

**HUNGARY AND  
HER SUCCESSORS  
1919 — 1937**

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# HUNGARY AND HER SUCCESSORS

THE TREATY OF TRIANON AND  
ITS CONSEQUENCES

1919 — 1937

*By*

C. A. MACARTNEY

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## FOREWORD

IT is the duty of the author of a book published under the auspices of Chatham House to call attention to the conditions under which Chatham House lends its *imprimatur* to such works: to wit, that the sole responsibility for the correctness of any facts recorded, and the sagacity of any opinions expressed therein, rests with the author alone. It must be his pleasure to acknowledge most gratefully the invaluable help rendered him by the staff of the Library, the Press-cutting and Information sections, and other departments of the Institute.

Many other kindly helpers have given me much assistance both by supplying information, in the first instance, and by reading the draft of all or part of the manuscript, correcting errors of fact, and persuading me to renounce unreasonable judgments. If I insist once again on my sole responsibility for the final result, this is not due to satisfaction with it; but some who helped me most, including in particular certain experts in the countries whose conditions are here described, feared that if I accepted and acknowledged their help, the impression might arise that they had secured the removal of what was objectionable to them in the first draft, and agreed with the residue. I gladly record that this is not the case; nor did I myself expect, or even seek to reach such complete agreement with any one party to questions so complex and controversial. I am, however, deeply indebted to these experts, and also to the officials of their countries, including in particular the staffs of their London Legations for facilitating my journeys, and in some cases my inquiries.

If any person has the patience to read this book right through, he may complain of a certain unevenness of treatment. For example, the negotiations for the settlement of the Austrian and the Slovak frontiers are described in some detail, while the corresponding negotiations with Yugoslavia occupy only a few paragraphs, those with Roumania only a few lines. The economic position in Slovakia-Ruthenia and in Hungary is treated much more fully than that in Transylvania and the Voivodina; almost as much space is devoted to the national feelings of the Bunyevci as to those of the Transylvanian-Roumanians. This is, I fear, due in part to the very unequal wealth of the sources of information, but partly also to purpose. This book was written, not as a history, but as part of a series dealing with the problems of treaty revision, and it therefore dwells most closely on what is most nearly germane to the revision

problem: the doubtful and disputed points, or the cases where one argument, e.g. the economic, may be set against another—the strategic or ethnographical.

Many places in what used to be Hungary have two or three national names, and it is a sore problem to decide which should be used. I have attempted in each case to use the name current in the country with which the section in question is dealing, placing the alternative names in brackets after the first use of the name in that section. Thus in the Hungarian section I write 'Pozsóny (Pressburg, Bratislava)' when mentioning that historic city for the first time, thereafter 'Pozsóny' alone; in the Austrian section, 'Pressburg (Pozsóny, Bratislava)', thereafter 'Pressburg'; in the Czechoslovak sections, 'Bratislava (Pozsóny, Pressburg)', then 'Bratislava'. The solution is not ideal, and involves difficulties, in particular in connexion with quotations from historic documents; but I can devise no better.

Finally, I would ask understanding, if not indulgence, for the many mistakes which these pages must contain. To mention one difficulty alone, at least seventeen different languages are indigenous to the area covered; and that is counting the dialects of Ruthene as one.

C. A. MACARTNEY

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ETHNOGRAPHICAL MAP OF HUNGARY *in folder at end of book.*

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

*Czech Claims* = *The Territorial Claims of the Czecho-Slovak Republic* (Memorandum presented to the Peace Conference, 1919).

*H.P.C.* = TEMPERLEY (H. W. V.) ed.: *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*. 6 vols. London, 1920-4.

*Hungarian Peace Negotiations* = *The Hungarian Peace Negotiations: an account of the work of the Hungarian Peace Delegation at Neuilly s/S. from January to March 1920*. 3 vols. in 4. Budapest, 1921-2.

Hunter Miller, *Diary* = MILLER (David Hunter): *My Diary at the Peace Conference of Paris*. 21 vols. Printed privately, 1924-6.

*L.N.O.Ź.* = *League of Nations Official Journal*.

