

P O L I T I C A L M O S A I C

ENTHUSIASTIC ECHOES IN HUNGARY OF THE LONDON CORONATION

The Coronation of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, with its brilliant ceremonies was eagerly followed by all Hungarians, whose hearts surely beat with a keener participation in the rejoicings than did those of any other of the nations with sympathies for the British nation and Empire.

The act of coronation has not such a deep meaning and significance anywhere in Europe as in England and in Hungary. It is true that in England the king on his accession becomes invested with all the rights pertaining to royal power, while in Hungary the king is not invested with the full rights of royal power until the crown is placed on his head. Not till then does he become *rex legitimus*, so that in Hungary the act of coronation has not merely a declarative but also a constitutional significance in public law. But it is also true that in both countries the coronation is no mere ceremony as it is elsewhere, but an act of public law expressing and throwing into relief, with forms and ceremonies dating from the Middle Ages, the national purpose of the institution of kingship. As in England the Coronation — today more than ever — is a link binding the Empire together and a symbol of imperial unity, so in Hungary the crown of St. Stephen is the *corpus mysticum* uniting in itself King and Nation. In Europe only these two countries have historical constitutions rooted in the Middle Ages; this explains why the Royal crown and the act of coronation in both are invested with a mystical symbolism the like of which does not surround the crown or the coronation in any of the kingdoms of nineteenth century origin with their modern charter constitutions.

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The enthusiasm of the Hungarian nation was keyed to a higher pitch by the knowledge that Hungarian blood flows both in King George's and in Queen Elizabeth's veins.

More than once in the columns of this paper articles have appeared on the subject of Queen Mary's descent from the Counts Rhédey, who therefore were ancestors of King George VI. Now we shall quote a few passages from an essay by Dr. Alexander Fest, *privat-docent* of the Budapest University and a scholar well versed in the subject of the links between England and Hungary. The article in question appeared in the "*Magyarság*" of 4th April, and proves that there is a strain of Hungarian blood in Queen Elizabeth's veins too.

"We must go back" — writes this eminent scholar — "to the eleventh century, to the time of the first Hungarian king, St. Stephen, who welcomed to his Court the two exiled English princes, last scions of the famous dynasty of Alfred the Great. St. Stephen with kindly affection provided for the upbringing of the orphans. One of the princes died early, but the other, Edward, enjoyed the hospitality of the kings of Hungary for wellnigh four decades. He married and had a family. The name of his wife, concerning whose origin English history knows nothing definite, was Agatha. In general she is held to have been a German princess related to Queen Gizella. But Agatha was in reality St. Stephen's daughter; and thus the

daughter of Agatha whose name has been made immortal by the veneration accorded by posterity, was a granddaughter of our saintly king. This refers to St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland, who in that country fulfilled a historical mission and became a national patron saint. In 1057 Margaret, with her parents and her brother and sister, left Hungary for England. The prince's family was accompanied by several Hungarian noblemen, who clung loyally to the family even after the Norman Conquest had overthrown everything in England. Edward, who had been brought up in Hungary and was the last hope of the Anglo-Saxon national party, died shortly after his arrival in England; and his widow, Agatha, disappointed in all her hopes after the Battle of Hastings, at first thought of taking refuge with her children in her old home Hungary. Accompanied by her loyal Hungarian suite she set sail, but a sudden storm of terrific violence drove their ship on the coast. They landed on Scottish soil. There they made the acquaintance of King Malcolm of the Scots, upon whom the beauty and gentleness of Margaret made such an impression that he asked her hand in marriage. After a certain amount of hesitation the princess of Hungarian origin consented to be his bride.

With Margaret and her family several Hungarian noblemen, as has been said, left this country for England in 1057. They must all have been notabilities; for we must not forget that Prince Edward was recalled to the land of his fathers in order to ascend the throne when the time arrived. It is certain that he intended his Hungarian followers to play a distinguished rôle at his Court. After his death those Hungarian noblemen remained loyal to his widow; and when Margaret married the king of Scotland they settled there, receiving rich rewards and honours. Centuries later Scottish chronicles make mention of the distinguished Scottish families descending from those Hungarian noblemen, and to the present day these families have preserved the memory of their Hungarian origin. According to medieval chronicles the ancestors of the Grifford, Maule, Barthuik, Fethikran and Creichtoun families came with Edward from Hungary, and a later record mentions yet another name: "*Venere etiam ex Ungaria cum Agatha complures ut Crychtoun, Fodringhame, Fiffert, Maulis, Brothik, et alii: inter quos Bartholomaeus Leslie, generis nobilitate animique insita magnitudine praetans...*"

Even thus the list is not complete; it lacks the bestknown name, that of the Drummonds. This famous family, which claims relationship with the Stuarts, traces its origin to a distinguished noble named Georgius or Mauritius who — we believe — was the natural son of the Hungarian king, Andrew I. A brave man with a strong arm was this Hungarian ancestor of the Drummonds. It was he who saved Agatha and her family when the raging storm drove their ship on the coast of Scotland. At Margaret's request Malcolm rewarded him with the gift of extensive lands; and it was then that he received the name Drummond and a Scottish coat-of-arms in which three waves symbolize the danger from which he delivered the fugitive family. The Drummond family try to establish some connec-

tion between the name and the adventure on the sea and in one of Sir Walter Scott's novels — "The Fair Maid of Perth" — we read that the word "dromond" means a long boat.

