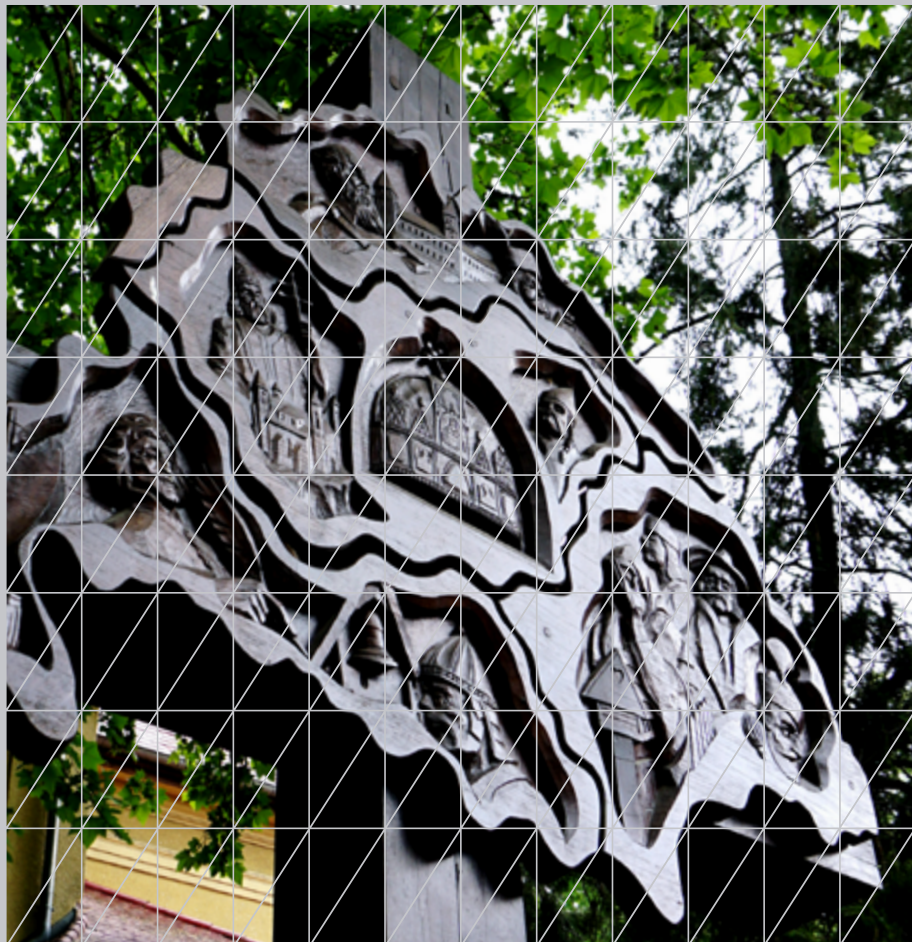




THE LONG SHADOW OF THE TREATY OF TRIANON

HUNGARY'S STRUGGLES WITH THE PAST

Andrzej Sadecki

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MAIN POINTS

- The 1920 Treaty of Trianon, which sealed Hungary's loss of a third of its territory, is perceived as the country's greatest national tragedy. The breakup of the multi-national Kingdom of Hungary, as a result of which large Hungarian-speaking populations found themselves in neighbouring countries, was a pivotal event which influenced Hungary's national identity as well as its internal and foreign policies for the next one hundred years. Hungary responded to the Treaty of Trianon by developing various concepts to reclaim the lost territories, but also with efforts to build good relations with neighbours and develop policies towards the Hungarian minorities in other countries.
- Revisionist concepts to reclaim the lost lands play a marginal role in today's politics in Hungary. Such ideas, which dominated in the inter-war period, largely lost any credibility during World War II, when Hungary temporarily regained some of its former territories – at the expense of striking an alliance with Nazi Germany. In the Communist era, the question of borders and of commemorating the Treaty of Trianon became taboo. In democratic Hungary, all mainstream political parties have rejected revisionism, the country signed treaties on good relations with its neighbours in which it waived all territorial claims, and the neighbour countries committed to respecting the rights of the Hungarian minorities.
- Nevertheless, revisionist ideas and the sense of historical injustice have been exploited by far-right organisations and political parties. Since 2006, in parallel with the deepening political and economic crisis, a revival of the revisionist concepts dating back to the interwar era has been underway. Rejected by the political mainstream, they have become part of the political ideology of Hungary's growing anti-system movement, of which the far-right Jobbik party has been the political emanation.

- In power since 2010, the Fidesz party has tried to address the emotions that the Treaty of Trianon still evokes among part of the Hungarian public, and by doing so, win back some of those voters from the extreme right. The Treaty of Trianon began to be commemorated at the state level. On 4 June 2010, on the 90th anniversary of the treaty, Viktor Orbán's government made that date a day of national remembrance, and ten years later commemorated the treaty's centenary by erecting a monument in front of the parliament building in Budapest – the first such memorial to be funded by the government since World War II. Hungary's official documents, and especially the 2012 Constitution, emphasise the unity of the Hungarian people across state borders. Under Fidesz, Hungarians living in neighbouring countries have been offered easier procedures for obtaining Hungarian citizenship (around one million people have taken this opportunity) and have been granted limited voting rights.
- Nevertheless, the 1920 treaty has not become a central element in the historical policy of Viktor Orbán's government, which prefers to invoke the tradition of the Hungarian uprisings and the anti-communist struggles. The Treaty of Trianon is a symbol of a national disaster, and as such is seen by people in Fidesz as a problematic foundation upon which to build a national identity. Hence, this year's centenary celebrations emphasised not so much the grievance and injustice of it, as the fact that Hungarians persevered for a century despite the 'tragedy of Trianon'. Fidesz's decade in power was represented as a period of the state's spiritual revival. However, political messages with revisionist undertones have nonetheless been communicated to the more radically inclined voters.
- Attitudes towards the Treaty of Trianon have been influenced by the political and economic position in which Hungary finds itself today. The country is interconnected with its neighbours by a dense network of military, political and economic links, based on its membership in the EU, NATO and various regional co-operation formats,

including the Visegrad Group in particular. Romania and Slovakia, which host the largest Hungarian minorities, are two of Hungary's top trading partners. Central European regional co-operation holds a special position in the current foreign policy doctrines of the Hungarian government and is an important element in prime minister Orbán's ideological messaging.

- All of this does not mean that the Trianon question has no potential to trigger conflicts today. Hungary's neighbours have been concerned about the Hungarian leaders' historical references to the interwar regime or the growing acceptance for revisionist symbols in the public sphere, which has been evident during the Fidesz government's decade long tenure in power. This refers in particular to Romania and Slovakia, which are sensitive to any mention of revisionist ideas, as well as Ukraine, which has been battling against Russian aggression. This may negatively affect the situation of the Hungarian minorities and complicate regional co-operation in Central Europe.