*Revision Memorandum* = *Memorandum concerning the Situation of the Hungarian Minority in Czechoslovakia*. Budapest, 1934.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THE following list does not attempt to do more than indicate some of the more important publications on the very wide subject-matter of this book. It is a guide for further reading, rather than an enumeration of my own sources, a large proportion of which do not consist of printed matter at all. On the other hand, I have tried where possible to avoid recommending books which I have not myself read; partly in deference to some scruples expressed to me by some foreign helpers who supplied me with lists of what were in their opinion the best books—for, they said, if I had read those works my conclusions would have been different; and I must beware of pretending to more authority than my elementary studies can justly claim; but partly because I myself have learned from experience that not all works popular among individual nations are either wise or helpful. I have included such works only where the list, without them, seemed one-sided. Many of the titles given below are abbreviated.

**Pre-War History.** The histories of Hungary before the War, and also those published since in English, French, or German, usually give little help in understanding the causes of Hungary's break-down. The best in this regard is Count P. Teleki, *The Evolution of Hungary and its place in European History* (Williamstown, 1923). There is now a monumental 7-volume history, *Magyar Történet*, by Professors Hóman and Szekfű, of which an abbreviation is to appear in English. J. Kornis, *A Magyar Művelődés Eszményei* (Budapest, 1927, 2 vols.), throws much light on the ideology of the whole modern period; J. Hermant, *La révolution hongroise de 1848* (Paris, 1901), for the first great revolution; I. de Nagy, *A Nemzetiségi Törvény* (Budapest, 1929), for the succeeding period, for which see also the various writings of Baron Eötvös on the national question. For the period after 1867: G. Gratz, *A Dualismus Kora* (Budapest, 1934); J. Szekfű, *Három Nemzedék* (latest edition, Budapest, 1935). See also Count Tisza's speeches in his *Összes Munkái*. Criticism of modern Hungarian policy from the Magyar side: L. Mocsáry, *Nemzetiség* (Vienna, 1858), *Programm a nemzetiség és a nemzetiségek tárgyában* (Budapest, 1860), *Néhány szó a nemzetiségi kérdéstről* (Budapest, 1866), and O. Jászi, *A nemzetiségi kérdés* (Budapest, 1911), *Der Zusammenbruch des Dualismus* (Vienna, 1918), and *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Chicago, 1929). An important study on the development of the nationalities: A. Balogh, *A népfajok Magyar-*

országban. For a Magyar point of view, I am referred to the works of G. Beksics, *Magyarosodás és Magyarosítás* (Budapest, 1883), *A Magyar politika* (Budapest, 1899). Much material is contained in the three volumes dealing with the work of the Hungarian Peace Delegation (*The Hungarian Peace Negotiations: an account of the Hungarian Peace Delegation at Neuilly s/S. from January to March 1920*). Published by the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Budapest, 1921-2. Quoted here as *Hungarian Peace Negotiations*). The chief non-Magyar critics: A. Popovici (Transylvanian-Roumanian) in *Die Vereinigten Staaten Gross-Oesterreichs* (Leipzig, 1906), and above all R. W. Seton-Watson's works, particularly *Racial Problems in Hungary* (London, 1908). From the Yugoslav side, a work by M. Kirilović is appearing shortly. For the various national movements, general: B. Auerbach, *Les Races et les nationalités en Austro-Hongrie* (Paris, 1917); A. Fischel, *Der Panslawismus* (Berlin, 1919) (very useful account, unsympathetic to the Slavs), and various memoranda in the *Hungarian Peace Negotiations*; Germans (Suabians): R. Kaindl, *Geschichte der Deutschen in den Karpathenländern* (Gotha, 1907, 3 vols.); S. Rádo, *Das Deutschtum in Ungarn* (Berlin, 1913); *Deutschtum und Magyarisierung in Ungarn* (Munich, 1908), and a few other pamphlets.

