



Miklós Horthy, Regent of Hungary

## **Europe's Powder Magazine**

### **Gross Injustices Making for War**

by Viscount Rothermere

Parts of an article from

Daily Mail, London, August 30th, 1927.

Paramount with the Allies during the Great War was the desire that when peace came, it should be permanent. Whatever else victory might bring, the men and women of the Allied nations wanted to ensure that there should be no more Alsace-Lorraines to keep the war-spirit smouldering.

It was the professed aim of the Peace Conference, when it gathered in Paris in 1919, to rearrange the map of Europe on a basis of self-determination. But as its work went on, this principle faded from sight. The result has been that Central Europe to-day is piled high with the materials of a new conflagration. The primary cause of this is the partitioning of the Hungarian nation among its neighbours by the Treaty of Trianon, imposed upon Hungary in June 1920, which transferred—in compact masses contiguous with the main body of the Hungarian people— 600,000 Hungarians to Rumania (out

of a total of 1,750,000, most of whom are intermingled with the Rumanians), 1,000,000 to Czecho-Slovakia, and 400,000 to Jugo-Slavia.

In the Peace Treaty made with Germany the principle of self-determination was so thoroughly applied that a plebiscite was even held in Schleswig to revive the frontier which the Prussians had imposed upon the Danes in 1864. But with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles the principal Allied statesmen relaxed their efforts. The task of settling with their chief enemy had been a prodigious one. Their powers of personal application were exhausted. The affairs of their own countries urgently claimed their attention. The drafting of peace terms with Germany's minor allies seemed to them a secondary matter which they might well leave to the subordinate members of their delegations.

For similar reasons the world's interest in peacemaking evaporated, and the light of publicity which had been concentrated on the work of the Conference was withdrawn. In reality only half the work of restoring a lasting peace to Europe had been performed. But the importance of what yet remained to be done was overshadowed by the achievement already accomplished, and the remaining treaties were left to be drafted behind closed doors and signed amid general indifference many months later in various suburbs in Paris.

This negligent procedure suited very well the intrigues of various minor nationalities which had come to be associated with the Allied cause, and which stood to profit considerably from the settlements thus obscurely made.

Representatives of these new-fangled nationalities immediately began to arrive in large numbers in Paris, where, with the aid of certain doctrinaire pamphleteers of Allied nationality, they set themselves to pull every available string to ensure that the particular peace treaty affecting their own small State should be as profitable as possible to their public and private interests. This was how grave abuses, containing the sure seed of future wars, crept into the Central European peace settlement.

These abuses were committed in the name of self-determination. If that principle had been strictly observed all round, there would have been no cause for complaint.

What I claim for Hungary is no more than elementary justice. The idea of a return to her pre-war frontiers is out of the question. Hungary must pay the penalty of defeat. But that is no reason for inflicting upon her such wrongs as the war was expressly waged to abolish. She has a perfectly righteous and reasonable claim to recover the territories preponderantly inhabited by Hungarians which, as a result of the Treaty of Trianon, are cut off from all intercourse with her by every device that the malevolence of her neighbours can invent.

This state of things is an outrage to an ancient and splendid people with a history of high endeavour extending over a thousand years. It is fundamentally wrong, and it cannot endure. There is time now to right it peaceably and effectively. If we continue to close our eyes to the evil it will keep alive the spirit of hatred and hostility in Central Europe, with the inevitable result of a disastrous war.

Are we so blind as to let the elements of another terrible conflict accumulate unchecked? It is the duty of Britain, France and Italy, as the members of the League of Nations primarily responsible for the present situation, to take steps to

give Hungary the relief to which she is entitled. Their generosity in this matter will not be abused. They will be dealing with a nation which, though small, has a character and traditions second to none. I repeat that Hungary is the natural ally of Britain, France and Italy in Central Europe. Even during the war she showed her natural good feeling towards Britain and the United States by refusing to intern her British and American residents, who were allowed to continue their usual occupations. She was hardly more than a technical enemy of these two countries and she will make a loyal and reliable friend of whatever nation extends to her a helping hand in her day of emergency and distress.

