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M. DE BÁRDOSY'S SUCCESSOR: M. NICHOLAS DE KÁLLAY

Owing to his poor health, M. de Bárdossy has been forced to resign office as Prime Minister of Hungary. M. de Bárdossy, as we know, undertook with genuine patriotic self-sacrifice the leadership of the Cabinet after the tragic death of his great predecessor Count Paul Teleki. Till then he had held aloof from internal politics. It was as a diplomat that he won his laurels; but it soon became evident that today, when foreign and internal politics are so inseparable, this great diplomat was able to hold his own in the sphere of internal politics too. Shortly after he took office as Prime Minister the conflict which forced Hungary to take military action broke out in South-Eastern Europe. This was soon followed by the war between Germany and the Soviet, in which Hungary was compelled to join. In both cases action was forced on Hungary, first by Yugoslavia's and then by Russia's unprovoked attacks on her territory. *She was forced into the war in self-defence, and in the case of her war with Russia, besides the duty of defending her own frontiers, it was also her European mission to defend — as in the last thousand years she had so often defended — European Christian civilization and liberty, even at the cost of self-sacrifice.*

In the past difficult year M. de Bárdossy's policy was characterized by decisions of historical importance, rapid action, and a full sense of his responsibility. Not for a single moment were the great aims of the nation lost sight of; his policy was always shaped by those unchanging aims, by the aspirations to which Hungary is rightfully entitled. When history comes to sum up the Hungarian balance of the past year, so crowded with events that it might well have been a whole age, M. Ladislas de Bárdossy's self-sacrificing work will figure largely in it.

His ill-health (which we all hope is but a passing indisposition that will soon yield to treatment and rest and give place to renewed strength) has compelled M. de Bárdossy to resign office. There was no political crisis, no other change in the Cabinet; all that happened was that M. de Bárdossy, who needs a rest and medical treatment, was relieved of his strenuous task by M. Nicholas de Kállay, whose person is a guarantee that in these difficult times the administration of the Hungarian State will continue to function smoothly and without a hitch. M. de Kállay is a man who, having undertaken the arduous task of shaping Hungary's policy today, will be the faithful and resolute guardian of all the ideals and guiding principles that has inspired the work of the Hungarian Government during recent years. *He is an ardent supporter of Hungary's successful pro-Axis policy and a convinced adherent of the German-Italian-Japanese Alliance.*

Only the person of the Prime Minister has changed. There has been no change in the constitution of the Cabinet, much less in the Government's policy and views. This is proof that there was no Cabinet crisis behind M. de Bárdossy's resignation, which was dictated purely by considerations of health. M. de Kállay, with all the Ministers of the Cabinet, will continue the work of his predecessor, and the change of the Prime Minister's person will not cause any hitch or difficulty in national life. M. de Kállay's character, his past, his origin, and his activities in public life, are a guarantee that there will be no change in Hungary's policy, as is also the fact that all the members of the Bárdossy Cabinet remain in office. M. de Kállay is the type of a Hungarian gentleman. He is descended from one of the oldest noble families in the country. In his character are personified all the traits of the Hungarian race: chivalry, a sense of realities, generosity and loyalty. Added to these his European culture and breadth of vision mark him out as a man in whom are combined all the best qualities of what we call a European Magyar.

FOREIGN POLICY PROGRAMME OF PREMIER DE
KÁLLAY

On March 11th. Nicholas de Kállay, Prime Minister of Hungary, made his début at a meeting of the Government Party. In his speech he made the following statements respecting the foreign policy of his Government: —

"You see me accompanied on my first appearance here by the same Cabinet as that of my predecessor. *This means that the trend of policy of the new Government is that of the former Cabinet — in respect both of fundamental principles and of outlook on life.* But I would add at the same time that the reason *why I took office was not merely to continue the present tempo of activity; I feel confident that I shall be able — as I am determined — to introduce into our government innovations, more energy, an even more rapid tempo, and an even greater pulsation of life than that in evidence hitherto.* Unfortunately, the Cabinet is not complete. We miss the presence of two men — Ladislas de *Bárdossy*, the Premier, and Ladislas de *Bárdossy*, the Foreign Minister, I have left the office of foreign minister unoccupied, for *to the very last minute I hoped — and I shall do everything in my power to realise the hope — that after his recovery —which God grant may ensue before long! — the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs would be filled by the man best fitted for the task — Ladislas de Bárdossy.*

"Unfortunately he was only able to take part in our Hungarian life for a short time; *but even during this brief period he raised himself to such a height among our national values that we shall never again be able to dispense with his participation in our national life.* For that very reason I beg the Party no to bid Ladislas *Bárdossy* farewell, but to express its affection for him and convey to him its cordial greetings. Not only my firm conviction and my unalterable resolution, but the fact that we are starting work with the co-operation of the former Cabinet and that we hope to have *Bárdossy* back again in office as Minister of Foreign Affairs, is a *guarantee and a pledge that there will be no change in Hungary's policy and that we intend to abide unswervingly by the line of action from which no honest Hungarian can possibly swerve. The only possible line for us to follow is that marked out for us by the policy pursued by us after the first Great War — by the side of Germany and Italy: a line in following which (and I should like every one both at home and abroad to mark the emphatic character of my words) there has never been any vacillation or uncertainty either in the Hungarian Government or in Hungarian public life.*