For the Slovaks, Seton-Watson, *Racial Problems in Hungary*, with bibliography of the earlier literature on both sides, *q.v.*; from the Magyar side I am recommended L. Steier, *A tót kérdés* (Lip-tószentmiklós, 1912). For Czech-Slovak relations, A. Szána, *Geschichte der Slowakei* (Bratislava, 1930), most useful; much material also in the Czech War-time propaganda on the one hand, and the *Hungarian Peace Negotiations* on the other. For the Ruthenes, Hungarian writers: A. Bonkaló, *Die ungarländischen Ruthenen* (Ungarische Jahrbücher, vol. i, 1922), chiefly historical, and *A Kárpátalja rutén irodalom és művelődés* (Pécs, 1931); Czech thesis, K. Krofta, *Die Podkarpatska Rús und die Tschechoslowakei* (Prague, 1934). The Roumanians, R. W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Roumanians* (London, 1935), with full bibliography. From the Hungarian side, the chief works are those of B. Jancsó, *A román nemzetiségi törekvések története* (Budapest, 1896, 1899), and *A román irridentista mozgalmak története* (Budapest, 1920); from the Roumanian side, the works of Jorga, notably his *Histoire des roumains de Transylvanie et de Hongrie* (Bucharest, 1915), and of Hasdeu, Xenopol, &c., also A. Popovici, *La Question roumaine en Transylvanie et en Hongrie* (Paris, 1918), G. Moroianu, *La Lutte des roumains transylvains* (Paris, 1933). The Transylvanian Saxons have a monumental 3-volume history of their own: G. and F. Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (4th ed., Hermannstadt, 1925), and a rich literature of 'Volksbücher'.

For the Southern Slav question in the Dual Monarchy the classic works are R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy* (London, 1911), with bibliography, and 'Südland', *Die südslawische Frage und der Weltkrieg* (Vienna, 1918) (interesting, anti-Serb). Both of these deal more fully with Croatia than with the Voivodina. H. Wendel, *Aus dem südslawischen Risorgimento* (Gotha, 1921), and E. Haumant, *La Formation de la Yougoslavie* (Paris, 1930), have interesting chapters on the Serb movement in the Voivodina. A short work on the Banat, from the Hungarian side, is that of E. Horváth, *The Banat* (Sárkány, 1931). The latest work by a Magyar is B. Nádasdy, *Délszlávok* (Budapest, n.d.). Older literature on the Voivodina: J. H. Schwicker, *Geschichte der oesterreichischen Militärgrenze* (Vienna, 1883), and *Politische Geschichte der Serben in Ungarn* (Budapest, 1880); G. Czirbusz, *Délvidéki németek* (Budapest, 1913).

For the economic development of Hungary: J. Grunzl, *Handelspolitik und Ausgleich in Oesterreich-Ungarn* (Vienna, 1912); K. Mandello, *Rückblicke auf die Entwicklung der ungarischen Volkswirtschaft 1877-1902* (Budapest, 1902); A. von Matlekovits, *Geschichte des ungarischen Staatshaushaltes 1867 bis 1893* (Prague, 1895); id., *Die Zollpolitik der Oesterreichischen-ungarischen Monarchie und des deutschen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1891); W. Offergeld, *Grundlagen und Ursachen der industriellen Entwicklung Ungarns* (Jena, 1914) (an interesting study from outside); R. Sieghart, *Zolltrennung und Zolleinheit* (Vienna, 1915); J. Szterényi, *La Grande Industrie du royaume de Hongrie* (Budapest, 1901) (by the man largely responsible for Hungary's industrial development before the War). Retrospective post-War works, written largely to prove the un wisdom of the Treaty: L. Buday, *Dismembered Hungary* (Budapest, 1922); id., *The Economic Unity of Hungary* (Budapest, 1919); I. A. Edvi, *Hungarian State Policy with Regard to the Position of Industry* (Budapest, 1920); I. Edvi and A. Kalasz, *Magyarország a háboru előtt és után* (Budapest, 1926). There is also much material in *Hungarian Peace Negotiations*, and some in *Justice for Hungary* (Budapest, 1928), a collection of articles by different hands, of very unequal value.