On March 26th, 1929:

No observant man can travel through Central Europe today, or even study its incoherent political divisions on the map, without realising the recklessness with which real and vital interests were trampled underfoot in making that arbitrary and ill-informed re-distribution of territory.

All natural principles of frontier delimitation were rejected. The new boundaries had no justification, whether ethnographic or economic. They set up in Central Europe a permanent condition of inconvenience, friction and discontent which, if it is not remedied, must inevitably lead to another war.

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Rothermere refers to this in his book „Warnings and Predictions” published in 1939 as follows:

It was between 1930 and 1936 well within the competence of the British Government, acting through Geneva, to force upon Europe a revision of the unjust treaties of Versailles, Trianon and St. Germain. If an abstract love of justice had not prompted it, the motive of self-preservation might have provoked such a course

Nothing was done!

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## One nation in eight states

In our days the accepted definition of “national minority” usually refers to a group of people, who migrated into the established country of another nation and failed to assimilate.

This is why immigration states, which accept migrants to increase their population fail to understand that there are some minority groups who want to keep their own language, culture, and demand their own institutions, they want to maintain the character of their villages and towns, and want to administer the land they are inhabiting in the form of autonomy. There are no immigration states in Central Europe, consequently no migrant minorities. The minority problem does not originate from movement of people but from movement of country's borders. In Central Europe, mainly in the Carpathian Basin the concept of national minority means a group of people who were born where they live, whose ancestors established the villages, towns and civilization. In view of this fact they should not really be called “minority” but probably fellow-nationality. Not “minority rights” should be demanded by them, but at least the status of co-dominionship with local-

personal- and collective autonomy. They should be considered as a companion-nation of the particular state.

The four million Hungarians who live outside the borders of the Hungarian state are considered as part of the Hungarian nation, only they are prevented from living together by state borders and by many lawful and unlawful means. To retain national identity is a just demand.

The Hungarian nation today lives in eight states: Hungary, Austria, Slovakia, Ukraine, Rumania, Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia. Before the Treaty of Trianon, these eight parts of the nation lived in one state and even today live on contiguous territory. Naturally they constitute a "minority" in the successor states, but the definition above does not apply, because they are natives of that particular land, they didn't migrate from their motherland. They were torn away together with their birthplace, and forced under the domination of alien states. Accordingly they cannot be considered as ethnic minorities but as part of the Hungarian nation and at the same time they are one of the nationalities of the particular state into which they have been forced to live. Of the 14 million Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin only 10 million live together, 4 million were forced apart under hostile conditions. As the state borders moved across the nation's body very few opportunities were available to various Hungarians to liaise with each other during the last 75 years.

The Hungarians on both sides of the borders are one nation, ethnographically they are part of the majority nation inhabiting the Carpathian Basin for eleven hundred years. Here they held established statehood for the same eleven hundred years, building this complete geographical unit in Central Europe into a lasting and functioning economic, political and cultural entity long before the Vlach immigrants, forefathers of the Rumanians, began to migrate into the Eastern part of their country. On the ethnographical map of the Carpathian Basin this Hungarian majority still constitutes an almost uninterrupted unity.

In the course of history, over the past centuries, large numbers of foreigners, in other words other national groups, immigrated and settled in historic Hungary, and in compliance with this the state rearranged itself accordingly. In modern terms Hungary has always been a multinational state. This is discussed in the next chapter.

## What History proves

The year 1996 marks the 1100th anniversary of the establishment of the Hungarian State. What was the situation at the time when the Hungarian State was founded in the area now called Central Europe? Count Julius Andrássy describes it in his book "The Development of Hungarian Constitutional Liberty" (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. London, 1908) as follows:

"The new state was not in the way of the expanding European powers which were then dominant.

The establishment of the Hungarians in their new home was not therefore opposed to the tendencies of the age. On the contrary, in the long run it actually furthered those tendencies. It was to this fortunate circumstance that the Hungarian nation

owed the possibility of its development. But this development was brought about not merely by a lucky chance, but also by the exercise of great political sagacity. The Hungarians had the good sense to be content with the territory they had acquired, and to refrain from attempting any further conquests. The policy of conquest never became a national policy in Hungary. There was, in fact, a somewhat exaggerated tendency in the opposite direction.