Thus we know of seven distinguished Scottish families, clans, in the Middle Ages that traced their descent back to the Hungarian followers of the Anglo-Saxon Royal Family. These seven families known to us by name played such an important rôle in the history of Scotland in the Middle Ages that it is natural to suppose that the Bowes-Lyon family must have been connected, more than once, with one or other of them. And verily with the aid even of the extremely meagre data on the point contained in the Dictionary of National Biography the fact be established that in the course of the centuries the Lords of Strathmore who were the ancestors of Queen Elizabeth became connected by ties of relationship both with the Drummonds and with the Maules. It would be of interest to make a closer study of the genealogy of the ancient Scottish families, for it is certain that a detailed examination of the data on the subject would reveal other links of relationship between the Bowes-Lyon family and the families of the Hungarian noblemen who settled in Scotland in the eleventh century. But for the present the connections mentioned above will suffice to prove that we have special reasons to rejoice in the coronation of a daughter of an ancient, Scottish family on manifold branches of whose family tree embrace several Hungarian twigs."

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Hungary was represented at the London Coronation by M. de Kánya, Foreign Minister, General de Rapaich and Count Stephen Csáky, Councillor of Legation. The Hungarian delegation was received at Victoria by the Duke of Kent as representative of King George VI, and by the representatives of His Majesty's Government and of the Foreign Office. The members of the Hungarian delegation were accorded every mark of attention during their stay in London. Thus on the day of their arrival a dinner was given in honour of the Hungarian Foreign Minister by Sir Robert Vansittart, Foreign Under-Secretary, and Lady Vansittart. M. de Kánya was also among those invited to the brilliant State Banquet given by King George and Queen Elizabeth in Buckingham Palace, on which occasion his partner was the Countess of Cork and Orrery. The Earl of Cork and Orrery was Chief Armourer to the King at the Coronation ceremony. General Rapaich and M. Masirevich, Hungary's Minister in London accompanied by Mme Masirevich were also present at the State Banquet. During his

stay in London M. de Kánya had the opportunity of a lengthy conversation with Mr. Eden and Sir Robert Vansittart. The Hungarian delegation was received in audience by King George and Queen Elizabeth, the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester and the Earl of Cromer, Lord Chamberlain being also present. While M. de Kánya was in London Captain Clarke of the Life Guards and Mr. Hohler, Councillor of Legation, were in attendance on him, and on his departure accompanied him as far as Dover.

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The people of Hungary followed the brilliant ceremonies of the London Coronation with respectful admiration. There was no private house or public place provided with wireless where the relaying of the uplifting and thrilling ceremony was not listened to with eagerness. Every organ of the Hungarian press recorded the events with as much sympathy, and devoted as much space to them, as if the London Coronation had been an event of the most intimate importance for Hungary. In what follows we give a few extracts from articles in the Hungarian press.

"In the historical pomp of the London Coronation" — wrote the semi-official *Budapesti Hirlap* — "we see a manifestation of the happy dualism of the British nature which is capable of uniting in one splendid setting tradition and progress, power and weakness, wisdom and understanding."

"We who had no opportunity to see the brilliant pageant" — said the most oppositionistic of all the Hungarian newspapers, the *Pesti Hirlap* — "drank in its inward spiritual beauty, as with beating hearts we listened in and with one accord prayed in unison with the British nation "God save the King!"

"Probably from no quarter of the globe did so much eager homage, so much affection and emotion speed towards the ancient walls of Westminster as from this fragment of St. Stephen's empire" — said the *Magyarság*, another opposition paper.

The *Pester Lloyd* wrote: — "This vital force, this power of development which is accompanied by an adherence to inherited historical tradition, are the foundations of the existence of the great British Empire whose day of rejoicing is now being celebrated by all the peoples of the earth, including the Hungarian nation. May England with her unchangeable loyalty to her own self and to the ideals of humanity and progress, continue, during what all the nations hope will be the long and happy reign of King George VI, to flourish and prosper."

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PRESIDENT MIKLAS AND KING VIKTOR EMMANUEL IN BUDAPEST

Hungary's co-operation with Italy and Austria which was laid down in the Rome Protocol sufficiently explains the ceremonial yet cordial reception accorded by official and non-official Hungary first to President and Madame Miklas (May 3—5) and later on (May 19—22) to King Victor Emmanuel, Queen Elena and

the Princess Maria. The international press has published full reports of all the festivities, so we shall confine ourselves to the toasts heard at the State banquets given in honour of the heads of the two friendly countries.

REGENT HORTHY AND PRESIDENT MIKLAS'S TOASTS

On the occasion of President Miklas's visit Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, toasted the former with the following speech:

"In your person, Mr. President, we have the honour to welcome the representative of our neighbour Austria, — a country which, apart from being

close to us geographically, has been connected with us by centuries of common history and by innumerable spiritual and economic ties. This *community of destiny* reaching back many generations in the past has found expression in good and in evil times alike and has enabled both our peoples to inherit and retain intact the noble traditions which today make it possible for them to hold their own honourably and effectually in the grave struggle for life. Shoulder to shoulder we fought through the Great War as faithful comrades who have inherited all that War's glories and sadness; we have passed through serious ordeals to ultimately succeed in finding the way leading to a revival.

"Heads erect, we read the lessons of the past and derive from them the strength to solve the questions brought to the surface by the spirit of the age and to lead our peoples towards the haven of a happier and more peaceful future.

"Our forms of government are different today from what they were in the past. Today we are living as separate States possessing their full independence. One thing has remained, however, — *the consciousness of a profound and unalterable community of destiny.*

"An important pillar of the policy of our two States — a policy making for peaceful development — is *the agreement concluded with the Kingdom and Empire of Italy* expressed outwardly in the Rome Protocols. These Protocols have already produced gratifying results and have become one of the most important factors in the work of reconstruction in the Danube Basin. I find the friendship with the mighty German Empire to be also a foretoken of a better future.

"It is my dearest wish that Austria and Hungary should be the corner-stone of the future peaceful and auspicious development of both countries.

"Mr. President, on one occasion you said that *"a people which forgets the great services of its forbears, has no future"*. That we shall never do.

"I raise my glass to the health of the Federal President and of his Consort and to the prosperity of the Austrian Federal State."

