

S.J. MAGYARÓDY

Hungary and the Hungarians



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Editor: Szabolcs J. Magyarody

Principal translators:

**Péter Csermely,
István Hegedűs
Dr. Csaba Horváth,
Judit Jókay**

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FOREWORD

Ever since the punitive terms of the Trianon Peace Treaty of 1920, following WWI, the Hungarian governments were never free to express the true feelings and wishes of the Hungarian nation.

First of all, the overwhelming military and economic strength of the so called Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia) and their sponsors (Great Britain and France) made it impossible for the Hungarian government to effectively and openly represent the interest of the nation. Subsequent to Hitler's Third Reich, and for almost half of a century, the Soviet Union oppressed any sign of the expression of national interest, including putting down the only large scale armed uprising against the Soviet Union by the people of Hungary in 1956.

Today, the situation is not much better. The only difference is that the tragic financial situation is forcing a muzzle on the government, instead of the force of arms.

Hungary is not lacking enemies. Very few nations receive such bad press in the world like Hungary. The liberal media is attacking the government for enacting laws that most of the other European nations have. The best example is the case of the new constitution. Most Western media mounted a full scale attack on it a day before the English text of the proposed law was released. Obviously, the attack was orchestrated by some Hungarian liberals, and the western media adopted the hateful text without checking the validity of the accusations.

Unfortunately, during the centuries, Hungarians never truly recognized the importance of propaganda. Therefore, our enemies were free to wage hateful propaganda warfare all over the world, without the Hungarians blinking an eye. Owing to this relentless activity, the Romanians were successful in saturating the entire Western world with the „Daco-Roman continuity in Transylvania” fairytale. The Slovaks are also in the process of creating a history for themselves by usurping and borrowing from Hungarian history, including Magyar kings, coat-of-arms, erasing the Hungarian past of the occupied Hungarian cities, including Pozsony, the long time capital of Hungary. This historical city was known as Pozsony, Pressburg, Posonium, but never by its present name of „Bratislava.” But more of it in the book...

We, the publishers and writers of this book, are not connected financially to any Hungarian government or their agencies. Therefore, we are free to present the history and interest of this nation without any regard to its government. We are wholly financed

by the small contributions of the Hungarian-born citizens of the United States and Canada. Not one of our staff writers, contributors and translators receives any compensations or pay. All are volunteers.

We are strictly presenting the truth and nothing but the truth. We are painfully aware of the fact that our enemies would latch onto even a single error or half-truth and, enlarging on it, would destroy the credibility of the rest of the work.

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, February 26, 2012

SZABOLCS J. MAGYARÓDY

WHO ARE WE?

We do not know exactly but one thing is certain: we are a mixed race, as are most Europeans. According to scientists, racially pure ethnic groups do not exist. It is merely a matter of determining which group merged with who and when and under what circumstances. It is enough to cite the example of the Germans. The Bavarians, who most probably assimilated some Avars, are simply not the same as the Prussians, who are related to the Slavs. And let us not even speak of the French, the Italians, the Spaniards, the Portuguese or the Greeks.

If we read the publications of the Hungarian Academy of Science, we are Finno-Ugric. Our languages do bear some slight resemblance but, genetically, we are not related. The Finns noted this and re-wrote their history books. According to them, we are not relatives, but good friends. This is not a handicap as a good, reliable friendship is worth more than a poor family relationship. The two languages differ so much from each other that we cannot recognize one word in common usage. It is only linguists who try. At the same time, we have substantially more ancient Turkic words, which the Finno-Ugrians prefer not to mention. Our language falls among the agglutinative languages. If we start from this foundation, there are more, and possessing a higher culture, related peoples, aside from the Finno-Ugric.

DNA tests reveal something different. In 2000, one of the most respected journals in the world, *Science*, in the USA, published a joint article by Ornella Semino and 16 geneticists [The Genetic Legacy of Paleolithic Homo sapiens in Extant Europeans: A Y Chromosome Perspective]. They made the following observations regarding the population of the Carpathian Basin and surrounding populations:

1. The ancestors of the population were among the original Europoid settlers who arrived in Europe, circa 40,000 to 35,000 years ago.
2. From the perspective of population genetics, the group is one of the most characteristically unique population pools (as traced by haplotype Eu19 – an ancient, stone-age genetic marker, found in the highest percentage concentration in the peoples of the region).

Thus, the closest relatives of the Hungarian (Magyar) race – verified at the genetic level – are the Poles, Slovaks, Ukrainians and Croats. Thus, it follows that these peoples have heavily intermixed with the original settlers who preceded them for thousands of years, whose heritage we still carry. A part of the peoples, who, in their turn, occupied the Car-

pathian Basin, obviously combined with the original settlers they found here. Hence, the two most recent settlers of the region, the Avars and the Magyars of Árpád, inherited the markers tracked by Semino. According to anthropologists, they are still clearly differentiated from the later tribes of arrivals, who can be classified among the Turanid, Pamir, Taurid (Caucasian), and East Baltic, etc., groups. This is evident, and verifiable, in the case of the peoples of the Jazyg, Cuman, Szekler and Árpád's tribes.

The ancient melodies of our folk-music are pentatonic, songs that can be found in the Near and Far East but not in Western Europe. The folk music of Turkey and Hungary show a 75% correspondence; that of Persian and Hungarian 24%; that of Finnish and Hungarian merely 2%. That is to say, from the perspective of folk music, all evidence points toward that we are a people of Turkic origin.

According to newer theories, the tribes of Árpád of approx. 200,000 people, most of who arrived in 895, found, besides a sparse population of Slavs, mainly the related tribes of Avars, whom they quickly assimilated. This is borne out by the relics found in cemeteries of the period. The verbal folk lore that is still extant, currently styled as 'oral history,' seems to lend support to our origination from Hunor and Magor and the Huns. Byzantine, Turkish, Armenian and Arab sources all tend to support this tradition.

More on this subject on the attached CD.

C. A. Macartney D. Litt.

HUNGARY – A SHORT HISTORY *

(The following is a condensed version of Mcartney's original text)*

Trianon Hungary had largely taken shape before the same treaty legalized its existence. In the spring of 1919 a group of leading politicians of the old regime had formed an 'Anti-Bolshevik Committee' in Vienna; others had set up a counter-revolutionary government and had raised a small 'national army' under the command of Admiral Miklós Horthy.

On the fall of Kun the two groups had joined forces and asked the Allies to recognize them as the legal government of Hungary. This government was formed, under the Presidency of K. Huszár, in November 1919, and the elections (for a single House) held in January 1920. The successful candidates then met in what was de facto the first parliament of Trianon Hungary.

The situation in the spring of 1920 was replete with immediate problems. Four years of exhausting war, in which the nation had suffered very heavy casualties, two revolutions and a predatory foreign occupation (the Roumanians had looted the country with great thoroughness) would have been hard enough to repair within intact frontiers; but on top of all this had come the disintegration of the Monarchy. The national economy had been disrupted and the surviving national resources were taxed by a great influx of refugees from the Successor States.

Industrial unemployment had soared to unprecedented heights. Capital had fled headlong before the threat of Bolshevism. The currency was following that of Austria, with which it was still linked, in a downward spiral of inflation. Shortage of labor during the war, exhaustion of stocks and deterioration of machinery had impaired even agricultural production.

There was extreme social unrest. Both the industrial and the rural proletariats had their hopes raised high during the two revolutions, and were by no means willing to return to their previous political impotence and social degradation. The revolutions, on the other hand, had greatly embittered the former possessing classes who ascribed to them the blame for all Hungary's misfortunes. Feeling ran particularly high against the Jews, who had played a disproportionately large part in both revolutions, especially Kun's; but the Social Democrats had also compromised themselves by their alliance with Communism, and even Liberal democracy was tainted by its associations with Jewry and its share in Károlyi's regime.

These resentments erupted into violence. Bands of 'White Terrorists', most of them detachments of the 'National Army', were already ranging the country, wreaking indiscriminate vengeance on persons whom they associated with the revolutions. Huszár's government itself had turned so sharply on the Social Democrats and the Trade Unions that the Social Democrats had withdrawn their representative from the government and boycotted the elections. Thus this first parliament was not at all representative of the nation as a whole. It was composed of two main parties, the 'Christian National Union' and the 'United Agrarians' and Smallholders' Party'. The 'Christian Nationals' were Conservatives. The core of the second party stood for the interests of the small peasants, and above all, for land reform, but even it contained hardly any representatives of the agricultural proletariat, so that it was true to say that labor of any class was unrepresented in the parliament.

The inflation was quickly reducing a large part of the fixed income middle classes. Worse situated still were the families who had fled or been expelled from the Successor States. By the end of 1920 nearer 400,000 than 300,000 of these, nearly all from middle-class families, had found refuge in Rump Hungary, where many of them were existing under lamentable conditions. Their outlook was traditionalist and above all, nationalist. In the clash between Left and Right they had sided with the Right; they had, indeed, been the chief executants of the White Terror.

Finally, the nation was split from top to bottom on the dynastic question. While hardly anyone wanted a republic, the nation was acutely divided over the question whether Charles was still the lawful King of Hungary.

The parliament dealt first. Its first act was to declare null and void all measures enacted by either Károlyi's or Kun's governments. The institution of the monarchy was thus restored. In view of the division of opinion among its own members [the Parliament] left in abeyance the question of the legal relationship between the nation and the monarch, but decided to elect as provisional Head of the State a Regent holding the essential political powers normally exercised by the Crown. Admiral Horthy was elected to this office on 1 March, 1920. The Huszár government then resigned, and as the two main parties emerging from the elections were approximately equal in strength, a coalition government was formed out of these two parties.

At this time, the national policy towards industrial labor was still one of simple repression, but the demand for land reform was too strong to be ignored and the necessity for some concession was not denied even by some of the landowners themselves. About 7.5 per cent of the total area of the country was to be taken from the largest estates for distribution. This was a modest figure indeed, on the understanding that it was to be followed by a second installment when times improved.

But in 1921 the Habsburg question erupted. Charles returned to claim his throne. He was forced to withdraw, the command coming from the Allies, on the insistence of Hungary's neighbors; but the anti-Legitimists in Hungary were no less determined to

have none of him. This gave his opportunity to the man who for the next ten years was to dominate Hungarian politics and to shape the structure in the image of his own wishes: Count István Bethlen.

Bethlen held new elections (May 1922), which naturally gave a large majority to his new 'Party of Unity'.

If asked to name in a phrase the supreme goal of his policy, he would probably have answered: total revision of the Treaty of Trianon. But he saw that revision was not, for the time, practical politics; it could only become so when Hungary had recovered her internal strength, and had also acquired influential friends abroad.

Internal 'consolidation', as he saw it, depended on financial reconstruction. He applied for membership of the League of Nations. This was granted (not without difficulty) in September 1922. Bethlen then applied for a reconstruction loan, similar to that which had just been granted to Austria, and when the Little Entente made difficulties, authorized a declaration that Hungary voluntarily accepted and undertook to carry out strictly and loyally, the obligations of the Treaty of Trianon.

Bethlen's political opponents accused him of having betrayed the nation's cause for gold, but it must also be granted that his policy was most abundantly justified by its results. The protocols of the League loan, signed on 24 March 1924, included the renunciation by the Allies of the lien on 'all Hungary's assets and resources', and the substitution of a fixed total to be paid by her in reparations. Once this agreement had been reached, an almost magical change came over the whole financial picture. Money poured into the country - not only the League loan, but private capital from abroad, while the fugitive domestic capital also returned home.

The inflation was stopped, and a new, gold-based currency, the Pengő, introduced, which proved to be among the most stable in Europe.

Agriculture still formed the backbone of the national economy, but a considerable amount of industrialization was carried through. Imports now consisted of industrial raw materials or half-finished products, which were worked up in the national factories. The bulk of the exports still consisted of agricultural products, raw or processed. The total value of foreign trade doubled, and the calculated national income rose by 20 per cent.

Parallel with the financial rehabilitation of Hungary had gone its social and political reconstruction. Bethlen was too intelligent not to recognize that new times brought new social forces which could not be simply repressed out of existence. But the idea of allowing the poorer classes an effective voice in the government of the country was entirely foreign to him. His concessions to modernity were thus kept to the minimum. The keystone of his political system was the 1922 franchise, with the help of which he was always able to command a sufficient parliamentary majority for his decisions. He was soon finished with the rural poor. The genuine peasant element in the Small-holders' Party had already been greatly weakened. A close ban on any combination among

the agricultural workers prevented them from making their voices heard by direct action. Nothing more was heard after this of the second installment of the land reform, and the application of the 1920 Act itself was halfhearted.

The industrial workers were not muzzled quite so tightly. The workers' spokesmen were always able to send a quota of representatives to parliament. But these could never constitute more than a minority, and in return for these concessions the Socialists had to promise to abstain from anti-national propaganda, to adopt an 'expressly Hungarian attitude' on foreign political questions, to abstain from political strikes, to confine the activities of the Unions to the strictly non-political field, and not to extend their agitation to the agricultural workers.

It would be an over-simplification to describe Bethlen's operations as simply putting the poor in their places, for they also included the political neutralization of a considerable opposition among the ruling classes themselves. Towards these, Bethlen employed, indeed, gentler methods. Offenders of the Right were usually treated very leniently, 'patriotic motives' being accepted as a powerful mitigating circumstance. But the iron hand was there under the velvet glove. The White Terror was liquidated quietly, but effectively, and it became not much easier (although much less hazardous) to preach active anti-Semitism than Marxian revolution.

Judged by his own standards, Bethlen's political and social consolidation was very successful. Among the workers, of either category, there was little active unrest. The legitimist question lost its acuteness when Charles died in 1922.

Nevertheless, Bethlen's Hungary was emphatically a class state, and in a Europe which then believed it to be advancing towards democracy, it was a conspicuous laggard. Its handsome façade covered grievous unsolved social problems. In the industrial labor in the 1920's neither wages nor conditions could be called satisfactory. The condition of the rural poor was worse still. 30 per cent of the total national population – and 60 per cent of that employed in agriculture – was either totally landless or occupying holdings insufficient to support life in decency. Even the poorer members of the middle classes existed precariously enough, and the universities were beginning to produce a large new potential intellectual proletariat.

Bethlen's system rested on two pillars: the maintenance of international credit, and the continuance of high prices on the world market for her exports, particularly wheat. In 1929 both of these were shaken by the collapse of world wheat prices, started by over-production in Canada, and by the Stock Exchange crash on Wall Street. Unable to meet the demands of her foreign creditors [Hungary] had to appeal to the League of Nations, which prescribed a policy of ruthless financial orthodoxy, including the balancing of her budget by increasing revenue by heavier taxation and reducing expenditure.

The fantastic severity of the depression not only wiped out the economic gains of the previous decade, but also threatened the political and social consolidation. Bethlen

resigned in August 1931. His successor, Count Gyula Károlyi, set himself with determination to carry out the League's recommendations. But as one severe measure followed another, unrest grew.

In September 1932, Károlyi declared himself unable to fight any more against the clamor of the malcontents, and on 1 October the Regent yielded, and appointed to the Minister Presidency the acknowledged leader of the Right Radicals, Captain (as he then was) Gyula Gömbös.

Gömbös' political creed was anti-Habsburgism and an moderate anti-Semitism. Round these two poles he found room for a genuine wish to improve the social conditions of his people, whom he regarded as the exploited victims of Jewish financiers and Habsburg-tainted landlords.

Early in his career he had conceived a vision of an 'Axis' which was to consist of the new Hungary, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany; in this edition, Germany was to annex Austria (except for the Burgenland, which she would restore to Hungary), allaying Italy's fears by guaranteeing the Brenner frontier.

These three states, linked by kindred ideologies, were to help each other to realize their national objectives (in Hungary's case, her historic frontiers) and thereafter to exercise a sort of joint leadership of Europe, a better Europe, purged of Bolshevism and its shadows.

In the old days he had been Horthy's favorite, but the Regent had grown more sedate with the passing years, and Gömbös' radical tenets were now repugnant to him. He censored his list of ministers, and also refused him permission to hold new elections, so that he had to govern with a parliament mainly composed of Bethlen's adherents.

Gömbös made one important move in foreign policy. Hitler was not yet in power in Germany. But Mussolini was there, and Gömbös took an early opportunity of visiting Rome, when he elicited from the Duce a public expression of sympathy for Hungarian [Trianon] revision. This committed Hungary to an Italian orientation. As Mussolini by no means accepted Gömbös' original Axis doctrine, but regarded Austrian independence as a vital interest of Italy's, the first result of Gömbös' policy was that Hungary was drawn into a bloc, composed of Italy, Hungary and Austria, the chief *raison d'être* of which was precisely to thwart Hitler's ambitions. Gömbös tried to keep an open door towards Germany, struck up a warm personal friendship with Göring, and wheedled a very advantageous commercial treaty out of Hitler himself, but the documents show the Germans, at this time, as highly suspicious and resentful of Hungarian policy.

The negotiations which began at the end of 1934 between Italy and France failed, and were followed in due course by Mussolini's quarrel with the West and, eventually, his announcement of the formation of the 'Rome-Berlin Axis'. By this time Hitler had occupied the Rhineland and it was clear that Germany would soon be able, if she were willing, to perform the role which Gömbös had assigned to her. Further, Horthy had at last allowed Gömbös to dissolve parliament, and as a result of the elections 'made' by

him in May 1935 he had brought a strong contingent of his own followers into parliament and had placed others in many key political and military posts.

But by now it was clear that the situation created by Germany's emergence was nothing like so simple as Gömbös, in his early enthusiasm, had imagined. Hitler soon made it plain that he had no intention of simply restoring Hungary's historic frontiers for her. He told Gömbös himself, as early as 1934, that while Hungary might, if she would, take her share in the partition of Czechoslovakia, she was to keep her hands off Yugoslavia and Roumania.

Hungary was still practically unarmed, and in no case to defend herself against attack. She needed assurances and protection. Germany might give them, but presumably, only at the price of a contractual obligation. The new Germany was a ruthless, self-centered Power, which might well not even leave Hungary's own independence unimpaired, but seek, if not actually to annex Hungary, to reduce it to satellite status, dominating its economy and intervening in its internal conditions. At this point the German problem became inextricably bound up with that of Hungary's own internal politics, by reason of the ideological character of the Nazi regime, and in particular, its anti-Semitism.

Hungarian political opinion thus split along a new line of cleavage, personifying respectively the party of caution on the international issue, and the forward party which advocated the closest possible cooperation with Germany. And even Gömbös' victory at the polls by no means meant that the forward policy was going to have a free course, for the last word in politics rested with the Regent, and the Regent's sympathies were with the traditionalists in domestic politics, while on the international issue he was strongly on the side of the party of caution.

The Right was further weakened by the death of Gömbös in October 1936. The Regent appointed as his successor Kálmán Darányi, who was much more of a conservative than a radical on domestic issues. In fact, the domestic legislation enacted during his term of office agreed with the Opposition.

The Germans chose to greet Darányi's appointment with hostility, and his first year of office was enlivened by brisk disputes with them on Hungary's treatment of her German minority. These were smoothed over when Darányi visited Berlin in November 1937.

The Hungarian General Staff now began pressing for co-coordinated agreements with Germany, but the politicians remained cautious. A little later, when Darányi tried to reach a working agreement with the most important of the extremist parties of the Right, Ferenc Szálasi's Arrow Cross, and Horthy dismissed him in favor of Béla Imrédy. The chief reason for Imrédy's appointment was that he possessed good connections with the West.

When the Regent, accompanied by Imrédy, paid a state visit to Kiel in August, the Hungarians, pleading their unarmed condition, declared themselves unable to

take part in a military operation, and when the Munich crisis broke in September, they made almost passionate endeavors to get their claims realized on their own merits, limiting their demands to the ethnic frontier which they thought Britain would approve.

This was their first great disappointment. Mr. Chamberlain ignored them completely, and it was left to Hitler to put their case for them. Britain and France disinterested themselves, and Hungary was left alone on the disputed issues. In these circumstances, the argument that Hungary could not afford to antagonize Hitler was convincing indeed. The arbitral award, rendered by Germany and Italy on 2 November, gave Hungary only the Magyar-inhabited southern fringe of Slovakia-Ruthenia.

Meanwhile Imrédy announced (at Hitler's demand) a near-Fascist internal programmed, including a second Jewish Law, more drastic than its predecessor. This, indeed, provoked a revolt. His enemy's unearthed documents which purported to show a Jewish strain in Imrédy's own ancestry. He resigned (February 1939), and the Regent appointed Teleki, whose devoted determination not to let Hungary become involved in a conflict with the West was unquestionable. But Teleki on a visit to Berlin agreed that in a world conflict Hungary would 'take up her position by the side of the Axis Powers'. Similarly, he steered the Second Jewish Law through parliament. When he held elections, all the Left-wing Opposition lost heavily.

Early in Teleki's period of office occurred the completion of the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, as a by-product where of Hungary in March 1939 re-acquired Ruthenia. Here Teleki was lucky, for although Hitler had sanctioned the operation, the West did not take it ill. He was lucky, too, when the Second World War broke out, for Germany did not ask for Hungary's participation. But in June 1940, the U.S.S.R. occupied Bessarabia, and Hungary now told the Axis Powers that she must receive satisfaction of her claims. The 'Second Vienna Award', of 30 August, gave her about two fifths of the disputed territory. Roumania swung right round, repudiated the guarantee of the Western Powers, accepted one from Germany, and in a trice had become Germany's favorite client in southeastern Europe.

Roumania had bid in the hope of securing the reversal of the Award. This rivalry led to Hungary's signing the Tripartite Pact, in November 1940.

A party among the Hungarians, to which Teleki belonged, had long urged reconciliation with Yugoslavia with the idea that the two countries should help each other to resist excessive pressure from Germany. A Hungaro-Yugoslav Treaty was duly signed on 12 December, and the Yugoslav Government then in fact took step after step towards the Axis. But the Opposition revolted, and on 26 March, deposed its government. Hitler in fury prepared to invade Yugoslavia and called on Hungary to join him. The Hungarians, caught in a situation which they had not at all envisaged, did not join in the attack, but did not try to stop the transit of German troops across their territory into Roumania, and on 11 April, after Croatia had proclaimed itself

independent, Hungary occupied the ex-Hungarian parts of Inner Hungary, claiming that Yugoslavia no longer existed.

Britain had threatened to declare war if Hungary joined the attack, and on 2 April, when it seemed likely that his policy - undertaken with such different intentions - was involving Hungary in that conflict with the West which it had been his supreme aim to avoid, Teleki had taken his own life.

Britain contented herself with breaking off diplomatic relations, but a few weeks later Teleki's successor, Bárdossy, took the step which was technically decisive. The occasion was Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R. In his preparations he had not assigned Hungary a role in the campaign, but the Hungarian generals had pressed their German colleagues to let Hungary participate.

After the attack had begun, a queer incident, still unexplained - the bombing of Kassa, in north Hungary, by aircraft bearing Axis markings - convinced Bárdossy, who had hitherto resisted the representations of the generals, that willing compliance would be cheaper than reluctant submission to pressure, and sent an expeditionary force, conceived as a token, across the Carpathians.

When the resistance proved prolonged, Hungary found herself pushed fatally down the path of no return. In January 1942 the Germans arrived with a demand that she should mobilize practically her whole available manpower and send it up to the line. Meanwhile Mr. Churchill had identified the cause of the West with that of Russia.

In December 1944 Britain had declared war on Hungary and a few days later Hungary in her turn declared war on the U.S.A.

Many Hungarians now thought that the only course was to fight on in the hope that the Axis would win the war. Horthy saw the situation differently. He was quite convinced that the war would end in an Allied victory, but he also believed that the West did not want the bolshevization of Europe, and that Hungary could regain its favor while continuing the fight in the East. In March 1942 he therefore dismissed Bárdossy in favor of Miklós Kállay, who shared these hopes, and one more attempt was made to recover the lost ground. For two years Kállay conducted a remarkable policy. He afforded to Hungary's Jews a protection then unparalleled on the Continent; allowed almost complete freedom to all anti-Hitlerite and non-Communist elements, whom he allowed to build up an 'Independence Front' which openly speculated on an Allied victory, and opened secret conversations with the Western Powers, with whom, in August 1943, he actually concluded a secret agreement to surrender to them unconditionally when their troops should reach the frontiers of Hungary.

Kállay's balancing feat gave Hungary's traditional institutions, and also the anti-Hitlerite elements in the country, two years of life, but his policy vanished when the inter-Allied strategy assigned south-eastern Europe to the Soviet armies. When those armies approached the Carpathians, Hitler (to whom most of Kállay's activities were an

open book) decided that he could no longer afford to leave his vital communications at the mercy of a regime in whose loyalty he could not trust.

In March 1944 he summoned Horthy and offered him the choice between full cooperation in Germany's war effort, under close German supervision, or undisguised occupation and the treatment afforded to a conquered enemy country. Horthy chose the former course, and appointed a collaborationist government, but for some three months thereafter the Germans in practice did as they would in Hungary, the government seldom resisting and often abetting them. All the Jews outside Budapest, some 400,000 in number, suffered deportation, and of these not more than 120,000 survived. Meanwhile, another army, comprising almost Hungary's last reserves, had been sent to the Front.

After a while the pressure eased and Horthy recovered some freedom of action. He stopped the Jewish deportations before they had extended to the capital, and in August, after Roumania's surrender, appointed a new government on the loyalty of most of whose members he could rely.

Now he reopened secret communications with the West, but the answer was categorical: Hungary must address the U.S.S.R., whose armies were now standing on, or across the frontier.

There was one shorter scene before the curtain fell.

A mission sent by Horthy to Moscow duly concluded a 'preliminary armistice', but when, on 15 October 1944, Horthy announced the negotiations on the wireless, the Germans, whose forces round Budapest far outnumbered the Hungarians, seized him, forced him to recant and to abdicate and allowed Szálasi, with whom they had long been in touch, to take over the Government. It was only slowly, and at the cost of bitter fighting, that the Germans and their Hungarian allies were driven westward. The last of these forces crossed the Austrian frontier on 4 April 1945.

Meanwhile the birth of a new order had again preceded the passing of the old. Under Soviet auspices, a 'Provisional Government of Democratic Hungary' had been assembled and, on 23 December 1944, 'appointed' by a 'Provisional National Assembly'. This government then signed an armistice, under which the new Hungary renounced all territorial acquisitions made since 1938. The Peace Treaty, signed on 10 February 1947, formally restored the Trianon frontiers, further aggravated by a small but strategically important frontier rectification in favor of Czechoslovakia.

HUNGARY AND WORLD WAR I.

An integral part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Hungary participated in the World War on the side of the Central European Powers. It is now a well-established fact that her Prime Minister, Count Stephen Tisza, was the only leading statesman of the Dual Empire who opposed the fateful ultimatum to Serbia, the rejection of which led to the outbreak of the World War.¹

In March, 1914, Tisza wrote a memorandum in which he advocated a peaceful policy of readjustment in the Balkans. In this document he proposed the strengthening of Bulgaria against Serbia in order to attach the former country to Austria-Hungary. Furthermore, he advised a careful treatment of Roumania for the purpose of winning back, if possible, this country which had lately been alienated from the Central Powers, or, in the event of the failure of this attempt, to threaten her from two sides. In procedure he favored a "politique de longue main." Immediate war with Serbia he considered a "fatal mistake," one which might provoke a world war.² This memoir was laid before Count Berchtold and Emperor Franz Joseph. Both approved it. Later on—at the time of his visit to Vienna (October 26, 1913)—Emperor William II accepted in general the proposed Balkan policy of Austria-Hungary. Before any action could be taken in confor-

1 Proof of this Statement is, above all, found in the collection of official Austro-Hungarian diplomatic documents, *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik von der Bosnischen Krise, 1908, bis zum Kriegsausbruch, 1914*; *Diplomatische Aktenstücke des Österreich-Ungarischen Ministeriums des Äusseren*; *Ausgewählt von Ludwig Bittner, Alfred Francis Pribram, Heinrich Srbik und Hans Uebersberger, Wien und Leipzig, 1930, Vol. VIII.* Of special importance is the report of Tisza to Kaiser Franz Joseph on July 8, 1914 (pp. 371-73). In addition, see statements on pages 343-51 and 448. Count Ottokar Czernin says in his *Im Weltkriege*, Berlin, 1919 (p.16): Several months after the outbreak of war I had a long conversation with the Hungarian prime minister, Count Tisza, about all these questions. He, Tisza himself was positively against the sharp Ultimatum since he had foreseen a war and he had not wanted it. It is one of the most popular errors when today Tisza is designated as a "warmonger". Compare with Czernin's opinion that of Oscar Jászi in his *Dissolution of the Hapsburg Monarchy*. Chicago, 1959, p.408: "It must be noted that his [Tisza's] resistance to the catastrophe-policy of Vienna was very platonic and lukewarm"; and p. 409, "He helped to make the ultimatum unacceptable to Serbia." Jonescu's opinion, as expressed in *Some Personal Impressions*, New York, 1920 (p.183), that "Count Tisza was the prime mover in unchaining the conflict," and that "he provoked the universal carnage," is unwarranted by the facts. Likewise E. Beneš was mistaken when he wrote in 1917: "When the Crown Council in July, 1914, decided on the declaration of war against Serbia, Tisza and the Magyar nobility gave the decisive vote." See, on the other hand, Sidney Bradshaw Fay's *Origins of the World War*, New York, 1928, Vol.11, p. 188 passim; and the symposium of Harry Elmer Barnes, Count Berchtold, Count Hoyos, von Wiesner, von Jagow, and Zimmermann in *Current History*, July, 1928, pp. 619-36, on the question: Did Ger many Incite Austria? Also Harry Elmer Barnes' *Genesis of the World War*, New York, 1927, pp. 178-80 and 247; A. Weber's "Graf Tisza und die Kriegserklärung an Serbien," in *Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, Berlin, 3. Jahrgang, Nov. 12, 1925, pp. 818-26; and Rodolfo Mosca's *Problemi politici l'Ungheria contemporanea*, Bologna, 1927, pp.27 ff

2 The German text of this memorandum may be found in Wilhelm Fraknói's *Die ungarische Regierung und die Entstehung des Weltkrieges*, Vienna, 1919. An English translation of the original Hungarian, as given by Professor Henrik Marczali, is contained in the *American Historical Review*, Jan., 1924, XXIX, 303-10, in an article entitled "Papers of Count Tisza, 1914-1918," pp.101-15. See also Pierre Renouvin's *Immediate Origins of the War*, translated from the French by T. C. Hume, New Haven, 1928, pp.37 and 55-56.

mity with this memorandum, the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand took place at Sarajevo on June 28.

Three days later Count Tisza wrote a letter to Franz Joseph recommending the maintenance of peace and, in the council of the Austro-Hungarian ministers on the seventh of July, he again advised moderation and strong diplomatic, rather than military, action.³ This position he again stated the next day in a letter to Franz Joseph, and he maintained it throughout the fateful month of July.

For two reasons I have dwelt at some length on the position of the responsible leader of Hungary in connection with the outbreak of the World War. First, because it seems to me that, in the light of these and other post-war disclosures, some rectifications of the incredibly harsh and dangerously foolish Peace Treaty of Trianon should be considered, in the interest of Hungary and humanity;⁴ second, because in many respects Count Tisza is the personification of his nation, especially of its ruling class, with its virtues and some of its shortcomings. He was, on the one hand, proud, cultured, loyal, strong in adversity, intensely patriotic, honest, and courageous; on the other, haughty, contemptuous of the plebs, autocratic, and super nationalistic.⁵

Once more before the end of the War did Tisza raise his voice in protest against the policies of the Central Powers, when he opposed the declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare, which, he feared, would give President Wilson the opportunity of bringing the United States into the War and thus of saving England from threatened disaster.⁶ He opposed unrestricted submarine warfare because he felt sure that America's entrance in the War would mean the defeat of the Central Powers and the destruction of Austria-Hungary.

On May 23, 1917, Count Tisza resigned his position as Prime Minister of Hungary, which position he had held since 1913. Shortly afterwards he left for the battle front.

On October 17, 1918, the announcement was made in the Hungarian Parliament that the War was lost and that Hungary would be transformed into an independent state in an Austro-Hungarian Federation.⁷ Two days later the last Prime Minister of old Hungary, Alexander Wekerle, presented his resignation, and on October 25 Count Michael Károlyi reorganized a National Council. From now on events of the greatest importance followed in quick succession. Between October 30 and November 1 a revolution oc-

3 Cited from S. B. Fay's *Origins of the World War*, p.241.

4 The outstanding non-Hungarian advocate of such a revision is Lord Rothermere. See his article in the *Daily Mail* of June 24, 1921. It appeared in German translation in the *Pester Lloyd* of June 24, 1927, and was reprinted in *Europäische Gespräche*, Berlin, Oct., 1917. Charles à Court Repington says in his diary, *After the War*, Boston, 1922, p.168: "It is pathetic how all the Magyars confide in the legendary justice of England and in her power to put matters right. I tell them all that the mass of our people were too much preoccupied with affairs more vital to them to worry about little Hungary, and that I felt sure that few outside the official classes knew of the measure meted out to her and what it all implied."

5 To characterize as a "deluded Don Quixote" this realistic and powerful personality, to whom posing was absolutely foreign, indicates either bad judgment or poor taste. Dr. O. Jászi, in *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Hungary*, London, 1924, p.4.

6 I wish to state explicitly that I am presenting Tisza's opinion, not my own. The latter I have expressed in *Deutsche Stimmen*, April 9, 1922, in an article entitled "Woodrow Wilson: Tumult versus Graf Bernstorff."

7 This statement, as well as many other documents concerning post-war Hungary, may be found in Malbone W. Graham's *New Governments of Central Europe*, New York, 1924, pp. 538-601.

curred in Budapest, during which Michael Károlyi was entrusted by the National Council with the formation of a cabinet, and given dictatorial powers, Tisza was assassinated on October 31, and on November 1 Emperor-King Karl was forced by Károlyi to retire from his governmental duties.⁸ On November 3 General Diaz, representing the Allies, signed at Padua an armistice with Austria-Hungary, and the Hungarian soldiers soon began to return home. But Károlyi, thinking that he could secure more considerate treatment for Hungary from the French Commander in Chief on the southern front, General Franchet d'Espérey, went to Belgrade on November 13 to obtain from the latter new armistice terms. Károlyi believed himself entitled to friendly treatment by the Allies because he had always been an advocate of Western European political democracy. During the War he had been a leader of the Hungarian defeatists, who had been more interested in overthrowing the aristocratic government at home than in the safety or victory of their fatherland. Dr. Oscar Jászi, Minister of Nationalities in the Károlyi government,⁹ has expressed in these words the hopes held by the Károlyi followers:

We had confidence in the democratic and pacifist quality of public opinion in the Entente states and especially in the policy of President Wilson, a policy which stood higher than any mere nationalism. – We were convinced that the conquering Allies would show the utmost good will to her [Hungary's] pacifist and anti-militarist government, and especially Károlyi, who had so often stood with unexampled courage for the policy of the Entente; we were sure that they would apply the plebiscitary principle on which they had so often laid stress, and that if we had to suffer losses of territory it would still be possible, with the aid of just and liberal commercial treaties, to assure the undisturbed continuance of communication with the lost area.¹⁰

These fantastic ideologists, Michael Károlyi, the Don Quixote mounted on the Rosinante of the Fourteen Points, and Jászi, his Sancho Panza, were quickly disillusioned. To use the bitter words of Dr. Jászi: The bright promise of Wilson's League of Nations, the just peace and the right of self-determination and the plebiscite, in which the Hungarian people had placed their trust, burst like soap bubbles. We saw ourselves not only defeated, broken and plundered, but, a much crueler wound to public feeling, bluffed and swindled.¹¹

8 It is to be remembered that Károlyi had accepted his position as Prime Minister from the hands of Emperor-King Karl. Karl did not formally abdicate.

9 Oscar Jászi was an official in the Ministry of Agriculture under the old regime. He resigned because he disagreed with the government. Founder of the Hungarian Sociological Society and editor of its organ, *The Twentieth Century*, he was associated with the movements for land reform, universal suffrage, and cultural autonomy for the minorities in Hungary. On the eve of the world war, he founded the so-called Radical Party, a pacifistic and liberal-socialistic group. After the outbreak of the October revolution, Dr. Jászi entered the Károlyi cabinet. Shortly before the collapse of the Károlyi regime, he resigned to be come professor of sociology at Budapest, a position which he held until compelled by the Bolsheviks to give it up. Since 1919, he has lived as a voluntary exile, first in Vienna and later in the United States, where he now holds a professorship in political science. [Later he taught at Oberlin. Ed.] Dr. Jászi's book, mentioned before, is the most responsible and the ablest explanation and defense of the Károlyi regime yet published. Michael Károlyi has thus far written only the first volume of his story, entitled *Against the Whole World*. This volume does not contain his account of the Hungarian revolution.

10 Oscar Jászi, *ibid.*, p.37. In view of this and of other statements, as well as of the actions of the Károlyi cabinet, we can hardly believe Jászi when he says (page 3): "Nor was I blind at any time to the Janus-headed policy of the Entente."

11 O. Jászi, *ibid.*, pp.56-57; also p. 40: "We were doomed by the very internationalism which was the basis of our whole policy."

General Franchet d'Espérey was a typical French militarist, as a victor, arrogant and merciless. He received the Károlyi delegation with studied brutality. When the radical Socialist member of the delegation, the President of the Council of Soldiers and Workers, Mr. C. S. Csernyák, who had been selected to impress the General with the change of heart of the Hungarian government, was introduced to him, he remarked contemptuously, "Well, have you come to this already?"¹²

As a result of the military convention concluded with Franchet d'Espérey without the specific sanction of the Allied Supreme Council, a line of demarcation was laid down foreshadowing the territorial provisions of the future peace. This convention transferred a large slice of Hungarian territory to the Serbs and Roumanians, who immediately began to occupy it. It was expressly stated that the Hungarian police and civil administrations were to be continued. This agreement was violated. The inhabitants of the occupied area were forced to take the oath of allegiance and were even pressed into military service. The Czechs, who had not been included in the military convention, were authorized by the Supreme Council to occupy Slovakia, and they not only carried out this mandate, but notified the Hungarians that they would proceed beyond the fixed line of demarcation.

On December 1, 1918, the Roumanians of Transylvania declared their secession from Hungary and on December 27 they were formally annexed by Roumania. In vain did the Hungarian government protest against the Czech invasion of Northern Hungary as a violation of the Belgrade Convention. The Allies merely ratified the action of the Czechs *post hoc* and fixed new frontiers for Hungary, information as to which were on March 20 communicated to the Hungarians by the French Lieutenant-Colonel Vyx, the chief of the Inter-Allied Military Mission in Budapest.¹³ Thereupon Károlyi immediately resigned. On November 16, 1918, Hungary had been proclaimed republic by Michael Károlyi, who on January 16, 1919, had been appointed its Provisional President.

We have seen how unsuccessful Károlyi was in his dealings with the Allies, misjudging completely their motives and miscalculating their aims. He had permitted Hungary to become stripped of all means of self-defense.¹⁴ Naively he had relied on a sense of justice and fairness in Hungary's enemies, and now no one could tell when and where their desire for more territory would stop. Economic conditions had become extremely bad. The food blockade of the Allies had continued after the Armistice, causing unspeakable misery in the large cities of Hungary.

12 "Êtes-vous tombé si bas?"

13 Vyx, like Franchet d'Espérey, was a typical militarist who offended the Hungarians unnecessarily by the form in which he handed his orders to them. This is contrary to the statement expressed by Jérôme and Jean Tharaud, *When Israel is King*, New York, 1924, p.144. Translated from the French: *Quand Israël est roi*, Paris, 1921, by Lady White head. These French writers are Hungarophiles and try to explain away the bad treatment which the Hungarians received from the French. The diary of General Bandholtz is ample evidence of the futility of such efforts. The Hungarian opinion is expressed in the following words: "Taking advantage on his position, Colonel Vyx has trodden on our self-respect. He has treated the Eastern bulwark of Europe as the French officers treat the savages in their own colonies." Cécile Tormay, *An Outlaw's Diary*: The Commune, New York, 1924, p. 39.

14 See J. and J. Tharaud, *op. cit.*, p.144. The first measure of the Károlyi government had been to demobilize the army. Béla Linder, the War Minister, had said that "he did not wish to see soldiers."

Under these circumstances it is no wonder that the radical element in the government got the upper hand and gradually replaced the Liberals and moderate Socialists. Furthermore, the Károlyists must be charged with ignorance of the dangers of Bolshevism, an ignorance resulting from a combination of their naive liberal doctrinarianism and their hatred of the old régime. Thus Jászi informs us:

I was in agreement with those who held that no limit should be set to the Bolshevik propaganda as long as it used, no matter how recklessly or with what demagoguery, the normal means of political controversy; I agreed that the Bolsheviks must be respected as the pioneers of a great unrealizable idea.¹⁵ It was generally felt that this government was no longer able to save the October Revolution; and if a choice had to be made between White and Red counter-Revolution the Red was preferred.¹⁶

Károlyi was in despair and felt extremely bitter against the Allies, who had rewarded so cruelly the services he had rendered them and the trust he had put in their professed ideals. He furthermore was a vain political amateur,¹⁷ an over ambitious hazard player, who was willing to risk his country's welfare to satisfy his passions, with a terrible result to Hungary and great danger to civilization. This explains why he finally decided to turn over the government to the Communists, with the words:

'Our Western orientation, our policy of reliance on Wilson, has been definitely wrecked. We must have a fresh orientation, which will ensure us the sympathies of the Labor International.'¹⁸

The new government, a combination of radical Socialists and Communists, with the latter in control, was established on March 21. It set up a Soviet Republic and affiliated itself immediately with the Third International.¹⁹ Its nominal president was the bricklayer Garbai, but the real power was Béla Kun,²⁰ a capable, shrewd, and unscrupulous young Jew, who had been captured by the Russians during the War, and who had become an ardent admirer of Lenin and his teachings. Converted to Bolshevism, he was employed by the expert propagandist, Radek, for the spreading of communistic propaganda among the prisoners of war. A few weeks after Károlyi's revolution, Béla Kun returned secretly to Budapest and, lavishly supported by the Moscow government, carried on extensive propaganda in Hungary. On February 22 he and other Communist leaders were arrested by the Károlyi government but, at the instigation of its radical wing, he was released on March 21.

15 O. Jászi, *op. cit.*, p.86.

16 O. Jászi, *ibid.*, p.88.

17 It seems to me that his vanity can be implied from the statements in Jászi's book (p.63): "Károlyi rewarded and overvalued men who brought news and material which bore out his pet ideas and convictions." The incompetence of Károlyi and his colleagues can be seen from the words of Dr. Jászi: "It proved impossible to control the course of events." Like the apprentice in Goethe's poem, *Der Zauberer*, these leaders could not control the ghosts whom they had summoned and were duly overpowered by them.

18 In a speech before the Council of Ministers, end of March. Quoted by Jászi, p.94.

19 The dictatorship of the Proletariat was formally declared on March 22.

20 Previous to the war, Béla Kun had been an obscure newspaper reporter and secretary of a worker's mutual benefit society, in which capacity he had misappropriated a small sum of money and was about to be hailed into court, when the war broke out and prosecution was halted.

Knowing the intense patriotism of the non-Bolshevik Hungarians, he appealed to all Hungarians to unite against the “imperialistic aggressors.” In a wireless message to the workers of the world, he stated: “The reply of the Hungarian people to the ultimatum of the Entente demanding the immediate and final surrender of Hungarian territory to the Roumanian oligarchy, is the proclamation of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!”

On April 20 Soviet Hungary declared war on the invading armies of the Czechs, Roumanians and Serbs. At first the Communists were successful against the Czechs, and on June 7, receiving a distress signal from the French general at Pressburg [now Bratislava]; the so-called “Big Four” issued an ultimatum to Béla Kun promising him provisional recognition of his government, provided he withdrew his troops from Slovakia.

During all this time the Soviet leaders in Budapest had been trying to establish firmly their rule in Hungary, and to bring about the socialization of all means of production. To take revenge on the hated bourgeoisie, and to crush all attempts at counter-revolution, a bloody terror was established, both in Budapest and in the rest of the country, under the direction of Tibor Számuely, Cserny, Korvin, László, and others.²¹ The men who carried on the Red régime in Hungary are described as follows by Dr. Oscar Szöllösy, Councilor in the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Justice:

Lenin’s well-known axiom to the effect that in revolutions for every honest-minded man (unfortunately) are to be found hundreds of criminals, can scarcely be applied to Hungarian Bolshevism. Criminologists of long standing who lived through the horror of the Red regime in Hungary, which lasted from March 21st to the end of July, 1919, could testify, even without the decisions of the court of laws, that the leading spirits of the “Soviet Republic” (with the exception of a few fanatics) consisted of common criminals, to the greater part of whom may be applied with perfect aptness the definition of Anatole France, “encore bête et déjà homme.”²² In general the policy of the Soviets followed Béla Kun’s dictum: “I do not admit the distinction between the moral and the immoral; the only distinction I know is the distinction between that which serves the proletariat and that which harms it.”

The explanation of the temporarily apathetic acceptance on the part of the majority of the Hungarian people of the rule of a handful of Communists may be expressed by the two words, despair and hunger.²³ The main reasons for the downfall of the Bolshe-

21 See the graphic description of the rule of the Red Terror by the well-known Hungarian writer Cécile Tormay, in *An Outlaw’s Diary*, New York, 1924; also the popular pamphlet *From Behind the Veil, the Story of Hungarian Bolshevism*, Budapest, 1920. The author of this interesting pamphlet is Karl Huszár, as Count Paul Teleki states in *The Evolution of Hungary and its Place in European History*, New York, 1923, p.138. On the other hand, Dr. Jászi always explains, excuses, and minimizes the Red Terror, in contrast to the so-called White Terror. Korvin-Klein, for instance, is called a martyr. According to the Hungarian Ministry of Justice, 585 persons were publicly executed by the Bolsheviks.

22 Reprinted from the *Anglo-Hungarian Review*, in the Appendix (pp. 215 ff.) to Cécile Tormay’s *Outlaw’s Diary*.

23 The blockade of the Allies was not raised until March, 1919. “Bolshevism is a horrible caricature of state management. War is its father, famine its mother, despair its godfather”: Ottokar Czernin: *Im Weltkriege*, Berlin, 1919. “The bewildering fact of military defeat threw the older and established classes of Hungary, together with the bourgeoisie, into a state of torpid lethargy.”: Stephen Bethlen, “Hungary in the New Europe,” in *Foreign Affairs*, Dec., 1924, Vol.111, No.2, p. 432.

vik government lie in the abandonment of Béla Kun by the Supreme Council,²⁴ the counter-revolution of the bourgeoisie and the nobility,²⁵ and the stubborn passive resistance of the peasantry, who showed a determined hostility to the economic and antireligious ideas of communism and who starved Budapest, the citadel of Bolshevism, into submission by boycotting the city.

In vain did Béla Kun try once more to appeal to Hungarian patriotism, for the benefit of international Bolshevism, by sending a workers' army against the Roumanians. It was utterly routed. The Roumanians pursued the defeated Bolsheviks. Their rule collapsed, Béla Kun and some of his companions fled to Austria, while others were captured and punished.

On July 31 the Roumanians, after having pillaged and devastated the country through which they had marched, entered Budapest, where a social-democratic government under Peidl had then been established.²⁶

On the sixth of August the Peidl government was replaced through a coup d'état by an extreme nationalist-clerical government under Prime Minister Stephen Friedrich. The new government desired to put on the throne Archduke Joseph, who, before Emperor-King Karl's withdrawal, it is alleged, had been entrusted by him with the power of appointing Prime Ministers. The invasion of Hungary, the sacking of the country, and the seizure of Budapest had taken place in defiance of the order of the Supreme Council.²⁷ The Roumanian adventure was being eagerly watched by Hungary's other neighbors and by Italy, who were all anxious to help themselves in Hungary or elsewhere, in case the Supreme Council should acquiesce in the *fait accompli*. In addition, the prestige of the future League of Nations was at stake, for if Roumania could defy the principal powers of this future association, it would be an object of ridicule even before it was born.²⁸ Therefore the Supreme Council sent a message, signed by Clemenceau, to the Hungarians, through its military representative at Budapest, the Italian Lieutenant Colonel Romanelli:

24 The Entente officially broke with the Soviet government of Hungary on July 16.

25 It was organized in May at Arad, then held by the Roumanians. In June it was transferred to Szeged. Its leader was Julius Károlyi. He was joined by Count Stephen Bethlen, who had worked for the counter-revolution in Vienna. Horthy organized the Army of Loyal Veterans of the World War.

26 The statement made by Professor William Bennet Munro, in *The Governments of Europe*, revised ed., New York, 1931 (p.794), to the effect that "with the aid of the Roumanian troops this soviet administration was ousted and a national government restored," is somewhat misleading. The Roumanians were as hostile to the Hungarian national government as to the Bolshevik government, but they desired to weaken the latter through the former. The Hungarian feeling in this matter is given in the words of Cécile Tormay: "what a terrible position is ours: The invaders fill us with horror, and yet we await them eagerly: we look to assassins to save us from our hangmen."

27 Charles Vopicka, a Czech by birth and naturally Slavophil, who was then minister of the United States at Bucharest, tells us that he did not join his colleagues at Bucharest in their advice to the Roumanians not to take possession of the new line of demarcation until they were given permission by the Peace Conference to do so. On the contrary, he incited the Roumanians indirectly to go ahead (p.301). Since the Allies did not reply to their request, the Roumanians went to war. Thereupon Vopicka telegraphed to Paris asking the Peace Commission to force Béla Kun to retreat, and to call the Czechs, Jugo-Slavs, and Roumanians up against him in case he did not obey. *Secrets of the Balkans*.

28 This point is well brought out by Frank H. Simonds in the article "Hungary, the Balkans and the League," in *The American Review of Reviews*, Sept., 1919, which, with the article, "The European Reaction," in the issue of October, 1919, is an interesting and, in general, well-informed journalistic commentary of the situation then existing in Hungary.

Hungary shall carry out the terms of the Armistice and respect the frontiers traced by the Supreme Council,²⁹ and we will protect you from the Roumanians, who have no authority from us. We are sending forthwith an Inter-Allied Military Mission to superintend the disarmament and to see that the Roumanian troops withdraw.

In accordance with this decision, four generals, representing the four chief Allies, were appointed to head the Military Mission to Hungary, viz.:

General Bandholtz of the United States Army,

General Gorton of the British Army,

General Graziani of the French Army,

General Mombelli of the Italian Army.

Here the narrative of General H. H. Bandholtz begins. He was commissioned on August 6, 1919; started for Budapest in an automobile with the then Director of Food Supplies, Herbert Hoover; arrived in the capital of Hungary on August 10 and stayed there six months, until his mission was ended. He left Hungary with the Hungarian Peace Delegation on February 10, 1920.

FRITZ-KONRAD KRÜGER

Late Professor of Political Science

Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio

November, 1932

²⁹ On June 13, 1919.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE TREATY OF TRIANON

Diplomatic background to Trianon during the war 1914 - 1918

With regard to the territorial question of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Entente, comprised of Britain, France and Russia, had drafted several different plans and ideas. The Russian government formulated its war aims against the Monarchy immediately after the outbreak of the war: to demand east Galicia for itself, Bosnia and Dalmatia for the Serbs, as well as the Romanian populated areas of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy – by which they meant all of Transylvania – for Romania, with whom they signed an agreement in 1914, under which Russia guaranteed Romania's demands. The stance of British foreign policy, vis-à-vis the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was defined by two opposing factors. On the one hand, during the early years of the war, the so-called Palmerston axiom, born in 1848-49, was very strong. During the revolutions of 1848-49, it was Palmerston's opinion that "the Austrian Empire is a thing which is worth saving: its preservation is in the fundamental European interest but to other country as to England." It meant that British foreign policy was traditionally Monarchy-friendly. On the other hand, there was a viewpoint among the creators of British foreign policy that, to wage a successful war, one needs as many, and as committed, allies as possible. From this view, it followed that the British Foreign Office was willing to accept, and guarantee, the Russian, Italian, Romanian and Serb territorial demands, meaning that significant chunks of Austro-Hungarian territory were promised to them. Similar to the British, the creators of French foreign policy saw the territory of the Monarchy as a potential reward, urging the Russians to fight and the neutrals (Italy, Romania) to join on the side of the Entente. This is evident by France supporting Russia's territorial claims against the Monarchy – Galicia.

Of the abovementioned standpoints of the Entente allies, the following common policy emerged: the secret agreement (Treaty of London), signed on April 26, 1915, the Triple Entente promised Italy – if it entered the war on their side – South Tyrol, Trieste and environs, Gorozia and Gradisca, Istria and islands (but not Fiume / Rijeka), and northern Dalmatia down to Zara / Zadar from Monarchy territory. The secret agreement signed in Bucharest (Treaty of Bucharest) on August 17, 1916, the Triple Entente promised Romania – again for entering the war – Bukovina, Transylvania, the Banat and all Hungarian territory up to the left bank of the Tisza / Theiss River. These two secret agreements fit into traditional diplomatic proceedings, both in form and content. In prac-

tice, they meant nothing more than attempts to snare allies at the expense of territorial loss to an enemy power. The secret agreements of London and Bucharest dangled the prospect of significant territorial rewards before Italy and Romania but, interestingly, did not mandate the carving up of the Monarchy.