The period of the 'Umsturz' is described as regards Hungary generally, in many works, *inter alia* G. Andrassy, *Diplomacy and War* (London, 1921); E. Glaise-Horstenau, *The Collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire* (London, 1930); G. Gratz and R. Schüler, *Der wirtschaftliche Zusammenbruch Oesterreich-Ungarns* (Vienna, 1930); A. Hevesy, *L'Agonie d'un Empire* (Paris, 1923); Th. Batthyány, *Für Ungarn gegen Hohenzollern* (Vienna, 1930); O. Jászi, *Magyariens Schuld, Ungarns Sühne* (Vienna, 1923); M. Károlyi, *Gegen eine ganze Welt* (Munich, 1924). *Justice for*

*Hungary* contains a valuable chapter (easily the best in the book) by A. Horváth, 'The Diplomatic History of the Treaty of Trianon'. Short summary, C. A. Macartney, 'Hungary', in *The Modern World* series (London, 1934). For the proceedings of the Peace Conference, *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, edited by H. W. V. Temperley (6 vols., London, 1920-4), supplemented by the same author's article, 'How the Hungarian Frontiers were drawn' (*Foreign Affairs* (New York), April 1928), and D. Hunter Miller's *My Diary at the Peace Conference of Paris* (21 vols., privately printed, 1924-6), these forming the standard works; H. Nicolson, *Peacemaking* (London, 1933), with details of the work of the Commissions on Hungarian frontiers. Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Roumania have published official material relating to the proceedings at the Conference. For the Austrian frontier, see also V. Miltshinsky, *Das Verbrechen von Oedenburg* (Vienna, 1922), and E. Traeger, *Die Volksabstimmung in Sopron* (1921); some details also in O. Bauer, *Die Oesterreichische Revolution* (Vienna, 1923). For Czechoslovakia: Masaryk, *The Making of a State*, and Beneš, *Der Aufstand der Nationen*, are essential, also, for Ruthenia, Žatkovič's *Exposé* (Homestead, Pa., n.d., roneoed only). General account in J. Opočensky, *The Collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Rise of the Czechoslovakian State*, and *Umsturz in Mitteleuropa* (Dresden, 1931), also A. Pechány, *Comment les Tchèques ont accaparé la Slovaquie* (1928). Szána, op. cit., gives without comment very valuable contemporary documentary and press material. For the Roumanian and Yugoslav frontiers there are no available accounts on the other side to balance the story told in *Justice for Hungary*. L. Várjássy, *Révolution, Bolchévisme, Réaction* (Paris, 1934), gives a few interesting details on the Banat.

For Post-War National Conditions in General, much of the best material is published in periodical form. *Nation und Staat* (Vienna, 1927- , monthly) is the most useful of the periodicals. It is fullest for the German minorities, and reflects chiefly the more *völkisch* point of view, but prints valuable 'Situation Reports' for other minorities also. *Magyar Kisebbség*, in Magyar, with an abbreviated version, *Glusul Minoritaților* (Lugoș, Roumania), containing also articles in French, German, and Roumanian, is edited by Magyars and is fullest for the Magyar minorities in Roumania, whose point of view it reflects. *The Danubian Review*, published in Budapest, the *Voix des Peuples—Minorité* of Geneva (1933- )—deal chiefly with injustices perpetrated on the Magyar minorities, but also with other shortcomings of the Successor States. The 'omnibus' volume, *Die*

*Nationalitäten in den Staaten Europas*, edited by M. Ammende (Vienna, 1931, supplement 1932) contains a very valuable summary of the situation at the time. The point of view is that of the minorities; the sources often identical with those of *Nation und Staat* and *Magyar Kisebbség*. The German *Volk und Reich* (Berlin, monthly) often has interesting, but biased, articles. The periodicals published in English or French by the Governments are usually pretty innocent affairs: the best are those of Prague, *The Central European Observer*, and *L'Europe Centrale*. The *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* and *Magyar Szemle* reflect the views of circles connected with Count Bethlen: in another field, the *League of Nations Official Journal* contains a large number of minority petitions, sometimes with the replies of the Governments. Any one making a detailed study of post-War conditions should go through these periodicals, where he will find a wealth of material. See also on the minority problem in general, C. A. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities* (London, 1934), with bibliography.

