

Endre Csapó

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TRIANON IS THE GRAVE OF EUROPEAN SECURITY AND OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Even today, after 58 years, as later descendants, we numbly ponder: Why did this have to happen? Where and when did we commit such crimes that fate dealt us such an unbearable, deadly blow? On June 4, 1920, in the Trianon Palace in Versailles, near Paris, on behalf of the Hungarian Government, Ágoston Bénérd, Minister of Welfare, shaking in all his limbs, tearfully signed the Peace Treaty. Six years previously, the Great War had broken out, which was the war of the great powers, and, as if there had been no other goal for the shattered world: Hungary was dismembered.

The country lost 71.4% of its territory, 63.5% of its population, 88% of its forests, 61.4% of its arable land, 71% of its livestock, 65% of its railways and highways, 100% of its gold, silver and copper mines, 55.7% of its factories and workshops, 65.2% of its power stations etc. According to the statistics of the 1910 census, the number of Hungarians torn apart from their country was as follows: in Czechoslovakia 1,034,343, in Romania 1,704,851, in Yugoslavia 563,597 and in Austria 24,807 – altogether 3,377,598 people. (Official statistical data)

The Baranya Triangle was given to Yugoslavia for “strategical reasons”, which could not be considered peaceful intentions, and part of Western Hungary was given to Austria. Northern Hungary, Sub-

Carpathia, Southern Hungary and Transylvania, that is Eastern Hungary, were taken away in their entirety. The northern part of the Great Plain was also taken away, in spite of the fact that it was populated entirely by Hungarians, under the pretext that Slovakia needed it as agricultural land. The anti-Hungarian aims of the Dictated Peace are proven by the fact that the great powers did not even provide a means for border adjustments, although the above-mentioned separated territories were entirely populated by Hungarians.

The Ethnic Principle and the Accusation of Oppression

The one-thousand-year-old frame of the Hungarian state – the land that saw great happenings in Europe – offered its protective wings to our ethnic minorities. Here the little Serb people found asylum and flourished and after it the more fortunate Croatian people that supported Hungary, and also the Vlach people who found refuge in the mountains of Transylvania, who can truly be thankful for this. The Slovak language and people were also developed here and the people of Sub-Carpathia is the clearest example of a small ethnic group who found refuge under the protection of the Hungarian state. The accusation that for a thousand years, the Hungarians oppressed these peoples is absolute nonsense. Nationalism is only 150 years-old and it was not a Hungarian discovery. It is a fact that these peoples only in the 19th century were able to form themselves into nations, but this delay was not due to the national character of Hungary. The overpowering forces of history had their influence on them as they did on us, and, while these forces caused them to be contained in ethnic areas, they played a historical role in support of the Hungarian people and the Hungarian state. It is only in the most recent times that they agitated for their own states, for political reasons.

If those theorists, who urgently wanted by all means to restructure Central Europe, had kept in their sights the vision of the modern

times of this area or the changed relationships of the people and languages, there would not have been an outbreak of war or incitement of one people against another. They would not have worked out a peace-dictate with coercive measures, but they would have spent their time in encouraging a voluntary partnership of those peoples who were turned against each other with the incitement of hate caused by the propaganda, and there would have been discussions and cooperation to work to build the future.

Never in the course of history had Hungary had such problems with the neighboring peoples: on the contrary, during the wars against the Turks and Hapsburgs these peoples more than once offered to defend Hungary. For eight-hundred years, in good times and bad, we stood beside Croatia. We welcomed the Serbs in large numbers and allowed them to settle in Hungary. The Hungarians did not object to the settlement of the Vlachs, although they were not left homeless in fighting against the Turks, like the Serbs, but they came to Hungary for a better life, and, in such large numbers that any other state would have placed sanctions on them. The Hungarians found it natural to accept other peoples who came to live in their country. "We have enough room, come and settle here." This can be considered to be a futile characteristic.

Contrary to the accusation of national intolerance, the truth is that the liberal ideas of the nineteenth century paralyzed our vigilance. The nationalism awakened by the liberalism united the German and Italian states and organized the Slav states into a brotherly alliance but tore apart the national states like Austria and Hungary. The whole thing looks eerily as if some huge secretly organizing hand were directing the chain of delusions and events to the advantage of Bolshevism. Engels writes in the April 21, 1855 issue of the *Neue Oder Zeitung* "Panslavism is not a movement for national independence, but a movement, which, in order to achieve its goal, must wipe Turkey,

Hungary and a large part of Germany off the map.” International Bolshevism at that time was still sitting on the German horse. The world war caused it to change over to the Russian horse. At that time all the propaganda of hell was released in the interest of the dismemberment of Hungary.