Here, we must make a detour to the ideas of the United States of America, joining on the side of the Entente and deciding the outcome of the war. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, had a group created in September of 1917, 'The Inquiry,' tasked with the preparations for the peace negotiations. The group consisted of 150 experts, who wrote 2,000 reports and documents, and drew at least 1,500 maps. The head of the Austro-Hungarian section was Charles Seymour, 32, assistant university professor, who, previously, studied the nationalities problems of the Monarchy. Seymour was initially the spokesman for the transformation of the Monarchy into a federative union, still working on federative plans in April of 1918. In his proposal, he proposed to reorganize the Monarchy into a country with six federated states: Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Transylvania, Bohemia (Czechs) and Polish-Ukraine. Naturally, within the six units, minorities were going to be found but minority rights were going to be ensured for them. Seymour's federated scenario was a non-starter. The main reason was that the Entente was unable to separate the Monarchy from Germany and conclude a separate peace.

Among the leaders of the Entente, an anti-Monarchy focus began to gain the upper hand, which argued for a dismemberment of the Monarchy. In England, the publication *The New Europe* disseminated the anti-Monarchy direction. The group's defining members were two reporters, Robert Seton-Watson (1879-1951) and Henry Wickham Steed (1871-1956). They both arrived in Vienna in the early years of the 20th century as reporters and left it just before the outbreak of hostilities as sworn enemies of the Monarchy. In 1914, they filled important positions in their country. Steed was the editor of the foreign affairs section of the most influential and widely read British paper, *The Times*, while Seton-Watson was an advisor in the Foreign Office. In their opinion, the Monarchy had to be carved up, to be replaced by nation states. This idea was propounded in numerous articles in their journal, *The New Europe*, *The Times* and other British papers, as well as in a dozen books. A significant portion of the staff of the British Foreign Office accepted the reasoning of *The New Europe* and attempted to influence the Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister accordingly. France also had its own anti-Monarchy tendency. Its central character was Ernest Denis (1849-1921), professor of Slavic studies at the Sorbonne - who spent much time in Bohemia in his youth - who stated in his pre-war writings that the Czech people are to be seen as the main shield at the gate of East-Central Europe against a pan-German wave. During the war, he wrote a book in which he stated: "There remains but one solution, to create a string of nation states to replace the Dual Monarchy, primarily the Serb-Croat kingdom and the Czech state, which would stretch to the river's left bank [meaning the Danube - L.G.]."

The French anti-Monarchy momentum, similar to its British counterpart, also tried to influence the French Foreign Ministry to its way of thinking. This was successful as shortly the French Foreign Ministry was governed by an anti-Monarchy focus. This is best illustrated by the Ministry's important decision of December 16, 1917, when permission was granted for the Benes-led émigrés to begin to organize a Czechoslovak army in France. According to Ferenc (Frank) Fejto, French Freemasons played a significant role in the eventual success of the anti-Monarchy direction. They are thought to have played a leading role in transforming the world war into an ideological war with the aim of altering Europe into a republican mold; into a republican Europe gathered around the League of Nations, after the hydra-heads of clericalism and military monarchism were cut off. They thought that, if the pillar of the Vatican and monarchism, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was dismembered, they would be contributing to the completion of a sacred mission, assigned by Providence to the people of the revolution, the French, and preparing for a bright future. Fejto also points out that the Freemasons made their infrastructure and influence available to the propaganda efforts of the Czechoslovak, Yugoslav and other émigré committees, that they provided assistance all through the war to the Masaryk-Benes and other anti-Monarchy groups.

During the war, the so-called small nations also formulated their war goals. We have already touched on the Romanian concept, encapsulated in the secret Bucharest Treaty. On July 20, 1917, the South Slavs made theirs in the Corfu Declaration, stating that the Serbs, Slovenes and Croats want the creation of an independent nation state, whose form of government will be a monarchy ruled by the Karageorgevich dynasty. The Masaryk-Benes Czechoslovak émigré program was built on the slogan: "Smash Austria-Hungary," meaning that the Monarchy was to be dismembered, to be replaced by new, independent countries. Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia were to form Czechoslovakia; in the East, Transylvania was to be given to Romania; in the South, a Yugoslavia was to be created from Serbia and the other Serb, Croat and Slovene territories.

In the spring of 1918, the foreign policies of the Entente Powers were irreversibly tipped in favor of the anti-Monarchy tide. The Entente accepted the war goals of the small nations. As a result, the Entente governments 'recognized' a string of governments-in-exile as the legitimate government of those small nations, thereby lending assurance to their territorial ambitions. The most important milestones in this process were:

June 3, 1918. The Entente Powers make a common declaration in which they make common cause with the nations and nationalities of Central Europe.

June 13, 1918. The declaration by the Entente Powers in support of an independent Poland.

June 24, 1918. The United States recognizes the right of the South Slavs to create an independent country.

June 29, 1918. France recognizes the Masaryk-Benes émigré government-in-exile, the Czechoslovak National Council.

August 9, 1918. Britain recognizes the Czechoslovak National Council.
September 2, 1918, The United States of America recognizes the Czechoslovak National Council.

Of this series of events, it was most crucial that the Czechoslovak National Council be recognized as the *de facto* government of Czechoslovakia, since that recognition meant the dissolution and dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It must be noted here that a unified Poland could be reconstituted, that the most extreme - and sometime conflicting - Italian, Yugoslav and Romanian demands could be satisfied and still leave a strong German-Magyar-Czech central core. With the creation of a new Czechoslovakia, it was this central core that was demolished. The death sentence of the Monarchy was not sealed by the secret agreements signed in London and Bucharest but by the recognition of the Czechoslovak National Council between June and September of 1918. After the summer of 1918, the discussions in Entente circles were not about whether the Monarchy would stay or go but rather where the borders of the new countries that will replace it were to run.

The period of fait accompli October 1918 to January 1919

In the fall of 1918, the Monarchy fell apart: on October 28 the Republic of Czechoslovakia was proclaimed in Prague. Two days later, the Slovaks proclaimed in Túrócszentmárton / Turčiansky svätý Martin their separation from the Kingdom of Hungary and their union with the Czech state. On October 29, the Sabor (parliament of Croatia) announced the creation of the Zagreb National Council and Croatia's separation from the Monarchy. At almost the same time, the Serb government set its army in motion against the southern border of Hungary. The Royal Romanian Army began the occupation of Transylvania on November 9. The National Assembly of Transylvanian Romanians declared the union of Transylvania with Romania. On December 1, the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom was proclaimed.

The government of count Mihaly (Michael) Karolyi (1875-1955), taking office on October 31, 1918, made several attempts during the months of November and December to stop the negative series of events. Oscar Jaszi, as Minister of Minorities, held talks with the Slovaks and the Transylvanian Romanians but without results. On top of it all, Karolyi signed the Military Convention of Belgrade on November 13 instead of the Padua armistice. The Convention allowed Serb and Romanian troops to occupy significant portions of Hungarian territory. In a further blow to Hungary's defensive position, the Minister of War for the Karolyi government, Bela Linder, ordered the disarming of the Hungarian soldiers returning from the front, instead of reorganizing the armed forces. As a result, between October of 1918 and January 1919 – when the peace conference convened – Czechoslovak, South Slav and Romanian troops occupied the

territories to which they had laid claim. That is to say, even before the peace conference gathered in Paris, they were in possession of territory they demanded, presenting a diplomatic and military *fait accompli* to the peace conference. Karolyi and his government only mounted diplomatic responses to the Czech, Romanian and South Slav objectives, not military resistance. Thus, the peace conference beginning in January had 'merely' to ratify the newly formed borders. In our opinion, if the Karolyi government had presented an organized military response on behalf of the country, Hungary would have been able to wrest more favorable borders in Paris. Karolyi, unfortunately, made no attempt in this direction, an unpardonable offense.

Drawing the Trianon borders 1919 – 1920

The Versailles peace conference was ceremoniously opened on January 18, 1919. The participants had not made it clear whether this conference was the preliminary meeting of the victors to harmonize various diverse views, to be followed by a congress that would involve neutral and defeated countries, or, if this was to be the peace conference whose decisions were final and irreversible. The conference began as the former and, during its progress, transformed into the latter. Thus, representatives of the defeated countries were not part of the proceedings; the losers were only summoned after the decisions were made to accept the terms. The core body of the conference was the Council of Ten, otherwise known as the Supreme Council. It was made up of the delegates of the five major powers (the American president, the prime ministers of Britain, France, Italy and Japan) and their foreign ministers. But, as it was rather cumbersome, at the end of March, 1919, Wilson suggested the creation of the Council of Four. Its membership consisted of Woodrow Wilson (US President), David Lloyd George (British PM), Georges Clemenceau (French PM) and Vittorio Orlando (Italian PM).

The method of dealing with territorial matters was defined by the fact that it focused on the demands presented by those present, with no chance of input by the losers or, as they were referred to, the 'guilty parties.' No time was wasted on matters concerning Austria or Hungary, rather all attention was focused on Czechoslovak, Polish, Romanian and Yugoslavian demands. As a result, the Hungarian-Yugoslavian and Hungarian-Romanian borders were determined by the 'Romania-Yugoslavia Committee,' while the matter of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian border was defined by the 'Czechoslovak Committee.' [Not exactly impartial participants-ed.] The Romania-Yugoslavia Committee first convened on February 8, 1919 and, after lengthy arguments – particularly with regard to possession of the Banat, which both countries claimed – made its recommendation on March 18 with regard to the two sections of Hungary's southern border. The Czechoslovak Committee first met on February 5, 1919 and, after many meetings, came up with a boundary proposal on March 12. The

Council of Foreign Ministers accepted the proposed Hungary-Yugoslavia and Hungary-Czechoslovakia border definition on May 8. The Council of Four took only a few minutes on May 12 to endorse the decision made by the foreign ministers. Thus, the post-WWI borders of Hungary were essentially decided in March of 1919 by the appointed committees and those decisions were sanctioned by mid-May.

The boundaries determined by the major powers at the peace conference, it must be said, ignored the application of the principle of ethnicity, to be replaced by any number of other needs: strategic, alliance, economic, transportation, etc. In the clash between the principle of ethnicity and other interests, in almost every case the other interests won out. The 'crucial economic needs' or 'strategic considerations' of Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in every case overrode the principles of ethnicity. At one of the meetings of the Czechoslovak Committee, it was openly stated that, in opposition to considerations given to ethnic distribution, that "as few Magyars be transferred to the Czechoslovak state," it is far more important that the boundary to be drawn ensures all the existing railway connections and ensures the best geographic border for Czechoslovakia. As a result, in countless cases the 'peacemakers' carved deeply into areas populated by ethnic Magyars. Apart from territory populated by other ethnic groups, territories populated by a majority of Magyars were also condemned to annexation - many of which were now in a foreign country, yet contiguous with the linguistic and ethnic Magyar border of historical Hungary. Such places were: in the East, the area around Szatmárnémeti, Oradea/Nagyvárad and Arad; in the South, the area around Subotica/Szabadka; in the North, the Žitný ostrov/Csallóköz, and the region South of the line of Košice/Kassa - Rimavská Sobota/Rimaszombat. The numbers speak more plainly than any contention: as a result of the peace treaty, 3.2 million Magyars were thrust into a minority position in the surrounding countries [the largest group in Europe-ed.], 1.6 million in Romania, 1 million in Czechoslovakia, 500,000 in Yugoslavia and 70,000 in Austria.

Signing the Trianon Treaty (1920) and its consequences

As noted in the previous section, the peace conference ratified Hungary's final borders on May 12, 1919. The next step was make these terms known to Hungary and, of course, get the treaty document signed. The signing was delayed by the March 21 overthrow of government by a bolshevik party in Hungary, under the leadership of Bela Kun. Due to ideological and political reasons, the Entente powers were loath to invite the communist government of Kun to Versailles. Rather, they waited until the Red terror collapsed after 133 days on August 31, 1919.

During the fall of 1919, chaotic conditions ruled in Hungary. Budapest fell under Romanian occupation, while several politicians tried to wrest power. The chaos was ended by two events. One, on November 16, Nicholas Horthy entered Budapest at the

head of the newly-organized National Army. Two, as a result of conferences held from September to November by British diplomat George Russell Clerk, a government was formed on November 24 - under Prime Minister Karoly (Charles) Huszar - which consolidated all the acceptable [to the Entente, that is] Hungarian political parties. Subsequently, the peace conference notified the Huszar government on December 1 to send its delegates to accept the peace terms.

The Hungarian delegation arrived in Paris on January 7, 1920 and was handed the terms of the treaty on January 15. In January and the following months, count Albert Apponyi, head of the Hungarian delegation, and Hungarian diplomacy made every effort to effect changes in the boundaries drawn up by the peace conference. Alas, all efforts failed and Hungary was forced to sign the peace treaty on June 4, 1920 in the palace of Trianon.

This peace treaty is a source of deep and serious conflicts between Hungary and her neighbors to this day, especially due to the fact that the borders as they were defined in it thrust 3.2 million ethnic Magyars into minority status. It seems obvious to us that Trianon was not only a Hungarian tragedy but a tragedy for all of Central Europe. Several conflicts of the 20th century were spawned because of the large number of Magyar - and other - minorities who were annexed within the borders of Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. A more sane and just ethnic consideration while drawing the boundaries would have made the history of 20th century Central Europe far more peaceful and calm.

Trasnl. Peter Csermely

Yves De Daruvar

THE TRAGIC FATE OF HUNGARY

The author of the book is Yves de Daruvar, a noted Frenchman, the son of a Hungarian army officer and a French mother transplanted to and educated in France. He served this country in World War II and was made Knight Commander of the Legion of Honour, and Companion of the Order of Liberation.

In the Introduction to the original French Edition General Ingold, former Grand Chancellor of the Order of Liberation writes:

It is not for me to pronounce a comprehensive verdict on this brave, profoundly human and solidly documented book. I will therefore confine myself to the following brief remarks:

This book was written by a man dedicated to the upholding of noble causes – the more seemingly hopeless the better. Thus, at the age of 20, he fought from the Fezzan to Tripolitania and from Tunisia to Normandy under General Leclerc's orders... He shed his blood in the desert so that France may rise from the dead in victory; gravely injured, he suffered agonies for years. Today the youngster of 1940, his willpower and intellect forged by the exercise of high functions overseas in the meantime, is going to war once more. But this time he is carrying no arms. It is this book with which he proposes to fight for the Honour of "mutilated" Hungary and, faithful to Leclerc's tradition, he attacks...

The passages referring to the mutilation of Hungary are deeply disturbing. They make us think.

As a veteran of World War I, I feel in duty bound to quote the words of George Roux whose name will turn up frequently on the pages of this book. "Having staked their liberty, if not their existence, fought for 4-5 years to the very limits of their endurance, and made enormous sacrifices, the victors did not feel inclined to show mercy", he wrote. No wonder that such resentment hit thousand-year old Hungary with its full weight. That this should have happened was no doubt an error and a crime. However, victors have rarely practiced clemency throughout the centuries.

May this book mark the beginning of a new era of understanding and forgiveness on the eve of inevitable conflicts.

Lyautey, Marshal of France, branded 1914-1918 "a fratricidal war". Enacted fifty years ago, Trianon remains to this day "a fratricidal Daruvar's book was originally published. We have also arrived at the 75th anniversary of the Treaty of Trianon, and it

is to be noted that by this time the historical events have made the drawing up of a programmed for the Union of Europe timely. The one third of the 14 million Hungarian people of the Carpathian Basin who still live in captivity outside the state borders, hoped in 1989 that in the spirit of European Union, the persecution would cease and the people of East Central Europe would march finally together into an emerging United Europe in the spirit of reconciliation. Contrary to their hopes, the persecutions have flared up again. Now free of Moscow's control, boiling with intense nationalism, with almost eight decades of experience, the successor states have set about to eliminate the ethnic Hungarians with revived enthusiasm.

Daruvar's book is a treasure-house of quotations, and we have selected only a few of them for this limited-edition booklet:

“Hungarian yoke”

“Up till 1830”, admitted one of the Magyars' most rabid adversaries, “Hungary had been the El Dorado of national equality”. (Helfert: <<Die Checo-Slaven>>). And indeed prior to that point in time, in itself only a rough indication, the linguistic and literary rebirth of Hungary's racial minorities, had been enacted within the boundaries of the historic kingdom, not among their racial brethren living outside those frontiers. This did not, however, prevent the neighboring countries from benefiting by the generosity of Hungarian liberalism. Thus the culture of the various ethnic groups which over the centuries had come to Hungary as settlers or refugees was found to be flourishing more vigorously under the so-called “Hungarian yoke” than it did in its countries of origin, such as Rumania or Serbia. The best Slavonic and Rumanian philologists taught at the University of Buda where there were also printed and published the first literary and scientific works of Serb, Croat and Slovak authors. As for the first book ever to be printed in the Rumanian language it was published in 1544 under the patronage of a Hungarian prince – a remarkable achievement when one considers that the first Hungarian book was only printed in 1527. This random collection of a few facts suffices to refute the alleged oppression of historic Hungary's national minorities.

Extremist nationalism, unconditionally hostile to the survival of the Kingdom as ultimately to that of the entire Monarchy, had up to World War I been confined to a minute fraction of the middle classes among the national minorities.

War guilt

In fact, practically up to the beginning of the 19th century, Hungarians and non-Hungarians had lived together in perfect harmony. It was quite clear that Austria-Hungary and Germany only wanted a limited war with Serbia, while France and Russia, as

well as Serbia herself, were pushing for a generalized war which alone, in their view, could serve their interest and satisfy their ambitions. Hence Russia and France alone had, from the very beginning, envisaged and prepared for a general European war. Nothing could be more lapidary than Fabre-Luce's conclusion: "Austria's and Germany's acts made the war possible; those of the Entente rendered it unavoidable". Let it be added that although by now everyone agrees on regarding Hitler as a direct consequence of the First World War (Monseigneur Kaas, Archbishop of Trier used to say that Hitler was not born in Braunau but at Versailles) certain responsibilities for that war were much more far-reaching than is generally appreciated. Fortunately, myths woven entirely of falsehoods do not prove to be an enduring fabric, nor can truths be engineered and decreed as such merely by rights of victory over the vanquished. A fact of the gravest significance was, as Henri Pozzi so rightly reminds us, that "when the victors drew up the conditions of peace at Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon, it was the axiom of Germany's guilt, and that of its ally, Austria-Hungary – the axiom of their sole and exclusive war-guilt – which served as moral justification for the victors' implacable decisions."... (Henri Pozzi: *Les Coupables*", Paris 1934).

Aggressors versus Defenders

"There can be no doubt that Hungary – or at any rate the overwhelming majority of the Hungarians – went to war in 1914 in the conviction of fighting for their just cause and with the aim only of preserving what had for a thousand years been recognized as their own. For years, the Hungarians had lived in the full knowledge of Serbia's intention to destroy the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, especially since the latter had annexed Bosnia-Hercegovina. It was also generally known that Russia supported Serbia's aspirations to establishing a Greater Serbia based on the South-Slavonic areas of Austria-Hungary. Once it became evident that Russia had been privy to the Serb conspiracy which contrived the double murder at Sarajevo, their common purpose being to unleash a generalized war in the course of which they might conquer the Slav-inhabited territories of the Monarchy, Hungary resolved to go to war against Russia. Also, the Magyars had never been able to forget that Russia had been the cause of the failure of their war for freedom of 1848-1849, directed against the Habsburgs, and that the Russians had delivered their country to the vengeance of Austrian absolutism." (Jules Altenburger: *La Hongrie et la Première Guerre Mondiale*, Budapest, 1919).

Lies and exalted ideas

The treaties of 1919-1920 were in large measure the product of "the environment in which they had been concluded", as Georges Roux so admirably explained between

the two wars. (Georges Roux: *Reviser les traités?* Paris 1931). Here is the gist of what he stated, confirming and supplementing our affirmation on the subject:

“Having staked their very existence or their liberty, fought 4 to 5 years throwing in their last ounce of strength and made immense sacrifices, the victors – exasperated and resentful to the extreme – did not feel inclined to exercise fairness, moderation and leniency. To keep the morale of their belligerents at the requisite peak of tension, the government had recourse to an intensive propaganda of lies. ... The distortion of truth became the law of self-preservation and hatred a sacred emotion. ... Justifications of morality and idealistic aims were fabricated out of nothing in order to electrify one’s own people and demoralize the adversary’s. Also, the shining image of a peace concept, motivated not by egoism but exalted ideas, began increasingly to be bandied about. The American intervention accentuated that trend, stamping the struggle with the hallmark of disinterestedness and evangelical principles. ... It was in that kind of atmosphere that the Allied and Associated Powers were facing, late in 1918, the collapse of the Central Empires. ... Victory came all of a sudden and almost unexpectedly. After a long row of failure upon failure, the Allies were ill-prepared for their triumph which consequently went to their heads. And the need to act quickly left them little time for reflection. Within a few months, still in a drunken haze of success, peace was made and a new Europe constructed without any deeper preparation of thought but with unlimited discretionary powers. ... The misuse of victory – continues Georges Roux – although a mistake in the political sense is an allurements hard to avoid. Germany had not been able to escape from it either in 1871. ... Moreover the victorious powers were tied, hands and feet, by covenants earlier concluded between themselves or with their small auxiliaries.

Ignorance extraordinary

“The great empires of peace did not have a first notion of the geography, ethnography or history of the peoples and countries whose fate they had to decide. Wilson, for example, kept muddling up Slovaks and Slovenes. Nor was Lloyd George any better informed. As for Clémenceau, all has long ago been stated about his stupendous ignorance concerning all things not pertaining to a certain romantic view of French history or French domestic politics.” (Henri Pozzi: *Les Coupables*, Paris 1934).

Games of grab

“Czech, Rumanian and Serb diplomats doled out around the green baize table of Trianon heaps of the most superficial, erroneous and tendentious information, distorting facts, engineering statistics and faking the will of the populations concerned in remarkably bad faith. Their task, in the performance of which no one excelled more

than Edouard Benes, was facilitated by the shameful mediocrity of the Western negotiators. ... They simply conceded everything they had been asked for. ... And all the while Mr. Benes continued dishing up the grossest historic, geographical and ethnological absurdities in his quiet, smiling manner, often contradicting himself, without anyone at the Conference daring to object for fear that his crass ignorance might be found out. ... A marvelous game of grab, indeed.”... (Gabriel Gobron: *La Hongrie mystérieuse*, Paris 1933).

«The Peace Treaty of Trianon was born in an environment particularly ill-suited to the creation of wise and enduring constructions. The great allied statesmen called upon to play the role of arbitrators knew little of those faraway regions of Eastern Europe with which they had to deal. So they left the job to the young claimants themselves, placing their confidence in those gallant Serbs, in the Rumanians, the spoilt adoptive children of France, and chiefly in two Czechs whose influence was considerable at the time the peace treaties were being drafted – Messrs Benes and Masaryk. ... Friendly connections at the highest level in the allied camp enabled them to help themselves, and their associates, handsomely to the good things they craved. » (Georges Roux: *Reviser les traités?* Paris 1931). «Out of a hotchpotch of fakes and forgeries, out of a chaos of falsehoods was woven the Treaty of Trianon, lined with a map of absurdities, and the Hungarian plenipotentiaries, unable to make their protest heard, cooped up at the Château de Madrid under police surveillance, with all their communications with the outside world heavily censored, were forced to sign it without any discussion, the swords of our worn-out diplomats pointed at them». (Georges Desbons: *La Hongrie après le Traité de Trianon*, Paris 1933).

Falsehoods and fabrications

One could go on proliferating quotations of that kind indefinitely. David Lloyd George himself pronounced the verdict in a speech at the Guildhall in London, on October 7, 1928, when he admitted that the entire documentation they had been provided with by “some of their allies” during the peace negotiations was a bundle of falsehoods and fabrications. They had made their decisions on the basis of fakes. “That terrible accusation which has never been answered – wrote Henri Pozzi – also spells out the responsibility of the allied negotiators. How could it be that they should not have noticed soon the procedures employed by the representatives of Prague, Bucharest and Belgrade, in order to subvert their good faith with those fancy statistics, fake petitions, tricks and lies which made Trianon one of the worst iniquities in diplomatic history?” (Henri Pozzi: *La Guerre revient*, Paris 1933).

Extracts from a book under this title. Published by Nemzetőr, Munich in 1974.

John Flourney Montgomery

OPINION OF AN AMERICAN DIPLOMAT

In the Preface of his book entitled **Hungary the Unwilling Satellite** (The Devin-Adair Company, New York, 1947) John Flourney Montgomery wrote the following:

To us, the first war appeared primarily as a conflict between Germany and our allies in Western Europe because it was there that our troops fought. Austria-Hungary to us was a German satellite, and the part played by Russian autocracy was soon and conveniently forgotten. We were not burdened with knowledge of eastern European history and snatched gratefully the simple formulae offered by foreign propagandists. Since Germany was the enemy, Germany was wrong; since Germany was wrong, her Austro-Hungarian ally was wrong too. Since Russia was about to quit, why bother with her? France, Italy, England and Japan were certainly right.

Americans do not seem to be aware that the most fervent longing of modern nationalists is not for freedom but for mastery. Austria-Hungary seemed ramshackle to Americans. Russia, just as heterogeneous as she, did not seem so, because the Czars, more reactionary than the Hapsburgs, had kept their subjects illiterate.

Making good use of our impression that we had participated in a principally Western conflict, our allies and associates laid down for us laws of habitual hatred and fondness concerning Eastern Europe. We responded by being obedient and trustful, like draft oxen under the yoke. The English and French had already developed the conception of Latin-Slavic co-operation against non-Slavs and non-Latins. The German-Austrians and the Magyars were neither Slavic nor Latin. Hence these two were treated as vanquished and guilty while the Slavs of Austria-Hungary were nominated victors, although with exceedingly few exceptions they had defended the Hapsburg Empire for four and a half years with no less fervor and tenacity than had the others. We Americans were ordered to love Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia and to applaud the ill-treatment meted out to Hungarians and German-Austrians. We did. We bowed reverently to the fact that one racially mixed community, Austria-Hungary, was replaced and absorbed by a number of states, three of which, namely Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, were no less mixed than the dissected empire had been, whereas two states, Hungary and German-speaking Austria, suffered amputation of their best provinces.

I say we bowed to this settlement. To be quite exact, we did not care. The limited attention we gave to Europe hardly crossed the Rhine. If it suited the British and French

to put millions of German-Austrians and Hungarians under Czech rule, Hungarians under Rumanian, and Croats under Serbian domination, why should we be squeamish?

But having helped our allies to win, we had our share of responsibility in the results of victory. We should not have washed our hands of all the injustice committed in the name of national self-determination, and yet we did. The fact that others, nearer to the spot, were no wiser than we may exculpate us, but it does not mean that we acted wisely. Peace treaties involve recognition of new factors that have been introduced by war; they also should involve a consulting together on the part of all the belligerents as to how best to set the world in working order again. Our desire to dictate the peace deprived us of much needed advice and criticism from experts among the countries most affected.

Even before Hitler shocked us into realizing our blunders, the truth had dawned upon some Americans who visited the dismembered empire. Businessmen, having visited first Croatia and then Serbia, or first Transylvania and then old Rumania, would ask me in bewilderment why advanced races had been put under the rule of comparatively backward ones. I could not find a satisfactory answer. Apparently in 1919 Christian statesmen had not yet discovered – as we now seem to have discovered – a method of chasing millions of provision less people over the border without the slightest regard for family ties.

It is amazing how endurable have been those habitual hatreds and fondness produced in the First World War and then foisted on us by our allies. The explanation is propaganda – an amount of propaganda unthinkable at the time of Washington's warning. People deprived of their livelihood by their neighbors never even had a hearing. At the same time, those who profited by the victors' arbitrary discrimination showered us with an unceasing flow of propaganda. Especially does this refer to the Czechs, who took some of the best agricultural parts of Hungary and the richest industrial parts of German-speaking Austria? Many millions of dollars were spent every year in various kinds of propaganda – the object of which was to keep what had been seized.

All of this may sound like past history, outrun by events of incomparable magnitude. In reality it is living history. The same habitual hatreds and fondness are still alive and have already begun to shackle us and to make us blind to our own interests. I am not speaking of Germany and Japan, although these are cases where a policy of permanent hatred would be the source of most fateful blundering. I am speaking of the eastern half of Europe which includes one half of central Europe.

Again as in 1919, we are asked to consider the Slavs our natural friends and the non-Slavs our natural enemies. But Slavism now means something quite different from what it meant after the other war. Then it referred to small and separate nations, to Poles, Czechs and Serbs. Now it refers to the largest continuous empire on earth, which, controlled by a dictator, stretched from the Pacific Ocean into the heart of Germany, having reduced to the position of satellites all the Slavic races which had not been under the

scepter of the Czars – all Poland, Bohemia, Slovakia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and Bulgaria. At the same time, we are expected to contribute, at least by acquiescence, to the chaining of those elements in the Soviet sphere which are non-Slav, principally Hungary, Rumania and German-speaking Austria.

With great foresight, Russian, Czech and southern Slav-communist propagandists, drawing from seemingly inexhaustible funds, prepared the ground for this policy before the Second World War ended in Europe. A shrewd distinction has been dinned into our ears – a distinction between Hitler’s victims and his collaborators and satellites. How many Americans remember that Dr. Edouard Benes was swept out of office as President of Czechoslovakia by an irresistible wave of pro-German collaborationism which even rotted his own National Socialist Party, whose champions, Beran and Chvalkovsky, he had nominated as premier and foreign minister? How many remember that the Slovaks, described for twenty years as members of the one Czechoslovak race, sided with Hitler in his war against Russia and declared war on Poland and America? Very few, it is safe to say. But everyone seems to believe that “feudal and fascist Hungary” was Hitler’s enthusiastic ally. Again, few remember that the Moscow Declaration, signed by us in 1943, reminded Austria, Hitler’s first victim, of her responsibility in having participated in the war. The labels “victim”, “collaborator” and “satellite” have even been interchangeable. As long as it suited Moscow, Bulgaria was called a satellite of Hitler. When she became a satellite of Russia, it was acknowledged that she had been Hitler’s victim. The same happened to Croatia.

It is undeniable fact that Hitler’s best collaborators in the Second World War were the Czechs, the Slovaks and the Rumanians. Hungary held out longest against German demands, indeed, until the spring of 1944. Foreign propaganda, however, supported by our OWI, succeeded in distorting historic facts by telling our public that the regimes in Bohemia, Slovakia and Rumania were not representative of their peoples’ wishes whereas the Hungarian regime was. This allegation is highly questionable.

Having been United States Minister to Hungary from 1933 to 1941, my regular post of observation in those critical years was Budapest. It was a unique post because the Magyars, neither Teuton nor Slav, were always aware of being between the two fires of German and Russian imperialism. During those years, most of us saw only one fire, the German one. Hungary’s vision was far ahead of ours. Had we listened to Hungarian statesmen, we should perhaps have been able to limit Stalin’s triumph in the hour of Hitler’s fall.

Hungary, between the two wars, was a small country, and from my watchtower on the Danube my eyes could roam over her neighbors and neighbors’ neighbors, over Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Germany and Italy. The Department of State encouraged my travel across many borders. Anticipating what I want to show in this book, I might say that what I witnessed was a tragic and insoluble conflict between fear and Honour, in which fear was bound to win. It is an undeniable

fact that on many occasions those who had been treated as stepchildren by the Western powers in 1919 showed more loyalty to the Allied cause than their spoiled favorites did.

Would it not have been better if we had opposed the arbitrary discrimination indulged in by the surgeons of 1919, who thereby afforded Hitler his most powerful arguments? Offered a second chance, we ought to set ourselves strongly and firmly against a repetition which this time would allow Slavic imperialism to run amuck.

(End of quotations from J. F. Montgomery's book).

J. F. Montgomery

HUNGARIAN DECLARATION OF WAR

*From the book: John Flourney Montgomery:
HUNGARY THE UNWILLING SATELLITE*

THE COMPLEX which made European nations feel superior to their neighbors and particularly to their eastern ones made Hungary very sensitive about being called a Balkan nation. Croats and Transylvanians – also seem to resent being considered members of the Balkan group. Indeed it would be necessary to give the term Balkan Peninsula a very wide interpretation in order to include Hungary, but she could not help being the European gateway into the Balkans and this determined her fate in the Hitler era.

Hungary's situation deteriorated rapidly. Three days before Hungary began to occupy Yugoslav territory, the British government had informed the Hungarian minister in London that the British legation in Budapest under Mr. (now Sir) Owen St. Clair O'Malley was being withdrawn because Hungary had become a base of military operations against the Allies. She was included in the Allied blockade. The Soviets had also rebuked Hungary. M. Vyshinsky told the Hungarian minister in Moscow that the USSR disapproved of Hungary's action against Yugoslavia. This was another straw in the wind. Soon the wind became a storm, and Hungary, like all her small neighbors, was a tiny skiff in the tossing sea. The great duel between pan-Germanism and pan-Slavism began the life and death struggle between what amounts to two versions of the same totalitarian paganism – between Russian and German National Socialism.

The outbreak of the war between the two tyrants rendered Hungary's situation much more serious than before. Hitler was obliged to take stern measures, and the Hungarians knew the penalty of disobedience. Unlike other nations, the Magyars could not find any comfort in Hitler's difficulties because Russia loomed up as an even greater danger.

Looking back, one can easily find fault with Hungary's participation in the campaign against Yugoslavia. Hungary's modest and very limited participation in the war against the Soviets presents itself in a very different light. Today we are better equipped to pass judgment. Our own position was simple. Germany was an enemy of our British friend and soon to be our own enemy. Russia involuntarily became an ally. We wanted quite naturally Germany's defeat and Russia's victory. Hungarians did not want either. To adopt this attitude is by no means as foolish as it may appear to some Americans who have become imbued with the slogan of "unconditional surrender." Many wars in history have ended without a clear-cut decision, and this was frequently a better solu-

tion than complete victory of one side. Often it was even a fairer solution, because almost never has one belligerent been completely right and the other completely wrong. Woodrow Wilson's postulate in 1917 that the war should lead to a peace "without victors and vanquished" was one of the wisest of his utterances. When Russia entered the war that was the desire of most Europeans.

Today Americans might well ask themselves whether our own country would not be safer now if our victory had been just sufficient to establish German democracy and reliable control of German and Japanese research and production, without depriving twenty nations of the four freedoms for which we supposedly fought the war. The catchwords "unconditional surrender" put Stalin on Hitler's throne and has prevented us from devoting constructive thought to the future.

In the preface to this book, I have pointed out that in a war of coalitions, where on each side several nations combine temporarily for specific ends without giving up their distinctive principles, every belligerent can find himself fighting on the right side and at the same time on the wrong side. As Soviet imperialistic designs are now revealed, it is apparent whether or not we wish to admit it that, by sending a few troops against Russia, Hungary fought on the wrong side as Hitler's ally, but on the right side as an opponent of Soviet Russia.

What happened in Hungary after the Soviet armies liberated her fully justified anything Hungary did. As a matter of fact, much as she hated communism, Hungary cooperated with the German army against Russia slowly and reluctantly. According to reliable estimates, Hungary's troop contingent in the east did not exceed thirty thousand in 1941 and one hundred fifty thousand in 1942. After that, it went down rapidly because when the tide of the war turned, Hungary could increase her resistance to German pressure in the hope that the Western powers would occupy her by way of the Mediterranean.

On June 21, 1941, when Hitler launched his attack on Russia, General Antonescu, the Conducator of Rumania, hastened to proclaim a holy war for the recovery of Bessarabia lost to Russia the year before, and said that Rumania was fighting at the side of the finest army in the world.

On June 24, Slovakia, previously the eastern part of Czechoslovakia, declared that she was on Germany's side in the war against the Bolsheviks and that the Slovak army had joined the forces of Germany.

On the same day Hungary severed diplomatic relations with Russia. Three days later, Premier Bardossy declared war on Russia without previous consent of parliament or Regent Horthy. Bardossy claimed Russian air attacks on Hungarian territory in violation of international law, but in this instance, as in his later declaration of war against the United States, Bardossy was influenced by Germany's use of the Transylvania problem as a means of pressure.

Rumania partook of the war against Russia with all her strength. Her losses were enormous, amounting to a quarter of a million in the first three months. Unlike Hun-

gary, Rumania wished territorial conquest. Not content with the return of Bessarabia General Antonescu on October 18, 1941, declared that Rumania was annexing what he called Transnistria, that is, the part of the Ukraine between the rivers Dniester and Bug with the port of Odessa as capital. Many more Soviet soldiers died at the hands of Rumanians than as a result of Hungary's intervention, but when Stalin fixed the new boundaries after the war, Rumania was again the winner because imperialistic interests, not good or bad behavior during the conflict, influenced his decision. He was certain of Rumanian subservience, but knew that Hungary was a hard nut to crack.

The policy of Russia's allies was affected by the trend of her relations with these small nations. Britain and the United States acted upon the principle that Russia's enemies were also their enemies. The Soviets did not reciprocate our loyalty. On December 6, 1941 the British government declared that from the following day Britain would be at war with Finland, Rumania and Hungary because of their refusal to cease hostilities against Russia. The Soviets declared war on Bulgaria and Japan only when the fighting was over in order to determine the conditions of peace.

It is interesting as well as important that neither the United States nor Great Britain were ever officially at war with Slovakia or Croatia although both countries declared war on the two English speaking powers immediately after Pearl Harbor. Washington and London refused to acknowledge the existence of a state of war with these two little nations because they were not recognized as sovereign states: A declaration of war coming from Hitler- made Slovakia or Croatia was like a challenge from a gymnastic or choral society. This procedure, however, should not be allowed to cloud our political judgment and sense of justice. The Slovaks, according to the official Czech fiction, were part and parcel of the Czechoslovak nation. I mention this not because I am advocating that all Czechoslovaks be blamed for the deeds of the Slovaks, or Yugoslavia for the action of Croats. However, the fact that we were not at war with Croatia and Slovakia while we were with Hungary should not influence our attitude toward the latter.

Actually, although Hungary declared war on us, it was illegal since it was not approved by parliament or the Regent.

I was not in Hungary on December 12, 1941, when Prime Minister Bardossy announced that Hungary's diplomatic relations with the United States was severed. Bardossy called up the legation and informed them that a state of war existed, but he insisted it was not a declaration of war. He was asked to put this statement in writing, but was reluctant to do so. Upon being informed that no attention would be paid a verbal statement, he sent a letter of confirmation. In this letter he reiterated that it was not to be regarded as a declaration of war, but that the Hungarian government considered a state of war existed between the two countries. Apparently Bardossy realized that he could not get the consent either of parliament or the Regent to a formal declaration of war. When the first secretary of the legation, Mr. Travers, made his good- by call on the

Regent, the latter said to him: “Remember that this so- called declaration of war is not legal; not approved by parliament, not signed by me.”

Obviously, Hungary being forced by Hitler to declare war, Bardossy took it upon himself to do so. Whether he was a patriot or a scoundrel is a matter of opinion. He was later executed for his usurpation of the rights of parliament and the Regent.

President Roosevelt evaluated the situation correctly. He knew that war declarations coming from those small countries were forced by Hitler and he was, therefore, inclined to ignore them. On June 2, 1942, that is, after six months of Soviet insistence, the President sent a message to Congress stating that Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria had declared war on the United States, but he added: “I realize that those three governments took that action not upon their own initiative or in response to the wishes of their own peoples, but as instruments of Hitler.” Not before July 18, 1942, did Congress declare that there was a state of war between us and those nations.

Before our diplomats left Hungary, they were the objects of stormy proofs of friendship. One of our secretaries was invited to dinner by a friend who belonged to one of the leading families of Hungary. He told her that his things were packed and that he could not dress, and she told him that it made no difference. He thought, therefore, that he was dining *en famille* and was astonished when he arrived, to find a large number of prominent people – members of parliament, members of the cabinet, and so forth – assembled. When they sat down, he was seated on his hostess’ right.

During the course of the dinner, the hostess arose and said, “I am not accustomed to making speeches, but since our guest of honor tonight is an enemy, I feel that I must explain this. I am not pro- German; I am not pro- English; I am not pro- American; I am just pro- Hungarian and as a pro- Hungarian, I ask that you all rise and drink a toast to a speedy American victory.”

The guests arose, drank the toast and dashed their glasses, according to the old Hungarian custom, to the floor.

We left Hungary in March 1941, about a year and a half after the invasion of Poland. It was customary, when diplomats left, for the members of the diplomatic corps and friends to gather and bid them good- by. The tremendous outburst of friendliness which accompanied our departure from Budapest was not, I hope, altogether due to a desire to make a pro- Allied demonstration, but it amounted to that. My wife wrote in her diary concerning our departure.

When we arrived at the airport, we were greeted by members of the Foreign Office, and the Regent’s aide- de- camp stepped up to present me with many good wishes from the Admiral and his wife, and an enormous bouquet of lavender and white orchids, trailing across from one arm to the other and far down over the side. After another five minutes I was so overwhelmed with flowers that I could not carry them, and an airways employee staggered away on several trips to transfer them to the plane. John and I were surrounded by our friends. It was a bewildering, emotional moment. People kept on

thrusting little parcels into my hands. The Archduchess Gabriella brought violets and cookies adorned with good- luck symbols. Suddenly we were hurried away and everyone swarmed out from the building to the terrace. While the engines were warming up, Stephen Horthy came with more orchids. Then the door was closed, and up we went while handkerchiefs fluttered below and hats were swung to and fro. John and I were quite spent after all the tears and emotion. Never have I had so much human kindness lavished upon me as during that last hour in Budapest.

I remembered the white- haired Foreign Minister de Kanya's jesting and yet ominous remark that soon he would apply for an American immigration visa. What we left behind was a world of fear.

*Mr. Montgomery was the US Envoy Extraordinary
and Plenipotentiary to Hungary, 1933-1941*

THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN SYNDROME

Unsolved Conflict in the Carpathian Basin

Present day political and diplomatic decision makers have very little knowledge of the roots of problems in Central and East-Central Europe. Therefore, we have to shed some light on the festering sore; some politicians – not aware of its importance – would like to sweep under the rug:

Facts:

After World War I, the victors broke up the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In the process, instead of one existing medium sized political and economic unit with many nationalities, they created five small, economically and politically unstable “quasi-national” states: Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Eventually – with other causes – it led to WW II, with the tragic consequences.

Owing mostly to designs of the Soviet Union, this division was reinstated and became less stable and less viable economically after WW II.

Since then, two of the artificially created states fell apart, resulting in more mini-states. Now there are eight: Austria, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia and the alien body: the Ukraine, in the same region.

The real losers are the Hungarians. In the 1920 Trianon (Paris) peace settlement they lost almost four million Hungarians to the successor states. Ever since these states are hell bent on annihilating the Hungarian nationals by all means at their disposal: deportations, forced assimilation, forced emigration, expulsions and (right after WW II) physical destruction.

Naturally, no nation could tolerate such status quo. If the victorious powers had established the new borders along ethnic lines in 1920, the revisionist movement in Hungary would have subsided in a few years. After such a blatant and inconsiderate injustice of a “peace treaty”, no self-respecting nation would acquiesce to the perpetuation of such borders.

This unholy situation created the so called “The East-Central European Syndrome, or more precisely “The Trianon Syndrome”. All states in the Carpathian Basin suffer from it. No matter, what the government does, most Hungarians cannot accept the situation. The successor states are also mortally afraid of the Hungarian revisionism. They just can not believe that the Hungarians are really willing to give up those lost territories with Hungarian majority. This “Trianon Syndrome” is hurting everybody.

The Hungarian government – with western “encouragement” – hopes against reasonable hope, that by joining the European Community, the borders will lose their significance in a few years, thus saving the Hungarian minorities. This is not the case. The life of the Hungarians in Romania improved somewhat after they joined the EU, but in Slovakia did not! In Serbia and Ukraine there is no appreciable improvement. If things do not improve substantially, in ten-twenty years the Hungarian minorities will be destroyed, chased out, displaced by new settlers or forcibly assimilated by Slovakia, Rumania, the Ukraine and Serbia.

To reduce the danger, the Hungarian government enacted the so called Status Law, which would encourage and help the minority Hungarians to keep their culture, language and faith, in accordance with international law and practice.

Now those states, particularly Rumania and Slovakia were up in arms and dead set against the implementation of this feeble attempt to bolster the integrity of the Hungarian nation under foreign rule. It did not bother them, that they, and most European nations, have similar laws in existence. Slovakia, in defiance of the EU recently enacted a law further restricting the use of the Hungarian and other languages.

The new government enacted a law, granting Hungarian citizenship on demand to all Hungarians beyond our borders... This time only Slovakia reacted with anger, Ukraine’s official reaction is unknown at this moment.

Since these mini-imperialistic states are unwilling to accept these minimum attempts, they eventually will have to face another solution

Solution:

As we know, revision of the borders is impossible because of the German territories annexed by Poland and the USSR after WW II, not to mention the UN stance on the matter.

The further extension of the European Union has no reality for many years.

While Croatia could join in the near future, the membership of Serbia and Ukraine are some years away.

Therefore, the only solution at the present is autonomy.

There is ample number of successful precedents: South-Tyrol in Italy, the Basques and Catalans in Spain, the Germans in Belgium, the Aaland Islands in Finland and even the Gagauz in the Republic of Moldavia. The United Kingdom also granted wide ranging autonomy to Scotland, to a lesser degree to Wales and let go most of Ireland a long time ago. The French government facing mounting pressure for autonomy by the Corsicans and other minorities.

Why can’t the United Nations or the European Union force the mini-imperialistic nations in the Carpathian Basin to do the same? Failing to act, they will be responsible

for the largest scale ethnic cleansing in Europe - in however subtle and mostly clandestine ways - it will be done.

True enough, autonomy was seldom granted without some bloodshed.

Do we really want another hot spot in Europe?

RECOVERY OF LOST TERRITORIES

It is a fact that, after World War I, 72% of Hungary's territory was awarded by the Treaty of Trianon, without any referendum, to the four surrounding successor states. This way, close to four million Hungarians, 62% of the population, found themselves under foreign administration. Those successor states endeavored to eradicate and exterminate their ethnic Hungarians at all costs, and they continue to labor at that even today. This ambition manifests itself in physical eradication, expulsion, forced emigration or assimilation, applying a double standard in court, revoking rights of allegiance, abolishing schools, and repeal of civil rights.

Thus, it is no wonder that, since 1920, the governments of Hungary and all of Hungarian society had been making efforts to reverse the inhuman provisions of the dictated Peace Treaty of Trianon. Such alterations were promised even by a known cover letter by Millerand (Alexandre Millerand French Premier). Naturally, it came to nothing.

From then on, Hungarian society and governments had no other chance but irredentism to change the Trianon Treaty. Thus, the ascent of Germany and Italy came in handy. Although for the Germans, satisfying rightful Hungarian claims was not important, Italians needed us, if only to decrease German influence in East-Central Europe. Germany's primary goal was to acquire Romanian oil and Czech industry. The roadblock on this path was Hungary. Naturally, they had to have some regard for Hungarian interests. That way, they were forced, willy-nilly, to support, to a certain extent, Hungarian interests.

According to the Munich Pact, concluded by Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, Czechoslovakia was to settle its dispute over territories with both Poland and Hungary. Hungarian-Czechoslovak negotiations took place between 9 and 13 October, 1938, in Komarno. (Kálmán Kánya, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Pál Teleki, Minister of Education, acted on behalf of Hungary.)

After unsuccessful negotiations and for lack of an agreement, the two countries asked (on October 29, 1938) the Great Powers which had signed the Munich Pact to act as arbiters. Since Great Britain and France had removed themselves, under the pretext of disinterest, from making the decision, the arbiters were Joachim von Ribbentrop and Galeazzo Ciano, the German and Italian ministers of foreign affairs, respectively. The

English and French absence was a warning for us that, in the arrangements after the war, the German-Italian decisions would not be taken into account.

According to the decision by the German and Italian ministers of foreign affairs, Hungary received back the territories inhabited by mainly Hungarians, except Pozsony (Bratislava), the former Hungarian capital and coronation city.

The same was repeated in the summer of 1940 at the Hungarian-Romanian negotiations. At the request of the Romanians, again the Germans and Italians were requested to arbitrate over the territorial debates.

The recovery of Sub-Carpathia only succeeded by a military action because the Germans, on the one hand, did not want to violate the interests of their puppet state of Slovakia and, on the other hand, a common Polish-Hungarian border was not their own interest. However, the spread of Ukrainian nationalist movement might have been of importance, too, in what none of the countries had any interest.

That is how it came about that no significant German obstacle thwarted the way of the Hungarian Army. The military action succeeded. Within a few days, Hungarian and Polish troops greeted each other with an ancient friendship, deeply rooted in history, at the traditional millennial border.

The Germans could only realize their plans with regard to Yugoslavia by violating the territorial integrity of Hungary. They put pressure on our government, which resulted in the suicide (perhaps, the murder) of Count Pál Teleki, the Prime Minister. German troops streamed to the Balkans, through Hungary and other routes. Nevertheless, Hungarian troops did not attack until, through the declaration of Croatia as an independent country, Yugoslavia was no more. Then Hungarian troops also started to recapture Bácska (Voivodina). The Germans did not permit to recapture Bánát, the other former Hungarian territory.

These lands, inhabited from a long time ago by Hungarians, all have been lost through another dictated peace treaty in 1946. What is more, the state of Czechoslovakia demanded, and has been granted additionally, some villages on the southern side of the Danube River, across from Bratislava, as a convenient bridgehead, should it become necessary.

Trans. By Dr. Csaba Horváth

THE FIRST VIENNA AWARD

A summary of the Czechoslovak Hungarian border dispute of 1938

The roots of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border dispute of 1938 reach back to the Paris Peace Settlements following World War I. The Treaty of Trianon reduced Hungary proper to less than one third of her former territory and about two-fifths of her population. Large numbers of Magyars were attached to the newly created “Successor States”, without consulting the population of the territories transferred. Hungary maintained from the beginning the position that she would seek to change the terms of the Treaty by all available peaceful means as it was not a negotiated, but an “imposed” treaty, and as such, it was unjust. Her main hope was the League of Nations, a new organization which was thought to be capable of correcting all the mistakes committed by the peacemakers. Instead, the League became an instrument of the victorious powers to preserve the status quo. Consequently, Hungary began to orient her foreign policy toward the anti-status quo Powers; first toward Italy, who was openly sponsoring the Hungarian revisionist case, and after the annexation of Austria, toward her new neighbor, Germany. In 1938 Hungary definitely abandoned the idea of seeking peaceful revision through the procedure envisaged by Article XIX of the Covenant. Instead, she joined the policies of Germany and Poland. The aim of the three states was similar: the attainment of a favorable settlement of their minorities’ question with Czechoslovakia.

The opening was provided by the Munich Agreement signed by the Big Four on September 29, 1938, as a result of the changing European distribution of power. The agreement arranged for the cession of the Sudeten areas of Czechoslovakia to Germany. It also called for the settlement of the Polish and Hungarian minority questions through direct negotiations. While Poland achieved her aims within days by presenting an ultimatum to Prague, Hungary entered into direct negotiations. These, however, failed.

Ultimately, at the wish of the two parties the matter was referred to Italo-German arbitration. Foreign Ministers Galeazzo Ciano and Joachim von Ribbentrop arbitrated the dispute, the latter supporting the Slovak, the former the Hungarian case. The arbitral award was based almost exclusively on ethnographic factors and restored to Hungary 12,103 square kilometers (approximately 4,630 square miles) of territory with slightly over one million populations, eighty percent Magyars.

Thus, the number of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia diminished to 66,000. At the same time, the ratio of Hungary's non-Magyar population had increased from 7.2 per cent to approximately 9 per cent.

Conforming to plans worked out by a Czechoslovak-Hungarian commission of military experts, the ceded area was occupied by Hungary between the 5th and 10th of November as stipulated by the Award. On the latter date, the line of demarcation was fixed by the military commission.

Note:

*Following WW II, the Paris Peace Conference declared in 1947, the Vienna Award "null and void", restoring thereby the **status-quo-ante**.*

The same fate befalls the 2nd Vienna Award, which on August 30, 1940, returned Northern Transylvania from Rumania to Hungary.

RETAKEING SUBCARPATHIA

Shortly after the First Vienna Decision, the part of the Great Plains populated by Hungarians was reattached to Hungary. The re-annexation of Ruthenia was imminent, however, the Great Powers managed to delay it for several months.

Since the well armed Ukrainian Nationalists were gaining strength against the unarmed Autonomists, there was a danger of the Soviet Union getting a foothold inside the Carpathian Basin.

It was against the interest of Europe, Poland and Hungary. Initially the German government did not want a common border between the Hungarians and the Poles and for a while sided with the Ukrainians.

