

## THE ORIGINS OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPEAN STATES' BOUNDARIES OF 1945—1947

(This paper is dealing with the following states: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Hungary, Poland, Roumania, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.<sup>1</sup>)

(1) The boundaries of all East Central European states, established after World War One, had to undergo substantial changes in the years 1938—1941, due to the expansion of the fascist powers, Germany and Italy. Countries which were opposing that expansion, were in consequence either annexed or partitioned. States co-operating with Germany received rewards at the cost of the countries temporarily subdued. Such changes occurred more frequently after the outbreak of World War Two. But as the latter was nearing its end, Nazi Germany losing the battle, most territorial changes caused by her could be annulled step by step and the old order could be gradually restored, even before the formal end of hostilities on May 8, 1945. The Peace Treaties signed in Paris on February 10, 1947, mostly legalized the situation already existing. It was a general trend to restore the territorial settlement in East Central Europe established by the treaties of 1919 and 1920. Moreover, the victorious nations wanted to repair principal errors committed in certain treaties to the detriment of the principle of self-determination. The aims of this kind could be also realized, although to a certain degree only. A particular case were the western boundaries of the Soviet Union which had had nothing in common with the Paris Peace Conference of 1919—1920 and which had to settle her boundary problems with her neighbors by separate bilateral negotiations. She secured her ends mostly in 1939—1940 and after the war could confirm her gains by new agreements, in part again bilateral ones and in part in the Paris Peace Treaties of 1947.

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(2) It was the Soviet Union which started diplomatic proceedings connected with the new boundaries still before the end of the war.

<sup>1</sup> There were no changes of both Albanian and Austrian boundaries and it has not been necessary to deal with these two states in particular.

Certainly the most important problem was that of the new boundary between the Soviet Union and Poland, as the former did not recognize any more the Treaty of Riga (March 18, 1921) and the latter had to accept the new solution of that problem as proposed by the more powerful neighbor. But the solution based on the principle of self-determination was fully acceptable to the new Polish provisional government, set up on July 22, 1944, as »The Polish Committee of National Liberation« (P.K.W.N.) and composed of communist, socialist and leftist peasant politicians.<sup>2</sup> The representatives of the Committee signed with the Soviet Government on July 27, 1944 in Moscow an agreement fixing the new boundary between the two states, not only in the areas which until the war had belonged to Poland but also in a German province which both partners intended to partition between them: East Prussia had to disappear.<sup>3</sup> The new boundary between Poland and the Soviet Union in the former Polish areas became a reality at once because the Soviet Union was transferring to the Poles all areas situated to the west of the agreed boundary after they were captured from the Germans by the Red Army and the Polish People's Army. A Polish emigreé government residing in London and not any longer recognized by the Soviet Union, had no influence at all over the boundary problem.<sup>4</sup> When East Prussia could be conquered in the beginning of 1945, the western and southern part of that province, according to the agreement of July 27, 1944, was also transferred to Poland; the remaining north-eastern part went to the Soviet Union and the Lithuanian harbor of Klaipėda (in German: Memel) with its district, annexed by Germany in March 1939, was given back to Lithuania, now a Soviet Republic, member of the U.S.S.R. The final determination of the Polish-Soviet boundary had to wait for the end of hostilities in Europe.

(3) Then there came two armistices, both of them signed by the Soviet Union also on behalf of the United States and Great Britain. First of them was concluded with Roumania, on September 12. It restored in its article 4 the boundary existing between both states since June 28, 1940. Further the Allied Powers declared in art. 19 the Second Vienna Award of August 30, 1940, which had partitioned Transylvania between Hungary and Roumania, as null and void; they declared as so that the Hungarian part will be fully or in part

<sup>2</sup> Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego (P.K.W.N.) had its seat in Lublin and was known therefore as the Lublin Committee.

<sup>3</sup> The text of this agreement was published by E. Basiński in a volume of documents: *Stosunki polsko-radzieckie w latach 1917—1945* (Warszawa 1967), doc. No 153.

<sup>4</sup> Diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Polish emigreé government in London, established in 1941, were severed by the Soviet Government in April 1943 and never re-established in spite of British and American mediation.

restored to Roumania.<sup>5</sup> There was no mention of the boundary between Roumania and Bulgaria.