One of the most difficult problems of statecraft is to harmonise liberty with order. How many great nations are still struggling with this problem, and how many nations in the past have come to grief because of their inability to solve it.

It is to the lasting credit of the Hungarians that as early as the thirteenth century they were careful of this twofold interest, and that even in the moment of victory the nobles did not forget the interest of the State, but endeavoured to strengthen the monarchy.

The **Golden Bull** (1222) was an expression of these different needs. It was designed to strengthen the king's power as well as to assure to the privileged classes their rights. It determined the rights of the nation in accordance with tradition in respect to military service, taxation, inheritance and the administration of justice. All the nobles had equal rights and every noble was entitled to attend the King's Council, which had to be convened every year. Everyone present had the right to speak concerning any injury he had suffered, and although the chief purpose of the Council was the administration of justice, yet it furnished opportunities for the discussion of political questions as well. The nobles were all alike subject to the jurisdiction of the king and the palatine, and there was no trace of the feudal lawcourts. In short, no member of the class of nobles had more rights than another. All had equal right to own land, and to have a share in political power, and were liable to the same military service.

The Golden Bull established first of all the rights of the Hungarian nobility, but its protection was extended to their retainers, and also to **foreign** settlers."

(End of quotations from Count J. Andrássy's book).

## Mutual consequences

When the Magyars established the Hungarian state in the Carpathian Basin there was a state of interregnum there: the Avar Empire had already collapsed, and the area was waiting for a new state founder.

Hungary didn't have any ethnic problems till the 19th century, although, during the foundation of the Hungarian state in 896 A. D. several tribes, ethnic groups, did dwell in the Carpathian Basin. These people, accepted the rule of the Hungarian state, because it meant protection for them. Most of these people were related to the state-creating Magyars, like for instance the Avars. They also found small fragments of various Slavic ethnic groups who settled into the country during the centuries of the the Avar Empire, but never were able to establish a state.

Therefore, **Hungary** from the very beginning, using today's expression, was a **multinational state**. This didn't cause any problems, not even when after 150 years of Turkish occupation half of the inhabitants were of different nationalities due to immigration of refugees and new settlers.

These settlers quite naturally accepted to become loyal subjects of the **Hungarian Crown**. The only exception was Croatia, a codominion of the Holy Crown for 800 years enjoying the protection of a larger unit. *Non-Magyars* have become members of the rather numerous Hungarian nobility quite easily and without any restriction of racial consideration. So they have become *part of the nation*, equal subjects of the Hungarian Crown. This is how the man-made constitution served and satisfied the *nature-made* economic, geographic, strategic unit: the **Carpathian Basin**.

The doctrine of the *Holy Crown* successfully safeguarded the unity of the Carpathian Basin for ten centuries, but was unable to have an answer to the historical challenge which originated from the shady side of the French Revolution, namely nationalism.

The First World War on the part of the World Powers was waged against Germany, but at the end, they smashed the very country which developed and practiced the idea of a common state for many races and maintained for them an atmosphere of harmonious life. Those nations lost everything that this economic and cultural unit offered and received in exchange hatred, misery, misunderstanding, war, devastation, insecurity, instability and a hopeless future.

This should be contemplated now and anew by people living in this area.

## The hushed-up opinion of an American diplomat

In the Preface of his book entitled *Hungary the Unwilling Satellite* (The Devin-Adair Company, New York, 1947) **John Flournoy Montgomery** wrote the following:

To us, the first war appeared primarily as a conflict between Germany and our allies in western Europe because it was there that our troupes fought. Austria-Hungary to us was a German satellite, and the part played by Russian autocracy was soon and conveniently forgotten. We were not burdened with knowledge of eastern European history and snatched gratefully the simple formulae offered by foreign propagandists. Since Germany was the enemy, Germany was wrong; since Germany was wrong, her Austro-Hungarian ally was wrong too. Since Russia was about to quit, why bother with her? France, Italy, England and Japan were certainly right.

