NEW SITAUTION IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

BY

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The Paris Peace Treaties of 1919—20. converted Europe into a number of storm-centres. They disrupted States that had existed for a thousand years, creating new patch-work States of a fictive character and tearing to shreds imperishable organic historical, geographical, geo-political, cultural and economic connections — for all the world like butchers slicing and cutting asunder the heads and trunks of slaughter animals and severing limbs and sinews, muscles and blood vessels. These treaties converted living organisms into mere rumps; *that leading naturally to the paralysing of economic life resulting in incapacity to function and finally in decay.* That is why the Hungarian revisionist movement struggled unswervingly for twenty hard years to enforce its demand for a just and honest revision of the Peace Edicts. That is why that movement kept on emphasising in its appeal to international public opinion that this was the only really constructive peace policy, an infatuated and obstinate insistence upon the *status quo* policy being bound sooner or later to plunge Europe into the horrors of a war far more awful than anything that had preceded it. By its revisionist policy the Hungarian people therefore clearly marked the only path leading to European re-construction. Unfortunately we failed to realise this object — the only really just and rational means to secure Europe against disaster — and a new Great War has consequently overtaken the world.

The first fruits of the Hungarian revisionist struggle ripened already before the outbreak of this war. As a consequence of the Vienna Award of November 2nd., 1938, a part of pre-War North Hungary was re-incorporated in the mother country; while on March 15th., 1939, Sub-Carpathia (Ruthenia) was restored to Hungary. And quite recently,

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on August 30th., 1940, the Second Vienna Award re-incorporated in Hungary North Transylvania. As a result of the triple re-incorporation of lost territory the area of Hungary has increased to 160,757 sq. kilometres, the number of her inhabitants being now roughly 13.500.000 souls.

We must not however forget that present-day Hungary is still 120.000 sq. kilometres smaller in area than the Hungary of pre-War days, the number of her inhabitants being also 7 million below the figures recorded in the days prior to the first Great War — despite the fact that there has been a very considerable natural increase during the past twenty years.

Fully aware of the higher standpoints guiding the authors of the Award, the Hungarian nation displayed a respectful appreciation of the decision taken; for *the Hungarian nation has always pursued a European policy and has always been ready to make sacrifices for the furtherance of great European aims of universal interest.* And that nation has always unstintingly and unreservedly met the obligations which it has undertaken. It has always been a loyal partner guided by the principle of *bona fides.* But that attitude has always been conditional on the other partner — Rumania — also showing equal loyalty and *bona fides.* In another article in the present issue the reader will find a *communiqué* issued by the Hungarian Telegraph Bureau showing that the Rumanian partner to the deal has deliberately abandoned the principle of *bona fides,* the Hungarian Government having in consequence been compelled to address to Bucharest a very energetic warning.

The Vienna Award admitted the justice of Hungary's claim to Transylvania; and the fact that out of higher considerations of a general purport, while meting out justice to Hungary in this monstrous process, the said Award displayed an attitude of fairness also towards the defendant Rumania, *by no means justifies the Rumanians wreaking their vengeance upon the hundreds of thousands of Magyars remaining beyond the new frontier.* It is becoming daily more and more evident that the hundreds of thousands of Magyars who in terms of the Vienna Award are compelled to live under Rumanian rule, have been doomed to a most

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inhuman lot —, being subjected to increased persecution, deprived of every possibility of earning a subsistence and driven to seek safety in flight. We repeat — Hungary fully respects the Award, which she will unreservedly and loyally carry into effect. But an agreement is not an agreement at all unless it is bi-lateral, — i. e. unless it is carried into effect also by the other party just as unstintingly and unreservedly. Nothing is more foreign to the intentions of an agreement however than that the terms of that agreement should be fulfilled without reserve and the obligations undertaken loyally met only by one of the parties, while the other party either openly commits breaches of the agreement or tolerates a state of things in which the undeniable facts are a flat contradiction of the obligations undertaken demonstratively in the eyes of the outside world — a procedure not calculated to serve the cause of peace and tranquillity either.

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