Seven days later another armistice has been signed: between the Soviet Union and Finland. In its article 3 the boundary of 1940 (fixed by the Treaty of Moscow, March 12, 1940) was restored and moreover the article 7 restored to the Soviet Union the district of Pečenga (Finnish: Petsamo), which Finland had acquired from Russia in 1920 (Treaty of Tartu = Derpt).<sup>6</sup>

Thus could the Soviet Union regain her pre-war boundaries, i.e. as they had been fixed before June 22, 1941 when Germany attacked the Soviet Union, having Roumania and Finland as allies. During the war Roumania and Finland temporarily restored, due to Germany's help, their former boundaries, existing between 1920 and 1940. (The Roumanian seizure of Bessarabia was never recognized by the Soviet Union.)

As stated above, there was no mention of Bulgaria's boundaries. In the third armistice signed by the Soviet Union in the fall of 1944, on October 28 with that country, Bulgaria being not the Soviet Union's neighbor, had had no territorial problems with her. The Soviet Government was not interested in the settlement of the South Dobrudja boundary between Bulgaria and Roumania. But the U.S.S.R. did not wish to see the territory of Bulgaria mutilated by Greece which soon forwarded her claims. (This matter will be dealt with in one of the following paragraphs.)

Eventually on January 20, 1945, was signed the last of the armistices with Germany's former allies, i.e. with Hungary. Article 2 of the armistice ordered restitution of all Czechoslovak, Roumanian and Yugoslav areas occupied by Hungary between 1938 and 1941. Thus Hungary had to return to her former boundaries as they had existed on Dec. 31, 1937. Article 19 declared First and Second Vienna Award (Nov. 2, 1938 and Aug. 30, 1940) null and void. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia could regain their areas annexed by Hungary in 1938/9 and in 1941 at once;<sup>7</sup> for the time being there was some uncertainty regarding northern Transylvania annexed by Hungary in 1940, but in March 1945 the Soviet Union restored that area to Roumania too.

All those four armistices contributed to the restoration of international boundaries existing in that part of Europe before the

<sup>5</sup> North Transylvania was transferred to Roumania in March 1945 after the formation in Bucharest of a fully democratic government by Petru Groza, trusted by the Soviet Union.

<sup>6</sup> Owing to that fact, Finland had had between 1920 and 1940 a common frontier with Norway; the Germans could enter Finland since 1941 from Norway across the Petsamo (Pečenga) District.

<sup>7</sup> For the time being the frontier area between Hungary and Czechoslovakia had still to be liberated from the German occupation (in Slovakia after the collapse of the Slovak uprising of 1944).

changes caused directly or indirectly by Germany or by her allies.<sup>8</sup> Indeed the frontiers established in 1920 by the Treaty of Trianon were fully restored. The Soviet Union got back all areas she had possessed before 1941 and lost for some time because of the invasion by Germany and her allies.

(4) There was the problem of Germany's own frontiers which had been already discussed in general terms at the conferences of Teheran and Yalta. First of all it was accepted that all German annexations since 1938 had to be invalidated: those of Austria, of Czechoslovak, Polish and Yugoslav areas. The Allied Great Powers decided on October 30, 1943 that the independent Austrian state should be re-established.<sup>9</sup> There was never a doubt that Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia will get back their areas annexed by Germany. But the pertinent declarations of the Powers never mentioned the boundaries, saying only that they do not recognize the annexations accomplished during the war. What regards Czechoslovakia there was no doubt that after Great Britain and France had declared the Munich settlement null and void,<sup>10</sup> the areas seized by Germany owing to that settlement will be restored to Czechoslovakia. Concerning Poland both at Teheran and Yalta the Powers expressed the opinion that the Polish western boundary should be pushed further to the west. Eventually regarding Yugoslavia the problem of the German annexed northern areas (Slovenia) was already settled by the decision of reestablishment of the Austrian state. Thus there was no Yugoslav-German boundary problem.

A formal decision what is meant by territory of Germany was taken up on June 5, 1945 by the Four Powers' Declaration on taking over the sovereign rights in the conquered territory. The Powers stated that the partition into four occupation zones is related to the territory which had been German on December 31, 1937, i.e. without Austria, Czech areas, Klaipėda (Memel) and Polish areas.<sup>11</sup> Further fate of that territory had to be discussed by the heads of governments of Three Big Powers in nearest future, in particular in connection with Poland.