Americans do not seem to be aware that the most fervent longing of modern nationalists is not for freedom but for mastery. Austria-Hungary seemed ramshackle to Americans. Russia, just as heterogeneous as she, did not seem so, because the Czars, more reactionary than the Hapsburgs, had kept their subjects illiterate.

Making good use of our impression that we had participated in a principally Western conflict, our allies and associates laid down for us laws of habitual hatred and fondness concerning eastern Europe. We responded by being obedient and trustful, like draft oxen under the yoke. The English and French had already developed the conception of Latin—Slavic co-operation against non-Slavs and non-Latins. The German-

Austrians and the Magyars were neither Slavic nor Latin. Hence these two were treated as vanquished and guilty while the Slavs of Austria-Hungary were nominated victors, although with exceedingly few exceptions they had defended the Hapsburg Empire for four and a half years with no less fervour and tenacity than had the others. We Americans were ordered to love Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia and to applaud the ill-treatment meted out to Hungarians and German-Austrians. We did. We bowed reverently to the fact that one racially mixed community, Austria-Hungary, was replaced and absorbed by a number of states, three of which, namely Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, were no less mixed than the dissected empire had been, whereas two states, Hungary and German-speaking Austria, suffered amputation of their best provinces.

I say we bowed to this settlement. To be quite exact, we did not care. The limited attention we gave to Europe hardly crossed the Rhine. If it suited the British and French to put millions of German-Austrians and Hungarians under Czech rule, Hungarians under Rumanian, and Croats under Serbian domination, why should we be squeamish?

But having helped our allies to win, we had our share of responsibility in the results of victory. We should not have washed our hands of all the injustice committed in the name of national self-determination, and yet we did. The fact that others, nearer to the spot, were no wiser than we may exculpate us, but it does not mean that we acted wisely. Peace treaties involve recognition of new factors that have been introduced by war; they also should involve a consulting together on the part of *all* the belligerents as to how best to set the world in working order again. Our desire to dictate the peace deprived us of much needed advice and criticism from experts among the countries most affected.

Even before Hitler shocked us into realizing our blunders, the truth had dawned upon some Americans who visited the dismembered empire. Businessmen, having visited first Croatia and then Serbia, or first Transylvania and then old Rumania, would ask me in bewilderment why advanced races had been put under the rule of comparatively backward ones. I could not find a satisfactory answer. Apparently in 1919 Christian statesmen had not yet discovered — as we now seem to have discovered — a method of chasing millions of provisionless people over the border without the slightest regard for family ties.

It is amazing how durable have been those habitual hatreds and fondnesses produced in the First World War and then foisted on us by our allies. The explanation is propaganda — an amount of propaganda unthinkable at the time of Washington's warning. People deprived of their livelihood by their neighbors never even had a hearing. At the same time, those who profited by the victors' arbitrary discrimination showered us with an unceasing flow of propaganda. Especially does this refer to the Czechs, who took some of the best agricultural parts of Hungary and the richest industrial parts of German-speaking Austria. Many millions of dollars were spent every year in various kinds of propaganda — the object of which was to keep what had been seized.

All of this may sound like past history, outrun by events of incomparable magnitude. In reality it is living history. The

same habitual hatreds and fondnesses are still alive and have already begun to shackle us and to make us blind to our own interests. I am not speaking of Germany and Japan, although these are cases where a policy of permanent hatred would be the source of most fateful blundering. I am speaking of the eastern half of Europe which includes one half of central Europe.

Again as in 1919, we are asked to consider the Slavs our natural friends and the non-Slavs our natural enemies. But Slavism now means something quite different from what it meant after the other war. Then it referred to small and separate nations, to Poles, Czechs and Serbs. Now it refers to the largest continuous empire on earth, which, controlled by a dictator, stretched from the Pacific Ocean into the heart of Germany, having reduced to the position of satellites all the Slavic races which had not been under the scepter of the Czars — all Poland, Bohemia, Slovakia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Bulgaria. At the same time, we are expected to contribute, at least by acquiescence, to the chaining of those elements in the Soviet sphere which are non-Slav, principally Hungary, Rumania and German-speaking Austria.

