

## POLITICAL MOSAIC

### REGENT OF HUNGARY'S MESSAGE OF THANKS TO HUNGARIAN OCCUPYING FORCES

The following telegram was sent on 4th April by the Regent to Lieutenant-General Charles Olgyay, commander of the Eastern occupying forces, and to Major-General vitéz George Sziklay, commander of the Western occupying forces.

*"It is now more than a year that Hungarian occupying forces have been doing their share of the work of maintaining order and security in the areas behind the Soviet-German front. Although these forces were despatched there solely for the purpose of maintaining order, the occupying troops in the Eastern zone have had to fight hard battles with hordes of enemy partisans; one of these troops, in collaboration with German forces, has even taken an active part in repulsing Soviet attacks, and is still in the front line.*

*"It is with pride and pleasure that I establish the fact that throughout the severe Russian winter, in uncomfortable quarters and with transport difficulties to contend with, the Hungarian troops have performed the task of maintaining order, and that, despite the fact that their weapons and equipment were below the standard required by modern warfare, they have won fresh laurels and added to the fame and glory of the Hungarian army in the unexpected battles they were called upon to fight.*

*"I therefore express my warmest thanks to and praise of every member of the Hungarian occupying armies, and ask you to convey this message together with my greetings to all your subordinates."*

### HUNGARIAN PREMIER ON THE WAR AND HUNGARY'S FOREIGN POLICY.

On 20th April the General Council of the Party of Hungarin Life held an impressive meeting at which the chairman of the Party, M. Béla Lukács, emphatically declared that in this war, which was provoked by the Soviet, *Hungary would win its rightful place in reconstructed Europe.* He warmly praised the victorious German and Italian armies and paid tribute to the bravery of the Hungarian soldiers.

After this M. Nicholas Kállay, Prime Minister, sketched his programme, which was received with great applause. The following are extracts from the Premier's great speech:

*"From this spring on we are at war. The soldiers are going*

to the front and the whole nation will take part in the war — in our war. For the first time since 1848 we are fighting our own battles." The Hungarian soldiers were being taken out to fight Hungary's battles, for *neither he nor anyone else could allow Hungary's sons to engage in a war that did not serve the country's interests*, — said the Premier amidst loud cheers.

"*We are deliberately joining the war*", — he continued — "*we have not been swept into it or driven into it by compulsion. Deliberately, because we experienced once what it meant when our fate was decided at Trianon without our being present. This must not be allowed to happen again. Our fate must not be decided again, even on the battlefield, without our participation. If we want to have a say in the future of Europe and establish our position therein, it is not enough to sit at the conference table; we must take part in the struggle, in suffering, and sacrifice.* This is why the nation is now at war.

"Fully conscious of its responsibility the Government sends our troops to the front, *but it is also the Government's responsibility to see that the country is not left defenceless. We have soldiers all along our borders, strong soldiers and of a number sufficient to guard our frontiers against any attack.*"

Here the Premier was interrupted by loud applause.

"*The Hungarian frontiers are in the hands of the Hungarian soldiers*, — continued the Premier. "*Frontiers are established by peace treaties, but they are held by the nation.*

"Hungary's foreign policy progresses along the same straight line as the policy that sends our soldiers to the front. No one with any commonsense in the country, if honest, could pursue any policy other than that pursued by my predecessors in office and myself, and today, to meet the demands of the present and the future, that policy must be stiffened. *That policy is close co-operation, friendly collaboration, with our allies, chiefly with Germany and Italy.*

"Complete co-operation; which means that we are ready to sacrifice everything needed to win the war: lives, armies, wheat and labour, but which also means equal rights and equal rank. Any co-operation that would benefit both partners involves reciprocal respect and appreciation and full recognition of the rights of each."

Here the Premier went on to say that he wished to be on good terms with all Hungary's neighbours and had taken the first step in this direction in his first speech in Parliament. What he said then still held good, and he was waiting for signs that his words had met with understanding.