"The first point to be made by me is that *we* who are here making our *début*, *are a war Cabinet*. For a war is being waged at present; we are implicated in that war, — more seriously than many imagine: and this is the gravest war in the world — a *war which is to decide, not only the existence or non-existence of certain nations, but the fate of the whole world, — which is to decide, not merely the frontiers of that world, but also the fate of mankind*. And we have now to decide — not only as a nation or as an ethnic entity, but as being a Member (and, I am proud to declare, an *élite Member*) of the community of humanity — to which side we desire to belong. As I have already stated, *this decision has been taken*. It is not a question of a new decision — of an *ad hoc* decision —; for *we decided already before we became the allies of Germany and Italy, — when Germany was not yet the greatest Power in the world, and when Italy was only just beginning to enter the triumphal path of Fascism. We should not be Magyars — not worthy successors of those ancestors of ours who a thousand years ago linked up with European culture and civilization and nevertheless maintained their full independence —, if we failed to be present where a struggle is being carried on against Eastern barbarism, — where Christianity claims our defence — in the ranks of those from whom we may hope to obtain a realization of our great Hungarian ideals. Our place is by the side of our Allies, Germany and Italy; our fate will be decided on the battlefields of Russia: every soldier there is fighting for us; that is why our place is there, for our Magyar honour too forbids our allowing others to fight for us but without us!*

"It is this struggle, this war, that above all determines the duties devolving upon this Cabinet, — and we must place at the service of those duties both our soldiers taking part in the struggle against Bolshevism and our internal policy — our work and every one. *Of our soldiers we know that they will do their duty; but we must give them the maximum of all that is indispensable to success, — good leadership, the best possible equipment, provision for those members of their families who have been left behind, and peace in the country, for without these essentials not even Magyars can fight well. Remember, that the soldiers who are sacrificing their lives at the front are entitled to expect that those remaining at home should be ready for every sacrifice. And when our soldiers are fighting at the front shoulder to shoulder with their German and Italian comrades — with our great friends and Allies —, the only policy which we can pursue is one of the like unity and the like interdependence.*"

NICHOLAS DE KÁLLAY: BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Nicholas de *Kállay*, the new Prime Minister of Hungary, is a scion of one of the most ancient Hungarian families. *The founder of the family, Sömjén Balog, a lieutenant in the service of Duke Arpád, was one of the 108 Fathers of the Country who acquired estates in Hungary by right of primary occupation.* One of the descendants of this lieutenant of the period of the Conquest of Hungary — a man of exceptional intelligence and distinguished gallantry — early in the eleventh century obtained from King Andrew II. a charter of nobility entitling him to the use of a coat-of-arms: this descendant — his name was *Ubul* — also acquired in County Szabolcs estates which have ever since been uninterruptedly the possession of the family of the *Kállays de Nagykálló*. This eminent family has given Hungary many distinguished soldiers, diplomats and statesmen. In more recent history too the *Kállay* family has figured in the Hungarian roll of fame, — *Nicholas*, the famous Sheriff of Szabolcs County, who was made the hero of one of his novels by *Vas Gereben*; *Edmund*, Deputy in the Age of Reform, who in 1849 was condemned to death and only escaped by accident from suffering the penalty of his patriotism; *Benjamin*, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Finance who was also Governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, one of the greatest of Hungarian scholars and diplomats. After the Collapse of the Monarchy in 1918 two members of the *Kállay* family — *Tibor* and *Nicholas* — held office as minister; the latter has now been appointed Prime Minister of Hungary.

Nicholas de *Kállay* was born in 1887. He studied law in the universities of Budapest, Paris, London and Geneva. When still quite young he acquired a many-sided, European knowledge. After the completion of his studies he entered the service of his native County of Szabolcs, the ancestral home of the *Kállays*. In 1922 he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the united Counties of *Szabolcs* and *Ung*. He was known as a first-rate expert on matters of public administration. *At the same time, however, he pursued serious studies in agriculture and commerce; the result being that already at this early period of his life he was delegated by the Government to represent his country at several conferences in foreign countries.* In 1929 he was appointed Under Secretary of State in the Ministry for Commerce; then for the first time taking a seat in Parliament.

In the House of Deputies he attracted universal attention by his great knowledge and his thorough mastery of the questions in which he interested himself; *and this young Secretary of State was shortly afterwards — in 1931 — called upon by the Prime Minister, M. Gyula Gömbös, to take office in his Government as Minister for Agriculture.* He rendered signal

service by developing our economic connections with foreign countries; and when taking part in the negotiations for the purpose gave evidence of an eminent diplomatic sense and unusual diplomatic ability. It was during his term of office as Minister for Agriculture that the problem of agrarian debts was adjusted and the up-to-date Hungarian Forest Law passed. It was he that elaborated the first far-reaching scheme for the afforestation of the Hungarian Lowlands; he also began the work of carrying the provisions of that law into effect. At this early period already he drew the attention of public opinion to the advisability of rendering the rivers navigable and to the importance attaching to the construction of a large-scale irrigation system in connection with the work of river improvement. It was he that began the work of rendering navigable the upper reaches of the Tisza too.

In 1935 he resigned office as Minister, the Regent of Hungary then conferring upon him the Grand Cross of the Hungarian Order of Merit. *At the same time he undertook to act as Chairman of the Commission appointed for the purpose of developing agricultural conditions in the Hungarian Lowlands.* Later on he realised the far-reaching scheme suggested by him at an earlier date; and the National Hungarian Irrigation Office was established, Nicholas de Kállay being appointed its first President: its programme of operations was elaborated by the President himself. The work was begun at once; and the first irrigation works are already in operation.

In 1937, as a further token of appreciation for the services rendered by him, the Regent of Hungary appointed Nicholas de Kállay Life Member of the Upper House: and since that period M. de Kállay has taken a most serious part in the work of the economic committees of the Upper House. *In 1939 he was elected President of the Sixth International Congress of Agricultural Industry.* On that occasion he presided over the deliberations of the most eminent economic experts of Europe; and he had conferred upon him the Grand Cross of the French Legion of Honour.