To the toast spoken by the Regent of Hungary President Miklas replied as follows:

"The warm words of hearty welcome addressed to me by Your Serene Highness in the name of the noble Hungarian nation, have given me great pleasure, as has the incomparably cordial welcome extended to me during my journey through your lovely country and here in your magnificent royal city of Budapest. I beg to express to Your Serene Highness my most heartfelt thanks. I am fully conscious of the fact that Your words of welcome were addressed primarily to the representative of Austria, — of the Austria which has been so closely connected with Hungary by centuries of common history and common destiny, by ancient cultural ties and by a natural affinity of interests. It is therefore no mere chance that the first journey

out of Austria made by me in my capacity as Head of the Federal State of Austria *should bring me to Hungary*, whither I have come, not only to return the visit to Austria of Your Serene Highness and Your August Consort, but to be able to give outward expression also to the *sincere and cordial feelings of the Austrian people for the Hungarian nation*, which has since time immemorial been bound to Austria by the ties of a well-trying friendship and of a common destiny.

"I quite agree with what Your Serene Highness said in this connection about our peoples having stuck together loyally during centuries and — last, not least — about the Hungarian and Austrian soldiers having shown a spirit of faithful comradeship in days of gravest ordeals and stood the test of the Great War itself. That is why, immediately after my arrival in Budapest — immediately after my most impressive reception in your city — I went first to the Cenotaph commemorating the heroism of Hungary's dead soldier sons. My heart filled with gratitude and my soul was stirred within me as I stood before the superb monument to those heroes who in the great struggle of worlds died bravely, not only for their own Hungarian fatherland, but shoulder to shoulder with their comrades *in defence also of my native land.*

"Since then world-events of momentous significance have swept over our countries. But even amid the misfortunes and calamities and deep humiliations to which he have been subjected by an arbitrary spirit of misunderstanding defying the vital requirements and the history of the free Christian peoples living in the Danube Basin, — clinging to our noble traditions and learning the lessons of the past —, *under quite novel forms and reciprocally acknowledging one another's national independence*, we are nevertheless finding the strength to solve, with the help of God, the formidable problems of a new age and to lead our peoples on the way to a better and brighter future. We must find peace and security and the pledge of the lasting peaceful and auspicious evolution of our countries and the whole Basin of the Danube in the consciousness that in pursuing undauntedly *our policy directed under all circumstances towards bringing about a peaceful evolution — while we cling unswervingly to our inalienable liberty and right of self-determination — we may count also on the invaluable co-operation of Italy*, which country is bound to us by treaties of friendship and by the Rome Protocols, and reckon in addition on the friendly relations existing between our countries and the German Empire.

"May the friendship between Hungary and Austria — *in the service of true and real peace* — prove of advantage both to our peoples and to the life of the world at large! That is the dearest wish of my heart: and I beg to express my sincerest gratitude to Your Serene Highness and — in this my toast spoken in the name of Austria — to the whole Hungarian nation too."

NICHOLAS HORTHY'S AND VIKTOR EMMANUEL III'S TOASTS

Nicholas Horthy toasted Victor Emmanuel III. with the following speech:

"Your Majesty, On this occasion, when I have the honour to welcome to the capital of Hungary the ruler of the friendly Italian nation in the person of Your Majesty, it is with deep emotion that I convey to Your Majesty the joy of the whole Hungarian nation over Your Majesty's visit and the

sincere respect and affection with which the nation welcomes Your Majesty, along with Her Majesty the Queen and Empress and the Princess Maria. Your Majesty's visit is an occasion for joy to every Hungarian heart, and I am happy that it has afforded me — and not me alone, but also every inhabitant of this country — an opportunity of giving renewed expression to the traditional sympathy

and warm friendship with which we have always regarded the great Italian nation.

"These feelings of the Hungarian nation are not new ones. The many ties which in the course of history have drawn the two nations into closer friendship, have their origin in the far distant past. When the Hungarians on their migrations came to rest in Pannonia, which at that time belonged to the sphere of Roman civilisation, and settled in the Danube Basin, they instinctively turned towards the cradle of Western civilisation, towards Rome, the Eternal City, and therewith laid the foundations of a mutual intercourse lasting for centuries during which Hungary drank deeply of Italy's copious intellectual sources, becoming not only the carrier and disseminator of western civilisation, but also its self-sacrificing defender.

"In the near past, in one of the saddest eras of Hungarian national existence, it was the Italian nation that first held out a friendly hand and recognizing a historical community of interests, largely contributed towards the fact that Hungary soon came to be a ponderable factor in international politics. We shall never cease to remember this.

"In recent years the two countries have co-operated closely in the sphere of international politics. The firm and natural basis of this co-operation is a concurrence of ideas coupled with mutual aims and interests. The constructive policy the fundamental principles of which, together with our mutual friend Austria, we laid down in the Rome Protocol, has already proved successful, and I believe not only that it will continue in an ever increasing degree to promote the welfare of the nations, but that it will also, with the collaboration of the powerful German Reich, prove a strong pillar of real and lasting peace and of a harmonious co-operation among the nations. Your Majesty's visit is a fresh pledge of this policy and the friendship between Italy and Hungary.

"May I be allowed to hope that during your brief sojourn Your Majesty has felt the sincere friendship and affection entertained by the Hungarian nation for the great Italian people. The extraordinary results produced in every field of national life in Italy during Your Majesty's wise reign and under the leadership of Italy's sage Premier have filled every Hungarian with the greatest admiration.

"With an expression of the hope that well-deserved success may continue to crown the splendid efforts of Your Majesty's people, I drink to the health of Your Royal and Imperial Majesty, of Her Majesty, Queen and Empress Elena, and all the members of the Royal Family and to the welfare and prosperity of our friends the Italian people."

Victor Emmanuel replied to this toast as follows:

"Your Highness, the Regent of Hungary, The warm of welcome addressed by your Highness to the Queen and Empress, myself and the Princess Maria have found a spontaneous echo in our hearts.