During the process of the disintegration of Czechoslovakia an autonomous government of Subcarpathia was formed on October 9, 1939 under the leadership of András Bródy as Prime Minister; Pater Volosin became Minister of Public Health. Later Volosin took power on behalf of the minority Ukrainian party on the day after Bródy's arrest. He removed the representatives of the Ruthenian movement, banned the Ruthenian and Hungarian language newspapers, and barred the opposition political parties and societies.

On February 12, 1939, they organized 'elections' where the people were allowed to vote only for the nominees of the Ukrainian parties. In the style of later Soviet farcical elections, ignoring the 'No' ballots, Volosin's nominees garnered more than 90% of the votes. Under this pseudo-legitimacy, he summoned the Podkarpatska Centralna Rada (Subcarpathian Central Council) which, in the end, did not assemble as the relationship between Huszt and Prague had deteriorated in the meantime. Volosin wanted to rid himself of the 15,000 Czech public servants who settled in the previous two decades. They, in turn, turned against the government at Huszt with the help of Czech general Prchala, who did not hesitate to resort to force in order to take his office as Minister of the Interior. His agents sent alarmed messages to German Foreign Minister Ribbentrop. As well, Hungary was perturbed by the plans of Berlin's bridgehead. On March 14, 1939, the National Assembly in Bratislava (Pozsony) declared a sovereign Slovak state. The next day, Zakarpatska Ukraine also declared itself an independent state. German strategy had, by this time, changed and looked beyond the Carpathian Mountains. While immediately following the First Vienna Treaty, in November Germany emphatically prevented Hungarian aspirations, now it silently consented that, during the 24 hours between the Slovak and Carpatho-Ukrainian declarations of independence, the Hungarians could also realize their ambitions. At dawn, on March 15, Hungarian forces moved towards the peaks of the Carpathians. Volosin tried, in vain, to secure a German

protectorate. He initiated negotiations with Budapest – also in vain – which he had rejected until now. On March 16, he declared the annexation of Karpatska Ukraine to Romania and on the same day, following the fleeing commander-in-chief of the (Ukrainian backed) Sich (Szics in Hungarian) Guards, who was the first to escape, he also fled to Romania, along with his government.

On March 17, the Hungarian forces reached the historical Polish border along the line of peaks of the Carpathians. The peoples of the Hungarian and Polish states were elated at reestablishing the thousand year old friendly borders

The Central European and Western powers all accepted the occupation. Two Hungarian ambassadors wrote their governments regarding the actions. The Hungarian ambassador to Paris, Khuen-Héderváry, reported the following on March 22, 1939: “French public opinion ... found the preliminary news about our occupation of Carpatho-Russia as natural and received calmly, as the logical conclusion of the dissolution of Czechoslovakia ... I heard from parliamentary sources that the establishment of a common border (Polish-Hungarian – S.B.A.) was sympathetically received here. The press has not voiced disapproval in principle of the re-annexation of Carpatho-Russia.” The Hungarian ambassador to London reported in his telegram on March 28, 1939: “The Hungarian actions in Ruthenian and Slovakian found agreement both in public opinion and in official circles.”

THE SECOND VIENNA AWARD

The return of part of Transylvania to Hungary

August 30, 1940.

During the series of meetings held in Vienna on August 29 and 30, 1940 between the representatives of Germany, Italy, Romania and Hungary regarding the territory to be ceded to Hungary by Romania covered the issues between Romania and Hungary. Based on the authorization of the representatives of Romania and Hungary, the government of the Third Reich and the government of Italy were asked to act as arbitration judges in resolving this matter. At the same time, the representatives of Romania and Hungary stated that their governments deem the decision of the arbitral board to be binding, without delay.

In response, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Foreign Minister of the Third Reich and count Galeazzo Ciano, Foreign Minister of Italy stated that, in the name of, and authorization by, their governments, are ready to carry out the request of the Royal Romanian and Royal Hungarian governments' request. After new dialogue with Mihail Manoilescu, Foreign Minister of the Royal Romanian government, the requested decision was handed down today in the Belvedere Palace and the arbitral decision, with a copy attached to the minutes, was conveyed to the representatives of Romania and Hungary in two copies, one German, one Italian.

The Foreign Minister of the Royal Romanian government and the Foreign Minister of the Royal Hungarian government acknowledged the decision of the arbitral judges, and its addendum, and, on behalf of their respective governments, once more reiterated the declaration that the decision of the arbitration is accepted as the conclusive disposition of the matter and that they obligate themselves, without reservation, to its execution.

Set down in German and Italian, with four original copies in each language.

Signatories: Joachim von Ribbentrop; Galeazzo Ciano

TERRITORY CEDED BY ROUMANIA RETURNED TO HUNGARY

Vienna, August 30, 1940

THE Roumanian and Hungarian Governments have addressed themselves to the Reich Government and to the Italian Government with the request that they should determine by an arbitral award the question at issue between Roumania and Hungary of the territory to be ceded to Hungary. It is officially stated that, on the basis of this request and on the basis of the declaration made by the Roumanian and Hungarian Governments in connection with this request that they would regard such an arbitral award as final and binding, the Reich Minister for Foreign Affairs Ribbentrop, and the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs Count Ciano have, after repeated discussions with the Roumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs Manoilescu and the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs Count Csáky to-day in Vienna, made the following arbitral awards:

1. The frontier traced on the attached map [The map is not reproduced herein.] shall be the final and definitive frontier between Roumania and Hungary. The precise delimitation of the frontier shall be carried out on the spot by a joint Roumanian-Hungarian Commission.
2. The Roumanian territory which is to be ceded to Hungary shall be evacuated by the Roumanian troops within a period of fourteen days and handed over to Hungary in good order. The precise stages of the evacuation and occupation and the manner in which they shall proceed shall be determined forthwith by a Roumanian-Hungarian Commission. The Roumanian and Hungarian Governments shall see to it that the evacuation and occupation take place in a peaceable and orderly manner.
3. All Roumanian subjects who are to-day domiciled in the territory to be ceded to Hungary shall immediately acquire Hungarian citizenship. They are entitled within a period of six months to opt for Roumanian citizenship. Persons availing themselves of this right of option must leave Hungarian territory within a further period of one year and will be accepted by Roumania. They may take their movable property with them. They may furthermore liquidate their immovable property and take the proceeds with them. If it does not prove possible to liquidate the property they shall be compensated by Hungary. Hungary will deal with all matters appertaining to the transfer of optants in a generous and conciliatory manner.
4. Roumanian subjects of Hungarian race who are domiciled in territory which was ceded to Roumania by Hungary in 1919 and which now remains Roumanian have the right to opt for Hungarian nationality within six months. The principles laid

- down in paragraph 3 shall be applicable to persons who make use of this right of option.
5. The Hungarian Government formally undertakes that persons who have acquired Hungarian nationality as a result of this arbitral award but who are of Roumanian race shall be treated in exactly the same manner as other Hungarian subjects. The Roumanian Government gives the same undertaking in respect of Roumanian subjects of Hungarian race who remain in Roumanian territory.
 6. The settlement of other questions arising out of the change of sovereignty shall be achieved by direct negotiations between the Roumanian and Hungarian Governments.
 7. In the event of any difficulties or doubts arising out of the putting into effect of this arbitral award the Roumanian and Hungarian Governments shall enter into direct negotiations. Should they fail to reach agreement in regard to any question, it shall be referred to the Reich Government and the Italian Government for a final decision.

Signatories: Joachim von Ribbentrop; Galeazzo Ciano

THE RETAKING OF THE SOUTHERN TERRITORIES

Under the terms dictated by the 1920 Treaty of Trianon (part of the Treaty of Paris, 1919, dealing with Hungary-*ed.*), the forerunner state to Yugoslavia, Serbia, received – **without a plebiscite** – territories that have, for the previous millennium, formed the southern portion of the Kingdom of Hungary. Thus, the seeds were planted for hostility between South Slavs and Magyars.

Shortly after 1920, the Serbs forced approximately 40,000 Magyars to emigrate from their homes and homeland and, after the regicide of Marseilles (the assassination of the Serbian king by Croatian revolutionaries-*ed.*); a further 5,000 were ‘exported,’ simply dumped over the border of Hungary – without justification or reason.

In response to the tense European political situation, moderate Magyar and Serb leaders tried to unite against German expansionist policies and signed an “Eternal Friendship Treaty” (1940). It, however, soon came to an untimely end.

Although, under tremendous German pressure, Belgrade did join the Axis Pact but, three days later, an armed revolt broke out in Belgrade under general Dusan Simovic, resulting in a *coup d’état* which overthrew the government. This posed a serious setback for Hitler’s plans for Operation Barbarossa, the German attack on the Soviet Union.

The cabinet meeting of the Hungarian government, convened on March 28, gave its assent – yielding to extreme pressure by Hitler (the threat of outright occupation-*ed.*) – for the transit of German forces through Hungarian territory. Hungarian forces, however, were only to move into the area between the Danube and Tisza (Theiss) rivers – **but only in the event that:** the Yugoslav state broke up; the Croatians announced their independence; and the sizable Magyar minority in the region became threatened. The Supreme Military Council, at a meeting on April 1, concurred with the decision of March 28 and the stipulations under which Hungarian forces may engage. Prime Minister Paul Teleki’s pessimistic opinion was confirmed when Barcza, the Hungarian ambassador in London, reported on April 2 that the British government has decided that, if permission for transit was granted, Great Britain would sever diplomatic relations with Hungary and, if armed incursion took place, a state of war would be declared. The passage of German troops through Hungary was, by this time, already in progress. On receiving the report, and realizing the hopelessness of his policy, Teleki was devastated and committed suicide in the early hours of April 3, 1941.

Units of the German army either already stationed in the region (in Bulgaria and Romania) or transported through Austria and Hungary, began their attack Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941.

The marshalling of German forces in Hungary, as well as the use of Hungarian air bases, drew activity by the Yugoslav air force, which carried out air raids on April 7 against Szeged, Pecs and Siklos. On April 10, retired general Sladko Kvaternik announced the creation of an independent Croatia, fulfilling the previous terms of constraint of the Hungarian cabinet and opening the way for military action by Hungarian forces. On April 11, Governor Horthy addressed a proclamation to the nation and the armed forces. He announced the military action on the southern border, justifying it with non-compliance with treaty terms by the Yugoslav government and by its threatening military stance.

Thus began yet another tragedy which was impossible to avoid.

M.Sz.

GUILTY NATION?

A segment of western historians, journalists, politicians and diplomats still, to this day, continue to judge Hungarians based on their own propaganda of the Second World War. They hold that the conservative (right-of-center) elements of the nation are extremists and anti-Semites, and make no secret of their opinion – based on biased and/or malicious information – to the extent where Washington’s (lady) ambassador to Budapest openly supported the neo-Communist party during elections and was first to congratulate them at their unexpected victory.

The time has come to dispel certain unfounded myths and put Hungary’s tragic role in World War II into a European context. Hungary’s constrained situation can be fairly evaluated only when compared to other countries, both European and world wide.

During the decades of Communist rule, Hungarian history was simply excised from European consciousness. Browsing through history texts of the period, one must come to the conclusion that Hungary must exist on an island in the middle of a dried out sea on Mars. If we were thought of in Europe at all, or mentioned, it was to our detriment as everyone seemed to be superior, better looking and more honest than us. At least, according to them. Unfortunately, the majority of foreign historians still cling to these views.

Let us then try to examine, what really is the truth?

We never waged war against the Western Powers. Even after the Hungarian government declared a ”state of war” with the US, President Roosevelt understanding our situation, never really took it seriously enough to reciprocate. Only after some hard prodding by “Uncle Joe” did he finally declared war on Hungary. Although the US Air Force frequently flew over Western Hungary, never bombed Hungarian soil until after Hitler decided to occupy Hungary and install a Quisling government.

We had an understanding with the British and US governments that if the Western forces reach our borders, we either lay down our arms, or join them against the Nazis.

Teheran and Yalta changed everything. As opposed to the Romanian and Bulgarian situation, Hitler never trusted us and kept Hungary under strict military control. When regent Horthy decided to quit the war, the Germans instantly withdraw some divisions

from the front, swiftly moved them to Hungary to squelch any attempt to lay down our arms to the Soviets.

Of the countries of Europe occupied by the Germans during WWII, all – **without exception** – cooperated with them. Collaborating politicians were labeled as “quislings”, after the prime minister of Norway (Vidkun Quisling), who voluntarily served the Reich. The spy networks of the Gestapo worked faultlessly, from Athens to Narvik; Jews were handed over to the Germans with great enthusiasm by every country.

Anti-Semitism was not a Hungarian invention. It is difficult to believe but President Roosevelt was no great admirer of them either. The noted American historian-writer, Joseph E. Persico, writes several heretofore unknown facts in his book ‘Roosevelt’s Secret War’ (Random House, New York, 2002, ISBN 0-375-76126-8). Among them:

1. Page 218: In May of 1939, the Hamburg-America Line ship, St. Louis, carrying 930 Jewish refugees, was denied permission to dock and discharge its passengers in any American port, as well as in Canada and Cuba. The telegram sent to President Roosevelt was not answered. In the end, the ship had to return to Europe where many of its passengers perished in the Holocaust.
2. Page 218: FDR suggested to Morgenthau the possibility of settling the Jews in Cameroon. “The country has excellent flat highlands and grass(!). The entire country has been explored and surveyed (ready for settlement).”
3. Page 219-220: After the conclusion of the North African campaign, he made the following statement in Rabat to the French commanding general: In the professions (lawyers, doctors), the numbers of the practicing Jews should be restricted to their relative percentage of the population. This plan would circumvent the ‘German problem’, where Jews make up only a few percent of the population yet half of the doctors, lawyers and professors are Jewish ... Said Roosevelt.

These are incredible – but true – facts; not a comfortable fit into the image we created of the western world. Compared to them, Hungary’s *numerus clausus* and the II. Jewish law seems like mere pocket change.

In the book, the president and others deride the infamous Morgenthau Plan, as well. The President was quoted as saying: “Publishing this plan was equal to the strength of 10 new German divisions.” At the same time, he refused to recognize that the principle of ‘unconditional surrender, as announced in Casablanca, needlessly extended the length of the war, causing the deaths of millions – among them Jews, British, American and Canadian troops – and immeasurable amounts of material damages.

Commenting on it, General Eisenhower said, “If forced to choose between the gallows and charging 20 bayonets, the bayonets are preferable.” [Meaning that a fight to the bitter end is preferable to giving up to a certain fate-*ed*.] This I only mention to try and explain the dilemma faced by the leadership of Hungary. At the time – to quote an

American saying – Hungary had to make a choice between two evils. Still, it is faint excuse for the horrors of National Socialism and the Iron Cross Party.

Now, let us examine some of the glorious actions of the neighboring “victorious” countries.

Slovakia

The country, under the leadership of Father Tiso, accepted the German ideology with enthusiastic servility and placed Slovakia under the protection of the Third Reich. They allowed complete Wehrmacht access to the rail and road systems during the attack on Poland. (This was denied by Hungary, to Hitler’s apoplectic rage.) Slovakia, in tandem with Germany, attacked the Soviet Union only a few days later.

Romania

The collection and annihilation of Jews was begun by the Iron Guard and continued by the Romanian army. It has been documented that between 250,000 and 400,000 were killed - in horrific circumstances. All this without the least German urging or assistance. (The Germans only got involved in the Romanian ‘Jewish question’ toward the end.) This was vehemently and consistently denied until 2004 when, under pressure from Jewish organizations, they finally admitted their guilt and the head of state asked for forgiveness from world Jewry. This voluntary ethnic cleansing was recounted by Matatias Carp in his book, ‘The Romanian Holocaust’, which has been translated into English. Also dealing with the same topic, the writing of American professor Randolph Brahm, and many others.

Romania attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, in concert with Nazi Germany. However, when Romania was unequivocally told during secret peace negotiations that she must seek terms from the Soviet Union, the country suddenly switched sides in July of 1944. As a reward, they received the northern half of Transylvania, too.

The members of the Maniu Guard, flooding in behind the Red Army, carried out a bloodbath among the Magyar minority population. It was too much even for the commanders of the Red Army who banished Romanian government from Transylvania for several months, setting up, instead, a Romanian-Magyar government under Soviet military control. (Between 1942-1944, Britain and the United States supported the creation on an independent Transylvania.)

Serbia

Tito’s partisans: Let us stop here for a moment and examine how and why Communists make use of this totally inhumane form of war.

After regaining possession in 1941 of Bacska [a southern county of Hungary, awarded to Yugoslavia in 1920 at Trianon-*ed.*], the local Serbs, the imported (in contravention of the terms of the peace treaty of Trianon) settlers, the Titoist partisans and the royalist Chetnics began an orgy of killing.

According to old legal precepts, complete responsibility lies with the instigator for such acts. But no one demands culpability from the winner, only from the loser.

Since the Ukraine [during WWII-*ed.*] and the Vietnam War, we know firsthand how guerilla wars are organized and run, where the terrain offers good opportunities for concealment. The organization of the partisans is begun by several well trained soldiers, tough locals disposed to killing and brutality. They slip into a village under the cover of night, awaken a few chosen men and announce to them that, as of now, they are members of the partisan army; that they had better execute any order without hesitation, else they will be shot for failing to execute an order. Very few will resist this 'draft notice'; those that do are shot, there and then, in front of their families. Word of this, of course, gets around and the next 'draftees' are now too frightened to offer resistance. 'Patriots' recruited in this manner go about their regular work during the day; at night, they unearth their weapons and tend their second line of work, even if with no great enthusiasm.

Firstly, those are called to account that have official contact, or are 'collaborating', with the occupiers: judges, clerks, mailmen, teachers, etc., followed by gendarmes, policemen and soldiers. As an opening, one policeman is killed one night, his body - on orders - mutilated, disfigured and dishonored, to cause the greatest possible anger and reaction among the victim's friends and comrades.

In response, the officer / official responsible for public order begins an investigation. His enraged men begin a 'thorough' investigation to avenge their comrade's death. Someone, of course, confesses as a result of the interrogation and torture, or accuses someone else of having committed the crime. In the best case, they are handed over to the investigators; in the worst case, they are 'shot while escaping' or 'hung himself in his cell.'

The partisans now raise the stakes. In 'retaliation,' an entire squad of gendarmes is massacred, with the help of the local 'volunteers.' From this point, all hell breaks loose - an avalanche no one is able to stop. In those mixed settlements, where people have lived in relative peace for centuries, hate and antagonism now rule. In one stroke, no one trusts their neighbor.

With the mounting number of victims, fear, anger and reprisal fuel every member of the security forces. During the official 'pacification' process, fury and revenge come to the surface and indiscriminate killing begins. This is what happened in Újvidék /now Novi Sad/, too. Thus, the partisan action has reached its political goal. In a few short days, the entire world was told of the atrocities committed by the Hungarian armed forces, during which approximately 3,200 people (Serbs, Jews, Magyars and Commu-

nists) were killed. Naturally enough, the provocations that sparked the atrocity were not mentioned.

Militarily, guerilla warfare only causes minor inconvenience in densely populated, flat terrain. A well organized sabotage action against factories, power stations, bridges and transportation hubs is more effective and claims fewer victims. But the goal is primarily non-military. Tito's partisans excelled in retreating from, or avoiding, German forces; in open terrain, fighting classical infantry engagements, they not worth much.

After the war was over, though, the partisans came on the heels of the Soviet army. They threw themselves on the unarmed and, feeling safe in their sense of innocence, abandoned Magyars, Croats, recently transplanted Changos, Rusyns, Germans and Chetnics of general Mihailovich. Indiscriminate slaughter began - true to their national character and Communist principles. According to several similar sources (Tibor Cseres: Bloody revenge in Bacska; Szilveszter Matuska: Retribution, etc.), approximately 40,000 Magyars were murdered, amid indescribable circumstances.

These victims were rehabilitated in April of 2006 by the Serbian government and compensation was promised for the living successors. *Nota bene*: The memorials and crosses raised to the memory of the victims are regularly disfigured by the Serbs, knocked over and broken. At the same time, a memorial was raised near the bridge of Újvidék / Novi Sad to the victims of the Hungarian atrocity, which is shown to every foreigner. Their own act of genocide, greater by a magnitude of ten, is conveniently forgotten.

Although, the situation in Vietnam was, in many respects, different, the organization and recruitment of guerillas functioned in the same manner. The terrain was excellent to organize ambushes, furnish hiding places and the homogeneous, foreigner hating population ensured a high degree of effectiveness. The commanders of the Viet Cong knew that they could not wage a classic war, hence, deciding to carry out partisan acts against the Americans. They made use of Mao's principles and experiences in terror. The poor peasant, whose major wish was peace and tending his fields, had no real choice. Either the guerillas killed him for not fighting or the Americans, if he did. The majority of the 58,000 American casualties were killed by peasant guerillas who neither wished to fight, nor die.

The true war criminals were not the Magyar Sgt. Kovacs of Újvidék / Novi Sad or the American Lt. Calley of Mi Lai. There are no excuses for their horrific actions, only explanations. Yet, we must not forget the terrible ordeal they had to endure: the instant, futile death lurking behind every hut and bush, which, perhaps came as salvation; the daily maiming and injury, perhaps at the hand of a Vietnamese girl who was forced into this terrible position by the guerillas.

According to international law, war is a pointless horror. A guerilla war is the hell of hells. Who bear responsibility for it? They who made a cult of it: Stalin, Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Tito and their partners-in-crime, who forced this horror on humanity 'with malice aforethought.'

Czechs

In spite of the fact that the Czech armed forces were equipped with more, and more modern, weapons than the Germans, they surrendered to the Germans without firing one shot. They weathered the entire war – compared to the other combatant countries – without significant losses. They supplied the Nazi military machine with armaments and ammunition, reliably and without protest. Czech factories poured forth tens of thousands of trucks, armored cars, cannons and artillery pieces, and millions of rounds of ammunition for the Wermacht.

When the Red Army arrived, they were greeted as brothers – the only such reaction in Europe – and, under their protection, began the massacre and expulsion of the German minority. **They did an extremely thorough job.** Anyone interested in the magnitude and cruelty of the supposedly ‘cultured’ Czechs in this matter can easily find data over the Internet on Sudeten German organizations’ home pages.

But they did not only kill and expel their Germans, they also did the same to their Magyar minority. It is unfortunate that, even to this day, the only atrocities documented are the 90 teenage Transylvanian Magyar cadets massacred in the ditches outside Pozsonyigetfalu /now Petržalka/ and the killing of the German and Magyar males of the town of Dobsina. The suspected extermination of several thousand Magyar men still awaits investigation. It is also instructional to read tsarist general Konstantin Sakharov’s WWI book regarding the Siberian activities of the Czech Legion. Apart from appropriating a good portion of the gold reserves of the Russian state treasury, stealing everything movable of value they came across, they also had a fondness for murdering Magyars.

The portion of the infamous Benes decrees of Kassa /now Kosice/ laws, on which the collective guilt – rejected by international law – of the Magyar and German minorities were based, still form a part of the constitutions of Slovakia and the Czech Republic. The European Union conveniently overlooked this “minor detail” when these two countries were accepted for membership.

What, then, did the Hungarians do to deserve the title: GUILTY NATION? Yet, this is the tag most fondly used by both local and foreign politicians and historians, newsmen.

Hungary’s entry into the war against the Soviet Union had several reasons. A few are:

1. The Romanians and Slovaks joined Germany in the first days of the attack. In light of that, Hungarian leadership did not wish to risk the possibility of being excluded from the potential victory or suffer negative consequences for not having taken a side.
2. Hitler made it known to general Antonescu, the Romanian dictator, that whoever made the greatest effort in the Russian war would receive the other half of Transylvania.
3. Hitler had ready plans for the occupation of Hungary (initially using Slovak and Romanian troops), if it did not take part in the campaign. This would have taken

place in the fall of 1941 when it became obvious that the Red Army could not be annihilated.

4. At the time, it was unclear who would win the war. In 1940-41, England stood alone against Germany. Popular sentiment in the United States showed no inclination to intervene until after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941).
5. Regent Horthy's advisors, operating under fear of German occupation, recommended taking part – but with minimal strength, which could also potentially save the lives of the Hungarian Jews. Remember that Regent Horthy was not indicted to face the Nurnberg tribunal and lived out his life in exile, in Estoril, Portugal, financed through a foundation by Ferenc Chorin, Maurice Kornfeld and associates.
6. The Hungarian people had ample experience, what to expect from the Red Army. There were very few families, who did not have a son, father, brother, friend with the Army in the Soviet Union. They were aware, what to expect. Unfortunately, they were right...

What was not taken into consideration later?

1. Close to 200,000 Polish refugees were accepted and their travel to other destinations made possible so that they were able to join the ranks of the British organized Anders army and fight against Germany. Those who elected to stay were able to do so. The sole Polish middle school [outside Poland-*ed.*] at the time operated in Balatonboglár.
2. Thousands of French, Italian(!) and Jewish refugees were accepted and protected up until the German occupation (March 19, 1944) and even later, too, most often with the tacit agreement of the authorities.
3. Hungarian anti-aircraft and air force units did not take action against British and American warplanes crossing its air space until the day of the bombing of Hungary (April 3, 1944).
4. Captured British and American air crews were not handed over to Germany but were housed in castles in western Hungary, making their escapes possible.
5. The tortured path for the Jews of Hungary began after the German occupation of the country on March 19, 1944. However, when the bulk of the German army withdrew, Regent Horthy stopped the deportations.
6. Adolf Eichman, the executor of the 'Final Solution', said at his trial in Israel that, in all of occupied Europe, only Hungary and Horthy dared to expel him from the country.
7. Why did we not unilaterally withdraw from the war? Among other facts mentioned earlier, a recently declassified memo from the British Foreign Office may offer a clue. An apparently highly placed official, Mr. Randal reported:

“1943, October 14

At the request of the Jewish Agency, Professor Namier asked that we not force the Hungarian government to abandon hostilities too soon as it could lead to occupation by Germany. And that could lead to the extermination of 800,000 Jews, who currently live in Hungary in relative safety.

Mr. Randal mentioned that this could be a reason why the Hungarian government has made no overture to the Allies.

Dr. Namier expressed hope that the Hungarian government will not make a move while the Germans could retaliate [to an attempted truce].

Reg: 012035/385/210”

I ask you, then, who were the truly guilty ones?

(Translated by Peter Csermely)

John Flourney Montgomery

US ENVOY TO HUNGARY

Chapter from: "Hungary the unwilling satellite" book

A REFUGE FOR ONE MILLION JEWS

Up to March 1944, Hungary was the only European country east of the Pyrenees where the lives of Jews could be considered as secure. Besides the Hungarian Jews then numbering almost one million, sixty to seventy thousand Jewish refugees from foreign countries had fled to Hungary and lived there in safety until Hitler's armies occupied the country and ordered their systematic extermination. Hitler's wrath against Hungary had been largely provoked by the protection granted to the Jews, a large percentage of whom survived the Nazi period in Hungary; for by the time the German armies actually took over, Hitler was near the end of his tether.

The safety of the Jews in Hungary was largely due to the type of restrictive laws passed. Through them Hungary seemed to be falling in line with the demands of the tyrant; but was able to maintain an oasis of refuge. Had she refused to pass any such laws, no doubt the period of real security for the Jews would have ended much more abruptly than it did.

The first Hungarian Jewish restriction law was in reality a challenge to Hitler. When it was announced, I went to see Philip Weiss, a member of the Upper House and president of the Commercial Bank of Pest, Hungary's biggest financial institution, which controlled much of the country's industry and agriculture and indirectly the treasury. Philip Weiss was a good banker, conservative, cautious, vigilant, and his bank had survived the great crisis of the early thirties with an untarnished reputation. I wanted to hear the authoritative opinion of one who had always referred to himself as a Jew.

"Well", he said, "I thought I was a Jew, but now it seems I am a Christian." The law provided that anyone who had been baptized before a certain date was not to be considered a Jew. This stipulation was indirect opposition to Hitler's Nuremberg laws which made Jews of Christians, if they had certain Jewish ancestors.

Hungary's solution of the problem is only a small part of the story in central European countries. To understand what happened, we have to remember that anti-Jewish measures were one of the cardinal ingredients of the German foreign policy under Hitler. Compliance in this matter was the touchstone of friendliness toward Germany – and tyrants insist on being loved. Love of deity always has to be expressed by the observation of ceremonial and ritual; foremost of the religious rites prescribed by the national socialists was Jew baiting. By refusing it, one was unmasked as a heretic; and heretics have to burn. I do not know whether Hitler really believed in Jews being ver-

min. Perhaps he was a cynic also in this respect, but it did not change the fact that he exacted anti- Semitism as proof of allegiance and affection. There was no reason whatsoever why Jews should have been more hostile to National Socialism than non- Jews. They had often played leading parts in European socialist movements; but by outlawing them Hitler made Jews his enemies. This enabled him to accuse other governments which did not outlaw them of tolerating anti- German tendencies in their countries. Thus he used anti- Semitism as a lever of intervention and aggression.

The reaction of governments who had reason to fear him can easily be imagined. They had to face a whole set of German demands, among them the call for anti- Jewish measures. This request – or to put it more truthfully, this order – was often linked with measures, fulfillment of which would violate vital interests. If you imagine yourself approached in the darkness of night by a husky robber who at pistol point informs you that he wants your money or your life, you will understand the position of small countries like Hungary. You know that if you refuse to give up your possessions, you may lose both your money and your life, and you do not have much time to decide the matter. Germany had a way of making a number of demands, most of which she apparently did not expect to be granted, but she never forgot them and it became more embarrassing to refuse as time went on. So these small nations, finding that Germany was set on anti- Jewish measures, felt that it was better to yield on that point than to endanger the whole nation. This explains, though it certainly does not justify, Mussolini's transition from freely expressed philo- Semitism to anti- Jewish laws. It explains, again without justification, the anti- Jewish measures of the Vichy regime which created a rift between Marshal Pétain and the Church. These are but two examples of a long series. If we compare the degrees of Jew- baiting as practiced in the countries which were under German pressure, we obtain a scale showing, first, the varying length of that pressure and, second, and the varying moral strength of the resistance. It is a fact confirmed by Jewish refugees from central Europe that, despite Mussolini's anti- Jewish laws, they were infinitely better treated in Italy than in "liberal" France. Not many Italian Jews left their country; those who did were driven by fear of the Germans, not of their own government, and certainly not of their non- Jewish compatriots. The small Austrian republic resisted admirably, because both Dollfuss and Schuschnigg were faithful sons of the Catholic Church. Most submissive to German demands were, as in every other respect, Czechs and Slovaks. Even under Dr. Benes, one year before Hitler marched into Prague, Austrian Jews were turned back by Czech constables and handed over to the Gestapo – among them Robert Danneberg, the moderate leader of the Viennese socialists, who died after four years of agony in concentration camps. When Hitler occupied the Sudetenland six months later, fleeing Jews were again driven back by Dr. Benes' police; in 1939, the new regime under President Hachaas well as the Tiso government of Slovakia introduced and applied the Nuremberg laws lock, stock and barrel.

The plight of Jews in Rumania was even worse, but of that I shall speak later. Switzerland, the foreign nation for which I have the greatest respect and admiration, had to be cautious, acting on the theory that “we have to play anti- Semite in order not to be obliged to be anti- Semite.” Not many Jews found a haven there, and those who did were ousted as quickly as possible.

The real exception was Hungary. Discussing Jew baiting, Admiral Horthy once gave me the key to his attitude. “As a boy,” he said, “I have received a good education. I shall not forget it.” Jews to him were human beings as they had been to his idol, the Emperor- King Franz Josef under whom children of Jewish parents had been members of the general staff, generals and admirals. The Regent’s opposition to anti- Semitism was strongly backed by the Hungarian prince- primate, Cardinal Seredi and by both churches. In parliament the Regent’s views on this matter were vigorously voiced by leading aristocrats who in their exclusive club, the National Casino, liked to chant a song of which the refrain was “No, we are not Aryans, we are not Aryans, no!” This referred to the Magyars ‘Turanian descent.

Anti- Semitism would have been good politics for anyone looking for cheap popularity. Anti- Jewish feelings were but slumbering. They had been very much awake in the early twenties, for two reasons. First, the general misery after the war had made people look for scapegoats, and in the Old World Jews have been the traditional scapegoats. Second, the communist interlude of 1919 was chiefly the work of Jews, according to Professor Jaszi, a leftist writer, who stated that Jewry had supplied ninety- five percent of the active figures of the revolution. I do not mean this to be construed as indicating that more Jews in Hungary favored communism than Gentiles. I have no way of knowing anything about it, since communism at the time I was there was underground.

It is obvious, and proved by history, that conservative regimes offer Jews the best opportunities, and of this Hungary was an outstanding example. Conservative Magyars were, as a rule, loyal to the Christian faith, and all churches in Hungary condemned anti- Semitism. Conservatives, especially people of title, are generally immune to racial nationalism. Kings and other aristocrats have an old tradition of tolerance toward Jewry Ballin, the great Hamburg ship-owner, who committed suicide because William II lost his throne, was a Jew whom the Emperor had treated as a friend. In old Austria- Hungary, anti- Semitic journalists had to be careful to avoid prosecution for insulting a religious community. Altogether, Jews had to be vitally interested in social and political stability because only in a well- established order did they have a safe position. Every disorder was certain to rebound upon them.

In Hungary every citizen had to pay tithes to some church, and the government made no distinction between Jews and Gentiles. The Hungary of my day was in religious and racial matters much more liberal than any other country with which I am familiar. People were very tolerant about religion, and I seldom knew to which church anybody belonged. It is also a curious fact that the men who occupied the highest posi-

tions in Hungary were very often Protestants, despite the fact that the country was two-thirds Catholic. Regent Horthy was a Protestant, as were Count Bethlen, Premier Gombos and Daranyi. Although I was a very close friend of de Kanya I don't remember what his religion was, but I think he was a Protestant. As I think back, it would be difficult to say to which church most of my friends belonged.

Shortly after I arrived in Hungary, I attended a mass in the Coronation Church in honor of St. Stephen with the rest of the diplomatic corps. We sat on one side up near the altar. On the other side were dignitaries of the Hungarian government. And in front near the altar was a chair reserved for the Regent. Being a Protestant, I thought that I had better watch the Regent so I would know the right thing to do. I watched him a while and I saw he did nothing. Then it occurred to me that he must be a Protestant, so I concentrated on the prime minister, who did nothing either. So I decided to do nothing – and nobody paid any attention.

A special trait in the Hungarian character worked in favor of the Jews. I have already mentioned that to a Hungarian the only function of money is to be spent. The male members of the upper classes were seldom interested in business, even though they badly needed money. Most of them considered that money-making was really undignified. This created a general atmosphere similar to that of medieval times when rulers turned their business affairs over to Jews. A Magyar gentleman with empty pockets did not consider himself inferior to the richest Jewish merchant. "The poor devil," he thought, "has no greater pleasure than business." He did not begrudge him this pleasure. As a result, Jewry wielded immense influence as a necessary element of the Hungarian community. Von Erdmannsdorf, the German minister, understood perfectly when, commenting on the anti-Jewish laws, he said that Hungary was unable to act toward Jews as Germany did because there was no one to take their place. But at the same time that he was telling me this privately, Hitler was compelling him to put pressure on the government to do what he told me could not be done. It can easily be seen that this situation offered excellent opportunities to anti-Semitic demagogues. Financed by Germany, they appeared here and there. Recalling the cruelty of the communist regime of Béla Kun they pointed out that there were too many Jews in Hungary; indeed about one-tenth of the population was Jewish.

Under the circumstances, it was heroic on the part of the regime to permit a strong influx of foreign Jews, chiefly Polish, Slovakian and Austrian. It would have been sufficient proof of courage if the government, defying German pressure, had protected its own Jews, at the same time keeping the borders closed. Hungary did more than she was morally obliged to do, by offering shelter to foreign Jews in addition to her own. She was not allowed to remain an oasis of compassion in a desert of oppression. But even when she yielded, Hungary did so more slowly and with more dignity than her neighbors.

Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick wrote in the *New York Times* of July 15, 1944: It must count in the score of Hungary that until the Germans took control it was the last

refuge in Central Europe for the Jews able to escape from Germany, Austria, Poland and Rumania. Now these hapless people are exposed to the same ruthless policy of deportation and extermination that was carried out in Poland But as long as they exercised any authority in their own house, the Hungarians tried to protect the Jews.

This was acknowledged by an American leftist, Mr. Jonathan Stout, who, in March 1944, wrote in the *New Leader*: The clamping of the Nazi vise on Hungary is a greater tragedy than the American people realize. The fact is that Hungary for many months has willingly provided the route by which untold hundreds of Jewish and other refugees of the Nazi terror have been rescued.

These facts must be kept on record. I am pleased to say that the American Jewish Year Book observed through these perilous times a fair and level headed attitude toward Hungary. The Year Book reported truthfully that Hungarian concessions to Germany's anti- Jewish demands were meant to take the wind out of the Nazi sails. To do this is always risky because concessions are apt to entail further concessions, but Hungary was always playing for time. She did what a tree does in a storm – it bends in order to survive unbroken. For instance, when banks were ordered to reduce the proportion of Jewish employees to a certain percentage within five years, the unspoken idea was that in five years the storm would have subsided. Furthermore, all restrictions were strongly interlarded with exemptions. This was chiefly done in parliament, where Horthy's aristocratic friends and the prelates instructed by the Cardinal made their weight felt. I have mentioned that the aristocrats, despite their economic and political status, set the fashion as leaders of society and were copied by the middle classes. If national socialist demagogues were successful with the mob, more representative people remained decent. General Count Joseph Takach- Tolvay, one of those "detestable feudal lords," resigned as chairman of the Veterans Association when, after the German occupation of March 1944, the puppet government excluded Jews from his organization. Count Stephen Bethlen, another "feudal lord," retired from political life long before the German invasion, protesting against the anti- Jewish laws, comparatively mild as they were. When Hitler offered a larger slice of Transylvania as a bribe, Count Paul Teleki refused to secure it by anti- Jewish concessions. "It was really surprising," wrote the American Jewish Year Book, "to note his resistance at this point, certainly a minor issue for Hungary after all the fundamental sacrifices extorted from her." Before Hitler took matters into his own hands, the situation of the Jews as described by the Year Book was that considerable numbers of those who lost their original occupations found some devious but tolerated ways to earn at least some irregular income. The Jewish community was permitted to organize large- scale self- help. It was able to do so because, with the exception of land, no Jewish property right was violated until the fateful spring of 1944. Jews dwelt safely in their original homes; there were no restrictions on their liberty of movement, travel or recreation, and no discrimination against them in the distribution of food. They were protected also from the malignity of the local Nazi groups.

Shortly before the German invasion, when Hitler's military fortunes had begun to wane, there was loud agitation for abrogation of the restriction laws, led by Andrew Bajcsy- Zsilinsky, member of the Smallholders Party in parliament. The Year Book states that: "One of the official German pretexts for the occupation was "the unrestricted presence of some one million Jews as a concrete menace to the safety of German arms on the Balkan peninsula." So strong was the solidarity of the non- Jewish Magyars with their Jewish compatriots, that not even the puppet regime which the Germans set up in 1944 dared to follow openly the German method of deportation and extermination. When the German Gestapo took it upon itself to start the deportation of Jews, "tens of thousands of Christian Hungarians", according to the Year Book, are known to have rushed to the aid of Jews in distress, trying to shield and hide them, to take over their homes and valuables for safekeeping, and to help them in their futile attempts to escape. Both Catholic and Protestant clergymen issued thousands of spurious birth certificates, in the vain hope of saving their bearers from persecution. Young Christian girls have frequently been seen parading the streets of cities and towns arm in arm with young Jews wearing the Star of David.

It seems that not all that help was in vain. On November 26, 1945, Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick reported from Budapest: The Jews did not suffer so much as Jews in neighboring countries because the worst persecution did not begin until the Nazis gained full control in 1944. Jewish firms were 'Aryanized' before that, but many who took over were friends of the dispossessed and held their property in trust. Only a small minority of Hungarian Jews are Zionists. The majority are loyal Hungarians who desire to remain in their country and help reconstruct it. It is estimated that about 60 per cent are back.

In connection with the position of Jews in Hungary, Dr. Béla Imredy, minister of finance at the time I went to Hungary, is an interesting psychological case. He had risen to his important position through his own ability. During the time I was there he left the finance ministry to become president of the National Bank, with which he had formerly been connected. He was known to be very pro- English, and was highly thought of by both English and American bankers, as well as by the economic section of the League of Nations. Just why I do not know, but he acquired a reputation which induced many people to believe that he would make an ideal premier. As a banker he was close to the influential leaders of the Jewish community and he therefore seemed a perfectly safe person to entrust with the task of stealing German thunder and placating the Nazis by mock persecution of the Jews, which would allow them to survive with minor scratches.

In March 1938, he was made cabinet minister without portfolio so that he could devise his Jewish bill. It was introduced in April by Premier Daranyi and generally fixed the *numerus clausus* at twenty percent for Jewish employment, giving business five to ten years to adapt themselves to it. People who had been baptized before 1919

and all those who had been in the armed forces during the First World War were not considered Jews. Daranyi declared that this was the limit of anti- Jewish measures that he was willing to advocate.

About a week before Imredy was made prime minister, in May 1938, he came in to see me in connection with the New York World's Fair. On all sides, everybody was talking about Imredy for the premiership, so I mentioned it to him. He seemed a little modest about it, but he told me his theories of combating Nazi penetration. They sounded dangerous to me. He believed it was much better to forestall the Nazis by passing the anti- Jewish law he had devised than to wait and be forced to pass much more severe laws. I did not believe it could be done, but he was sure that he could handle the situation and satisfy everybody without doing any real harm.

A rather colorless civil servant, the then Prime Minister Daranyi had also proved very weak. Everybody felt that the country needed a strong man in view of the occupation of Austria which had brought the German army to the border. Imredy seemed to be the answer to Hungary's prayer. I never knew, anything to cause so much satisfaction all around as when he became Daranyi's successor.

Imredy began to be quite a big man, and his success went to his head. In December 1938 he introduced a new Jewish restriction bill. It went far beyond the first one, which had been in effect only three months. It reduced the *numerus clausus* from twenty percent to six. It excluded Jews from many professions, but above all, it adopted the criterion of race by declaring that a Christian was a Jew if his parents had been Jewish. Grandparents were still neglected. Jews, the bill provided, should keep the franchise, but only be allowed to elect a special Jewish representation.

When I heard about this bill, I got in touch with Imredy and asked him if he would let me see it before it was made public. He agreed to this and I went up one morning by appointment for that purpose. The only other person present was Richard Quandt of the National Bank. I did not know why he was there unless it was because he had been associated with Imredy in the bank. He was anything but anti- Jewish and was a very decided anti- Nazi. As Imredy read the bill aloud, Quandt and I looked at each other repeatedly. It was much worse than we had anticipated. I tried to argue with Imredy about it. I said I could not see why, if the Christians were being discriminated against as he claimed, a bill could not be passed to prevent such discrimination and to see that Christians who wanted to work had just as good a chance as did the Jews. I argued that each case should be considered separately instead of by an arbitrary rule which might do incalculable harm to the economy of the country. He would not listen to me, though we had quite an argument about it. That he was more interested in politics than in economics was very plain.

As soon as the bill was made public, opposition supported by the Regent and the churches became so strong that the ministry of justice a few weeks later announced the government was prepared to accept several changes in the restriction bill. One week

later, on February 14, 1939, as I have recounted earlier, it became known through Regent Horthy that one of Imredy's great-grandparents had been the son of a rabbi and a Jew until his seventh year. Although this fact, even under the Nuremberg laws, would not have affected Imredy, he fell as a victim of general laughter, and Count Teleki became his successor.

Imredy soon began breeding mischief and revenge. His hatred against the Regent was intense and he bided his time, his soul now completely sold to Hitler. In October 1940, he thought that, owing to the fall of France and Italy's apparent weakness, German pressure was strong enough to allow for his comeback. He arranged secession from the Government Party and founded the party of Hungarian Renaissance. The new party demanded adjustment of the "obsolete" governmental system to national socialist principles; and the Arrow Cross Party expressed its sympathy. Count Teleki fought back, declaring that a million people could not be deprived of their livelihood. When, in April 1941, Teleki committed suicide, Imredy's hope of using his corpse as a ladder to another premiership was disappointed. Horthy nominated Ladislaus de Bardossy a professional diplomat. In March 1942, he was followed by Nicholas de Kallay, a great personal friend of the Regent, who became a thorn in Hitler's side. Imredy did not get another opportunity before the Germans invaded the country in March 1944, and even then, disgust for the traitor was so general that he failed to form a quisling government, and the Germans chose General Sztojaj, who had been minister in Berlin. Imredy was one of his ministers, but a few months later he was dismissed at Horthy's demand.

Otto von Bismarck 1">Otto von Bismarck once said that everybody is worth the sum of his virtues minus his vanity. In the case of Imredy, despite his ability, the balance was negative. He used the confidence of political and business circles as his stepladder, but having reached the heights, kicked it away, intent on reaching even greater heights, perhaps the regency, by personal schemes which were founded on the expectation of Hitler's unlimited victory. Thus he became not a tragic but a despicable figure. It was very hard for those who had known him through the years to understand what had happened to him. One of his associates in the National Bank said that he could not understand it and as far as he could see, when Imredy walked out of the National Bank to become premier, he lost every bit of reason he ever had. Up to March 1944 Imredy was the only Hungarian premier who had made concessions to Hitler voluntarily, not only concerning Jews, but also in other respects. What weakened Hungary's resistance was that she was constantly being played against the Little Entente. Time and again, Hungarians were told by the Nazis that their neighbors were much friendlier to Germany than they were. This was a little alarming because territorial adjustments were to be made, and Hungarian leaders were always compelled to ask themselves whether by refusing Jew-baiting they did not endanger the fate of Hungarians under alien domination to the advantage of their masters. Of course, the Czechs, Slovaks and Rumanians were being told at the same time just the reverse; thus one was played against the other.

Czechs and Slovaks had introduced the Nuremberg laws before World War II started, but in Rumania the development was even more turbulent. Prime Minister Goga in December 1937, had suppressed Jewish- owned newspapers, excluded Jews from the civil service, and declared that the state would no longer deal with Jewish business. In January 1938, Rumania deprived them of their franchise. Gogas premiership ended after forty- five days, but in the summer of 1940, when Gigurtu, Goering's friend, became prime minister, Gogas decrees were revived. All Jews were dismissed from public services, newspapers and liberal professions; the Nuremberg laws concerning mixed marriages, the employment of non- Jewish servants, and so on, were introduced. A few months later, these examples were followed by Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, although there were but seventy thousand Jews among fifteen million Yugoslavs and only fifty thousand among six million Bulgarians - tiny numbers compared with Hungary's Jews. In November 1940, the Rumanian Iron Guard carried out mass assassinations among opponents and Jews. It was estimated that 2,160 non- Jews and 680 Jews were murdered. The government of General Ion Antonescu threatened penalties "in case of a repetition." In December he decreed that all Jewish- owned shops must be marked as such. In July 1941, when Rumania had declared war on the Soviet, all Jews were forcefully evacuated from the frontier provinces of Rumanian Moldavia. At the same time, the Bulgarians herded their Jews into ghettos. The same thing happened in October to Rumanian Jews, who were driven out from the provinces of Bukovina and Bessarabia where they had been a numerous minority. In August 1942, the Bulgarian Jews were ordered to wear the Star of David and were expelled from the capital.

These facts have to be remembered if one wants to evaluate Hungary's record. It is senseless to compare her with England or Holland or Sweden. She must be likened to her neighbors: Rumania, Yugoslavia, and the two halves of the former Czechoslovakia: Bohemia and Slovakia. Then it becomes obvious that she maintained a considerable standard of decency as long as she could determine her policy in surroundings of moral decay.

Károly Kapronczay

REFUGEES IN HUNGARY

Shelter From Storm During WW II

Synopsis

Hungary is situated at the cross roads of Central Europe and its fate depends mostly on the immediate interests of the past and present great powers. For the past 11 centuries its sheer existence was constantly in the balance. From its greatness under the Renaissance king Matthias Corvinus in the 15th century, the road was downhill. Today on only one third of its former territory, with millions of Hungarians under foreign rule, Hungary by and large, still managed to cling to medieval ideas of chivalry and devotion to help the innocent victims of despots and dictators.

Starting with the victimized and persecuted Hungarians under the new Czechoslovakian, Rumanian and Yugoslavian rulers right after

WW I., continuing with thousands of our brethren chased out by Serbs from Voivodina in 1935, hundreds of thousands of refugees and P.O.W.'s of many nationalities found safe heaven on Hungarian soil during WW II.

Starting with thousands of Jews from Austria and Czechoslovakia, continuing with the great masses of Polish refugees, and with a lot of other nationalities, mostly French, Italian, Russian, Serb, Dutch, British etc. escapees from German P.O.W. camps and ended with American and British airmen shot down over the country. The epoch ended partially with the German military occupation of Hungary on the 19th day of March, 1944. Even after this date, most members of the Hungarian armed forces, authorities and civilians defied the German efforts of rounding up all foreigners on Hungarian soil. Thousands of refugees survived the hostilities and were repatriated after the war.

It should be emphasized, that the Hungarian governments of the period were under extreme pressure by the Germans to hand over the escapees, refugees and the POW's to them. Even governments under the German occupation resisted this constant demand to surrender these people, with various degree of success. Especially irksome was to the Germans, when with the tacit approval of the Hungarian government, tens of thousands of mostly Polish soldiers left the country to join the Allied Forces. We are willing to compare our record of handling the refugees with the record

Introduction

Not for the first time in the course of Hungary's history, during the past seven or eight years our nation and her society had to face a flood of refugees seeking asylum in our

country. First came the tens of thousands of Transylvanian Hungarians and Romanians fleeing the dictatorship of Ceaucescu; then thousands from the former German Democratic Republic. Then, since the summer of 1991 as a result of the civil war that erupted in the Balkans as a consequence of the declaration of Croatian and Slovenian independence, followed by the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, thousands of refugees – in several waves – came seeking the help and protection of Hungary.

This series of tragic events, the flood of refugees, and the efforts made by the Hungarian nation cannot help but evoke the past when, in the course of her history, our country or the Danube-basin, was placed in the same situation and opened her doors to those left homeless by strife.

Although international law makes by now a precise distinction between political and economic refugees, the burden of caring for them still falls on the receiving country. The Geneva Agreements initiated by the Red Cross (1864, 1929, 1949) govern the treatment of the war-wounded, the prisoners-of-war and the civilian refugees; determine the forms of the care they are given; protect the rights of the interested; and define the ways of communication between the opposing parties. Yet the person, the refugee himself, does not always fit into this precise framework of rules and regulations.

Often the refugee “appears” even though two nations are not in open conflict; what is more they may be allies. This is what happened in the 1980s in the case of Hungary and Romania, as well as Hungary and the GDR, causing considerable tension not only between these states but also in their societies. The political war-time refugee seeks asylum but harbors in his soul the hope of a speedy return to his native land. On the other hand, the economic refugee seeks work, a livelihood, and is often fuelled by the hope of settling down permanently. The receiving country’s responsibilities are singular: the political and war-time refugee needs care and support aside from the protection of his rights; the economic refugee wishes to integrate into the economic life and workforce of the host country. In the first instance, society is, most of the time, tolerant and ready to help; in the second, tensions are more frequent. The intricacies of this question are nothing new; their development can be followed from the middle Ages on.

The Hungarians were pushed into the Carpathian basin as a consequence of their ongoing battles with the Petchenegs (Bessenyos). Their remnants, as well as the Jasigs and Cumanians, were, in the course of the later centuries, absorbed by the Magyars and settled down, even before the Tatar invasion (13th century).

The geographic names and those of their settlements, as well as their office-holders that were maintained for a long time, prove that these ethnic groups were considered separate and independent within the Hungarian kingdom. Considering the circumstances at the time, their absorption went relatively smoothly; after all, there were vast uninhabited regions available. The exception were the cattle breeding, nomadic Cumanians who clashed with the settled Magyars, tillers of the soil. Their final settlement

came about slowly, after the Tatar (Mongolian) invasion, when they were finally fully integrated into the Magyar realm.

The next great flood of refugees was started in the middle of the 14th century by the advance of the Ottoman Empire which threatened our nation too. Gradually occupying the Balkans and aiming at the heartland of Europe, the Turks systematically destroyed nation after nation pushing hundreds of thousand homeless fleeing their advance. Depending on the scale of the Ottoman expansion, more and more people sought refuge in Hungary, transforming the ethnic make-up of vast regions. The expression “Southern Slav” is truly a collective term as it encompasses the Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, Macedonians, Bulgarians; that is to say peoples as different in their culture, religion, and traditions from one another as they are from the Hungarians. But we must not forget that the Hungarian kingdom maintained close ties with its southern neighbors even before the 14th century.

The independent Croatian Kingdom became, in 1102, an integral part of the Hungarian crown with an autonomous government; only the king's person tied the two together.

On the southern fringes of the Hungarian realm, there were scattered Sloven and Vend settlements which were increased by systematic introduction of these people, on among others - the lands of the Cistercian Abbey. The Turkish menace tightened the links between the Hungarian kingdom and its southern Slav neighbors.

