

ABSTRACTS

Balázs Ablonczy

■ ***“Amphibians”? The Post-Trianon Flight and Its Representations in the Literature of the Period***

Keywords: *refugees, Trianon, literature, public policies, revision*

The first part of the study presents the situation of the 400-500 thousand Hungarian refugees from the countries which emerged following the Trianon treaty in the 1918-1924 period and the public policies aimed at their integration in Hungary. While at the end of 1918 the Hungarian state urged for the mass exodus of government officials, by 1920 it has become clear that the yearly-increasing influx puts the bearing capacity of the country to a serious test. Before the confirmation of the peace treaty in November 1920, the Hungarian government radically tightened the rules of immigration and, as a result, the number of the refugees fell to one fifth in 1921 and the wave of refugees definitively dried up by 1924. The initial interest of the Hungarian state and society quickly disappeared, and the issue of the refugees has quickly become marginalized within social and cultural life. This second point is illustrated via four literary oeuvres in the second part of the study. The short stories of Zoltán Sztinyai and the novels of Sándor Török, Zoltán Jékely and Lajos Zilahy are interpreted as illustrations of the discourse types of the literature of the period, along with the causes which prevented these

works from being included in the national canon.

Béni L. Balogh

■ ***“Transylvania Must Be Handed Over to Romania”: The Delineation of the Hungarian-Romanian Border at the Peace Conference***

Keywords: *Romania, Transylvania, Hungarian-Romanian border*

The end of the First World War found Romania at the side of the winners, while Hungary was at the side of the losers. At the end of 1918, early 1919, the Allied powers recognized Romania as their ally, which also decided the fate of Transylvania. A debate emerged at the Peace Conference about the precise delineation of the border, i.e. regarding the assessment of the inordinate territorial claims of the Romanian party. First of all, it had to be decided to what extent the ethnic principle was to be applied and what the role of strategic, economic and transportation aspects should be. These issues were at the forefront of Romanian-Yugoslavian territorial committee's meetings in February and March 1919. The American delegation had the most favorable position toward the Hungarians, recommending the easternmost border, while the French proposed the westernmost alternative. The British have put forward an intermediary solution, while the Italians did not clarify their position. The territorial committee established the new Hungarian-Romanian border on 18 March 1919, followed by the Council of Four on 12 June 1919.

Their solution was adopted by the Treaty of Trianon, signed on 4 June 1920. The new border was somewhat less favorable from the Romanian and slightly more advantageous from the Hungarian perspective, compared to the provisions of the secret Bucharest treaty from 1916. Romania received 83.8 thousand square kilometers of the demanded 93.2 thousand square kilometers of land in Transylvania and in the Partium region, amounting to 10% (almost 10 thousand square kilometers) less than it demanded. Romania also received, in addition, two thirds of the Banat (19.7 thousand square kilometers), in total 103 thousand square kilometers from the territories of historical Hungary. According to the data of the 1910 Hungarian population census, these areas were inhabited by 5 million 257 thousand people, 31.6% (1.6 million) of them Hungarian speakers.

Árpád Hornyák

■ ***The Delineation of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Border***

Keywords: *Paris Peace Conference, Hungarian-Yugoslav border*

The South Slavic peace delegation allegedly wanted the major powers to accept the northern borders of the newly created state based on ethnic principles. However, the delegation effectively supported these claims with strategic and economic, and sometimes historical, arguments. The Yugoslav government's position and methods regarding the northern border changed multiple times due to the

changes in the political situation of the great powers and in the situation of Hungary. Belgrade's attitude toward Hungary at the peace conference was basically determined by the fact that, at the beginning of 1919, its territorial claims against Hungary were essentially mere corrections to the demarcation line established at the Belgrade Convention. The fact that, by then, the South Slavic state was effectively already in possession of the territories it wanted to attain, also carried significant importance. Thus, they only expected the sanctioning of the situation from the Peace Conference.