"The moment we crossed the Hungarian frontier we were mowed by feelings of deep emotion, for we were enveloped by the noble spirit of the Hungarian nation and felt the loyal and chivalrous throb of the Hungarian heart.

"A few months ago the Italian nation welcomed, with the same deep emotion, the worthy Guardian of the glorious and ancient crown of St. Stephen in the person of your Highness. We welcomed the man who with so much wisdom, such great devotion, guides the Hungarian people towards the high destiny ordained for them by history and

the elevated place to which their culture entitles them.

"The warm welcome extended to us, the friendly atmosphere in which our visit took place, the affectionate participation of the whole Hungarian nation in our reception: all these things serve to strengthen and seal the deep and firm friendship existing between the two countries which was ratified by our first agreement in 1927.

"The many links that have bound the Hungarian and Italian nations to one another during the centuries, links to which your Highness has made reference in such noble words, have been but strengthened by time and events, until in the Rome Protocol they have been welded into a firm economic and political construction in which mutual aims and interests blend in a harmonious co-operation.

"This policy which the favourable experience of three years justifies and the foundations of which were laid down by our two countries in conjunction with Austria, can already boast of beneficial results in its own sphere of activity. With Germany's willing co-operation it proves daily more effective, for it is free of any attempt at seclusion and is open to further development in the interest of European stability and peaceful co-existence.

"But peaceful co-existence and stability cannot be achieved otherwise than with persevering work inspired by good-will and a mutual understanding of right and justice.

"The unforgettable manifestation of sympathy and noble sentiments which have followed us during our sojourn in Hungary prove that Hungary, whose energy has never failed her throughout the centuries because the nation possesses inexhaustible sources of vital force and cultural values, feels that in Fascist and Imperial Italy, which not only in Europe but also all the world over has fully regained the consciousness of her greatness, she has a friend upon whom she can rely.

"In the name of this friendship and with the sincere and genuine pleasure felt by me in the splendid reception accorded by your beautiful capital I raise my glass to the health of Your Highness and Her Highness Madame Horthy as well as to the happiness and prosperity of the noble and strong Hungarian nation."

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As regards the political significance of the two visits, it will suffice to point out that President Miklas was accompanied by Chancellor Schuschnigg and King Victor Emmanuel by Count Ciano. According to the *communiqué* issued concerning the conservation that took place between Count Ciano on the one hand and Premier Darányi and M. de Kánya on the other, all the problems of the day were discussed in the most friendly spirit, particularly Central Europe's political and economic problems. Both visits afforded opportunities for a military display in which the Hungarian army of National Defence (which though it is very small thanks to the intolerable provisions of the Treaty of Trianon has nevertheless faithfully guarded the ancient military virtues of the Hungarian nation) marched past the heads of the two friendly States. Both displays made a great impression on the spectators, especially on the members of foreign diplomatic staffs and their military *attachés*. President Mikla's appearance in the Hungarian Parliament and the exchange of telegrams between the Speakers of the two countries' legislative bodies also contributed to a strengthening of the links of friendship between Austria and Hungary and Hungary and Italy.

THE HUNGARIAN NATION INSISTS ON LEGITIMATE DEMAND FOR REVISION

In connection with M. Hodža's Danube plan, which may be considered to have failed, Czech propaganda has of late been spreading reports to the effect that Hungary, in exchange for military equality and a settlement of the minority question, is willing to renounce her legitimate demand for territorial revision. In particular Premier Darányi's speech in

Sezeged has been interpreted to mean that. The following statements made by Premier Darányi, Count Bethlen, former Premier, and M. Eckhardt, leader of the biggest Opposition party, should, it is hoped, suffice to make Prague propaganda stop, for the present at least, spreading reports of a like nature.

DR. DARÁNYI:

"THERE IS NO HUNGARIAN WHO DOES NOT STEADFASTLY BELIEVE THAT THE INJUSTICES OF TRIANON WILL BE REDRESSED"

Dr. Coloman Darányi's statement to the representative of the "Popolo d'Italia". The interview ran as follows:

"Does your Excellency believe that the injustices of Trianon will be redressed?"

"You will not find a single Hungarian — replied Dr. Darányi — who does not steadfastly believe that the injustices of Trianon will be redressed. Not only are we convinced that justice must triumph, we are also convinced that a civilized nation which for centuries has been the bulwark of western Christianity cannot be kept for long in a defenceless state, deprived of the right to exist and the possibility of progress."

"Would you be kind enough to state Hungary's demands?"

"In terms of real politics Hungary's demands are: recognition of her equality, recognition and realization of the rights of the Hungarian national minorities in the Succession States, without prejudice to the question of a peaceful revision of the Trianon frontiers."

"Does your Excellency think there is any possibility of a peaceful readjustment of the frontiers?"

COUNT STEPHEN BETHLEN:

"NO RE-CONSTRUCTION IS CONCEIVABLE UNTIL THE PEACE TREATIES HAVE BEEN REVISED"

After having interviewed several leading Rumanian and Czech personalities Mr. Mark Eli Ravage, the eminent American journalist, recently had a conversation with Count Stephen Bethlen, who for ten years was Premier of Hungary, the interview being published in the columns of the Paris "Le Soir".

British and American public opinion will be interested primarily in the statements made by Count Bethlen respecting the roles of Great Britain and America as factors in international politics.

"Great Britain and America" — Count Bethlen declared — "must refrain from taking any part in the quarrels of the European Continent. Their natural role is to act as arbitrators between France and Germany, seeing that the primary causes of all the unrest and uncertainty prevailing in Europe are the differences separating those two countries. I trust — indeed, I feel convinced — that the object of the armaments policy of Great Britain is to enable Great Britain to occupy a position of arbitrator in this ancient controversy or feud — not to enable her to throw in her lot with either of the two Parties."

In answer to a question put by the American

"I am convinced there is, now that numerous advocates of peaceful revision are to be found among the politicians of the different countries all the world over."