From the 14th century on, the Serbian Principality bore the brunt of the Turkish attacks; so they sought an alliance with their northern neighbor, the Hungarian Kingdom. In 1404, Sigismund, King of Hungary, entered into an alliance with Istvan Lazarovich, the reigning Serbian prince who became the king's vassal in exchange for military assistance. In the meantime, as they needed more and more help, the Principality left the defense of several of their most important forts to the Hungarian soldiers. In 1427 they ceded Nandorfehervar (present-day Belgrade) and several forts in the province of Macso to the Hungarian Kingdom. The aristocrats and noblemen who lost their estates to the Turkish expansion received land in Hungary. Istvan Lazarovich himself and later Gyorgy Brankovich, both reigning princes, received substantial estates in Hungary where they also settled Serbians. But these were not only their men; they were also true refugees. The oldest such settlements are Kiskeve and Rackeve on the Island of Csepel where the Eastern rite

Catholics enjoyed full freedom of religion and a tax-exempt status. Independently of the above process, in the course of the 15th century, an important number of Serbian refugees settled in Hungary's southern border counties. Their numbers increased significantly after Serbia's fall to the Turks in 1459. Thus, in 1464, King Mathias settled several tens of thousands of Serbs in Nagylak and the region along the Maros (river). His policy was greatly influenced by his counting on these Serbs as future soldiers. Some five-thousand Serbian cavalrymen served in his famous “Black Army”. The

boatmen, crucial to the defense of his southern borders, were also almost exclusively Serbians. By that time, the Serbian population in our country - settlers or refugees - numbered over 200,000; it was augmented by another 100,000 under the reign of Ulaszlo I and Louis II ³⁰.

King Mathias gave tax-exempt status to the refugees also. A 1481 document gives an insight into his thinking : “...they should prosper under the reign of the Holy Crown and that their example be followed by others living under Turkish rule. Noting the exceptional treatment enjoyed by those who came before them, they should be ready to come into our land.” Thus were formed on Hungarian soil the most important settlements along the Danube and other rivers in Tolna county, in the vicinity of Pest and Buda, in Rackeve and Szentendre, to name just the most important ones. Aside from raising crops, their inhabitants had diverse occupations: they were mainly merchants to the transit trade but were also engaged in river transport, in viticulture and fruit-growing, as artisans, etc. They also had a significant role in cattle- and hog-breeding. The most important strains of cattle all originated there.

In the middle of the 16th century, the Turks struck hard at Croatia, letting loose a flood of Croatian refugees into Hungary. A parallel can be seen between the treatment of the Serbian and Croatian settlers/refugees: the Croatian nobles who lost their estates received land held by the Crown. The Zrinyi family, which played such a notable role in Hungary’s history, thus became the main players in the country’s political life. Naturally, these Croatian nobles brought in their own serfs or settled refugees on their estates.

The first big Croatian wave arrived in Hungary between 1520-1530 but between 1529 and 1532 in the sparsely inhabited counties of Zala, Vas, Somogy, Sopron, and Moson some forty-thousand. ³¹ Croatians found a new home. Some thought of their stay here as a temporary arrangement but after the fall of Buda in 1541 they had to abandon all hope of a return. The government also felt obliged to deal with this flood of refugees; therefore, in the 1560-70s it systematically settled some 60-70 thousand Croatians in the counties of Sopron, Moson, and Gyor, as well as the southern regions of Austria. Some got as far as Sarospatak and even Moravia. It is interesting to note that the records of the Croatians indicate, with their names, a descriptive form of their places of origin; thus, “Bosnian-Croat”, presumably came from around Bosnia, and “water-Croat” can be assumed to have come from the seashore. This latter group was settled

30 a.) Pál Engel: *Beilleszkedés Európába a kezdetől 1440-ig*, Budapest, 1990.

b.) Ferenc Szakály: *Virágkor és hanyatlás 1440-1711*, Budapest, 1990.

c.) In uns liegt ein schönes Land verborgen, Ungarns Geschichte (Eds. L Fabian – Gy.Kurucz), Berlin, 1993.

d.) László Nagy: *Magyarország Európában* (A honfoglalástól a közelmúltig), Budapest, 1993.

e.) Bálint Homan – Gyula Szekfű: *Magyar történet*, Budapest, 1935-1936.

f.) Domokos Kosáry: *Magyarország története*, Budapest, 1943.

g.) Ferenc Salamon: *Magyarország a török hódítás korában*, Budapest 1886.

h.) Domokos Kosáry: *Szemben a törtenelemmel. Nemzetiségi kérdés a régi Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1977.

31 Károly Kapronczay: *Magyarország menedékhely. Török elől menekült Szerbek és Horvátok*, Európai útas, Budapest, 1992, No. 2

mostly in the County of Sopron, near Lake Fertő. There, they formed the “southern-Slav crescent”, a band of connecting settlements along our western borders.³² Together with the Serbian and Croatian masses, some Bulgarian groups arrived too. It is hard to estimate their numbers.

After the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, great crowds of Hungarians fled the occupied territories. In their stead, the Turks forced Serbians to settle; some of these had even been obliged to serve the Turkish army as auxiliaries. In exchange for their military service, these were given exemption from taxation. This later became one of the bones of contention between the Hungarians and the Serbians as these auxiliary troops often ravaged the Hungarian territories.

After the Turks were driven out at the end of the 17th century, the Habsburg policy of resettling the depopulated regions invited not only German immigrants but also Serbians for the southern borders. They were promised tax-exemptions, religious freedom and the establishment of an Eastern-rite bishopric. The invitation of Vienna did not fall on deaf ears in the Serb population suffering under Turkish rule: in that decade, 200,000 Serbians arrived, led by the Patriarch Arsenije Crnojević (Arzen Csernovics), to settle the depopulated southern regions. In 1692 and 1695, Emperor Leopold I.'s privileges granted collective rights and exemptions to the Serbians settling in. These will become the basis of the 19th century's erupting nationalist movement. It was Vienna's deliberate policy to grant these privileges: she wanted to build on them to play Hungary off. Later, Joseph I, Charles “I, and Maria Theresia all confirmed these privileges, thus effectively removing these Serbian-inhabited border regions from Hungary's administrative supervision. This separatism was significant not only from the legal and ethnic point of view, but also in its religious aspect as the head of the Serbian Church in Hungary was as well its temporal head. With the end of the 17th century, one of the Middle Ages' largest migrations closed. Its aim was our country's territory and, as a consequence, created this significant southern-Slav minority in Hungary³³.

The Polish refugees arriving from time to time on the Hungarian nation's soil – except for those from the Szepesseg and the borders of Poland and Hungary – are typical of all phases of the care given historically to refugees (emigration, social work, etc.). The political and economic decline of the Polish state in the 18th century stirred the ambitions of her neighbors (Austria, Russia, and Prussia) to acquire additional territory. Between 1772 and 1796, they divided three times Poland's territory. At the beginning of the 19th century, Polish patriots hoped for redress from the Napoleonic wars but his fall sealed their fate. At the Congress of Vienna (1815) the Holy Alliance declared its final decision: they attached to Prussia the industrially more advanced western part (the Grand Duchy of Poznan), to Russia the central and eastern territories (Kingdom of

³² Ibid.

³³ Domokos Kosáry: *Szemben a történelemmel. Nemzetiségi kérdés a régi Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1977.

Poland), and Austria received Galicia. The Republic of Cracow represented the Polish State under the supervision of the three powers.

The three territories developed very differently. The fate of the Poles living under German rule depended on the strong Germanization process. Under Bismarck's chancellorship, for instance, they were almost wholly deprived of their rights. They emigrated "en masse", which was greatly encouraged by the Prussians. Apparently the situation was the most favorable in the Polish Kingdom; until the Polish revolt in 1830 the only ties to Russia were the tsar's person who represented the Polish king and the presence of the Russian troops that were stationed on Polish soil. But as the Polish autonomy was in direct conflict with the autocratic rule of the tsar, in the 15 years of its rule the Russian court gradually tightened its hegemony over the Polish Kingdom which, of course, stirred more and more Polish patriots to revolt. In the economically underdeveloped Galicia, the Polish nobles' rights and use of the Polish language were left intact. Therefore not only did the Polish nobility live in peace, the Galician aristocracy played a significant role at the court in Vienna in guiding the Austrian Empire's domestic and foreign policies.

The Poles, naturally, could not accept this situation. They were always sensitive to any international mood, and seized any opportunity to regain the independence of Poland. In 1830 the Russian court tried to curtail the autonomy of the kingdom, which resulted in a Polish revolt against the tsar.

As a result of the centuries-old Hungarian-Polish friendship, Hungarian politicians always watched with great interest the events unfolding in Poland and immediately reacted to them. The Hungarian villages and regions received the Polish refugees with open arms. In the Age of Reformation, the sympathy shown the Poles was not only an altruistic gesture but also a political statement. After the 1830 Polish revolt broke out, the Hungarian counties organized collections and balls to benefit the Poles. Among Hungarian youth, Polish costume became the fashion and many young men surreptitiously crossed the border to help fight the oppressors. The Hungarian Opposition – Deak, Kolcsey, Eotvos, and Kossuth – openly supported the Polish cause. This was watched with anxiety in Vienna; Austria did not wish to get involved in the events and followed them nervously. Although the revolt of the Polish nobles was only directed against the Russian Tsar and did not extend to the other two territories, it found a considerable echo there also.³⁴

In May, 1831, the Polish rebels suffered a crushing defeat at Ostrolenka; the Russians marched into Warsaw, starting bloody reprisals. Polish history speaks of the political refugees of the 1830 revolt as the "big emigration". These emigrants were composed not only of the nobles and soldiers who participated in the revolt, but also of a great number of intellectuals. Eight- or nine-thousand Poles fled to France, fewer to

34 a. Károly Kapronczay: *Menekültek Magyarországon*, Valóság, 1993, No. 2.

b. Károly Kapronczay: *Lengyelek Magyarországon I-II*, Élet és Tudomány, 1988, Nos 15 and 16

England, Belgium, Switzerland, or the United States, but all left their country via Galicia and Hungary.

The refugees were helped everywhere in Hungary. Vienna did not want any conflict with Russia and feared any opposition from the Galician Poles. So the government ordered searches of “agitators” found on the Empire’s soil, even though it knew that no one in Galicia or in Hungary supported these searches. Neither were these police activities strongly enforced as they tended to create resentment against Vienna in the two other territories. Despite these tactical considerations, the police “assiduously” searched for Polish rebels. Chancellor Reviczky even had a register kept of all Polish and Hungarian nobles’ houses, of cities and ecclesiastical and lay institutions where refugees found asylum. In some cases, they even searched the homes but they soon gave this up because of the counties’ heated opposition. The police “never found” the wanted Poles, although they were publicly visible on the terraces of coffeehouses, where they basked in the population’s sympathy, or gave speeches at the balls given for their benefit. Relatively few Poles of the first wave of the “big emigration” stayed in Hungary. Those that did, settled mainly in Budapest, Pozsony (Bratislava today) and other large provincial towns of the Felvidek (northern Hungary), such as Bartfa, the center of the Polish refugees in Hungary. In 1834, Austria and Russia signed an extradition treaty but it had very limited force in the Kingdom of Hungary. So the Polish rebels who had found asylum in Galicia, simply crossed over into Hungary. Thus Jerzy Bulharyn - one of the deputies of Adam Czartoriski, leader of the conservative wing of the Polish refugees - lived until 1848 in our country, undisturbed and under his own name, while the Governor of Galicia twice (1839, 1841) asked the county for his extradition. Correctly, Vienna felt that the counties ignore her orders and keep their refugees secret. Vienna was irritated by the fact that, counting on the Hungarians’ sympathy, the deputies of the Polish emigration in Paris circulated freely on Hungarian territory. They found it an unheard-of event that Janusz Woronicz, Czartoryski’s deputy, went to Budapest to negotiate with Teofil Modejewski over the agreement between the emigrants’ conservative and democratic wings. These two wings, by the way, urged the rebels at home and abroad who took part in the revolt, to seek asylum in Hungary where they will not be exposed to any danger.³⁵

In 1846, revolt erupted in Cracow. The revolutionary democrats took up arms against Vienna, for a societal transformation. After their defeat, the Hungarian authorities had “the task” to ferret out the refugees arriving in Hungary and to give them up to Vienna. The result was the same as before. The mood is best characterized by the instructions that Miklos Vay, royal commissioner, gave: he ordered the capture of those Poles only who “foment rebellion”, whereas all the others were to be received with “friendship and

35 a. Endre Kovács: *A lengyel kérdés a reformkori Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1959.
b. Endre Kovács: *Magyarok és lengyelek a történelem sodrában*, Budapest, 1973.

sympathy”. But he never specified which ones “foment rebellion” and which are to be received with friendship.³⁶

In March 1848, the Poles living in our country rejoiced in hearing of the revolution and the formation of the first independent Hungarian government. The Poles of Budapest received with a torch-light parade the representative from Galicia who came to establish relations with the newly formed Hungarian government. In October 1848, the revolution sprang up anew in Vienna; after their defeat, the Polish participants sought refuge in Hungary again, as did the unsuccessful fighters of Poznan. Close to 20,000 Poles took part in the Hungarian freedom fight – Wysocki, Dembinski, and last but not least, Bem – tried to help.³⁷

The defeat of the 1848 and 1849 revolutions abated the Polish independence movements for a little while only. In 1863, a new revolt erupted in Russian Poland. After its fall, its participants – about 4-5,000 people – again fled to Paris and London through Hungary. As before, Hungarian society tried to help them by collecting money and other charitable activities. They hid the refugees and the arrest warrants remained as meaningless now as before.³⁸

During the last decades of the past century, the Polish waves of emigration took on a different character. From the occupied Polish territories, industrialization and the development of agriculture as big business forced more and more people to leave their country. This despite the 1861 tsarist law liberating the serfs. Millions of Poles left their historic country, seeking a livelihood and work opportunities in Europe and in America. Of these, 6 million went to the United States; 750,000 to France, 300,000 to Canada, 400,000 to Brazil, 120,000 to Argentina, and 50,000 to Australia. Even in Belgium, the Poles numbered 30,000 and in England they totaled close to a million. From Poland’s historic territory, many also went to the interior of Russia, such as St. Petesburg, the Baltic States, and to European Russia itself. Many thousands of unemployed emigrated from Galicia also as Austrian and Czech industry could only absorb a limited number of Poles³⁹.

The first wave of socio-economic Polish refugees hit our country around 1880. The majority of these came from Russian Poland, and only a small number from Galicia. The booming construction in Budapest and the developing industry made good use of the cheap labor. Aside from the capital, the Poles formed large colonies in Kassa, Miskolc and other provincial industrial towns. These colonies were augmented, from the 1890s on, by 8- 10,000 Polish temporary agricultural laborers who came every summer. At the close of the last century, some 200,000 Polish workers were employed in Hungary. At the turn of the century, the number of immigrant Poles changed con-

36 Ibid.

37 Endre Kovács: *Bem József*, Budapest, 1955.

38 a.) Endre Kovács: *A Kossuth emigráció és az európai szabadság mozgalmak*, Budapest, 1967

b.) Endre Kovács: *A barátság ezer éve*, Budapest, 1972

39 Károly Kapronczay: *Menekültek Magyarországon*, Valóság, 1993, No. 2

stantly, depending strongly on Hungary's need for labor, the scale of emigration from Poland, and the Poles' migrations farther from our land. The number of Poles was dwarfed by the others of Hungary's minorities; it was also negligible compared to the numbers of other European and American colonies. The census of 1900 recorded 50,182 Poles (not Hungarian citizens) as living on Hungary's soil; of these 3,789 in Budapest. In Croatia and Slovenia 20,834 Poles settled temporarily. In 1910, in Budapest alone, 15,573 Poles were counted; 36,524 in the whole country. After the peace treaty of Trianon, the 1920 census registered 8,748 Poles as living in the entire country; of these, 1107 in Budapest. The cause of this striking decrease in numbers is, of course, the sizable loss of Hungary's territory on the one hand, and, on the other the return of the Poles to their homeland, or repatriation.⁴⁰

During the last decades and at the turn of the century fast developing Hungarian industry recruited its work force not only from among the socioeconomic refugees of Poland but also from all peoples of the Monarchy – Czechs, Moravians, Croats, Slovenes, but mostly Slovaks. This, of course, reflects the internal movements of a state's population which also includes the search for work of the Polish refugees.⁴¹

During the last two decades of the past century, after Alexander III. came to power (1881), hundred-thousands of Jews fled the Russian Empire to escape the pogroms there. This wave of refugees repeated that of the end of the 18th and of the early 19th centuries when numerous Jews left their country of origin, particularly the Ukraine. After 1881, upon the orders of minister Ignatiev, the Jewish populations of Warsaw, Kiev, Odessa, Jekaterinoslav and Moscow and of their environs were plundered and massacred, causing masses of them to flee to America, Palestine and the countries along Russia's western borders. The second wave of Jewish flight came in 1904 when the government tried to deflect popular anger at the loss of the Russo-Japanese war, as well as the revolutionary mood, by instigating anti-Jewish activities. The systematically organized pogroms in the larger cities prompted further thousands to flee. The bulk of the Jews coming from Russia settled in Galicia or in the territories that Hungary lost as a consequence of the Trianon peace treaty, namely Transcarpathia. They created the large rural settlements where they practiced agriculture and animal husbandry. Some took roots in the regions of present-day Hungary where they represented the poorest segment of the local Jewish population. These Jewish immigrants settled around the perimeter of industrial cities such as Budapest, and became small entrepreneurs. These became the victims of the holocaust in 1944⁴².

Between and during the two world wars, Hungary became at various times the refuge for diverse waves of people. After the peace treaty of Trianon – and already before

40 Ibid.

41 Domokos Kosary: *Újjáépítés és polgárosodás*, Budapest, 1990

42 a.) Lajos Venetianer: *A magyar zsidóság története*, Budapest, 1986.

b.) László Gonda: *A zsidóság Magyarországon 1526-1945*, Budapest, 1992

c.) István Lagzi: *Op.Cit* ~ (1/3), Agnes Godo: *Op.Cit.* (1/2)

– she had to care for about 200,000 refugees who came from the lost territories. They had to be settled, their rights had to be protected, and opportunities for work had to be organized for them. The Hungarians from Transylvania, the Northern Region, and the Voivodina had to be treated differently from the “traditional” refugee care: after all, they were Hungarians. Both the government and the parliamentary opposition considered the organization of their care a common duty. Since there was no language barrier, they could easily be integrated into the workforce.

The Interior Ministry was entrusted with this task. This divided even-handedly among the counties the funds voted in the budget for this purpose and even managed to create jobs. The care given to the Transylvanian refugees and to those arriving from other lost territories formed the charitable institutions that readily adapted their treatment to other but similar situations. They centralized their efforts and intervened, under certain circumstances with the government authorities. These, in turn, immediately established contact with them.⁴³

By the 1920s, the general population had slowly absorbed the refugees that followed the First World War. But beginning in 1938, during the heightened tension preceding the Second World War, more and more Transylvanian Hungarians crossed over into Hungary. On the other hand, after northern Transylvania was reannexed to Hungary, a huge migration took place, from south to north and north to south. Settling the refugees, finding work for them and generally caring for them became a societal task. It was entrusted to the Interior Ministry’s Social Work Division. In 1941, a new responsibility was the settlement of the people from Bukovina and the saving of the scattered Hungarians living outside the historic borders.⁴⁴

After the Anschluss of Austria and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in 1938-39 new refugees arrived by the tens of thousands. These were mostly Jewish – by religion or ethnicity – which spent as short a time as possible in Hungary; they tried to get as fast and as far away from Germany as they could. The treatment they received was delicate as Budapest had to reckon with Germany’s protest but they had to be helped along in their flight. The great majority moved along within a few weeks; some only spent days in our country. Most of them came with passports and only had to wait out the time it took to process their visas. The situation changed radically when the borders with Austria and the newly independent Slovakia were reinforced from the other side.

In June of 1939, with the knowledge of the Foreign Ministry the Interior Ministry organized the transport to the Danube Delta, on the river steamers Queen Elizabeth and Carl Dusan of 900, mostly Czech, Slovak, Transcarpathian, German, or Austrian Jews. Defying the imposed law of quarantine, the steamers took to the open sea where they transferred their passengers to the cargo ship “Julia Hoemi”, flying the Panamanian flag and steaming to Palestine. The trip was guaranteed by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry.

43 Károly Kapronczay: *Menekültek Magyarországon*, Valóság, 1993, No. 2.

44 Károly Kapronczay: *A lengyel menekült irányítása*, História, 1992, No. 2

This Panamanian steamer was the last to have reached its destination undisturbed. This mode of fleeing was repeated in May 1940. Then, a steamer under the Bulgarian flag, transported several hundred Jews from Pozsony to the Danube delta. This passage, too, was guaranteed by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry.

The care of the Jews raised some separate questions within the general treatment given to the Polish refugees in 1939. It must be noted here that of the 20,000 refugees in the care of the Interior Ministry that came from the Northern Region (Felvidek) most were “bona fide” Hungarians but there were quite a few that had false papers.⁴⁵

The rest of the book is on the CD enclosed

⁴⁵ Károly Kapronczay: *Menekültek Magyarországon*, Valóság, 1993. No. 2 16 of any European nation under German occupation or influence.

THE ROLE OF HUNGARY IN THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM IN EUROPE

In an article “After The Fall: 1989, Twenty Years On” in the 2009 summer issue of “World Affairs”, Professor Joshua Moravchik of Johns Hopkins University wrote the following:

“Nineteen eighty-nine was a most extraordinary year. There are other years that are imprinted on historic memory, but most of them were occasions for horrible events (1917 or 1939) or disappointing ones (1789 or 1848) or the conclusions of great tragedies (1648 or 1945). The year 1989 was that rare moment when dramatic things happened that were overwhelmingly beneficent. As we watched the world change before our eyes, we learned many things. Looking back today on how the world has evolved in twenty years since that momentous time, we can distill several additional insights.

The economist Robert Heilbroner wrote in 1989: “Less than 75 years after it officially began, the contest between capitalism and socialism is over: capitalism has won.” This outcome reflected a startling reversal because as recently as the decade before, socialism—considering all its diverse forms lumped together, seemed at the apex of its global sweep, apparently confirming Marx’s prophecy that it was not merely desirable but destiny.

Hungary, because of its strategic location between Germanic and Slavic parts of Europe could not help but be in the centre of all these events, and played a pivotal role in 1989 to bring Soviet –style communism to an inglorious end.. One can add that the events of 1989 also lead to the birth of a continent-wide, democratic European Union.

The seventy five year period between 1914 and 1989 has been described as the period of world wars, not only those officially designated as such, but also the inter war period (1919-1939), which had its conflicts, and the Cold War as well. When one looks at this period from a Hungarian perspective, it is probably one of the most trying seventy-five years in Hungary’s long and difficult history. The First World War, as is well known, was started as the Habsburg Monarchy declared war on Serbia for the assassination of the heir apparent, Franz Ferdinand and his consort. The then Prime-Minister of Hungary, Count Istvan Tisza was resolutely opposed the war, but was eventually over-ruled by the more bellicose members of the Imperial Council, the Reichsrat. While Hungary eventually supported the war effort, it found itself in the unfortunate

position as being blamed for its outbreak not only by the groups that later benefited from its dismemberment, such as the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia), but also by opportunistic Austrian politicians who tried to shift attention away from the clearly dominant role that their country enjoyed in the Dual Monarchy, and apportion the blame for all its ills on Hungary.

The defeat of the Central Powers, and the triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, soon to be called the Soviet Union, opened up Central Europe to its first experience of Communism in 1919. The Hungarian Commune under the leadership of a little fanatic called Bela Kun lasted only 133 days, yet this period left a legacy of anti-communist feeling in Hungary as Kun and his “Lenin boys” instituted a reign of “Red Terror” against whomever they deemed as “an enemy of the people”. Kun’s Bolshevik regime was finally brought to its knees by the Romanian occupation of Hungary and Admiral Miklos Horthy’s National Government.

The brief emergence of Bolshevism in Central Europe further added to the political isolation of Hungary in the eyes of the victorious allies who were already determined to dismember it. The Treaty of Trianon in 1920 reduced the area of historic Hungary by 72%, and the spoils of victory were held by hostile neighbors, a situation that still exists, in essence, in 2009. Proportionately, Hungary had, by far, the most severe terms inflicted on it by the victorious Allies among the defeated Central Powers.

The Horthy regime that lasted until October 1944 had to cope not only with the drastic effects of the Treaty of Trianon, but also the scars left by the 1919 Commune. It was strongly anti-Communist and for this it had the support of the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian nation. The unfortunate consequence of this policy and of the White Terror that briefly followed Kun’s defeat was to push certain influential non-Communist left-wingers, such as Count Mihaly Karolyi, Hungary’s Kerensky, and Oszkar Jaszi into exile, where they expended a great deal of energy to demonize Horthy’s regime in the eyes of West European, especially British media and political circles, and to idealize the “democratic” credentials of the successor states, especially Czechoslovakia, while ignoring the real suffering of millions of Hungarians who found themselves in the vengeful successor states. The unbending hostility of the victorious Allied Powers and of the Little Entente greatly increased Hungary’s sense of grievance and isolation.

The instability in Central Europe brought on by the harsh terms of the post-war peace treaties, its exposure to Communism, the destruction of long-standing ruling dynasties, and the formation of artificial successor states, of which only one, Romania, still exists in 2009 in its original form, also lead to the ominous appearance of the Radical Right, which ultimately lead to the Second World War. Hungary was not immune from any of these developments.

Hungary’s complex role during the Second World War was for quite some time misrepresented by Marxist historians. These historians simply described Horthy and

his era as a “fascist” period, a view no doubt influenced by his anti-communism, yet while not idealizing it, and given Hungary’s isolated political situation, it is grossly misleading to characterize it as such. The Hungarian political class, including the Regent, Miklos Horthy, with some significant exceptions, realized that however unjustly Hungary had been treated in 1920 an alliance with Hitler would not provide a solution to its problems. Yet in the end, while on the whole successfully protecting its large Jewish population until March 1944, Hungary became a reluctant ally of Nazi Germany and participated in the attack against the Soviet Union.

The defeat of Nazi Germany and the counter-attack of the Soviet army in Eastern Europe resulted in Hungary’s occupation by the USSR. Again, Marxist historians labeled all those Hungarians who fought tooth and nail against the invaders simply as fascists. But the well-known atrocities committed by the Soviet Army in Hungary, the negative memory of the 1919 communist revolution, stiffened the resistance of the population. The Soviets did put an end to the Nazi and Arrow Cross atrocities against Hungary’s Jews, but they did not bring freedom to Hungary because the Russian people itself were not free. The fate of Raoul Wallenberg, the savior of Budapest’s Jews, who was in 1945 kidnapped by the Soviets only to die in the Gulag in still unsolved circumstances, cruelly illustrated Hungary’s new predicament.

Stalin began extracting swift revenge on the Hungarian population. Young men and women, civilians and soldiers, including the author’s eighteen year old uncle, were picked off the street, and shipped off to the Gulag in the Soviet Union. By some estimates, 100 000 Hungarian civilians suffered such a fate, not including the prisoners of war, most of whom died under the inhuman conditions of their captivity. Free elections were held during the immediate post-1945 years, and Hungarians overwhelmingly voted for the democratic parties. The communists, many of whom were exiles of Kun’s regime who returned to Hungary with the Soviet army, at first tried to play by democratic rules, however the population consistently repudiated them at the ballot box. By the 1948, called the “Year of the change”, the democratic facade quickly disappeared, and Hungary, together with the other countries in Eastern Europe became a communist dictatorship. That year marked the beginning of one of the darkest periods in Hungary’s long history.

Hungary dictator, a man by the name of Matyas Rakosi, a comrade of Kun from 1919, instituted a reign of intimidation and mass terror on the whole population, and began a series of economically disastrous decisions, all in the name of class warfare and Marxist orthodoxy. Tens of thousands were incarcerated in make-shift concentration camps from centre-left politicians such as Bela Kovacs to left-wing poets such as Gyorgy Faludi; hundreds were executed, including members of rival factions within in the Communist party. The leaders of Hungary’s historic churches, Cardinal Mindszenty, Calvinist Bishop Laszlo Ravasz, and Lutheran Bishop Lajos Ordass were all arrested, and in Mindszenty’s case, tortured. Ironically, the de facto ruler of Hungary after the failed

uprising of 1956, Janos Kadar, was tortured and was one of the victims of the internecine quarrels within the Communist party. Freedom of movement, of conscience, of assembly was all abolished; farms were forcibly collectivized, and small businesses nationalized with disastrous consequences for the economy. The iron curtain, to use Winston Churchill's very apt description, a long barrier consisting of barbed wire and mine-fields was erected between Austria and Hungary, so people could not leave without risking their lives. The population was kept in constant terror by the regime's network of informers, usually individuals with axes to grind against the rest of society.

The spontaneous outbreak of the Uprising of October 1956 resulted in the most serious challenge to Communist and Soviet power up to that point. The demands of the students and workers, supposedly the pillars of the regime, were moderate by any standards of democracy. Yet after of ten days of heady freedom, the Hungarian Uprising was crushed by Soviets tanks and a vengeful communist regime was reinstalled. Up to two thousand Hungarians lost their lives fighting the invaders, several hundred, including Prime Minister Imre Nagy, a communist who sided with his people, were executed, and two hundred refugees poured into Austria and Yugoslavia to flee the wrath of the regime.

The crushing of the Uprising had a profound effect of "progressives", that is, fellow-travelers, communist-sympathizers and genuine idealists in Western Europe, especially in France, all of whom who saw the raw brutality of Soviet power in action against the reasonable demands of a whole nation. While Soviet propaganda tried to malign the "October events" as the work of fascists, the facts spoke for themselves resulting in an irreversible loss of face for communist ideology. Many of the activists in the USSR during the 1970's and 1980's took their inspiration from Hungary's failed Uprising of 1956.

The harshness of the early years of Janos Kadar's regime gradually dissipated as time passed. Through a series of liberalizing reforms, and the accumulation of considerable foreign debt, life in Hungary became tolerable as long as the political status quo was unchallenged. Kadar's thirty three year rule was often described as "Goulash communism", and Hungary was dubbed as the happiest barrack in the Soviet sphere. It was also described as the era of soft dictatorship, the essentials of the regime remaining unchanged.

The confluence of events in the West : the rise of Conservatives in Britain and the United States, the election of the charismatic Pope John Paul II, and the brave resistance of the Polish Solidarity movement began to take its toll on the Soviet Empire ruled in rapid of succession by decrepit Stalinist rulers. A new man, Mikhail Gorbachev soon became the leader of the Soviet Union whose ambitions were to modernize the crumbling system, and come to an agreement with the West.

The winds of change began to be felt in Eastern Europe by the summer of 1989. In Hungary, Janos Kadar died on the same day as his nemesis, the man he replaced in

1956 and had executed , Imre Nagy, was given a state funeral, and the events of 1956 were properly described for the first time by the government as a people's revolution, rather than as a fascist counter-revolution. The funeral, attended by hundreds of thousands of Hungarians also gave rise to a charismatic young politician, Viktor Orban, who gave a rousing speech demanding the withdrawal of the Soviets from Hungary, and free elections.

Events unfolded rapidly as hundreds of East Germans began to enter Hungary. The new Prime Minister, Miklos Nemeth had already taken steps to dismantle the "iron curtain", which had to be rebuilt after 1956, and as the East Germans began to assemble near the Austrian border, a decision was made by a young Hungarian border guard, Arpad Bella, to simply allow them to cross into Austria. The Hungarian government did not do anything, and in Nemeth's words, they were not sure how the Soviets would react, who after all still had 80 000 troops stationed in Hungary. Nothing happened. Gorbachev decided that Hungary should be allowed to make an independent decision thereby implementing the "Sinatra doctrine"- a great improvement on the Brezhnev doctrine- to allow the East European states do things "their own way". By September 11, the Hungarian government completely opened the country's western border, allowing all East Germans to cross into Austria.

The dominoes began to fall. Protests began to erupt in East Germany, and by November, the new government allowed unimpeded access of its citizens to West Germany, and on November 9th, the most hated symbol of oppression, the Berlin Wall crumbled. The hurricane of freedom quickly swept away all the communist regimes in all of Eastern Europe, and by 1991 the Soviet Union itself was relegated to the dustbin of history.

Hungary which began the twentieth century as a maligned pariah ended it in its more traditional historical role, as a champion of freedom. To paraphrase a speech given in August 2009 by former German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher, Hungarians had already shown in 1956 how they felt about communism, and in 1989 played a decisive and unequivocal role to bring about its collapse and open the whole of Europe to freedom and democracy.

András /Andrew/ Fejérdy⁴⁶

THE STALINGRAD OF THE SOVIET UNION

*The effects of the 1956 revolution,
As reflected in the western press of the day.*

The western news media of the time initially opined that the events in Hungary were the beginning of a de-Stalinization process in Eastern Europe. Observers believed that they did not necessarily pose a threat to the existing order. The temporary victory of the revolution and the announcement of the re-introduction of a multi-party system made it amply clear that the Communist system in Hungary could only be maintained by the intervention of Soviet might. Hence, most of the analysis felt a renewed armed intervention to be the probable, and from Moscow's point-of-view, logical, step; yet, the bitter and disappointed voices subsequent to the November 4 intervention point up that many in the West also had hopes of a miracle. At the time, observers did not regard the Hungarian Revolution as futile, in spite its failure. In the short term, they expected negative consequences – such as the temporary strengthening of neo-Stalinist trend; however, for the long term, they predicted significant positive effects both for Hungary and world history.

The western press took the view that the most important long-term effect of the Revolution was that it was “the moral Stalingrad of world Bolshevism.”⁴⁷ They saw the split between the western communist parties as the first sign of a lethal blow to Communism, later to be followed, they calculated, by the loss of prestige of the Soviet Union in the eyes of the ‘non-aligned nations.’ Western observers arrived at this conclusion by the events of the Revolution: in contrast to the dark prophecies made by Orwell in 1984, no amount of brainwashing makes a man willingly accept political dictatorship⁴⁸ because, as events revealed, the bravest fighters and the intellectual leaders of the Revolution came from among the young, raised in the spirit of Marxism.

In the assessment of the western press, the revolution did not pass without consequences for Hungary. The various evaluations were based on diverse scenarios but they all agreed that, sooner or later, some manner of thaw must occur. According to conventional thinking, the Soviet Union's hegemony over Eastern Europe was at risk if Hungary was granted complete independence and freedom. However, there existed no bar-

46 Le Monde, 1956. Nov. 3. p. 7.

47 Hanni Konitzer: Rußlands moralische Niederlage. In: Frankfurter Allgemeine, 1956, November 6, p. 1.

48 “For the most stuning consequence of the Hungarian outbreak was its dramatic revelation of how wrong have been all the Orwellian prophecies of ‘1984’ that man can somehow be brain-washed into acceptance of police dictatorship.” Marguerite Higgins: George Orwell Was Wrong. In: New York Herald Tribune, 1956, November 4, p. 4.

rier to permit relative independence to Hungary, still within the Soviet camp, along the lines of Yugoslavia and Poland.

For Hungary, the other major result of the revolution was the change in the image that the western world had of Hungarians, in general. Before the 1956 Revolution, Hungary was rarely mentioned in the western press, allowing stereotypical images of Hungarians, formed in the past, to linger longer in some countries. In the public opinion among the one-time allies of the Soviet Union, a picture of Hungary as a nationalistic – or even Nazi-friendly – country continued to exist; on the other side of the front line, Germany lived with the image of a Hungary turned Communist. Western society’s revision of their view of Hungarians was significantly influenced by a press providing ample reports of the revolution’s events, by journalists on the scene. Through the first hand reports, a general sense of respect evolved towards the Hungarians: their heroic resistance viewed with admiration, and a certain amount of guilt; a resistance which continued even after the freedom fighters understood that they could not count on any direct western assistance, that continued resistance was clearly hopeless.

We can safely say that, in regard to the effects of the Revolution, “as the Spanish Civil War was the outstanding event and political warning and lesson for the world in the inter-war period, so the events of 1956 Hungary were a beacon for the post-1945 world, which showed, through the fight for freedom by a small nation, the weakness and possible passing of the seemingly monolith eastern Bloc.”⁴⁹ Another significant result of the Hungarian Revolution greets us in the pages of the western press as penned by Timothy Garton Ash, Eastern European expert in Oxford, in creative style: “It is not merely romantic hyperbola or fantasy ... to portray the defeat of 1956 as a victory. Perhaps the simplest and most direct outcome was felt immediately, and proved to be lasting, too. A world-wide sympathy awakened towards Hungary, even in people who took no previous notice of its existence, or carried a rather negative image of it, as the oppressor of minorities before 1914 and an ally of Germany through two world wars.”⁵⁰

Translated by Judit Jókay

49 Péter Gosztonyi: *Svájc és a magyar 1956* [Switzerland and 1956 Hungary]. In: *Kritika* 1990/10, p. 30.

50 György/George/ Litván: *Az 1956-os forradalom szerepe a magyarsággép változásában*. [The role of the 1956 Revolution in the change of Hungary’s image] In: *Magyarsággép és történeti változásai* [Hungary’s image and its historical changes]. Ed.: Ferenc/Frank/ Pataki and Zsigmond/Sigismund/ Ritoók, Budapest, 1999, p. 115. Quotes Timothy Garton Ash’s late 1996 article in *The New York Review of Books*.

THE BERLIN WALL TEN YEARS LATER

Ten years ago this week the Berlin Wall started to come down, and it was immediately evident that the Communist empire would come down with it. A few years before the Berlin Wall went up in 1961, the Russian writer Ilya Ehrenburg offered what would become a fitting epitaph for Communist tyranny: “If the whole world were to be covered with asphalt, one day a crack would appear in that asphalt; and in that crack, grass would grow.” The crack in the Wall in 1989 proved to be the fatal fissure.

When President Ronald Reagan went to Berlin in 1987 and said “Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall” (a line his foreign policy advisers tried several times to delete from his speech), most observers thought, “There he goes again.” Reagan had predicted back in 1983 that it would be Communism, not western democracy, that would end up on the ash heap of history. Almost no one thought the beginning of the end would come before the decade was over. How did Reagan know?

One other modern statesman predicted the demise of Communism before the century’s end – Winston Churchill. In the mid-1950s, when Churchill was Prime Minister for the second time, he told a young aide that if he lived his normal span of life he would surely see Eastern Europe free from Communism. How did Churchill know?

Reagan and Churchill came to the conclusion about the fate of Communism by the simple recognition that a social system so wholly unnatural could not long endure, even with the powerful scientific props of modern tyranny. The Berlin Wall was the ultimate artifact of this unnatural system: unlike the Great Wall of China or other bastions, the Berlin Wall was the first bulwark intended to keep people in instead of out. Reagan had noticed the significance of this back in the early 1960s, and his resolve was bolstered by a visit he made to East Berlin before he was president, during which, his traveling companions said, Reagan shook with rage at the tyranny he saw first hand. He resolved that “We must do something to free these people.”

As Churchill contemplated at the end of World War II the division of Europe that would necessarily come with Soviet occupation of the East, he remarked to Charles de Gaulle that while the Soviets were a hungry wolf now, “after the meal come the digestion period,” and that the Soviet Union would not be able to digest the peoples

of Eastern Europe. Sure enough, every few years, like a burp of indigestion, a part of Eastern Europe would flare up and require to be put down forcibly – Hungary in 1956; Czechoslovakia in 1968; Poland in 1981.

By early 1989 it was time for another period of Eastern European indigestion. It was no longer possible for the Soviet Union to check the desire of Eastern Europeans to be free. A military crackdown would have made a hash of Gorbachev's program of glasnost ("openness") and perestroika ("restructuring") and ruined Soviet-American relations at a crucial time.

The beginning of the end started in Hungary. After Solidarity had swept an election in Poland, reformers within the Hungarian ruling Communist party pushed for a genuine multi-party election there as well. A divided Communist party was unable to blunt the momentum for a process that it knew was likely to be its death sentence. But reformers knew that they faced great hazards during the transitional phase, and they feared that another 1956-style military crackdown might be in store, perhaps from East Germany (whose Stalinist leadership never did sympathize with Gorbachev's program) if not the Soviet Union.

So the Hungarians decided on a bold stroke. They opened their border with Austria, and stopped detaining East Germans who transited through Hungary en route to Austria. A back door around the Berlin Wall had opened up, and thousands were pouring through. The Hungarians did not inform the Soviet Union or East Germany in advance. "We were pretty sure," Hungarian reformer Imre Pozsgay said later, "that if hundreds of thousands of East Germans went to the West, the East German regime would fall, and in that case Czechoslovakia was also out."

They were right. Throughout the fall protests in East German cities were growing, reaching a climax on November 4, when a million people took to the streets of East Berlin. East Germany's aging tyrant, Erich Honecker, had stepped down in October, but it was too late. His successors bowed to the inevitable on November 9, and announced the opening of the borders to the West. Within hours thousands of Germans from both sides of the Berlin divide descended on the Wall with picks and hammers. "We did not suspect," the East German foreign minister wrote, "that the opening of the Wall was the beginning of the end of the Republic." He was clearly oblivious to Ehrenburg's prophecy that once a blade of grass poked through the concrete, the Wall would come tumbling down.

Steven Hayward is senior fellow at the Pacific Research Institute and an adjunct fellow of the Ashbrook Center at Ashland University.

German Chancellor Helmut Kohl:

It was in Hungary where “the first stone was removed from the Berlin Wall,” then-German Chancellor Helmut Kohl reminded his fellow Germans when he spoke in Berlin on Oct. 4, 1990, the day after German reunification. And Hungary is still home today to the secret facilitators and quiet heroes who probably gave the regime of East German leader Erich Honecker the decisive push by opening the gates to the West for tens of thousands of East German refugees.

Albert Camus

THE BLOOD OF THE HUNGARIANS

(October, 1957, Paris)

*In Memoriam The Hungarian Uprising
Against The Soviet Occupiers*

I am not one of those who wish to see the people of Hungary take up arms again in a rising certain to be crushed, under the eyes of the nations of the world, who would spare them neither applause nor pious tears, but who would go back at once to their slippers by the fireside like a football crowd on a Sunday evening after a cup final

There are already too many dead on the field and we cannot be generous with any but our own blood. The blood of Hungary has re-emerged too precious to Europe and to freedom for us not to be jealous of it to the last drop.

But I am not one of those who think that there can be a compromise, even one made with resignation, even provisional, with a regime of terror which has as much right to call itself socialist as the executioners of the Inquisition had to call themselves Christians.

And on this anniversary of liberty, I hope with all my heart that the silent resistance of the people of Hungary will endure, will grow stronger, and, reinforced by all the voices which we can raise on their behalf, will induce unanimous international opinion to boycott their oppressors.

And if world opinion is too feeble or egoistical to do justice to a martyred people, and if our voices also are too weak, I hope that Hungary's resistance will endure until the counter-revolutionary State collapses everywhere in the East under the weight of its lies and contradictions.

Hungary conquered and in chains has done more for freedom and justice than any people in the last twenty years. But for this lesson to get through and convince those in the West who shut their eyes and ears, it was necessary, and it can be no comfort to us, for the people of Hungary to shed so much blood which is already drying in our memories.

In Europe's isolation today, we have only one way of being true to Hungary, and that is never to betray, among ourselves and everywhere, what the Hungarian heroes died for, never to condone, among ourselves and everywhere, even indirectly, those who killed them.

It would indeed be difficult for us to be worthy of such sacrifices but we can try to be so, in uniting Europe at last in forgetting our quarrels, in correcting our own errors, in increasing our creativeness and our solidarity. We have faith that there is on the march in the world, parallel with the forces of oppression and death which are darken-

ing our history, a force of conviction and life, an immense movement of emancipation, which is culture and which is born of freedom to create and of freedom to work.

Those Hungarian workers and intellectuals, beside whom we stand today with such impotent sorrow, understood this and have made us the better understand it. That is why, if their distress is ours, their hope is ours also. In spite of their misery, their chains, their exile, they have left us a glorious heritage, which we must deserve: freedom, which they did not choose, but which in one single day they gave back to us.

Albert Camus: LE SANG DES HONGROIS

(octobre, 1957, Paris)

Je ne suis pas de ceux qui souhaitent que le peuple hongrois prenne à nouveau les armes dans une insurrection vouée à l'écrasement, sous les yeux d'une société internationale qui ne lui ménagera ni applaudissements, ni larmes vertueuses, mais qui retournera ensuite à ses pantoufles comme font les sportifs de gradins, le dimanche soir, après un match de coupe.

Il y a déjà trop de morts dans le stade et nous ne pouvons être généreux que de notre propre sang. Le sang hongrois s'est révélé trop précieux à l'Europe et à la liberté pour que nous n'en soyons pas avares jusqu'à la moindre goutte.

Mais je ne suis pas de ceux qui pensent qu'il peut y avoir un accommodement, même résigné, même provisoire, avec un régime de terreur qui a autant de droit à s'appeler socialiste que les bourreaux de l'Inquisition en avaient à s'appeler chrétiens.

Et, dans ce jour anniversaire de la liberté, je souhaite de toutes mes forces que la résistance muette du peuple hongrois se maintienne, se renforce, et répercutée par toutes les voix que nous pourrons lui donner, obtienne de l'opinion internationale unanime le boycott de ses oppresseurs.

Et si cette opinion est trop veule ou égoïste pour rendre justice à un peuple martyr, si nos voix aussi sont trop faibles, je souhaite que la résistance hongroise se maintienne encore jusqu'à ce que l'Etat contre-révolutionnaire s'écroule partout à l'est sous le poids de ses mensonges et de ses contradictions.

La Hongrie vaincue et enchaînée a plus fait pour la liberté et la justice qu'aucun peuple depuis vingt ans. Mais, pour que cette leçon atteigne et persuade en Occident ceux qui se bouchaient les oreilles et les yeux, il a fallu et nous ne pourrons nous en consoler, que le peuple hongrois versât à flots un sang qui sèche déjà dans les mémoires.

Dans la solitude où se trouve aujourd'hui l'Europe, nous n'avons qu'un moyen (d'être fidèles à la Hongrie), et qui est de ne jamais trahir, chez nous

et ailleurs, ce pour quoi les combattants hongrois sont morts, de ne jamais justifier, chez nous et ailleurs, fût-ce indirectement, ce qui les a tués.

Nous aurons bien du mal à être dignes de tant de sacrifices. Mais nous devons nous y essayer, dans une Europe enfin unie, en oubliant nos querelles, en faisant justice de nos propres fautes, en multipliant nos créations et notre solidarité.

Notre foi est qu'il y a en marche dans le monde, parallèlement à la force de contrainte et de mort qui obscurcit l'histoire, une force de persuasion et de vie, un immense mouvement d'émancipation qui s'appelle la culture et qui se fait en même temps par la création libre et le travail libre.

Ces ouvriers et ces intellectuels hongrois, auprès desquels nous nous tenons aujourd'hui avec tant de chagrin impuissant, ont compris cela et nous l'ont fait mieux comprendre. C'est pourquoi si leur malheur est le nôtre, leur espoir nous appartient aussi. Malgré leur misère, leurs chaînes, leur exil, ils nous ont laissé un royal héritage que nous avons à mériter : la liberté, qu'ils n'ont pas seulement choisie, mais qu'en un seul jour ils nous ont rendue !

Albert Camus: DAS BLUT DER UNGARN

(Oktober, 1957, Paris)

Ich gehöre nicht zu denen, die da wünschen, das ungarische Volk möchte von neuem und in einem zum Scheitern verurteilten Aufstand zu den Waffen greifen – under den Augen einer internationalen Gesellschaft, die mit ihrem Beifall, ihren tügendhaft vergossenen Tränen nicht geizen, aber auch alsbald wieder Schlafrock und Pantoffeln anziehen würde : wie der sonntägliche Zuschauer nack dem Fussballspiel.

Nein, schon zu viele Tote liegen in der Arena. Verschwenden aber sollten wir nur unser eigenes Blut. Denn wir wissen, was das ungarische Blut für Europa und für die Freiheit wert ist und wollen jeden Tropfen hüten und schonen.

Und doch zähle ich nicht zu denen, die da meinen, sich anpassen, sich mit der Schreckensherrschaft, wäre es auch nur vorübergehend und indirekt abfinden zu müssen. Diese Herrschaft hat so wenig Recht, sich socialistisch zu nennen, wie die Henkersknechte der Inquisition sich christlich nennen durften.

Am heutigen Jahrestag der Freiheit wünsche ich mit ganzer Seele, dass der stumme Widerstand des ungarischen Volkes fortdauern und an Kraft gewinnen müge, um, vereint mit dem Widerhall all der Stimmen, mit denen wir ihn unterstützen können, von der internationalen öffentlichen Meinung den Boykott der Unterdrücker zu erwirken.

Und wenn diese öffentliche Meinung in ihrem Egoismus so feige ist und wenn unsere Stimmen zu schwach sind, um einem Mörtyrervolk zu seinem Recht zu verhelfen, so wünsche ich dem ungarischen Widerstand die Kraft, auszuharren bis zu der Stunde, da die gegenrevolutionäre Herrschaft im ganzen Osten unter der Last ihrer Lüge und ihres inneren Widerspruchs zusammenbricht.

Besiegt und in Fesseln geschlagen, hat Ungarn mehr für Freiheit und Recht geleistet als irgend eine andere Nation während der letzten zwanzig Jahre. Um aber den Westen, der sich so lange Augen und Ohren verstopft hatte, die geschichtliche Lektion zu lehren, musste das ungarische Volk Ströme seines Bluts vergießen.

In der Vereinsamung, in die Europa heute geraten ist, gibt es nur eines, den Ungarn die Treue zu halten: nie und nirgends in der Welt die Werte zu verraten, für die die ungarischen Kämpfer gefallen sind, und auch nie und nirgends, wäre es auch nur indirekt, das gelten zu lassen, was sie gemordet hat.

Sich solcher Opfer würdig zu erweisen, füllt nicht leicht. Aber wir müssen es versuchen, müssen in einem endlich vereinigten Europa unsere Anstrengungen vervielfältigen, müssen unsere Streitereien vergessen und unsere Irrtümer beseitigen. Wir glauben, dass sich gegen die Mächte des Zwanges und des Todes, die die Geschichte verdunkeln, in der Welt eine Kraft entfaltet, Kraft des Lebens und der Überzeugungen, eine machtvolle Bewegung der Befreiung, die sich Kultur nennt und die Frucht freien Schaffens und Handelns ist.

Die ungarischen Arbeiter und geistig Schaffenden, denen wir heute in der Ohnmacht unserer Trauer nahe sind, wissen dies; denn sie selber sind es, die uns den tieferen Sinn dieses Glaubens verstehen lehrten. Wenn ihr Unglück, ihre Armut die Knechtung und Verbannung haben sie uns ein königliches Erbe anvertraut, aber wir müssen es erst verdienen: die Freiheit nämlich, die sie nicht nur gewählt, sondern auch an einem einzigen Tage für uns alle zurückgewonnen haben.

1956 Gloria Victis, 1956-86, Nemzetőr kiadása, Bács, 1986.

Zoltán Balassa

SLOVAK HISTORY

A Short Overview

If we wish to acquire a brief overview of the history of the Slovaks, we must primarily concentrate on the second half of the 18th century. It was the period when the small group of Northern Hungarian intelligentsia gradually began to become aware of being unique members of the Slav people, which was different from the others. Hence, let us now skip over the earlier history, except to note that Slovak and Hungarian historiography treats it in divergent fashion. It simply means that significant effort would have to be made to arrive at a mutual and bias-free view of the sources.

With the settlement of the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 9th century, the territory of the Slovakia of today – which at the time did not exist even as an idea – became an integral part of the Kingdom of Hungary and would remain as such until 1918.

The ancestors of the Slovaks appear in the highlands of Hungary around the 13th to 14th century, through migration and resettlement. Other populations also appear: from the west Moravians and Czechs, from the north White Croats, Poles, Lusatian Sorbs, and from the east Ruthenians, Cossacks, Ukrainians and Russians. Slovak linguists are in agreement that the neighboring Slav languages left their imprint on today's Slovak language. Yet, at the same time, there are a number of conflicting opinions among the experts, meaning that there is still a lot of work to be done to clarify the ethno-genesis of the Slovaks. This would be of great interest as it might also shed light on the emergence / appearance of other nationalities. "Historical awareness is a more recent phenomenon – it dates from the time of the creation of the first nation states" – cautions the Czech historian Vladimír Karbusický.

In spite of migrations and resettlement, during the Middle Ages, 80% of the population of the Kingdom of Hungary consisted of Magyars. Significant ethnic shifts only took place during the 18th century.

The advent of Protestant Reformation in the 16th century reinforced the use of the Czech language among the Protestant Highland Slavs, as that was the language of the liturgy and the Kralicka Bible (published in Moravia in the late 16th century). The first 'Slovak' translation of the Bible (there were, at this time, only dialects) was compiled by the monks of the Kamaldul order (c. 1745-1769); the first Slovak-language Bible was printed much later, around 1825-1832.

