

DANUBIAN REVIEW

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Are the "Fronts" Becoming More Rigid?

By **ANDREW BAJCSY-ZSILINSZKY M. P.**

Characteristic Features of the Hungarian Constitution

By Prof. **STEPHEN EGYED D. C. H.**

Rumania and European Peace

By Dr. **ANDREW FALL**

The Constitution of the Slovak State

By **ANDREW KASSAI**

Rumanian Elections and the Magyar Minority

By **LADISLAS FRITZ**

The Hungarian-Polish Friendship

By Dr. **ALEXANDER BAUMGARTEN**

Slovakia's Economic Crisis

By **FELVIDÉKI**

**The Regent of Hungary Suggests International Conference
to be Convened by the Pope**

Political Mosaic

How Minorities Live

Books

Political Economy

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ARE THE "FRONTS" BECOMING MORE RIGID?

BY

ANDREW BAJCSY-ZSILINSZKY M. P.

Today international fronts are in process of construction, and these fronts, on the one hand the Axis, on the other hand the *Franco-British Alliance*, which *Soviet Russia* is on the point of joining, confront each other with growing bitterness and rigidity. Besides these chief factors, *Poland* — alas for *Hungary's* cause! — has withdrawn from her former position between the two fronts, has strengthened her old alliance with France and become an ally of Great Britain. For a long time Rumania hesitated between Germany and the Western Powers, but after thoroughly exploiting each in turn, finally sided with France and Britain. *Turkey* and *Greece* have also taken sides with the Western Powers, National Spain on the other hand, is preparing to enter into close co-operation with the Axis. Outside Europe Japan is leaning more and more towards the Axis, and the *United States of America* are approaching the Franco-British Alliance. Yugoslavia finds herself in an increasingly difficult position between her sympathies for her old Franco-British allies and her new Italian and German friends. Hungary's independence and her revisionist ambitions make it imperative that she should cling faithfully to her political friends, Italy, Germany and Poland, but, as the *Regent, Admiral Horthy*, said in his opening speech in Parliament, she must also try to make new friends too.

It is evident that in normal circumstances it would not serve Poland's interests to ruin her chances with either of her powerful neighbours. The same is true of Yugoslavia; it would not pay her either to break with France or to spoil her new friendship with Italy. And in point of fact it is not Rumania's interests either to fall into Soviet Russia's orbit. Neither is it to Hungary's interests to be at enmity either with England or France. The little nations in the Danube Valley

must feel and know that any sort of protectorate, whether overt or covert, is no solution of their problems. The *Czechs* have paid dearly for accepting the rôle of a protégé of the *Western Powers* while masquerading in the guise of imperialism, simply because they were relying on the superior strength and the bayonets of their protectors to enable them to pursue their foolish, petty and artificial power-politics, so wicked and oppressive where Hungary was concerned. Now they are obliged to endure another kind of protectorate. And it is certain that, like the Paris Peace Treaties, the growing rigidity of the international political fronts will not bring grist to the mills of the more self-reliant, independent and stronger Danube nations, but to those of the nations that always prefer to rely on others and look to others for the satisfaction of their own selfish and insatiable ambitions.

Let us compare Yugoslavia's behaviour with Rumania's. During the world war the Serbs fought with matchless bravery. They also suffered severe losses. And lo! Yugoslavia is again struggling valiantly to defend her independence; she has not deserted her old allies; neither is she willing to leave her new friends in the lurch; from one day to the other, to gain the friendship of strangers. Rumania, on the other hand, after an economic and political flirtation with the Third Reich that lasted for years, was ready overnight to accept the protection of the Western Powers, and has no intention of following the example of our good friend Poland and relying primarily on her own strength. Or would she have been capable of those self-reliant tones in which, with natural, native dignity, Admiral Horthy, our Regent, gave voice at the opening of Parliament to the unflinching determination of the Hungarian nation and State to preserve the country's independence in every direction?