(5) There was no mention of boundary problems in the Italian armistice signed on September 3, 1943 in Cassibile (Sicily). For the time being the north-eastern part of Italy claimed by the Yugoslavs on ethnic grounds remained under German occupation until the last days of April 1945. The Yugoslav People's Army, pushing from Dal-

<sup>8</sup> The texts of those armistices can be found e.g. in: H.K.G. Rönnefarth and H. Euler, ed., *Konferenzen und Verträge*, part II, 1914—1959, (Würzburg 1959), »Vertrags-Plöetz«, pp. 226—229, 234—237, 240—241.

<sup>9</sup> S. Verosta, ed., *Die internationale Stellung Österreichs 1938 bis 1947* (Wien 1947), p. 52—53.

<sup>10</sup> All documents regarding this matter can be found in: E. Beneš, *Šest let exilu a druhé světové války* (Praha 1946), pp. 466, 477—479.

<sup>11</sup> »Vertrags-Plöetz« (see note 8), 259—262.

matia, succeeded in expelling the German units and occupying all of Istria and even Trieste, from which however the Yugoslavs were forced to retreat on the basis of an agreement with the Anglo-American troops on the delimitation of the occupation zone. Eventually on June 9, 1945, Istria and adjacent areas claimed by Yugoslavia were partitioned into two zones: »A« with Trieste under Anglo-American occupation and »B« (much larger one) assigned to Yugoslavia, pending the peace treaty with Italy.<sup>12</sup>

Less successful was Yugoslavia with her other claim regarding the Slovenian part of Carinthia. Although a part of that area was liberated in spring 1945 by Yugoslav guerrillas,<sup>13</sup> the Western Powers forced them to withdraw behind the pre-war Austro-Yugoslav border. On July 9, 1945, the Four Powers agreed in London to partition Austria in her 1937 frontiers into four zones of occupation.<sup>14</sup> The Yugoslav claims were neglected.

(6) First post-war regular treaty on a new boundary was signed on June 29, 1945, in Moscow, between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. By that agreement the territory of Subcarpathian Ukraine (until 1938: Podkarpatská Rus i.e. Subcarpathian Ruthenia) was ceded by Czechoslovakia to the Soviet Union, according to the wishes of the Ukrainian population of that area.<sup>15</sup> It was necessary to fix a new frontier between it and Czechoslovakia because the old demarcation line existing in pre-war Czechoslovakia had been only provisionally fixed and could not serve as boundary between two states. Its inconvenience was generally admitted and the Soviet Union required an adjustment to which Czechoslovakia consented. The old frontier was slightly moved to the west but Czechoslovakia's loss is insignificant.

(7) Between July 17 and August 2, 1945, the heads of governments of Three Great Powers were conferring at Potsdam on numerous problems connected with Germany and on other important international issues. As a result of that conference on August 2 the decisions were published which created new frontiers in that part of Europe.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> D. Plenča, *Međunarodni odnosi Jugoslavije u toku drugog svjetskog rata* (Beograd 1962), pp. 402—403; cf. H. Seton-Watson, *The East European Revolution* (London 1950), p. 348.

<sup>13</sup> B. Grafenauer et al., ed., *Koroški zbornik* (Ljubljana 1946), pp. 493 and foll.; F. Škerl, *Koroška v boju za svobodo*.

<sup>14</sup> S. Verosta, op. cit., pp. 71—74; cf. W. Goldinger, *Geschichte der Republik Osterreich* (Wien 1962), p. 270; W.B. Bader, *Austria Between East and West 1945—1955* (Stanford 1966), p. 26.

<sup>15</sup> Text: *Sbornik deystvuyushchikh dogovorov, soglasheniy i konventsiy zaklyuchonnikh SSSR s inostrannimi gosudarstvami*, tom. XI (Moskva 1955), doc. No 406; *Dokumenty československé zahraniční politiky 1945—1960* (Praha 1960), doc. No 8; »Vertrags-Ploetz«, p. 265—266.

<sup>16</sup> For the text of the Potsdam agreements see: *Foreign Relations of the United States. Conference of Berlin (Potsdam) 1945* (Washington D.C. 1960); there is also a Russian collection: *Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, Sbornik dokumentov* (Moskva 1967).