Returning to the question of the Hungarian army he mentioned the message sent lately to the occupying armies by the Regent, who had praised the Hungarian soldiers. These soldiers had not been sent to the front, but as occupying forces

to maintain order behind the lines. In the course of events, however, they had found themselves, in accordance with the wishes of Hungary's allies, but also in complete agreement with the Hungarian Government, in the front lines. There, with equipment intended to be used only against the partisans, *they had held their ground with such bravery that they had been praised for it by the German military command, not only in the order of the day, but also in messages sent to Hungary.*

"We know our sons, our Hungarian soldiers," — said the Premier. "Now when they are starting for the front with the best, most modern and fullest equipment, *the country may expect them to perform greater, more magnificent feats. When in the next few days our troops set out on their way towards the East, let us all send them a message of confidence and encouragement.*"

### HUNGARIAN REGENT APPOINTS TWO MINISTERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO.

On April 17th. the Regent of Hungary appointed as ministers without portfolio Bela *Lukács* and Stephen *Antal*. Hungarian public opinion cordially welcomed the news of the appointment of the politicians in question. Béla Lukács has for long been a prominent figure in Hungarian public life and is an enthusiastic and consistent champion of a distinctly national policy. He has always been — and still is — intimately connected with the agrarian circles of the country. He is one of our leading authorities on agricultural problems. During the career he has so far run in public life he has acquired experience and an expert knowledge that he will be able to fructify to full advantage in his new sphere of activity. *Béla Lukács is on terms of intimate friendship with all the Members of the „Hungarian Life” (Government) Party.*

The personal influence and authority exercised by him in the Government Party itself, is well known. As a consequence of these connections he is continuously in close contact with every movement of the political and cultural life of Hungary. The experience acquired by him in this field he will in the future be able to place at the service of the Cabinet Council. *The special sphere of activity of Béla Lukács will be that of keeping the Cabinet Council informed of the affairs of soldiers who have gone to the front, of soldiers returning from the front and of their families, and to watch the activity displayed in this field by the State and society organs connected therewith.* His intimate connection with deputies and with the organizations render him peculiarly fitted to do the work entrusted to him.

The work entrusted to Stephen *Antal* is to be the cultivation of national defence propaganda. In the fateful period through

which we are now passing it is a matter of exceptional importance that public opinion should be as directly and as exhaustively as possible informed of the decisions taken by Government, of the schemes which Government has in hand, and of the prospects. While the present World War is being waged, it is of great importance that there should be an absolute harmony between Government and public opinion. This truth has been acknowledged already by all modern States; and most of those States have already established a special ministry or other organ of a similar character for the realization of this object. This sphere of activity is above parties and those engaged in it have in view solely the universal interests of the country and the nation when doing their work of information, convincing or encouraging.

National Defence propaganda is doubly necessary in these days of ours. Already when serving as *chef de presse* of Gyula Gömbös's Government Stephen Antal displayed a talent for organization, an unyielding will-power, an industry and a many-sidedness of ideas far above the average, so that his person would appear to be exceptionally well fitted for the task entrusted to him. That task is bound to be a delicate and arduous one and Stephen Antal seems indeed the man best fitted for this work of organization and construction.

Béla Lukács took his degree in law and the economic sciences. As captain in the artillery he displayed signal valour in the first Great War. He has acted as sheriff of a county; then he became a Member of the House of Deputies and was appointed Under-Secretary-of-State in the Ministry of Agriculture; later on he was elected president of the chamber of agriculture; and now he has left the chair of President of the Government Party to take his seat on the front bench. Stephen Antal is an eminent lawyer and an expert on co-operative questions. In the first Great War he was wounded and was awarded decorations. It was he that during the period of revolutions organized the nationalist university students. After first serving as Gyula Gömbös's *chef de presse* — he was also responsible for drafting Gömbös's party programme —, he subsequently took office as Under-Secretary-of-State in the Ministry for Justice, which office he is now leaving to take his seat on the front bench.

## ANNIVERSARY OF RESTORATION OF SOUTHERN HUNGARY

On the anniversary of the restoration of Southern Hungary enthusiastic celebrations were held by the happy inhabitants of every town and village in that region. The demonstrations at

Szabadka, Ujvidék and Zombor were particularly impressive. The manifestations of the joy of the inhabitants were absolutely unanimous, the national minorities taking part whole-heartedly in the celebrations. For the occasion the Hungarian Premier, M. Nicholas Kállay, wrote a leading article entitled "*A military nation — a working people*" in the "*Délvidéki Magyarság*", a newspaper published in Szabadka. In that article the Premier, amongst other things, said: —

*"Freedom lives in the souls of our people, love in their hearts. Noble feelings of friendship and co-operation cannot be appreciated, nor can an atmosphere of liberty be created, except by people in whose hearts and souls these sentiments live. Even as conquerors the Hungarians were never oppressors. Their endeavour was, not to oppress, but to press to their bosom all the peoples who were ready to offer their sincere friendship free of mental reservations. The object of our conquests was not to deprive subject races of their national or other virtues. It has always been the same object that was laid down a thousand years ago by our saintly King Stephen: to guard the hearth, build up the country, establish and maintain peace and order. It is only on this basis that the different peoples can be welded together in peaceful symbiosis.*