INTRODUCTION

The 1920 Peace Treaty of Trianon, which in principle defined Hungary's contemporary borders, was a pivotal point in the nation's history. It sealed the disintegration of the multi-national Kingdom of Hungary, which had been part of the Austria-Hungary Dual Monarchy. The peace treaty not only deprived Hungary of two thirds of its territory and left large Hungarian populations abroad (see Tables 1 and 2 in the Appendix), but also reduced Hungary, until then a constituent of one of Europe's main powers, to the status of a small, land-locked country. At the same time, however, Hungary became an independent state for the first time since the 16th century. It now faced the challenge of defining its position among Europe's new political and economic realities.

Over the last century, Hungary has approached the legacy of the Treaty of Trianon in various ways: from trying to reclaim the lost lands in an alliance with revisionist powers, through completely silencing the treaty's legacy in public debate, to building relations with neighbour countries and developing a policy model to support the Hungarian minorities living there.

The state's breakup has left a lasting mark on the national identity of the Hungarians. It has engendered a collective feeling of grievance and injustice, a pessimistic view of international relations and a distrust of neighbouring countries and the policies of the great powers. While the Hungarian national identity has also been shaped by various other developments and historical processes in the decades that followed the treaty, the memory of the lost territories, of which the Treaty of Trianon is a symbol, still influences political discourse and public debate in Hungary.

I. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE REVISIONIST IDEA

The concepts to seek a revision of the borders set in Trianon date back to the period immediately after the Peace Treaty was signed in 1920. This is when the revisionist demands and slogans, the residues of which are still present in public debate today, were first formulated. When the Habsburg empire collapsed towards the end of World War I, Hungary became an independent state. At the same time, its national minorities, which accounted for nearly half of the population of the Kingdom of Hungary according to the 1910 census, preferred to join the existing or newly established neighbour states in view of Austria-Hungary's defeat in the war. The neighbour countries took large swathes of the original Hungarian state – a move that was sealed by the victorious powers in the Treaty of Trianon (see Appendix: *The causes of the disintegration of the Kingdom of Hungary*). After 1920, Hungary became a much more ethnically homogenous state, but nearly a third of the ethnic Hungarian population (around 3.2 million people) found themselves outside Hungary. The country was also deprived of important natural resources, a number of important cities and industrial centres, and large markets. A number of localities important for the Hungarian national identity also found themselves outside Hungary, including Transylvania in particular, which was incorporated into Romania. Finally, Hungary became a state without allies, and its three neighbours, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania, created a military alliance in the event Hungary tried to militarily change its new borders.

Reclaiming the lands that belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary was the principal objective of Hungary's foreign policy in the years 1920–1944. The country's leaders outlined various scenarios to that end, most of which envisaged taking back the territories where ethnic Hungarians were the majority. The official government agenda, however, was one of integral revisionism, i.e. the ambition of restoring the Kingdom of Hungary to its pre-war borders. Revisionism became the ideological foundation of the interwar regime of regent Miklós Horthy. It integrated the

diverse groups in the power elite of the day and the pledge to restore Hungary's 'greatness' was the foundation on which the ruling camp built its legitimacy. The revisionist idea was part of the state propaganda of the period and was ubiquitous in the public space (where it expressed itself through monuments, among other ways) and in popular culture.¹

While some called for military action, Hungarian revisionism mainly sought to reclaim the lost territories through peaceful means. In the interwar period, Hungary was weaker economically and militarily than the neighbours against which it had territorial claims. For this reason, the Hungarian leadership focused on seeking support for the idea of a revision of the Treaty of Trianon among revisionist powers, i.e. first Mussolini's Italy and then Hitler's Germany. With the support of the latter, in the years 1938–1941 Hungary temporarily regained around half of the territory lost after World War I.² However, this came at the cost of deepening subordination of Hungary to the Third Reich, followed by subsequent defeat in the war, after which Hungary lost the territories once again. The 1947 Paris Peace Treaty restored the borders set in Trianon and Hungary additionally lost three municipalities in the Bratislava area to Czechoslovakia.

The World War I defeat marked the end of revisionism as a state ideology. The fiasco of the Horthy era revisionist project largely defined Hungary's attitude to the legacies of the Treaty of Trianon in the decades that followed. It demonstrated the risks and costs of attempts at changing borders. The alliance with Nazi Germany became a long-lasting encumbrance to Hungary's international reputation. Hungary's Second Army, fighting on the Eastern Front in World War II side by side with the Wehrmacht, suffered massive losses (around half of the 250,000 soldiers

¹ M. Zeidler, *Ideas on Territorial Revision in Hungary 1920–1945*, New York 2007.

² In 1938 Hungary regained a strip of land in southern Slovakia under the First Vienna Award, in 1939 it occupied Czechoslovakia's Carpathian Ruthenia, in 1940 reclaimed the norther part of Transylvania from Romania under the Second Vienna Award, and in 1941 seized a part of Yugoslavia's Vojvodina.

were killed or wounded). In 1944 several hundred thousand Hungarian Jews were deported and murdered in the German death camps. Towards the end of the war Hungary became the scene of ferocious fighting between German and Soviet forces (the siege of Budapest was one of the longest in the war), and the Soviet troops were all the more brutal towards the civilians as they perceived the Hungarians as close allies of the Reich. Finally, the re-incorporation of the contentious territories into Hungary's neighbours was often followed by repression against the ethnic Hungarians living there.

A number of critical studies of the revisionist ideology were written in the post-war period, but this reckoning was interrupted when the Communists took over full power in 1949.³ Under Communist rule, the Horthy era was unequivocally condemned, revisionist demands were banned, and discussion about the Treaty of Trianon was censored. It was only during the thaw in the 1970s and 1980s that Hungarian historians were able to address the topic relatively freely.

The question of Hungarian national minorities in the neighbouring countries also remained a taboo subject for the Communist government for a long time. The peace treaties signed after World War II did not envisage protections for ethnic minorities and it was common practice to simply resettle minority populations.⁴ In the case of Hungarian minorities, this is what happened to several thousand people resettled to Hungary from Czechoslovakia under the so-called Beneš decrees. However, the ethnic Hungarians mostly remained in the territories detached from Hungary. In keeping with the doctrine imposed by the Soviet Union on its satellite states, the Communist authorities of Hungary did not raise the question of the Hungarian minority and its rights in bilateral relations with its

³ *The Miseries of East European Small States*, a 1946 essay by the distinguished Hungarian political thinker István Bibó, was one of the most important works about the ethnic and border conflicts (published in English in *The Art of Peacemaking: Political Essays by István Bibó*, University Press Scholarship Online, May 2015).

⁴ J. Jackson Preece, 'Minority Rights in Europe: From Westphalia to Helsinki', *Review of International Studies* 1997, no. 23.

neighbours, treating it as their internal affair. Contacts with Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries were difficult, despite the officially friendly relations with those states. However, support for the Hungarian minorities became one of the main topics around which the democratic opposition started to organise itself in the late period of Communist rule. Invoking the principle of respect for human rights, as stipulated in the 1975 final act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, it protested against repression against the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia and Romania.

