

# THE COURSE OF HUNGARY'S JUST CAUSE

BY  
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The gates of Hungary's prison have opened! At 10 o'clock on 5th November Hungarian troops crossed the Trianon frontier, and entered the region marked out by the German-Italian tribunal of arbitration in Vienna as Hungary's new territories. These territories, which are inhabited by an almost purely Hungarian population, were torn away from the mother-country just twenty years ago. In this the hour of their restoration we are forced to recognize that Divine Providence is a force more powerful than any transient human achievement and all man's puny efforts. This is dramatically illustrated by the fate of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, which shows that without a moral foundation and contrary to the laws of equity no human institution can be permanent. On one of the first pages of this paper will be found a map. We should like to explain to our readers in a few pithy words what that map, which shows the new frontier between Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, means for the Hungarian nation, and also what it does not mean.

It means a historical turn of the wheel in the life of the Hungarian nation, but it does not mean that all our vital interests are guaranteed.

It means a great triumph for the idea of revision, but it does not mean a realization of all for which the Hungarian nation has struggled and for which it will continue to struggle. It means that Hungary has been accorded some slight compensation for the wrongs and injustices done to her, but it does not mean full reparation. It means that at long last a definite and serious step has been taken towards the establishment of a new order in the Danube Valley, but it does not mean that the safeguards of justice and security have been restored in full measure. And, lastly, it means that the Hungarian

demand that the essentially Hungarian areas contiguous to the frontier of Dismembered Hungary must automatically return to the mother-country has — with certain restrictions — been fulfilled, but it does not mean an enforcement of the principle of self-determination; the Slovaks and Ruthenians, who for a thousand years lived in symbiosis with the Hungarian nation, are not allowed to exercise that natural right. The first to oppose it was the Czecho-Slovak State itself, which so emphatically invoked that very principle at the time when the Peace Conference was induced to dismember the Realm of St. Stephen.

This is the balance-sheet. An examination of the map mentioned above will show that in preparing it we have not been unduly optimistic or pessimistic. We are fully aware of the extremely great significance of the events that led to this turn of affairs, but we cannot refrain from establishing facts that, being historical truths, are the essence and spirit of the whole Hungarian struggle for revision.

No, this is not complete fulfilment; it is merely the beginning of a process, which, however, may well be described as a breach in the enemy's ranks. The foundations which are now being laid in the historical soil of Hungary will prove solid and capable of withstanding storm and stress. We may safely build on them, for the Hungarian nation will always know its duty towards those of its brethren whom destiny has led back to us.

The Hungarian Frontier Re-adjustment League sees with satisfaction that its aims and programme, which rested on two strong pillars, the nationality principle and the right of the peoples to self-determination, have been justified by events. That the attitude adopted by this League was right is now evident, for the gratifying turn of events which has now taken place in Hungary's lot, thanks to a partial revision of the Treaty of Trianon, signifies that one of the fundamental items of our programme, the enforcement of the nationality principle, has been realized — if not fully, at least tolerably well — in the case of Czecho-Slovakia. In the spirit of the Munich Four Power Agreement we have recovered 12.400 square kilometres of the areas wrested from Hungary in 1918 and about 1.100.000 of the 4.000.000 odd inhabitants. The Hun-

garian nation is fully aware that this result would never have been achieved without the dynamic force of the mighty German Reich and the support of two friendly countries, Italy and Poland.

Unfortunately the Munich, that is to say Vienna, decision by no means signifies the realization of the second fundamental idea of our programme, namely the right of the peoples to self-determination. Neither the Slovaks nor the Ruthenians were given the chance to decide their own future freely and without any external influence being brought to bear on them, or to tell the world that their mind has long been made up and that they wish to continue their existence as nations within the framework of the Hungarian State and not in Czecho-Slovakia. In Vienna as well as in Komárom the Hungarian delegation fought resolutely for the victory of this lofty principle. Their efforts were seconded to the utmost by Poland, a fact which has earned our undying gratitude; yet the arbitrators decided that they could not accede to Hungary's demands on this point. But life and history go on, and for this reason, neither the Hungarian Frontier Re-adjustment League nor Hungarian public opinion consider that the question has been settled definitely and beyond hope of revision.