*"It was a thousand years ago that we first conquered Southern Hungary. The outposts of the occupying Magyars became the repeatedly stormed ramparts of the European forms of life and European ideas. With the cross in one hand and the sword in the other, the Magyars were a shield that not only protected their own people, not only stretched over our own country, but also proved to be the defence of the whole of Christian Europe, a shining wonder that filled the entire world with admiration. We defended the Southern borders, sometimes with the help of others, but far more often unaided. The flower of our race went into battle here, many to perish in the Southern regions and to lay claim to the rich furrows fertilized by their blood.*

*"This was how our people became a conquering nation in Europe, but also a nation sacrificing itself to protect Western civilization and the peoples who had fled from dangers in the South. A wave of havoc and destruction has again started from the East, to be met with the resistance of the Magyar soldier. Let us never forget that his struggle is ours. Our campaign has two aims: to defend our ancient hearths and to strengthen and reinforce them.*

*"It is now a year since you, our brethren in the Southern areas, returned to us. I send you my greetings, and when on the anniversary of your restoration I greet the people of the Southern areas, let me define the duty of all those who struggle at home and abroad in the following words: To defend and*

cherish our fatherland. May the military prowess of this nation shine in all its pristine splendour and let all the people of the country aid and support the nation in its creative work!"

### DOUBLE TREND OF RUMANIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Two articles on the double trend of Rumania's foreign policy were published in the January issue of the Hungarian "Külügyi Szemle". In the first article Anthony Koncz outlined the French trend of Rumanian policy; the second was a translation of an article on the origin and nature of the friendly relations between Rumania and Germany from the pen of *Professor Dr. F. Hackmann*, chairman of the Berlin Rumanian Institute, that had appeared in a recent issue of the Berlin "Monatsheft für Auswärtige Politik".

It was not until the middle of last century that relations between France and Rumania began to have significance. It was with the help of Napoleon III. that the two Rumanian principalities united; and it is therefore quite comprehensible that the Rumanian people should always have been devoted to France. But it was at the Paris Peace Conference that the full measure of France's support was shown; for at that Conference all Rumania's claims were satisfied. From 1919 on Rumania's policy was to idolize France, until recent events forced her to change that policy. But the francophile sympathies of Rumanian public opinion could not be expected to change so rapidly. We see evidence that they have not, in the pro-French statements which still continue to appear in the Rumanian Press. In view of this it may seem a paradox that Rumania now professes friendship for Germany; but the truth is that there have always been advocates of this trend too. The chief of these advocates was John Bratianu, who was instrumental in setting *Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen* on the throne of Rumania. Bratianu would have liked to make the ties of friendship with Germany as close as possible. This he attained in 1888, when in a separate agreement Germany adhered to the pact concluded between Austria-Hungary and Rumania. Bratianu's plan of a triple agreement was frustrated by Wilhelm I, who did not wish to offend the sensibilities of the Russians. After 1919 pro-German sympathies became practically non-existent, although of course there were advocates of that policy. One of them was General Antonescu, whom in 1940 events placed at the head of the Rumanian State.

### CROATIA CELEBRATES FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF INDEPENDENCE

The first anniversary of the restoration of Croatia's independence was celebrated by that country with great enthusiasm

and pomp. Official Hungary and the Hungarian people sent sincere messages of congratulation, and a delegation of distinguished Magyars took part in the Zagreb festivities, therewith demonstrating *that the ancient historical friendship which for so many centuries of struggle and glory linked the fate of the Croat people with that of Hungary, is still firm and unshaken.*

The Hungarian delegation, headed by *M. Anthony Ullein-Reviczky*, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, arrived in Zagreb on 9th April. Hungarian officers of high rank, under the leadership of Lieutenant-General *Gustave Hennyey*, were also among the members of the delegation. At the Croat frontier station of *Koprynica* it was met by *M. Milorad Straznitzky*, Envoy Extraordinary, and the Hungarian officers were welcomed by Colonel *Krivatchitch*. Among others to welcome the delegation at the Zagreb railway station were *M. Lorkovitch*, Croat Minister for Foreign Affairs, *M. Vranchich*, Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, General *Begitch* and *M. Francis Marosy*, Hungary's Minister in Zagreb. The station was draped with the flags of all the friendly and allied nations, and two regiments recruited from the Poglavnik's Guards and the army acted as a guard of honour.