II. THE QUESTION OF THE TREATY OF TRIANON AFTER 1989

The foundations for Hungary's contemporary approach towards the territories lost under the Treaty of Trianon and their Hungarian populations were laid during the 1989–1990 political transformation. The first democratically elected conservative government of József Antall set three overarching objectives for Hungary's foreign policy: integration with Western structures, development of good relations with its neighbour states and support for the Hungarian minorities living in those states. The principle of inviolability of borders was reasserted, but at the same time Hungarians living abroad were recognised as members of the national community.⁵ A provision was included in the constitution, stipulating that the Hungarian state bore responsibility for the fate of Hungarians in other countries, and a number of support mechanisms for those communities were introduced.

However, the concept of completely giving up territorial claims remained controversial in Hungary, as the negotiations of the treaties on good neighbourly relations demonstrated. Problems first emerged during the parliamentary ratification of the treaty with Ukraine in 1991, but it was the treaties with Slovakia and Romania, i.e. the countries hosting the largest Hungarian minorities, which caused the most controversy. The two countries expected Hungary to recognise their territorial integrity, while Hungary demanded commitments to provide protections to the Hungarian minorities, ideally by recognising their collective rights and offering them autonomy. The negotiations lasted until the mid-1990s and were concluded only in 1995 and 1996, respectively. Concessions had been made by Hungary, which definitively waived any territorial claims against Slovakia and Romania (the formula which said 'also in the future'

⁵ In 1990 Antall made his emblematic statement in which he said he was "the prime minister of a ten-million Hungary, but in spirit he wanted to be the prime minister of the 15 million Hungarians". The calculation included Hungarians living in neighbouring countries, as well as the diaspora around the world.

proved to be the most contentious part), and by its neighbours, which accepted a series of commitments towards the Hungarian minorities (though without offering them autonomy).⁶

The treaties were fiercely contested, both in Hungary and in Slovakia and Romania, especially by nationalist parties, as far-right groupings tried to raise political capital by exploiting historically rooted resentment between the Hungarians and their neighbours. In Hungary, the revisionist idea and anti-Romanian and anti-Slovak rhetoric was exploited by the Hungarian Justice and Life Party (MIÉP) led by István Csurka.⁷ In the neighbour states, nationalist groupings had emerged which sought to instigate fear of Hungarian revisionism and employed anti-Hungarian rhetoric, especially the Greater Romania Party led by Corneliu Vadim Tudor and the Slovak National Party of Ján Slota. The accords between Hungary and its neighbours were also marred by ethnically motivated incidents, of which the most drastic example concerned the 1990 Hungarian-Romanian clashes in Târgu Mureş in which five people were killed and around 300 were wounded.⁸

⁶ The commitments made by Romania and Slovakia towards the Hungarian minorities concerned, *inter alia*, the right to use their native language in contacts with the state administration. The treaties also included a declaration that the two states would not seek to assimilate members of ethnic minorities against their will. It was agreed that the two states' policies towards the minorities would be based on recommendations of international organisations (CSCE, UN and the Council of Europe). See: B. Driessen, 'A new turn in Hungarian-Slovak relations? An overview of the Basic Treaty', *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 1997, no. 1 (4); B. Nagy, 'Hungary-Romania: Treaty on Understanding, Cooperation and Good Neighbourliness', *International Legal Materials*, March 1997, no. 2 (36).

⁷ Csurka was a deputy of the ruling Hungarian Democratic Forum to 1993 but was expelled from the party after a series of antisemitic and revisionist statements. He then founded his own political group, the Hungarian Justice and Life Party, which was represented in parliament during only one term (14 deputies in the years 1998–2002).

⁸ Shortly after the toppling of the Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceauşescu, ethnic tensions surfaced in Târgu Mureş, a city with a mixed, Romanian-Hungarian population. The Hungarians demanded broader language rights, and rumours about Hungarian separatists' ambitions started circulating among the Romanian communities. This led to several days of unrest in which three Hungarians and two Romanians were killed, and several hundred people were wounded. The unrest was quelled by an intervention of the Romanian army. The role of the post-communist secret

On both sides of the border, however, the elites that came to power after the fall of Communism understood that territorial disputes needed to be overcome. Their choice to integrate with Western structures was an important factor in this. Since World War II, Western states considered the principle of inviolability of borders to be the foundation of the international order. Good relations with neighbours and an absence of territorial conflicts were also among the conditions that countries had to satisfy in order to join NATO and the European Union.⁹ Hungary saw accession to the European Union primarily as an opportunity for advancing its political and economic interests, but also as a way to mitigate the consequences of the Treaty of Trianon. The EU's free movement of people was regarded as an opportunity to reduce the barriers to contacts between Hungarians living on both sides of the border, and the Union's enlargement was seen as a process that would extend democratic standards to Central European countries, improving the status of the Hungarian minorities, along with the EU's underlying principles of regionalism and subsidiarity.

Developing co-operation was made easier by previously established contacts between the Hungarian opposition communities and Romanian or Czechoslovak dissidents, as well as the support expressed for their host countries' democratic transition by the Hungarian minorities in the late 1980s. In addition to building bilateral relations, Hungary was also involved in developing regional co-operation – it was one of the founders of the Central European Initiative (formerly known as Quadragonale) and the Visegrad Group (formerly the Visegrad Triangle). Moreover, the bloody ethnic conflict playing out just across Hungary's border

services in those events has not been fully explained to this day. See: M.G. Barberá, 'When Romania Flirted with a Fate like Yugoslavia's', Reporting Democracy, 20 March 2020, www.balkaninsight.com; B. Ablonczy, '„Xenofóbiás magömlés kéjében vonagló vitézek” – 30 éve kezdődött a marosvásárhelyi fekete március', Válasz Online, 16 March 2020, www.valaszonline.hu.

⁹ T. Ambrosio, 'Vanquishing the Ghost of Trianon: Preventing Hungarian Irredentism through Western Integration', *Seton Hall Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* 2002, no. 39.

in the former Yugoslavia offered a stark warning against revisionist tendencies. Voices calling on Hungary to take advantage of the breakup of its neighbouring federal states (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union) were marginal.

After 1989, the Hungarian authorities were cautious about commemorating the Treaty of Trianon. In 1990, deputies of the newly elected democratic parliament held a minute of silence on the 70th anniversary of the peace accords, but at the same time called for moderation in commemorating the anniversary because of the potential negative consequences for Hungarian minorities in the neighbouring states (it was shortly after the ethnic unrest in Târgu Mureş). In 2000, the ruling Fidesz focused on celebrating the millennial anniversary of Hungarian statehood rather than the 80th anniversary of the Treaty of Trianon.

At the same time, in the 1990s the memory of Trianon started to be cultivated outside the official realm.¹⁰ A number of associations were established which promoted, with varying intensity, the revisionist concepts dating back to the interwar period. Their activities included publishing amateur books and journals, organising events to commemorate the treaty, or starting initiatives to erect monuments or place commemorative plaques. In many cases such organisations were created under the influence of emigre circles that had ‘upheld’ the revisionist traditions. Those groups also sought a rehabilitation of the interwar regime – particularly heated debates on the subject accompanied the repatriation of regent Horthy’s ashes to Hungary in 1993.