"In your opinion, will it be possible to create a lasting state of peace in Central Europe?"

"For the last seventeen years Hungary has always sought peace. She has not shown animosity towards any country, including the States of the Little Entente. If Hungary is allowed to take her place at the conference table on an equal footing and if her modest and natural demands meet with recognition on the other side, we see no reason why the Danubian States should not co-operate in the field of economy, later perhaps in that of politics, and why the real peace and security which from the bottom of our hearts we all desire should not be established in the Danube Valley. We are loathe to renounce the hope that those on the other side will come to a more reasonable frame of mind and that, alongside with a mutual recognition of one another's economic and political interests, it will be possible to achieve a much-desired reconciliation."

journalist as to the truth of the rumours regarding the scheme of forming a "New Little Entente" consisting of Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and Hungary, — rumours which add that the real object of the recent visit to Budapest of the President of the Austrian Republic was to prevail upon Hungary to agree to the scheme —, the Hungarian statesman replied to the following effect:

"I am quite sure that there is no talk of any such scheme. The reason why President Miklas was accompanied by Chancellor Schuschnigg and Secretary of State Schmidt was that those statesmen desired to avail themselves of this opportunity to inform the Hungarian Government of the character and substance of the negotiations carried on by them in Venice with Signor Mussolini and Count Ciano. No discussions of the kind mentioned by you were held in Budapest, — merely informative conversations. No doubt the rumours you refer to were due to the circumstance that not long ago certain negotiations were carried on between the Czecho-Slovak authorities and the Deputies respecting the Hungarian minorities living in Czecho-Slovakia."

Mr. Ravage observed that during Easter Week M. Hodža, Czecho-Slovak Premier, had paid an unofficial visit to Chancellor Schuschnigg in Vienna. In reply Count Bethlen made the following statements:

"That is true; but it must not be forgotten that *the Czechs and the Austrians have a common problem of their own* — that of *their relations with Germany*; and no doubt those two countries do discuss this problem periodically. Our case is however quite different. Austria has never had any difficulties with Bohemia such as those which exist today between Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary. For that very reason *any triple agreement such as you refer to is quite out of the question for the present or indeed in the near future.*"

The Hungarian statesman then once more energetically repudiated the rumours relating to the establishment of some "New Little Entente". His answer to this question ran as follows:

"No negotiations of the kind could possibly be carried on by us without our notifying Italy at once under the Rome Pact — or indeed without Rome notifying Berlin."

Then followed a quick succession of questions and answers:

"Is there not a decided movement in evidence" — asked Mr. Ravage — "to bring about a union of the Danube on a new basis?"

"Undoubtedly" — answered Count Bethlen — "it is becoming more and more evident that people in all the neighbouring States feel that *the present condition of reciprocal isolation is absurd*, seeing that *the lack of unity leaves all those States alike at the mercy of their mighty neighbours*. But *there cannot be any talk of any re-construction* — no re-construction is indeed conceivable — *until the peace treaties are subjected to revision.*"

"To me" — said Mr. Ravage — "it seems that to-day France might be inclined to follow the advice given to Napoleon by Talleyrand when he said that *if there were no Habsburg Empire, then one would have to be made — perhaps without the Habsburgs.*"

"It may be" — answered Bethlen — "that there are a few enlightened Frenchmen who feel the need for such an Empire; but there is not a trace of any feeling of the kind at the Quai d'Orsay. For fifteen years Briand and his successors had a free hand and were able — without either Germany or Italy being in a position to check them — to do what they liked in the Danube Basin; nevertheless, *not the remotest attempt was ever made to effect any re-construction such as that referred to by you.*"

"By your leave, Your Excellency, I must beg to differ; for so far as I remember Briand made repeated efforts in that direction."

"That is true", said Bethlen: "but *the Little Entente always refused to entertain the idea*. The foreign policy of France has never been able to use its own discretion in the Danube Basin and to listen to the dictates of common sense and do what was needed; for that foreign policy has been dominated by France's small allies. Just remember what the English proverbial saying tells us about *the tail wagging the dog.*"

"Your Excellency, you are of opinion that the Little Entente is still in existence?"

"Of course. It is as firm as ever — as against Hungary."

"On this point, Your Excellency, you appear to agree with the Rumanian Foreign Minister, M. Antonescu. In the course of my conversation with the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister, M. Krofta, however,

I certainly experienced a spirit of far better understanding in respect of Hungary."

"In theory, perhaps" — said Bethlen — "the feeling in Prague is more conciliatory towards Hungary. There is nothing new about that. During my term of office as Premier of Hungary the Czechs — both Dr. Masaryk and Dr. Beneš — on three separate occasions certainly gave us to understand that they were ready to settle differences by friendly agreement with us. However, when matters took a serious turn, it all came to nothing, — or at least nothing of any practical use ever came of it."

"Your Excellency, may I ask what you mean by *thing of practical use*?"

"What I mean is territorial revision."

"Do you, Sir, as a practical statesman, really believe in the possibility of such a thing happening? Is there any instance in world history of a country having peacefully and voluntarily surrendered a single square inch?"

"Why, certainly" — was Count Bethlen's answer. "To quote only one instance: in 1914 and 1915 Austria-Hungary was quite ready and prepared to make territorial concessions to Italy for the purpose of preventing Italy from joining the Entente Powers."

"Yes" — said Mr. Ravage — "but that was in time of war."

"During the discussion of the West-Hungary question between Austria and Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, in order to prevent trouble, offered to give Hungary compensation out of her own territory" — answered Count Bethlen: "I admit that it was a question of insignificant concessions. We are charged with keeping the Danube Basin in a state of permanent unrest as a consequence of our revisionist action."

"As a matter of fact it is the Little Entente Powers that have — both in letter and in spirit — one-sidedly revised the treaties signed by them in contravention of the idea in the mind of President Wilson when he succeeded in getting Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations separated from Article 10. They have been very careful to simply shelve Article 19, which affords a possibility of a peaceful revision of the territorial provisions; while they have declared as sacred and inviolable Article 10, which deals with the guaranteeing of the present frontiers and was accepted by President Wilson only because it was neutralised by Article 19."

