

POLITICAL MOSAIC

HUNGARY SIGNS GERMAN—ITALIAN—JAPANESE PACT

In Vienna, on 20th November, the Hungarian Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs signed the Pact concluded by Germany, Italy and Japan on 27th September.

Present at the ceremony were Herr Hitler, Herr von Ribbentrop, German Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister and the Berlin Japanese Ambassador. This diplomatic step was the logical consequence of the fact that co-operation with the Axis Powers has resulted in Hungary's reaping the firstfruits of her revisionist policy, or, as the statement made by the Hungarian Government said: *it has secured possibilities of existence to those whose strength was sapped by the Peace Treaties.*

The unabridged text of the Protocol runs as follows:

"By way of their duly accredited representatives the Governments of Japan, Germany and Italy of the one part and the Government of Hungary of the other have resolved:

Article I.

That Hungary shall adhere to the Three Power Pact signed in Berlin on 27th September 1940 by Japan, Germany and Italy;

Article II.

That should the Joint Committees mentioned in Article IV of the Three Power Pact have to deal with questions affecting Hungary's interests, representatives of Hungary shall take part in the deliberations of the said Committees;

Article III.

That the exact text of the Three Power Pact shall be appended to this Protocoll as an Annex thereof.

This present Protocol shall be drawn up in Hungarian, as well as in Japanese, German and Italian, each of these texts to be regarded as original. This Protocol comes into force on the date of signature.

In witness whereof the undersigned, being duly and properly authorized by their respective Governments, do sign this said Protocol and set their seals thereto.

Done in four original copies in Vienna on 20th November 1940, the nineteenth year of Fascism and on the 20th day of the 11th month of the Syowa era."

This Protocol was signed by the representatives of Japan, Germany, Italy and Hungary.

When the Protocol had been signed Count Stephen Csáky, Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, read out, first in Hungarian and afterwards in German, the Hungarian Government's statement made on the occasion of Hungary's adhering to the Three Power Pact. That statement ran as follows: —

"Germany, Italy and Japan have concluded an alliance, in order to prevent the spread of this war which weighs so heavily on mankind and to restore as quickly as possible lasting and equitable peace to the world.

"These Great Powers are striving to effect a reorganization calculated to promote the progress of the nations, each in its own due sphere, and further their welfare.

"Hungary, brought low by the unjust and demoralizing Paris Peace Edicts, had for two decades sought assistance from those Powers who, afflicted in the same way by the same injustices, were struggling to obtain a revision of the Treaties. Those Powers alone were seriously inclined and able to assist their struggling fellow-sufferers, whose strength had been sapped, to secure possibilities of existence.

"During the past two years, with the help of the German Reich and Italy, Hungary has been successful in obtaining a territorial modification of the Trianon Peace Edict in a peaceful manner and without bloodshed.

"With this the two Great Powers have not only placed Hungary under an unparalleled obligation, but have also demonstrated by actions that, wherever the slightest possibility offers, they endeavour to effect revision by peaceful means. This has introduced a new era in the history of the nations, an era in which the policy of understanding takes the place of the old war-born policy of hatred.

"During the past two decades Italy and Germany have represented this policy of understanding. This has led to their concluding with Japan a pact the aim of which is to establish world peace based on equity. *This alliance is therefore not directed against anyone. Identical aims and a common past determine Hungary's attitude.*

"Hungary is desirous of maintaining amicable relations with all her neighbours who recognize her rights as inherent in her historical development. Viewed from this angle, Hungary is particularly satisfied with Article V of the Three Power Pact, which runs as follows: *Germany, Italy and Japan declare that the foregoing agreements do not in any way affect the political relations that at present obtain between either of the three Contracting Parties and Soviet Russia.*

"True to her unchanged attitude towards international politics and her peaceful aims, strengthened by the results already

achieved and filled with confidence as regards the future, Hungary herewith adheres to the Berlin Three Power Pact, firmly determined, now as well as when the war accounts are being settled, to contribute all that lies in her power towards a better and happier political and economic reorganization of South Eastern Europe."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUNGARIAN LIFE AS REFLECTED IN THE DEBATE ON THE BUDGET

One of the most important and most extensive debates recurring every year in the Hungarian Parliament is that carried on when, after the presentation of the Estimates for the following year, the several Ministers submit their representations one by one and the several Parties express their opinions on the respective budgets. This year the debate in the House of Deputies on the Estimates lasted from November 12th. to November 25th., the Estimates being then passed.