Vilmos Kovács

■ ***The Military Specifications of the Treaty of Trianon: Efforts at the Maintenance and Development of the Hungarian National Defense Forces (1920-1927)***

Keywords: *Peace Treaty of Trianon, Hungarian National Defense Forces, Inter-Allied Commission of Control*

This study summarizes the Hungarian National Defense Forces' situation during the time period indicated in the title, with a view to the manufacturing of military equipment and supplies, also reflecting upon the background, the following years, and the organizational changes. Setting out from the military and war industrial resolutions of the Peace Treaty of Trianon closing the First World War, for the now independent Hungary, the article analyses the options of the Hungarian war

industry, its partial recovery, development, and the organization of its state control. In the latter case, it presents how the top state organization could cooperate with the private companies theoretically under its control. The author touches in detail upon the fact that despite the prohibitions and restrictions, with the knowledge and active support of the Defense Forces' leadership, the Hungarian war industry became capable of securing and developing a production capacity essentially exceeding the approved limits, in other cases converting available production lines for military production. Regarding the above-mentioned aspects, the paper describes the structure and units of the Inter-Allied Commission of Control, its tasks, and power of control. The study covers the evasion of Entente supervision, supported by the state, for example by introducing double-entry bookkeeping and concealing the army's forbidden or excessive items under other Ministries' formations. The article lastly describes the development plans and the partial realization of these after the end of the continuous Entente supervision in 1927. The military aid given to the Polish nation and Army during the Polish-Bolshevik War in 1919-1921 is an interesting and illuminating, yet less known part of the study. This act was crowned by giving shelter to Polish refugees in the autumn of 1939.

Gergely Romsics

■ ***The Search for a Grand Strategy: Hungarian Foreign Policy 1919-1923***

Keywords: *Hungarian foreign policy, Peace Treaty of Trianon, 1919-1923, István Bethlen*

Hungarian foreign policy between August 1919 and 1923 was characterized by the search for an overarching strategy. All attempts at diplomatic maneuvering in this period were hampered by the lack of prestige and power: Budapest was attempting to realize territorial, defense and economic goals, as well as to ensure the rights of Hungarian minorities across the new borders, largely against the interests of neighboring states supported by the victorious great powers. The series of attempts to break out of isolation began with Romanian-Hungarian negotiations aimed at establishing an alliance under Italian supervision. Soon after, plans of a British orientation came to the fore, but were abandoned in favor of a prospective Franco-Hungarian understanding by spring 1920. In this time period, Budapest was also engaged in building ties with Warsaw, considered friendly towards Hungarian aims, and, by 1921, overtures were made even to Czechoslovakia. Parallel to the traditional diplomacy carried out by the Foreign Service, a series of covert operations were also in preparation. Cooperation with various German right-wing officer networks periodically appeared on this secret agenda, ultimately envisaging the destruction of the Versailles peace system. Veterans

and serving officers plotted to reclaim the former Upper Hungary from Czechoslovakia, enable Croatian secession to the south and engineer a right-wing coup in Austria. After a series chaotic and unsuccessful attempts, Count István Bethlen carried out a reorientation of Hungarian foreign policy from late spring 1921 onwards. He restored cohesion to foreign policy action, while adapting it to the prevailing power political realities. This did yield results even in the short term, although eventually forced Bethlen to suspend (yet not abandon) the central aim of achieving territorial revisions of the Treaty of Trianon.