In fulfillment of the agreement reached at Yalta, the western boundary of Poland was shifted to the rivers Odra and the Lusatian (or Western) Neisse. That area, already in the meantime transferred by the Soviet Union to Poland, has been detached from the Soviet Occupation Zone in Germany and put under Polish administration. Poland received also the territory of the former Free City of Gdańsk (Danzig) and the larger part of former East Prussia, the smaller part of which having been given (with its former capital Königsberg) to the Soviet Union.<sup>17</sup> It is true enough that the Powers declared that the final and definitive decision on Poland's western frontiers will be taken in the peace treaty to be concluded with Germany. But Poland was allowed also to transfer the remaining German population to the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany and to settle Poles in evacuated areas. Such a decision could have only one meaning: that the pertinent areas must remain Polish for ever. Nobody could imagine a new migration of millions of people in case of giving back those areas to Germany. Poland considered the acquired areas as an integral part of her territory.<sup>18</sup> That was recognized by the new German state which became Poland's neighbor in 1949: the German Democratic Republic. This state recognized the definitive character of Poland's western frontier by a special treaty signed in Zgorzelec on the Neisse, on July 6, 1950. The Federal Republic of Germany needed further twenty years before she followed her eastern neighbor's example by the treaty signed at Warsaw on December 7, 1970.

(8) On August 16, 1945, the definitive treaty between the Soviet Union and Poland fixing the boundary between the two states was signed in Moscow.<sup>19</sup> It was based on the agreement of July 27, 1944 and only slightly departed from the already existing frontier line. The partition of former East Prussia was confirmed and further to the south, from Lithuania to the Carpathian Mountains the frontier followed mainly the so called »Curzon line«, proposed in 1920 and separating the predominantly Byelorussian and Ukrainian areas from Polish ones. The Soviet Union restored to Poland already in 1944 the district of Białystok and the city of Przemyśl which she had occupied in September 1939 after collapse of the Polish state in its war with Nazi Germany. (Small changes were carried out in 1951

<sup>17</sup> Königsberg was rebaptized into Kaliningrad, in honor of the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R., Michail Kalinin (dead in 1946).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. E. Wiskemann, *Germany's Eastern Neighbours. Problems Relating to the Oder-Neisse Line and the Czech Frontier Regions* (London, New York, Toronto 1956); B. Wiewióra, *Granica polsko-niemiecka w świetle prawa międzynarodowego* (Poznań 1957; there exists an English translation).

<sup>19</sup> Text: *Zbiór dokumentów* (Warszawa 1946), No 2; *Sbornik deystvuyushchikh dogovorov, soglasheniy i konventsiy zaklyuchonnikh SSSR s inostrannimi gosudarstvami*, tom. XII (Moskva 1956), doc. No 485.

on the basis of territorial exchange, when a small area in the Carpathian region went to Poland and another one situated more to the north was ceded by Poland to the Soviet Union.)

The new eastern frontier of Poland consists of four sectors. An entirely new and rather artificial from the geographic point of view is the sector in former East Prussia, partitioning that area by a straight, almost horizontal line, going from the Baltic to the frontier triangle where before 1939 were converging East Prussia, Poland and Lithuania. From there going to the south we see a short sector which is the only part of the actual eastern boundary of Poland, identical with the frontier which had existed here before 1939 (it is the line separating the Polish district of Suwałki from the Soviet Republic of Lithuania).<sup>20</sup> The third sector starts to the west of the city of Grodno (Hrodna in Byelorussian) and runs towards the south, reaching the Bug river in the proximity of the city of Brest (belonging to Soviet Byelorussia). And the fourth sector goes along the Bug river, in conformity with the «Curzon line» of 1920, to the pre-1914 Russo-Austrian boundary and further to the Carpathian mountains, leaving the city of Przemyśl to Poland. In general, this frontier is a racial one, separating the predominantly Polish areas from Russian (in the Kaliningrad district), Lithuanian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian Soviet republics.