With great foresight, Russian, Czech and southern Slav-communist propagandists, drawing from seemingly inexhaustible funds, prepared the ground for this policy before the Second World War ended in Europe. A shrewd distinction has been dinned into our ears — a distinction between Hitler's victims and his collaborators and satellites. How many Americans remember that Dr. Edouard Benes was swept out of office as President of Czechoslovakia by an irresistible wave of pro-German collaborationism which even rotted his own National Socialist Party, whose champions, Beran and Chvalkovsky, he had nominated as premier and foreign minister? How many remember that the Slovaks, described for twenty years as members of the one Czechoslovak race, sided with Hitler in his war against Russia and declared war on Poland and America? Very few, it is safe to say. But everyone seems to believe that "feudal and fascist Hungary" was Hitler's enthusiastic ally. Again, few remember that the Moscow Declaration, signed by us in 1943, reminded Austria, Hitler's first victim, of her responsibility in having participated in the war. The labels "victim", "collaborator" and "satellite" have even been interchangeable. As long as it suited Moscow, Bulgaria was called a satellite of Hitler. When she became a satellite of Russia, it was acknowledged that she had been Hitler's victim. The same happened to Croatia.

It is undeniable fact that Hitler's best collaborators in the Second World War were the Czechs, the Slovaks and the Rumanians. Hungary held out longest against German demands, indeed, until the spring of 1944. Foreign propaganda, however, supported by our OWI, succeeded in distorting historic facts by telling our public that the regimes in Bohemia, Slovakia and Rumania were not representative of their peoples' wishes whereas the Hungarian regime was. This allegation is highly questionable.

Having been United States Minister to Hungary from 1933 to 1941, my regular post of observation in those critical years was Budapest. It was a unique post because the Magyars, neither Teuton nor Slav, were always aware of being between the two fires of German and Russian imperialism. During

those years, most of us saw only one fire, the German one. Hungary's vision was far ahead of ours. Had we listened to Hungarian statesmen, we should perhaps have been able to limit Stalin's triumph in the hour of Hitler's fall.

Hungary, between the two wars, was a small country, and from my watchtower on the Danube my eyes could roam over her neighbors and neighbors' neighbors, over Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Germany and Italy. The Department of State encouraged my travel across many borders. Anticipating what I want to show in this book, I might say that what I witnessed was a tragic and insoluble conflict between fear and honour, in which fear was bound to win. It is an undeniable fact that on many occasions those who had been treated as stepchildren by the Western powers in 1919 showed more loyalty to the Allied cause than their spoiled favorites did.

Would it not have been better if we had opposed the arbitrary discrimination indulged in by the surgeons of 1919, who thereby afforded Hitler his most powerful arguments? Offered a second chance, we ought to set ourselves strongly and firmly against a repetition which this time would allow Slavic imperialism to run amuck.

(End of quotations from J. F. Montgomery's book).

## The role of the Panslav factor

It is well known that in 1919 Rumania was reluctant for a long time to accept obligation for vested rights of the minorities to be included in the peace treaty. This is odd because it is typical of a Balkan state, of a Balkan nation that it makes no difference what they sign on any treaty, they act as they please as soon as they are in possession. This made Hungarians considerably uneasy, because they are well aware of the *morality of the Balkans* and of the practice of maltreating minorities and foreigners.

There is a well known historical reason for this. Byzantium was always in close contact with the absolutism of the Eastern peoples, the ideas of despotism derived from there.

In Byzantium they could never separate religion from Imperial politics. The religion began under the patronage of the emperor, interwoven with the empire, with the realm, with the political power. The Orthodox Church's servility derives from here. This situation has not changed during the last one and a half thousand years, it produced the *state-church* in all Orthodox countries, executing the power of government administration and supervision, almost as an organ of police. In such a political system, the clergy cannot progress and remains on a low level, the state does not develop either, life becomes rigid. This is the cause of the amazing primitiveness one notices when crossing the border of *Orthodoxia*.

In Balkan fashion, lies are considered virtue and to cheat someone is a glory. It would be a mistake to believe that these acts would cause some sort of remorse.