In the early 2000s MIÉP, i.e. the only major political party to openly advocate revisionist concepts, became marginalised. In spite of this, the deepening political and economic crisis in the second half of the decade

¹⁰ G. Gyáni, ‘The Memory of Trianon as a Political Instrument in Hungary Today’ [in:] A. Miller, M. Lipman (ed.), *The Convolutions of Historical Politics*, CEU Press, Budapest and New York 2012.

brought about a revival of extreme right ideologies, which became a driving force of the opposition against the liberal left government that was in power in 2002–2010. This movement made recourse to symbols of the pre-war regime and revisionist concepts. The radical party Jobbik became a political representation of the movement. Unlike MIÉP, Jobbik formulated its revisionist demands in a more veiled manner, especially since it won seats in the parliament in 2010. It did not openly call for a revision of state borders but emphasised that they did not match the ‘nation’s borders’ and used irredentist symbolism (such as the ‘Greater Hungary’ contours) in its campaigning materials. Nonetheless, the party’s main messages were focused on challenging the establishment and inciting anti-Roma sentiments.

The idea of Hungary’s role towards the Hungarian minorities abroad also evolved in the first decade of the 21st century. The discussion focused mainly on the issue of awarding citizenship to Hungarians living abroad.¹¹ In 2001, the first Orbán government introduced the so-called Status Law, which granted ethnic Hungarians living in neighbouring countries various privileges. In 2004, a referendum on the ability to apply a simplified procedure to awarding Hungarian citizenship to persons living outside the country was held. The left-liberal government of the day campaigned for a ‘no’ vote or abstention, invoking economic arguments and warning of the potential pressure that Hungarians from abroad would exert on the domestic labour market. The turnout was low and the referendum was ultimately invalid, which the Hungarian minorities saw as an affront on the part of the state and which prompted the right to rally around the issue of citizenship for Hungarians abroad. Fidesz and Jobbik strongly criticised the government on this, accusing it of abandoning compatriots abroad and thus betraying the national idea.

¹¹ The Hungarian debates were part of a wider context of changing perceptions of citizenship globally in recent decades and the growing acceptance in democratic countries for the right of citizens to hold more than one citizenship. See: S. Pogonyi, ‘Dual Citizenship and Sovereignty’, *Nationalities Papers* 2011, vol. 39, no. 5.

In the same period, some people started to raise the point that EU membership did not solve all the problems related to the status of Hungarian minorities in neighbour countries. While a lot of the obstacles impeding cross-border contacts between Hungarians disappeared in the European Union (particularly in the case of Hungary and Slovakia after the two states joined the Schengen area in 2007), some actions by the neighbouring countries, which were seen in Hungary as unfavourable from the point of view of the ability of Hungarians living abroad to maintain their national identity (such as the 2009 Slovak language bill), led to calls for a more active role of the state in this area.

III. THE TREATY OF TRIANON IN THE ORBÁN ERA

Fidesz's victory in the 2010 elections marked the most important breakthrough since the end of the Communist era, as far as the commemoration of the Treaty of Trianon and Hungary's policy towards Hungarian minorities abroad are concerned. After winning a two-thirds majority in parliament, Viktor Orbán's party first adopted a bill awarding citizenship to Hungarians living abroad and made the anniversary of the Treaty of Trianon an official holiday. Those two issues were dealt with right at the beginning of Fidesz's term, not only because they were important for the party and had been the subject of campaign pledges, but also because of the political calendar – the new parliament convened just before the 90th anniversary of the treaty.

The 4th of June was thus established as a Day of National Unity to commemorate the signature of the Treaty of Trianon in the first parliamentary session after Fidesz's victory. It has since been a state holiday (yet remains a working day). The bill establishing the holiday defines the notion of national unity (*nemzeti összetartozás*). The argument that all Hungarians belong to a single national community, whether they live in Hungary or abroad, had appeared before in political discourse, but the notion was not enshrined in law until 2010. The bill stated that “all Hungarians, individually and as members of communities, who live under the jurisdictions of other states, belonged in the Hungarian nation, the unity of which across state borders was a fact”.¹² The ‘unity of the Hungarian nation’ formula was also reflected in the new constitution adopted by Fidesz (in force since 2012). It strengthened Hungary's constitutional obligations towards compatriots living abroad, endorsing their exercise of their individual and collective rights, and thus effectively their aspirations for autonomy too.¹³ The bill on the Treaty of Trianon

¹² 2010. évi XLV. törvény a Nemzeti Összetartozás melletti tanúságtételről, quoted after: net.jogtar.hu.

¹³ See: M. Gniazdowski, A. Sadecki, ‘Constitution for a new Hungary – the domestic and regional implications’, *OSW Commentary*, no. 60, 29 July 2011, www.osw.waw.pl.

commemoration day and the new constitution's preamble also contained clear references to the sense of injury and injustice caused by the 1920 treaty. The bill refers to the treaty as the 'peace dictate', and the constitution pledges to "preserve the intellectual and spiritual unity of our nation, torn apart in the storms of the last century".¹⁴

The concept of 'national unification' has been implemented in practice by extending the right to Hungarian citizenship to Hungarians living outside the country. The Citizenship Act was amended accordingly during the new parliament's first session in 2010.¹⁵ It stipulates that any person who speaks Hungarian and can demonstrate that at least one of their descendants was a Hungarian national may obtain Hungarian citizenship. In the years 2011–2019, one million people took advantage of this opportunity. While the new procedure applies to members of the Hungarian diaspora worldwide, most of those who have benefited from it came from Romania, Serbia and Ukraine. In 2011, Hungarian citizens living abroad were also awarded voting rights – they have obtained partial active electoral rights, i.e. they may vote for party lists, but not for individual candidates in single-mandate constituencies (Hungary has a mixed, majority-proportional electoral system).

Finally, the institutional setup of state policies towards Hungarians living abroad has also been upgraded. Since 2010, those issues have been in the charge of a dedicated secretariat of state (initially within the Ministry of Justice and Administration, and currently within the Prime Minister's Office). The post of a deputy prime minister without portfolio in charge of Hungarian minorities has been created, and a dedicated minorities committee has been established in parliament for the first time. Research institutions and think tanks have also been founded to support the government in formulating policies towards Hungarian minorities (Research Institute for Hungarian Communities Abroad,

¹⁴ [The Fundamental Law of Hungary](http://www.kormany.hu), The Hungarian Government, www.kormany.hu.

¹⁵ The Citizenship Bill was backed by 98% of deputies, i.e. by most opposition MPs as well.

Research Institute for National Strategy). More funding has been allocated to supporting Hungarian language culture and education in neighbouring countries, and since 2015 the Hungarian government has been providing economic assistance to Hungarian minorities, especially in Serbia's Vojvodina and Ukraine's Transcarpathia. The Orbán government has also stepped up efforts to influence Hungarian parties in neighbouring countries, by favouring some groups at the expense of others, and in some cases also mediating between different formations.