(9) After the signature of the Polish-Soviet treaty of August 16 there was no other such settlement in 1945. A dispute arose between Poland and Czechoslovakia over a part of Silesia: the western half of the Cieszyn (Těšín) district,<sup>21</sup> annexed by Czechoslovakia in 1920 and returned to Poland in 1938. Occupied in May 1945 by the Red Army expelling the Germans, that area was given back to Czechoslovakia, in spite of Polish claim based on racial motives opposed by the Czechs because of economic and also racial grounds. Eventually both countries recognized the existing frontiers by the treaty of friendship concluded between them on March 10, 1947,<sup>22</sup> after Czechoslovakia renounced her claim on the district of Kłodzko (Czech: Kladsko) belonging to the new Polish areas assigned by the Potsdam Conference.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> This frontier, result of a compromise reached in 1920, has been recognized by the Great Powers on March 15, 1923, in spite of the protestations of Lithuania.

<sup>21</sup> This area is called in Polish: Zaolzie i.e. Trans-Olsa territory (the river Olza being here basis of boundary and separating the city of Cieszyn = Těšín into two parts, eastern belonging to Poland and western to Czechoslovakia, called since 1920: Český Těšín).

<sup>22</sup> Polish and Czechoslovak documents for 1947; cf. »Vertrags-Ploetz«, p. 302—303.

<sup>23</sup> There exists a large literature in Czech on Czechoslovakia's claim to that area, e.g. a collective work *Naše Kladsko* (Praha 1946, or F. *Kulháněk*, *Boj o Kladsko* (ibid. 1946); after 1947 such books were not more published.

(10) In 1946 the peace treaties with the former allies of Nazi Germany were negotiated in Paris but their signature was postponed to 1947. Yugoslavia unsuccessfully presented her claims to Southern Carinthia and Austria to the southern part of Tyrol (Alto Adige).<sup>24</sup> The Four Powers exercising control over Austria did not want to consent to an amputation of her territory but neither they wanted to increase her. Italy faced with losses to Yugoslavia, vehemently protested against any further territorial cession, pointing out that the Brenner frontier established by the Treaty of Saint-Germain in 1919 is a necessity on security grounds. And as the Austrian claims were based on the ethnic principle, a large part of the pertinent area being populated by German speaking people, the Italian government promised to give them administrative and cultural autonomy. Seeing no chance of getting back that area, the Austrian government accepted the Italian proposal and an agreement was signed in Paris on September 5, 1946, securing the German-speaking Tyrolians in Italy the full equality of rights what regards the use of the German language in offices and all public services.<sup>25</sup> Thus Austria recognized the Italian boundary of the Brenner and renounced all claims to a revision. The Alto Adige became an autonomous region.

(11) Eventually on March 10 were signed in Paris all five peace treaties with Germany's former allies: Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Italy and Roumania. They included provisions on boundaries which did not differ very much from that what already existed since 1945.

A particular case was Bulgaria's one. She was the only state which could preserve her pre-war territory without any loss. It is true, the Greeks put in strong claims for the rectification of the Greco-Bulgarian frontier, but due to the diplomatic help of the Soviet Union and other Slavic states those claims were rejected.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, Bulgaria could preserve her only territorial gain she acquired during the war on the basis of a treaty: South Dobrudja, ceded to her by Roumania by an agreement signed at Craiova on September 7, 1940.<sup>27</sup> Unique of the kind was this case of a state which having fought on the bad side in a war, nevertheless had a larger size after that war than before it.

The provisions regarding Finland, Hungary and Roumania hardly departed from the situation created already by the armistices.

<sup>24</sup> On Carinthia see note 13; on South Tyrol (Alto Adige): K.H. Ritschel, *Diplomatie um Südtirol* (Stuttgart 1966); M. Toscano, *Storia diplomatica della questione dell'Alto Adige* (Bari 1968).

<sup>25</sup> Text: »Vertrags-Ploetz«, pp. 289—290; cf. G. Mammarella, *Italy After Fascism* (Notre-Dame, Ind., 1966), p. 168.

<sup>26</sup> V. Bozhinov, *Zashtitata na natsionalnata nezavisimost na Bulgaria 1944—1947* (Sofia 1962), p. 45—46; cf. S. Xydis, *Greece and the Great Powers* (Thessaloniki 1963), pp. 200—205.

<sup>27</sup> Text: C.A. Colliard, *Droit international et histoire diplomatique* (Paris 1948), pp. 391—392; cf. H. Seton-Watson, *Eastern Europe Between the Wars 1918—1941* (New York 1962), p. 401.



