

B O O K S

„*Treaty Revision and the Hungarian Frontiers*“ by Sir Robert Gower, K. C. V. O., D. C. L. M. P. (Grayson & Grayson, Ltd., 66. Curzon Street, W. 1.)

Little Entente propaganda keeps on reiterating that the *status quo* created by the peace treaties is just and fair and that a readjustment cannot be the subject of discussion, because any sort of revision would only lead to fresh complications and make war unavoidable without making the position of the countries in question better. The chief supporters of that propaganda are Professor Seton Watson and Mr. John D. E. Evans. The more important data in their works have now been refuted by Sir Robert Gower in his "Treaty Revision and the Hungarian Frontiers", a short treatise, but one rich in valuable arguments.

To Professor Seton Watson's accusation that the motion advocating revision submitted to the British House of Commons by more than 200 M. P.s has "revived false hopes on the part of Hungarian extremists and made them less than ever inclined for discussion with their neighbours", the author states that the British M. P.s in question entertain no unfriendly feelings towards the Little Entente States. On the contrary, they view the situation with the greatest impartiality, and fully aware of their responsibility have decided that peace and understanding in the Danube Valley are impossible until the unjust territorial dispositions of the Trianon Peace Treaty have been subjected to an equitable revision.

Sir Robert Gower says that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, as a natural geographical, political and economic unit, was a blessing to the rest of Europe. True, there were racial minorities in it the leaders of which desired national autonomy, but that did not mean that the racial minorities were oppressed. The Hungarian Administration was always just and considerate towards the minorities. The new frontiers, created arbitrarily, ignorantly, unnaturally, and without any regard for economic interests, which were supposed to have "liberated" the old minorities, have resulted in a ruthless oppression of the new minorities the like of which we look for in vain under Hungarian rule. This of necessity makes it impossible to build up mutual security and in the long run must lead to war. This is the reason why every plan which aims at creating at least economic co-operation among the Danube States has proved a failure; for without a solution of political and territorial differences it is impossible to produce an atmosphere of understanding, lacking which no economic co-operation is possible between independent states. The only way out of this awkward situation would be to replace the arbitrary peace treaties with treaties based on compromise.

In answer to the argument of Professor Seton

Watson and others that the revision movement is directed against the Slav races, Sir Robert Gower points out that besides the Hungarians, the Croats, Slovaks and Ruthenians who were wrested from Hungary — all of them Slav peoples — are also dissatisfied with the present situation. Another unfounded argument is that Hungarian revision is impossible, because it would produce other great problems, such as the question of the Russo-Polish frontier, the Italo-Yugoslav problem, the question of relations between Germany and Poland and the *Anschluss*. The question of Hungarian revision can be solved entirely independent of them.

Sir Robert Gower also shows the untenable nature of the argument that if Austria could acquiesce in her new position, Hungary might do the same. Why not? The answer is that Austria's and Hungary's positions are not analogous. Austria, which was a conglomeration of provinces conquered by the Habsburg dynasty, was simply reduced to its elements. Hungary, on the other hand, which was a thousand-years-old unit, was not disrupted by internal dissatisfaction, but torn asunder in an unnatural manner by forces from without.

Hungary asked for nothing but a plebiscite, i. e. that the populations concerned should be allowed to decide for themselves. This legitimate demand was refused. Instead, the resolutions brought by the popular assemblies at Gyulafehérvár (Alba Julia, Rumania), Turócszentmárton (Turcansky Svaty Martini, Slovakia) and Ujvidék (Novisad, Yugoslavia) were accepted as the basis of separation, in spite of the fact that they did not represent the wishes of the populations in question, but were merely resolutions passed by the chance gathering of a mob of revolutionaries. The popular meetings of the Eastern Slovaks at Kassa, the Germans of Upper Hungary at Késmárk, the Ruthenians at Ungvár and the Hungarians of Transylvania at Kolozsvár — all of which protested against separation from Hungary — might just as well have been accepted as a basis. But these meetings were disregarded, while, on the other hand, the anticipatory military occupation of Hungary far beyond the bounds of the lines of demarcation laid down in the armistice treaty was winked at, as was the fact that in spite of the expressed veto of the armistice treaties, the occupying armies immediately took over the civil administration, thus creating by force of arms a *fait accompli*.