On 10th April the Poglavnik received the Hungarian delegation led by *M. Ullein-Reviczky* in audience. Before the Poglavnik's palace a guard of honour saluted the members of the Hungarian delegation on their arrival. *Vitéz M. Louis Keresztes-Karleusa*, military attaché, gave a lunch in their honour. The delegation was present at the march past before the Poglavnik that took place in St. Mark's Square. In the evening a dinner in honour of the members of the foreign delegations was given by *M. Lorkovitch*, Croatia's Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Hungarians present were *M. Anthony Ullein-Reviczky*, *M. Francis Marosy*, and *Dr. Ladislav Bartók*, Councillor of Legation.

On 11th April there was Divine Service followed by a dress parade. At noon a lunch in honour of *M. Ullein-Reviczky* was given by *vitéz M. Francis Marosy*. Hungary's Minister in Zagreb, several Croat Ministers being present. A lunch was also given to the military members of the delegation by General *Kvaternik*, Croat Minister of War. Among those present was Lieutenant-General *Gustave Hennyey*.

In the afternoon the Croat Sabor held a gala session. This was attended by all the foreign delegations, the members of the diplomatic corps and Croat politicians and officers of high rank. The meeting was addressed by the Poglavnik, *M. Pavelitch* "In the first year of Croatia's independence" — he said — "we have laid the foundations of our national and political life; in the second we shall build the walls and furnish the interior." *The Poglavnik expressed his gratitude to the diplomatic representatives of the Axis countries, Germany*

and Italy, and asked them to convey an expression of the friendship and respect of the Croat people to these countries and their leaders. In the evening the Poglavnik gave a dinner in honour of the foreign delegations. The Hungarians present were *M. Ullein-Reviczky*, Lieutenant-General *Gustave Hennyey* and *M. Francis Marosy*. In his speech the Poglavnik welcomed the delegation sent by the Hungarian nation and sent a particularly warm message to the Regent, Admiral Horthy. *M. Ullein-Reviczky* replied. After dinner the Poglavnik had a long conversation with the members of the Hungarian delegation. On the occasion of these celebrations the Hungarian Regent sent a warmly-worded telegram to the Poglavnik, whose reply was couched in similarly cordial terms.

### INDEPENDENT CROATIA'S FIRST ANNIVERSARY

A year ago, on 10th April, under the protection of the victorious German and Italian forces, Dr. Ante Pavelitch, leader of the Ustasha movement and present head of the State, proclaimed the independence of Croatia. Two days later, on 12th April, he entered Zagreb and began the work of organizing Croatia, independent now for the first time since 800 years.

With the secession of Croatia began *the dissolution of Yugoslavia*, a State that after twenty-two and a half years' existence collapsed in consequence of the military *coup d'etat* staged in Belgrade on 27th March 1941 at the instigation of the anti-Axis Powers. In point of fact, from the very moment of its creation the State known as Yugoslavia carried within it the germs of dissolution. This was established by the late Dr. Joseph Bajza, an eminent authority on Croat and Southern Slav questions, in his essay entitled "Eighteen months' old Yugoslavia", which was published in July 1920. He based his opinions on the following facts: 1. *Yugoslavia was suffering from a major mistake made at the time of her birth. Under the slogan of self-determination regions and peoples that had never lived in one State in the whole course of history were united in Yugoslavia without the consent of the peoples concerned. The Yugoslav National Council had been a self-appointed body; the mandate of the Serb Skupshtina had long expired, as had that of the Croat Sabor, which in any case had no right to decide questions of that nature.* 2. *Even the decisions of the bodies which, though, not entitled to pass resolutions on behalf of the different peoples, had done so (the Corfu resolution of 20th July 1917, the Geneva, declaration of 9th November 1918, etc.) were not respected, they were constantly violated.* 3. *It had proved impossible to resolve traditional national differences of thirteen centuries' standing; they had, in fact, become accentuated during the period of forced symbiosis.* 4. *The idea of national independence had not died out among*



*the Croats, who were struggling fiercely to defend their individuality.*

What, after keen observation of the internal political life of the new State, was set forth, with prophetic vision in the summer of 1920 by Bayza, proved to be true during the whole existence of the S. H. S. Kingdom, known from 3rd October 1929 on as Yugoslavia. His description was typical of her domestic affairs all along.