"Your Excellency," — interrupted Mr. Ravage — "I should like to go back just for a moment to the Rome Protocol. In the present fluid state of Europe it is impossible to tell in advance whether the agreements concluded yesterday between the several States will be still in force tomorrow? can we still regard the Rome agreements as standing firm? Italy is coming to terms with Hungary's enemies — yesterday with Yugoslavia, tomorrow perhaps with Rumania — despite the consultative stipulations?"

"That does not give us the slightest anxiety" — declared Count Stephen Bethlen. "Italy certainly consulted Hungary before completing her negotiations with Belgrade. And we had no objections."

"Still" — said Mr. Ravage — "there is no denying the fact that Italy's hands are tied in the event of any differences of opinion between Hungary and

Yugoslavia. Your Excellency, do you believe that the Rome protocols still ensure Hungary protection?"

"Between Hungary and her neighbours" — answered Count Bethlen — "there are no acute differences of opinion. Our endeavours are confined to improving the lot of the Hungarian minorities living in Yugoslavia and Rumania and to establishing more favourable commercial relations with those countries."

"What about Czecho-Slovakia?"

"With Czecho-Slovakia too. In that country the minority question is far less acute than in the two other countries. On the other hand, however, our commercial relations with Yugoslavia and Rumania are far more favourable, seeing that those countries do not possess any really big industries, the result being that they purchase industrial products — in particular agricultural machinery and implements — from Hungary."

Mr. Ravage was determined not to change the subject. "The Italo-Yugoslav agreement is indubitably double-edged" — he said. "While on the one hand we may say that Rome now offers Hungary less protection, on the other hand Czecho-Slovakia is no longer able to reckon without fail on her Little Entente Allies hastening to her assistance. What do you think would happen, Your Excellency, if Czecho-Slovakia were attacked by a Great Power?"

"So far as Rumania and Yugoslavia are concerned" — answered Count Bethlen — "nothing at all. They would simply leave Czecho-Slovakia to her fate — pleading as pretext that they needed time to raise their armies to a war footing, or something of the sort. Czecho-Slovakia isolated herself when she followed the example of France and concluded a mutual assistance treaty with Soviet Russia. In Central Europe nobody likes Russia."

"The Yugoslavs and the Rumanians distrust her and are afraid of her. In the event of a war — even if that war ended in the victory of Czecho-Slovakia —, Czecho-Slovakia, having been assisted by the Soviet, would be unable to retain her character as a democratic State. Her institutions would be unable to resist the process of bolshevization."

"Your Excellency, do you believe there is any bolshevism left in Soviet Russia?" asked Mr. Ravage. "Today the Soviet Union has also a democratic constitution. If I were afraid of bolshevism, I should be more afraid of what is happening today in Germany. To my mind Hitler — against his own will — is paving the way for a social revolution in the very heart of Europe."

"That is not the case" — declared Count Bethlen. "Germany has been ruined by the Treaty of Versailles, by the inflation that followed and by

terrible misery resulting — not by Hitler. The economic situation in Germany is better today than it was four years ago. In Germany today no one is without work."

"But the work being done is artificial and destructive", objected Mr. Ravage. "A few days ago a Hungarian personality occupying a very high position who is very well informed — a personality who, I believe, is Your Excellency's political ally (here the American journalist was no doubt alluding to Dr. Tibor Eckhardt), during an interview granted to me told me that as a consequence of the British armaments programme and the shortage of raw materials Germany was threatened with the danger of her war industry being checked and of a consequent return of unemployment."

"I believe that is a mistake", declared Count Bethlen. "Germany's industrial activity is not confined to war industries. Her peaceful industries are also thriving. In any case Germany is socially a perfect balance of classes, whereas Russia... Oh, please don't think I am a "Nazi"! I am nothing of the kind!"

"To me" — interrupted Mr. Ravage — "it seems that Count Stephen Bethlen who passed through his political apprenticeship during the days of the Triple Alliance, has retained a sufficient partiality for Germany to enable him to forgive her even for having adopted teachings which he does not approve, while the aversion for Russia which is traditional with him has been enhanced by the class hatred provoked by the revolution in Russia."

"Even if the British armaments programme did actually result in a shortage of raw materials," — continued Count Bethlen — "that would certainly not prevent Germany being able to acquire what she wanted. Between 1914 and 1918 the Central Powers were under a really serious, conscious and effectual blockade. And yet Germany and Austria-Hungary proved able to keep things going for four years."

"Quite true", said Mr. Ravage. "But we must not forget that at that time Germany had at her disposal supplies accumulated during long years of peaceful prosperity, whereas that is not the case today."

"I am fully convinced", rejoined Count Bethlen, "that unless she is driven to face a fresh ring of isolation Germany has not the slightest intention of attacking France. That is why Barthou was guilty of a grave blunder when he revived the alliance with Russia. France really need not concentrate her endeavours on an attempt to isolate Germany by means of divers systems of alliances. In 1914 it was the Russian alliance that plunged France into war with Germany. The Great War was caused, not by Germany, but by Russia. The attempt at Serajevo was the work of St. Petersburg."

DR. ECKHARDT:

"THE POLICY OF REVISION IS A RATIONAL, HUMAN AND EUROPEAN POLICY"

At the invitation of the "General Alliance of Hungarian University and High School Students" Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, leader of the biggest Opposition party, delivered a lecture on revision in Miskolc on May 5th. What follows is the most noteworthy part of his address.