As Nicolson and Hunter-Miller stated in their famous works, the draft of the Trianon Treaty, which Hungary was compelled to accept without any modification, was composed on the one hand in accordance with pre-war secret treaties and on the other on the basis of one-sided statements made by politicians of the Succession States, Benes, Bratianu and Veznitch, without Hungary having been heard at all.

Professor Seton Watson's allegation that the races

in Hungary are so mixed that no correct ethnographic boundary can be drawn has been officially refuted by Slav ethnographers, such as Niederle, Kálál, Bohác and Petrov. Apart from this, however, the argument is a lame one, for *Trianon*, in separating about two million Hungarians from the Hungarians in dismembered Hungary with whom they formed a solid block, ignored — willfully and on purpose — indisputable ethnographic borders.

Similarly unfounded is the objection that only certain oligarchs wish for revision. The truth is that all classes and conditions of people in Hungary, from

the Archdukes down to the poorest labourer are united in their demands for revision.

At the end of his excellent work Sir Robert Gower expresses the conviction that with "a just and equitable revision of the territorial provisions of the Treaty of Trianon a new era of prosperity would open for an important part of Europe where chaos now reigns."

Sir Robert Gower's excellent work, so rich in arguments and interestingly written, is sure to contribute to a better knowledge of the situation in the Danube Valley.

George Lukács.

P O L I T I C A L E C O N O M Y

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS FOR 1935.

The Statistical Office has now made public Czecho-Slovakia's balance of payments for 1935. The balance, which shows total revenues amounting to 10.338.000.000 crowns and expenditure totalling 10.404.000.000, closes with 66.000.000 on the debit side. The balance of payments for 1934 and that of 1933 closed with a profit of 143.000.000 and 283.000.000 crowns respectively. Compared with 1934, Czecho-Slovakian exports have increased by not quite 2%, but imports are 5% larger. The profits on tourist travel have sunk from 252.000.000 to 39.000.000. The reason is that tourist travel from the country has greatly increased, so that in 1935 the number of Czecho-Slovakian subjects who took trips to foreign countries has risen to a much extent than the number of foreigners who visited Czecho-Slovakia. The revenues accruing from railway traffic show an improving tendency, inasmuch as the revenues from international railway traffic have risen from the 133.000.000 crowns figuring in the balance for 1934 to 248.000.000. The sums sent home by emigrants, on the other hand, have again fallen off. In the column devoted to capital we see that the long term foreign credits of the manufacturing concerns and banks have increased, but the sum total of the other items has decreased.

The sum total of frozen foreign credits is 260.000.000 crowns. An examination of the detailed data of the balance reveals that the profits on current items have decreased, the sum total of private debts in foreign countries has increased, private credits have fallen off and the profits accruing from the stock market have sunk. The balance also shows that the transfer of dividends and *tantièmes* puts a great strain on Czecho-Slovakia's stock of foreign exchange. The rise in the transfer to foreign countries of dividends and *tantièmes* finds its explanation in the fact that the profits of several big enterprises whose shareholders

are mostly foreigners have greatly increased in the past year. The situation in this respect has undergone no change in the present year, as is best proved by the fact that the Czecho-Slovakian big enterprises in the hands of the French Schneider-Creuzot concern recorded great profits again, thanks to the boom in heavy industries.

The sum total of revenues accruing from current items is 8.950.000.000 crowns as against an expenditure of 8.772.000.000. Compared with a profit of 836.000.000 in 1934 and with a loss of 47.000.000 in 1933, the profit in 1935 was 178.000.000 Czech crowns.

MINIMAL PRICES

Negotiations are going on between the ministries concerned in connection with the Bill elaborated by the Ministry of Commerce re the fixing of minimal prices. In terms of the Bill the unions will have the right to propose the fixing of minimal prices in certain clearly defined branches of business. The proposal must be approved by the District Offices or the Provincial Office, according to whether the minimal prices apply to districts or to the whole country.

HUNGARY

REPORT OF HUNGARIAN DELEGATE TO THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN HUNGARY

In the course of the general debate on the annual report of the Labour Offices at the International Labour Conference at Geneva on June 13th, Mr. Ladislav de Vélies, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, delegate of the Hungarian Government, announced that Hungary had achieved notable results in the sphere of social policy. These results were observable in the decrease of unemployment, the maintenance and extension of public works, and in