Ignác Romsics

■ *Reasons for the Treaty of Trianon*

Keywords: *Peace Treaty of Trianon, Hungary, territorial and population loss, external causes, internal causes*
The Treaty of Trianon, signed in 1920, reduced the area of Hungary from 329,000 square kilometers or, discounting Croatia, from 282,000 square kilometers to 93,000 square kilometers; while the country's population dropped from 20.8 million (or 18.2 million) to 7.9 million. Out of a total of 10.6 million people in the detached lands, 3.3 million or 30,2% were ethnic Hungarians (Magyars). In his essay Ignác Romsics identifies four factors which led to this dramatic outcome. Fundamental among these were the multiethnic character of historic Hungary and the growing separatism of the non-Magyar communities representing about half of the population. The author

then proceeds to weigh the irreverentism of Italy, Serbia and Romania as a second cluster of contributing causes. Third, the ambitions of these revisionist states were supported at the end of the Great War by the victorious great powers that expected the new or enlarged nation-states to act as a barrier to German expansion eastward or to any eventual revival of Russian expansionism westward. A fourth and final factor is identified in the pacifist orientation of the nascent democratic regime led by Mihály Károlyi. Instead of the armed defense of the homeland it acquiesced to the occupation of large Hungarian territories by Serbian, Romanian and Czech troops without any effective resistance.

László Szarka

■ *The Formation of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Border (1918-1920)*

Keywords: *Paris Peace Treaty, Czechoslovak-Hungarian border*
The Czechoslovak-Hungarian state border, based on still much debated principles, was accepted relatively quickly by the Czechoslovak committee and subcommittee at the Paris Peace Conference. Among the causes for this development, the study mentions the antecedents of the Slovakian autonomy aspirations as well as the demarcation decision of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, urged by Beneš and adopted on 23 December 1918. From the four different alternatives envisioned by the Czechoslovak government, Beneš designated as the most important

the Danubian border and the railway line along the valley of the Ipoly in his territorial claims presented in the Supreme Council on 5 February 1919. It was the Bratislava bridgehead, the issue of the Csallóköz, Salgótarján and Sátoraljaújhely, as well as of the railway line lying north of the city that provoked most controversy. Nevertheless, the new proposal of the Commission regarding all the borders of the new state, including the Transcarpathian border region, was completed on 12 March and included without substantial changes into Clemenceau's announcement from 13 June 1919 concerning the Czechoslovak-Hungarian and the Romanian-Hungarian borders.

Béla Tomka

■ ***The Economic Effects of the Treaty of Trianon in Hungary***

Keywords: *Trianon, Hungary, economic effects*

Hungary's post-Trianon economic situation is still treated rather one-sided by the relevant literature, and the same holds true for the wider public discourse. The Hungarian discourse of the period on the economic effects of the Treaty of Trianon focuses on the losses of natural resources, assuming that the main factors of economic growth are represented by the raw materials and other natural resources. However, the traditional interpretation of the economic effects of Trianon precludes the explanation of some basic facts of economic history. This study shows that, in international comparison, the economic performance of post-

Trianon Hungary was not weaker than its relative performance in the period of dualism of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Hence, the peace treaty did not have such a negative economic effect, neither in the medium, nor in the long term, as it is often customary to assume. One of the main reasons for this fact is that natural resources were not among the main factors of economic growth even in the interwar period, and the drivers of progress consisted, rather, in the structural changes of the economy, technological development, and the human capital, which were less affected by the peace treaty.

Imre Tóth

■ ***The Austro-Hungarian Border and the Issue of Western Hungary***

Keywords: *Paris Peace Treaties, Saint-Germain, Hungary, Austria, land transfer*

Although German-Austria, established in November 1918, announced its claim on the western territory of Hungary, inhabited by a German-speaking majority, the issue of changing the 1867 Austro-Hungarian border was not originally on the agenda of the peace negotiations. The Austrian peace delegation announced its claim on this territory in May 1919, already known for the representatives of the great powers on the basis of their on-site inquiries. The winners of the war primarily wanted to preclude the Austro-German unification and the plan of the corridor as urged by the Czech, by accepting the Austrian claims, and

