

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.

However, we cannot but think that the "Daily Telegraph" itself was by no means convinced that the contents of the statement made by the King of Rumania were in keeping with the spirit and postulates of abstract justice; for in the commentary accompanying the interview the Editor called upon Hungary to take her natural place in the Central European block, seeing that — the Editor says — it is indispensable and most decidedly desirable that Hungary should participate in the activity of the block. We ourselves fully endorse the correctness of this attitude. The prominent British daily — no doubt from a wish to temper the strikingly unfriendly tone of the King's interview — emphasises the need for Hungary to "temporarily" abandon her territorial claims.

We would ask for permission to answer both King Charles's statement and the latter suggestion of the "Daily Telegraph" by first of all enumerating cold facts to prove *how utterly impossible it is for Hungary to renounce stressing the justice of her claim to a revision or demanding the amendment of the Treaty of Trianon.*

As to whether the Hungarians of Rumania have any reason without the provocation of political agitators to be dissatisfied with the treatment meted out to them by the Bucharest Government, may be seen from articles to be found in another column of this issue of our Review.

On the basis of the results of the Rumanian Census of 1930 Jonel Longinescu, professor in the University of Bucharest, calculating the nationality quotas of the total population from the nationality distribution of the children has shown that the number of Hungarians still living in the territory formerly belonging to Hungary which has been transferred to Rumania is only 1,370,000, whereas in 1910 the number of Hungarians (Magyars) domiciled in that territory was 1,660,000. That would mean that, whereas the total population of Transylvania shows an increase of 5.86% during the twenty years between 1910 and 1930, the quota of Hungarians in that province shows a decrease of 19.88%.

Had the conditions in force been normal and the number of Hungarians increased in a ratio to the total population similar to that originally prevailing, in 1930 they would have numbered 1,757,000 souls. The state of things shown by the Rumanian professor, however, represents a loss or decrease of almost half a million (487,300 souls). It is hardly credible that the Hungarian mothers have not borne any children since 1919; so it is difficult to account for the disappearance of this half million inhabitants. Consequently, something must have happened that very nearly concerns the existence and further increase of the Hungarians, — something which must very intensely interest all those who are responsible for the destinies of nations and peoples.

The Czecho-Slovak Government has officially published the results of the 1930 Census. The data of this Census are just as astounding and as incredible as those of the Rumanian Census. The number of Magyars living in 1910 in the pro-

vinces of Slovakia and Ruthenia severed from Hungary was 1,070,772 — a number representing 30.4% of the total population. The Census organised by the Czechs in 1921 still admits the presence of 738,517 Hungarians (Magyars); but by 1930 the number of persons belonging to that race had sunk to 681,460. Strangely enough, the natural increase of the Hungarians came to a standstill here too; and — even if we take into account the process of emigration and also the proportion of persons speaking Hungarian as their mother tongue who have voluntarily declared themselves to be of Jewish nationality — the number of Hungarians "spirited away" by the Czech statistics may be computed at ultimately some 126,758¹ — that being the difference between the number of Hungarians actually living in Slovakia and Ruthenia and that shown by the Czech statisticians.

This is a shocking outrage on the most elementary rights — even on the right to live — of a civilised European people leaving the Hungarians thus attacked no other means of defence against a campaign of extermination of the kind but the prime human right of appeal for protection and assistance to those great nations — first of all, naturally, to Great Britain — whose duty it is — and which have it in their power — to put an end to such intolerable conditions.

In view of the fact that the official statistics of Rumanian and Czecho-Slovakia have during the last ten years simply spirited away nearly 620,000 Hungarians (Yugoslavia has not even been mentioned in this connection), while the League of Nations has never passed beyond the merest formalities in the field of minority protection, Hungary cannot sit with folded arms; for a continuation of this state of things must — apart from leading to the inevitable destruction of the Hungarians severed from their mother country — involve the ruin also of the dismembered State brought into being by the Treaty of Trianon.

We would however beg the "Daily Telegraph" to allow us to call its attention to a very important bit of evidence of historical weight — viz. *the Covering Letter written by M. Millerand.* The King of Rumania too would appear to have completely forgotten the existence of this document.

There are many who regard this *Covering Letter* as a document that has been relegated to the upper shelves. Now Hungary can never accept that interpretation and *will always continue to refer to the Covering Letter as a legal authority.* She has every reason to do so, particularly seeing that there is no truth in the contention that the *Covering Letter* speaks only of insignificant frontier readjustments of a purely local character; for surely the *Covering Letter* signed by M. Millerand was not written merely for the purpose of reformulating the technical side of frontier readjustment. It was on the contrary written because the Great Powers themselves realised that the Treaty of Trianon contained injustices to Hungary unacceptable alike from the historical

¹ See "Danubian Review", Vol. I., No. 1—3, p. 11—12.

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

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

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

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

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

THE SITUATION OF THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN RUMANIA

by

Dr. Ladislav Fritz

Judge

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

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

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