The Byzantines wanted to *dominate the world*. They elevated this *concept* to the rank of *messianism* in the Balkans and later in Russia, where the Greek Orthodox faith was gaining ground. Ever since, in the ethos of *Orthodoxia*, the East is the incarnation of morality, perfection, truth, it is itself the light, as opposed to the West, which is the nest of sin and decay. The West has to be conquered. In the New Testament the chosen

people are the Byzantines whose duty it is to guard the Orthodox faith and to prepare the redemption of humanity.

Professor Hans Kohn writes in his book *Pan-Slavism* (New York: Vintage Books 1960): "Khomyakov (1804—60) a leading Slavophile thinker was convinced by the events of 1848 that hope resided only in Orthodox Slavdom. He predicted in 1848 the end of Austria and of the last Charlemagne's Empire, and the disappearance of papal power 'in the archives of history, followed by Protestantism and by Catholicism... Now it is the turn of Orthodoxy, the turn of the Slav races to enter the stage of the world...'"

In the East, religious ceremonies are held in each country's language. Today this sounds quite natural, but during the Middle Ages when the Church (of Rome) had a definite role in uniting and reconciling people, the Latin liturgy played a great part in making it possible for the Church to become universal and international, and without doubt, this led to the development of *European spirituality*. In the Balkans the Greek-language Church was established and with its assistance the Gothic-, the Armenian-, the Syrian-, the Coptic-, and the Slavic national Churches arose. However the uniting strength and authority over individual nations and churches was missing from this system.

The Orthodoxy in every country remained on the level of its surroundings due to its rigid isolation. Basically it cultivated *bold nationalism*, however in the early stages more accent was placed on religion than on language. This is well manifested in the historic Serb—Croat hostility, which also serves as a good example of the type of thousand year-long religious ground-conditioning which cannot dissolve even with the decline of the importance of religion.

The frontier of Western culture has stood for one thousand years alongside the southern and eastern borders of pre-Trianon Hungary. The Orthodox powers regarded Hungary as the main obstacle in their desire to introduce Orthodoxy into Europe. Every such effort has been halted at the gates of Hungary. This has been long forgotten in the West, and the greatest problem is that it is not felt in Europe that in the appearance of 19th century nationalism Orthodoxy in fact gained new momentum by the *Panslav Movement*.

"Panslavism in the first half of the nineteenth century was a movement of the Western Slavs born out of their cultural awakening and their political weakness. In the second half of the century it became a predominantly Russian movement, rooted in a feeling of spiritual and material grandeur and in a consciousness of historical destiny." (*Hans Kohn*).

The revolutionary nature of Slavophilism was pointed out by Prince Ivan Sergeevich Gagarin (1814—82). In his pamphlet *La Russie sera-t-elle catholique?* (Paris 1856) he wrote: "In their foreign policy, they wished to fuse all Orthodox Christians of whatever nationality, and all Slavs of whatever religion, in a great political unity, in a great Slav and Orthodox empire..." (*Hans Kohn — Pan-Slavism*).

As a result of the Trianon Peace Treaty the Orthodox East (or by the Russian term the *Pravoslavs* — Real-Slavs) broke into the Carpathian Basin, actually into the *Occident* — fulfilling the long dream of the *Orient* — after many hundred years of trying.

In the middle of the Twentieth Century, led by Bolshevik

Russia, Slav nationalism conquered Central Europe, but that was all it has achieved: it could not give more than what is its essence: hardly anything more than Byzantinism manifested as Bolshevism. The Slav "salvation of Europe" was foredoomed to failure, it compromised even the Panslav idea of unification of all Slavs. From the "Great Slav Orthodox Union" Yugoslavia deserted first, then Rumania and at the end of 1989 the Soviet Union itself collapsed, or more correctly, the Russian Empire fell apart.

The USSR did not deliver the glory of the Slavs, neither of Orthodoxy, nor that of the Russians. They lost everything they had gained with US help. The Slovaks are fed up with the Slav brotherhood of the Czechs. The Ukrainians do not appreciate the brotherhood of the Russians. The Serbs cast off the Catholic Croats ending the South-Slav Union (but certainly wanting to keep Croat and Hungarian territories).

Almost everything that was done against the order of nature, now returns to normal in the Eastern part of Europe except the division of the Carpathian Basin by the Peace Treaty of Trianon.