**General Works on the Magyar Minorities.** *The Hungarian Minorities in the Successor States* (Budapest, 1929) and the publications of the Hungarian Frontier Readjustment League; see also below under 'Treaty Revision'. General works on the Germans: *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtum* (Breslau, 1933); R. Bahr, *Volk jenseits der Grenze*, and *Deutsches Schicksal im Südosten* (Hamburg, 1936); U. C. von Loesch, *Volk unter Völkern* (Breslau, 1935). Special areas: on the Burgenland, see the works quoted in the text, of which that of de Nagy has a bibliography; another bibliography is given in *Magyar Kisebbség*, 1934, no. 13, pp. 389-91. A big Austrian atlas and encyclopaedia of the Burgenland is said to be in preparation. For Slovakia the literature is richer. Official statistics in the *Annuaire Statistique* of the Czechoslovak Republic. For the nationality laws, E. Sobota, *Das tschechische Nationalitätenrecht* (Prague, 1931). For a sketch of the political parties, J. Borovička, *Ten Years of Czechoslovakian Politics* (Prague, 1929). For the land reform, several official accounts have been issued by the Ministry of Agriculture in Prague. For political conditions, the main works friendly to the régime are R. W. Seton-Watson, *The New Slovakia* (1924), and *Slovakia Then and Now* (London, 1931), a collection of articles by various Slovak writers on many aspects of Slovak life, with the most valuable introduction, friendly but critical, by Professor Seton-Watson. In similar vein, C. J. C. Street, *Slovakia Past and Present* (London, 1923). Much material can be found also in *L'Europe Centrale* and *The Central European Observer*, both published in Prague, and in *Le Monde Slave* (Paris). Dr. Beneš, *Discours aux*

*Slovaques sur le présent et l'avenir de notre nation* (1933), is important both historically and as a statement of policy. On the other side, H. Hassinger, *Die Tschechoslowakei* (Vienna, 1925); L. Steier, *Ungarns Vergewaltigung* (Vienna, 1929); Fr. Jehlička, *Une Étape du calvaire slovaque* (Paris, 1930); R. Donald, *The Tragedy of Trianon* (London, 1934) (chiefly material from Magyar sources); O. Tarján, *The Ways of Czechoslovakia and its Magyar Minority* (Budapest, 1934); *Memorandum concerning the Situation of the Hungarian Minority in Czechoslovakia* (Budapest, 1934). For the Germans, the various *Flugschriften* of the *Zipser deutsche Partei*. For industry and commerce, *Jahresberichte der Zentralvereinigung der slowakischen Industrie* (Bratislava, 1925- ). A series by A. Fichelle on the economic role of Slovakia in the Czechoslovak State ran through *L'Europe Centrale* in 1934; the material is excellent, although the interpretation seems unduly optimistic. The decay of Slovak industry is vividly illustrated by Edvi and Halász (op. cit.), by A. Halász, *Felső magyarország munkával való ellátása a magyar és cseh uralom alatt* (Budapest, 1927), and by I. B. Kardos and L. Artner, *A Felvidék ipari népességének alakulása a háború előtt és után*, in *Ipar*. See also L. Pasvolsky, *Economic Nationalism of the Danubian States* (New York, 1928); M. Moritz, *A felvidék gazdasági élete Trianon óta* (Budapest, 1931).

For Ruthenia, Žatković's *Exposé* is valuable for the early period, which Szána (op. cit.) also covers. For later years, the accessible literature is sparse. There is a semi-official 'omnibus' volume in Czech entitled *Podkarpatská Rus*. R. Martel, *La Ruthénie Sub-Carpathique* (Paris, 1935), while strongly Czechophil, gives a good account of the national imbroglio. F. Gerandó, author of *Le Complot rouge en Ruthénie*, appears from internal evidence to have spent only twenty-four hours in the country, but has collected and reproduced material from the Kutyak party. Similar material (viz. complaints against Czech rule) in M. Yuhasz, *Wilson's Principles in Czechoslovak Practice* (Homestead, Pa., 1929). The best material generally available consists of the Ruthene petitions to the League of Nations and the Czechoslovak Government's replies; the first of these were issued as separate League documents, the later printed in the *League of Nations Official Journal*. Important, for the Government attitude, is Dr. Beneš's long *Discours aux Ruthènes*. For economics, see Slovakia; also J. Brandeis, *La Ruthénie subcarpathique du point de vue agricole* (Paris, 1935).