Finland lost nothing more than she renounced by the armistice agreement: the boundary of March 12, 1940, was confirmed and in addition the sea harbor of Pečenga (ex-Petsamo) was ceded to the Soviet Union. There was no difference between September 1944 and February 1947.

Hungary preserved her pre- 1938 territory with only one and very insignificant exception. She had to cede to Czechoslovakia three villages adjacent to Bratislava because of economic necessities, important to the Slovak capital. Since the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement of June 29, 1945, Hungary had a new neighbor: the Soviet Union,<sup>28</sup> and a small Hungarian minority started to live in the new Transcarpathian District of the Soviet Ukrainian Republic.

Roumania confirmed her cession of Bessarabia and North Bukovina to the Soviet Union, agreed already in 1940. She lost nothing more and having reincorporated North Transylvania in March 1945, her possession of that area was now confirmed by the Peace Treaty.

Quite different was Italy's case. She had to renounce in favor of Yugoslavia of nearly all her territorial acquisitions in the Adriatic region acquired after World War One. Only a small area around Gorizia and Monfalcone (Tržič) could be preserved by Italy, in spite of a Slovenian minority which was also claimed by Yugoslavia. Trieste with adjacent area became a Free Territory under United Nations' supervision. On October 5, 1954 a new agreement signed in London between Great Britain, the United States, Italy and Yugoslavia partitioned the Free Territory between its two neighbors and thus this artificial creation was liquidated, the city itself having been restored to Italy.<sup>29</sup>

The latter had also to renounce her colony in the Aegean Sea: the Dodecanese which in accordance with the language of the population was given to Greece. Owing to that, Greece after failure of her claims to a part of Bulgaria and to South Albania (Northern Epirus)<sup>30</sup> could at least realize another claim and increase of territory. The boundaries of Greece in the Balkan Peninsula remained as they had been before the war. For a certain time there were some doubts about the fate of Greek Macedonia where the Slavic population desired to join the Macedonians in Yugoslavia and their new socialist republic. No official steps were, however, undertaken by Yugosla-

<sup>28</sup> Hungary and the Soviet Union became neighbors for the first time after September 17, 1939, when the former Polish Eastern Galicia had been incorporated into the U.S.S.R. and that area and the then Hungarian Transcarpathian Ruthenia became adjacent territories.

<sup>29</sup> The Socialist Republic of Slovenia thus acquired an outlet to the Adriatic.

<sup>30</sup> That territory was occupied by the Greek forces after the Italian aggression against Greece in fall of 1940 until the collapse of Greek army owing to the German intervention in April 1941.

via and the Greek government was not willing to discuss the matter. Thus the old frontier, established in 1913, remained unchanged.<sup>31</sup>

The boundaries in the proper Balkan Peninsula after 1945 do not differ from those existing before World War Two, with only one exception: the rectification of the Bulgaro-Roumanian border in Dobrudja. (The essential changes in the north Adriatic area because of Yugoslavia's territorial gains from Italy are not connected with the old image of the Balkans.)<sup>32</sup>

(12) Let us recapitulate.

Here is the list of international treaties establishing new boundaries or restoring old ones after temporary modification, signed in 1944—1945 or later in East Central Europe, or connected with this part of our Continent.

1944, July 27, Moscow: Poland — U.S.S.R. provisional demarcation

1944, September 12, Moscow: United Nations — Roumania (armistice)

1944, September 19, Moscow: United Nations — Finland (armistice)

1945, January 20, Moscow: United Nations — Hungary (armistice)

1945, June 5, Berlin: France, Great Britain, United States, U.S.S.R., sovereignty over German territory of 1937; four zones of occupation

1945, June 9, Belgrade: Great Britain, United States — Yugoslavia: occupation zones in former Venezia Giulia

1945, June 29, Moscow: Czechoslovakia — U.S.S.R. boundary

1945, July 9, London: France, Great Britain, United States, U.S.S.R., occupation zones in Austria, territory as in 1937

1945, August 2, Potsdam: Great Britain, United States, U.S.S.R., a) area of Königsberg (former East Prussia) to U.S.S.R.; b) former German territories to the east of Odra and Lusatian Neisse, former territory of the Free City of Gdańsk (Danzig), and the remaining part of former East Prussia — to Poland (with transfer of German population).