The concept of 'national unity across state borders', and the related new formula of policies towards Hungarian minorities abroad and the commemoration of the Treaty of Trianon, have been part of Orbán's larger political project. He has represented the victorious 2010 election as the beginning of a new era in the country's history and the last step towards completing the political transition away from Communism, while considering his broad mandate as legitimisation for implementing in-depth changes.¹⁶ Thus, Hungary set out to re-define attitudes towards certain historical events (including the signature of the Treaty of Trianon) and the 'Hungarian-Hungarian' relations. Those activities were also a response to the growing presence of the Treaty of Trianon in public debate and the fact that the increasingly popular Jobbik was raising the topic. In this way Fidesz tried to win over the more radical sections of the right-wing electorate. Tellingly, Jobbik was the only opposition party that backed the establishment of an official holiday on the treaty anniversary.

Despite this, the topic of the Treaty of Trianon has not dominated Fidesz's historical policy or ideological messaging in the last decade. The celebrations of the Day of National Unity established by the Orbán government have usually been held without the highest-ranking state officials. Public holidays commemorating the Hungarian uprisings, i.e. the anniversary of the 1848 People's Spring on 15 March and the anniversary

¹⁶ See: A. Sadecki, *In a state of necessity. How has Orbán changed Hungary*, OSW, Warsaw 2014, www.osw.waw.pl.

of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution on 23 October, have been treated as considerably more important and celebrated with much more grandeur. It was on such occasions that the massive political rallies would be organised in Budapest, culminating with the prime minister's speech.

The reason for this was that the Treaty of Trianon, which stood for the greatest defeat suffered by Hungary in the 20th century, did not fully fit Fidesz's main narrative. At the centre of that narrative lay the defence of the country's sovereignty and interests which, according to the government, were constantly threatened from outside. The struggles with foreign criticism and the pressure from influential states and institutions have been represented as the greatest challenge faced by the Hungarians. Hence, the political narrative resorted mainly to the examples of the Hungarian uprisings of 1848 and 1956, while Orbán portrayed himself as the continuator of the freedom tradition. Any reservations about the government's reforms would be dismissed by Fidesz politicians as normal political disputes between the right and the left, while the left was castigated for having originated from the Communist dictatorship. Since 2015, the government's main narrative has been built around the trope of defending the country against immigrants. The political narratives now more often invoked Hungary's Christian heritage and the myth of Europe's defence against foreigners.

In this context, references to the Treaty of Trianon served mainly to illustrate the contrast between the state's collapse in that era and its current reconstruction and growing power, and the fact that Hungary had survived that catastrophe was represented as testament to the Hungarian nation's vitality. In some cases, the treaty has also been invoked as illustrative of an aversion to Hungary on the part of Western elites.¹⁷

¹⁷ This kind of narrative can be found in numerous speeches by Orbán and in statements by Mária Schmidt, the head of the House of Terror museum in Budapest and the main ideologue in charge of Fidesz's historical policy. See, e.g.: [Speech by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Hungarian Day of National Cohesion](#), Hungarian Government, 4 June 2019, www.kormany.hu.

The Orbán government has been more likely than its predecessors to refer back to the interwar decades, and especially the early years, i.e. the so-called consolidation period under prime minister István Bethlen (1921–1931). That era evoked images of the country's reconstruction after a crisis and of a strong and stable government, which were useful in legitimating prime minister Orbán and his policies and governance practices.

The caution in raising the topics of the Treaty of Trianon or Horthy's rule has also been motivated by the way those issues are perceived in the neighbouring states. Contemporary references to the interwar revisionism lead to suspicions that today's Hungary might seek to revise the borders with its neighbours. Budapest's involvement in supporting autonomist movements or the Orbán government's growing influence on the political parties of the Hungarian minorities are also often seen as threats to the territorial integrity of Hungary's neighbours.

The establishment of an official holiday to commemorate the Treaty of Trianon in 2010 and the new citizenship rules have come in for the fiercest criticism in Slovakia. The strength of the reaction was to a large extent due to the ongoing election campaign and the presence of the Slovak National Party in the government coalition. Slovakia was the only one among Hungary's neighbours to respond to the new citizenship law by prohibiting Slovak nationals from holding dual citizenship.¹⁸ The Hungarian Foreign Ministry, however, dismissed the allegations of territorial revisionism and the claims that it supported the separatist aspirations of Hungarian minorities.¹⁹

¹⁸ A similar prohibition is laid down in the constitution of Ukraine, but it is not enforced and it is quite common for people to hold dual citizenship (not only Hungarian). Since 2019, discussions have been going on in Ukraine about changing the rules and allowing dual citizenship.

¹⁹ For example, the then foreign minister János Martonyi, in an interview for *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1 July 2010.

While Hungarian governments since 1990 have supported the interests of Hungarian minorities in neighbouring countries and defended their rights, the Orbán government has been particularly assertive about it. In many cases it even resorted to blackmail, e.g. by making Hungary's support for its neighbours' integration with the EU or NATO conditional on reforms to their minority policies, even though Budapest regards the membership of its neighbours in those organisations as beneficial for the interests of both Hungary and the Hungarian minorities. It also acted similarly in the case of the dispute over Serbia's restitution law and the education bill in Ukraine.²⁰ Over the last decade, however, its relations with Slovakia and Serbia have improved considerably, and Belgrade's policies are now seen by the Orbán government a model for treating national minorities.

On the other hand, relations with Romania and Ukraine deteriorated considerably in the second half of the decade. Both countries are particularly sensitive to any revisionist allusions on the part of Hungary, also because during Fidesz's time in power, Hungary has experienced a gradual rapprochement with Russia – the contester-in-chief of Europe's existing political order. Kyiv's distrust of Budapest deepened after Viktor Orbán called for autonomy for the Hungarians in Carpathian Ruthenia in May 2014, at a time when Ukraine was struggling to deal with Russian aggression (the Hungarian authorities nonetheless expressed support for the territorial integrity of Ukraine).²¹ Kyiv and Bucharest are also concerned about the Fidesz government's rhetoric concerning the crisis of the West and the decline of the existing global order. What Hungarian politicians have in mind is primarily a shift in the economic balance of power and the crisis of liberal democracy, yet this rhetoric

²⁰ See: A. Sadecki, M. Szpala, 'The Serbian-Hungarian dispute over the restitution law', OSW, 19 October 2011, www.osw.waw.pl; T. Iwański, A. Sadecki, 'Ukraine-Hungary: the intensifying dispute over the Hungarian minority's rights', OSW Commentary, no. 280, 14 August 2018, www.osw.waw.pl.

²¹ A. Sadecki, 'Hungary's stance on the Ukrainian-Russian conflict', OSW, 21 May 2014, www.osw.waw.pl.

raises suspicions that Hungary might question the region's geopolitical order and, consequently, the existing state borders.

In recent years Romania and Ukraine have taken measures against the Hungarian extreme right, which has numerous direct links to Moscow and has stepped up its revisionist rhetoric after Russia annexed the Ukrainian territory of Crimea (for instance, several Jobbik politicians served as observers during the illegal referendum in Crimea). Since 2014, Ukraine has banned a number of Jobbik activists from entering its territory, including Jobbik's former treasurer who has been accused of espionage for Russia. Romania, on the other hand, in 2014 refused entry to the then Jobbik chair and took measures to impede the activities of other party members within its territory.