No definite consolidation was wrought by the Serbo-Croat agreement concluded under the influence of an imminent threat of war on 26th August 1939. Speaking by way of a secret broadcasting station on 5th April, the eve of the German attack, Dr. Ante Pavelitch, leader of the Ustasha, addressing the Croat nation, said: — "*On the threshold of a new European war, which will clear the path to Croat national and political freedom, this shameful agreement was signed to delude both the Croat nation and foreign countries and frustrate the national and political liberty of the Croat people. But as the Royal Decree was powerless to crush the Ustasha, so this agreement has not been able to stop its activity. The Croat Ustasha movement will continue to fight, and the time has come for it to strike a last and decisive blow.*" ("Hrvatski Narod", April 8th.)

The last and decisive blow against a tottering Yugoslavia was dealt when the members of the Ustasha, led by Dr. Pavelitch, marched into Zagreb and fulfilled the prophecy, made by Dr. Matthew Drinkovitch, one-time Minister of Social Policy, in a pamphlet published in 1928, that "in the event of war the Kingdom of Yugoslavia will fall to pieces". (Dr. Joseph Bajza: *The Croat Question*", 1941, p. 241.).

This radical solution of Yugoslavia's twenty-two and a half years old internal crisis — a solution that surprised nobody but the uninitiated, or confirmed optimists — was the final stage of the struggle that *a priori* had made impossible any lasting reconciliation between the Southern Slav idea enlisted in the service of Pan-Serbism and the Croat national idea that had sprung from the soil of ancient traditions and the history of wellnigh 1500 years, and had excluded the possibility of a complete elimination of differences. It also meant a satisfactory solution for the Croats.

This explains the great enthusiasm, pride and joy with which Croatia celebrated the first anniversary of the triumph of self-determination and justice. The following extracts from the "Hrvatski Narod", a Government newspaper, witness to how the Croat Press interpreted the mood of the people and emphasized the significance of the 10th of April. On 9th April a leading article in that paper, entitled "Poglavnikovo rešenje" (The Poglavnik's decision) contains the following passage: "On that day the Ustasha movement saw the greatest event in the

history of the Croat nation; saw the realization of the hopes and aims of many generations and the full and final solution of the Croat question... Amidst the general rejoicings over the success achieved, we must not for one moment consider that success enough; we must labour incessantly to add to the work done, to extend and perfect it and make in serve its purpose in the best way possible..." The anniversary issue on 10th April contained a leader entitled "Naš najveći dan" (Our greatest day). In it we read: — "In the life of the Croat nation the 10th of April will always be the greatest national holiday, for it was on that day that our centuries-old aims were realized... No movement in the past ever accomplished what was achieved by the Poglavnik, Dr. Ante Pavelitch, a year ago... The Ustasha movement has revived and consolidated the independent Croat State, and will therefore be the most memorable movement in Croat history, for it has realized the national aspirations which for 1500 years have been handed down from generation to generation... Today, therefore, on the greatest day for all Croats, the gratitude of all past and present generations, of all who in the past and the present have worked for and had faith in this end, is due to the Poglavnik."

At the meeting of the Sabor held on 10th April the speaker of the day was the Poglavnik himself. In his address he spoke of the immense significance of the day on which the fate of the Croat nation was decided, and also of the remarkable results achieved in the various branches of national work during the past year.

The Poglavnik's speech made a great impression on the Sabor and the Press, no less than on those who listened to it — as the whole country did — on the wireless.

Besides other foreign delegations, a Hungarian deputation headed by Dr. Ullein-Reviczky, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, and Lieutenant-General Augustus Hennyey, took part in the Croat celebrations. At the time, Hungary was the first State to recognize the independence of Croatia, and also, when on 29th October 1918, the Croat Sabor announced Croatia's separation from Hungary, its secession from the Realm of the Holy Crown, it was Hungary that sent the first legation to Zagreb. The Hungarian Minister at Zagreb then was Dr. Aladár Balla, one-time Lord Lieutenant of Ujvidék, and the military attaché was Julius Gömbös, then a captain on the General Staff, later on Prime Minister of Hungary. Then, as now, Hungary gave proof, not only of her earnest desire to maintain good, neighbourly relations with Croatia, but also of her sincere willingness to co-operate with that country. We should be glad to believe that our desire to establish reciprocal understanding will not meet with any opposition on Croatia's part.