PREFACE

Thirty-three years after the end of World War II the "European problem" still remains unsettled. Its most conspicuous aspect at present is that of security. The fear of a direct confrontation between East and West in Europe has been haunting the world for three decades. So far the attempt at reducing East-West tensions through the Helsinki Agreements of 1975 has not met with any resounding success. The prolonged—one may say "dragging"—Mutual Balanced Forces Reduction talks in Vienna do not seem to hold out much promise either.

Security, moreover, is a many-faceted problem, not confined to East-West tensions. Below the surface there exist tensions within Eastern Europe itself. The chronic instability of political boundaries in Eastern Europe is part of the problem of political security in that geographic area. The frequent shifting of boundaries attests to the difficulty of reconciling considerations of ethnicity or national self-determination with interests of strategic, economic and historical nature. Occasionally submerged, the question of boundaries keeps resurfacing, only to threaten the stability of the area again and again. Solutions imposed by great powers seldom survive the shifts in the distribution of power.

The study which is presented here deals with the boundary question of Czechoslovakia and Hungary; more specifically, with the boundary dispute of 1938, resolved at the time through an arbitral award.

The literature on the "Vienna Award", which followed shortly after the 1938 Munich Agreement and in a political sense connected to it, is rather sparse. Most of the material pertaining to this somewhat unusual arbitration is scattered in documents, memoirs, books and articles which are historical or political, rather than legal in nature. Consequently, while it would be relatively easy to produce a purely historical account of the event, an examination from the viewpoint of international law has been a more difficult task. The legal approach, emphasized here, should explain why a number of sources, ideological and polemical in nature, have not

been utilized at all, but merely mentioned. This has been the case, in particular, of works published in the East European countries after the communist take-over. These works pretend to reveal "new material" on the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1939. In reality, all they offer is a Marxist interpretation of the circumstances surrounding the event; that is, casting everything into a framework of class conflict, and emphasizing the tensions between the "Western bourgeois states" and the "great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

The drawing of acceptable political boundaries is, generally speaking, a thankless job. Discussing it is usually a controversial subject. Still, I hope that my approach does contribute to the increased understanding of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border problem and thereby, also, to its eventual final solution.

A word regarding the Documents attached: I sought to reproduce them without any changes, except cutting the text where it was clearly unrelated to the subject, and adding diacritical marks where needed. The exchange of notes between Prague and Budapest has been retained in the French original; otherwise all documents are presented in English.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my former professors Alfred J. Hotz, Felix Rackow, and Herbert P. Secher for reading, and commenting on, the original manuscript before it was submitted as a thesis at Western Reserve University, and to Case-Western Reserve University for permission to use the original text.

I owe special thanks to Dr. László Sirchich for his interest in my work, his valuable comments offered at various stages of my research and the drafting of the original manuscript, and his encouragement to expand my work related to the boundary dispute. Francis S. Wagner in the Library of Congress was kind enough to facilitate my research in various ways. The Hungarian Association (Cleveland) awarded its Gold Árpåd Medal to me for the expanded manuscript.

If, despite the help I received, there are errors of fact or judge ment in the text, I alone am responsible.

Edward Chászár

Indiana University of Pennsylvania Summer, 1978

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	ij
LIST OF DOCUMENTS	ν
LIST OF MAPS	i
Chapter I The Vienna Arbitration in Retrospect Facts of the Case Statement of the Problem The Basis for Re-examination	1
The Background: Europe between the Wars II The Advancement of Hungarian Claims From May to September From the End of the Runciman Mission to Munich	14
III The Dispute: From Diplomacy to Direct Negotiations Exchange of Notes between Prague and Budapest Negotiations in Komárom/Komárno: Claims and Counterclaims	31
IV The Solution: From Mediation to Arbitration Explanations for the Failure of Direct Negotiations German Mediation The Renewal of Negotiations Request for Arbitration Rendering the Award	45
V The Law and Politics of the Settlement Legal Considerations Political Considerations The Status of the Award The Future	59
APPENDIX — Diplomatic Documents, Maps	79
BIBLIOGRAPHY 1	
INDEX 1	6:

