing to respect even the slender obligations undertaken by them in the unjust Treaty of Trianon.

In an interview given to the Diplomatic Correspondent of the "*Daily Telegraph*" *Charles, King of Rumania*, noted with a noble simplicity that "*I am well aware that there are Hungarians within the frontiers of Rumania. But there are also Rumanians beyond our frontiers in Hungary. We however, do not make any propaganda on that account.*" I wonder whether His Majesty would say the same if there were 1,353,675 Rumanians living in Hungary and only 16,221 Hungarians in Transylvania?

King Charles declared further that "*the rights of the minorities have to be respected*". It would certainly be an important step forward towards the consolidation of Central Europe if His Majesty were to make these statements, not to the Diplomatic Correspondent of the "*Daily Telegraph*", but to his Foreign Minister and to the Rumanian Government and were to instruct the "*siguranca*" (police authorities) to that effect, — seeing that those authorities trample under foot the minimum rights guaranteed the minorities *which have been postulated in the treaty guaranteed by the Great Powers and the League of Nations*.

Then, by way of comment on the discussions carried on in Paris, His Majesty addressed words of warning to the Hungarian Group of British Members of Parliament. To the question of the Correspondent of the "*Daily Telegraph*" as to how England could promote understanding in the Central Danubian Valley, he answered: "*By giving no encouragement to Hungary which can foster her belief that frontier revisions are possible*".

This peace has been in force already for seventeen years. If it were really as excellent as the Little Entente would have us believe, the conditions prevailing in Central Europe today would be veritably glorious. There would be no need for Heads of State and statesmen to hold conferences and to cudgle their brains to find some way of solving the crisis?

The King of Rumania says further that "*If we permit one breach of the treaties, then all the treaties will collapse, with disastrous consequences*".

Evidently His Majesty has failed to observe that his Governments and their minions every day commit breaches of the Treaty of Trianon, and that Germany has long ceased to observe the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. How much longer do her neighbours propose to keep Hungary in her present humiliating situation? Against whom are they arming? Against defenceless Hungary? No. Against their own nightmares and against

truth. Though against those forces arms are of no avail.

Premier Milan Hodža has revived Tardieu's peace-scheme No. 2 and would have the States of the Little Entente united with the States being signatories of the Rome Pact, — to the exclusion of Italy and Poland. He believes that in the event of this plan succeeding the new block would be able to make separate agreements with Italy, Germany and the Western industrial States to ensure the sale of the agrarian surpluses. Cutting the Gordian knot, with a vengeance! But the Germans were not slow in answering: they have no interest for any convention made without their co-operation.

We see therefore that Milan Hodža's scheme moves *in vacuo*. The London and Paris discussions were also an attempt to square the circle. So far science has failed to solve the problem; nor will those princes and statesmen be more successful.

In an address delivered by him the French publicist *Georges Roux* said: — "*I am ashamed to confess that the foreign policy of France is dictated by Beneš.*" And indeed, sad to say, it is true that the policy of the *grande nation* has become the train-bearer of the policy of Prague. *Europe is dominated by the Little Entente; and for the sake of the Little Entente the Great Powers actually tolerate the presence in the heart of Europe, in the district formerly known as Upper Hungary, of Soviet Russia, which is even allowed to establish air bases there.* The dangerous consequences latent in this circumstance are thrown into glaring relief by the Memorandum of the Slovak Council, which has created a natural stir and made a profound impression in Geneva. The only object of the peace policy of the Russian Soviet is to revolutionise all the countries of Europe. It has always chosen its allies to suit its world revolution schemes. *The Slovak people sees through the double game being played by the Soviet and protests against its territory being used as a springboard for the bolshevisation of Europe.*

Selfishness and mistrust are bad counsellors. Arbitrary conceits wreak their own vengeance. This policy must end in a ruthless disillusionment. *Bolshevism will not spare the fortunes or the lives of those Heads of State, politicians and classes of the population who are opening the gates of Europe to admit it.*

The preparations for the Great War were financed by France; the Great War itself was financed by the peoples of Europe and by America. All alike have lost their money. France is again acting likewise, — this time advancing the costs of maintaining by armed force the *status quo* of Central Europe; though the past should have taught her that she may give up as lost the sums she has been investing. War is a bad business; and *what the war profiteers are doing today is to prepare the way for a new war.* But the League of Nations will insist on playing the ostrich. It buries its head in the sand of "*the sanctity of treaties*". Yet we would ask whether the one-sided Edicts can be called "*treaties*"?