The first separate budget to be discussed was that of the *Ministry of Justice*, the *rapporteur*, M. Kálmán Petrő, stressing that Hungarian political maturity was too advanced to allow the various Parties to exploit the difficulties inherent in the exceptional conditions to their own advantage. The Minister of Justice, M. Ladislas Radocsay, promised that *the judicatory organisation of the Transylvanian territories re-incorporated in the mother country should be effected as rapidly as possible*, at the same time announcing the drafting in the immediate future of a new penal novel and of the reform of the laws dealing with company shares and the privileges of Deputies, and informing the House that *the obligation of medical examination prior to marriage would be incorporated in law*.

During the discussion of the budget of the National Defence Ministry the principal speakers of all Parties alike expressed their appreciation of the praiseworthy rapidity and efficiency of the re-organisation of the "Honvéd" army, of its splendid equipment and of its excellent spirit. The Minister for National Defence, General Charles Bartha, established the fact that the gratifying events of recent months *could not have become facts without a strong and well-prepared army — without a reinforcement of the National Defence system.* Thanks to the intervention of Providence, the recovery of the territories so far re-incorporated had been effected without bloodshed; but *the National Defence army, in keeping with its traditions, would have been ready to make the greatest sacrifices to achieve that end by victory.* The Minister announced that a new Army Corps had been formed in Transylvania, and also that the army was being motorised and developed. The armaments programme had consi-

derably furthered the cause of industry; however, *all illegitimate or excessive profiteering had been precluded*. The spirit of the National Defence army was excellent, a circumstance particularly gratifying in view of the fact that for the army to take any part in politics was bound to be destructive to the foundations of every State. *The Hungarian army was a compact unit possessing great intrinsic values and fully conscious of its power, on which the nation could safely reckon.*

During the debate on the budget of the Ministry of Commerce the Minister, Dr. *Joseph Varga*, established the fact that *the Christian elements were making rapid headway in the field of commerce*. Trade had been considerably paralysed by the war, particularly since Italy joined in. *Our foreign trade during the first year of the war now closed shows an advance of 25% on the imports and a decrease of 3% on the exports side*. There had been an improvement in Hungary's foreign trade in particular with *Germany and Italy*. Our trade with the West and with overseas countries had since been reduced to a minimum; but *our trade with the Balkans and with Russia had increased*. Very shortly the construction of a bridge over the Tisza would be completed; and next year a bridge over the Danube was to be ready. There was considerably increased activity in respect of the building of new bridges and the re-construction of old ones. During the current year we were building six cargo barges and 1 motor-tug; and the firms concerned had been commissioned to build 2 ships of 2300 and 2 ships of 1200 tons each. There has been a considerable increase also in the number of motor-cars and commercial aeroplanes. *In 1941 35 new engines, 753 new railway cars and 83 new cold storage vans will be ready for use*. There has been a constant increase in the turn-over of the postal, telephone and telegraph services. The question of Sunday rest-days is to be adjusted and considerable social facilities are to be introduced for the benefit of the working classes.

During the debate on the budget of the Ministry for Industry M. *Francis Ronkay* expressed his delight at hearing that *next year a Bill relating to workers' chambers is to be introduced and that the borings for oil had produced great results and promised to produce still greater ones*. M. *Joseph Horvát de Köz* (Christian Party) announced that the corporation system was shortly to be realised in Hungary. Dr. *Joseph Varga*, in his capacity as acting Minister for Industry, announced that *Hungary's industrial output had reached a peak point*; in the heavy industries, for instance, the number of workers had advanced during a single year by 25%. There had been a great improvement, not only in the production of oil, but also in the output of aluminium. *In one year the electrification of 132 villages had been completed; and new power stations involving an investment of 50 million pengő were being built*. The Government had lightened the cares of the

workers; and in 53 branches of industry representing 75% of the total number of industrial workers, as also in 8 mining branches, the system of minimum wages had been introduced. The Minister announced further that *no form of re-adjustment need give the slightest reason for fear, seeing that such readjustment could only prove to the advantage of Hungary, particularly since the territories re-incorporated in the country had augmented the volume of raw materials and the sources of energy by the addition of sources the exploitation of which bid fair to completely change the economic structure of Hungary.* The development of the Christian crafts and retail trade had during the past year shown an impressive advance.