Yes, the extension of the international political fronts and their increasing rigidity will again favour those of the small nations who are servile in spirit. See how *Rumania* threatens her unfortunate three million minority subjects with British and French guns, although the whole world knows — and the Rumanian statesmen are the first to be convinced of it — that if ever Dismembered Hungary and Great Rumania meet face to face in a military struggle, without allies on either

side, the only possible outcome will be a victory for Hungary.

It is not we who say it; the *British* press is aware of what England's unilateral guarantee to *Rumania* may lead to. The "Daily Mail", the newspaper of Hungary's old friend Lord Rothermere, sharply criticises that guarantee and points out that the lamentable consequence will be that Rumania, driven by chauvinism and an imperialistic mania and relying on the protection and arms of the Western Powers, will certainly put new fetters on the already sorely tried Hungarian minority. We are forced to agree with the "Daily Mail" when it says that before giving this guarantee Britain might have thought of these three million Hungarians, whose ancestors fought in defence of Western Europe while the good Rumanians were peacefully herding their sheep and goats, out of reach of danger, in their mountain fastnesses.

What is this if not the beginning of another international counter-selection which will inflict a blow and impose new trials on the brave and constructive nations of the Danube Valley, or rather of Central Europe — on nations with an important mission to fulfil, nations relying on the traditions of centuries, of a thousand years, and on their capacity for State-building — and promises a reward to the weaker nations more ready to play the rôle of vassal States. Every gesture of *Rumania's* present leaders reveals that they would have been frightened to death had the French and British guarantees been delayed, but that with them in their pockets they are ready to continue more brutally than before the task they set themselves twenty years ago, namely the extermination of their Hungarian subjects, the bravest and most gifted race in the Danube Valley.

And all this is taking place at a time when the responsible leaders of Britain's polity make no attempt to deny (see Lord Halifax's memorable speech in the House of Lords on 9th June) that the Western Powers were guilty of many serious mistakes after the war, and that Britain is ready for an open discussion of all the disputed European questions in order that peace may be established in this weary Continent. The *British Foreign Secretary* said he was not ashamed to confess that grave mistakes had been made both in the Peace Treaties and since; but the leaders of Great Rumania are

incapable of such honest self-criticism. Instead, under the protection of British and French bayonets, they are preparing — have indeed begun — to add to their barbarous treatment of the Hungarian minority, treatment for which no excuse can be found and which merely serves to keep *Central Europe* in a ferment of unrest. They do not dare to subject the few hundred thousand Germans of Transylvania to violence, for their inherent cunning whispers to them that it would not be wise to pick a quarrel with the German Reich. But against poor Dismembered Hungary, who even today is bravely struggling to fulfil her historical mission in the Danube Valley and refuses to surrender her independence even to her friends (it is true they never asked her to do so), Rumania maintains an attitude of wicked hostility and is preparing fresh suffering and misery for the two million Hungarians of whom she obtained possession through no feat of Rumanian arms.

Can it be possible that Britain and France are blind to this persistence in old sins, the guilt of which every sensible French and British patriot frankly and honestly admits must be attributed to the statesmen who were in power in the years of the Peace Treaties, 1918, 1919, and 1920.

And at a time when one-third of the Hungarian nation, which was run off the rails of its historical mission and more sorely tortured and dismembered than any other nation in Europe, is still languishing under alien oppression, the Regent of Hungary was able to rise to the European height of *St. Stephen*, from whence he views his own people's and Europe's interests clearly, and sees that their common interest lies in the maintenance of peace, in an amicable discussion and elimination of their differences, and in an equitable and humane reconciliation of the interests of Europe, Hungary and all the other nations and countries of the Danube Valley.

Every Hungarian feels and believes that Admiral Horthy's appeal will not fall on deaf ears even in the countries of Western Europe, and that France and England will not allow the unilateral guarantee so generously given to be used as an instrument to strengthen and perpetuate the cruel oppressive system of Rumanian pseudo-imperialism.