"More than once, when reproached by leading factors and journalists abroad that we are disturbing the peace of Europe by our demands for revision, I have told them that the only policy of peace in Hungary is the policy of revision. For if the policy of peaceful revision becomes impossible;

if the nation is forced to the conclusion that there is no chance of its realizing its national ideals by peaceful means, by international co-operation, then no other way is left for us to choose but the way of a policy of war. I am an unswerving fighter for, and adherent of, the policy of revision because it is a national, human and European policy.

"The full weight of responsibility lies on the other side. If this policy is powerless to attain its aims, we are not to blame. To those abroad who advise us to pretend to acquiesce in the Peace Treaties and reap the benefit of advantageous commercial treaties and transactions, my reply is that we Hungarians cannot pursue a policy of reservations. We are an honest nation and what we promise we perform.

"What we want is a peaceful agreement with our neighbours. We do not want a policy of reservations; but we demand what is ours by right and that claim satisfied we can be counted on for peaceful, friendly and sincere support.

"The success of the British Empire is due to the practical sense with which it adapts itself to the demands, and solves the problems, of everyday life. Its budget and its administration are elastic. The leading idea in Hungary's history has been exactly the opposite. Our existence as a nation for a period of more than a thousand years was due to the fact that we never gave way to the pressure brought to bear on us over and over again. Ours is a nation that through the whole course of its

history has set an example of intransigent non-adaptation.

"During the 150 years of Turkish occupation, for instance, in order to preserve the idea of legal continuity the nation met twice a year at the various municipal council meetings. Then the waves of the Turkish conquest had receded and the inhabitants who had fled began to return home again, they were able to take up life where they had left it. In this characteristic lies our great strength.

"Should we out of opportunism or for the sake of appearances acquiesce in the situation created by Trianon, we should be denying our national traits, and there would be no hope of a resurrection. Just as after 1849 the nation was steadfast in its passive resistance and therewith forced the Austrian Empire to compromise, we too with our theoretical revision policy will force our neighbours to give us the possibility of an honourable agreement even in the face of the Treaty of Trianon."

"In my address I have given you a brief summary of the prospects of revision policy today and of the factors capable of promoting our aims. From what has been said it follows logically that we in Dismembered Hungary desire to work for peaceful revision by an organic extension and agreements.

"We must not be drawn into a policy of alliances. What we need is not alliances but friendships."

— y —

SIR RAYMOND BEAZLEY ON THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION

The May number of the "Contemporary Review" contains an exceedingly noteworthy essay on the Hungarian question by Sir Raymond Beazley, D. Litt., certain passages of which are quoted below.

"Instead of consolidating truly national entities, the peacemakers here formed dominions with very composite characters and very questionable features. Millions of people of alien race, proud of their race and their culture (their own higher race and culture, as they often passionately believed), were, without mercy or appeal, swept into these new states. No self-determination, no plebiscite, no really adequate safeguards of minority rights — in so many cases. Was Lord Newton quite wrong when he declared in the House of Lords that the Peace Treaties had pushed down some twelve millions of Europeans from Higher to Lower Civilisation? Might he not have put the figure even higher?"

"In many ways and in thousands of cases (it is claimed by the Magyars) these provisions have been weakened, evaded, and even nullified. The Hungarian language — is it allowed free course in the annexed regions? Has not the Hungarian Press in those lands been cowed and broken by censorship and confiscation? Are not Hungarian notices and signs severely restricted? Are not persons harassed in many ways who speak Hungarian? In particular, is not the stage in many parts of these alienated lands almost closed to Hungarian players? In education have not the New Governments constantly refused to allow the parents to decide what was the mother tongue of the children,

thus forcing the latter into schools which were abhorrent to their parents? Strong attacks have also been made (by the spokesmen of these National Minorities) on the conduct of the examinations, in which, it is asserted, Magyar candidates have been "failed" with suspicious frequency. Why should one in four, one in three, or even one in two, among these young folk, in certain years and in certain districts, be rejected, while among the little ones of dominant races failures are so much more rare?

In religion, especially, strong condemnation has come from external observers. Thus the American Unitarian Association and the Presbyterian World Union, through their Commissions of Investigation, gave very substantial support to many of the Hungarian grievances, the Presbyterians even declaring that none of the treaty rights provided for minorities in the annexed or "detached" territories were respected. Brutality and even terrorism, these Americans thought, often characterised the new rule.

Once firmly established in power and possession (which is nine-tenths of the law) the Succession States (it is said) discharged, rendered homeless, and often expelled, the old Hungarian officials, even those who took the new oath of allegiance with all possible circumspection. And they usually refused (a measure of especial harshness) to continue pensions to Hungarian pensioners, even to widows. Such, at least, is the *gravamen*. The Hungarian landowners, once so important and powerful a class, complain bitterly of

the cruel cunning with which they have been extruded. In one and all of the Succession States (they protest) an initial process of harassing and squeezing was applied to them. Then by a Land Reform Act the law was skilfully brought into play against them, and in most cases they were only too glad to dispose of their properties, though often with ruinous loss. On the land thus acquired veritable Plantations of Ulster were carried out, and Czech, Serb, or Rumanian military settlers were put in occupation — frequently of districts historically and strongly Magyar in character.

No less ruthless in many cases was the treatment of Hungarian banks and factories, financial, industrial, and commercial undertakings, in the detached territories. By the Minority Contracts the Succession States were forbidden to deprive the dwellers in the detached territories of their citizen-rights. But Trianon itself (at the instance, it is said, of these very Succession States) gave a loophole for evasion by the provision that only those were entitled to the new citizenship who belonged to the commune of a town or village. Taking advantage of this and of the vague, complicated, and even equivocal character of only too much Hungarian legislation, the new governments succeeded in excluding from citizenship many thousands of Magyars. In many of the annexed regions, as in Slovak-Land, the Hungarian Minority really extended far beyond Magyar speech and blood. In Slovakia indeed, as in certain parts of Transylvania (if we reckon by sympathy, the "citizenship of the heart"), it is no Minority, after all, but the great bulk of the people of the soil.