During the debate on the budget of the Ministry of the Interior *M. Victor Mátéffy* expressed his approval of the decentralisation of the public administration. The Minister, *Dr. Francis Keresztes-Fischer*, stated that he was *in favour of a reform of the Constitution and of the public administration, though such reform could only be based upon the historical traditions of the Hungarian nation and must in that spirit dovetail the Hungarian State into the life of the modern world.* The cause of public hygiene was being developed at the cost of considerable sacrifices; however, — in Transylvania, for instance — that was imposing extremely difficult tasks on the Hungarian State, for *in that province, with one single exception, all the hospitals were in a far worse condition than they had been 20 years ago.*

During the debate on the budget of the *Ministry of Agriculture* the Minister, *Count Michael Teleki*, announced that 2000 brood mares and many other animals for breeding purposes had already been distributed among the farmers of Transylvania, and 11 stud-farms had been established. In the same province he was also organising 1000 popular libraries. It had become necessary, as a consequence of the changed conditions, to effect a certain re-organisation of agriculture. The production of oilseeds is being encouraged, as is also the cultivation of gardening and the production of fodder plants. *The agreement made with the Axis Powers ensures an adequate price-level.* Decisions have been taken already for the taking over of 129.000 yokes out of the 515.000 yokes of land in the possession of Jewish owners. Wages are to be raised and preparations made for the introduction of the system of "family wages" in agriculture too.

During the debate on the budget of the Ministry of Education the Minister, *Dr. Valentine Hóman*, announced that a reform of higher education was in preparation and that *he proposed to re-adjust the Hungarian system of education in keeping with the new spirit, though without prejudice to the existing traditions.* He laid great stress upon an opportunity being given to talented sons of the lower classes to be admitted to higher education

institutes (colleges and universities). That was one reason why of the 11.000 students attending the universities 2400 are given exemption from the payment of fees, a further 6000 enjoying other benefits of varying extent. *He assured the non-Magyar nationalities that they would be able to develop their languages and their culture. There was no desire to compel anyone to become Magyar and abandon his own nationality against his will.* Great efforts were being made to organise anew the education of the occupied territories — in particular of Transylvania — which had been wickedly de-Magyarised and appallingly neglected.

In the debate on the budget of the Prime Minister's Department, the Prime Minister, *Count Paul Teleki*, declared that he was in favour of rapid reform, but that important legislation could not be passed in precipitate haste. As for the nationality question, it was his opinion that the non-Magyar nationalities should be *enabled to safeguard their rights and to cling to their traditions, culture and customs*, while it was the duty of the State to provide that instruction in their mother tongues should be made possible in every field. *In a polyglot country the public administration must show tact. He considered it a mistake to insist forcibly upon the Magyarisation of names. In Hungary every one could thrive irrespective of his nationality; and the minority agreement concluded with Germany merely confirmed principles laid down in older Hungarian laws too which had been fixed in writing in the form of a protocol merely for completeness' sake. Men could only be kept in union by affectionate treatment and not by laws.*

During the debate on the budget of the *Ministry of Finance* *M. Béla Imrédy* suggested that *greater consideration should be shown for the interests of corporations*. He further proposed that the bank of issue should be made completely subject to the direction of the State. Real results could not however be achieved *if we ceased thinking in terms of money and made our calculations instead in materials, values and labour*. The Minister of Finance, *M. Louis Reményi-Schneller*, announced that he intended to realise the scheme of "conjuncture tax" and to provide new agrarian credits. *The re-valuation of the war loan bonds was to be effected in a manner precluding every form of illegitimate speculation. The framework of the thousand-million investments programme had already expanded to 2800 million pengő, of which amount 1650 millions had already been paid out.* The nation had made enormous sacrifices, for the quota of the amount required for investments which had been paid in in the form of taxes alone was 775 millions pengő.

A separate article deals with the exposé of the Foreign Minister.