consequently some western Hungarian counties (Vas, Sopron and Moson) were transferred to Austria. This decision, justifiable on an ethnic basis, was also supported by the fact that the Austrian delegation skillfully alluded to the threat of bolshevism and to the dangers stemming from the “non-viability” of an autonomous Austria. The Peace Treaty of Saint-Germain gave birth to the youngest Austrian province, Burgenland. However, this province was under Hungarian rule, and the Austrian state could thus not take possession of it. Hungarian public opinion was shocked that the peace treaty imposed this land transfer to their former partner country, and the Hungarian government was only willing to give up on Western Hungary at the cost of territorial concessions. In order to elicit these concessions, it was willing to secretly support the armed movements emerging in the region, along with the recourse to diplomatic means. Its weakness, lack of perspective, and the intent of restoring its international relationships and the Austro-Hungarian relations determined the Austrian government to cut a deal and to abandon its claims to Sopron, the most important city of the region. Based on the protocol signed in Venice on 13 October 1921, the decision was confirmed by referendum held in the city and throughout its surroundings in December 1921, a few months after which the pacification of the region could be concluded.

Miklós Zeidler

■ *The Objectives of the Hungarian Peace Delegation in Paris – with Particular Attention to Transylvania*

Keywords: *Paris Peace Conference, Hungarian delegation, Albert Apponyi, record*

Already before the surrender, in October 1918, several Hungarian geographers and statisticians recommended the compilation of a scientific material suitable for representing Hungarian interests at the future peace conference. This work was conducted until the end of 1919 in Budapest, with a few months’ interruption during the council government period. Then, in January 1920, a special delegation led by Albert Apponyi was sent to the Paris Peace Conference. The delegation submitted the so-called preliminary record already during the same month, followed by the response records in February and March, as a reflection upon the peace conditions set out by the winners. This documentation contained detailed studies, maps and statistical data related to Hungary’s history, geography, climate, natural resources, political regime, national economy, traffic routes, religious affiliations, the geographical situation of the various nationalities, social integration, its legal, political, economic and cultural situation, from a perspective that represented historical Hungary as an ideal state. By the presentation of this enormous material, the delegation wanted to put forward arguments against the planned dis-

memberment of Hungary, and proposed the referendum and the intact preservation of the territories ethnically and economically most strongly connected to Hungary as an alternative solution. Although the peace delegation did not expect for quick results, it still hoped that its arguments will have

an impact on the leading powers, providing a basis for later territorial revision. To this end, immediately after the Peace Conference, a four-volume work containing the Hungarian submissions was published in Hungarian, French and English.



A lapszámot szerkesztette:

Romsics Ignác (vendégszerkesztő)

Ablonczy Balázs (1974) – történész, Dr. habil., tudományos főmunkatárs, Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, a Lendület-Trianon 100 Kutatócsoport vezetője; egyetemi docens, ELTE, Budapest

L. Balogh Béni (1961) – történész-főlevéltáros, PhD, MNL Országos Levéltára, Budapest

Csiky Szabó Ágnes (1953) – képzőművész, Marosvásárhely

Hornyák Árpád (1971) – történész, Dr. habil., egyetemi docens, Pécsi Tudományegyetem

Kovács Vilmos (1961) – hadtörténész, muzeológus, CSc, ezredes, a HM Hadtörténelmi Intézet és Múzeum parancsnoka, Budapest

Romsics Gergely (1977) – történész, PhD, tudományos főmunkatárs, Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, a Lendület-Trianon 100 Kutatócsoport tagja; egyetemi oktató, ELTE, Budapest

Romsics Ignác (1951) – történész, az MTA rendes tagja, egyetemi tanár, Eszterházy Károly Egyetem, Eger

Szarka László (1953) – történész, CSc, egyetemi docens, Selye János Egyetem Tanárképző Kar, Komárom

Tomka Béla (1962) – történész, az MTA doktora, egyetemi tanár, Szegedi Tudományegyetem

Tóth Imre (1968) – történész, Dr. habil., múzeumigazgató, Soproni Múzeum; egyetemi docens, Soproni Egyetem

Zeidler Miklós (1967) – történész, Dr. habil., egyetemi docens, ELTE; tudományos főmunkatárs, Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, a Lendület-Trianon 100 Kutatócsoport tagja; Budapest

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(Jékely Zoltán)

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