For Transylvania since the War, there is practically nothing on the Roumanian problem. For the minorities, from the Rou-



manian side, S. Dragomir, *The Ethnical Minorities in Transylvania* (Geneva, 1927), expanded and brought up to date in *La Transylvanie roumaine et ses minorités ethniques* (Bucharest, 1934); "Transylvanus", *Les minorités ethniques de la Transylvanie* (Paris, 1934); and the *Revue de Transylvanie*, 1933—tendentious, but interesting. From the Hungarian side, a collection of early complaints in *The Grievances of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania*, issued by the Hungarian-Sicilian Society (Budapest, 1922); Zs. de Szász, *The Minorities in Roumanian Transylvania* (London, 1927), a full and careful work, excellent for the early period, but polemical; more recent, M. de Eckhardt's speech at the League of Nations Assembly of 1935, and pamphlets issued in connexion therewith. The *Magyar Kisebbség* specializes in Roumanian questions; many of its articles have been reprinted in pamphlet form. The American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities produced two volumes, edited by L. Cornish, *Transylvania in 1922* (Boston, 1923), and *The Religious Minorities in Transylvania* (London, 1926), and a third, *Roumania Ten Years After* (Boston, 1929); a 'reply' to the above, from Roumanian (nominally neutral) side, is H. M. Tichner, *Roumania and her Religious Minorities* (London, 1927). J. M. Cabot, *The Racial Conflict in Transylvania* (Boston, 1926), is unfavourable to Roumania, L. S. Rouček, *Contemporary Roumania* (London, 1932), strongly partial to the Government; good bibliography. For the agrarian reform: I. L. Evans, *The Agrarian Revolution in Roumania* (Cambridge, 1924); D. Mitrany, *The Land and the Peasant in Roumania* (London, 1930); and from the Hungarian side, as a reply to Mitrany, M. Móricz, *The Fate of the Transylvanian Soil* (Budapest, 1934); also many polemical articles and pamphlets. I pass over the literature on the optant question. For the Germans, *Siebenbürgen*, edited by K. Bell (Dresden, 1930); also rich material in *Nation und Staat* and in the copious local German Press. For economics: the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Braşov produces occasional reports; there are also, of course, Government statistics.

There is very little serious literature on Yugoslavia. General works on the country include A. Mousset, *Le Royaume Serbe-Croate-Slovene* (Paris, 1926), strongly pro-Yugoslav. For the Croat side of the Croat question, the works of Pavelić and Pribičević—both of them written by embittered enemies of the régime. A series of articles by R. W. Seton-Watson in *International Affairs*, the Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs ('Yugoslavia and Croatia', March 1929; 'The Yugoslav Dictatorship', January 1932; 'The Problem of Treaty Revision and the Hungarian Frontiers', July 1933; 'Some Aspects of the Danubian Problem',

September 1934), traces the development of the problem since the War, and especially since the proclamation of the Dictatorship. For the Magyar minority, S. Margitai, *A Horvát-és szlavonországi magyarok sorsa*.

For post-War conditions in the Voivodina there is no single book to recommend. The fullest written information on the Magyar minorities is contained in the two sources quoted as 'Hungarian MS.', and 'Hungarian Petition', in *Nationalitäten in den Staaten Europas* and in the various numbers of *Glásul Minoritaţilor*. I am referred also to articles in the *Magyar Szemle* by S. Berkes (Jan., May, and Oct. 1928), and by I. Prokopy (1932). For the Germans, *Nationalitäten in den Staaten Europas; Nation und Staat passim*; H. Rudiger, *Die Donauschwaben in der südslawischen Batschka* (Stuttgart, 1931); P. Rühlmann, *Das Schulrecht der deutschen Minderheit in Südslawien* (Berlin, 1932); T. Grentrup, *Das Deutschtum an der mittleren Donau* (Münster, 1930). I know of no detailed work from the Yugoslav side, although stray references occur in various works on Yugoslavia.