The Treaty of Trianon delivered one third of the Hungarian nation into the practice of the *liquidation of nations*. This slow but rather effective "*final solution*" is the product of the amalgamation of Byzantine-originated xenophobia, the incurable desire for territorial expansion of the Slavs and the "nation-state" ideology of French-origin. This creates a hopeless future for Hungarians now living in the Successor States.

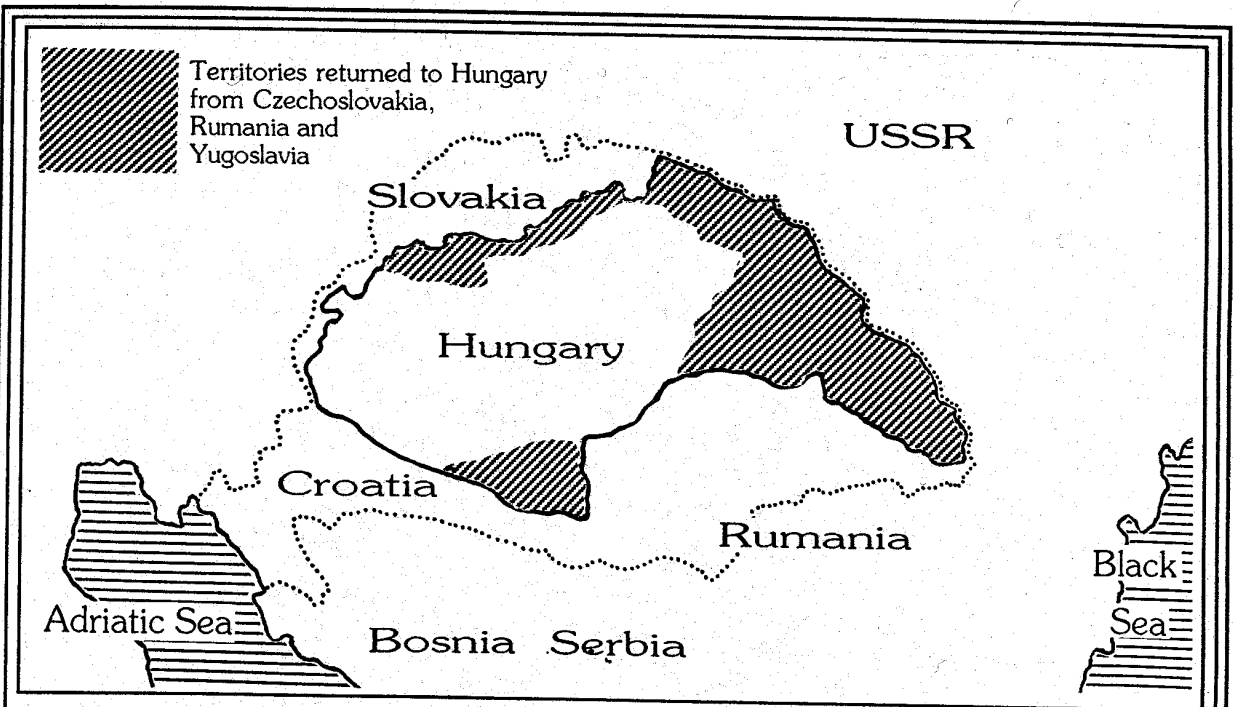
For a long time now the issue has not been a dispute of the frontiers, nor any demands for minority rights. The issue is a large-scale cultural genocide which cannot be stopped by any international treaty or by the nowadays fashionable *bilateral "fundamental" pacts*.

None of these solutions will succeed because they are contrary to the very nature of the conquerors, and no treaty is respected by the partners anyway. Any treatment of the symptoms is worthless: the inherent cause, the source of the crime must be eliminated.