To all appearances Great Britain has taken over the control and is playing first fiddle. We

see the outlines of fresh aims, — *the pacification of Europe by eliminating the causes of war*. That is what Mussolini is preaching; and that is what Senator Borah emphasised long ago: and *it is the program adopted by Eden, the British Foreign Secretary and is fully in keeping with British traditions*.

The only possible solution is to eliminate the causes of the crisis. We must convene another peace conference, to the discussions of which Hungary and Austria must be invited on a basis of full equality. The most important task before this conference must be to replace the Peace Edicts of Trianon and Saint Germain by real Treaties of Peace to be drafted on the basis of equity by reciprocal goodwill and compliance. That is the *sine qua non* of an economic and political co-operation between the States of Central Europe and of disarmament too. Not Hungary, but the Little Entente, is the obstacle at present impeding peaceful co-operation. It is not Hungary that closes her frontiers against her neighbours; for she has nothing to fear: but it is the Little Entente States that keep aloof from Hungary. Yet economic co-operation without a personal and an

intellectual contact is mere bunkum. But the Little Entente States fight shy of such intercourse; while the Hungarians are quite ready to establish relations of the kind. Why, even the importation of those literary products of Hungary which have no connection with politics is prohibited. *This shows how utopian is the idea of having the chief stress on economic co-operation*. There can be no economic co-operation without a simultaneous co-operation in political matters too. *And the road to that co-operation lies through revision*.

The pacification of Europe, her prosperity, her culture and her civilization depend upon whether France is able to come to terms with Germany and on the other side the Little Entente with Hungary, Austria and Poland. There is no other conceivable or sound solution. *And this is the only means likely to save Europe from destruction*. The idea is a sublime one; and the statesmen of Europe should make it their sacred duty and their object to leave no stone unturned to further the creation of this harmony — to display untiring perseverance and a fanatical enthusiasm in bringing it into being —, *instead of setting bolshevism loose on the culture and civilisation of Europe*.

THE STATEMENT OF KING CHARLES OF RUMANIA IN THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH"

by

Elemér Szudy

The public opinion of Hungary was very profoundly interested by the statement made in Paris to the Diplomatic Correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" by His Majesty, King Charles of Rumania. In that statement the King of Rumania made certain declarations respecting Hungary and the revision of the Treaty of Trianon; and, although we are at all times ready to receive with due respect statements made by the sovereigns of other States, on the present occasion we nevertheless consider it our duty to adduce our arguments and our own points of view as against the declarations contained in the statement in question.

At the very outset His Majesty declared — and we may regard his words as a declaration in principle — that Rumania could never consent to any changes whatsoever being made in the treaties of peace. The question of a re-adjustment of frontiers could not be discussed; and although admitting that there is no such thing as a perfect frontier, His Majesty said that Hungary must realise that this question is not one of today or tomorrow, but of the past. The Rumanian Government declares that the Hungarians living in Rumania are quite satisfied — unless incited to discontent by some political agitator. Further on the statement declares (and this would appear to be the chief argument) that both Hungary and Rumania have minorities of the same race as the

dominant nations of those countries living under foreign rule; this fact His Majesty would seem to regard as reassuring, for He is of opinion that these minorities "equipoise" one another. As against this statement we would point out before proceeding that, whereas the number of Rumanians living in the territory of Dismembered Hungary in 1930 was only 16,221, there are in reality more than 1,500,000 Hungarians living in Transylvania in spite of the results of the last Rumanian census, which by his well known methods reduced the number of Hungarians to 1,353,675. Truly there can not be any talk of "equipoise" when the number of Hungarian in Rumania is more than sixty times that of the Rumanians living in Dismembered Hungary.

At the end of his statement His Majesty, through the "Daily Telegraph", calls upon Great Britain not to continue to encourage Hungary to demand a re-adjustment of frontiers.

It is not our business to reply to this appeal to British public opinion; we are convinced that a sufficient decided answer will be forthcoming — in Great Britain. Indeed that answer has already been given — in the dignified debate in the British House of Lords in which certain Members of that House pleaded for the revision of the League of Nations Covenant desirable and necessary in order to facilitate a peaceful revision of the peace treaty provisions.