iv

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

Doc.	No. Title and Date	Page
1.	The Minister in Hungary (Montgomery) to the (U.S.) Secretary of State, Budapest, June, 2, 1938	79
	Joint Communiqué Concerning the Bled Agreement Between the Little Entente and Hungary, August 23, 1938	80
3.	Minute by the State Secretary (Weizsäcker) for the (German) Foreign Minister's Secretariat, On Board "Patria," August 23, 1938.	81
4.	Minute by the State Secretary (Weizsäcker), Berlin, August 25, 1938	93
5.	Conversation of the Polish Ambassador in Berlin, Józef Lipski, with General Field Marshal Göring. August 24, 1938.	84
6.	Unsigned Minute for the (German) Foreign Minister, Berlin, September 26, 1938	86
7.	Conversations of the Polish Ambassador Józef Lipski at Nuremberg, September 7-12, 1938	86
8.	Letter of Regent Miklós Horthy to Adolf Hitler Concerning the Settlement of the Czechoslovak Problem [Budapest, September 17, 1938]	89
9.	The Hungarian Legation in Germany to the German Foreign Ministry, Berlin, September 28, 1938	9(
10.	Annex to the Munich Agreement, September 29, 1938	Ò,
11.	Declaration Attached to the Munich Agreement, September 29, 1938	. 9
12.	The Czechoslovak Minister (Hurban) to the (U.S.) Secretary of State, Washington, October 1, 1938	92
13.	Telegraphic Circular of the Director of the Political Department, German Foreign Ministry, Berlin,	O.
	October 1, 1938	92

Doc	. No. Title and Date	Page
14.	Circular of the (German) State Secretary (Weizsäcker) Berlin, October 3, 1938	93
15.	Mr. Newton (Prague) to Viscount Halifax, October 3, 1938	94
16.	The German Chargé d'Affaires in Czechoslovakia to the (German) Foreign Ministry, Prague, October 4, 1938	95
17.	The German Chargé d'Affaires in Czechoslovakia to the (German) Foreign Ministry, Prague, October 5, 1938	96
18.	Report by the U.S. Military Attaché in Germany (Smith), October 5, 1938	97
19.	Sir H. Kennard (Warsaw) to Viscount Halifax, October 6, 1938	99
20.	Viscount Halifax to Mr. Newton (Prague), October 6, 1938	100
21.	Viscount Halifax to Sir G. Knox (Budapest), October 6.	101
22.	The Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht to the Foreign Ministry, Berlin, October 6, 1938	102
23.	Memorandum (for the Führer) by the Director of the Political Department (of the German Foreign Ministry), Berlin, October 7, 1938	103
24.	Letter of Regent Miklós Horthy to British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain Asking for the Support of Hungarian Territorial Claims, October 8, 1938	106
25.	Unsigned Memorandum (of the German Foreign Ministry, October 12, 1938	107
26.	The Minister in Hungary (Erdmannsdorf) to the (German) Foreign Ministry, October 13, 1938	108
27.	The Minister in Hungary (Erdmannsdorf) to the (German) Foreign Ministry, October 13, 1938	108
28	Draft Declaration Signed by Regent Miklós Horthy on the Interruption of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Negotiations, October 13, 1938	109
29.	Letter of Regent Miklós Horthy to Adolf Hitler on the Interruption of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Negotiations, October 13, 1938	111

Doc	. No.	Page
29a.	Final Declaration of the Hungarian Delegation in Komárom/Komárno	112
30.	The Minister in Hungary (Erdmannsdorf) to the (German) Foreign Ministry, October 14, 1938	112
31.	Mr. Newton (Praque) to Viscount Halifax, October 15, 1938.	113
32.	Conversation of the Polish Ambassador Józef Lipski with Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs von Ribbentrop at Berchtesgaden on October 24, 1938	114
33.	Viscount Halifax to the Earl of Perth (Rome), October 26, 1938	116
34.	British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain to Regent Miklós Horthy, London, October 28, 1938	118
35.	Note of the German Government to the Hungarian Government (Concerning Arbitration), October 30, 1938	119
36.	Note of the Italian Government to the Hungarian Government (Concerning Arbitration), October 30, 1938	120
37.	Documents on the Vienna Award, November 2, 1938	120
38.	Protocol Concerning the Arbitral Award Establishing the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Boundary. Vienna, November 2, 1938	130
39-	57. Notes Exchanged Between the Czechoslovak and Hungarian Governments, October 1, 1938 to October 31, 1938 (in French)	131
58.	Letter of (the Hungarian Foreign Minister) Kánya to (the Italian Foreign Minister) Galeazzo Ciano, Vienna, November 2, 1938 (in French)	148

LIST OF MAPS

Иaр	o. No. Title	Page
1.	Hungarian Demands of October 9, 1938, and Czecho- slovak Offers No. 1 and 2	15
2.	Czechoslovak Offer No. 3 and the Eight Contested Areas	15
3.	Territorial Changes Effected by the Vienna Award of November 2, 1938	15