While the Orbán government often exploits symbolic disputes with neighbours for domestic political gain, it has also sought agreement with the governments of neighbouring countries which are important for Hungary's foreign policy. The importance of economic co-operation with its neighbours has increased considerably in recent years. Slovakia and Romania are two of Hungary's top-five trading partners, and Slovakia is Hungary's second most important export market after Germany, and transport routes and energy links crucial for Hungary are located in its neighbours' territories. In view of the tensions between Budapest and most Western states, regional co-operation, especially within the Visegrad Group, has become even more important as an instrument for pursuing Hungary's interests in the European Union. This co-operation became particularly close during the migration crisis when the V4 countries presented a joint position on the EU migration quotas and, for instance, Slovakian police were involved in patrolling Hungary's southern borders. Prime minister Orbán's ambition was to lead the region's migration policies and to build a counterbalance to the Western part of the European Union, and to this end he had to avoid confrontations with neighbouring states.

IV. THE TRIANON CENTENARY

The subject of the Treaty of Trianon became particularly pronounced in Hungary's public debate in the run-up to the centenary of its signature. Initial discussions on the topic had already been held on the occasion of the World War I centenary in 2014, but the debate became really heated four years later, when Hungary's neighbours were celebrating the centenaries of their independence or national reunification. Hungary did not celebrate the end of World War I, which from its point of view stood for defeat and disintegration. It is worth noting here that Hungary's perceptions of the political order that emerged after World War I are critical not so much of the idea of self-determination of nations as such, which was crucial in shaping that order, as its inconsistent application to the process of setting Hungary's new borders. This is why Budapest reacted positively to the independence centenary celebrations in Poland, with which Hungary traditionally maintains close relations, but the Romanian celebrations of reunification with Transylvania in December 2018 were seen as controversial in Hungary.²²

A number of factors have influenced the Fidesz government's approach to commemorating the Treaty of Trianon centenary. The government wanted to take advantage of the public sentiments that the treaty still evokes. As noted before, most Hungarians consider the treaty to have been the country's greatest national tragedy, but that does not mean that revisionist attitudes are dominant: for instance, more than half of surveyed respondents argue that there is no longer any point in discussing this issue today (see Appendix: *The memory of the Treaty of Trianon in public opinion surveys*). However, the subject remains very important for groups with nationalist views, i.e. the electorate for which Fidesz vies with the far-right parties. The final outline of the commemorations is also a result of various tendencies within Fidesz itself, where radical

²² In 2016 the Foreign Minister, Péter Szijjártó, prohibited Hungarian diplomats from taking part in the celebrations of Romania's unification at Romanian diplomatic missions worldwide.

voices clash with more pragmatic ones,²³ and of current foreign policy calculations.

The Orbán government's approach to the Treaty of Trianon centenary largely reflects the policies his cabinet has pursued hitherto, in which national unity across state borders has been a central idea. Fidesz twice rejected the opposition Jobbik's proposal to make 2020 the Year of the Treaty of Trianon Commemoration. Instead, in June 2019 the parliament announced that 2020 would be the Year of National Unity (even so, the respective bill's justification emphasised that the aim was to commemorate the centenary of the Trianon 'peace dictate', as right-wing politicians commonly call the treaty). Apart from Fidesz, the bill was backed by most opposition deputies, with only five deputies of the left-wing Democratic Coalition voting against.

The unveiling of the Treaty of Trianon monument funded on this occasion by the authorities was intended to be the main event of the centenary celebrations. In keeping with the official narrative, it is named the Monument of National Unity. Located in a street across the parliament building, it consists of a 100 metre long ramp which descends four metres below street level. Engraved on its walls are the Hungarian names of all the cities, towns and localities that belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary in 1913 (including those that were part of the then autonomous Croatia). At the end of the ramp, there is a cracked granite block with an 'internal flame' inside.²⁴ By choosing this design, the Hungarian government avoided those symbols directly associated with interwar revisionism, such as the 'Greater Hungary' contour or the 'Trianon' inscription on a cross. On the other hand, by engraving the names of places now situated in neighbouring countries, it did not so much emphasise the nation's

²³ For instance, the parliament speaker, László Kövér, who has often expressed the most radical views on the subject, ordered the Szekler flag – which symbolises support for Hungarian autonomy in Transylvania – to be flown from the parliament building instead of the EU flag.

²⁴ D. Zubreczki, 'Száz méter hosszú emlékművet állítanak a Kossuth térnél', Index, 11 April 2019, www.index.hu.

unity across borders as directly point to the geographic dimension of the national community.

A number of smaller, local commemorative events have also been planned for the centenary, financially supported by the government to the tune of HUF 10 billion (around EUR 30 million).²⁵ The greatest portion of the money (around a third) went to the foundation led by Mária Schmidt. Another HUF 1.1 billion was allocated to Hungarian minority organisations in neighbouring countries. However, as the decision to award this funding was not taken until late February, shortly before the COVID-19 pandemic spread to Hungary, it is unclear if the organisations in question will be able to carry out the projects they had planned.

The tone of the celebrations was set by Viktor Orbán in several speeches in late 2019 and the early months of the centenary year. The prime minister referred to the Treaty of Trianon as a historical tragedy, which he dubbed a 'death sentence' meted out to the Hungarian nation. At the same time, he emphasised that the nation still managed to survive for a century. Orbán noted that Hungary today was not only a strong nation but – unlike in the period that immediately followed the Treaty of Trianon – it was surrounded by states with which it forms a strong Central European alliance. He also called on people to celebrate the centenary reasonably.²⁶

At the same time, the ruling camp has made a number of direct gestures to the nationalist electorate, such as references to the symbols of pre-war revisionism and the admission of radical views to the pro-government press. The first signs of this attitude became visible even before the centenary. For instance, on the 98th anniversary of the treaty the pro-government daily *Magyar Idők* published an interview with a leading

²⁵ Ordinance of the Government of Hungary no. 1064/2020, 28.02.2020, quoted after: www.magyarkozlony.hu.

²⁶ G. Nyilas, 'Orbán egyszerre volt szokatlanul mérsékelt és durván radikális', Index, 9 January 2020, www.index.hu.

advocate of revisionist ideas who called for an adjustment of borders and suggested that Hungary should seek the assistance of one of the world's leading powers to that end.²⁷ The pro-government tabloid portal *Pesti Srácok* wrote that Hungary would never accept the loss of its “one-thousand-years-old family jewels”.²⁸ Moreover, in June 2018 a rock opera about the Treaty of Trianon was staged in Heroes' Square in Budapest, which contained a series of revisionist allusions and was subsequently aired several times by public television.²⁹

Materials posted by members of the Orbán government in social media have often featured maps of the Kingdom of Hungary with the pre-Trianon borders, i.e. one of the principal elements of the interwar revisionist iconography.³⁰ The prime minister himself spoke in front of such a map during a meeting of the party leadership in December 2019, and on the occasion of the school-leaving history exams in May 2020, he posted a picture of a globe from his cabinet, with ‘Greater Hungary’ in a central position on his Facebook account.³¹ In his annual February address, which sums up the previous year and sets out the government's goals for the current year, Orbán made a reference to a well-known irredentist prayer dating back to the interwar period (‘For the resurrection of Hungary’).³² Finally, the school curriculum modified in January 2020 now features a stronger presence of nationalist authors and topics associated with the revisionist idea.³³

²⁷ ‘Raffay Ernő: Erdély nincs elveszve’, *Magyar Idők*, 4 June 2018, www.magyaridok.hu.

