

DANUBIAN REVIEW

(DANUBIAN NEWS)

A REVIEW DEVOTED TO RESEARCH INTO PROBLEMS OF THE
DANUBIAN BASIN

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THE CARPATHIAN BASIN NEEDS STABILISED CONDITIONS!

BY

ANDREW BAJCSY-ZSILINSZKY

A healthy, confident optimism is beginning — even in the exceptionally dark and critical period through which we are now passing — to hold sway over the conscience of Europe, — in the belligerent countries as well as among the neutrals and in the countries which are watching events prepared for all emergencies. People are beginning more and more to realise that a war must not be regarded as merely a business to be exploited without limit by the victorious Party, as was done after the last Great War. The fact that the idea of revision is expanding and attaining such formidable dimensions in the very midst of a war means that *the conscience of humanity is already endeavouring to discover at least the underlying principles of a just peace*, stimulating the belligerent Parties to lose no time in fixing and determining their war aims in order to prevent the wave of hate following on an interminably protracted war asserting its influence and to hinder the eventual predominance of the instincts of brute egoism and greed...

What is the *concrete* significance of the idea of revision today? That idea involves, not merely the redress of the injustices committed by the Paris treaties of peace — and in particular by the Treaty of Trianon — which are still in force, but timely measures taken to prevent the recurrence of any similar aberrations when drafting the peace treaties. That idea means, therefore, *reparation in respect of the past and new principles of adjustment in respect of the future*.

After the *exposé* recently delivered by Count Csáky, Hungarian Foreign Minister, the revisionist *motif* has been in evidence in European public opinion everywhere. The press of the gallant and noble Bulgarian nation was one of the first to clearly and convincingly formulate the revisionist cause and express the conquering force latent in that idea. One of the

Bulgarian papers, the *Slovo*, pointed out that Rumania still persisted in voicing the silly catchword that revision meant war. Yet the *status quo* is no longer defended either by Great Britain or by France or by Germany.

And indeed we must take as our starting point today the idea — and the undisputed fact — that even the belligerent Parties have ceased to insist on the pre-War *status quo*. That this is the attitude adopted both in Britain and France is proved, most strikingly, for instance, by the fact that even France has acknowledged only a Czechoslovak "national committee" to act under the direction of Beneš, not a Czechoslovak Government, the Committee being however authorised solely and exclusively to act as the political superior of the Czech and Slovak legions now *preparing* to fight in the Allies' armies; and according to the latest information available the British Government *makes no reference* in this connection to a Czechoslovak nation, only to Czech and Slovak peoples.

The decisive influence on the expansion of the revisionist idea was however that exercised by the exhaustive exposé of Italy's foreign policy delivered recently by Count Ciano before the Fascist Council. Recalling the twenty years of anti-revisionist policy in Europe, we Hungarians are almost afraid to believe our eyes when we read — naturally with feelings of the greatest satisfaction and with sincere pleasure — of the understanding appreciation with which the public opinion, not only of the belligerent countries, but of Europe generally and indeed of the whole civilised world, received and interpreted (and in most countries also endorsed) the decidedly and unequivocally revisionist statements made by the Italian Foreign Minister as representing the Fascist political attitude. Characteristic of this reception and appreciation was the article in the December 9th issue of "Le Temps" in which the very important and powerful semi-official organ of French foreign policy spoke with great sympathy of the political principle of Italian policy now assuming a more and more definite form that the existence of a strong and independent Hungary as the centre of gravity of the Danube Basin is the safest and most reliable guarantee of peace, not only in Central Europe, but in the whole of South-Eastern Europe

too. And what is this principle but a *more up-to-date instrumentation* of the revisionist idea?

This more recent transposition of the revisionist idea effected rather with an eye to important interests affecting European civilisation than for considerations of justice, is to be found also in the feeling reflected in the press of the whole world and becoming more and more understood everywhere which was similarly given fresh emphasis to in the Italian press commentaries on Count Ciano's speech — the feeling which, in full keeping with the given situation, makes people realise that *the chief reason why a revision is imperatively necessary is that the Carpathian Chain is the only natural line of defence against the inroad of Bolshevism*. But without Hungarian defenders the Carpathians cannot act their natural rôle as breakwater; for Rumania, as a consequence both of internal conditions and of her position in international politics, is too weak to be able to make full use of this important line of defence. This assertion does not originate from Hungarians but was made quite recently by the "*Corriera della Sera*", which also emphasised the fact that Italy is present today too, as she has always been, in the Danube Valley.

In France too people are beginning to take an interest in the Hungarian-Soviet frontier. Recently the "*Paris Soir*" stressed the profound conviction prevailing in Hungary that the Carpathian frontier of that country is at the same time the boundary of the thousand-year-old Christian civilisation. And we could quote a host of similar statements from French, British, Italian, Swiss and other European papers. We shall however confine ourselves to referring to an article published in the latest number of "*Free Europe*", an eminent British periodical, entitled "Hungary and the Second Great War".

This article stresses the European mission fulfilled for a thousand years by Hungary — ever since the days of her first King, St. Stephen —; and then illustrates the character of the Treaty of Trianon by describing it as the fruit of a mechanical way of thinking based upon statistics and anti-historical in character, proving most convincingly that it is quite impossible to solve the political and historical problems of Europe exclusively on the basis of statistics and

ethnography. As a consequence, what the interests of Europe demand is not a peace treaty based upon more or less unreliable statistical data to replace the Treaty of Trianon which has proved worthless, but a lasting system in the Carpathian Basin *the primary sine qua non of which is a strong and independent Hungary*. And if we would appreciate the value of this more up-to-date formulation of the revisionist idea as being a European conviction gradually but triumphantly making headway everywhere, we should analyse the five Peace Points recently put before the world by Pope Pius XII., the culmination of the encouraging development reflected in the symptoms previously in evidence, which Points — as expressed in the sublime and profoundly human words of the greatest moral authority and highest forum of the Christian world — do actually make the revisionist idea the focus of His Holiness's ideal effort in the cause of peace.

In Point 3. His Holiness declared that "in the joint re-organisation of international life every Party must take into account the hiatuses and deficiencies of the past". And then in Point 4. — "If we desire a better organisation of Europe, we must be particularly careful to take into account the legitimate needs and demands of the nations and peoples and also of the national minorities. These points under all circumstances deserve to be studied with goodwill; an attempt must be made to satisfy their legitimate claims by peaceful means and, if necessary, *by a just revision of the treaties effected wisely and in full agreement*. If we succeed in restoring a real equilibrium and the foundations of reciprocal confidence between the nations, we should be able to eliminate many of the causes inciting to the use of force."

We see, then, that the Pope, in full agreement with the policy of Fascist Italy, is taking the lead in propagating the idea of revision! We Hungarians may look forward to the future with implicit confidence.