HUNGARY'S GREAT FRIEND

Great is the Hungarian nation's bereavement. We shall never cease to revere the memory of Hungary's great friend, Lord Rothermere, who championed the cause of Hungarian revision openly and boldly at a time when the friends of the oppressed little nations were but few and there were not nearly so many who had any understanding for Hungary's just claims as there were later on, when the veil of falsehoods and calumnies had worn thin and an increasing number of prominent people, even in the countries separated from Hungary by the Great War, began to realize the importance of Hungarian revision for the tranquillity and peace of Europe. *The Hungarian nation will never forget that Lord Rothermere raised his voice in protest against the cruel and barbarous extermination of Magyars that ran riot in the territories wrested from Hungary in defiance of all postulates of Divine and human justice.*

It was not only in his newspapers with their circulation of many million copies that Lord Rothermere demanded a "place in the sun" for Hungary; he made the struggle for revision veritably the aim of his life, besides generously supporting any efforts that appealed to his humane instincts. The Hungarian nation was happy to rejoice with the noble Lord when, on the occasion of the restoration of part of Upper Hungary, he visited Budapest and took part in the re-occupation of Kassa, an ancient town in the restored territories that were the first milestones marking the triumphal progress of our revisionist movement.

It is not our intention to give Lord Rothermere's biography here; that has been done in the international Press. All we would do is to describe briefly how he came to take part in Hungary's struggle for justice.

Lord Rothermere lost two of his sons in the Great War, and this great bereavement awoke in him the realization of *how wrong it was that they had been sacrificed in a war that had not brought justice in its wake and had not served to establish peace and reconciliation.* Travelling through Europe, he came to Hungary in the June of 1927. He was much moved by the bitter grief of the Hungarians over the

serious injustice done to them, and realized that it would be necessary to revise the Treaty of Trianon, not only in Hungary's interests, but also in those of Europe as a whole, *in fact in the interests of world peace, which was threatened by the unreasonable arrangements that had upset the balance of the political and economic forces in Eastern Europe.*

What Lord Rothermere saw and experienced made such an impression on him that he could not wait until his arrival in England, but from Vienna telegraphed a long article to his newspaper. *This article entitled "Hungary's Place in the Sun — the Security of Central Europe" appeared with maps on a prominent page of the "Daily Mail" on 21st June 1927.*

"Hungary's Place in the Sun."

In that article he explained how by breaking up the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy the Peace Treaties had created a number of new Alsace-Lorraines, each of which might be the starting-point of a new world conflagration. Of all the Treaties *that of Trianon, which had been forced upon Hungary, was the most unfortunate, for it had increased the hatred of the nationalities and fostered dissatisfaction everywhere by establishing arbitrary and economically impossible frontiers, the injustice of which was a standing menace to the peace of Europe.*

Lord Rothermere said that the Entente statesmen who had drafted the new map of Europe had listened to the advice of the inferior races of the Dual Monarchy without knowing their bitter hatred and lust of spoil. *In the Treaties justice had been sacrificed to insatiable greed, in consequence of which Europe had become completely Balkanized and had lost its stability.* The instability of the Peace Treaties had forced Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania to conclude a military alliance with France as sponsor for the maintenance of Trianon. Seven years had elapsed since Trianon, and those who know conditions in Central Europe were beginning to wonder whether it would not be wise to revise the Peace Treaties. *Transylvania, for instance, had been attached to Rumania purely for strategic reason.*

In his article Lord Rothermere came to the conclusion

that with a comparatively simple readjustment of the frontiers two of the three and a half million Magyars subjected to alien rule might be restored to their racial kindred. Then peace would reign in Central Europe instead of incessant friction. The Entente would have to realize that the experience of the past seven years demanded *a readjustment of the arbitrarily drawn frontiers*.

Peace in Central Europe was of immediate and extremely great importance for Britain — said Lord Rothermere. *The Treaty of Trianon was a hotbed of war-danger*. It would therefore have to be revised as soon as possible. Hungary deserved. Britain's confidence. It would be well for the British Foreign Office to emulate Italy's example and lend a helping hand to Hungary, a country that could not be held responsible for the Great War. A wise frontier readjustment would strengthen world peace.