The situation was complicated when, after the battle of Mohacs in 1526, the Turks occupied the center portion of the Kingdom of Hungary. The remaining unoccupied north-

ern and western parts were acquired by the Habsburgs. Thus, the highland Slavs became Habsburg subjects, which did not offer any protection from the predations and ravages of both of the warring parties.

The centre of the northeastern portion of the country became Košice (Hung: Kassa). Between 1604-1711, with minor interruptions, it forms a part of the Transylvanian Principality, Košice occasionally its capital. At the Diet of Torda (1543), the Transylvanian estates enacted religious tolerance, or freedom of conscience – a first for Europe – later extended to other religions, also (1552-1579). This was the drawing card which made the Protestant people of the Carpathian Basin overt, or covert, allies of the Transylvanian Principality; this is why the ancestors of the Slovaks were ardent soldiers of the princes against Austria.

After the expulsion of the Turks and the recapture of the capital, Buda in 1686, the entire country was annexed by the Habsburgs, which became the source of ongoing unrest and dissatisfaction.

The research into the early history of the Slovaks runs into difficulties because the Latin of the day never referred to them as Slovaks. The Highland Slovaks were always denoted as Sclavi, Slavus, Sclavorum, Sclavonicum, gentis Slava, and Slavica. The collective noun ‘Slovak’ first surfaces in Bártfa (Bardejov), then in Moravia, in the first half of the 15th century. The original meaning of the proper noun meant ‘Slav’; the “-ak” declension, or ending, also originates from the Czech language. This was the state of affairs until the end of the 18th century. Its present meaning was the work of Ľudovít Štúr (1815-1856). Slovaks are, quite simply, the ‘national Benjamins’ of Central Europe: they were not ‘reborn’ in the 19th century, they were the creations of the 19th century – states Peter Sýkora, Slovak biologist. Another difficulty was pointed out by Canadian historian Peter Brock. The ancestors of the Slovaks possessed a unique and independent ethnic identity, which was not, of necessity, the same as a unique and independent national identity, similar to the American Negro, who was always aware of his ethnic uniqueness, yet wished to remain an American.

The northern part of the Kingdom of Hungary was first called as Sclavonia in 1512 and it was later in the same century that the area was referred to as ‘Slovak lands.’ The term ‘Slovak (Slovensko)’ in its current meaning was defined by Štúr.

Because the number of Slovaks, as a population group, was not great, they felt it important to unite the Slav ethnic groups, leading to the concept of pan-Slavism. We can first find the expression in the works of Jan Herkeľ (1826), who used it as an expression covering a literary anthology. It was a Protestant cleric-poet, Jan Kollar (1793-1852) who became a leading proponent of this ideal – still a political innocent, as yet, but containing the seed of a potential hazard. It later became the foundation for passionate political debate and hate-mongering. All saw the leading power of Slav unity in the largest nation, Russia. Hence, czarist Russia was to be the embodiment of the protector of the Slavic peoples. Even Štúr proposed this in his last work and recommended that the Slovaks adopt the

Russian language and Orthodox religion. This, however, led into a blind alley, as Russia – whether czars or commissars were in power – used the idea of pan-Slavism for its own political aims. Those original dreamers of a national (id)entity were completely oblivious to the despotic nature of the Russian state. They were idealistic and naive.

In protection of the terms of the ancient Magyar constitution, several anti-Habsburg movements took up arms against the centralized authority, most of which took place in what is Slovakia today (1604-1711). The ancestors of today's Slovaks took part in these uprisings, on the side of the Transylvanian princes. The uprising / freedom fight of 1848-1849 was a direct continuation of them, with about 100,000 Slovaks fighting alongside the Magyars for Hungary's freedom. It was only a small cabal of intellectuals who endeavored to further their aims by offering to serve the emperor's court. "It is often repeated that the Slovak nation was born in precisely 1848-1849. If this were to be true, then this nation received a gift of a goodly portion of schizophrenia," pointed out Ladislav Szalay, a Slovak publicist, referring to the Slovak-Magyar conflicts that have been the bane of co-existence to the two nations since 1848. The current Slovak country was born and its aspirations tended toward a nation state. Alas, this goal could only be carried out at the expense of others.

In the years previously mentioned, an insignificant number of armed Slovaks turned against the forces fighting for the constitutionality of Hungary but in most cases these were driven off by the Slovaks. "... neither Štúr nor Hurban had any intention of cooperating with the Hungarians," not when the leading echelon of Hungarian politics changed from the oligarchy to a liberal nobility: "they positioned themselves to confrontation both before and after." "Štúr, the politician, led the nation into a long term dead end during the years of 1848-1849." (Ladislav Szalay). For the majority of the Slovaks, the mandatory tithes, manorial labor obligations, equality before the law and freedom of religion were more valued than the vague and imprecise 'national cause.'

The extent and boundary of the national homeland did not become evident for a long time to the Slovak forebears. It only coalesced in 1840 and the demands were formally presented to the emperor during the Freedom Fight of 1848-1849, supported by the court if for no other reason than to weaken the Hungarians, since none of the promises were carried out. A number of demands were grossly exaggerated and not based on reality. The break up of the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary into national (ethnic) parts was bound to fail because, in most places, there was not a clear ethnic boundary to draw. In the case of the Slovaks, carving out an ethnographic area would have resulted in an economically unviable country.

The disparities between the Slovaks and Magyars since the 19th century poisoned the life of the two nations all through the 20th century. They became more numerous with the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918. A Slovak linguist, Ľudovíta Nováka, said: "... regarding the Hungarian language, a great deal of damage was created by the Czech fuelled hate, through every means possible, against all things Hungarian because this hate was

instilled into the Slovak youth, who were, at the time, studying under their supervision.” The Czechs, you see, had to try to legalize Slovakia – where they were an insignificant minority –, validate annexing Slovakia to Bohemia and Moravia. This reasoning the Slovaks rationalize with an improvable catastrophic assimilation.

“The proportional change of the ethnic make-up is not only the result of assimilation – warned the Slovak Ján Hromádka – but a more complex process.” Influence is exerted by the “least developed sense of national awareness, or rather, many simply changed their ethnicity under the influence of various factors.” At the time, the peasant population did not have a particularly well developed national consciousness.

The population of Slovaks grew by 262,000 (or 16%) – while in an ‘oppressed’ minority status – during the 70 years between 1840 and 1910. This does not include the approximately 650,000 Slovaks who emigrated abroad between 1871-1914. Hence, the actual population increase had to have been greater (over 50%). Between 1781 and 1921, the Slovak-Magyar language boundary shifted – in the Slovak favor. Of the 319 settlements that lay along this boundary, 73 changed their ethnic makeup, 49 of them to the Slovak side (Häfler–Korcák–Kráľ: *Zemepis Československa* [Geography of Czechoslovakia], Prague, 1960, p. 236). This was also underscored by the Slovak ethnographer Ján Csaplovics. Over a period of half a century, the Slovaks ‘lost’ a total of 113 settlements but ‘gained’ 268. At the beginning of the 20th century, of the entire Highlands Slovak population, only 7% spoke Hungarian at any level. Thus, there was no evident threat to Slovak existence. The main problem was that, in the absence of middle and upper schools teaching in the mother tongue, the masses of Slovaks were at a low standard of knowledge and culture. The three church-run schools, although recommended for reorganization, were instead closed. The schools themselves were partly to blame for the situation. Also, that the activities of the *Matica slovenská* [Slovak Mother, or Slovak Bee] were suspended as a result of the publication of numerous pamphlets offensive to Hungarians. Its leadership often used confrontational, non-tactical actions to stoke the differences.

After 1867, when the Kingdom of Hungary got its own government, it enacted in law 1868:XLIV, giving sweeping assurances for the use of minority languages in school, everyday life, in local government and in the courts, and in the area of institutions and religion. With the exception of Switzerland, this law was unique in the world.

In spite of it all, there was a long list of serious problems also waiting for rectification – especially if we look at those circumstances from a 20th century viewpoint. And yet, the situation of the Slovaks was not so dire as to have to reach for radical means. This is shown by the fact that, at the end of the First World War, the majority of Slovaks did not turn their weapons against their own country, the Kingdom of Hungary.

According to Francois Fejtő, the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was decided a year and a half before the end of the war. But there was another alternative to the transformation: federative union. This option had its supporters in the Viennese court. But the future of Central Europe was not decided by the people living there – nobody

asked for their ideas or opinions. The countries created out of the rubble of the Monarchy were not nation states, in fact, not even democracies. That is why Czech political scientist Rudolf Kučera said: “At Trianon, and subsequently, the Kingdom of Hungary was destroyed totally needlessly ... We know the chief perpetrators: they were Masaryk, Benes and Goga ...” The worst effect, however, was to detour the nations living here away from the mainstream of European development, which resulted in the utter hopelessness of several generations.

That Slovakia was to become part of Czechoslovakia was decided rather late. Apart from a few self-appointed people representing no one, nobody thought of this solution. But the view among the Czechs was not consistent, either.

On top of it all, the Trianon peace terms saddled this newly formed state with contradictory military-strategic conditions, which exceeded the means of the Czechoslovak state policy concept. This was confirmed by its two time dissolution.

Subsequent to the First World War, the map of Central Europe was redrawn. The situation drove not only the Slovaks but also all the other nations living in the area into a dead end – at the end of which waited first Hitler, then Stalin.

The First Slovak State took part in the eruption of World War Two when, together with Nazi Germany, it attacked Poland. Although the national Slovak uprising erupted in 1944 but it was not enough to make one forget the previous actions. After 1945, Slovakia once more becomes part of Czechoslovakia and the majority of Slovaks behaved as if collaborators and Nazis have never lived among them.

Following World War Two, Czechoslovakia did not strive for democracy but, rather, ethnocracy. Other than Slavs, everyone was persecuted (the anti-constitutional government program of Kosice and the Benes decrees). In 1948, the Communists took over the power and they ruled until the end of 1989. The 40 years of totalitarian rule was only broken by the 1968 interlude; the Warsaw Pact armies quickly put an end to that attempt. The tragedy lay not in the occupation of the country but rather in the speed with which the members of the two nations, in spite of the initial general resistance, submitted to the communist restoration, led all the way through by a Slovak communist, Gustáv Husák.

In 1989, the Soviet structure collapsed and soon thereafter Slovakia became independent (1993), against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the populace. The anti-Hungarian policy is still bearing fruit (the Marina Hedvig affair, the brutal beating of Hungarian soccer fans in Dunajská Streda (Hung: Dunaszerdahely, etc.) It is unfortunate that Slovaks have got used to defining themselves contrary to someone else and are unable to let go of their real or perceived affronts. Even though this runs counter to their own, and all of Europe's, interests.

Of the entire population of the European Union, 220 million people, or 40%, live in minority status. Thus, in the future, this question must be handled very cautiously at highest European level, since it is a common concern

Translated by Peter J. Csermely

THE SITUATION OF ETHNIC MAGYARS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND LATER SLOVAKIA

I. The Magyars of Slovakia 1920-1945

According to the terms of the peace treaty signed in the Petit Trianon palace of Versailles on June 4, 1920, the territories annexed to Czechoslovakia comprised the former Northern Highlands of Hungary (today a part of Slovakia) and Sub-Carpathia (today a part of Ukraine). According to the census of 1910, the Northern Highlands had a Magyar population of 893,586 (30.55% of the total population), while Sub-Carpathia had 176,294 Magyars (29.6% of the total population). Thus, with a stroke of the pen, more than 1,000,000 Magyars were transferred to the north of the new northern boundary of a diminished Hungary. (The approximately 2,000,000 Slovaks made up 58% of the population, with the remainder made up of Rusyns, Germans and Poles.)

With the signing of the treaty of Saint Germaine in 1919, Czechoslovakia accepted to guarantee the individual and collective rights of the Magyars living on its territory. Under its terms, Sub-Carpathia was to receive wide-ranging autonomy and the Germans, who formed approx. 25% of the country's population, were to be assured a special status.

Although the first Czechoslovak constitution of 1920 stated that "all citizens are equal before the law, and enjoy the same civil and political rights irrespective of race, language or religion ... ethnic affiliation can not represent a handicap when filling public administrative posts," the reality was that the Magyars of the Highlands were discriminated against – from the first moment – by laws and regulations that were designed to 'urge' the resettlement of as many as possible to Hungary. Already by the end of 1920, 101,782 persons made their escape.⁵¹ Systematic ethnic cleansing can also be achieved by making the situation untenable.

Language law, restricted use of language, taxation

The use of an officially recognized language was first enshrined in bill 122 of 1920, which ensured the use of the mother tongue to those minorities whose numbers reached 20% in a given district. Furthermore, it stated that in districts composed of at least a 20% minority, government offices, courts and official announcements of

51 Popély, Gyula: *Ellenzélben. A felvidéki magyar kisebbség első éve a Csehszlovák Köztársaságban (1918-1925)* [In a headwind. The early years of the Magyar minority of the Highlands in the Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1925)]. Kalligram Press, Bratislava (Pozsony), 1995, p. 147.

the authorities had to be also published in the languages of the minorities, and offices had to have bilingual signs posted. (In plain language though, the language law quota was aimed not at the level of a city or town but at the district level where Magyar populated settlements could often not reach the quota in a Slovak populated district.) While Czechoslovakia was bound by international treaty to ease the interaction of its non-Czech citizens, so that they can communicate – using their mother tongue – with national bodies, offices and officialdom, Czechoslovakia tied this usage to the relatively high proportion of 20% of the population.

There existed in Czechoslovakia a few persons who were critical of the political aim behind these laws. One was Emanuel Radl, a professor at the University of Prague, who, in his study of the question, said that “the language law is not an attempt at a just settlement of the minority question; rather it is a weapon in the fight against the Germans and the Magyars.”⁵² Local authorities further sabotaged the law by special decrees.

Jozef Bellay, župan [appointed head of a county/district-*ed.*] of Trenčín (Trencsén) County urged all the reeves, mayors, police chiefs, gendarme and toll stations in his county to take the sternest possible measures against those who dare to speak Hungarian in public places and “...defend the prestige of our state against the blatant offensiveness of said persons ... After all, we live in Slovakia and a nation lives in its language,” justified the county chief his action.

In the Revúca (Nagyróce) district of Gemer (Gömör) County, reeve Sousedik was a standard bearer in the battle against the Hungarian language. In one of his decrees of 1922, he forbids the singing of Magyar songs: “Under the terms of this decree, the singing of Magyar songs is henceforth forbidden, under the greatest possible punishment, in every pub and public place, on the streets and outings.”

Igor Thurzo, municipal judge in Turčiansky svätý Martin (Túrócszentmárton), published a decree on July 31, 1922, in which we can read that “it is unnatural and astonishing that a portion of the population of our village still, in 1922, continues to talk in Hungarian, thus provoking our peaceful citizens.”⁵³ Even into the 1970s, anyone was entitled to warn Magyars, whether on the train, the bus or on the street that “since you eat Slovak bread,” speak Slovak.

Denial of citizenship

Bill 236 of 1920 restricted the granting of Czechoslovak citizenship to persons who obtained the official document at their place of residence – before January 1, 1910. Those not in possessions of such a document were enumerated in the category of

52 Popély, Gyula: *A csehszlovákiai magyarság a népszámlálások tükrében 1918-1945* [Czechoslovak Magyars reflected in the censuses 1918-1945]. Regio Könyvek, Budapest, 1991, p. 44; In part from a speech by Gyula Popély, given at the 22nd Literature and Culture Days of Košice (Kassa) on October 25, 1992.

53 Ibid.

‘foreigners’ of uncertain citizenship (in opposition to the treaty signed in 1919 on the international rights of minorities). Ministerial decree 41/1920 enabled the police chiefs of towns to evict them at any time.

Election, manipulation of electoral districts (gerrymandering)

The aim of redrawing the boundaries of counties, districts or administrative units of the successor state was to prevent the numbers of the Magyar minority from reaching the threshold specified in the language law and hence not have to grant official use of a mother tongue. The districts were redrawn in such a manner to produce as few districts where the proportion of the minority population reached the ratio necessary to apply the language law.

Since the Magyars formed a solid block of population about 50 km. deep along the Slovak-Hungarian border, long and narrow districts were created that ran north to south. This put the local Magyars into a disadvantageous situation as early as 1920 in the Bratislava (Pozsony), Košice (Kassa), Rimavská Sobota (Rimaszombat), Nitriansky (Nyitra) and Sečovce (Gálszécs) districts: lacking the required 20% minority standing, the Ministry of Justice [how droll-*ed.*] forbade the use of the Hungarian language. It was only in the case of the Rimavská Sobota (Rimaszombat) district that the superior court held the decree unlawful; but it brought no relief because the next census (1930) showed a proportion lower than the previous count.

In 1922, 35 Slovak and Sub-Carpathian towns were downgraded to villages, reducing the influence of the Magyar population in the affected areas, weakening the town population’s identity defending, culture relaying forms by withholding their autonomous organizations.

Although voting was universal, individual and secret, on top of the requirement of Czechoslovak citizenship, the electoral districts were drawn up so that to gain a seat in a Slovak populated riding about 19,753 votes were required (in 1920), while in Magyar populated areas, the number of votes required to win a seat was about 27,697 (about 8,000, or 40%, more). In the case of senate seats, the situation was similar: it took about 73,949 votes to elect a senator from Prague, 105,504 for one from Nové Zámky (Érsekújvár), and 143,007 for one from Sub-Carpathia. The situation was somewhat better in the Czech ridings. Further discrimination was evidenced by the requirement of 100 signatures for nomination in the Czech districts, while 1,000 were necessary from Slovak districts.

Manipulated census⁵⁴

The last credible census held in the Carpathian Basin – one accepted by the international community – was in 1910. Due to a policy in the successor countries of threats

⁵⁴ Popély: *Ellenzélben...*, op. cit.; Popély: *A csehszlovákiai ...* op. cit.

and intimidation, and various statistical manipulations, we have no recent reliable data regarding the numbers of Magyars living outside the borders of Hungary.

While the language law, handled as a constitutional article, spoke only of linguistic minorities and specified 20% as the minimum for the use of one's mother tongue, the government decree for the carrying out of the census law specified that nationality must be enumerated. During the 1921 census, the question of nationality was left to each responder but reserved the right for the electoral officials and political authorities to modify the data – ensuring opportunities for abuses. (In some places, Magyars made declarations before a justice of the peace regarding the wrongs done to them.) Jews were enumerated separately from Magyars and, as noted before, those with 'uncertain citizenship' were denoted as foreigners. (In the end, this count showed 245,000 fewer Magyars than the 1910 census.)

During the 1930 census, the election scrutinizers – in spite of previous instructions to the contrary – turned out to be extremely resourceful when recording 'nationality.' (As a result of this census, the stock of Magyars diminished by 76,000.)

Restrained regional industrial development

Slovakian factory closures were carried out on a large scale. Between 1919 and 1926, mining and refining production fell by 25.7%, metallurgy by 29.2% and construction by 2%.⁵⁵

Between the two wars, it was primarily the Czech industrial sector that developed. The Prague government enacted unfavorable tax and custom policies towards Slovakia. The Magyar populated southern Slovakian districts became the most struggling straggler area. Of the 1970 to 1975 national budgets, the amounts spent here on investment and development were 71% to 75% less, per person, than in other parts of Slovakia.

Where new industrial centers were developed, e.g. – Košice (Kassa), Slovak technicians were employed and the city's ethnic makeup and numbers were thus altered by their resettlement.

Taxation policies

The income tax rate in Slovakia and Sub-Carpathia was 10% while, at the same time, in the Czech areas it was 4%; Slovakia contributed 15% of the collected Czechoslovak taxes but only received 6% in the budgetary distribution.

Discriminative banking policies

After Trianon, 61.1% of Hungary's credit institutions found themselves in a neighboring country. In 1921, the assets of the Slovak banks exceed that of Hungarian banks.

⁵⁵ Duray, Miklós: *Kettős elnyomásban* [Doubly oppressed]. Madách-Posonium, Pozsony, 1993, p. 101.

As a result of subsequent bank regulations drafted by Prague, the number of formerly-Hungarian banks and financial institutions fell by 75%. (By the end of the '30s, of 30 Hungarian banks only 7 remained.)

Land reform through resettlement and emigration

Of the Magyar populated and owned lands, approximately 35% was confiscated. The Slovak Settlement Co-operative was hoping to see a significant regional growth by the Slav elements as a result of land reforms and targeted settlement actions. The Magyar laborers and poor farmers received land allocations far below their proportional numbers.

Of 94 new Slovak settlements, 64 were sited in Magyar areas, and 77% of all Slovak or Czech settlements were located in Magyar populated areas to break up the closed block of Magyar settlement. It was not by accident that the biggest Czech and Slovak settlements were built in the purely Magyar populated areas of Žitný ostrov (Csallóköz) [southwest corner of Slovakia, north of the Danube-*ed.*] and the Tisza Ridge region (Tiszahát) [the part of Bereg County between the river Tisza and the Ukraine-*ed.*].

The increasingly well-to-do new settlements were cheek-by-jowl with dirt-poor Magyar villages.⁵⁶ Those left without land either gravitated toward the Czech parts in an attempt to find work, or they emigrated.

Closing of schools, alienated educators, reduction of the number of minority intellectuals

Every Hungarian-language school was closed in areas where Slovaks were in the majority. As a result of the teachers being let go and/or evicted, the number of Magyar educators fell from 2,182 (1921) to 1,521 (1930).

The Hungarian-language school network continued to shrink even in areas where Magyars represented the majority. (In the 1920/21 school year, of the 120,000 school age Magyar children, 90,000 attended 720 Hungarian-language schools. By the 1926/27 school year, this number dropped to 66,260 students.) Hungarian-language schools received lower government subsidies and support, while Magyar parents were courted with various inducements to send their children to the newly instituted Slovak schools.

The number of Magyar university students varied between 900 and 1,000. At the same time, in 1938, Czechoslovakia officially had 30,564 students in post-secondary institutions. Thus, the proportion did not even come close to the officially admitted ratio of Magyars making up 5.5% of the population.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Popély: *Ellenzélben...* op. cit., p. 164.

⁵⁷ Vigh, Károly: *A szlovákiai magyarság sorsa* [The fate of the Magyars of Slovakia.]. Népek Hazája sorozat, p. 83.

The situation of churches without independence

It must be fairly obvious that one of the repositories of the language and traditions of an ethnic or linguistic minority is its church infrastructure. This role, however, presupposes that the language of the liturgy is in the mother tongue of the minority and that the priests and ministers come from the minority community. The religious ministers can become the (last) refuge of an intelligentsia who retain a sense of ethnic identity when that view is eliminated from the workplace, schools and intellectual life.

In the civil, democratic state of Czechoslovakia, only the Reformed Protestant Church enjoyed autonomy. During this period, a sole university-like Magyar institution was founded, the Reformed Church's School of Theology in Lučenec (Losonc), which sent forth Protestant ministers from 1925 onwards.

Discrimination in Sub-Carpathia

Sub-Carpathia's autonomy was announced on September 10, 1919 with the signing of the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, later also guaranteed by the League of Nations on November 20, 1920. In actual fact, nothing came of it as Sub-Carpathia became one of the provinces of the Czechoslovak Republic, known as Podkarpatska Rus, with Užhorod (Ungvár) as its provincial capital.

Denial of citizenship, replacement of public employees

Following the instructions of the Károlyi government in Budapest, a great number of Magyar officials and public employees refused to take the oath of allegiance to the occupiers before the signing of the treaty; many not even after. They thus lost their jobs and whoever was not born in Sub-Carpathia was expelled from the territory. (Antal Papp, Greek-rite Orthodox bishop of Mukačevo (Munkács) was expelled to Hungary in 1925.)

The administrative replacements in offices and the courts were primarily Czech citizens. In their fear, many Magyars declared themselves either as Rusyns or Slovak.

The only Hungarian-language high school operated in Berehovo (Beregszász), even though its principals were Czechs. Every Magyar village was able to keep an elementary school open, either government or church run.

Land reform through population of the border zone

Land reform followed careful political objectives: Land was not to be given to an original Magyar settler anywhere near the Trianon border, rather, Rusyns were brought in from the mountains. It seems obvious that the aim was to change the minority numbers to the detriment of the solid block of Magyars living along the border.

The situation of the churches

It was thanks to the united effort of the Magyar priests of the various churches that it became possible to elect Jenő (Eugene) Ortutay, head dean of Greek Catholic diocese, as mayor of Berehovo (Beregszász). At the turn of the century, the search for identity, not uninfluenced by the growing Pan-Slav movement from Russia and its Ukrainian and Russian orientation, led many to leave the Greek Catholic Church and convert to the Greek Orthodox Church. The Czech authorities encouraged this schismatic movement since, from the day of its birth; it had an openly anti-Magyar slant. The hostility led to the sacking of Greek Catholic churches and other atrocities. The 'Greater Russian' direction grew with the activities of Orthodox priests who fled here from Bolshevik Russia. They were opposed by the 'Little Russian' Greek Catholic Ukrainians from Halichina (Galicia) [western Ukraine-*ed.*]. A search for identity lay behind the Rusyns' debates on language and creed; in reality, the majority wished again to be a part of Hungary.

II. The period of no rights for the minorities of Czechoslovakia 1945-1948

The war was over, the Magyars were again on the losing side and the world took terrible revenge. The Paris peace treaties reinstated the Trianon borders, in fact, annexed a further three, purely Magyar populated, settlements (Oroszvár, Dunacsúny, Horvát-Járfalu) to Czechoslovakia. The victors completely overlooked the eager service Slovakia rendered to Hitler's Germany. It is typical of the Tiso government's over eager policy that the deportation of the Jews – in opposition to Hungary's delaying tactics – was completed in eminent fashion before the German occupation. All that made no difference. Magyars remained a thorn in the eyes of the Great Powers, which brought further terrible ordeals to a shattered nation.⁵⁸

In March of 1945, the émigrés of London and Moscow jointly hammered out the program of the returning Czechoslovak government, later sanctioned by Benes, then head of the émigré Czech government in London.

Ethnic cleansing

In the evening of June 18, 1945, Slovak soldiers massacred 270 people in the train station of **Přerov**, mostly Germans from **Dobsina**. Men, women and children were stripped to their underwear; their documents collected and burned, then forced to dig their own grave. The children, separated from their parents, were on their knees – begging their executioners for mercy for their families. Once the soldiers were fin-

⁵⁸ www.szelepcsényi.hu Home page of Sándor (Alexander) Szelepcsényi.

ished with the adults, it was the children's turn. After midnight, on June 19, the local villagers crept out and saw that the soil was still moving in some places. A few days later, they spread quicklime on the mass grave, and then added more soil on top.⁵⁹

Denial of citizenship, substitution of public employees

After the Red Army entered the Highlands and occupied Kassa, the Czech politicians gathered around Benes announced the 'Košice government program' on April 5, 1945. Its primary aim was remove all the German and Magyar nationals from the newly reconstituted Czechoslovakia on the principle of collective guilt. The desired end – in their mind – justified the use of every means. In this spirit, 89 such decrees were passed between 1945 and 1948 which exclusively served this goal. (It is a shame on the entire world that, of those 89, all but one is still in effect!) Government regulations directed their firing from their jobs, an end to their pensions and social assistance, the exclusion of Magyars from schools and universities, the move from local elected governments to national committees, ejected from political parties, as well as rescinding their right to vote; Magyar schools were closed, publishing and importation of Hungarian-language books and periodicals was forbidden, as was the use of Hungarian in public offices; Magyars were forbidden to own radios, could not initiate civilian inquiries, were ineligible for war assistance, they could be evicted at any time from their houses and homes without compensation, and could be collected for forced community labor at any time.⁶⁰

Members of the Magyar and German minorities were stripped of every citizenship right, their goods and chattels open to confiscation. Their ejection had begun, rather their expulsion; in many places, their physical destruction through the removal of the necessities of life. Nationwide, a system of tickets was introduced for food and other products – but the tickets were denied for them. They were hauled up in front of People's Courts, interned and sentenced to years of hard labor. If they had any commercial businesses, they were handed into the care of a Czech or Slovak executor, who exercised complete control. In this way, and countless others, they enjoyed their thirst for vengeance. These decrees sealed the fate of 3,500,000 Germans and 800,000 Magyars.

It was in the spirit of the 'Košice government program' that the Slovak National Council passed law 44/1945 on May 25, 1945, under the terms of which ethnic Magyars were to be let go immediately from their civil service and public administration jobs, and public service pensions were to be stopped after May 31. As for the justification: Magyar national.⁶¹

⁵⁹ www.weblo.com/.../Dobsina/...a.../1

⁶⁰ Popély, Árpád: *A csehszlovákiai magyarság történeti kronológiája* [The historical chronology of the Magyars of Czechoslovakia], in: *Itthon Nemzeti kulturális hetilap*, 2007, issue 2. www.felvidek.ma/foto/itthon/itthon0702.pdf.

⁶¹ Vadkerty, Katalin: *A reszlovakizáció* [Reslovakization]. Kalligram könyvkiadó, Pozsony, 1993, p. 11.

The presidential decree 33/1945, of August 2, 1945, made the Czechoslovakian Magyar and German minorities into stateless persons. (Jews were already stripped of their citizenship in 1942 by the terms of law 68, at the same time ordering their expulsion.) Being stripped of their citizenship meant that they could not belong to any recognized political party, could not participate in elections, and lost their pensions and their government jobs. The actual removal of the Germans was begun at the beginning of May, the process of mass transportation starting after May 11, 1946. Subsequent to that, Eduard Benes nominated himself – and had himself elected – as president of the Czech and Slovak Republic. The first steps that the new masters of power took focused on getting rid of all those of German descent. Many sources mention that the number who were executed – or otherwise forced into a grave – by the Czechs approached 150,000. Public opinion still has no knowledge of it to this day, yet it is comparable in size to the Jewish victims of Czechoslovakia.

Internment camps were opened in several Slovak towns (Huncovce/Hunfalva, Novaki/Nováki, Limbach/Limpak, Petržalka/Ligetfalu, etc.) where those of German descent were collected. It is a wry turn of fate that most of these camps were set up by the Slovaks during the war as concentration camps for the Jews. Of the 3,500,000 deported Germans, most were from the Sudeten region, ‘only’ about 120-130,000 were deported from Slovakia, chiefly to Germany, Austria or overseas.

When their deportation was well under way, it was the turn of the Magyars.⁶² The numbers of the Magyar intellectuals and civil servants became negligible.

Incarceration, retribution, intimidation

May 3, 1945: the State Security Unit begins the eviction of Magyars and Germans from their homes in Bratislava and proceeds with their internment. The eviction notice states, as justification: “You are without doubt of Magyar (German) nationality; your presence in Bratislava is not desirable in the interest of the state.” The homes of those evicted were immediately seized by the authorities, all their goods were confiscated and they were conveyed to the collection camp established at the former ammunition factory, or taken to Petržalka (Pozsonyligetfalu) on the south side of the Danube to the homes vacated by the Germans, or to one of the barracks on former army bases. Among those deported were many Jews who, before 1928, declared himself

62 www.szelepcsényi.hu “Under Czech direction, a large portion of the Slovaks fell on the German population settled centuries earlier under the Hungarian kings. Some disappeared without a trace after a brief court case, the rest – men, women, old, young, sick – were deported to Germany at a moments notice, without regard to their circumstance, each person restricted to one 50 kg. parcel. A new law was enacted, which banned use of the German and Hungarian languages in public. My grandmother once came home in tears from downtown. She was in one of the stores with her sister, Aunt Theresa, to buy something when a policeman noticed them and levied a 50 Krona penalty for each Hungarian word they said. The teacher, József (Joseph) Horváth, was taken away by the police. The Magyar school was disbanded, the teachers let go. In replacement, we got a young man with Clark Gable mustache, curly dark brown hair from Moravia, by the name of Ladislav Longaver. He spoke not a word of our language. The entire class sat in silence, when he spoke we did not understand a word but soon learned that when he crooked his index finger and said “Poty szem!” then we had to shuffle up to him for a slap across the face or a twist of a sideburn. Another teacher by the name of Eugen Duchon, and a female called Bosanka, were equally harsh with us, hitting our fingernails with sadistic delight!”

to be a Hungarian. (The internment camp was closed in August of 1946).⁶³ The most serious atrocities took place in Bratislava and Košice. In March and April of 1945, several thousand Magyar families were forced to leave the country, carrying no more than a 50 kg parcel. With that began the Slovakia-wide arrest, internment and forcible expulsion to Hungary of Magyars from territories annexed at Trianon. According to Czech data, in May and June of 1945, in a few short week, 31,780 Magyars were deported across the Hungarian border. In the fall and winter of 1944, about 10,000 persons were taken from eastern Slovakia to the Soviet Union, from where their earliest release took three and a half years; during the spring and summer of 1946, the Magyars of Slovakia were interned en masse and taken to forced-labor camps.⁶⁴

At the People's Court hearings (under the terms of the presidential decree of June 19, 1945), it was often Slovak fascists (Hlinka guardsmen or members of Hlinka's People's Party) who sat in judgement over the Magyars and branded thousands of the Magyar minority as war criminals. Those thought to be 'politically unreliable' were held in jail for years – without being charged or sentenced.

Under the terms of the forced 1946 treaty between Czechoslovakia and Hungary regarding population exchange, 76,616 Magyars were forcibly deported to Hungary. (The number who fled voluntarily to Hungary can be put at around 10,000.)

The goal behind the 1946 decree to push re-Slovakization was to have no more than 200,000 Magyars on paper, whose fate was to be dealt with by the Paris Peace Conference.⁶⁵ During the 'time of the re-Slovakization campaign,' 326,679 frightened Magyars declared themselves to be 'Slovaks.' This so-called re-Slovakization process consisted of a visit to the families by committees, accompanied by several gendarmes, and convinced them, by threats, to hand in an official request, deny their Magyar ethnicity and declare themselves to be Slovaks. They would then not be bothered any more, would be permitted to stay in their home and keep their property. One can understand those who chose this route because the attachment to one's land of birth is strong. There were many families who, hoping for things to turn to the better, named one family member who would re-Slovakize and undertake to keep an eye on the property of those resettled, in the hope of their speedy return.

Presidential decree 71/1945 announced in September mandated that all persons stripped of citizenship had to report for work. Decree 88/1945, announced on October 1, contained details of the work circumstances, which mandated men from 16 to 55

63 Popély: *A csehszlovákiai ... op. cit.*, 2007, issue 2.

64 www.szelepcsényi.hu "Men between 16 and 55 were assigned for slave labor, women 18-45. The method used was an idea born of devilish minds: Late in the evening, gendarmes would appear at those selected and delivered the expulsion order, which was dated for the following morning. A truck would stop in front of the house and whatever fit on the truck was taken, with the family members, to the boxcars waiting at the nearest railway station. Their estate left behind, real and movable, was confiscated by the state. The already stressed families were then faced by several days' travel in the unheated boxcars. Arriving at their destination, the Czech farmers would circle the wagons and, as in a slave market, chose those families with the most members able to work."

65 Janics, Kálmán: *A hontalanság évei. (A szlovákiai magyar kisebbség a második világháború után 1945-1948.)* [The exile years. (The Slovakian Magyar minority after the Second World War 1945-1948)]. Hunnia Kiadó Kft., 1989, p. 219.

and women from 18 to 45 – up to a period of possibly 3 years (using the terms of decree 174/1948.) The authorities settled trusties (reliable Slavs) into the houses and onto the farms of those taken away on labor service.

In November of 1946, the internal deportation of the Magyars of southern Slovakia to Czech Moravia began (approx. 60,000 people). The authorities would surround a village with military units and, after allowing a short time to pack up their bare essentials, would transport them in boxcars to the former Sudetenland in western Czechoslovakia. The expulsion covered approximately 44,000 people from 393 settlements. Due to winter weather and harsh treatment, about 1,000 people died en route. In the period of 1946 to 1948, the population exchange under treaty, 120,000 were transported over the border to Hungary.

Confiscation of property

The Slovak National Council adopted its decree number 4 on February 27, 1945, dealing with “the matter of the confiscation and distribution of the agrarian assets of the Germans, Magyars, and traitors and enemies of the Slovak nation.” (The total confiscation of assets was announced by presidential decree 108/1945.) The confiscation of Magyar farms had begun. Katalin Vadkerty estimates this property crime to have been 614,462 hectares (arable land and forest) [about 1.5 million acres-*Ed.*] Small and medium sized Magyar-owned industries and artisan’s shops were placed under ‘national trusteeship.’ In towns and villages, the confiscation of Magyar owned houses and apartments were also begun. The confiscated assets, whether real estate or movable chattels, were distributed among those who put in a claim. (The repudiation and rescinding of the Benes decrees, and compensation for the Magyars of Slovakia, is still on hold today.)

As a net result of the population exchange that ended in 1948, those Magyars who resettled to Hungary, and swapped assets with Slovaks moving to Slovakia, left behind several times the value of land and real estate. Under the terms of the agreement signed at Csorba tó, the Magyars declined compensation for the difference.

Regulation of place names and family names

The replacement of Magyar place names (settlements, streets, etc.) – Slovakization – was begun in the middle of the last century, in the period of the creation of a literary Slovakian language, around 1948. In the matter of proper nouns (family names), officials tried to re-write the Magyar names according to Slovak pronunciation and usage. A special permit had to be obtained to take on a Magyar family name.

Closing of schools, alienated educators, reduction of the number of minority intellectuals

Decree 6/1944 ordered all Magyar and German schools closed that were opened in the Highlands subsequent to the 1938 Vienna Accord. When the Slovak national

councils assumed administrative power in May of 1945 from the Red Army, all Magyar schools were closed, all teachers let go and all Hungarian-language publications banned. Also placed under ban were Magyar cultural and social groups; their assets confiscated.

The local national councils, through local by-laws, forbade the use of Hungarian language in public. In the '70s – due to the limited number of Hungarian-language high schools – only a maximum of 30 to 35% of the 15-year-old age group could pursue studies in the mother tongue. (At the same time, a ministerial order ensured that only those can apply to study at a foreign university – including in Hungary – who have completed high school in a Slovak-language government-run school.)

Parents often sent their children to the Slovak schools for fear of local (local national councils), or workplace, threats and harassment.

III. Czechoslovakia from 1948 to 1989

1947-48 was a turning point year in the post-war years within the sphere of Soviet influence. The travesty of the democratic 'multi-party system' was ended in every country and everywhere power came to rest with one party, the Communist. With nationalization of private assets, the creation of the Soviet style economic and social system could begin. To a centralized economic and political power, minorities no longer represent a threat, thus, in the image of Soviet minority policies and the example of 'show policies,' certain cultural activism was permitted – under Party supervision. In October of 1948, citizenship was again vested on the Magyars – under orders from Moscow. (Of course, this does not mean any minority rights.) A decree of November 4, 1948, withdrew the confiscation orders for farms under 50 hectares, if the owner regained his citizenship. The order did not, however, cover lands that have, in the meantime, been handed to Slovak settlers or repatriates from Hungary.

Law 143/1968 transformed the republic into a federated state. (This translated the minority question into a Slovak internal matter.) The cultural and educational improvements promised to the minorities (Law 144) remained, for the most part, a promise.

Settlement in the border zones, reorganized public administration

To replace the emigrated and deported Magyars, some Czechs but mainly Slovaks streamed in to take their place. The government planned and directed this tide. After 1945, about 30 new settlements were established; between 1945 and 1948, 150 purely Magyar-populated villages became of mixed population – and the process did not stop even later. The settler villages and the Slovakized settlements became stronger and stronger, thanks to the reorganization of public administration.

In 1960, the administrative ridings were reassigned: 'small ridings' were abolished and 'large ridings' were created, which were organized into districts. The riding boundaries were carefully selected to ensure that the Magyar population would preferably be in the minority.

Discriminative economic policies

By the end of the 'years without rights,' almost the entire Magyar intellectual and administrative class vanished, while the deportations mainly affected the farmers. The rural population fleeing to industrial jobs usually could only find uneducated laborer jobs in construction. Data covering investment and labor resources disclose that industry was encouraged mainly in Slovak populated areas, along the linguistic borderline or towns that were targeted for Slovakization, e.g. – Košice (Kassa); the skilled trades for the industrial plants of Košice were recruited from among the Slovak youth.

The government investment in the Magyar populated southern ridings of Slovakia was substantially less, per capita, than the average in Slovak populated ridings. So, these ridings remained mainly agrarian in nature. The situation was manipulated even in this matter to be disadvantageous: In several ridings, the co-operatives of the Magyar villages achieved higher incomes. In these cases, the district office responsible for the scheduling of farming machinery gave precedence to weaker, Slovak, co-operatives. In the 1970s, when the Slovak and Magyar co-operatives were merged, leadership usually fell into Slovak hands and the developmental differences usually benefited the Slovaks.

The results of the discriminative economic policy can be clearly seen in the data of the 1970 census. The number of those working in industry grew somewhat, but mainly employed as laborers and shippers, rather, it is mainly among farm workers that we meet Magyars. Data from the end of the 1980s discloses that the average income in the Magyar-populated southern Slovakia lagged substantially from the rest of the country.⁶⁶

All these developments contributed to the fact that, even after the regime change of 1990, the emerging business class in the minority areas, those with some capital, mainly came from among the majority Slovaks.

Industrial development and the dilution of minority numbers

New positions in the rapid industrialization (socialist industrialization) in Magyar populated areas, in industry and in services, were purposefully filled with Slovaks (Bratislava/Pozsony, Rimavská Sobota/Rimaszombat, Košice/Kassa, etc.). Lacking job opportunities close to home, southern Slovakian Magyar youths are forced to accept jobs far from their homes. The number of commuters is approaching half of

⁶⁶ Duray: *Kettős ... op. cit.*, pp. 99-102.

the Magyar community because industry is only slowly creeping from the – more developed – North to the mainly agricultural South. Due to the lower level of technical and skilled training, a large proportion of Magyar workers are employed in the construction industry. The continuing drifting away from home favors mixed marriages, and assimilation.

Closing of schools, alienated educators, reduction of the number of minority intellectuals

In 1949, when the first Magyar classes begin again, there are only 110 Magyar teachers available, 5% of the old number. For years, untrained teachers taught the Magyar children. In the beginning of the 50s, the Magyar classes were housed in temporary buildings of terrible condition (many lacked running water, damp walls, etc.). They were made acceptable for teaching by the combined work of the students, teachers and parents. New buildings were not constructed for Magyar schools until the 60s. The good quality buildings went to the Slovak students.

While Slovakia in 1921 had 720 primary schools where instruction was in Hungarian, that number shrank to 376 by the 1977/78 school year. (Between 1950 and 1978, 233 Magyar primary school was closed.) Among ethnic Magyars, 30% finished high school; the same statistic among Slovaks is 43%. The language of instruction for the skilled trades – to this day – is Slovak. The greatest gap in the education of Magyar youth is at the college and university level. As an example, in 1977, only 5.9% of the 19-year-olds were accepted.

Instead of church autonomy: Assimilation of church infrastructure as a complement of assimilation of public administration

The Slovakian Magyar community had a diminishing stock of Magyar-related priests and did not possess an independent hierarchy. Relegated to the care of Slovak bishops, the spreading of the Scripture in the mother tongue ebbed and the number of Magyar parishes plummeted. Catholic theologians are only trained in Bratislava (Pozsony) and the number accepted was, until the end of the 80s, set by the authorities. Of the 130-150 seminarians in the mid-70s, 10 knew Hungarian. The language of instruction was Slovak but it was not permitted that Magyar theologians study in Hungary.

The Magyars had great expectations towards Pope Benedict XVI, since Germans are familiar with the historical background of Hungary and are disposed towards the thought of autonomy. Complete church autonomy has been granted to the Sorbs⁶⁷ under the terms of the Second Vatican Synod's decision regarding the language of the liturgy

67 The area bounded by the Vistula, Saale and Unstrut Rivers was settled in the 9-10 century by Germanic and western Slav tribes, who were moving toward the South due to climactic changes. The state of Brandenburg's constitution guarantees the Sorbs their 'national' colors, coat of arms, right to homeland, right to identity, the settlements' German-Sorb features, cultural transmission and development through their language in kindergarten and school. The laws of Brandenburg guarantee the use of the Sorb language within the administrative boundaries where they reside – obviously to protect the minority from Germans moving to the area.

in a mother tongue. One of the most important elements of survival is the cultural gathering around the churches. In spite of that, the new 2008 diocese map of Slovakia more or less follows the years-old public administrative boundaries. This map does not follow the historical development of the natural emergence of the ‘horizontal’ county formations; rather, it divides the country along vertical lines. With it, the statistical balance of the Slovakian Magyars was skewed and resulted in the situation that, in the event of an election, no Magyar voting block can emerge which could lead to a Magyar town to become the county seat.⁶⁸ According to the head of the Slovak government, to a true believer, it is immaterial in what language the Gospel is heard.⁶⁹

Hence, the only existing autonomous organized church is the Reformed Church, which operates on a diocese level and is unquestionably of Magyar character.

Conclusion

In the Kingdom of Hungary, the number of Slovaks grew by 16% from 1840 to 1910, while the number of Magyars in Czechoslovakia fell by 13% over a similar time span. Until 1921, the language boundary shifted to the benefit of the Slovaks.⁷⁰ The official state language was spoken by only 12-14% of them, as a result of the then-existing minority and educational laws. The Hungarian government of the Dualist period encouraged industrialization in the minority areas as an aid to integration and to lessen the disparity and supported the use of the mother tongue in given areas and the use of minority languages in church liturgy. The period after 1920 to our day is more characterized by a plethora of discriminative economic, educational and political laws and regulations that aided, and aids still, forcible assimilation, ethnic cleansing and economic persecution. It is no wonder then that, in a period of 80 years, the Magyar population diminished by half. The currently ongoing rabid anti-minority policy (against Magyars, Rusyns, Germans) is essentially the reverse of what, in the Kingdom of Hungary, was called the ‘legacy of King St. Stephen,’ a state policy of toleration, inclusion and promotion of minorities.⁷¹ It is patently obvious in the recently passed language laws, aimed at restricting the use of minority languages, as well as the prejudicial financing of Magyar institutions, especially those of learning.⁷² *Translated by Peter Csermely*

68 www.parameter.sk and www.dunatv.hu/otthon/gasparovic0319.html: Cardinal Jozef Tomko, papal legate, announced that on the decision of Pope Benedict XVI, the Vatican has decided to split the current Bratislava-Trnava (Pozsony-Nagyszombat) diocese, and to create a new one at Zilina (Zsolna). As well, the boundaries of the current Trnava, Nitriansky (Nyitra) and Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya) diocese will be redrawn. Archbishop Jan Sokol will remain at his post in Trnava, with new extra privileges, in spite of the hope of many for his recall due to his alleged agent past.

69 Source: MTI program on 2008.03.19, Wednesday, 17:12.

70 Balassa, Zoltán: *Két nemzet a Kárpát-medencében. A szlovákok történelme* [Two nations in the Carpathian Basin. History of the Slovaks]. Kassa - Budapest, 2007, pp. 63-64.

71 Hévízi, Józsa: *Autonómia-típusok Magyarországon és Európában* [Autonomies in Europe and Hungary. A Comparative Review]. Püski, Budapest, 2001.

72 "... the Magyar university ... only received a lower level of accreditation and the administrative reform, which chopped up Slovakia (1996) in such a way as to prevent Magyars from being able to form a majority anywhere..." in: Balassa: *Két nemzet ... op. cit.*

S.J. Magyaródy

HUNGARIANS – SLOVAKS

To the attention of: Mr. Fico and Mr. Slota

More than one thousand and one hundred years ago the Magyars arrived in the Carpathian Basin. The chronicle speaks of seven tribes, but for all intents and purposes it could have been twenty. The Slavic tribes preceded us by a short head. The Magyar tribes found a sparse population of Slavs, Germanics, Romans, and, mostly our relatives the Avars. Throughout the years immigrants joined these fragments of peoples and cohered into the Hungarian nation.

Slovak history was similar. In the course of one thousand and one hundred years Czech, Moravian, Polish, Slovene, Croat, Serb, pseudo-Hussite, German, Ruthene, and Ukrainian people flocked into the Carpathian Basin and slowly became a nation with literary language. All of this happened under “terrible Hungarian oppression” under the government’s nose. During the same time the English divested the Welsh, Scottish and Irish people – not to mention the Norwegians, Danes, Cornwallians and Frisians on the island – of their statehood and language. So sweeping was their success that since 1936 only ten percent of independent Ireland’s population properly speaks their ancestral language. The Scots and Welsh fared no better.

The “French Revolution” (Liberty-Fraternity-Equality) “invented” the previously unknown “nation-state”. Then and for many years after, the Gauls were a minority in France. The Germans, Corsicans, Basques, Occitanians, Normans, Italians, Bretons and others comprised over half of the population. This did not concern the revolutionary government. In fact, they sought to “improve” the situation, even with the use of force. They banned all non-French speaking language schools, and literature, with bloody consequences. The Bretons revolted against tyranny and fought for their language, schools, and church for years.

The pack of thieves and murderers, sent to put down the revolt, were recruited from the mobs, and under the leadership of General Turreau they slaughtered whole towns and cities. The county of Vendee, whose entire population was wiped out under terrible circumstances, cannot be erased from the people’s memory. If anyone is interested in this, do a Google search on Turreau or Vendee. Consider taking a sedative beforehand...

Mr. Slota! If we had done this with your people, your complaint and request for an apology would be well founded. But we did not do this to your people. In the few decades before the First World War the government did indeed make pathetically weak attempts to oppress the few Slovak leaders who were gradually gaining self-conscious-

ness and falling for pan-Slavism. These attempts, however, are dwarfed by Czechoslovakia's and independent Slovakia's wild, illegal, and inhumane anti-Hungarian measures carried out by fire and sword.

The myth of "Hungarian oppression" has been under constant development since Trianon. Today, news has it that every Hungarian teacher slapped every student who did not speak Hungarian. The ideologues of Matica and the ultra-right wing parties explain and support all anti-Hungarian measures by retelling the "thousand year suffering" nursery story. Today, the unceasingly voiced accusations" the Slovak national gendarme under the command of a Slovak lieutenant firing into the mob, near Rózsahegy, the closing of the small Slovak high school, the "stealing" of the "Slovak patriarchal" double cross crest" have been branded into not only the Slovak, but also the western public's mind.

Let us quote a few sentences (Paris, 1920) from a highly authentic Slovak leader, Pater Hlinka (whose words quoted below would most preferably be denied by many) on Slovak-Czech relations: "But in three months, indeed, after only three weeks, the veil was lifted. In this short time we have suffered more from the high-handed Czechs than we did from the Magyars in a thousand years. Now we know: *Extra Hungariam non est vita* (outside of Hungary there is no life for us). Remember these words, time will prove their truth. Benes is an ambitious knave." (SUITORS AND SUPPLIANTS" by Stephen BONSAL, US diplomat).

The Slovak Parliament recently „canonized" Pater Hlinka, but you probably do not realize, or do not want to realize, that in the end, Hlinka wanted to remain under the Hungarian crown with complete autonomy given to a few northern, Slovak-populated counties.

If you are interested in more of what Pater Hlinka had to say, you should read: Stephen Bonsal "*Suitors and Suppliants. The Little Nations at Versailles*"

Besides falsifying the history of Hungarian-Slovak coexistence, more can be said at the expense of the Slovak extremists who thrive on hating Hungarians.

1. The incorporation of Hungarian populated territories after 1918, which is contrary to every international, human, and collective right. *What is the worth of a people's right to self-determination, which they claim only for themselves and do not even consider for others?*
2. The Benes Decrees are still alive today. They are a functional part of the Slovak (and Czech) constitution. They were the means by which the Hungarians were stripped of their rights. Further, they provided the foundation for the confiscation of the Hungarians' individual and collective properties. Your parliament has ossified this shame of Europe for the greater glory of human rights.
3. Forced population exchange.
4. Inhumane relocation of approximately forty thousand Hungarians to the Sudeten region.

5. Murders that greatly outnumber the famous gendarme casualties trumpeted throughout the world.
 - a. Pozsonyigetfalu: the slaughter of 90 unarmed young levente (paramilitary org.) returning home
 - b. The slaughter of part of Dobsina's male population (approximately 120 people) on the other side of the Czech border
 - c. How exactly was the forced expulsion of the majority of Bratislava's (Pozsony) Hungarian population to Pozsonyigetfalu? According to the report of the camp doctor there was an extraordinarily high rate of infant mortality in the internment camp due to poor provisions. Who were the prisoners of the internment camp?

And now you want to get rid of Hungarian language signs in Pozsony because "the percentage of Hungarians is less than 20%." Modestly hiding the fact that you are fully responsible for creating this situation

6. How many Hungarian schools did you close since 1919? Can you still count that number?
7. How many hectares of land and other real estate did you steal from the Hungarians?
8. You reorganized the historical county system, which developed in the course of a millennium according to geographical circumstances. You changed the county system only to divest the Hungarians of their political influence!
9. Throughout the centuries the Hungarian Catholic church had numerous Slovak bishops and even archbishops. How many ethnic Hungarian bishops do the Hungarians of Slovakia have today? In case you don't know, let me tell you: Not one!
10. You have even rearranged the Episcopal borders to eliminate the Hungarian majority in historical ones...