The Events

Interestingly, the plan for the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was set in motion by the assassination of that person, who, as heir to the throne, openly advocated re-organizing the dual-monarchy into a triple-monarchy, with the establishment of “Yugoslavia.” There must have been an interesting background to this plan, because the reorganization of a triple-monarchy (although in a more moderate way) would have worked in the interests of the Slavs.

In the Council of Ministers, Count István Tisza was the only one to oppose a campaign of retaliation against Serbia. He considered the plan to be a big mistake, and by no means wanted to take the responsibility for it. He proposed diplomatic actions, and although he could see that it was necessary to place sanctions on Serbia, in his opinion these demands should not be impossible to achieve.

“The one-thousand-year-old Hungary ceased to practice politics of expansion seven hundred years ago and today does not look for enlargement, no matter at whose expense the increase in territory might take place. I, as Prime Minister of Hungary, can never agree to the Monarchy annexing Serbian territory.” Despite this very clear announcement, the Council of Ministers, with a majority vote, decided to send an ultimatum to Serbia. Count István Tisza, who was the only one among the victors and the vanquished

to raise his voice in the interest of peace, chose to defend his country and the Monarchy in the unrestrained events that followed.

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At the beginning of the war, the Czechs were planning to establish a Czech kingdom, with a member of the Russian dynasty as king, but the two good-natured emigrants, Masaryk and Benes, received so much money from the American circles that they soon gave up the idea of a kingdom. At the request of their clients, they planned to establish a democratic state. With the help of the liberal Western media, they soon became popular and all doors opened to them. They became agents of a huge enterprise that finally resulted in the overthrow of Europe.

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The Russians promised Transylvania and the whole of Eastern Hungary to the Romanians if they would turn against the Monarchy. The latter were cautious for a while but, after the successful offensive of General Brussilov, they concluded a treaty with the Allies on August 17, 1916. Ten days later, they invaded Transylvania. This, of course, did not help the alliance, because they quickly withdrew from there. In spite of this, they received the promised territory. (The entire large Entente did not receive as much!)

The 14 Points

The American President Wilson, nine months after America's declaration of war (April 6, 1917), dropped the first intellectual atom-bomb onto Europe – the famous 14 Points, which was the more detailed form of the principle of the right to self-determination of the extremely pliable undetermined peoples (which everyone interpreted according to their pleasure, gaining Wilson great popularity even in

Hungary), which inevitably caused a certain disillusionment in Hungarian circles.

From a distance of 50 years, it can be established that Wilson's 14 points were the first public expression of the upheaval in Europe, and the simple wording in some of the details was obviously intended to influence the masses. The very first point hides the hypocrisy and the lies: the Allies concluded a secret pact with Romania (August 17, 1916), in which they promised to give her Hungary. The sixth point expressed a quasi-recognition of Bolshevik Russia, which Roosevelt formalized in 1933. The noteworthy unjustified endowment of Hungary to Romania, and the raising of every Slav people to an independent state, shows for the first time the involvement of the western liberal alliance with Pan-Slavism. President Wilson may have been just the announcer of a political plan that prepared the elimination of Europe's leading role as a world power. Hungary became the most serious sacrifice of this movement.

Wilson's principles, the Pan-Slav movements and the press in the boulevards all wanted one thing: the destruction of the thousand-year-old Hungary. On the same October day that Count István Tisza was assassinated in Budapest, the "New Europe" in London announced what the conditions of peace would be.

The Hungarian state, rendered senseless for a moment offered the possibility for Mihály Károlyi to fulfill his ambition to be the Head of Government and also Head of State. First of all, he disarmed and scattered the homecoming Hungarian troops, then, as the straggling armies of the Czechs, Romanians and Serbs began their occupation of Hungary, he grasped right and left and finally, offering Hungary to the protection of the Bolsheviks, he handed over the power to Béla Kun.

On April 17, the Romanian offensive against the disarmed country began. After invading the country, the Romanian army became the largest band of robbers in Europe. The American member of the Allied military mission, General Harry Hill Bandholz, sent a telegram to Paris (in spite of the opposition of the other members of the mission): “The Romanians are doing all they can to drag out the situation, so that they can complete the destruction of Hungary.” Here he described how the Romanians took all moveable objects, put them on trains and neither the locomotives nor the passenger trains ever came back.