For the Minority Question in Hungary since the War, Count S. Bethlen, *Beszédei és Irásai* (Budapest, 1933); C. A. Macartney, *Hungary* (London, 1934). The Germans: S. Bleyer (ed.), *Das Deutschtum in Rumpfungarn* (Budapest, 1928) (statistical and historical); Dr. A. Rieth, *Die geographische Verbreitung des Deutschtums in Rumpfungarn in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1927); U. Bell, *Das Deutschtum in Ausland: Ungarn* (Dresden, 1935); H. Götting, *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart des deutsch-ungarischen Volkes* (Budapest, 1930) (popular). Ample material to study every phase of the question will be found in the columns of the *Sonntagsblatt*, the *Pester Lloyd*, and *Nation und Staat*, and in *Nationalitäten in den Staaten Europas*. Many articles by Count Bethlen, Dr. Gusztáv Gratz, M. L. de Ottlik, and others have appeared in the *Magyar Szemle*, the *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie*, and other periodicals, chiefly in 1929, 1933, and 1934. It is well, however, to compare these measured and statesmanlike utterances with what the jingo Press has to say on the subject at the same time. F. Svojsě has written a series of pamphlets against Hungary's policy towards her Slovaks, including *The Racial Minorities in Hungary and Czechoslovakia* (Prague, 1922), and *Le Traitement des minorités en Tschéchoslovaquie et en Hongrie* (Prague, 1927); more modern, J. Chmelař, 'La Minorité slovaque en Hongrie' (in *Le Monde Slave*, July 1933), C. J. C. Street, *Hungary and Democracy* (London, 1923), and J. D. E. Evans, *That Blue Danube* (London, 1935), are also severe on Hungarian policy.

For **Hungarian Economics since the War**, Buday (op. cit.), *Justice for Hungary*, &c., enumerate Hungary's losses under the Treaty. I do not know of any one book which tells in detail the story of her re-adaptation. Pasvolski (op. cit.) was written very early. The Royal Hungarian Statistical Office produces ample material for those able to use it. There is an extremely useful annual series by G. Kemény and I. Vágo, *Die Volkswirtschaft Ungarns im Jahre* — (Budapest, 1926- ); further, periodical reports by the League of Nations Commissioners, the National Bank of Hungary, the Ministry of Finance, and various private banks.

**General Works on Treaty Revision:** an immense amount of revisionist literature exists, but most of it adds up to little more than the repetition of the arguments set forth by the *Hungarian Peace Negotiations* and in *Justice for Hungary*, plus accounts of political abuses and economic decay in the different areas. See, however, for a recent re-statement, Count S. Bethlen, *The Treaty of Trianon and European Peace* (London, 1934) (four lectures delivered in London by the Hungarian ex-Premier). For the difficulties of revision in a nutshell, R. W. Seton-Watson, *Treaty Revision and the Hungarian Frontiers* (London, 1934). R. Dami recommends a modified form of 'lesser revision' in *La Hongrie de demain* (Paris, 1933). Short summary of the conflicting views in C. A. Macartney, *Hungary* (London, 1934).

## INDEX

*Note.*—Abbreviations are used to denote the following countries:  
 B. = Burgenland; Cr. = Croatia; Fi. = Fiume; H. = Hungary  
 (pre-War); h. = Hungary (post-War); Ru. = Ruthenia; Sl. = Slovakia;  
 Tr. = Transylvania; Vo. = Voivodina.