²⁸ T. Pilhál, ‘Üzenet Erdély terrorista elcsatolóinak: a gyulafehérvári módszer fordítva is működni fog!’, *PestiSrácok.hu*, 1 December 2019, www.pestisracok.hu.

²⁹ ‘A tévében is bemutatják a Trianon-rockoperát hétvégén’, *Origo*, 28 November 2018, www.origo.hu.

³⁰ See, for instance, the [film on the facebook of Árpád Potápy](https://www.facebook.com/arpad.potapy) – deputy and secretary of state for national policy at the Prime Minister's Chancellery, 15 April 2020, www.facebook.com.

³¹ [Fidesz leadership meeting with PM Orbán](https://www.facebook.com/orbanviktorkormany), 16 December 2019, www.facebook.com; [PM Orbán's facebook post on the occasion of the school-leaving history exams](https://www.facebook.com/orbanviktorkormany), 6 May 2020, www.facebook.com.

³² See: [Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's “State of the Nation” address](https://www.kormany.hu/en/prime-minister/viktor-orban/state-of-the-nation-address), Hungarian Government, 16 February 2020, www.kormany.hu.

³³ ‘[Tiltakozik a Széchenyi Akadémia vezetősége a NAT módosítása miatt](https://www.nepszava.hu/2020/02/05/tiltakozik-a-szechenyi-akademia-vezetosege-a-nat-modositasa-miatt)’, *Népszava*, 5 February 2020, www.nepszava.hu.

Such moves have attracted criticism from Hungary's neighbours. As regards the relations between Hungary and Romania, the two countries have been trading gestures to rekindle historical disputes – in May 2020 the Romanian parliament passed a law establishing a Treaty of Trianon Commemoration Day on the 4th of June, even though reunification with Transylvania is already commemorated on Great Union Day on the 1st of December. Interestingly, in recent months the leaders of Croatia and Slovenia, i.e. states with which Hungary had no open historical disputes, also expressed criticism of Budapest's use of the 'Greater Hungary' map. Nevertheless, the first months of the centenary year have brought about no major discords between the neighbours. On the one hand, Hungary's neighbours seem to show some understanding of Hungary's commemoration of the Trianon centenary and react only to openly revisionist rhetoric, but on the other hand the government in Budapest has been constantly emphasising its commitment to co-operation with Central European states.

The most radical messages on the treaty's centenary have been formulated by revisionist organisations, which have stepped up their activities in connection with the anniversary. One of the most widely commented actions taken on this occasion consisted of the collection of signatures under a petition to 'invalidate the Treaty of Trianon', but this has constituted no more than a symbolic act without any legal significance.³⁴ Whereas Jobbik has been gradually abandoning its most radical postulates and shifting towards the centre-right in the years 2018–2020, the Our Homeland party (*Mi Hazánk*) has become the leading voice for revisionist ideas. Formed in 2018, mainly by a group of breakaway members from Jobbik, the party has brought together extreme right organisations and activists and has been increasingly vocal about the question of the Treaty of Trianon. In January 2020, in connection with the centenary, it announced a seven-point plan in which the main demand was for

³⁴ According to the organisers, as of February the petition had been signed by some 300,000 people; the aim is to collect a million signatures by the end of the centenary year.

the Hungarian parliament to annul the Treaty of Trianon ratification (Act XXXIII of 1921).³⁵ Our Homeland has also called for restoration of the monument to the Hungarian irredentism in the Freedom Square in Budapest, whose place is now occupied by a monument to Soviet soldiers.

Recent years have seen an evolution of the attitudes of liberal and left parties towards the treaty and the Hungarian minorities in neighbour states. On the one hand, they have been criticising Fidesz for resorting to nationalist slogans and exploiting the public sentiments associated with the treaty, but on the other hand they have started to commemorate the treaty's signature in their own way, backed the amendments to the Citizenship Act in 2010, and in 2019 overwhelmingly voted for the treaty centenary to be celebrated as the Year of National Unity.

³⁵ D. Gabay, 'Eltörölné a trianoni törvényt a Mi Hazánk Mozgalom', Magyar Nemzet, 16 January 2020, www.magyar nemzet.hu.

CONCLUSION

Since 2010, the Fidesz government has strengthened its policies towards the Hungarian minorities, embedded the notion of national unity across state borders in legislation and been more active than its predecessors in commemorating the Treaty of Trianon. However, it has not fundamentally departed from the basic principles defined in 1990 by Hungary's first democratic government, which combine support for Hungarian minorities abroad with efforts to maintain good relations with its neighbours. In recent years, those relations have been particularly important because regional co-operation has been the government's priority – as one of the pillars of the Fidesz government's foreign policy and Viktor Orbán's ideological concepts.

While the sense of grievance and injustice associated with the Treaty of Trianon is deeply rooted in the Hungarian national identity, the revisionist idea does not hold much potential for political mobilisation. Although a number of political parties exploit public sentiments associated with the memory of Hungary's post-war disintegration, none of the mainstream parties directly call for a revision of state borders. The political elites seem to understand that as a country with an open, export-oriented economy, Hungary is a beneficiary of the existing political and economic order in Europe. The 20th century attempts at altering borders, and their bloody consequences, remain a warning that shapes current thinking about the Treaty of Trianon.

The Orbán government's use of revisionist symbolism, which has intensified during the centenary year, may nonetheless create unrealistic expectations among the public and cause difficulties in relations with its neighbours. This refers in particular to neighbouring countries which are struggling against foreign aggression, such as Ukraine, as well as Romania and Slovakia, where the memory of Hungary's revisionism of the World War II era is still alive today and is being exploited by nationalist

groups. The resulting tensions may destabilise regional co-operation and impede Central European collaboration within the EU and NATO.

ANDRZEJ SADECKI

APPENDIX

Causes of the disintegration of the Kingdom of Hungary

- As part of the Austria-Hungary Dual Monarchy, the Kingdom of Hungary was among those defeated in World War I. The Hungarian leadership had been reluctant to go to war, but it accepted the decision of the government in Vienna as foreign and military affairs were within its remit. The Trianon peace accord of June 1920 was one of a series of treaties signed in the Paris area between the victorious Allies and the defeated Central Powers or their successor states (Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey).
- The Kingdom of Hungary had been a multinational state in which ethnic Hungarians accounted for around half of the population (45% in the 1880 census and 54% in the 1910 census). The 19th century saw a rise of the political aspirations of national minorities, towards whom Budapest pursued a policy of assimilation. As the Habsburg monarchy disintegrated, the Slovak political elites chose to join the newly founded state of Czechoslovakia, the Romanians from Transylvania opted for unification with the Kingdom of Romania, and the Vojvodina Serbs decided to join the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (the future Yugoslavia). In the years 1918–1919 those three states took over the territories inhabited by the respective ethnic groups, which was then sealed by the Treaty of Trianon. However, some 3.2 million Hungarians also found themselves outside Hungary.
- Hungary's neighbours could count on favourable treatment from the great powers during the Paris peace conference. France played a key role, advocating the creation of a block of states

in Central and Eastern Europe as a counterbalance to both Germany and communist Russia. For this reason, territorial disputes were usually decided in favour of the allies, and strategic considerations often overrode ethnic criteria. Hungary's request to hold plebiscites in areas with mixed populations was also rejected (with the exception of the city of Sopron, which consequently found itself in Hungary).