Perhaps it is time for us to face the historical myths built on hatred of Hungarians. Established Hungarian historiography never recognized the tradition of our Hun origins. You, however, unflinchingly reclaim "Svatopluk's heritage." Of course this will slowly but surely come to an end due to the work of foreign and honest Slovak historians. Perhaps it would not be redundant for some of your Matica-bred historians to read the German Martin Eggers book: "Das Grossmährische Reich – Realität, oder Fiction?" And then there are the military reports and tax documents of Charles the Great's Kingdom in Aachen... You would be scratching your ears...

We Hungarians and Slovaks have a thousand years of common history. Our kings were your kings as well. Under the Holy Crown you had the same rights as anyone in the Carpathian Basin. Just don't try to demand modern rights for the feudal era, because those were quite the same in all of Europe. If we were serfs, you were also; if we were free, you were also free. If your landowners treated you harshly, so they treated us. You have no cause to complain.

During my trips to Slovakia I experienced numerous, thought-provoking manifestations of antagonism. Based on my past experiences, they were incomprehensible. We have antagonistic feelings only towards the Soviets and Romanians, Serbs, but that antagonism does not play out in individual relations. I have had coworkers from these groups. Often we sat together at lunch, but it never occurred to us to give either verbal or physical expression to our mutual antipathy. This, however, was exactly what I experienced in northern Slovakia.

We never had any problems with the Slovak people. The primitive politician, teacher, and journalist who makes a living by hating Hungarians has caused much, almost irreversible, damage to the traditional good relations between the two nations. If this could ever be turned around, both people would have much to gain. Sooner or later, even the most vehement Slovak nationalist will realize that our peoples are dependent on each other in both the political and economic realms. If the Slovaks abandon their forceful Hungarian-exterminating experiment and give them complete autonomy, they would gain an eternal friendship. State borders slowly fade, but – according to the laws of biology – ethnic borders stay on for centuries.

Regarding membership in NATO and the EU: Chauvinistic person that denies the most basic human and self-governing rights from a minority shoved into its claws has no business in these organizations. In times when Great Britain frees most of Ireland and gives more-or-less autonomy to Scotland and Wales, or Spain to the Basques and Catalans, Italy to South Tyrol and – *horribile dictu* – the French to Corsica, the independence of Kosovo, where is Slovakia heading toward? On what grounds does it consider itself to be immune to these changes? Especially when it has sovereignty over regions populated not long ago by only Hungarians.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ROMANIANS

*Based On Chapter VIII Of Andre Du Nay:
The Formation and the Early History of the Rumanian Language*

VIII. the Theory of Daco-Roman Continuity

According to this theory, the Rumanian language is the continuation of Latin spoken between 106 and 271 A.D. in Dacia Traiana. In the preceding chapters, we have seen that several circumstances – such as the existence in the Rumanian language of all more important innovations in Late Latin, the typical Balkan features of this language, the lack of geographical names of Latin origin north of the lower Danube etc. – are incompatible with the theory. In the following, the theory of continuity will be analyzed in some detail.

1. The notion of “Daco-Roman” is not well defined; see for example the definition given by Protase (2000, p. 5, footnote 1): [we consider to have been Daco-Roman] “all the communities formed by Roman provincials [...] and Romanized local Dacians [...] and those free Dacians living along the borders, who came after the abandon of the province by Emperor Aurelian and who settled in former Dacia Traiana, became Romanized, Christianized and thus were, before the immigration of the Slavs, integrated into Carpatho-Danubian Romanity.”

The area of formation of Romanian is shown as “north of the Danube”; *or* (for example by Cătănescu 1996, p. 44): “in the Romanized territory north, as well as south of the Danube”. It is often stated that the Romanization of the Dacians started already before the occupation of (part of) Dacia and continued after the Romans left. It must be mentioned, however, that C. Daicoviciu opposed this view, stating that no Romanization could have occurred outside of the Roman Empire.

2. A critical analysis.

(a) Roman Dacia. The question of the presence of Dacians in the province: according to the information we have about Roman Dacia, the number of Dacians living there was insignificant: no *civitates peregrinae* (which were important settlements of natives in other Roman provinces) were formed; no Dacian gods were worshiped (in other provinces, worship of the autochthonous gods was usual); there are only a few Dacian names on inscriptions (below 2%; in other provinces 20-25% of these names belong to the autochthonous, pre-Roman population). – A. Philippide (I, 1923, p. 641) has analyzed the historical sourc-

es about the different peoples who lived in the Balkans and in the Roman province of Dacia (106–271 A.D.) and concluded: „Among the enormous mass of immigrants, the autochthonous Dacian population formed an insignificant minority.”

The question of the presence of Dacian or Thracian elements in the Rumanian language: These ancient Balkan languages are poorly known. Among almost 200 Thracian words in Russu’s Rumanian-Thracian dictionary (1967), not a single one has a Rumanian counterpart.

Chart nr. 3. – The Roman province of Dacia (106–271 A.D.) The frontiers of present day Rumania as well as those of the Republic of Moldavia in the East (with about 66% Rumanians in the population) are shown. – (After E. TÓTH, ERT, 1989, p. 38.)

„The fact that we do not possess ancient or medieval attestations of the autochthonous lexical elements is a grave gap in the documentary material which could throw some light upon the problem of the beginnings and the ancient phase in the development of the Rumanian and Albanian idioms and popular communities” (Russu 1967, p. 215).

(b) After the Romans abandoned Dacia in 271 A.D. Rumanian archaeologists have asserted the existence of Daco-Romans in a number of settlements in Transylvania after the Romans left the province. Free Dacians are assumed to have migrated to the territory and even the Romanization of these is supposed, which is, however, not proved, and very unlikely. These theories are based mainly on archeological material of Roman provincial character. Such material is, however, found in large parts of Europe in the epoch in question, because Roman products were exported to the “Barbarian” peoples and even imitated by these. The asserted settlements of “Daco-Romans” were left and depopulated after a short time (about a century). Beginning with the 5th century, “the Roman traditions disappear” (Protase 2000, p. 70).

On the basis of historical records and archaeological finds, the history of the territories north of the lower Danube after the Romans left Dacia may concisely be described as follows:

Following the evacuation by the Romans, *free Dacians* settled in some parts of the territory. In the 4th century, *Goths* lived in Ukraine, Moldova and Transylvania (the *Sânt Ana de Mureş–Cerniahov* culture). The Goths were Christianized in this century. Iordanes (*Getica*, XXV, §131) indicates that the Goths living in Transylvania did not know Latin.

The Gothic Kingdom was, in the year 376, defeated by the *Huns*.

After the defeat of the Hun Empire in 453, and the death of Attila, the *Gepidae*, another Old German people, settled in a large territory from the river Sava to the Eastern Carpathians (the kingdom of the Gepidae, 475–567 A.D.). Iordanes, *Getica* (quoted by *Fontes* II, p. 419) writes: “This Gothia, by our ancestors called Dacia, which is now called Gepidia...”

The kingdom of the Gepidae was defeated in 568 by the Avars, but Gepidae lived in Transylvania until about the year 675. Thus, Old Germanic people lived in Transylvania for more than three centuries. Their settlements were in the Transylvanian Basin and in the valleys of the great rivers – in the same territories, in which Daco-Romans are assumed to have been living. At least a number of Old-Germanic lexical elements would have been borrowed by these (the Albanian shepherds on the Balkans borrowed a large number of Latin words from the Latin-speaking people living in the valleys and on the plains). The lack of an Old Germanic influence in Rumanian is one of the circumstances which are incompatible with the theory of Daco-Roman continuity, as pointed out among others by the Swedish Romanist Alf Lombard.

The *Avars* occupied the territories of the Gepidae; Avar settlements were discovered mainly in the central areas of Transylvania. In the valley of the river Mureș, north of Alba Iulia, existed a late Avar center (around the year 700). The Avar Empire was defeated in 795–796 by the Franks. Avars are mentioned in the chronicles as late as in 822.

The *Slavs* migrated to the territory of present day Rumania beginning with the 6th century (the *Suceava-Șipot* culture). The first settlements of Slavs in Transylvania can be dated earliest to the 7th century. In the Hungarian (Székely) toponymy of the territory of the Székelys in south-eastern Transylvania, there are names of Slavic origin: e.g. *Kászón* (> Rum. *Căsin*), *Rika* (from Sl. *rijeka* ‘brook’) etc. In north-western Transylvania, western Slavs settled. In the 9th century, a part of southern Transylvania was occupied by *Bulgarians*, who at that age spoke their original Turk language.

The Slavs who settled in the 6th century in the Balkans borrowed a large number of Latin toponyms. *North of the lower Danube there is not a single place name or geographical name of Latin origin.* Only ancient names – those of the great rivers – were preserved. The phonetic features of these names indicate that they were mediated to the Hungarians, the Saxons and the Rumanians by a Slavic population.

In the 10th–11th centuries, *Patzinaks* (Pecenegs) lived in Muntenia and in some parts of south-eastern Transylvania. Patzinak toponyms have survived to our days, as well as names containing their ethnic name: there are, outside of the Carpathians, Rom. *Pece-neaga*, *Pecenevca* (borrowed from Slavic); within the Carpathians in Hungarian: *Besenyő* (borrowed by Rum. in the form of *Beșineu*), as well as in German: *Beschenebach* (> Hung. *Besinbák* > Rum. *Beșimbac*).

Towards the end of the 11th century, the *Cumans*, who, as the Patzinaks, also belonged to Turk peoples, occupied the extra-Carpathian territories, which in contemporary chronicles are named *Cumania*. The Cumans played an important role in the orga-

nization of the Rumanians (N. Iorga, 1927–1928). The first borrowings of lexical elements by Rumanians north of the Danube were from Cumanian (e.g. *beci* 'cellar; jail', *toi* 'climax; middle'); the number of toponyms of Cumanian origin is higher: e.g. *Cara-cal*, *Comanul*, *Valea lui Coman* etc. This indicates that in the time of the Cumans, i.e. in the 12th or the 13th century, Rumanians lived in (parts of) Muntenia and Moldova. In the early 13th century, the Cumans were members of the Christian Church (the Bishopric of the Cumans was organized at Milcov, in Moldova). The Cumans were defeated by the *Tartar* invasion in 1241–1242.

A population living of agriculture and animal husbandry, the *Hungarians* started to settle, in the early 10th century, in the central areas and in the valleys of Transylvania. They met *Slavs* in several places, as shown by the number of Hungarian toponyms of Slavic origin. Most of the ancient place names and geographic names in Transylvania are, however, of Hungarian origin. The oldest stratum of these names was formed between the 11th century and the middle of the 13th century (toponyms with the suffixes *-d* and *-i* were formed in this period, those without a suffix were formed until the end of the 13th century). Names of different populations appear in Hungarian toponyms: these are, until the mid-13th century, Hungarians, Turk peoples, Slavs, Germans etc. The ethnic name of the Rumanians ("Vlach") appeared for the first time in 1292: *Vlachi de Elye*, *possessio olachalis Elye*.

Map nr. 4. – The Hungarian settlements in the 13th century in Transylvania (names in nominative, names formed with -i, names formed with the name of a Catholic Saint). – ⊥ ⊥ ⊥ = the limits of the territories of the Hungarian settlements. The map shows that the Hungarians settled mainly in the central lowlands and in the valleys of the rivers (From ERT 1989, p. 172.)

The name of Transylvania appeared in a document dated in the year 1075, in the Latin form of *Ultra siluam* 'beyond the forest'. In the same century, *Partes Transsilvaniae* appeared, and thereafter, the documents of the Hungarian kingdom use the name *Transsilvania*. The people did not speak Latin; the Hungarian name of the territory was *Erdöelve* 'territory beyond the forest', documented for the first time in the *Gesta Hungarorum* by Anonymus: *Erdeelvv*, in its modern form: *Erdély*. The popular Rumanian name of Transylvania, *Ardeal*, first documented in 1432: *Ardeliu*, is the borrowing of this.

Other assumptions made on the basis of Daco-Roman continuity: A number of presuppositions have been made *without any substantial evidence*, for example: Latin was a *lingua franca* in former Dacia; Christianity was spread there in Latin in the 4th century; the population north of the lower Danube had had, in the 4th to the 6th centuries, close contacts with the Romans living in the provinces south of the Danube etc.

The assumption of the Daco-Roman origin in the Rumanian language of the basic notions of the Christian faith (e.g., Maria Cvasnîi Cătănescu 1996, p. 56) is wrong. A number of such terms, for example (present day Rumanian) *păgîn* 'heathen', *biserică* 'church', *păresimi* 'Lent' were created earliest in the 4th century, when Dacia no longer was part of the Roman Empire. These term were inherited as a part of Latin during the 4th to the 7th centuries on the Balkan Peninsula.

As regards the *Gesta Hungarorum of Anonymus*: the aim of this author was not to describe the settlement of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin – his work belongs to the romantic tales in fashion in Western Europe in the 11th–12th centuries. He was not able to write an historical record, since his knowledge about the situation in a remote past (three centuries earlier) was very scarce. He knew nothing about persons, events, battles that we know from reliable sources; and what the anonymous author describes in his *Gesta* cannot be found in other texts about the epoch in question.

Full text is available on the attached CD

ROMANIAN FALSIFICATION OF HISTORY

“In December of 1986, I got a call from a colleague at The Toronto Sun newspaper telling me about a book he just received from the Romanian Embassy in Ottawa called “Horthyist-Fascist Terror in Northwestern Romania, September 1940 - October 1944” by Meridiane Press of Bucharest. The title refers to former Hungarian regent Miklós Horthy and to the fact that in 1940 Hungary was given back northern Transylvania from Romania.

You should come down and take a look at this, he said.

Apparently, most media outlets and all Members of the Canadian Parliament got a copy as a sort of Christmas present from the embassy.

And what I saw was a book packed full of statistics and eye-witness accounts about Hungarian troops killing and torturing Romanian civilians during those war years. Most of these episodes were totally unknown to me. And I couldn't corroborate them in any western reference work.

That's not to say that there were no Hungarian atrocities committed by Hungarians against Romanians. There were some, but not many. At least, according to most historians outside of Romania. (The Hungarian Army court martialled the guilty commanders. One of them was put in charge of a penal company. His men killed him. Editor)

But what really caught my eye were the photos. They were pictures of Hungarian soldiers and military police hurting or killing - other people with the caption saying that this was another Hungarian atrocity against a Romanian. Most of the pictures looked totally faked. Anyway, would people really let photos be taken of themselves caught in the act? Maybe, certainly some Nazis had, but I was getting more and more skeptical.

So I went for an expert opinion. I approached Vern Phillips, a renowned forensic photographer in Toronto. I explained the situation.

– Look, said Phillips. I'm willing to look at this, but I don't want to get drawn into this Hungarian-Romanian conflict. –

Fair enough, I told him. I just want to know if these photos are genuine.

I then dropped off the book to him. A week later the phone rang. It was Phillips.

– Just wanted to let you know I have finished examining the photos.–

And?, I asked?

– Probably most, maybe all are faked. The angles are wrong, pictures are enhanced, you can see that things or people have been super-imposed.–

Would you say that at a press conference?, I asked.

–Yes.–

So on Tues., Mar. 24, 1987, the HHRF (Hungarian Human Rights Foundation) called a press conference for 2 p.m. at the Hungarian-Canadian Centre on 840 St. Clair Ave. West in Toronto the same locale we used for our group's meetings. Organizing it was an Anglo-Saxon PR person who did a great job.

Present was one of Canada's biggest TV networks, Global TV, two of Toronto's three dailies: The Toronto Sun, The Globe and Mail, various radio stations and other smaller media outlets.

And then Phillips presented his results: Page 4 photo contrived, page 34 photo copied out of book, page 63 bandages appear uniformly fresh, and shadows wrong, the same people were being used in various photos for different time frames, etc.

The Romanian Embassy looked like fools. And at the end of the press conference we announced that we asked Ontario's Attorney-General Mr. Ian Scott to lay hate-literature charges against the Romanian Ambassador to Canada, Emilian Rodean and against the Romanian Embassy 's Second Secretary and press attaché, Dumitru Barbulescu, for distributing the anti-Hungarian book.

That night on TV and on radio, and the next day in the papers a lot was made of it.

HUNGARIANS ASK SCOTT TO CHARGE ROMANIANS was The Globe and Mail headline.

HUNGARIANS URGE PROBE OF "HATE LIT", cried out The Toronto Sun.

The Romanians laid low. The Sun was able to find Rodean at home. His response was: They (the books) simply tell the truth. The book describes what was done by the Horthyist authorities

ROMANIAN ATROCITIES

COMMITTED BETWEEN THE FALL OF 1944 AND EARLY 1945 IN NORTHERN TRANSYLVANIA. ASSEMBLED BY THE OFFICE FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE PEACE TREATY OF BUDAPEST OF THE ANTI-HUNGARIAN ATROCITIES *Budapest, spring of 1946*

1944. September 22. Árkos, Háromszék county /Arcuş, Trei Scaune/

István (Stephen) Kovács, resident of Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe), 55 Jokai Street, as plaintiff stated that his Árkos residence was completely looted by members of the Guard. His wife, nearly nine months pregnant, was raped by a non-commissioned officer of the Guard. [Grievance minutes recorded in Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe) January 13, 1945. Minutes signed by plaintiff.]

September 27. Sepsiszentgyörgy, Háromszék county

/Sfântu Gheorghe, Trei Scaune/

Béla Lapikás, resident of Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe), Olt Street 26, as plaintiff stated that he was arrested for wearing an armband of the Romanian tricolor, when he is of Magyar origin. He was wearing the armband because the representative of the storekeepers received instructions from the Mayor. During his arrest, he was beaten. Later, he was released in return for 6,000 Leu. While under arrest, his shop windows were broken, his storeroom in the basement of City Hall was broken into, his shop broken into five times. His total damages were 150,000 Pengő. [Minutes, recorded at the Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe) police station, January 14, 1945.]

September 25. Szárazajta, Háromszék county /Aita-seacă, Trei Scaune/

The three representatives of the united unions of Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe) recorded the following, after making a trip to the scene, regarding the disturbances by the Iuliu Maniu volunteers in Szárazajta (Aita-seacă) on September 25: In the evening of September 25, news spread through the village that a group of about 35, semi-uniformed and semi-civilian clothed, armed men, under the leadership of Captain Gavril Olteanu arrived in the village. These were the Maniu volunteers. During the night, the volunteers broke into 18 residences and forcibly removed 18 persons, among them women. In the morning, every resident had to report at the schoolyard. The crowd was surrounded by armed-to-the-teeth volunteers. The persons collected during the night were brought out, one by one, stripped to the underwear and lined up along the stone wall on the left. A further 8 persons were picked out of those present and made to stand with the 18, making the number of accused 26. Captain Olteanu then read the indictment against the 26, consisting of various

crimes against members of the Romanian army, and pronounced the death sentence. The sentence was totally without foundation, without any proof. There was no previous examination, or witnesses heard. Sentence was carried out as: A wooden block was placed in the schoolyard. They tried to execute Sándor (Alexander) Nagy as first with a large butcher cleaver. As he was a cripple, with a hunchback, four strikes of the cleaver failed to dispatch him. Next, his brother, András (Andrew) Nagy was killed after two strokes. They shot: Lajos (Louis) Elekes, Benjamin Szabó, Gyula (Julius) Német, Izsák (Isaac) Német, József (Joseph) Málnási, Albert Szép and his wife, Béla Szép, József (Joseph) D. Nagy and Béla Gecse. After that, they shot into the crowd. It killed László (Leslie) Lázár, his nephew was wounded. They then wanted to kill Mrs. Albert Györi but, at the urging of the Romanian population of the village, they relented and let her and the other 13 accused go, on the provision that the gendarmes execute them. They were handed over to the gendarmes but were freed from there. After the executions, the bodies were flailed with ropes and, after the begging of the relatives, were handed over to be taken home and buried. Of the assembled crowd, two persons (Zoltán Incze and Ferenc (Frank) Kálnoki) were horribly beaten in front of all. [Signed by the hand of the three representatives of the examining committee: Bertalan Györi, Béla Kerekes, György (George) Vas.]

September 29. Kozmás, Csík county /Cozmeni, Cuic/

Jakab (Jacob) Bálint, resident of Kozmás (Cozmeni), as plaintiff stated that the Maniu Guardsmen searched his premises for weapons. They found none. They beat him up and took him to guard's barracks, from where he managed to escape with the help of a Soviet soldier. In the meantime, his residence was completely looted and five of his oxen were forcibly driven off his fields. [Minutes recorded at the village administrative offices of Kozmás (Cozmeni), January 12, 1945. Village notary: Vilmos (William) Szabó, assistant village judge: György (George) Boros, witnesses: János (John) Hadnagy, Ferenc (Frank) Máté, Jakab (Jacob) Bálint, István (Stephen) Ábrahám, István (Stephen) Pari, Ignác (Ignatius) Balázs, Mihály (Michael) Veres, Ferenc (Frank) Darvas.]

September 30. Kozmás, Csík county /Cozmeni, Cuic/

István (Stephen) Kozma, resident of Kozmás (Cozmeni), as plaintiff stated that his oxen were driven off and, when he tried to object, was threatened with being shot. [Minutes recorded at the village administrative offices of Kozmás. Witnessed and signed by Albert Péli and Mihály (Michael) Veres.]

Anna András, resident of Kozmás (Cozmeni), as plaintiff stated that her residence was completely looted by members of the Guard. When she objected, she was wrestled to the ground and beaten half to death. [Minutes recorded at the village administrative offices of Kozmás. Witnessed and signed by Mihály (Michael) Szász and István (Stephen) Kozma.]

Mrs. Kozma Potyó, born Julianna Dánel, resident of Kozmás (Cozmeni), as plaintiff stated that her house was completely looted and her one cow was driven away. [Minutes recorded at the village administrative offices of Kozmás. Witnessed and signed by Mihály (Michael) Szász and István (Stephen) Kozma.]

Balázs (Blaise) Sánta, resident of Kozmás (Cozmeni), as plaintiff stated that his house was robbed and, when he went to the village administration center to raise a complaint, was there beaten. He was saved from further thrashing by a Soviet soldier. Mrs. András (Andrew) Bocskor resident of Kozmás (Cozmeni), as plaintiff stated that the Guard stole two of her cows and, when she complained about it, was threatened with a bullet to the head. [Minutes recorded at the village administration offices of Kozmás. Witnessed and signed by Mihály (Michael) Veres and János (John) Hadnagy.]

Albert Péli as plaintiff stated that he had stolen from him one calf, one cow and one pig. [Minutes recorded at the village administrative offices of Kozmás. Witnessed and signed by Béla Bocskor and István (Stephen) Kozma.]

Ferenc (Frank) Kozmás resident of Upper Kozmás (Cozmeni), as plaintiff stated that after he was robbed, he was thrown to the ground and kicked. Later, they came back and took everything that was movable. [Minutes recorded at the village administrative offices of Kozmás. Witnessed and signed by Mihály (Michael) Veres and Ferenc (Frank) Darvas.]

István (Stephen) Ürmösi, as plaintiff stated that they stole his only horse and wagon. [Minutes recorded at the village administrative offices of Kozmás. Witnessed and signed by Mihály (Michael) Veres and Ferenc (Frank) Dobos.]

Ferenc (Frank) J. Dobos, resident of Kozmás (Cozmeni), as plaintiff stated that he was robbed of his two oxen. [Minutes recorded at the village administrative offices of Kozmás. Witnessed and signed by Vilmos (William) Szabó, notary, Ferenc (Frank) Máté, president of the local chapter of the People's Alliance, István (Stephen) Pari, secretary and János (John) Hadnagy, village judge.]

In September.

In the village of Szentmihály, Torda county (Mihai Viteazu, Turda) members of the Maniu Guard shot and killed dr Mihály (Michael) Wolff, landowner, and three other farmers. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 1. Csíkszereda, Csík county /Miercuera-Ciuc, Ciuc/

Gyula (Julius) Hajdú, resident of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc), as plaintiff stated that Emil Netotean, a first lieutenant in the Maniu Guard, and another guardsman kept him locked up for four days and administered daily beatings because he would not surrender the movie projector of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc). While he was kept hostage, the movie projector was stolen. [Extract from the complaints officially recorded, and signed, at the city hall of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc). Mayor: Mihály (Michael) Bálint, recording secretary: Vilma.]

Domokos (Dominic) Lajos, resident of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc), 9 Wesselényi Street, 46 year old housepainter, as plaintiff stated that the Maniu Guard arrested him because he said to a Hungarian man who was fleeing from the Guard: “Man, don’t run. It’s even worse.” Mr. Lajos was bludgeoned half to death by First.Lt. Emil Netotean using a blackjack.. During his arrest, he saw one Lajos (Louis) Derzsi, carpenter, and four of his associates being beaten until they passed out. They also battered two Magyar women, too. [Extract from the complaints officially recorded at the city hall of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc). Mayor: Mihály (Michael) Bálint, recording secretary: Vilma.]

Mrs. Antal (Anthony) Kolozsi, resident of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc), 98 Vár Street, as plaintiff stated that members of the Maniu Guard forced entry into their home where her husband was alone at the time. The husband was beaten, their jewels and clothing were taken. They tried to force her husband to swallow the child’s cadet medal. [Extract from the complaints officially recorded at the city hall of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc). Mayor: Mihály (Michael) Bálint, recording secretary: Vilma.]

Dénes (Denis) Sorbán, jail warden, resident of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc), 90 Vár Street, as plaintiff stated that the Maniu Guard robbed him under the guise of searching his residence. When they saw the three stars and medals on his railway identification, one of the bandits stabbed Sorbán with a bayonet, afterwards three of them piled on the jail guards while two began to abuse and beat his wife. Later, they handed him a shovel, to dig his own grave. When they got bored with their torture, they left. “I’ll take death any time, rather than have this Romanian mob rule over us,” Sorbán ended his deposition. [Extract from the complaints officially recorded at the city hall of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc). Mayor: Mihály (Michael) Bálint, recording secretary: Vilma.]

Ferenc (Frank) Péter, resident of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc), 62 Vár Street, as plaintiff stated that 10 Maniu Guardsmen entered his house, put on his best clothes and left. [Extract from the complaints officially recorded at the city hall of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc). Mayor: Mihály (Michael) Bálint, recording secretary: Vilma.]

Tamás (Thomas) Tőkés, retired railway guard, resident of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc), 3 Erdő Street, as plaintiff stated that Guardsmen searched his house for weapons and ammunition. After not finding any, they robbed the house. Tőkés wanted to raise a complaint at the Russian commandanture but, accidentally, he was directed to the Guard’s barracks. There, after he presented his complaint, he was slapped and beaten. [Extract from the complaints officially recorded at the city hall of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc). Mayor: Mihály (Michael) Bálint, recording secretary: Vilma.]

Mrs. Elek Gáll, resident of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc), 148 Vár Street, as plaintiff stated that her house was searched for weapons and ammunition. None was found. Everything movable was stolen and the woman was beaten with a flag-pole that her body was black for weeks from the thrashing. [Extract from the complaints officially

recorded at the city hall of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc). Mayor: Mihály (Michael) Bálint, recording secretary: Vilma.]

October 2. Csíkszentlélek, Csík county /Leliceni, Ciuc/

János (John) Duka, school administrator, as plaintiff stated that at the time the Maniu Guards entered, he was in the neighboring village of Csíkszentlélek (Leliceni) where a group of 40 armed men, semi-uniformed and semi-civilian clothed, went through the village robbing. They threw the widowed Mrs. Imre Szakács to the ground, beat her while yelling: “You know, this is now Romania and we came to kill every Magyar.” [Extract from the complaints officially recorded at the city hall of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc). Mayor: Mihály (Michael) Bálint, recording secretary: Bajnód Vilma. Signed by János (John) Duka and witnesses by Ignác (Ignatius) Gáll and Gábor (Gabriel) Albert.]

October 3. Csíkszereda, Csík county /Miercuera-Ciuc, Ciuc/

Domokos (Dominic) Potyó, Ferenc (Frank) Máté, Gyula (Julius) Silló and Gábor (Gabriel) Albert, resident of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc), as plaintiffs stated that three Maniu Guardsmen attacked them in the street from behind because they did not greet them. Potyó’s teeth were broken, the others beaten. [Extract from the complaints officially recorded at the city hall of Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc) on January 12, 1945. Mayor: Mihály (Michael) Bálint, recording secretary: Vilma.]

October 6. Gyergyószentmiklós, Csík county /Gheorgheni, Ciuc/

Lajos (Louis) Bagi, mayor of Gyergyószentmiklós (Gheorgheni), stated that a platoon of volunteers under Gavril Olteanu and Ioan Netoteanu (*sic* – actually Emil Netoteanu) kept looting the village for 6 days. {Deposition in Gyergyószentmiklós (Gheorgheni), January 11, 1945.]

October 7. Dánfalva, Csík county /Danesti, Ciuc/

Gergely (Gregory) Kajtár, as plaintiff stated that as he was coming home from the fields Maniu Guardsmen beat him up and took his two horses and carriage. According to the testimony of József (Joseph) Buzási, resident of Dánfalva, the Maniu Guardsmen took his wagon, two horses and horsewhipped him.

Ignác (Ignatius) Pál, resident of Dánfalva (Danesti), as plaintiff stated that Maniu Guardsmen, under the command of Captain Olteanu, confiscated his wagon and two horses. He also knows that they also took two horses and a wagon from Péter (Peter) Zsók, also of Dánfalva (Danesti). [Based on a report by the Hungarian People’s Alliance of Romania.]

October 8. Szentdomokos, Csík county /Sîn-Domocoş, Ciuc/

Mrs. Domokos Albert, born Anna Tímár, resident of Szentdomokos (Sîn-Domocoş), as plaintiff stated that the members of the Guard shot her 20 year old nephew. He was

buried in the Gábor (Gabriel) garden, along with several other murdered Szentdomokos (Sîn-Domocoş) residents.

The widowed Mrs. László (Leslie) Kósa, born Erzsébet (Elizabeth) László, resident of Szentdomokos (Sîn-Domocoş), as plaintiff stated that her husband László (Leslie) was shot by the Maniu Guard under the command of Captain Olteanu and buried by them at the scene in the Gábor garden, along with several other murdered Szentdomokos (Sîn-Domocoş) residents.

The widowed Mrs. József (Joseph) Kurkó, born Anna Kedves, resident of Szentdomokos (Sîn-Domocoş), as plaintiff attested that husband, Joseph, was shot by a member of the Maniu Guard under the command of Captain Olteanu.

The widowed Mrs. Antal (Anthony) Szakács, born Julia Zsák, as plaintiff attested that her husband Anthony and her son, Imre (Emery), were shot and killed by Maniu Guardsmen.

Gyula (Julius) Szabó, clerk in the local administration, resident of Szentdomokos (Sîn-Domocoş), as plaintiff attested that the Maniu Guard shot 9 men and 2 women in the Gábor garden, who were: Lajos (Louis) Zsók, Albert Péter, János (John) Kósa, József (Joseph) Kurkó, Antal (Anthony) Szakács, Imre (Emery) Szakács, Lajos (Louis) Bíró, Sándort (Alexander) Tímár, Ferenc (Frank) Kedves, Mrs. J. György and Mrs. A. Bodor. On the orders of the captain, they were buried in a common grave.

Sándor (Alexander) Bodó, resident of Szentdomokos (Sîn-Domocoş), as plaintiff attested that his wife, born Anna Bács, was shot by members of the Maniu Guard.

According to the testimony of Mrs. L Zsók, born Julia Bara, her husband Lajos (Louis) was shot in the Gábor garden by members of the Maniu Guard. Before they took him to the place of his execution, he was seriously abused in his own yard. The wife, in spite of still being in bed after giving birth, wanted to hurry to her husband's side but the soldiers threatened her with also being shot.

According to the testimony of Mrs. Lajos (Louis) Bíró, widowed, born Anna Szabó, her husband, Lajos, was shot and killed by Maniu Guardsmen.

According to Áron (Aaron) Márton, farmer in Szentdomokos (Sîn-Domocoş), his mother-in-law, the widowed Mrs. J. György, 84, born Ágnes (Agnes) Kedves, was shot to death by the Maniu Guard.

According to the testimony given by Mrs. Lajos (Louis) Kedves, born Zsuzsanna (Susanna) Péter, widowed, her son, Ferenc (Frank) Kedves was shot and killed by members of the Maniu Guard. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 9. Csikkarcfalva, Csík county /Cârța, Ciuc/

According to the testimony given by Mrs. I. Bálint, born Borbála (Barbara) Kósa, her husband was shot by Maniu Guardsmen at the site of the cattle market.

According to testimony presented by Ágoston (Augustine) Karda, resident of Csikkarcfalva (Cârța) István (Stephen) Bálint, farmer in the neighborhood, who just returned

from the front and had not had time to turn in his weapon, was executed at the cattle market. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 10. *Dánfalva, Csík county /Danesti, Ciuc/*

According to testimony given by the widowed Mrs. K. Kató, born Róza (Rose) Kedves, her husband, Károly (Charles) Kató, 44, a farmer, was shot and killed by guardsmen under the command of Captain Olteanu. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 10. *Csikmadaras, Csík county /Mădăraș, Ciuc/*

According to the testimony of farmer Antal (Anthony) Péter, 44, when he went to the police station to hand in his weapon, he was severely beaten by the Maniu volunteers. Pál (Paul) József, Antal (Anthony) János, Bálint Péter and Károly (Charles) Kató of Dánfalva (Danesti), and Lázár Hajdú were already being held in the police station. They were all tortured several times, then Lázár Hajdú and Károly (Charles) Kató were executed. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 12. *Fejérd, Kolozs county /Feiurdeni, Cluj/*

Mihály (Michael) Kalló, Magyar municipal judge, was arrested by Romanian soldiers and taken away trussed up. His body was later found in a ditch. [Based on a report by Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) office the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 14. *Alsóilosva, Szolnok-Doboka county /Ilișua, Someș/*

Jenő (Eugene) Ajtai, former municipal judge, was so badly beaten in the Guard's precinct house that he was in bed for a long time. The charges raised against him were not proved.

Jenő (Eugene) Horváth, 70 year old craftsman, had his house broken into by guardsmen, he and his family assaulted, his windows broken.

István (Stephen) Füzes, crippled war veteran, was beaten twice.

János (John) Nagy, craftsman, had his windows broken and himself assaulted.

Károly (Charles) Lukács had his home invaded and him mistreated.

Mrs. János (John) Oláh was robbed by members of the Guard.

Sándor (Alexander) Pap, craftsman, was slapped in the face in the house of the municipal judge.

The Reformed Church minister was robbed, the doors and windows [of the rectory] stripped and dispersed, the church laid waste and used to satisfy their bodily functions.

Mrs. Dániel Kovács' store was looted, her stores of grain carted off. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 14. Bethlen, Szolnok-Doboka county/Beclean, Someș/

The Romanian population seriously battered and robbed local Magyars: Ferenc (Frank) Tóth, Sándor (Alexander) Elekes, Márton (Martin) Gergely, István (Stephen) Szakács and László (Leslie) Kerekes. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 14. Kendilóna, Kolozs county /Luna de Jos, Cluj/

The guardsmen robbed and killed the widowed Mrs. Imre Nagy, wife of the retired Reformed minister.

Dr. Artúr (Arthur) Tompa and his two elderly sisters-in-law were taken Csonkás section of Doboka and shot. The bodies were not buried for a long time. [Based on a report by the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) office the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 15. Kide, Kolozs county /Chidea, Cluj/

Members of the Maniu Guard robbed every house belonging to a Magyar, took all the money, valuables and edibles. Twenty horses and fourteen cattle were driven away from Magyar farmers.

Mrs. Lajos (Louis) Decsov, mother of four, was beaten.

October 15. Gyergyószentmiklós, Csík county /Gheorgheni, Ciuc/

Deputy mayor Sándor (Alexander) Szmuk made a statement in which he affirmed that Gyula (Julius) Kovács, József (Joseph) Sajgó and Imre Kedves were seized by guardsmen under Olteanu's command and executed in the brick factory. About a week later, judge Mihály (Michael) Boros, Sándor (Alexander) Bányász, the priests Orbán and Madarász were taken by the guardsmen to Tapolca (Toplița). At the bequest of their families, deputy mayor Szmuk made a report to the Russian authorities who forced Olteanu, under threat of execution, to release the prisoners. Sándor (Alexander) Bányász and Mihály (Michael) Boros were seriously beaten by the guardsmen before being released. The guardsmen stayed in the village for eight days, during which they robbed many of the inhabitants; Imre Bíró, Lajos (Louis) Dezső, Karolin Kercsó, Péter (Peter) Burján, János (John) Surján, János (John) Lukács, Konrád (Conrad) Csergő and Sándor (Alexander) Kolumbán were beaten. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 16. Bács, Kolozs county /Baciu, Cluj/

Béla Bakó as plaintiff related that the armed band, under sergeant Pop Vasile Soia, beat up the notary, József (Joseph) Györke, then completely stripped the plaintiff of all valuables. They beat the plaintiff's 18 year old son, Béla, and pregnant wife. His mother-in-law, wife and 15 year old daughter were abducted to an unknown location. [Based on the proceedings of the Office of the High Constable of Kolozsvár (Cluj), October 20.]

October 17. Szászszombor, Szolnok-Doboka county /Jimbor, Someș/

The Guardsmen seriously beat Reformed Church minister Gyula (Julius) Benedek and chased him and his entire family out of the village. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 17. Páncélcseh, Szolnok-Doboka county /Panticeu, Someș/

István (Stephen) Dénes, former municipal judge, Sándor (Alexander) Nagy and Ferenc (Frank) Máté, Magyar males, were abducted by Romanian soldiers. Several months later, their dead bodies were found in a pit, stabbed and slashed. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 17. Néma, Szolnok-Doboka county /Nima, Someș/

The Reformed Church minister and 25 Szekler families were forced to flee under the threats of the Romanian people. They left behind all their goods and chattels. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 19. Szászfenes, Kolozs county /Florești, Cluj/

János (John) Illés and his wife, born Katalin (Kathleen) Kovács, residents of Virágosvölgy (Valea Florilor), as plaintiffs presented that Ilie and Petre Sojan of Szászfenes (Florești), seriously assaulted them and other villagers because they were Magyars. [Based on the proceeding in the Kolozsvár (Cluj) county seat on October 25, 1944.]

October 21. Magyarzsombor, Kolozs county /Zimbor, Cluj/

Romanian gendarme sergeant Vintila had János (John) Albert, municipal notary, Árpád Szilágyi and Sándor (Alexander) Fazekas, mine administrators, abducted by members of the Guard to the nearby forest and shot by them. The following day, the gendarme sergeant ordered the families of József (Joseph) Nyitrai, threshing machine owner, József (Joseph) Lengyel and Lajos (Louis) Csergő, mill lessors, to vacate the village within 3 hours. The homes of the fled were looted. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 21. Egeres, Kolozs county /Aghireșu, Cluj/

Dr. Lajos (Louis) Csögör, the first Deputy High Constable after the liberation, made the following statement regarding the atrocities of Egeres (Aghireșu) to the daily newspaper *Világosság* (Light) of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca). (The statement appeared in the October 27, 1944 issue of the paper.)

“A deputation arrived from Egeres with a serious complaint. According to it, as attested by four witnesses, a gendarme sergeant by the name of Hartia (sic – the sergeant's name was Herta) trussed up 13 persons, 12 Magyars and a German soldier left behind, led them out to the pasture where he had them shot from behind. The same witnesses say that

workers were taken to task for displaying a red flag, then beaten to a pulp. As well, the village men were put to torturously hard labor. The bodies of the killed victims still lie completely stripped naked. A woman is among the victims. According to the testimony of the delegation, the gendarme sergeant armed 40 men, who are all adherents of the old Iron Guard. It was from this group that he arbitrarily formed the municipal council.”

According to the Social-Democratic daily *Kolozsvár* (Cluj-Napoca) newspaper’s May 12 issue, the following persons were shot to death in Egeres (Aghireșu) on October 22: János (John) Kovács, Mihály (Michael) Mikla, Géza Czégeni sr., Géza Czégeni jr., József (Joseph) Vincze, Márton (Martin) Debreczeni, József (Joseph) Rilki, Attila Zoltán, János (John) Sikó, József (Joseph) Hajas, János (John) Ghile, Zsigmond (Sigismund) Juhász, János (John) Hajas and Andor Demény. [The Office of the High Constable of the county of Kolozsvár (Cluj) made an official record of the Egeres atrocities based on the testimony of Mrs. G. Czégeni, Mrs. J. Kovács, Mrs. G. Czégeni (all three widows of victims of the atrocity) and Mrs. G. Vincze (whose son was murdered by the Guardsmen).]

October 23. Ördögösfüzes, Szolnok-Doboka county
/Fizeșu Gherlii, Someș/

The 71 year old elderly father of Zsigmond (Sigismund) Lapohos was ejected from his bed by Vasilia Banuti and Cotica Banuti and beaten so badly in his garden that he died three days later from his wounds.

István (Stephen) Pál, night watchman, while on duty was beaten so badly by Vasilia Banuti and Cotica Banuti that he had to spend weeks in bed. He was attended by Dr. György (George) Sallak, district medical officer. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People’s Alliance of Romania, Ördögösfüzes (Fizeșu Gherlii) district.]

October 23. Fejérd, Kolozs county / Feiurdeni, Cluj/

A Romanian gendarme sergeant ordered the farmer János (John) Kalló and the 19 year old Dezső (Des) Rácz jr. to appear at the municipal offices. The following morning, the 24th, they were found murdered at the edge of the village. [Based on a report by the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) office the Hungarian People’s Alliance of Romania.]

October 24. Kispetri, Kolozs county /Petrinzel, Cluj/

The gendarmes of Váralmás (Almașu) arrested Reformed Church minister Géza Szabó and farmer János (John) Kőpál Urfi. They beat them up in a cellar, then took them away. During the spring thaw, their bodies were discovered in a remote ditch. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People’s Alliance of Romania.]

October 24. Magyarpalatka, Kolozs county /Pălatca, Cluj/

Ferenc (Frank) Nagy, farmer, and his wife were beaten to a bloody pulp with rifle butts by the Guardsmen. Many women were raped. They burned the settlement’s Reformed

elementary school's library, destroyed all physical equipment. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 24. Ördögősfüzes, Szolnok-Doboka county

/Fizeșu Gherlii, Someș/

The local Romanians inflicted serious bodily injury on András (Andreas) Lapohos, István (Stephen) Pál and Lajos (Louis) Deme, all of them farmers. Lapohos died three days later from the injuries he sustained. In the same settlement, three days later, the Guardsmen seriously assaulted the farmer István (Stephen) Hajdu and his wife. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 25. Szászfenes, Kolozs county /Florești, Cluj/

Mrs. György (George) Székely, a resident of Szászfenes (Florești), as plaintiff recounted, according to file 338/1944 of the Office of the High Constable of Kolozs (Cluj) county, that Illés and Péter (Peter) Bojan, both of Szászfenes (Florești), showed up at their residence armed with axes, without any justification beat her husband to such an extent that he had to be taken to the hospital. [Based on the proceedings of the Office of the High Constable of Kolozsvár (Cluj), October 20.]

October 25. Bethlen, Szolnok-Doboka county /Beclean, Someș/

Árpád Kolcza, Reformed Church minister of Bethlen (Beclean), and his wife, as well as Gyula (Julius) Palkó, Reformed Church minister of Szilágypanit (Panic), and his wife committed suicide out of fear, as a result of the continual harassment and threats from the Romanians. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 25. Doboka, Szolnok-Doboka county /Dabaca, Someș/

Árpád Papp, Reformed Church minister, was subjected to a flood of threats, nightly bursts of gunfire aimed at his windows, explosives placed in his garden. He was forced to flee. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 25. Magyardezse, Szolnok-Doboka county /Someș/

Gozma, member of the Romanian Iron Guard, together with armed Maniu Guardsmen, shot the Magyar postmaster and a road grader with seven children. The same persons broke into the house of Sándor (Alexander) Kocsi, Reformed Church minister of Felsőtök (Tiocu de Sus), they robbed the minister then, in the company of his brother-in-law, József (Joseph) Burgya, former chief notary of Nagyiklód (Iclod), were escorted out to the edge of town to be shot. Once there, they were let go after paying for their release. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 25. *Váralmás, Kolozs county /Almaşu, Cluj/*

Mrs. Ferenc (Frank) Kapcsos, widow, currently a resident of Bikalak (Făgetu Ierii), as plaintiff presented her husband Ferenc (Frank) was arrested on October 22 by Simion Tap, the former Romanian municipal judge, and accompanied by a gendarme. He was taken to a cellar, all the while being beaten, and locked up with 12 Magyar men, mostly from Széplak (Suplacu) municipality who were subjected to the most hideous torture and deprivation. On October 25, the gendarmes removed a tied up Ferenc (Frank) Kapcsos to an unknown location. On enquiring, the wife was told at the gendarmerie that her husband was at Zilah (Zalău). On January 14, 1945, children playing in the forest found her husband's half-buried body. She had her husband's body shipped to [Bánffy-]Hunyad (Huedin) and there buried. An official committee convened to examine the case but, in spite of the man's head being crushed and the body showing signs of the most depraved torture, the cause of death was not deemed to be murder. Thus do the authorities cover up the chauvinistic sins of the Romanians. After the death of her husband, the municipal judge Sorin [Simion?] Tap banished the widow from the village. She had to leave all her possessions behind, forbidden to take her movable chattels. [Based on the proceedings of the Office of the Deputy High Constable of Kolozsvár (Cluj), file 1035/1945.]

October 27.

In the villages of Szászfenes (Floreşti), Györgyfalva (Gheorghieni), Magyarlóna (Luna de Sus) and Válaszút (Rascruci) in Kolozs (Cluj) county, members of the gendarmerie are confiscating the goods of ordinary farmers, are beating them and are taking most of them to places unknown. [Világosság (Light), Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), October 27 issue.]

October 30. *Fejérd, Kolozs county /Feiurdeni, Cluj/*

Four members of the Fejérd (Feiurdeni) robbed the residence of István (Stephen) Adorjáni, Reformed Church minister. During the looting, they beat the minister and his 20 year old son, Albert, and the minister's wife received a lash from a whip. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 30. *Alsójára, Kolozs county /Iara, Cluj/*

Emil Polut and Ioan Todor, redidents of Alsójára (Iara) took the Magyar farmer, István (Stephen) Sándor, prisoner and slapped him around on the market square. Several days later, together with a number of other Magyars of Alsójára (Iara), he was taken to Kákova (Cacova Ierii), without any accusation or charges laid, and kept there for three days without food or water. In the end, they were let go in lieu of a 25,000 leu ransom – each. Later, they were again seized and handed to the Russians on suspicion of being a spy. The Soviet military released them, as there was no basis to the charge.

During their absence, the Guard totally looted their residences and farms. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 30. *Bádok, Kolozs county /Bădești, Cluj/*

Irma Telek, a teacher of Magyar origin, was seriously beaten by the Maniu Guard, along with Károly (Charles) Fekete, Reformed Church minister, and his son, also Károly (Charles); the farmers János (John) Mészáros, Ferenc (Frank) Czégeni, Lajos (Louis) Veress sr. and Ferenc (Frank) Péntek were beaten bloody under the allegation that, in 1940, they buried a Romanian flag under the Hungarian flagpole. After their torture, it became apparent that the flag was given to the Romanian priest. [Based on a report by the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) office the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 30. *Nagydevecser, Szolnok-Doboka county*

/Diviçori marj, Someș/

Sámuel (Samuel) Apáti, elderly farmer, was beaten so severely by the Guard that both his arms and two ribs were broken. [Based on a report by the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) office the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 30. *Csíkszereda, Csík county /Miercuera-Ciuc, Ciuc/*

Three Magyars from Hétfalu (Săcele), who moved to Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc) in 1940, decided to return to their village. Members of the Maniu Guard stopped them and told them that there are enough Magyars there, "there is no need for you there." Two of them were shot dead.

In the Csíkszereda (Miercuera-Ciuc) house of Ferenc (Frank) Berek, lived a mason called István (Stephen) from Alsócernáton (Cernat) and in the house of the widowed Mrs. J. Blénesi a Szekler youth called András (Andreas), also from Alsócernáton (Cernat). The two men set out to go home. On the road, they were apprehended by the Maniu Guard and shot dead in the ditch by the side of the railroad beside the state garden supply. Then, the two men were robbed and Lajos (Louis) Fazekas, resident of Csíkszögöd, was forced to bury them. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

October 30. *Bánffyhunyard, Kolozs county /Huedin, Cluj/*

The Maniu Guard killed many Magyar people in and around Bánffyhunyard (Huedin), then made their escape to southern Transylvania. One of the murderers, 18 year old Nicolae Cozak, killed 11 persons, according to testimony from his accomplices. [Világosság (Light), Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), March 30, 1945 issue.]

October 30. *Kalotaszentkirály, Kolozs county /Sâncraiu, Cluj/*

Andor Bálint, notary of Szentkirály and currently resident of [Magyar]Bikal (Bicălatu), as plaintiff recounted that Sándor (Alexander) Potra and two of his mates

showed up at his residence on October 30 and attempted to force him to go with them. He did not obey but escaped from home. The three men, seeing that he is not coming back wanted to force his father, István (Stephen) Bálint, to accompany them to Szentkirály (Sâncraiu). A fight broke out in the house and, when the patrol arrived at the scene to investigate the noise, Sándor (Alexander) Potra and his two accomplices came out to the street and shot into the patrol. One member of the patrol died on the scene, the other later died in the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) hospital, where he was taken due to the seriousness of his wound. On November 3, the head of the Farnas (Sfăraș) gendarme patrol went to the notary's house and demanded 5,000 Leu for the burial of the two dead men, and for their successors. The father of the notary was forced to pay them. [Based on the proceedings of the Office of the High Constable of Kolozsvár (Cluj) county, November 6, 1944, file 737/1944.]

November 1. Csikmenaság, Csík county /Armășeni, Ciuc/

István (Stephen) Karácsony, municipal judge, Ágoston (Augustine) Mihály, municipal treasurer, Márk (Mark) Perpits, municipal notary, Gyula (Julius) István, András (Andreas) István and János (John) István, residents of Csikmenaság (Armășeni), as plaintiffs gave an account that members of the Guard invaded their house and demanded that they hand over all the property of the municipality. When they owned up that the municipal secretary took everything with him, they slapped Gyula (Julius) István around so bad that he became deaf in his right ear. Then they beat up his father, András (Andreas) István and, finally, they dismantled the village's linen factory generator and stole it. [On the basis of a deposition at the municipal office of Csikmenaság (Armășeni), 1945/01/05.]

November 1. Magyarderzse, Kolozs county /Madjarderje, Cluj/

Imre Kaszás, county road watchman, resident of Magyarderzse (Madjarderje), as plaintiff recounted that János (John) Kozma, accompanied by two armed civilians, came to his home and asked why he had not left the village? On receiving the answer that he was poor, with many children, with nowhere to go, he pulled out his revolver and fired three times. He was wounded on the hand and the back of the neck. On November 4, he was again ordered to leave the village. Since then, he has been living on welfare in Kide (Chidea) because he is unable to work due to his wounds. [Based on a deposition in the Office of the High Constable of Kolozs (Cluj), November 16, 1944.]

November 3. Fejérd, Kolozs county /Feiurdeni, Cluj/

Albert Adorjáni, 19 year old student of theology, as plaintiff presents that on the night of November 3, their entire home was looted. Beginning on that day, they had to make twice-daily appearance at the police station, thus could not make the report earlier. [Based on a deposition in the Office of the High Constable of Kolozs (Cluj), November 13, 1944, file 938/1944.]

November 3. Ördögösfüzes, Szolnok-Doboka county

/Fizeşu Gherlii, Someş/

János (John) Cseterky, Reformed Church minister of Ördögösfüzes (Fizeşu Gherlii) complained that Ioan Banuti and Petre Chelem, while drunk, broke into the rectory and beat him up in his bed. He can prove his injuries by a medical report. For two weeks, the congregation his him because the Romanians broke into the rectory at other times looking for the minister. [Based on a report by the Ördögösfüzes (Fizeşu Gherlii) office the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

November 8. Ördögösfüzes, Szolnok-Doboka county

/Fizeşu Gherlii, Someş/

Buzdugan Gavril és Chimpoies Georghe és Siladi Iuon éjjel berontottak Szacsvai Dániel házába. Kimenekült, mire feleségét és leányát verték el. [Based on a report by the Ördögösfüzes (Fizeşu Gherlii) office the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

November 9. Szászfenes, Kolozs county /Floreşti, Cluj/

Mrs. Márton (Martin) Kun Gazda, as plaintiff, states that, in her absence, local Romanian farmer Petru Ilea stole her bicycle and armoire. [Based on a deposition in the Office of the High Constable in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), on November 16, 1944, file 1116/1944.]

Mrs. András (Andreas) Demény, resident of Szászfenes (Floreşti), as plaintiff states that local farmer Petru Ilea, accompanied by two soldiers, stole her sewing machine. [Based on a deposition in the Office of the High Constable in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), on November 13, 1944, file 946/1944.]