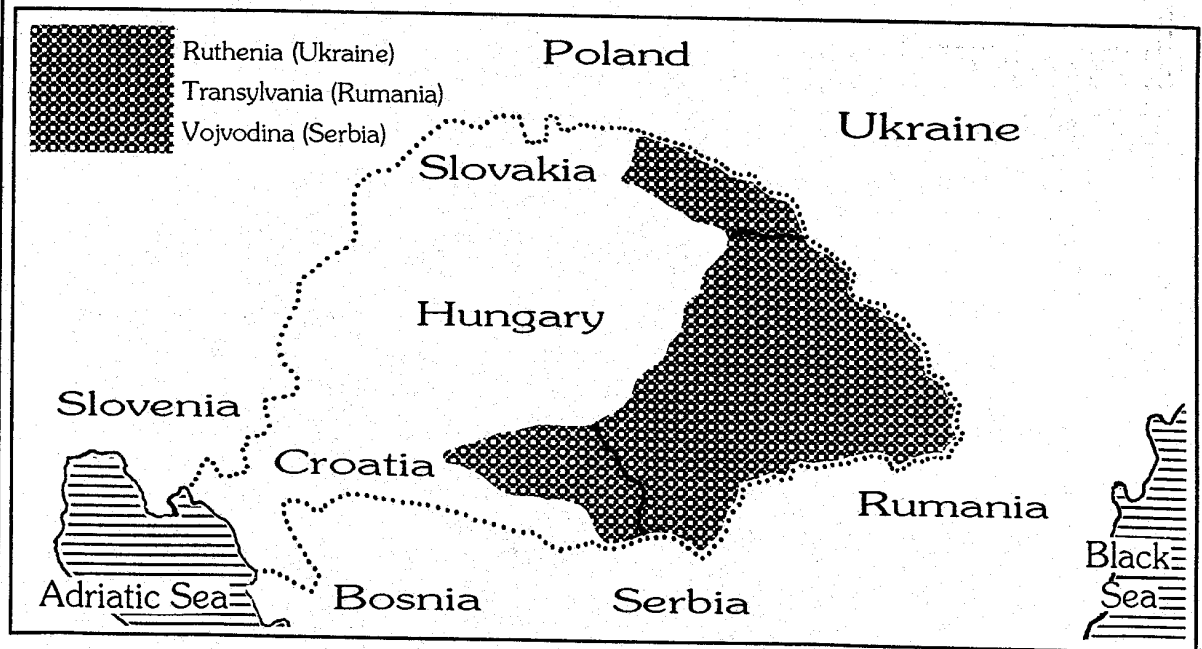
This problem cannot be handled between the interested parties, as it could not be handled during the past 75 years.

The Hungarians are not simply in quarrel with their neighbours, which can be ended by some mutual compromises. Hungary was attacked militarily in 1919 after the Armistice by the forces of the neighbouring countries with the assistance of the Great Powers. Seven neighbouring countries hold Hungarian-populated territories in captivity and they are not interested in settling the "quarrel", they are only interested in keeping Hungarian territories. They know very well, they can only keep the loot eternally if they clear the land of Hungarians. In this simple equation Hungary is not in a bargaining position, consequently there are no reasonable grounds for any bilateral treaty. The Hungarian people desire peace, but possess none of the elements required to achieve it. The Successor States are not interested in making sacrifices for the desired peace. That historical task should be assumed by the Great Powers who are responsible for creating this situation by imposing the Trianon Treaty 75 years ago and forcing Hungary to sign it on the sorrowful day of 4th June, 1920.

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Hungarian populated territories peacefully regained between 1938 and 1941. After the dissolution of the Czecho-Slovak State, Hungary recognized the first independent Slovak State (1939); Rumania agreed to return the northern part of Transylvania to Hungary (1940); Yugoslavia collapsed, Croatia become independent (1941).



This map shows an area of the Carpathian Basin (Historic Hungary) which now is in the possession of three Eastern (Orthodox-style) States: Ukraine, Rumania and Serbia. This nationally mixed area is suffering ethnic persecution and cultural genocide by its new host-states. The pacification of this land can only be achieved by the recognition of its own multicultural regional standing under an internationally guaranteed charter.



The unshaded area shows the extent of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.  
 Area of Hungary with Croatia: 325,411 km<sup>2</sup>. Population: 20,886,500.



Mutilated Hungary after the Trianon Treaty 1920—1938, and from 1945.  
 Area: 92,833 km<sup>2</sup>. Population: 7,606,900.