- Hungary's political instability in the first years of independence also contributed to the loss of some territories. In the years 1918–1920 Hungary went through several coups: the abolition of monarchy and establishment of a democratic republic, which the Bolsheviks then took over and established a Hungarian Soviet Republic, and the restitution of monarchy with regent Miklós Horthy at the helm. Each of these governments tried to stop the disintegration of Hungary but neither the belated attempt to award autonomy to the minorities, nor the efforts to obtain communist Russia's support or the various military and diplomatic endeavours prevented the loss of most of the Kingdom of Hungary's pre-war territory.

Based on: I. Romsics, *The Dismantling of Historic Hungary: The Peace Treaty of Trianon, 1920*, New York 2002; M. Ormos, *From Padua to the Trianon, 1918–1920*, New York 1990.

The memory of the Treaty of Trianon in public opinion surveys³⁶

According to a public opinion survey conducted in early 2020, 83% of Hungarians consider the Treaty of Trianon to have been the greatest tragedy in their country's history. However, views on how that accord from one hundred years ago should be treated today are much more varied. The opinion that the decisions taken in Trianon should never be accepted is shared by 54% of respondents (41% are of the opposite opinion). At the same time, however, 51% of respondents believe that this issue is no longer relevant today (46% think otherwise). If political preferences are taken into account, the supporters of right-wing parties (Fidesz and Jobbik) are much more likely to find the Trianon issue important and requiring action than those who support the liberal and left parties (the Hungarian Socialist Party, the Democratic Coalition and Momentum). Many Hungarians are also aware that the topic is being exploited for political ends. 59% of respondents agree with the statement that 'the question of the Treaty of Trianon recurs so often solely for political reasons because it is useful in arousing national emotions' (while 36% disagree). This view is shared by a great majority of supporters of all opposition parties, including Jobbik.

³⁶ Survey by Publicus Research for the *Népszava* daily conducted in February 2020 on a representative sample, www.publicus.hu.

Table 1. Hungary's losses under the Treaty of Trianon

	Territory (thousands of km²)	Population (millions)
Hungary before World War I ³⁷	282	18.2
Hungary after the Treaty of Trianon	93	7.9

Source: I. Romsics, *The Dismantling of Historic Hungary: The Peace Treaty of Trianon, 1920*, New York 2002.

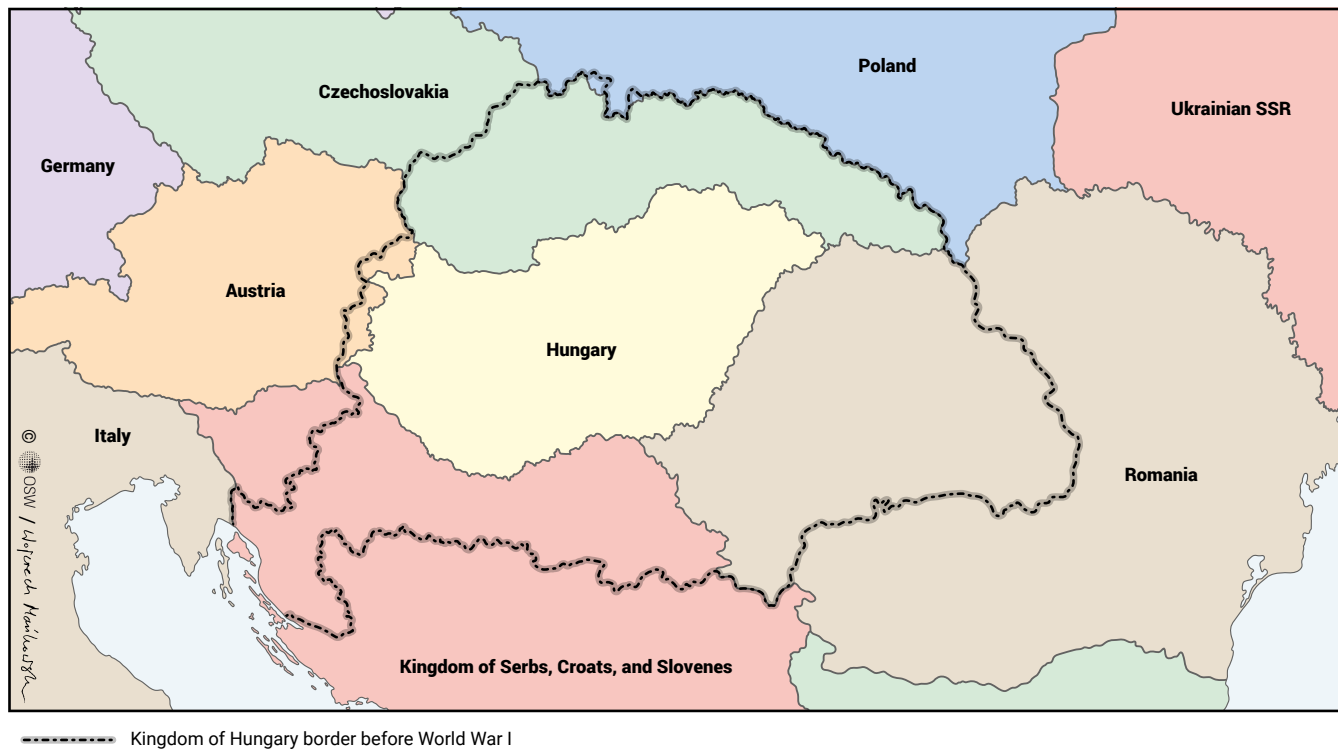
Table 2. Areas and populations incorporated into neighbouring states under the Treaty of Trianon

Beneficiary	Territory (thousands of km²)	Population (millions) / including Hungarians
Romania	103	5 / 1.6
Czechoslovakia	61	3.5 / 1
Yugoslavia	20	1.5 / 0.5
Austria	4.3	0.3
Poland	0.6	0.02
Italy	0.02	0.05

Source: I. Romsics, *The Dismantling of Historic Hungary: The Peace Treaty of Trianon, 1920*, New York 2002.

³⁷ Excluding Croatia, which enjoyed broad autonomy within the Kingdom of Hungary since 1868.

Map 1. The Kingdom of Hungary before World War I and after the 1920 Treaty of Trianon



Source: B. Nagy, *Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia felosztása*, www.1914-1918.btk.mta.hu.

Map 2. Areas in Central Europe with Hungarian majorities



Source: censuses of 2001 (Ukraine) and 2011 (Romania, Serbia, Slovakia).