

# COUNT APPONYI'S FAREWELL MESSAGE.

## What, In His Opinion, Is Wrong With the Peace Treaties, and Why They Should Be Enforced as Liberally as Possible.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Before leaving America, may I claim the hospitality of your columns to put into clear evidence the object of my visit, the international program of my own country which I tried to explain to numerous audiences, but which I should like to be understood, too, by those more numerous still whom my spoken words could not reach?

I openly and severely criticized the peace treaties, more especially the Trianon treaty, as not having fulfilled the object for which America took arms: to give to the world a peace, permanent and secure. I pointed out that the situation of Europe is more unsafe, that there are more probabilities of conflict than were given by the pre-war constructions, because the new ones, arbitrarily invented without regard to the will of the people concerned, do still less correspond to natural laws than the former ones did. I concluded that the work of peace is still to be done, that, in due time, a revision of the treaties will prove a necessity. But I added that times are not yet ripe for this, that it is not a problem of present practical politics, that the actual program can have no other basis than the existing treaties.

I may as well quote the words of my first address on this subject, lest I should be charged with having been frightened by certain criticisms into abandoning my original position. I said:

"But, though I frankly own to the conviction that a radical cure of world evils is unthinkable without revision of the peace treaties, I am perfectly aware of the fact that the times are not yet ripe and probably for many a year to follow will not be ripe, even for a mention of that solution. It would be more than human if those who framed the peace treaties should be ready to confess to their failure so few years after their conclusion. It would be absolutely impossible to get anything like a general agreement as to the question of revision on principle and still less in its details. Raised as a practical problem now, it would only lead to imminent conflicts and entangled matters still more than they are already entangled. So I have to point out that ultimate aim, but at the same time I disclaim every intention to deal with it as with an immediate aim.

"For a long time to come we have to put up with such evils as cannot be remedied radically without attacking peace treaties, and we have to find pal-

latives and soporifics which make life bearable and pave the way to that better understanding between nations which is the condition of radical peace work of any sort. We have, therefore, to consider the evils afflicting Europe and the remedies which can be applied to them within the limits of the given situation.

"We Hungarians more especially openly disclaim any intention whatsoever to use violent means for the subversion of existing treaties. We trust time and experience to pave the way to a peaceful solution of the problems they have created. What we claim, until then, is only so much that the very few clauses of those same treaties which contain something in our favor should be executed with the same stringency expected from us in the execution of burdensome ones. And what we expect more is that the obligation to observe the treaties should be equal for all nations, that there should not be any nation who can dispense with it, more especially with regard to those treaties concerning the protection of minorities which are our only safeguard against the dissection of much of our racial substance."

I have not much to add to these words. I have only to complete them by stating that the non-enforced enactment of the peace treaties on the fair execution of which we insist, as we certainly have the right to do, are chiefly these: Minority protection, an open way to the sea, self-Government of Czechs in Transylvania and Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia, efficient activity of the International River Commission, general disarmament. We may add our wish to establish regular economic relations with the neighbor States.

I do not see how or on what grounds this program can be objected to. Certainly not on account of our—let us say for the present—theoretical standpoint concerning the peace treaties. It is in case we should declare ourselves satisfied with them that we could indeed be considered as suspicious characters, because that would be a manifest lie, which it would be impossible for any one who knows something of national psychology to believe.

That was the position I took, and, though not on a mission, though not in possession of a mandate, I can boldly assert to be, with respect to the above statements, the spokesman of the enormous majority of the Hungarian people.

ALBERT APPONYI.

New York, Nov. 12, 1923.