I have known some enthusiastic leaders of Czech nationalism, and I well remember how they deplored, away back in 1902—3, the Magyar affinities of those Slovaks, racially cousins or brothers of the Bohemian Czechs, but politically and culturally inclined (for the most part) to cling fast to the Hungarian connection which had so long, and on the whole, so happily and so prosperously subsisted.

Since their separation from *Magyarország* the Slovaks appear more and more to regret it; to deplore any spurts of ill-temper against their old allegiance in the past; to reaffirm their essential Hungarian sympathies; and to demand a free plebiscite. "For a thousand years the Slovaks loved their Hungarian home... They were always loyal to their [Magyar] Sovereign... They never shewed any political consanguinity with us Czechs, and even in their literature they severed themselves from us." So wrote a prominent Bohemian, decades before Trianon or the Great War. And it is just the same now. The Czechs (says a representative foreign journalist) insist that they and the Slovaks are one and the same nation: the Slovaks deny it. Yet surely Slovak consent is essential to this marriage?

In Transylvania — as in the Banat, and some other districts of the south, though not in Croatia — there also appears to be a formidable Hungarian case, although the details of the problem are here so different. In this Erdély (at the time of Trianon; about 1928; and at the present date) there was and is a majority, but surely only a small one, of the Rumanian race. The great block of Székely (Szekler) Hungarians and the lesser block of Saxon Germans (34.3 per cent.

and 8.7 per cent.) together accounted for 43 cent. of the population. These facts hardly entitled peacedictators and map-makers, without plebiscite, to hand over the entire region to Rumania. When and where could you get a clearer case for a vote?

But considerable regions to the west of Transylvania or Erdély were also alienated from *Magyarország*, and presented to the Bucarest Government. And here the Rumanians had less than their Transylvanian preponderance. So that, looking at the whole area of Rumanian annexation from Hungary, the Rumanian race could claim only 43 per cent. — as against 35 Hungarian, 11 German, and some 10 per cent. of Ruthenians, Serbs, and Slovaks. Hardly a position for sweeping detachment and sweeping absorption of the whole of this vast block — except on the principle *No Pity for Hungary*. There was one way, and surely only one way, of settling matters justly, solidly, and peacefully, in the lands of the Dual Monarchy, at the end of the war. And that was self-determination. "He is of age, ask him. Let him speak for himself." An American observer bluntly expresses what almost inevitably springs to the mind of so many as a hope, a fear, a sad reflection, or an impartial concession to irrefutable evidence: The Little Entente Nations did not dare to submit to plebiscitary decisions.

Yet such decisions were vehemently urged, from the Hungarian side, and from others, in 1919. And a French statesman, Millerand, as the official spokesman for the Trianon decisions, gave a typical answer. The Allied Powers "perceived with certainty that this consultation" (of a plebiscite) "would not give results substantially different from those... arrived at after... minute study..." Hence the Powers considered it "superfluous to consult the population in this direction." The Hungarian objection was declared groundless, and was set aside, with great composure. How much more frankly, intelligently, and honourably does Tardieu, an enemy of shams and side pretences, go to the heart of the matter. "We had to choose between a plebiscite and the founding of Czechoslovakia." We had to choose between a plebiscite (he might have added) and such aggrandisement of Rumania and Serbia as we desired."

Happily the present moment is not without some brighter indications, even for the suffering minorities of the old Dual Monarchy. On February 19th, 1937, an Agreement was concluded dealing with the rights of the German element in Czechoslovakia. And by this Agreement most important concessions were made. The Germans were henceforward to participate in the administration in proportion to their numbers — a proportion fixed at 23 per cent. In public expenditure the Germans would now be considered proportionately, and in this connection German Ministers of State in the Czech Government would have powers of supervision. Special provision was made for aiding German cultural institutions, and for checking unemployment. And the law prohibiting the official use of the German language in Czechoslovakia virtually disappeared. May such an understanding be soon concluded also on the Hungarian side of the Great Bohemia Problem, and may it be imitated in Rumania and Great Serbia. "Four millions of Hungarians live outside the present frontiers of Hungary." And more than half of these live only just outside, and could be restored to their native land by slight adjustment of the border zones.

PRAGUE'S AMBITIOUS DREAM OF A CZECHO-SLOVAK-POLISH-LAUSITZ-SLAV EMPIRE

The propaganda postcard reproduced in facsimile below has been sent to us from Prague. According to the "Tevere" of 12th May it has also been circulated

in Warsaw in order to arouse sympathy for Pan-slavism among the Poles. Its circulation was forbidden by the Polish police.



The postcard shows that Prague imperialists dream of a Slav Union which besides embracing present-day Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, would extend

over the whole of Dismembered Hungary, Saxony, part of Lithuania and Danzig (with the corridor). The text accompanying the map reads as follows:

SLOVAK-POLISH-CZECH-LAUSITZ FRATERNAL UNION ON THE SACRED PRINCIPLE OF THE UNIVERSAL COMMUNITY OF STATES

Germany shall restore to the Slovaks the marked territories with their populations as compensation for the 30 million Slavs absorbed and forcibly Germanized; in exchange for which Germany shall receive considerable colonial territory.

The Paternal Slav Centre will compel the Hungarians by a process of education to redress the injustices done and to restore at least 50% of their present population to the Slovaks. The Hungarians shall remain in the Union until their behaviour is so genuinely reasonable as to prove their ability to decide for themselves concerning their existence in Europe or perhaps some other Continent.

The Slav Union will gradually segregate the Jews

and settle them in a district lying between Upper-Jenise, Lena and Lake Baikal.

The Ukrainians and White Russians living within the Union shall, for the present, enjoy full equality of rights.

This blossoming of Slav fraternity will, through a paternal centre, control the political and national culture of the community of Western Slavs. The same Slav centre will pursue a policy of fraternal goodwill and universal humanity towards the rest of the nations. Slavograd will be the centre of higher education and of cultural and administrative institutions.