November 10. Fejérd, Kolozs county /Feiurdeni, Cluj/

Mrs. István (Stephen) Csonka, resident of Fejérd (Feiurdeni), as plaintiff states that Gheorghe Maier, day labourer of Fejérd (Feiurdeni), is looting the village day after day, with the assistance of the police. [Based on a deposition in the Office of the High Constable in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), on November 12, 1944, file 912/1944.]

November 13. Csíkszentsimon, Csík county /Sânsimion, Ciuc/

Péter (Peter) Virág, 35, resident of Csíkszentsimon (Sânsimion), as plaintiff states that he prevented a Romanian policeman from taking away his sister's sow and 6 piglets. For it, he received such a beating that he spent a week in bed and was unable to work for a long time. [Based on a deposition given in the municipal office of Csíkszentsimon (Sânsimion), on January 12, 1945. Notary: Ferenc (Frank) Boga, MADOSZ president: Balázs (Blaise) Kispál. Witnessed and signed: illegible signature, and Ferenc (Frank) Boga.]

Péter (Peter) Berta, 33, resident of Csíkszentsimon (Sânsimion), as plaintiff resents that he is accused of having taken shots at the police station and the judge's house. At the police station, he was beaten so badly as to sustain serious injuries. The police wanted to execute him and was only released at the behest of Benjamin Darvas. [Based on a deposition given in the municipal office of Csíkszentsimon (Sânsimion), on January 12, 1945. Notary: Ferenc (Frank) Boga, MADOSZ president: Balázs (Blaise) Kispál. Witnessed and signed: Gábor (Gabriel) Jánosi and Sándor (Alexander) Fazekas.]

November 13. Szászfenes, Kolozs county /Florești, Cluj/

Béres Lőrinc Márton, farmer and resident of Szászfenes (Florești), as plaintiff recounts that, after the entry of the Romanian army, the Romanian-born population of the village completely stripped the contents of his house and stole a wagon, his animals and a large amount of feed. [Based on a deposition in the Office of the High Constable of Kolozs (Cluj), on November 13, 1944.]

November 14. Szászfenes, Kolozs county /Florești, Cluj/

János (John) Kovács, plaintiff states that after the entry of the Romanian army, his fellow Romanian farmers appropriated his oxen, two cows and 21 sheep. [Based on a deposition in the Office of the High Constable of Kolozs (Cluj), on November 14, 1944, file 986/1944.]

November 15. Fejérd, Kolozs county /Feiurdeni, Cluj/

István (Stephen) Adorjáni, Reformed Church minister, and his son, Albert, were beaten from their home to the school by three Romanian Guardsmen. At the school, they were laid over a bench and caned. Yielding to the caning and the constant threats, the minister was forced to flee from the village. [Based on a report by the central office of the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

November 16. Csíkszentmárton, Csík county /Sânmartin, Ciuc/

With the transit of the Maniu Guard, the following crimes were committed by them: The memorial statue to the fallen heroes was dismembered by axe and hammer; Mrs. Ferenc (Frank) Gál, Mrs. József (Joseph) Tamás, Mrs. Árpád Bocskor and Margit (Margaret) Nedelka were seriously injured; widespread looting; 30 Szeklers were taken away. Their fate is still unknown. [On the basis of a deposition at the municipal office of Csíkszentmárton (Sânmartin).]

1945.

The most damaging attack by the chauvinistic Romanians against the Magyars of northern Transylvania lay not in the robbery, the looting, the butchery carried out

by the Maniu Guard but in the wholesale abduction of the Magyar male population. On this topic, Pál (Paul) Veress, provincial secretary of the united unions, made the following statement in the September 30, 1945 issue of the *Világosság* (Light): “The Soviet units active in the battle were misled by malicious groups, resulting in the hauling away of the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) Magyars on the suspicion of being partisans. From little Györgyfalva (Gheorghieni) alone, they grabbed 40 Magyar men; from Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), close to 3,000 Magyars. Among them were countless Communists, socialist workers and such leading Magyar men who denied military service and stayed behind in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) for the express purpose of not fighting for German goals and to stay true to their democratic views. Among them were: Andor Járosi, dean of the Evangelical Church and the most intellectual opponent in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) of the Nazi mentality, Ferenc (Frank) Faragó, Roman Catholic teacher of theology, József (Joseph) Petri, Zoltán Kovács, János (John) Bodrogi and József (Joseph) Bartalis, Reformed Church minister-teachers. Dr. Imre Mikó, representative who took an active part in the work of the illegal Left-wing Peace Party, dr. Béla Jancsó MD, dr. László (Leslie) Mikecs, university adjunct professor and a valiant proponent of Magyar-Romanian conciliation, Péter (Peter) Bakk, Ernő (Ernest) Makkai, dr. Ferenc (Frank) Haáz, dr. József (Joseph) Árvay and dr. György (George) Szabó, all anti-German sympathizing teachers and university officials.

We can tell you the following shocking facts regarding their fate: the Magyar men abducted from northern Transylvania were interned by the Romanian authorities in the Földvár (Feldioara) internment camp, close to Brassó (Brasov). Only those women could recount anything of life in the camp who visited their husbands and wrote a letter of their experience to the *Világosság* (Light):

Letter 1:

I visited my son, Stephen, for the first time on January 22. We, a woman who came with me and I, went into the camp's mortuary chapel, where her husband lay dead. Beside him were 13 more dead bodies laid out. On the first occasion of my visit, I was able to personally talk with my son and give him the food I brought with me. Later on, I tried several times to find him but was unable to see him. The food was always taken from me with the assurance that the office will give it to him. Now, on Feb. 16, we again came, the woman I mentioned, but nobody was permitted to speak to their relative. It was only by luck that I was able to speak with him... To my question, whether he received my packages from the previous visits, he said no... While we were standing by the gate of the camp, several hundred women came who brought packages for the German prisoners. We were not allowed to speak to the Magyar prisoners, the

German women, on the other hand, were permitted to speak to the German prisoners as much as they wanted... I was a witness when two Magyar prisoners on a wagon, carting away human excrement, on their way back, begged for a small piece of bread from the German women who had baskets in front of them with bread for the German prisoners but the German women refused. On the same day, two prisoners were bringing another out of the camp on a litter, who one of us recognized as Albert Bara of Csikszentdomokos (Sindominic). Both his legs were frozen off, his flesh was hanging in tatters. The two unfortunates, totally weakened by hunger, were barely able to lift the litter. The guards were laughing out loud while they tried to cope... I saw that these terminally weakened prisoners were being made to dig the graves of the dead prisoners but they are incapable of digging so many graves to accomodate the dead of a day. The women say that last week 19 prisoners were released, those that converted to the Romanian religion.

Letter 2:

We arrived at Földvár (Feldioara) on the afternoon of Feb. 16 ... the prisoners begged us to do something in their case because, if nothing is done, they will all die there. This morning they buried 15 of their companions. Among those buried in the morning was the husband of one of the women who accompanied us, who went crazy from all the horrors she lived through and died like that. The prisoners said that they can't bury the most recent 30 dead in the camp because they can't dig enough graves. In the 5 graves dug today, they were only able to bury 15 bodies. They put 3-4 bodies into a grave but only put one cross above them. They also said that two men from Szilágycseh (Cehu Silvaniei) went berserk and are not going grave digging because they are kept continually tied up. Others are so weakened that they are unable to open their mouths to feed themselves with a spoon... Regarding the food, they complain that to date they got no food at all and now they were given some sort of beans but it was burnt so badly that even the starving men were unable to eat of it... They are so dejected as to renounce their faith, just to be set free from this Hell.

Letter 3:

I was with a woman from the Szilágyság (Sălaj) to visit my brother and my son in the camp at Földvár (Feldioara). They were taken away from home, like the woman's younger brother. They announced that everybody had to show up, every male, with food for 3 days and change of

clothing. When they showed up, they were seized, marched to Zilah (Zalău) and from there here, to this camp. My son told me that on Christmas Day he got two muddy potatoes and, when he took another two to reduce his hunger pangs, the guards beat him terribly. They also beat two of his friends for the same thing... [Világosság (Light) March 1, 1945 issue.]

January 22. Erdőd, Szatmár county /Ardud, Satu Mare/

The removal of the male population continues. At dawn of January 22, 170 residents were rounded up (men and women) and taken to an unknown location. With the group were 130 residents of Szakaszi (Ratești) and 17 residents of Krasznabétek (Beltiu). [Based on a report by the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) office the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

January 22. Krasznasándorfalu, Szatmár county /Șandra, Satu Mare/

Those women were rounded to be taken away whose husbands were previously taken. The abandoned children left behind raised such a crying that the Russian commander stepped in and prevented their transportation. [Based on a report by the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) office the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

January 22. Szatmár county /Satu Mare/

From the Roman Catholic diocese of Szatmár (Satu Mare), among others, the following priests were rounded up and taken away: Ferenc (Frank) Mellau, parish priest of Nagybánya (Baia Mare), Ernő (Ernest) P. Gruber, prior of Nagybánya (Baia Mare), Ferenc (Frank) Monostori, parish priest of Nagymadarász (Mădăras) and gravely ill, László (Leslie) Lengyel, parish priest of Érmindszent (Meceni), father Gellért Semptei, parish priest of Nagykároly (Carei), Károly (Charles) Franzen, parish priest of Aporháza (?), father Elzear Simon, parish priest of Székelyhíd (Săcueni). Noviciates Lajos (Louis) Láng and Ferenc (Frank) Seibel were also taken away. [From the report of the Roman Catholic diocese of Szatmár (Satu Mare).]

January 22. Bere, Szatmár county /Berea, Satu Mare/

Sixteen Magyar males were arrested as 'partisans' and transported to an unknown location. The daughter of Ernő (Ernest) Orosz, Reformed Church minister and pure Magyar, was about to be deported to the Ukraine as a Schwabian. The minister was able to rescue her at the last minute. Fifty-nine persons, among them parents of threes, were deported to the Ukraine as Schwabians, in spite of being Magyars. At several of the train stations, they yelled from the locked boxcars: "We are Reformed Church Magyars and still they are taking us..." [Based on a report by the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) office the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

January 22. Nagyszokond, Szatmár county /Socondul-Mare, Satu Mare/

The Magyar population of the village were counted among the Schwabians to be transported to the Ukraine by the Schwabian chief notary, Kellenberger, and the Schwabian municipal judge, Einholz. The population has already been transported. The Schwabian relatives of the notary and judge remained in the village. As an aside, the notary, Einholz, was a member of the Volksbund. [Based on a report by the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) office the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

January 22. Krasznabéltek, Szatmár county/Beltiug, Satu Mare/

A portion of the village's Magyar population, even though they were of pure Magyar background, were deported to the Ukraine as Schwabians. [Based on a report by the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) office the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

January 22. Sándorfulva, Szatmár county /Satu Mare/

The Magyar male population was rounded up and taken away as Schwabians. [Based on a report by the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) office the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

January 22. Szilágysomlyó, Szilág county /Șimleu Silvaniei, Sălaj/

A portion of the Magyar male population was rounded up and shipped out. Among them was chief notary of the municipality Zoltán Balta, municipal engineer István (Stephen) Kemencsei, high school principal Mihály (Michael) Köhalmi, Iván (Ivan) Berecki, László (Leslie) Iván and László (Leslie) Cserne merchants. They never took part in political activities. To date, they have not returned. [Based on a report by the Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) office the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

February 24.

The Romanian authorities have seized and transported numerous Magyar residents of Northern Transylvania to camps in the various parts of the country. There are about 20-30 deaths daily in these camps due to starvation and disease. In spite of the numerous interventions by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania, no action has been taken. These phenomena are reminiscent of the Fascist death camps. The commandants of the camps prevent the relatives from rendering assistance. The two doctors of the Földvár (Feldioara) camp also contracted typhoid. [Világosság (Light), Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), February 24, 1945 issue.]

March 1.

The Magyar population carried off by the Maniu Guard languish under inhumane conditions. The tortured Magyars are released if they convert to the Romanian religion. They can not talk with their relatives, they can not receive food packages. The

number of dead are rising day by day. The women go mad with grief when they see their husbands starved to a skeleton and with frozen-off feet. [Világosság (Light), Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), March 1, 1945 issue.]

March 7. Kolozsvár, Kolozs county /Cluj-Napoca, Cluj/

The Northern Transylvania Executive Committee of the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania, in its submission to Prime Minister Peter Groza, demanded the disbanding of the Földvár (Feldioara) death camp, and in general that of all the concentration camps. They were created only to subjugate the Magyar people. [Based on a report by the Hungarian People's Alliance of Romania.]

*Hungarian National Archives, Foreign Ministry regarding Romania
XIX-J-1-j, box 18, bundle 16/b, photocopies.*

SZEKLERLAND AND THE SZEKLEERS

The first Romanian Prime Minister signed the 1919 basic agreement in which Romania committed to granting the Transylvanian German and Szekler regions local autonomy.

University professor Valentin Stan, in his program on Antena 3 Conexiun, came out with, untypical for today's Romanian politicians' views, that there is no such region as Szeklerland,, Szeklers do not exist, they do not want autonomy and, in the interest of the unity and integrity of the country, the boundaries of current counties with a Szekler majority should be redrawn. (It is ironic that the pamphlet containing the statements of leading Romanian politicians does not, at all, contain the word 'Magyar,' which, given that a national census is looming, should be closely followed.)

The TV appearance, in a style and views close to the spirit of poet/playwright/journalist Ion Caragiale (1852-1912), was translated into Hungarian by Előd Nemes of Sfântu Gheorghe (Hung.: Sepsiszentgyörgy), and an edited version was posted on the web page of the Erdélyi Magyar Ifjak (Hungarian Youth of Transylvania) from where it was disseminated through several links.

"We are angry with the Szeklers," reasons Valentin Stan, "because they want autonomy at any price... I hear all this... or that Szeklers do not even exist... but my good people, they have the right to ask and we have the right to refuse. But please allow me to show why they want it."

The regular commentator of the TV shows goes on the say that we – meaning the Romanians – ask that the Hungarians respect the Trianon treaty. "But we don't really stick to it. Article 47 states : Romania recognizes and confirms in relations with Hungary... You know, it says there that Romania and not Papua-New Guinea. You see, they are talking about us... what is happening, I ask you, is it another decree?

...this gentleman you see here, he is Vaida-Voevod... since I do not want to become a lone traitor, I thought I would look for serious partners... This is the first Romanian Prime Minister who signed the 1919 treaty in which – what a curse – check out what paragraph 11 writes: Romania agrees to grant local autonomy to the Transylvanian German and Szekler communities. ...What, don't you see, I can't believe, is it not obvious that Szeklers do not even exist? And that Vaida-Voevod signs such a thing?

There it is. We got Transylvania with this condition. That we give local autonomy to the Szekler communities in regard to education and religion."

That is enough for now of the TV program. But it must be added that Gheorghe Scripcaru, president of the Brasov County council also feels that the world will not end if Szeklerland is called as what it is and if they gain limited autonomy within the mega-counties. We, naturally, do not agree with these restrictions and the eight mega-counties. But we can certainly side with the statement that Szeklerland exists and there are Szeklers because we are not stupid, as opposed to those who hold the opposite view.

In his TV appearance, Valentin Stan expresses thanks for the historical stands that Szeklers had made in defense of their homeland, as opposed to those who came to terms with Turks, Mongols and everyone else. His sarcastic mocking tone was meant for those who twisted Romania's history and deny the existence of Szeklerland and the Szeklers. (Valentin Stan: the Szeklers never knelt.)

"The Szeklers also want something to which history gave them the right. And I would like to thank the Szeklers at this time that... they never knelt (in defeat). Not in front of the Hungarian kings. Not in front of the Austrian emperors. Not in front of the Russian czars or the Turkish sultan. And that they stayed here on this land, which they defended with self-sacrifice... The Szeklers were here and will be here. And I feel safer beside them than alongside a lot of my Romanian compatriots, many of who show expression which Europe handles with disdain, or turns its back on, or laughs at. So, for you to see who were the Szeklers, when Romania came into being, to know where we Romanians were and where the Szeklers were in a certain historical period...

Let us begin with Mihai Viteazul and the Battle of Sellemberk. In 1599, when Mihai founded Romania... that little one, that it was back then... (film clip) The voice of Mihai Viteazul before the battle: "The first line stays as we discussed, with Baba Novak on the left flank and Agha Lecca on the right flank. The Szeklers stay with me."

Valentin Stan: "The Szeklers stay with me?! Beside Mihai?! That he put more trust into the Szeklers more than the Vlachs?! The Szeklers were there beside Mihai! And Mihai recognized all their rights. All those rights which they demand today for autonomy, did Mihai grant to them? "Because they fought for the good of the community." That is what voivod Mihai said.

My dear countrymen, who do not want to permit the Szeklers to have representation in Brussels, in case they steal Transylvania. They stood beside Mihai, with weapons in hand.

And now, I will show you what these Szeklers did to Stefan cel Mare. Mihai could have retained his head if the Szeklers had still stood by him a year later. But, usually, only the Vlachs stood by him...

Do you know where the Szeklers were in 1475? I don't think you know, so I will tell you. They were in a situation... The Szeklers had a situation in Moldova, at Vaslui, where the army of Stefan cel Mare was fighting to protect Christianity, my dear fellow Romanians. They battled with the crescent moon (the Turks). And they came by the tens of thousands. But several thousand Szeklers, professional soldiers, gladly fought beside

Stefan. And they stopped the Turkish multitude, beat them, crescent moon and all. But do you know who else the Szeklers also beat in that battle? They beat the Vlachs, because 17,000 of them were in the Sultan's army. Because, at the time, the ruler of Muntenia was kissing the Sultan's ass, while the Szeklers were defending Christianity with sword in hand. And 17,000 of us were in the Sultan's army and were attacking the ruler of Moldova at Vaslui. And do you know what the Sultan's emissary said to Stefan? You will not believe it. Please roll the 61 film, please, so that Romanians can see how we stand. (film clip)

The Sultan's emissary: "...Stefan, ruler of Moldova, bring me the two years' taxes as the ruler of Muntenia brings it..."

Valentin Stan: "Thank you, that will be ample. So, Stefan, ruler of Moldova, bring me your taxes, in the same way as the ruler of Muntenia also comes and brings it... let us stop here, my dears... I have a really bad news... or really good one... depending for who..."

Hold on, I have never heard of Szeklers in the Turkish Sultan's army; Vlachs, yes and even some Moldovans. Sorry!

We Magyars, that is to say Szekler-Magyars, are aware of the new entrapment situation from beginning to end: the careful and gentle separation of the Szeklers from the body of the Magyar nation without one word being said.

But I would assign professor Valentin Stan with several chapters of Romanian history and where he remains silent on something, our trained historians can correct it.

Major General Harry Hill Bandholtz
Footnotes by Fritz-Konrad Krüger

AN UNDIPLOMATIC DIARY

August 11, 1919.

We arrived in Budapest at daylight and were met at the station by Colonel Yates and Lieutenant-Colonel Causey, who represents the Peace Conference, in charge of railroads. From the station we went to the Hotel Ritz where I opened an office in Room 17. Shortly thereafter I was called upon by General Gorton, the British representative on the Inter-Allied Military Mission. General Gorton and I planned a campaign, and word was sent to the Roumanian General Holban⁷³ that I would be at the Ritz Hotel at 4:30 that afternoon. He took the hint, called and was given some fatherly advice. At 5:30 in the afternoon the Archduke Joseph,⁷⁴ the temporary president of the Hungarian Republic, asked to see me and came into the room scared nearly to death, holding in his hand what purported to be an ultimatum from the Roumanian government requiring an answer by 6 o'clock, which meant within one-half hour. The ultimatum was to the effect that Hungary must yield to all Roumanian demands, giving up all of her war material and supplies of whatever nature, agree to back Roumania in taking away the Bánát country⁷⁵ from the Jugo-Slavs, and, finally, that she must consent to political union with Roumania, with the King of Roumania as ruler of Hungary, along the same lines as the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy. He was told not to be afraid, and looking at me and trembling, he replied- "I am not afraid; I am a soldier just like you," which left-handed compliment was passed by without remark. He asked what he should do in regard to the ultimatum and was informed that in view of the fact that it had not been presented by the Roumanian Plenipotentiary, he could send word to the sender to go plumb to Hell. This relieved the strain on the Archducal physiognomy to a great extent, and he retired in good order. After his departure I proceeded to the Royal Palace, which is on the Buda side of the river, and selected the best large suite in the building for Headquarters of the American Mission; and then

73 General Holban, who is frequently mentioned unfavorably by General Bandholtz, committed suicide on the eve of the investigation ordered by the Roumanian government after Sir George Clerk had come to look into the situation.

74 Archduke Joseph was a distant relative of the late Emperor-King Karl. He was born in 1872. During the world war, he had commanded first a division and later an army corps on the Italian front and had been a popular and capable military leader. He had always considered himself specifically a Hungarian. During the Károlyi and Bolshevik regimes, he remained in Hungary, living quietly on his estate under the name of Joseph Hapsburg. On Aug. 6, 1919, he resumed the position of Nádor, or Regent, allegedly conferred upon him by Emperor-King Karl. After he was forced by the Allies to resign, he returned to private life and from then on took little part in public affairs.

75 Part of the Bánát was given to Jugo-Slavia by the Peace conference. The Roumanians claimed that it should belong to them and felt very bitter towards the Jugo-Slavs.

suggested to General Gorton that he go over and take what was left for the British Mission. Later in the evening General Mombelli, the Italian representative, arrived, called upon General Gorton and myself, and agreed to the plans I had outlined as to the organization of the Mission.

August 16, 1919.

...It being my turn to preside at the meeting of the Mission, I read to my associates the telegram from the Supreme Council, submitting to them likewise the draft of a paper which I proposed to place immediately before the Roumanian Commander in Chief. This was agreed to, and the latter, accompanied by General Mardarescu and his Chief of Staff, appeared before the Mission at 4:30. The text of the paper handed them was as follows:

- 1: (a) Cease at once requisitioning or taking possession of any supplies or property of whatever nature except in zones authorized by this Mission, and then only of such supplies as may be necessary for the Roumanian Army, and that this Mission be informed as to the kind of supplies which will be considered necessary.
 - (b) The Roumanian Commander in Chief to furnish without delay a map clearly showing the requisition zones, and also indicating thereon the disposition of his troops.
 - (c) Return at once to its owners all private property now in the possession of the Roumanians, such as automobiles, horses, carriages, or any other property of which the ownership is vested in individuals.
 - (d) To arrange for the gradual return to the Hungarian Government of the railroad, post and telegraph systems.
 - (e) Make no further requisitions of buildings, stores or real property and evacuate as rapidly as possible all schools, colleges, and buildings of like character.
 - (f) Cease at once all shipments of rolling stock or Hungarian property of any kind whatsoever, to or towards Roumania, and stop and return to Budapest any rolling stock or property already en route or held at outside stations.
 - (g) Limit supervision over public or private affairs in the city to such extent as may be approved by this Mission.
- 2: The Roumanian government to furnish this Mission not later than August twenty-third a complete list of all war material, railway or agricultural material, live stock or property of any kind whatsoever that has been taken possession of in Hungary by Roumanian forces.

The Roumanians received this, agreeing to carry out instructions, and formally acknowledged the Inter-Allied Military Mission as being the authorized representative in Hungary of the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference. While at the meeting they

were told that not even Roumanian contact patrols could push on towards Szeged, and that they must not extend their occupation of Hungary. They were also given a few more bitter pills which they swallowed with apparent complacency. I **wired the American Mission in Paris this evening that in my opinion the Roumanians were doing their utmost to delay matters in order to complete the loot of Hungary⁷⁶ and that as far as I could see their progress up to date in complying with the Supreme Council's desires, was negative rather than positive.**

August 19, 1919.

At this morning's session, matters were much quieter, although the Roumanians, as usual, won a point by sending as their representative an officer who was authorized to give information on only two points, namely the question of food supply and the question of the organization of the Municipal police of Budapest. General Holban, the Roumanian Commander of Budapest and vicinity, is the representative and apparently knows as much about the military game as does an Igorrote about manicuring. On the fifteenth, when he was before the Mission, he stated that he had 10,000 troops

76 This is the first mention of the looting of Hungary by the Roumanians. Other examples are found on pages 38, 43, 46, 112, 113, 212, etc (according to the original edition). The following are some opinions of writers familiar with this aspect of Roumanian occupation of Hungary. "The story of the pillaging by the Roumanian army in Hungary is Homeric. It equals any thing of the kind done in the war. A member of the English Mission, sent into the East of Hungary to investigate the facts, said epigrammatically, that the Roumanians had not even left the nails in the boards!"-John Foster Bass, *The Peace Tangle*, New York, 1920, p.193.

"The Roumanian invasion was more like an old-time Highland cattle foray than a war." L. Haden Guest, *The Struggle for Power in Eu rope*, Lon don, 1921, p.195.

"The Magyars detest the Roumanians on account of their looting during the occupation following the Béla Kun régime. They are accused of having stolen everything movable - plate, pictures, carpets, linen, furniture, even down to the cloth of billiard tables. They took the best thoroughbreds and let them die in the train for want of food. They took twelve hundred locomotives and left the Hungarians only four hundred.

In my hotel, Béla Kun had done five mil lion crowns' worth of damage. The Roumanians did seven million worth. They took literally every thing, and the rooms are still without telephones as a result of their brigandage. This, of course, is all the Hungarian account of what happened." Charles à Court Repington, *After the War*, Boston, 1912, p.165.

Even E. J. Dillon, the most ardent defender of Roumanian interests, says: "They [the Roumanians] seized rolling stock, cattle, agricultural implements, and other property of the kind that had been stolen from their people and sent the booty home without much ado." *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference*, p.230. How far his statement is correct is left to the reader to judge from the facts given in this diary. Dillon calls the action of the Roumanians "wholesale egotism."

"Hungary has suffered a Roumanian occupation, which was worse almost than the revolutions of Bolshevism." Francesco Nitti, *The Wreck of Europe*, Indianapolis, 1912, p.171.

Louis K. Birinyi, *The Tragedy of Hungary*, Cleveland, 1924. Especially Chapter XX, "Hungary Fleeced during the Armistice." It is somewhat rhetorical and not always accurate. This is particularly true of his account of the occupation of Budapest by Horthy's troops and the evacuation of Budapest.

On the other hand Cecil John Charles Street, in *Hungary and Democracy*, London, 1923, states "To Roumania was assigned the task of restoring the baseless charges which are made against the commander of the army will be judged at their proper value. Light is al ready breaking, in fact, upon these unjust charges" (p.263).

Charles Upson Clark, *Greater Roumania*, New York, 1922. Mr. Clark was an American newspaper correspondent. He is a great friend of Roumania. His views are admittedly one-sided. He says: "Relying in general on Rotimianian sources, I shall try to check them up so as not to give too partial an account" (p.242). Of special interest for us is Chapter XIX, "The Roumanians in Budapest." In this chapter, he makes the statement that he is "trying to get at the truth - with a strong Roumanian bias, I admit, but anxious to do justice on all sides" (p. 257). "Doubt less few situations have ever combined more complex factors than did Budapest under the Roumanians. - No historian will ever clear them up fully" (p.258).order, and in her execution of it she displayed an ability and a restraint which will for ever redound to her credit" (p.200). Mr. Street makes it appear as if the aim of the Roumanians in invading Hungary with their "well disciplined forces" was principally to save the world from Bolshevism. From Street and Jászai is taken the account of Hungary by C. Deslisle Burns, 1918-1928, *A Short History of the World*, New York, 1928. Consequently it is entirely one-sided. We may also refer to the statement in the standard short history of Roumania by N. Jorga, *A History of Roumania*. Translated from the second edition by Joseph McCabe, London, 1925. "For several months the capital of Hungary was in possession of the Roumanians, and a day will come when.

in the city and 5,000 in the suburbs. Today he insisted that he had only 5,000 all told. When called upon to explain his map relative to requisition zones, he could not explain it at all and admitted that he could not turn out a map that would be intelligible. The Serbian plenipotentiary showed up and presented his credentials to the Mission. He rejoices in the euphonious cognomen of Lazar Baitch. It was decided in the future to have morning sessions of the Mission, leaving the afternoons to the members for catching up with their work and making personal investigations. I then notified the Mission that I must insist that General Mardarescu, the Roumanian Commander in Chief, be himself directed to appear before the Mission tomorrow at 11 o'clock. This time there was no dissenting vote. Despite all their promises and instructions the Roumanians are continuing with their wholesale pillaging of Hungary and the Hungarians.

It is not possible to describe conditions in a city or country occupied by an enemy, but judging from conditions in Budapest and Hungary while occupied by the Roumanians, we Americans should promptly take every measure possible to avoid any such catastrophe. Universal training should be adopted without further parley.

August 20, 1919.

Next, our old friend Diamandi came in with the Roumanian Commander in Chief, General Mardarescu, and a new star in the Roumanian constellation in the person of a General Rudeanu. General Mardarescu was put on the carpet and told in unmistakable terms that it was up to him to report what had been done in complying with the request from the Mission of August 16, 1919. He resorted to all sorts of evasions and circumlocutions, which may have been intentional or may have been due to his grade of intelligence, which appears to be about that of a comatose caribou. He finally agreed to be a good boy and carry out our instructions.

August 22, 1919.

Memorandum on the Hungarian Political Situation

The Hungarians had barely disentangled themselves from the meshes of Bolshevism when the present weak régime came into existence. It would be a calamity if either Bolsheviks or the Hapsburgs were allowed to control Hungary. To prevent this, it is important that some strong man of real popularity and influence among all classes be placed in charge and given every assistance in reorganizing a semi-permanent government.

Before adjourning, a telegram was received from the Supreme Council authorizing the Mission to send detachments wherever necessary to prevent the Roumanians from getting their Hungarian loot over into Roumania, and it was decided to wire the Supreme Council that this would not be feasible either with the means at our disposal or with any force that could arrive in time for the purpose. It was furthermore recom-

mended that additional officers be sent to watch over the points of egress and take inventory of what the Roumanians were making away with. In the afternoon, after sending a telegram to the American Commission posting them to date on the situation, I took a car and investigated a few of the complaints concerning Roumanian seizures, etc., and found them to be true. I then called upon General Rudeanu, told him I had found his people were removing 4,000 telephone instruments from private houses and were about to take the remaining half of the supplies of the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs, which they had not taken in first requisition; that they were seizing the few remaining Hungarian breeding stallions; that they had sent word to the Ministry of Agriculture to deliver to them all maps, instruments, etc.; and that I could give him only too many instances of like character. I told him that his government had repeatedly promised to carry out the Mission's instructions, but that I had been here twelve days, during which the Roumanians had continued their seizures and had not returned a single thing despite their repeated promises. I added that we were all most anxious to cooperate, but that I should like for once to telegraph my superiors that the Roumanians had shown any indication of an intention to play the game according to the rule. He replied that in my place he would feel as I did, that he would confer with his colleagues tonight, and would tomorrow let us know whether or not the Roumanian government really intended to stop requisitioning and return any property already seized. All of this looks like an admission that they had all along intended to pursue the even tenor of their way regardless of the wishes of the Supreme Council.

August 23, 1919.

At this morning's session, after disposing of several routine matters, the Mission prepared to receive M. Diamandi and General Rudeanu, who had faithfully promised to be in the antechamber at 11:30. As a matter of fact, they were only twenty minutes late, which is the closest any Roumanian has yet come to keeping his promise with us.⁷⁷ Diamandi seated himself with his unctious diplomatic smile, and stated that he had received advices from his government at Bucharest, and first proceeded to regale us with information that was already six days old and which we had read to him ourselves at one of our sessions. He was politely informed of the fact and then proceeded to other matters, prefacing his remarks by the usual statement that the Roumanian government desired to work in complete accord with its allies, but that we must consider the deplorable transportation conditions in Roumania and the fact that the Roumanians found here in Hungary many supplies taken from their own country, in proof of which he displayed two first-aid packets, two iodine tubes, and one or two other matters with the Roumanian mark. We were overwhelmed with this incontrovertible evidence, but in time sufficiently recovered to let him proceed, which he did

⁷⁷ I found an amusing laconic footnote by Lieutenant-Colonel Repington in his *After the War, A Diary*, Boston, 1922. "Roumanians are not remarkable for keeping promises or appointments" (p. 327).

by adding that all Roumanian property found in Hungary must naturally be subject to unqualified seizure, that the seizures would be limited to what was actually necessary for the Roumanian forces, but that this government must insist that they pick up an additional 30 per cent to replace articles taken from Roumania during the German invasion; that formerly Roumania had had 1,000 locomotives whereas they now had only 60; that they would be very glad to pay for all private automobiles and other property seized in Hungary, but must insist on doing so with their government bonds along the same lines as the Central Powers had done in Roumania. Then he wished to know, in case Roumania did not take things from Hungary, who would guarantee that the Roumanians got their proper share, and he added that it certainly would be much better to leave all such property in the hands of faithful and truthful allies like the Roumanians, than to leave it with the Hungarians, who were known never to keep their promises. He would probably have gone on indefinitely with similar sophistical persiflage, had I not intervened and stated that on three separate occasions our truthful allies, the Roumanians, had faithfully promised to carry out our instructions, but that up to the present time there was no tangible proof that a single one of the promises had been kept. Certain it was that they were continuing their requisitions and more boldly than ever, that no property had yet been returned, that they had submitted no reports as promised, and that I personally must insist on some proof of the perfect accord that I had heard so much about. M. Diamandi stated that he could say nothing more than was contained in his instructions, and any question whatever that was put up to him would need to be referred to Bucharest for decision, the natural inference being that he could never answer a question inside of about five days. Our little friend Diamandi has always been in the diplomatic service, having served at Rome, Vienna, Paris, and Berlin. He was Roumanian minister to Petrograd when the Boishevist régime started, during which he was arrested by the Bolshevists, and I shall never forgive them for having afterwards released him. He typifies perfectly the Roumanian policy of procrastination with a view of absolutely draining Hungary before it can be stopped.

...I therefore insisted that a telegram be sent from us to the Supreme Council, informing them of all of M. Diamandi's statements and adding that in our opinion so far as the Roumanians were concerned the time of this Mission had been wasted, and that it would be useless to continue its relations with Roumanian officials who apparently were determined to carry on a reprehensible policy of procrastination, and who had repeatedly broken their solemn promises. General Graziani said he would draft this telegram at once, provided he could take a recess of about an hour. When he returned with his draft, it contained only the bald statement in regard to M. Diamandi's remarks. I insisted that my reference to our waste of time be incorporated in the telegram. Thereupon I was asked to draft the telegram. I complied with this request and handed the telegram to Lieutenant-Colonel Romanelli, General Mombelli's secretary.

He made a very good French translation of it, and it was then handed to General Graziani's aide to add to the telegram. Just as we were leaving, I saw this aide hand General Mombelli my draft, Colonel Romanelli's translation, and another slip of paper, and asked him what the third paper was. He said that it was for the purpose of putting part of Romanelli's translation into better French. I insisted on seeing that part. He showed it to me, and then General Mombelli said that, as handed to him, it was understood that this new slip of paper was to replace entirely Colonel Romanelli's translation. At this I thumped the table two or three times and said that I absolutely insisted that the statement in regard to the futility of hoping for anything from the Roumanians be incorporated. This was then agreed to. Evidently our French colleague was trying to play a skin game and got caught at it.

August 24, 1919.

...I then prepared and sent a long telegram to the American Mission, to the effect that yesterday our suave friend Diamandi, accompanied by General Rudeanu, had called upon Admiral Troubridge, apparently on the verge of tears because we had not sent for them the day before. They both intimated that probably their usefulness in Budapest was over, in which they were just about right. The rotund and diplomatic Diamandi was undoubtedly thus affected because he had been sent here to pull off a coup in the shape of forcing Hungary to make a separate peace with Roumania practically amounting to annexation, which coup had been demolished by a bomb in the shape of the Supreme Council's handing the Archduke his hat and telling him not to be in a hurry. **I also received word that on the twenty-first the Crown Prince of Roumania, as the future King of Hungary, received a number of kowtowing Hungarian aristocrats.**

The day before yesterday I sent Colonel Yates, formerly of the Thirtieth Infantry, U. S. A., and now American attaché at Bucharest, to investigate conditions in Hungary west of the Danube. On his return today he reported that Admiral Horthy had about 8,000 well-disciplined, well-trained, and well-armed troops, including machine guns and nineteen field guns under his command.

...I also wired the American Mission in regard to the incident of last night, when our dapper French colleague tried to put one over on the American and British representatives by not including all that should have been included in the telegram to the Supreme Council. General Gorton, the British representative, read over and concurred in all of my telegram, asked me to say so, and to add that he requested that a copy be furnished the British Mission.

August 25, 1919.

Yesterday afternoon, accompanied by Colonel Loree and Lieutenant Hamilton, I visited and inspected the State Railway shops, and found that the Roumanians were gut-

ting the place strictly in accord with the Hungarian reports. In a neighboring freight yard there were 120 freight cars loaded with machinery and material, and in the yard of the shops there were 15 cars, likewise loaded and more than 25 others partly loaded or in the process of being loaded. I then went through the machine shops and saw many places where machinery had just been removed and others where it was in the process of being removed. The workmen stated that the Roumanians had been busy there, despite the fact that it was Sunday, until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and that they were obliging the Hungarians to do all the work connected with taking out the machinery.

In the evening, at about 9:50, we heard a racket outside of our window, but we did not pay much attention to it at the time because a discussion of Roumanians and Hungarians, none of whom understands the others, usually sounds like a ladies' tea party. This morning I found out, however, that the trouble was all caused by a Roumanian patrol of one officer and eight or ten men who had arrested a British Bluejacket and had declined to examine his pass. One of my men, thinking the rumpus was all due to the fact that the Roumanians did not understand the Britisher, went to try to explain in German, and met the fate of the peacemaker. He was pricked by a bayonet wielded by a Roumanian soldier. At this, becoming disgusted with the role of peace maker, he yelled to the American soldiers and British sailors across the street. They came tearing to the rescue of their comrade who was promptly abandoned by the Roumanians.

August 26, 1919.

Yesterday afternoon a verbose but rather stiff telegram came to me, containing the text of an ultimatum from the Supreme Council to the Roumanian government. I told them in unmistakable terms that in case they persisted in looting Hungary, alleging as an excuse that they were simply reimbursing themselves for what they had lost during Mackensen's invasion, it was all bosh; that they must abide by the decision of any reparation commission the Peace Conference might appoint; and that in the meantime this Mission of Inter-Allied Generals would be authorized to appoint such a commission temporarily. It was added that in case they did not immediately and affirmatively make a Statement that they would abide by all their past agreements, the Allied and Associated Powers would be obliged to make them pay in full any claims against Transylvania and other portions of Hungary which had been given to Roumania by the Peace Conference. The foregoing telegram was followed up this morning by another one peremptorily notifying those sons of Ananias, the Roumanians, that drastic measures would immediately be adopted if they would not come to time.

I had drafted a telegram, which was sent in the name of the Mission, stating that in our opinion the Roumanians were looting Hungary as rapidly as possible so that they might suddenly evacuate the country, and at the same time they were disarming everybody and refusing to reorganize the police, and in general that, intentionally or uninten-

tionally, every move they made was in the direction of turning Hungary over to Bolshevism and chaos.

Major Borrow of the British Army, whom we sent to inspect the Szolnok⁷⁸ Bridge, reported that it would take two or three weeks to get that or any other bridge across the Theiss River so that it would support loaded cars, but that he found at the bridge, ready to cross, 150 locomotives, 200 to 300 empty freight cars, 4 aeroplanes on cars, 200 to 300 tank cars and, between Szolnok and Budapest, many hundreds of carloads of merchandise.

August 27, 1919.

Later on in the afternoon I learned that the fine Italian hand had attempted to get in its deadly work, even during the Bolshevik régime; that the Italians had then bought the magnificent Hungarian Breeding Farms, which are now being seized by the Roumanians; that they were now as mad as a nest of hornets because they cannot stop the Roumanian seizures, as it would give away their rather reprehensible relations with the Bolsheviks. I also learned that the Italian Lieutenant-Colonel Romanelli, who has been in Budapest for some time, is understood to have been sent with a mission to induce the Hungarians to accept the Duke of Savoy as their king. This is rather confirmed by the intense hostility towards Romanelli of the Roumanians, who wanted the Crown Prince Carol to be elected King of Hungary,⁷⁹ and also that most of the Hungarians are sore on Romanelli.

The Roumanians are proceeding merrily with their seizures and general raising of Hell. All this cannot last indefinitely and something is sure to pop up before long.

August 28, 1919.

Yesterday afternoon, accompanied by General Gorton, the British representative, I visited some of the places where reports have been received from Hungarian sources that the Roumanians were making seizures. It is remarkable that, so far as we have been able to verify, not a single Hungarian complaint has been exaggerated. At the warehouse of the Hungarian Discount and Exchange Bank, we found that up to date the Roumanians had seized and removed 2,400 carloads, mainly of provisions and forage, and were daily carting away great quantities. At the Central Depot of the Hungarian Post and Telegraph we found seven cars already loaded, two with shoes and five with carpets and rugs. In this connection, it should be remembered that the Roumanian Commander in Chief said that he had never taken anything that was not absolutely necessary for the use of troops in the field. At this place we also found the Roumanians removing the machinery from the repair shops. At the works of the Ganz-Danubius Company we found the Roumanians busily engaged loading five

⁷⁸ Szolnok, a river port on the right bank of the Theiss. Population not quite 29,000. An important market and railroad center.

⁷⁹ Compare statement to this effect in the entry of the Diary on Aug. 11.

freight cars with material, under the charge of Lieutenant Vaude Stanesco. At the Hungarian Military Hospital Number I, the Roumanians had ordered all the patients out and there remained only 57 patients in the hospital, whose capacity was 800, and these 57 could not be removed on account of the serious nature of their wounds. Next we visited the Hungarian Central Sanitary Depot and found that under Major C. Georgescu, a medical officer, the Roumanians were absolutely gutting the establishment. In all the places we visited, the manual labor is performed by Hungarian soldiers under Roumanian sentinels.

On arrival at my quarters a little before 8 o'clock, I found General Gorton awaiting me, and he gave me the substance of another ultimatum of a somewhat anonymous character, delivered through the Roumanian Ardeli, who had sent the first ultimatum to the Archduke. This one was along similar lines and included demands for immediate peace between Hungary and Roumania; the occupation of Hungary by Roumania for one year; the cession of practically all the strategic points, and then the annexation of Hungary to Roumania. This was coded and ciphered and sent to the American Commission in Paris with a request that a copy be sent to the British Commission.

Early this morning I sent another coded and ciphered message to the American Commission, to the effect that the Roumanians certainly could not continue their arrogant and haughty attitude unless backed by someone, and that I believed it was the French and the Italians who were trying to accomplish some kind of political or other union between Roumania, Hungary, Austria, and Italy, with a view to isolating entirely the Jugo-Slavs.

August 29, 1919.

At the meeting this morning, there was the usual discussion and gesticulatory machine gun French on the part of our Latin members, especially after I suggested that the Mission, owing to the attitude of the Roumanians, had accomplished less than nothing since its arrival here, and that we should consider whether or not the time had arrived for notifying the Supreme Council that in our opinion our prolonged stay only subjected us to humiliation from the Roumanians, and our governments to steady loss of prestige with both the Roumanians and the Hungarians. After considerable discussion and playing the fine old game of passing the buck, they invited me to prepare a memorandum on the subject, which I agreed to do.

Our beloved Roumanian allies are continuing merrily with their requisitions and seizures, and apparently have not the slightest intention of letting up until they have cleaned Hungary out of everything worth taking.

September 1, 1919.

We also decided to tell the Roumanian Commander in Chief that we were getting damned tired of the fact that they had not yet answered a single one of our questions

definitely; that the organization of the Municipal Police of Budapest was of paramount importance; and, in effect, that if the present Commander could not comply with his promises, someone else ought to be put in his place.

The chief of police of the city of Budapest appeared before this Mission and showed that, although he had 3,700 men, the Roumanians had given them nothing in the way of arms beyond the original 600 carbines.

General Soós, the Chief of the Hungarian General Staff, appeared before the Mission and explained his proposed plan for the organization of the Hungarian Army. His intelligence and knowledge of what he wanted to do was in startling contrast to the Roumanian ignorance and stupidity.

September 2, 1919.

A strong letter was drafted to be sent to the Roumanians, demanding that they immediately complete the organization of the police as promised, and complaining of subterfuge and procrastination. A similar letter was sent in regard to the evacuation of western Hungary.

Colonel Yates arrived last night from Bucharest, and from his report the Roumanians are pretty generally arrogant and haughty over what they consider their tremendous victory over Hungary, completely ignoring the fact that they could never even have touched Hungary had not the Allies first crushed both Germany and Austria-Hungary. All their talk is along the lines of having a Roumanian officer in a coordinate position on the Inter-Allied Military Mission, and demonstrates the fact that they feel that on account of their little private war with Hungary they are entitled to loot the latter absolutely in payment for their last little war, and leave the Allies to get indemnification from a prostrate nation for their share of expenses in the World War.

September 3, 1919.

It is quite noticeable that the Roumanians in particular habitually make the mistake of thinking that our French colleague, General Graziani, is the President of the Day, which rather strengthens the suspicion that the Roumanians and French are somewhat in touch.

September 6, 1919.

In view of the fact that there is practically nothing doing, I have arranged to go with Captain Gore to Bucharest. Colonel Yates, the American Attaché to the Roumanian capital, will accompany us and act as our guide and mentor. We plan to leave Budapest at 4 o'clock this date and return about the tenth of September.

September 7, 1919.

Colonel Yates, Captain Gore and myself, accompanied by a Roumanian liaison officer, left Budapest on a special car and by special train about 4:30 yesterday after-

noon. Our special car was about half the length of an ordinary American car, but was very well fitted out and had all conveniences except those for cooking. I know I slept on a hair mattress, because the hairs pushed up through the mattress, through the sheets and through my pajamas, and could be very distinctly felt. In addition to this, the mattress undoubtedly had a large and animated population. All of my traveling companions reported like experiences. Last night, while traveling through eastern Hungary, we saw large numbers of cars loaded with stuff, all en route to Roumania. We crossed the Szolnok Bridge, which had been originally a large double-tracked structure, but in the course of recent repairs had been left mostly single-tracked. We traveled through long stretches of level land in Transylvania and late in the afternoon got into the foothills of the Carpathians, and finally at 7:15 we arrived at Sinaja, where the summer palace of the King is located. We went direct to the Palace, and found that they had planned to entertain us all night and as long as we could stay. The summer palace of the King is called "Castel Palisor,"⁸⁰ and is beautifully located in the Carpathian Mountains about seventy-five miles north of Bucharest. There are really two palaces here; one which was built for the former Queen of Roumania, the celebrated Carmen Sylva⁸¹ and which, although completely furnished, is not occupied by the present King, who instead, with the Royal Family, lives in the palace which was built for him when he was Crown Prince. This is neither so pretentious nor so commodious as the other, but apparently is better adapted to the present needs of the Royal Family. We met His Majesty at dinner about 8:30, and he had me seated at his left. The only other member of the Royal Family present was Prince Nickolai, neither the Queen or any of her daughters appearing during the evening. The King is of medium height with a full-pointed beard, and with a low forehead with the hair starting from not far above the eyes. He speaks English fairly well, although with a peculiar hissing accent.

After dinner, while waiting in the reception room, I talked with the King and other members of his staff, and stated that I hoped to leave early in the morning. His Majesty then asked me if I would not kindly step into his private office for a little conversation, which I did, and he kept me there about an hour and a half during which he went into

80 Or Castel Pelishor.

81 In 1866, Prince Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was called to Roumania to govern this country, which had secured its autonomy after the Crimean war in 1856. Roumania's complete independence was recognized in 1878 in the Treaty of Berlin, and in 1881 Charles was crowned King of Roumania. He was married to the noble Princess Elisabeth of Wied, who as a charming writer and poetess was known by the name of Carmen Sylva. Their only child, Marie, died in infancy. Charles died in 1914, shortly after the outbreak of the world war. Being without male issue, his nephew Ferdinand became his successor to the throne. He had in 1893 married Marie, daughter of the late Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. The membership of the Royal Roumanian family is as follows:

Ferdinand I (b. 1865, d. 1927), m. Marie (b. 1875)

King Carol II (b. 1893), m. Princess Helen of Greece, 1921

Michael (b. 1921)

Elisabeth (b. 1894), m. Crown Prince (now former King) George of Greece, 1921

Marie (b. 1900), m. King Alexander of Jugo-Slavia, 1922

Nicholas (b. 1903)

Ileana (b. 1909) m. Archduke Anton of Austria-Tuscany, 1931

Mircea (b. 1912, d. 1916). On Dec. 28, 1925, Carol renounced his right of succession to the throne. On Jan. 4, 1926, his son, Prince Michael, was declared heir to the throne. In 1927 he became King under a regency. On June 8, 1930, Carol was again proclaimed King by Act of Parliament and ascended the throne.

details of the Roumanian grievances, especially referring to the fact that the Roumanians were considered to be robbers because they were looting Hungary, whereas the Serbs had looted the Bánát and had never been called to account. He also complained that the Serbs had received some of the Danube monitors, whereas Roumania had received nothing. But his main grievance seemed to be due to the "Minorities" clause in the Treaty of Peace⁸² which Roumania was to be called upon to sign.⁸³ I explained to.

September 8, 1919.

We reported for breakfast this morning about 8:30, and I met Her Majesty, the Queen, and one of the Royal Princesses. Her Majesty habitually wears the Roumanian peasant costume, which is very becoming, and she is decidedly a handsome woman, showing that she must have been beautiful when younger. The Royal aide-de-camp informed me that I was to sit at breakfast at the left of Madame Lahovary, one of the ladies in waiting. So we entered the dining room in that order.

However, immediately after entering, the Queen called out from the head of the table, "General, I want you to sit up by me." So I, in fear and trembling, approached the Royal presence and sat on her left, with the King on her right. Without any preliminaries, Her Majesty turned to me and said, "I didn't know whether I wanted to meet you at

82 Treaty of St. Germain with Aus tria.

83 The problem of the protection of minorities in Europe is not new. The first to receive special protection were religious groups, such as the Christians and Jews under Turkish rule, the Protestants in certain Catholic countries, and vice versa.

Article 44 of the Treaty of Berlin of July 13.1878, contained the following provision in regard to Roumania: "The difference of religious creeds and confessions shall not be alleged against any person as a ground for exclusion or incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, admission to public employments, functions, and honors, or the exercise of the various professions and industries in any localities whatsoever." F. de Martens, *Recueil général des traités*, 2d series, Vol.111, p.345.

In spite of this treaty obligation, the Jewish minority in Roumania continued to be discriminated against as previously.

Even before the war, the treatment of religious, cultural, and racial minorities had received the attention of the liberal and socialistic element all over the world; and during the world war the right of self determination became one of the powerful slogans. The tenth of the Fourteen Points of President Wilson demanded "the freest opportunity of autonomous development" for "the peoples of Austria-Hungary." Several drafts of the League of Nations Covenant contained this principle, as applying to all members of the League. In the final version, such a provision was left out, probably because of the tremendous dangers to the imperialism of the victorious Great Powers.

How ever, it was realized at the Peace Conference that the transfer of large alien populations to new or enlarged states, especially when such people were of a much superior culture, would be a constant source of irritation and would prevent the stabilization of Europe, unless such minorities were protected against undue persecution. Therefore these States - Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Greece, and Armenia - were required to sign special treaties guaranteeing certain rights to the minorities living under their rule. Similar provisions are contained in the peace treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and in the defunct treaty of Sévres with Turkey. Roumania signed a minority treaty very reluctantly on Dec. 9, 1919. Doubtless the pressure of the very influential Jewish element in the United States had a great deal to do with the insistence of Wilson on these treaties, as suggested on page 170 of Fouques-Duparc's book: "Le président Wilson par sentiment libérale, peut-être aussi par sympathie pour un groupement ethnique, dont la puissance électorale ne peut-être négligé, suivit l'exemple de ses illustres devanciers."

All the minority treaties, which, with the exception of those with Armenia and Turkey, are in effect today, are according to their own terms placed under the guardianship of the League of Nations, and cannot be changed except with the consent of the majority of the League Council. The text of the Roumanian Minorities Treaty may be found in *Current History of March, 1920*. Statistics of the different minorities in Roumania and their distribution in the different parts of the country may be found on page 384 of Jacques Fouques-Duparc's *La Protection des minorités de race, de langue et de la religion*, Paris, 1922. See also Marc Vichniak's *La protection des droits des minorités dans les traités internationaux de 1919-1920*, Paris, 1921; and, Leo Epstein's *Der nationale Minderheits-schutz als internationales Rechtsproblem*, Berlin, 1922.

For the treatment of the Hungarian minorities in Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, and Jugo-Slavia, see Sir Robert Donald's *Tragedy of Trianon*, London, 1928.