1945, August 16, Moscow: Poland — U.S.S.R. definitive boundary

1946, September 5, Paris: Austria — Italy (recognition of the pre-war boundary)

1947, February 10, Paris: United Nations — Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Italy, Roumania; peace treaties a) confirming existing boundaries of Bulgaria; b) confirming boundaries of Finland as sta-

<sup>31</sup> Some polemics continued however both in Yugoslav and Greek Macedonia in press and in scientific books.

<sup>32</sup> The traditional notion of the Balkans as a political problem never included Istria although the latter can be from the geographic point of view seen as an extreme part of the Balkan Peninsula.

ted in the armistice of convention of 1944; c) confirming Hungarian boundaries of 1937 with small rectification in favor of Czechoslovakia; d) establishment of a new boundary between Italy and Yugoslavia, of the Free Territory of Trieste, cession of the Dodecanese to Greece; e) confirmation of Roumanian boundaries as in the armistice convention of 1944 and of the retrocession of North Transylvania to Roumania.

(13) And now let us go over the boundaries of individual states (Albania: pre-war boundaries)

(Austria: pre-war boundaries)

Bulgaria: pre-war boundaries with one exception: boundary with Roumania according to the agreement of 1940.

Czechoslovakia: predominantly old boundaries: with Germany (G.D.R. and F.R.G.), Poland and Hungary (here a slight modification in favor of Czechoslovakia); new boundary with the U.S.S.R.

Finland: in part old boundaries: with Sweden and partly with the U.S.S.R. (no more common frontier with Norway), in part new boundary with the U.S.S.R., as in the armistice convention of 1944.

(Greece: old boundaries, but acquisition of the Dodecanese.)

Hungary: old (pre-war) boundaries, with one small rectification in favor of Czechoslovakia.

Poland: predominantly new boundaries: with Germany (G.D.R.) and the U.S.S.R., old boundary (as in 1937) with Czechoslovakia.

Roumania: in part old and in part new boundaries: a) old ones with Hungary and Yugoslavia, b) new ones with Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R. (both cases as in 1941).

Yugoslavia: predominantly old boundaries as in 1938 or 1940: with Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary and Roumania; new boundary with Italy (excepted a small sector in the north-west, adjacent to Austria). The boundary with the former Free Territory of Trieste, established by the peace treaty with Italy, does not exist since the agreement of 1954 which partitioned that territory between Italy and Yugoslavia.

(14) And finally some figures showing the effect of the treaties concluded after World War Two on the political geography and security of the states of East Central Europe.

This effect can be seen as a general tendency of shortening of frontier lines. The overall length of their boundaries after 1945 in comparison with 1938 (before the »Anschluss« and consecutive German annexations) diminished. As examples may serve following figures regarding states having undergone territorial modifications:

	before	after
total length of frontiers in kilometers	1938	1945
Czechoslovakia	3804	3553
Poland	5529	3448
Yugoslavia	3058	2969

Only Roumania's case is opposite to that of these three states: before 1938, 2870 kilometers, after 1947, 3153 kilometers.

Poland's case is giving us the most spectacular evidence of the positive effect of the boundary treaties:

Poland's frontiers	in 1938	in kilometres after 1945
with Germany	1912	456
with U.S.S.R.	1412	1245

Extended is however the Polish-Czechoslovak frontier line:

before 1938	984	after 1945	1250.
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This is due to the shifting of the Polish territory to the west: actually a large part of the Polish-Czechoslovak boundary is identical with the pre-war Czechoslovak-German frontier (in Silesia).

Also Czechoslovakia's frontiers with the two German states casted up together are shorter than the pre-war Czechoslovak-German boundary before 1938: 1538 after 1945 815.

The frontier between Yugoslavia and Italy, the only one among Yugoslav frontiers modified in comparison with the pre-war situation diminished from 260 kilometers before 1941 to 202 after 1954.

We can thus characterize the actual state boundaries in East Central Europe as advantageous and the pertinent treaties as beneficial for the general situation in this part of our Continent.

NB.

There exist studies on new boundaries in East Central Europe and in particular those of Poland and Czechoslovakia written by the Yugoslav scientists, Professor Radovan PAVIĆ and Doctor Andrija BOGNAR, published in the periodical »Politička Misao« in Zagreb in 1969 and 1973. The author of the present paper had no knowledge of those studies during his work on this subject.