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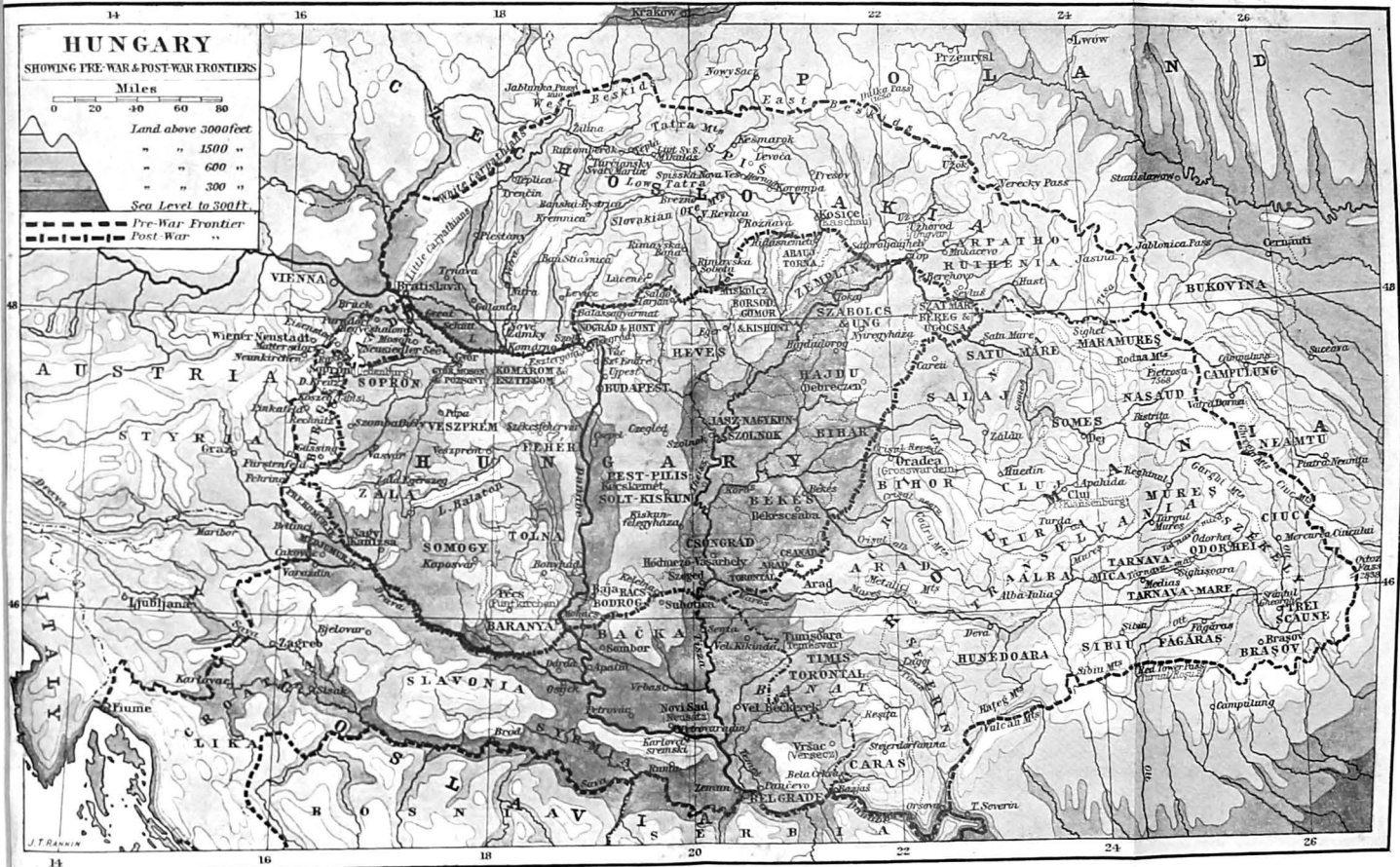
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HUNGARY, SHOWING PRE-WAR AND POST-WAR FRONTIERS

ETHNOGRAPHICAL MAP OF HUNGARY  
BASED ON DENSITY OF POPULATION  
BY COUNT PAUL TELEKI

This map is included by the kind permission of its author, Count Paul Teleki. It represents the population of Hungary in 1910 as determined by the Official Hungarian (Linguistic) Census of that year. Corresponding maps for later dates, based on the statistics of the Successor States, are unfortunately not available. C. A. M.