The reign of terror of Béla Kun and Tibor Szamuely, which lasted for 133 days, gave the Romanians the impetus to occupy the capital city of the country. Béla Kun, returning the power to the Socialists, together with his accomplices, fled to the West. In the meantime, the National Army, established in Szeged (which received permission to operate only under conditions from the French military branch in Belgrade, not to attack the retreating Romanians and generally not to cross the demarcation line) occupied Transdanubia and, on November 16, under the leadership of Commander-in-Chief, Miklós Horthy, entered Budapest.

After years of loose morals, the first responsibility of the national government was to reinstate the rule of law.

Laden with events, the difficult year culminated on November 23, 1919, when, in the name of the Allied Powers, Clark recognized the new government and, on December 1, he handed over to the Peace Conference, which was convened in Paris, the compelling letter containing the conditions of peace, not for negotiation but for acceptance.

This was a Crime

The great powers ensured in the clauses of the Peace Treaty the minority rights of freedom of speech and culture in the lives of the millions of people separated from Hungary, only they did not make sure that they could enforce these clauses, if the successor states did not fulfill the obligations that they had signed for. As was demonstrated later, the clauses containing the minority rights were nothing more than a smoke-screen in the eyes of the Hungarians: The borders determined by the peace treaty were fixed in the basic law of the League of Nations, but not the protection of the minority rights. The unyielding rejection of our efforts at revision are proof that Hungary was not the victim of a mistake or misconception but was purposefully dismembered.

The ethnographic principle too, which was fabricated against us, sounds very good in and of itself, but those, who took on the responsibility of creating peace between the nations, should have investigated how the dispute between the Hungarians and Romanians could not be solved simply by annexing the Romanian populated area to Romania. The spiritual traditions, the soul and individuality of Transylvania, throughout many centuries, established the urban culture. In the rural areas, the infiltrated Vlachs particularly, some of whom went to the cities and came in contact with the Hungarian culture and subsequently the European civilization, never developed their own urban individuality to the level of that of the Hungarians. Later, the national consciousness which evolved became a wild plundering nationalism. With an appetite for loot unimaginable to the Europeans, they rushed to steal the booty from the hated and envied Hungarian “gentlemen”. The tragedy of the Transylvanian Hungarians has become more complete with this disparity.

Between the two Wars

In unusually difficult circumstances, in truth a new conquest had to be accomplished in Hungary in such a hostile environment, in which the existence of the remnant-country was every day in danger, without the hope that there would be anyone who could prevent such violence against our state. The diplomatic encirclement was so complete that we could not even count on sympathy from anyone.

As if all hopes of altering the borders had vanished, the Hungarian government, in order to ameliorate the fate of the Hungarians suffering under foreign rule, looked for a rapprochement with those states, among which the Hungarian territory and population had been distributed.

However, the efforts at negotiation that were initiated, as a result of obstruction by the neighboring states before an agreement could be reached, remained unsuccessful. Moreover, those governments, referring to a non-existent Hungarian danger, joined together in an anti-Hungarian political alliance. This Little Entente, comprising of Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia, supplemented the alliance with a military agreement in 1921, following the instructions of Trianon, kept the disarmed Hungary under their supervision and prevented her from re-arming. In the years following Trianon, the Little Entente, politically and militarily surrounded Rump-Hungary and endeavored to suppress every manifestation of life. Moreover, in the knowledge of their might and their power, they forced their will on the life of the domestic politics and put pressure on them to make changes in the laws.

We must also mention the amazing results of the Hungarian will to live. István Bethlen, the Hungarian Prime Minister, after receiving admission to the League of Nations (September 18, 1922) asked for a loan, which the bankers of the victors gave him with appropriate guarantees. The total of the loan was 250 million golden crowns. The

blood circulation of the economic life was set in motion and the Hungarian diligence created new industries with the money that was loaned by the victors.

At the time of the stabilization of our currency, István Bethlen gave the Regent a confidential report that the bases for the consolidation of the economic and domestic politics were laid out, and the next step was to shake off the military control and rebuild our military armaments. At the same time, we needed to make increased political efforts to destroy the Little Entente. The work of foreign politics could actually only be started a year later. He was sure that in 4-5 years we would be able to liquidate Trianon. Unfortunately, the events did not confirm this prediction, but Hungary was able to escape the state of isolation in foreign politics.

The outcome of the war was that, in the face of Slav imperialism all barriers were broken down and Central Europe became a colony of the Soviet-Russian Empire, which resulted in the harshest fate for the non-Slav Hungarians. We can rightly call this state “Super-Trianon”.

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