Very few newspaper articles written in the past few decades made such a deep impression as this one of Lord Rothermere's. Coming like a clap of thunder, it warned people of the dangers into which Europe had been plunged by the irrational Peace Treaties. Hungarian public opinion awoke from its torpor and lethargy, and was happy to see that so powerful a champion of our just cause had arisen to do battle for it. Lord Rothermere's action suddenly put new life into the Hungarian revisionist movement. At the instance of M. Francis Herczeg the Hungarian public rallied to join it; and on 11th August 1927 the *Hungarian Frontier Readjustment League* was formed. The Hungarian nation turned with infinite gratitude and affection towards Lord Rothermere, to whose activity it looked for the dawn of a happier era. In a short time over two million signatures to an address had been collected in an album comprising 25 volumes which were taken to London by a large deputation.

The loud echoes following his first article merely served to spur Lord Rothermere on to further effort. One after another he wrote articles, each more masterly than its predecessor, championing Hungary's cause. He also launched a great political campaign for the revision of the Peace Treaties. The result of his activity was that revision became a topic of the day and one of the most burninglly urgent

problems of international politics. His movement began to make an increasingly great commotion throughout the whole of Europe.

Lord Rothermere Visits Hungary.

In view of these developments in the international situation, Lord Rothermere from that time on always kept the Hungarian question on the carpet, and for eleven years fought a persevering fight to obtain justice for Hungary. He wrote the history of that struggle in a book entitled "My Campaign for Hungary", which was published in London in the autumn of 1939.

When in the autumn of 1938, thanks to the first Vienna Award, part of Upper Hungary was restored to the mother-country, Lord Rothermere, by invitation of the Hungarian Government gladly came here and took part in the triumphant celebrations attending the Regent's entry into Kassa. After the present war broke out he retired from public life, handing over the management of his newspapers to his son, the Hon. Esmond Harmsworth, who in 1928 visited Hungary as his father's representative.

On 26th November, amidst outward signs of general mourning the Deputy Speaker of the Hungarian Parliament, M. Szinnyey-Merse, announced the death of Lord Rothermere in the following words: —

"The Honorable Members will already have learned the sad tidings that Lord Rothermere, the great champion of our sacred cause, has passed away at the age of 72. It is now 13 years since, in the heyday of Beneš's hegemony and in an atmosphere utterly hostile to Hungary, *Lord Rothermere, in defiance of international opinion, raised his voice on behalf of this sorely mutilated country.*"

All the Hungarian newspapers contained articles expressing warm appreciation of Lord Rothermere's services to Hungary.

GENEROSITY OF HUNGARIAN PUBLIC

When in spring this year large sections of the country were flooded in consequence of the bad weather, the Regent of Hungary visited the flood-area by plane and, on his return, appealed

to the nation for help. No one, he said, should be allowed to suffer irretrievable losses; the demolished houses must be built up again, and those that have been badly damaged must be repaired. Many thousands of houses suffered from the floods, and many hundreds of thousands lost their homes. The Hungarian nation, however, responded unanimously to the Regent's appeal and opened its heart to those who had been visited by Fate. *Within a few weeks the Hungarian public contributed a considerable sum, 3.5 million pengő, towards the relief fund, whereby it has become possible to rebuild every demolished house and to repair the damaged ones.*

Within a short time no fewer than 3.464 new houses have been built and 92256 damaged ones repaired; the new houses have been built on modern principles and in such a way as to make their extension possible if required. A further sum of 329.680 pengő has been spent on indemnifying people for other losses they may have suffered from the floods. Soon after the floods the Government appointed M. *Bonczos*, Under-Secretary of State, Commissar for the Distressed Area. Thanks to the Commissar's effective work, the whole nation was roused to rush to the help of those who suffered most. Every class of society has shown itself equally conscious of its duty towards these sufferers, and the splendid result of the collection within such a short time furnishes a striking proof of the solidarity of the entire Hungarian people, and its readiness to help wherever social help is needed. Summing up the main phases of action, M. *Bonczos*, the Commissar, made the following statement on November 19th:

"The newly-built houses in the flood-area serve as a token of the nation's generosity and readiness to help; they also show the sense of justice and fair play which is an outstanding feature of the Hungarian soul: *for it must be remembered that help was offered to every sufferer, whether he was a Magyar, a German or a Slovak.* Everyone was looked upon as brother, provided he was a faithful son of the country. The havoc wrought by the elements may teach us a great lesson. The floods have taught us that the sense of community is a uniting force which will help us to stand by one another whenever the country is visited by an unexpected catastrophe".