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# DANUBIAN REVIEW

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# THE HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S EXPOSÉ

BY

ANDREW BAJCSY ZSILINSZKY

**D**uring the debate on the Budget, Count Stephen Csáky, Foreign Minister, delivered his exposé, in which, examining Hungary's foreign policy from a historical perspective and establishing the identity of her policy today with that pursued in the near and far-off past, he spoke of the present situation, its necessities and the tasks it imposes. Count Csáky's exposé was free of any attempt at cheap effects, but it was all the more firmly built up on the foundations of Hungary's historical past.

Foreign countries were able to gather, and fortunately did gather, from the Hungarian Minister's statements and train of ideas what Hungary's traditional and firmly established attitude has been and is: absolute loyalty to, and a faithful discharge of, her historical mission in Europe.

In lucid phraseology our consciousness of that mission was expressed, and from the most authoritative Hungarian quarter Europe has now heard the idea of St. Stephen's Hungary formulated anew.

"The crown of St. Stephen may signify for our nationalities an idea that unites without absorbing; only their own unwillingness can limit its cohesive power. It was only through the vicissitudes of the past years that we learned the real meaning of St. Stephen's conception of Hungary, but we have learned it at last."

And, indeed, St. Stephen's conception must for all time remain the immutable basis of Hungary's foreign policy. Perhaps the time is not far distant when the Great Powers and the little nations of Europe alike will clearly realize *that the real source — practically the only, but certainly the*

*primary cause — of the present terrible European crisis was the narrowminded and senseless disruption of St. Stephen's Kingdom and the obstacles placed in the way of Hungary's mission as a cohesive and organizing force. For the position that the victors of the last war would not let us fill could not be filled by any other nation, least of all by their protégée, that stillborn State, Czecho-Slovakia.* Hungary's resumption of her ancient rôle as protector, not only of her own independence, but also of that of the minor Danube nations, now depends on whether Europe is better informed and inspired by a more constructive spirit.

After hearing Count Csáky's speech no one can be in doubt that Hungary has not waived and cannot waive her own historical claims; neither can there be any question of our policy being anything but a sincere peace policy. One of the most interesting and arresting parts of that speech was where, with quotations from the memorandum submitted to the Peace Conference by the Hungarian delegation, Count Csáky proved that those claims were no *nova* in Hungary's foreign policy, and pointed out the detrimental effects on European development deriving from the circumstance that the indisputable arguments advanced by the Hungarian delegation were not accepted.

The Hungarian Foreign Minister not only spoke of Hungary's demands as inherent in the St. Stephen idea; he also told us what, by the same standard, our duties towards Europe were. True, he emphasized the fact that "*the fundamental mistake was that it took the Powers two decades to discover that a strong and independent Hungary was an indispensable factor of balance, not only in the Danube Valley, but also in the whole of Central Europe*"; but he also went further, and, after declaring that "whatever storms may come, we shall prove that without us or against us nothing that affects us can take place in the Danube Valley", he said: — "History has left us a great heritage with all its burdens and advantages. We accept the burdens and shall make capital in a European way of the advantages. We shall work with patience for the future, be ready to seem deaf and dumb and blind sometimes for the sake of our major interests, but should anyone *attempt to rob us of that*

*heritage, we must be prepared to shed out blood for it. And should fate decree that we must fight alone, we shall do so to the last man, for as long as we are ready to fulfil our historical mission — so long and no longer — shall we be able to keep our heads above water in the ocean of the peoples. So long as we stand fast by this principle the nation has nothing to fear."*

At the close of his speech Count Csáky spoke of the traditional pride and unshakable self-confidence of the nation. He said: — "We know that it imposes a great strain on our frail strength to pursue both at home and abroad our foreign policy along these peaceful and deliberate lines amidst the turmoil of international and social unrest, but *we shall do all that lies in our power to convince doubters in foreign lands that Hungary, in her own interests as well as in those of her friends and of Central Europe, is prepared to accept the risks of a destiny not of her own choosing, but thrust upon the nation by fate."*

OSZK

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