The making of the minority treaties may be followed in David Hunter Miller's *My Diary at the Conference of Paris*, Vol. XIII. (The Appeal Printing Co., 1925.) Only forty copies of this valuable set of diaries are in existence. See there especially the letter of Bratianu of May 27, 1919, protesting against the special obligations imposed upon Roumania (p.89). Also the report on July 16, 1919, concerning Roumania.

all. I have heard many things about you.” I replied, “Your Majesty, I am not half so bad as I look, nor one-quarter so bad as you seem to think I am.” She smiled and said that the King had told her that I wasn’t exactly a heathen, so she had decided really to form my acquaintance. We spent a very pleasant time at the breakfast table, in which considerable repartee was indulged in, despite the Royal presences.

After breakfast we went out into the garden and I told Madame Lahovary that it was very apparent that the Inter-Allied Military Mission did not stand very high in Roumania. She said, “We have always heard that the four generals were very fine.” I asked her if she hadn’t heard that the American actually wore horns, or at least was somewhat of a devil. She said, hardly that, but that they had heard that the American representative was very difficult to handle.

After a little time in the garden, Captain Gore and myself took a long walk exploring the grounds about both the palaces, did some writing and had lunch about one o’clock. This time the King and Queen, instead of sitting at the end of the table, sat opposite each other at the middle. I was placed on the Queen’s right, with the senior Roumanian General,⁸⁴ who it is understood will be the next prime minister, on her left. His Majesty had the Royal Princess on his right and Madame Lahovary on his left. During the conversation the Queen said that she felt keenly over the fact that Roumania had fought as an ally and was now being treated as an enemy; that all Roumania had been pillaged by the Huns, and why shouldn’t they now retaliate and steal from Hungary, saying, “You may call it stealing if you want to, or any other name. I feel that we are perfectly entitled to do what we want to.”

The King butted into the conversation and said that anyway the Roumanians had taken no food stuffs. As it is bad form to call a king a liar, I simply informed His Majesty that he was badly mistaken, and that I could give him exact facts in regard to thousands of carloads of foodstuffs that had been taken out of Budapest alone. Her Majesty complained also that a Reparation Board had been appointed to investigate and look in Bulgaria for property that she had looted from other countries, and that all the Allies had been represented on this Board except Roumania. She added that similar action had been taken in regard to the German indemnification. It was apparent that all the Roumanians are rankling, whether justly or no, under a sense of injustice, and they insist on stating, and may be believing, that their present war with Hungary is separate and distinct from the big War, and entitles them to first choice of everything in the country.

Excerpts from the book. The full text could be read in the attached CD

⁸⁴ After Bratiano’s resignation, a new government was formed, in October, which was headed by General Vaitoanu and consisted of military men and officials. After a short time, general elections were held and a democratic government succeeded. From November, 1919, to March, 1920, Alexander Vaida-Voevod was the head of the government. See n. 34 below.

FACTS AGAINST FICTION

Questions Regarding the Continuous Habitation Since Dacian Times of the Wallachians/Rumanians in what is now Called Transylvania

1. Was there any historical, archaeological or other discovery made in 1920 as a result of which a large number of encyclopedias should have felt compelled to write Transylvania's history in the spirit of the Daco-Roman theory which, among other things, claims continuous habitation since Dacian times of the Wallachians(Rumanians) in what is now called Transylvania?
2. Assuming the continuous habitation of the Wallachians (Rumanians) on the soil of what is now called Transylvania after the withdrawal from there of the roman colonists and legions by approximately 270 A.D. and considering that the peoples following the Romans there, namely the Goths, Huns, Gepids, Avars and Bulgars were swept away by the Völkerwanderung (mass migration of peoples), while according to the proponents of the Daco-roman theory the „Daco-roman,, ancestors of the Wallachians (Rumanians) survived there in mountain caves, one would like to know in exactly which caves did they survive unnoticed during those war-filled centuries? And where are the pertinent archaeological proofs: sleeping cubicles, whole or broken cooking utensils and other household articles attesting to the permanent living of masses of „Daco-Romans,, in such caves?
3. Because the proponents of the Daco-Roman theory claim that the Wallachians (Rumanians) became Christian on the soil of what is now called Transylvania in the 4th or 5th century, one is curious to learn about any creation of the „Daco-roman,, ancestors of the Wallachians (Rumanians), which should have been preserved in well-hidden caves:
 - (a) religious creations dating from the time that passed between approx. 270 A.D. and the acceptance of Christianity by the „Daco-roman,, ancestors of the Wallachians (Rumanians);
 - (b) religious creations between the time of acceptance of Christianity by the same people and their first mention in documents of the Hungarian Kingdom in the early 13th century.

One is especially interested in evidence of a reasonable quantity of inscriptions in either the Dacian or the Latin language regarding the first period, and in Latin or Neo-Latin regarding the second, on the walls of cave churches, on gravestones or other cultic objects, for such inscriptions bearing witness to Roman civilization are not lacking in numerous other areas once held by the Romans.

4. How is it explained that no records exist or are referred to either in Rome or in Byzantium about:
- (a) the acceptance of Christianity by the „Daco-roman,, population which is claimed to have stayed behind after the evacuation of Provincia Dacia around 270 A.D.
 - (b) episcopal visitations carried out for many centuries to that population;
 - (c) the discovery of a Latin speaking population in erstwhile Provincia Dacia? It stands to reason that such a discovery should have caused quite a sensation, and exactly an area inhabited by such a population could have been turned into a new center for Christian mission, where at least one bishopric and several parishes as well as monasteries should have been established.
5. Ever since history has records about the ancestors of the Rumanians, they figured as adherents of the Eastern Church of Slav Rites, and in 1698 only one part of the Wallachians (Rumanians) living in Transylvania entered into union with Rome.
- In 895 A.D. the area now called Transylvania became a part of the new realm of the Hungarians, and in 1003 or 1004 the Hungarian king, (Saint) Stephen I. began to organize the area in question called in Old Hungarian ErdőElve, later in a contracted form Erdel or Erdély ‘the land beyond the forest’, as seen from the Great Hungarian Plain - as an integral part of his kingdom within the ecclesiastical framework of the Roman Church; if not under him, then at least since the schism of 1054, the adherents of the Eastern Church of Slav Rites were regarded in the Hungarian Kingdom as heretics, and such were not allowed to stay or settle there. In view of this, how did the claimed „Daco-roman,, ancestors of the Wallachians (Rumanians) not come into conflict with Endre I. (1046-1060) and his successors, if the claimed „Daco-roman,, ancestors lived in the Hungarian Kingdom? And if it is claimed that they had been converted to the Eastern Church of Slav Rites as subjects of the Hungarian Kingdom, one must ask:
- (a) when did they convert,
 - (b) why did they convert,
 - (c) with whose permission did they convert?
6. How is it explained that in the language of the claimed „Daco-roman,, ancestors of the Wallachians (Rumanians) the name given to the area in question by the Dacians (if they called it by any name) or the Romans, who called it Provincia Dacia, did not survive? Why was it necessary for the Wallachian ancestors of the Rumanians to borrow Old Hungarian ERDEL which, with some phonetic distortion, the Rumanians still write and pronounce as ARDEAL?
7. If on the soil of Britain after some 400 years of roman rule the Latin language failed to continue its existence, how could it have survived in abandoned Provincia Dacia after a mere 165 years of roman rule? Besides, most of the settlers and soldiers had not hailed from Italy, thus their language was in most cases not Latin.

8. According to the analysis by the 19th century Rumanian linguist Alexandre de Cihac (in *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue roumaine*), the vocabulary of the Rumanian language then showed the following break-down: 45.7% words Slav origin, 31.5% words of Latin origin, 8.4% words of Turkish origin, 7% words of Greek origin, 6% words of Hungarian origin, 0.6% words of Albanian origin (plus some unidentified residue with no Dacian word in it). Now linguistics teaches us that after a language change by a people a considerable number of words and some grammatical features are retained as a substratum remaining from the abandoned language. Where are such substratum remnants of the Dacian language in Rumanian?
9. History and archaeology attest clearly that after the withdrawal of the settlers and soldiers from Provincia Dacia, to an area south of the Danube (roughly the area of later Bulgaria), the culturally advanced Goths and Gepids, (of Germanic languages), lived for centuries in the territory abandoned by the Romans. As, according to the testimony of de Cihac, the Wallachians (Rumanians) were not at all averse to borrowing from the languages of their neighbors, the question arises: why did they not borrow even a single word from the culturally advanced Goths and Gepids whose neighbors, according to the Daco-Roman hypothesis, they inevitably had to be on the soil of former Provincia Dacia?
10. As objective historiography does not say that the Albanians had migrated to the area of traditional Albania from what is now called Transylvania, how is it explained that many conspicuously common features exist between Albanian and Rumanian? Is it by some chance that the migration of the Wallachians (Rumanians) towards Transylvania began right in the vicinity of Albania? It is known that as early as the 10th century A.D. extensive Wallachian settlements existed in the general vicinity of later Albania. Arumunian and Meglenetic „Rumanians,, still live there.
11. After his resounding victory over the Bulgars and their Wallachian allies in 1018, the Byzantine Emperor Basilios placed (in 1020) the roaming Vlachs, as the Byzantines called the Wallachian ancestors, under the ecclesiastical rule of the archbishopric of Ochrida, just south-east of Albania. Why did the Wallachians (Rumanians) in Transylvania belong to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Ochrida as late as 1715, when Orthodox bishoprics of Slav Rites existed closer to them?
12. Why was the language of the liturgy of the Wallachians (Rumanians) on the soil of what is now called Transylvania neither Latin, nor Wallachian (Rumanian), but Slav even in the second half of the 19th century, and why were so many members of the clergy of the Wallachians (Rumanians) over the centuries of Serbian or Bulgarian origin?
13. How is it explained that among the claimed descendants of Dacians and Romans not even the priests used Latin letters, but Cyrillic, even in the 19th century? If the

claimed „Daco-Roman,, ancestors of the Wallachians (Rumanians) exchanged their expected Latin script for Cyrillic, which could not take place prior to the middle of the 9th century, then why and when did they do it in the Hungarian Kingdom where no other group of people used Cyrillic until Serbian and Wallachian refugees from the Turks requested entry?

14. The *Regestrum Varadiense* contains the court records of ordeals held between 1205 and 1238 within the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Várad covering eastern Hungary, including Transylvania. From those records, approx. 600 place-names and approx. 2500 personal names have been listed. Neither list contains names rooted in the Wallachian (Rumanian) language, although along with most Hungarians, Wallonians, Germans, Ruthenians and Ishmaelites are mentioned, and Wallachian (Rumanian) names are not lacking in documents of the Hungarian Kingdom during later centuries. How is this explained?
15. What is the explanation for the fact that the Wallachians (Rumanians), claimed descendants of the Dacians who built fortified towns, and of the Romans who were famous far and wide for their ability to build magnificent towns, never built a single town on the soil of what is now called Transylvania? What is more, the Wallachian (Rumanian) word for ‘town’ i.e. oras, is a borrowing of old Hungarian waras.
16. The history of settlements in Transylvania shows that of 511 villages whose names can be ascertained by the end of the 13th century, only three had names rooted in the language of the Wallachians(Rumanians). Did the ancestors of Wallachians-Rumanians begin to immigrate into Transylvania during the 13th century?
17. Why is it that in Transylvania not a single river or larger rivulet bears a name rooted in the language of the Wallachians (Rumanians)?

SERBS IN HUNGARY

Some South Slav population already existed in the southern and south-eastern part of the Carpathian Basin when the Magyar Conquest occurred at the turn of the 9-10th century. These ethnic Serbian and Bulgarian groups – professing the Orthodox religion – formed part of the population of the southern territory governed by Ajtony who rebelled and lost (in 1028) against King Saint Stephen, organizer of the Christian state and its first king. Over time, there were several dynastic links between the ancient Magyar rulers of the House of Arpad and the Serb nobility. The most significant moment was the marriage of Bela II (the Blind) who ruled between 1131 and 1141, and Ilona, daughter of the Serb grand župan (ruling prince), Uros. The matrimonial ties between the ruling Magyar and Serb families and the political elite resulted in an influential Serb community in the country which, however, did not lead to a significant influx of immigrants. Significant arrival into Hungary of Serbs occurred in the 14th century as a result of the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. The immediate reason for their northward migration was the termination of the independent Serbian state. This was preceded by battle loss to the Turks in 1389 at the Battle of Kosovo (Hung: Rigómező), where Lazar, the Serb ruler, also fell. This battle became the center of Serb national memory and the birth of national identity, its recollection featuring prominently in literature, ballads and folk songs, reminding the Christian Serbs of their struggle against Turkish Islam. In Hungary, the initial Serb colonies came into being along the southern border, in the Voivodina, Sirmia and Bacska.

In the early 1400s, the Serb despot Stefan Lazarević (1402-1427) accepted the Hungarian king – later elected as Holy Roman Emperor – Sigismund of the House of Luxembourg (1387-1437) as liege lord of Serbia. His successor, George Branković (1427-1456), also maintained cordial relations with Sigismund. In fact, in the 1420s, he ceded the fortress of Belgrade and the Banate of Macva (Hung: Macsó) to the king, both strategically crucial to the border defense of Hungary. In return, he was granted extensive estates in Hungary that brought an annual income of 50,000 gold coins. As a result of the actions of Lazarević and Branković, thousands of Serbs changed their domicile to Hungary.

From the 15th to the 17th century, Hungarians and Serbs – aided by western Christian allies – often fought in concert against Turkish rule. Alas, with scant success since the Serb state and a third of the Kingdom of Hungary became part of the Ottoman Empire in 1541. As a result of the southerly expansion of the Habsburg Empire, the former historical territorial boundaries of the Kingdom of Hungary became, more or less, reestablished at the end of the 1600s. However, when Belgrade again came under Ottoman control in 1690, the Serbs, who supported the Habsburgs' Balkan expansion with their

forces, were forced to flee; the Habsburgs, by this time, also called the crown of Hungary as theirs.

The 'great Serb migration' took place in the fall of 1690. Under the leadership of Arsenije Carnojevic, Patriarch of Peć (Ipek), several thousand Serb families (by some estimates 80,000 people) migrated into Hungary. The immigrants asked for certain rights and privileges from Emperor Leopold I, as king of Hungary: the right to freely practice their religion, use of the orthodox calendar and church law, autonomy for their church organization, freedom to elect their archbishop and bishops, and freedom from taxation. They did not lay claim to political rights at this time since they looked on their emigration as temporary and had hopes of returning to their country.

In his decree of August 21, 1690, Leopold I granted the Serbs of Hungary the privileges they sought, in exchange for assuming the protection of the southern border and requested that they be liable for drafting for military service. When the now-transplanted Serbs saw that the seemingly-stable Turkish administration presented them with an ever receding chance of returning to Serbia, they began to demand political rights, too. To oblige, Leopold I granted them, in the spring of 1691, the right to freely elect their own voivod, who could be their political leader and military commander, with the proviso that he can not exercise his authority until invested by the Hungarian ruler. At the end of the 1730s, another wave of Serb settlers arrived from the Ottoman Empire, led by Arsenije **Jovanović, Patriarch** of Peć. From 1741 onwards, the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church was situated in the Hungarian town of Karlóca (today Novi Karlovci), although until 1848, they did not use the title of patriarch but rather that of archbishop (metropolitan).

Serious conflicts appeared between the Magyars and Serbs living in the skirmish zone between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires. The first tension arose immediately after the battle of Mohacs (1526), which led to the three-way division of the Hungarian state. The Hungarian Diet elected two kings, the Hungarian Janos /John/ Szapolyai and the German Ferdinand Habsburg, leading to the bisection of what remained of the Kingdom of Hungary; the Turks occupied the south-central part. One of the officers of Serb descent of King Szapolyai was Jovan Cerni, also called the Black Man, who was ordered to the southern territories by the ruler to look after defense against Turkish incursions. Cerni, however, led his Serb followers on a looting and robbing expedition through the southern territories, even setting up a court in Subotica (Hung: Szabadka) – calling himself the Czar of the Serbs – and collecting tax and tribute from neighboring towns and villages. Szapolyai and his followers initiated several campaigns against him until, in the summer of 1527, they were able to defeat and kill him. Cerni's action gained great significance later as his pseudo-state was interpreted by 19th century Serb politicians in Hungary as the historical foundation and precursor of an independent Serbian Voivodina.

After the great influx of 1690, the Serbs living on the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary amid numerous privileges still instigated anti-Magyar unrest during the 18th and 19th centuries. During the reign of Empress Maria Theresa, the Serbs living in Hungary raised an army of 14,000 who supported the Empress in the war of the Austrian succession, opposing the German claimants to the throne. After Maria Theresa solidified her position, she began to urge the union of the Orthodox Serbs with the Catholic Church (meaning the creation of the Serb Greek Catholic Church), as well as the reduction of their privileges granted them for their frontier defense services. In response, one of the frontier-guard captains, Pera Jovanovic Segedinac, organized an uprising in 1735. The revolt of the Serbs in favor of retaining their privileges also attracted Magyar peasants from Bekes County, protesting their serf obligations. After a while, the two revolting groups turned against each other and the movement was soon put down. Pera Segedinac and other leaders of the uprising were executed in Buda in the summer of 1736.

The really serious confrontation between the Magyars and the Serbs of Hungary came during the Hungarian Revolt and Fight for Freedom of 1848-49. The Hungarian uprising that erupted on March 15, 1848 was, among other things, about civil rights, equality under the law, obliteration of serfdom, and the equitable distribution of common burdens. The Hungarian Fight for Freedom, commonly associated with the person of Louis Kossuth, that sprang from these causes was opposed by the Serbs of Hungary and they began to make demands of political and territorial autonomy, to round out their existing religious and cultural autonomy. Their goal was the creation of an autonomous – independent of Hungary, sovereign but to the Habsburg ruler – Serbian Voivodina, which, in due time, could unite with Serbia. That Serbia had, in the meantime, been recognized in 1826 by Turkey as a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire. (It became an independent country in 1878.)

As a sign of independence, the Serbs living in southern Hungary met between March 13 and 15, 1848 in the Syrmian town of Sremski Karlovci (Hung: Karlóca) where they elected as Patriarch, Josif Rajacic, the metropolitan of Sremski Karlovci (as head of a *de facto* independent church of an independent country) and colonel Stefan Supljikac as their civil and military leader (Voivod). They then initiated armed conflict with the Hungarian military. The Serb rebels burned and destroyed Magyar villages, towns and churches. After the Hungarian Freedom Revolt was put down, Emperor Francis Joseph ruled in an absolutist manner between 1849 and 1860, creating the Serb Voivodina and the Banate of Temes, two provinces now independent of Hungary and accountable directly to the Emperor, who held the local title of Grand Voivod. The territories were integrated into the Kingdom of Hungary in 1860.

The first world war ended with the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, leading to the Treaty of Trianon (1920). In its terms, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes received an area of 62,000 square kilometers of the Kingdom of Hungary, as well as all

of Croatia itself (42,500 sq. km.), in an attempt to create a unified nation state. Some of the Magyars, who now found themselves in a foreign country – mainly intellectuals, teachers, civil servants but also ordinary farmers and craftsmen (some 40,000) – had no choice but to move to the now-truncated Hungary. The majority of Hungarian Serbs opted to move south between 1920 and 1930, where comparable sized lands were guaranteed them as they left behind.

The portion of the southern territory, between the Danube and Theiss Rivers, again became part of Hungary in April of 1941. It was not until January of 1942 that the Novi Sad (Hung: Újvidék) round-up took place, during which Hungarian authorities executed 4,000 Serbs – partisans, communists and civilians. In 1944, Tito's partisan units, aided by the Red Army, retook the disputed southern territory. At the turn of 1945-46, the Communist Party leadership of Yugoslavia directed the local Serb military units to carry out ethnic cleansing among the Magyar and German population. The exact number of Magyar casualties is not known, although expert estimates put it between 20,000 and 40,000. A further 80,000 were forced to flee their homeland and seek refuge in Hungary. The Voivodina again became, under the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1947), officially part of Yugoslavia.

During the socialist era, the advocacy and cultural organization for the Serbs of Hungary was the Democratic Association of Southern Slavs of Hungary. According to the data of the 2001 census, there are 3,800 citizens of Serbian ethnicity living in Hungary. Since 1995, a Serb autonomous organization has existed both at local and national levels; they have a weekly newspaper and a short weekly program on national television. In 1990-91 – on the 300th anniversary of the great Serb migration – a large number of the Serb Orthodox Churches in Hungary were restored with government assistance.

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JUSTICE FOR THE TEMERIN FIVE!

Five years ago a gross miscarriage of justice occurred in Serbia. Five young ethnic Hungarians were accused of attacking a Serbian man with murderous intent. For this the Serbian court found them guilty and sentenced them each from ten (10) to fifteen (15) years in prison. This sentence has no parallel in Vojvodina (the region where most Hungarians reside) for those accused of beating and/or killing Hungarians, or for that matter no parallel in severity for those who have been tried and sentenced for war crimes in Serbia.

What is the background to the establishment of this double standard in Serb judicial practice? Three considerations stand in the forefront. First, that in the historical legacy of Vojvodina the Hungarians are seen as an irredentist threat even after years of incremental ethnic cleansing by the Serbs, which has transformed the region from 1/3 Hungarian, 1/3 Swabian German and 1/3 South Slav in 1910 to 3/4th Serb, 14% Hungarian and ca. 10% “other” in 2009. This demographic transformation also means that most of the Serbs are relatively new-comers in the region and as a consequence suffer from the inferiority complex of the late-comer, for which they compensate with an orientation toward Serb chauvinism.

It is mainly these “Johnny-come-lately” Serbs that are the source of the ethnic tension in the region. They (some 250,000 resettled in Vojvodina from Croatia) constitute a solid block of discontent ever since the inter-ethnic strife of the early 1990’s. After these Serbs were again humiliated by the secession of Kosovo in 1999-2001, they began to take out their frustrations on the remaining Hungarian minority in Vojvodina. From the late 1990’s to 2004 a whole series of atrocities were committed in this formerly Autonomous Province. Hungarian cemeteries were vandalized, Hungarian Catholic and Reformed churches were defaced with anti-minority graffiti, and Hungarian youngsters were attacked by Serb youth gangs on a regular basis. This seemed to be carried out with the collusion of Serb authorities, since the perpetrators were rarely apprehended, and when they were, they were released with a slap on the wrist. However, these abuses of the Hungarian minority population led to enough international attention that the European Union in January 2005 sent a fact-finding team to Belgrade and Vojvodina to demonstrate its concern over these abuses of both minority and human rights.

Almost on cue, it is at this time in June 2004, that the reverse type of incident occurred, where Hungarian youths were accused of assaulting a Serb man in the market square of the Vojvodina town of Temerin. The event occurred at a time of heightened tensions between the majority and the minority, and took place only four days prior to

the next general election in which the Serb Radical Party pulled out all the stops in playing the nationalist card.

The incident itself occurred at one of the favored gathering places of ethnic Hungarians in Temerin. The “victim,” Zoran Petrovic, under the influence of alcohol or drugs (he was a known drug-pusher), began to provoke the Hungarian youngsters with verbal insults. After he repeated his provocative encounter four or five times, some of the young Hungarians had enough. Zoran’s profanity and insults of the Hungarian girl present in the group, and his insults of the mothers of all of them, led to a shoving match and then an outright brawl. Zoran got the short end of the stick in this encounter, both because he was inebriated and because he was outnumbered

At any rate, his beating led to a Serb dragnet of the market square, where the Hungarian youngsters were arrested and immediately jailed. The Serb nationalist press made of this case a hysterical analogy with the case of a Serb who had been allegedly sodomized by a bottle wielding Albanian a decade earlier. The media frenzy, and the heat of the electoral campaign led right up to the trial of the five attackers (none of whom had any previous encounter with the law.) The prosecutor described the five youngsters as animals. The trial was carried out in the Serb language and they did not receive adequate defense counsel. In fact, the Serb only restriction has continued to the present. The relatives visiting them in prison are not allowed to communicate with them in their native Hungarian, the prison guards allow communication in Serb only.

After five years, surely the Serbs themselves should realize how counterproductive this treatment is. As for Hungarians, both here and in the Carpathian Basin, a much more assertive posture is needed. After all, the Hungarian Constitution’s Article m, paragraph 3, declares that the Hungarian state is responsible for all Hungarians, even those who reside beyond its borders. It would be in the best interest of Serb-Hungarian reconciliation if Hungarian President would turn to President Boris Tadic of Serbia with a suggestion for amnesty.

This would be in the interest not just of the Temerin Five, but for Serbia, and for all Hungarians throughout the world. For the latter it would be important for their own self-respect and the cause of justice.

l.a.

Atila S. Délvidéki

CHAPTERS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE SERB RAIDS

*„Neath the twin towers, where Bechtold drank champagne last week,
Naked crowds of 'Madzaries' fruitlessly pleaded ...
All strung on a spit through their chest, as if beads,
Made to dance under the whip – a bullet at the end ...!
Unspeakable torture awaits the two thousand stuck inside,
The arms and legs of dr. Toth will soon be sawed off.
Bloodied wraiths are at work in the Kuszly house:
Women's breasts diced, a child's body carved.
They nail one to the church door – still alive;
Here they crucify, and hack, the Son of God – yet again...!”*

(Excerpt from The Twin Towers of Bacsszenttamás by A.S.D.)

The reader can reap rewards from a wealth of factual and documented research done for this thorough and, to-date, absent volume dealing with the shared past of Hungary and Serbia, including some events persistently ignored. The author has published several articles and other writings on this topic. He has no job appropriate to his qualifications, which has not held him back from – or perhaps freed him to – carry on relentless research for the past two decades. The result will be a vast, multi-volume compendium. The title of the planned series, spanning six centuries, is: *'Cemeteries in Flames – The Concealed Secrets and Horrors of the Carving Out of the Voivodina (1268-1868)'*, the period he deals with in his recently published first volume, *'Chapters from the History of Serb Raids,'* in which we are treated to the unvarnished reasons for, and the beginnings of, the wars, territorial claims and counter-claims between the two nations.

Alas, it was not in 1944-45 that the first attempt was made to annihilate the non-Serb population from the southern reaches of the Great Hungarian Plain, it also happened in 1848-49, as well as during the Freedom Fight of Rakoczi (1703-11), all during the two hundred year Hungarian wars (1521-1718) and even before (1514). This is even to skip over the centuries of Turkish rule. This much-suffering – and originally entirely Magyar populated – region had to undergo an aggressive population exchange and influx to reach today's 70% Serb majority of Vojvodina (pre-Trianon, in 1919, it was 33.8% Serb). The Serbs, taught and urged by their own national church to territorial

conquest, began the ethnic cleansing of county-sized territories of Magyars, beginning in 1391. It was then that Nagyenyeg (Smitrovica) was leveled, at the time the most populous town of Magyar-populated Sirmium county, along with neighboring towns, not much smaller, which were plundered and torched: Szeremvar (Sremska Mitrovica), Szenternye (Mačvanska Mitrovica) and Nagyolaszi (Mandelos).

In Hungary, during the Turkish occupation, the ‘Turk’ spoke Serb, and it was this ‘Turk’ who exterminated over three-quarters of the Hungarian populace during the Two Hundred Years War. In the Turkish period, Serbs represented the Sultan in the heart of Europe: the ‘Turkish’ garrison was Serb, the mass of brigands specializing in killing the population were Serbs, and even the vast majority of the ‘Turkish’ functionaries and officials were Serbs. In fact, often the Pasha of Budapest, viceroy over the entire Turk-Serb conquest in Hungary, was Serb. The Turkish Empire reorganized the patriarchate of Peć (then Ipek), which was also a civil state along the lines of the Papal States. Beginning with their national assembly of 1694 in Baja, Serbs began to lay claim to the Great Hungarian Plain from its new ruling power, the German Emperor, whose armies exercised control over the entire Hungarian region, having taken over from the Sultan’s forces.

We get an entirely new interpretation in the book of the actions of Arsenije III Carnojevic, patriarch of the Serbs, and his massive Serb resettlement of 1689-90 into Hungary. Estimates vary from 30,000 to 200,000 Serbs accepted into the country, most in the 30-60,000 range.

The author marshals facts to prove that the tale of the use of ‘Serb’ or ‘Rác’ – still taught today in some universities – was the creation of the ‘Serb’ faction, who blamed everything and anything on the Magyars. [Rác was the usual Magyar name to refer to the Serbs (23.6% of the population of southern Hungary in 1848) – with no negative connotations – whereas ‘Serb’ carried negative connotation-*ed*.] The Rác who had emigrated to Hungary generally referred to themselves by that name, as if to distance themselves from the Serbian Serbs. The conjectural author of is the Magyar hater, and anti-Semite, Stratimirovic. In his manifestos of May 1848, he stated that, in his opinion, the tough problem of the ‘foreigners who took shelter’ in the once-existent Serb principality(?) ‘can only be solved by sword in brave Serbian hands that eradicates it completely.’

This ‘foreign’ and ‘eradicable’ non-Serb population then numbered 1,628,000 people (76.4%), which the supporters of Belgrade wrested, by acclamation, from Hungary at a secessionist National Assembly held on May 13, 1848 in Sr. Karlovci to be annexed to the so-called ‘Serbian Vojvodina’ (Voivodstvo Srbija).

One of the most horrific and, at the same time, humanly distressing episodes in the book deals with the population extermination carried out in Bacsszenttamas (Srbobran) on July 14, 1848 with the assistance of traitorous Austrian officers working on the Magyar side. It was carried out by rebels calling themselves *srbobranac* (protectors of the

Rác). 1,300 innocent Magyar women, children and unarmed farmers were tortured in the most brutal fashion and slaughtered. However, according to the information of Istvan Zako, the heads of 1,500 Magyar and Jewish citizens were displayed on pikes around the earthen walls of the fortress of Srbobran. This does not take into account bodies flung into the surrounding rivers, swamps and wells, nor the number of Magyar girls kept alive for their bodies, only to die after long months of brutal sexual assault. The author, after careful assessment, estimates that approximately 2,000 unarmed people of the village were tortured to death, including women and children. After all, the latter's heads would not grace a pike on the fort's wall but most likely end up as food for the fishes or stray dogs.

As the opening excerpt from the poem says, limbs were sawn off, men were skinned alive, girls and young women – no longer wanted sexually – were speared through their breasts onto spits, linked together and made to dance, children were hauled up between the 100 ft. tall church towers and used for target practice. An eyewitness recounted the fate of the two elements doomed for extermination: *“Armed mobs went from street to street, as if crazed animals, hunting Magyars. Any they found on the street were killed or stabbed without pity. It is worth mentioning one instance, a certain Illés /Elias/ Szimicslás, a tanner by trade, was caught by the crazed, bloodthirsty mob, his hands tied behind him as well as blindfolded, then was led about amidst shouts of glee, -until seen by some ultra-Rác youths who stoned him half to death with bricks until finally one of the rebels, out of some pity, placed his gun in the middle of his back and shot him through, -the body was buried in the yard of the current synagogue, whose bones were found in 1888.”* The population of the surrounding area who did not support the rebels hardly fared any better: *“Entire farm families of Magyars were all killed, children included, their heads lopped off and displayed as garlands on the sides of their wagons, going into town to the festive strains of bagpipes”* – wrote the '48 Freedom Fighter soldier, and later historian, Peter Császár, born in the Vojvodina.

The Magyars of Tiszafoldvar (Bačko Gradište) were similarly slaughtered three months later by the relocated 'protectors of the Rác' and other irregular forces of Strati-mirovic, after similar traitorous actions by Austria. Austrian government forces were simply ordered to withdraw from the settlement earlier by Field Marshal Bechtold, who was in collusion with the rebels. The Servians (Garasanin's mercenaries), the majority of the local Rác and the irregulars (protectors of the Rác) went around the village and amid 'brutal cruelty' – Bechtold's own words – to chase, rob, kill, burn, dismember and torture the local Magyar, Jewish and Schwabian population they surprised in their sleep, without regard for women or children – mutilating even the helpless wounded. *“The Servians ... begin to rampage in the village, sparing no one,”* wrote later Surdutki (1792–1884), the leader of the attackers, *“shouting 'Rác Glory.' Death was meted out by anyone, with whatever weapon was at hand...”* The mass violence took most of its victims from among the 'simple Magyar folks' because *‘many peasants who did not*

leave' – reported to Stratimirovic an exultant Surdutski – 'and were killed, their number unknown.' The outcome here also, according to an eyewitness Austrian soldier – who felt a 'too great sympathy' towards the dissidents – as printed in a letter in the 'Abend-Beilage zur Wiener Zeitung,' was that "the Serbs, when they took this village, cut off the heads of many Magyar peasants..."

The number of the murdered in Tiszafoldvar (Bačko Gradište) is estimated between one and two thousand; on the Serb side: nine dead. The remains of the victims were piled up in what can still be seen today: the huge Bone Mound beside the road to **Obecse** (Bečej) – a fact admitted by Serb historian Lazar Rakic. "On that street of Obecse that leads towards Foldvar: according to statements by several honest persons there is an oppressive cloud of stench, especially at dawn, or on occasion when the wind blows from there, ..." wrote of the following days the chief district magistrate, Sandor Sorok. The 30 ft. high and about 130-170 ft. wide austere Bone Mound (Kostanica) is depicted on the cover of the book. Apart from Count Kolovrat's statement, a high ranking officer in the Austrian army, of the most crime: the pyramid of childrens' skulls in the church of Tiszafoldvar (Bačko Gradište, often confused with the skull heaps of the butchered Magyars of Zenta (Senta), six months later), essentially both acts of brutal ethnic cleansing are treated in this work for the first time.

Half a year later, around February of 1849, the horrific events of Bacsszentamas (Srbobran) and Tiszafoldvar (Bačko Gradište) were repeated all over southern Hungary: the irregulars of Stratimirovic received a green light to begin a thorough ethnic cleansing from the Iron Gorge on the Danube to Szabadka (Subotica) and Zenta (Senta). Depositions were taken from the survivors; a selected few extracts from that horrific record:

"The wife of Pal Tot swears that her husband's head was beaten apart and her two daughters were raped, so much that one died, the other writhed in the blood, ...she saw Misa Koles bury 28 skulls in a ditch in the cemetery that were collected by the women."

"Peter Fris had to chop off heads, ...he heard 3,882 persons executed and one person forced to behead his father-in-law, ...he was badly tortured, not right even today."

"Lorincz Deutsch saw more than 300 dog-chewed heads. Josef Gulicska, with his wife and son, saw the corpses hung in the mulberry tree and the bell tower and the torture of Mihaly Nemet."

"Janos Takacs saw the human heads at Holy Trinity, was beaten 25 times with a stick, witnessed Mrs. Takacs raped."

"Mrs. Albert Varga attests that her daughter was raped. Janos Pap testifies that his daughter was raped before her husband. Istvan Kovacs Keceli attests that his wife was raped in front of him. Anna Mukus testifies that she was raped, that her mother was beaten to death with an axe, that his ill, bed-bound brother was shot and killed."

"Trezsia Lovei, wife of Janos Szel, attests that she was raped innumerable times, by Arso Celeketic and a Serb miller she knows but not his name. The wife of Matyas Pal Dani attests that she was raped."

“Kata Teleki and her daughter attest that they saw many dead bodies by the upper cemetery which were shot, covered with straw and singed, ... also attests that a 12 year old girl was raped, who she washed from the blood, the girl knows who did it.”

“Gyorgy Szecsenyi attests that there were so many bodies on the streets to make it difficult to walk, and further avers that the local Serbs continuously murdered and robbed...”

“Simon Rosenfeld saw Jovo Pivar and another man kill Ferenc Hajduska with a pitchfork, two wagons were used to haul 500 bodies out of the town.”

These were the abysmal depths reached in the Zenta (Senta) version of the Serb raids. The extermination of the Magyars of Bacsszenttamás (Srbobran) on July 14, 1848, permitted by Philip Bechtold, soon proved to be the spark for further atrocities and disturbances over a wide area.

Our current era is, unfortunately, a shining example of the saying: “The victors write the history books!” Revision of history went to the extent that the highly acclaimed **Dušan Popović** (1894–1965) felt unconstrained by facts to attribute non-existent Serb exterminations to the Magyars, while Dragutin Gavrilovic (1882-1945) redrew the medieval Kingdom of Hungary along the Trianon borders of 1920. Not only the history text but the authoritative literature also does not disclose the facts to the continually misinformed and simply misled public: that in 1848, thousands of Magyars and Jews were tortured and killed; that the murdered population of Tiszaföldvár (Bačko Gradište) still lie uninterred in a huge mound; that it was not the impoverished Magyars forced into serfdom who oppressed the Serb landowners settled among them but, rather, the opposite; that Stratimirovic and followers resorted to the most base instigation and cruelty on the claimed territory against the more than 75% non-Serb population; that during the early 18th century, the Serb raids decimated the returning native population from Szeged to Veszprem and from Kecskemet to Kenderes; that millions of Magyars were exterminated or carried off into slavery by the Turkish era Serb irregulars and Serb Janissaries; that even as far back as the 14th century, entire counties were cleansed of Magyar populations by the advancing Serb onslaught, among them Nagyenyege; that even in ancient time, the Eastern Serb Church advocated, and on occasion lead, its supporters towards the idea of a ‘Greater’ nation; and so forth.

In more unsettled times – as evidenced more recently in 1944, too – there is not enough pleading or servile accommodation that will save a minority population from extermination. A few thousand (tens of thousands?) mass murderers can always be found among the ranks of every nation – without the need for revisionist history or an educational curriculum extolling a ‘glorious Great Serbia.’ According to supporters of permanent solutions, ‘the only good Magyar is a dead Magyar,’ in much the same context as it was heard elsewhere that ‘the only good Indian...!’

AUTONOMY

After the fall of the Soviet Union, the Western Powers missed a wonderful opportunity to reshape the face of Europe. We remember all too well the Congress of Vienna after the fall of Napoleon, and the unbelievably shortsighted peace treaties after the First and Second World Wars.

After these events the leaders of the states convened to reshape the borders of Europe. The Vienna Congress was very effective. Just or not, the borders drawn by the dancing diplomats lasted a century and Europe prospered. The other two did not fare so well. The first one inflicted unhealing wounds, the second put some salt into them.

In 1990 there was an opportunity the West failed to grasp. After the fall of the Soviet Union, they should have convened a second “Vienna Congress” and redrawn the borders along ethnic and cultural lines. Where it was not possible, they should have obliged the states with sizable minorities to grant them autonomy along the lines of the South-Tyrol pattern.

Of course, there are obstacles: the Polish-German, the Russian-German borders. It would be hard to push back Poland some 150 kilometers to the East. East Prussia is the foothold the Russians would not part with easily.

The rest of the problems, the Romanian, Serbian, and Slovakian would have been easier to solve. Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia fell apart spontaneously, even Romania may be facing the same fate.

Some of the democratic states realized, that there is a price to pay for peaceful progress, and were willing to make amends. The Scots, Irish, Welsh, South Tyrol, Swedes of Finland, Gagauzes of Moldavia (who have heard of them before?), Catalans, Basques, all had their autonomies. The Corsicans, Bretons and other minorities of the once “nation state” France are close to some sort of autonomy. The idea of self-government of the homogenous communities have no alternatives, but bloodshed. Even the French have realized it.

But what about the Hungarians? Presumably the West keeps the successive Hungarian governments on notice to “behave themselves”. They are dangling the lure of a borderless European Union in front of them, neglecting to tell them, that Slovakia, Romania and Serbia. where close to 3 million Hungarians live oppressed, flatly refuse granting territorial autonomy to them.

What happens in the meantime to our brethren? They will be forced to emigrate, or dissolve in the Rumanian, Serb and Slovak sea around them. We don't like this prospect. The West can not put up the real solution to this festering sore too long. The status quo can not be kept up any longer. The Balkan problem has to be solved soon, and without Hungary it can not be done. The successor states eventually will have to face up to the facts.

If the leading Western Powers were willing to grant autonomy to their minorities, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania and Serbia can not buck the trend. They have a very limited choice: either adopt a friendly attitude toward Hungary and the minorities, or face much harder demands in the not to distant future.

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

(proportional to ethnicity and religion.)

Since the time of King Saint Stephen in the 11th century, the use of mother tongue and the retention of identity by the minorities have developed by various means, unique in Europe, apart from Switzerland. These were: religious and regional autonomy, and the system of self-government that developed in the towns whose modernity is borne out by the fact that it is the cornerstone of the Northern Ireland Good Friday Agreement. This can prove to be the solution for those living in minority today. In my present essay, I will present, in some detail, the lesser known aspects of the Hungarian exercise of collective agreement:

1. Exercise of collective rights, based on ethnicity and religion.

In the Kingdom of Hungary, the possibility for the exercise of collective rights was present, beginning in the early Árpád-era, within the parameters of church and regional autonomy⁸⁵:

The various form of regional autonomy that emerged in Hungary (the Croatian Banate, the Iazyg – Cuman districts, the Szekler provinces, the Saxon unit, the alliance of mining towns of Northern Hungary, etc.) provided opportunity for the organization of self-administration for the various societal groups of varying rights: the organizing of ethnic groups at a regional level to safeguard their interests and preserve their identity through many centuries, literature in their mother tongue, and develop their culture from the Árpád era. While Europe was centralizing and assimilating, in our country – tracing back to the mounted nomad tribal alliance – a coexistence relationship developed where Szekler, Palóc (a subgroup of Magyars in Northern Hungary), and later, Croat, Cuman and Saxon groups cohabited.⁸⁶

Religious autonomy⁸⁷ took root in the independent Principality of Transylvania as a result of continuous arrival and immigration (guest workers) during the 16th c. The Protestant princes of Transylvania recognized that their culture can only be offered

85 Hévízi, Józsa: *Autonómia-típusok Magyarországon és Európában* [Autonomy types in Hungary and Europe], Püski publishing, Budapest, 2001.

86 *Ibid.*, pp. p. 11-26. The Rusyns (Ruthenians) are also among them, according to the Bereg tradition: After the Mongol devastation in the 14th c., prince Feodor Koriatovich settled with 40,000 people, but previous to that, the first group of Ruthenians arrives with the Magyars at the end of the 9th c. Archers (2,000) and peasants (3,000) are settled, with special privileges, along the border for defensive military duties, in the so-called Krajina, in Lehoczky, Tivadar: *Bereg vármegye monográphiája* [The history of Bereg County]. Miksa Pollacsek publishing, Ungvár (Uzghorod), 1881. Vol. I, pp. 130, 141.

87 Hévízi: *Autonómia ...* op. cit, pp. 33-70.

to the newcomers in their own language, and so, beginning in the 16th c., urged the use of the mother tongue in liturgy, established printing presses and schools for the benefit of the Vlach (Romanian) population. Prince János Zsigmond (1541-1571) prescribed that the language used in the Romanian churches be changed from the previous liturgical Slavic to contemporary Romanian. While religious wars devastated all of Europe, a Transylvanian law of 1568 was first to ratify the toleration of the Reformed, Lutheran, Unitarian and Catholic religions.⁸⁸ Prince Gábor (Gabriel) Bethlen (1613-1629), in 1624, issued an edict mandating that the landowners refrain from keeping the sons of villeins from attending the schools, under a penalty of 300 Forint. The wife of the prince, Zsuzsanna (Suzanna) Lorántffy, founded a Romanian school in Fogaras. György (George) Rákóczi I, appointing Ábrahám Burdánfalvi to the Romanian bishopric of Bihar in 1641, instructed him to preach in Romanian and make his priests preach in Romanian, as well, so that, “the poor Romanians could listen to their own native tongue and thus daily improve in their search for salvation and daily wend their way from the darkness of superstitions to the light of truth”⁸⁹ At the order of prince Mihály (Michael) Apafi II (1661-1690), the first Romanian elementary schools open in 1669.

After the liberation from 150 years of Turkish rule (vassal), the 1690 and 1691 decrees of Leopold I, granted the newly settled Greek Catholic Serbs the same military status and church autonomy as was granted to the Hajduks (schools in their language, middle schools established).⁹⁰ Leopold II confirmed this in Law XXVII of 1791.⁹¹

The Slovaks were made up of the local Slavs, of Czechs transplanted during the Hussite wars, Moravians and the continued immigrants from Poland (see family names in Slovakia) and Rusyns beginning from the 18th century.⁹² This explains that they are mainly Evangelical or Catholic and had opportunities for greater self-organization within the autonomy of the Evangelical Church. This does not mean that Hungary forbid, or would not allow, the local use of Slavic languages. We must recall the translation into Slovak of bishop Péter Pázmány’s Guide, or that, in this region (Northern Hungary), the nobility were mostly bilingual and spoke in their mother tongue with those living on their estates (e.g.- János and Louisa Esterházy). In his Diary, István Széchenyi notes that the peasants translated into Slovak his Credit (Hitel)⁹³ and blamed him for the outbreak of the cholera epidemic. But it was not only in the villages where they could retain their mother tongue as most of the towns and cities were also bilingual.

88 Ibid, p. 40.

89 Székely, Marianne: A protestáns erdélyi fejedelmek hatása a román kultúra fejlődésére [The impact of the Protestant Transylvanian princes on the development of Romanian culture]. Tiszántúli Könyv és Lapkiadó Rt, Debrecen, 1935, pp. 6-19, 27.

90 Right to elect their Metropolitan, freedom from the tithe, war taxes, and billeting. Dr. Pirigyí, István: A magyarországi görög katolikusok története [The history of the Greek Catholics of Hungary]. Görög Katolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, Nyíregyháza, 1990, vol. I, p. 91.

91 “as pertaining to the foundations, educational system, the education of the young... may remain in effect” – meaning that they were free to continue to manage their religious and educational affairs in an autonomous fashion.

92 Balassa, Zoltán: Két nemzet a Kárpát-medencében. A szlovákok történelme [Two nations in the Carpathian basin. The history of the Slovaks]. Kassa- Budapest, 2006, pp. 22-25.

93 Széchenyi, István: Napló [Diary]. Second edition, Gondolat publishing, 1982, p. 696.

2. Ethic and religious tolerance: proportional town representational bodies.

It is little known that, in the free royal towns and market towns of the Kingdom of Hungary, self-government was able to emerge – unique in Europe – for the ethnic groups and religions.

The cities and towns of Hungary, similar to others in Eastern Europe, were multi-ethnic. The charters of the Saxon and German settlers set out for themselves their right to self-government and, in the beginning, the use of the German language⁹⁴ (Pozsony / Bratislava/, the Saxon settlements of Transylvania, the mining towns of Northern Hungary, etc.) “The population of the community is to enjoy equal freedoms, without language and ethnic differentiation” decrees the charter granted to Beregszász (Berehovo) in 1247 issued by king Béla IV after the Mongol invasion, repeating king Géza II earlier edict.⁹⁵ The first ethnic conflicts appear in the Northern Hungarian towns due to the German inhabitants’ refusal to allow anyone else into their guilds, even their towns.⁹⁶ To address this, Act XIII of 1608 makes it mandatory for the royal free towns to permit the purchase of houses by Magyars and Slavs (Czechs), also. Act XLIV of 1609, mandates that the free royal towns, mining towns and chartered market towns are to make available the posts of judges and other positions equally, without regard to ethnicity, or else face a fine of 2,000 Forints.⁹⁷ In the 15th to 18th centuries, it became common practice to include the minority groups into the town administration, based on some level of the proportion of the religion or ethnic background involved. The judge, council members and representatives were chosen according to the ethnic or religious proportion of the population – annually or less frequently: see Pozsony/Bratislava,⁹⁸ Buda, Kolozsvár/

94 Hévízi: *Autonómia ... op. cit.*, pp. 22-25.

95 Lehoczky: *Bereg ... op. cit.*, p. 91. The charter is confirmed by later kings István V (Stephen) and Károly Róbert (Charles Robert).

96 Balassa: *Két nemzet ... op. cit.*, edition IV, 2009.

97 “The positions of judges, and others, in the free towns, mining towns and chartered market towns are to be distributed equally without regard to Magyars, Germans, Czechs or Slavs, nor differentiated by religion or ethnicity” in www.complex.hu/1000.

98 Its charter dates from 1291: “Whereas, the application of laws, pertaining to Magyars, can not be other than that applied by German judges, hence, we feel the need for the appointment of Magyar-language judges only on linguistic need, based on the language difference of a proportion of the population. The fact that, in the Middle Ages, Jews were deemed to be royal villeins and formed separate communities in towns and villages, led to they also having a separate administration. Thus, in Pozsony, we meet with a separate judge for the Jews who, although a Christian himself, was appointed to look after the affairs of the Jews. The separate laws and regulations in Pozsony for Jews, although fading into disuse by then, are known from 1376,” in: Ortway, Tivadar: *Pozsony város története [The history of the city of Pozsony]*, vol. II. *A város jogtörténete [The legal history of the city]*. Pozsony, 1898. (www.archive.org/.../pozsonyvrostriin0lortvgoog/pozsonyvrostriin0lortvgoog_djvu.txt)

Cluj,⁹⁹ Siklós,¹⁰⁰ Békéscsaba,¹⁰¹ Gyula,¹⁰² Pécs,¹⁰³ Zágráb/Zagrab,¹⁰⁴ Zsolna/Žilina,¹⁰⁵ Újvidék/Novi Sad,¹⁰⁶ and Kassa/Košice.¹⁰⁷

It was permitted that matters relating to a minority group be represented by an elected group (in today's term: minority self-administration), which was subordinate to the town council (the Serbs of Buda,¹⁰⁸ Baja,¹⁰⁹ and the Gypsies of Siklós).

99 Governor Mihály Szilágyi decreed in 1458 that the German and increased Magyar populations each send a deputation of 50-50 to a grand council of 100, from which will be elected 6-6 representatives, the position of judge to rotate annually between Germans and Magyars. This was reaffirmed in a charter by King Mathias in 1468. This was later modified, in 1488, based on the administrative by-laws of Buda that half of the deputation had to be chosen from among the well-to-do and the other half from among the guild members, each guild to send 3-4 delegates, in: Jakab, Elek, Kolozsvár története [The history of Kolozsvár]. I. Magyar Királyi Egyetemi nyomda, Buda, 1870, pp. 466-471; Kiss, András: Kolozsvár város önkormányzati fejlődése az 1458-as „unióig” és kiteljesedése az 1568-as királyi ítélettel [The development of the administration of Kolozsvár until the “union” of 1458 and its completion in the royal edict of 1568], in: Erdélyi Múzeum [Transylvanian Museum] - vol. 59, 1997. 3-4. füzet.

100 Between 1730 and 1849, the majority of the judges of the market town are Magyars. The town criers are Magyars, Serbs and Germans who spread the announcements in the languages spoken in town. They are also the supervisors of the grain and grape harvests, etc. Of the judges: 5 were Croatian, 3 Serbs, and 6 Germans and, of the other posts, the vice judge, notary and others were elected mostly from the other minorities. The so-called Gypsy quarter annually elected a judge who, with a panel of 3-4 looked after tax matters, supervised services and acted as a jury panel. Szita, László: A török alóli felszabadulástól az 1848-49-es szabadságharc bukásáig [From liberation of Turkish rule to the failure of the 1848-49 Battle for Freedom], pp. 107-174; Kiss, Géza: Az önkényuralom és a dualizmus kora Siklós bírási és jegyzőinek névsora [Absolutism and the age of Dualism. The roll of the judges and notaries of Siklós], pp. 175-227 in: Dr. Máté, János, Város a Tenkes alján. Siklós évszázadai [Town at the foot of the Tenkes. The centuries of Siklós]. Siklós, 2000.

101 Békéscsaba, predominantly populated by Slovak Protestant Evangelicals, annually elected a local council. It was already an old custom in October 1847 that they elected a Catholic judge every seventh year, in proportion to their numbers. Erdmann Gyula: Csaba társadalma, gazdasága és önkormányzata 1772–1848 [The society, economy and local government of Békéscsaba, 1772-1848], in: Békéscsaba története [History of Békéscsaba] (Eds.: Jankovich, B. Dénes, Erdmann, Gyula), Békéscsaba, 1991.

102 In Gyula, the Reformed sect carried on a long struggle to garner the number of positions in proportion to their numbers. In the 1790s, beside the 6 Catholic councilmen, they elected 3 Reformed and 3 Eastern-rite Greek Catholics (Romanians?) and the first Reformed judge took office in 1845, in: Scherer Ferenc: Gyula város története [The history of the town of Gyula]. Gyula, 1938, p. 345.

103 Márffi, Attila /ed./: Pécs ezer éve [The thousand years of Pécs]. Pécs Története Alapítvány, Pécs, 1996. Since 1691, Pécs had two judges. The German judge was not of equal rank; he represented the wishes and complaints of the Germans with a vote on the city council. With him appear also the Croat and Magyar (tribuni plebis) representative, with similar jurisdiction. These representatives stood at the head of identical sized groups representing the minorities in council and thus became leaders of their minority (p. 51). The 12 members of the town council of 1697 consisted of 4 German, 4 Magyar, and 4 Croat. There was no Serbian as they had not yet coalesced into a distinct group (p. 53), in: Dr. Babics, András: A kamarai igazgatás Pécs városában 1686-1703 [Council direction in the town of Pécs], Pécs, 1937. (www.lib.pte.hu/~KamaraiIgazgas/htm/leiras.htm)

104 Since 1377, the town council is equally apportioned between Slavs, Germans, Latins (Italians) and Magyars, in: Draskóczy, István, Kisebbségek az Árpád-kori Magyarországon [Minorities in Árpád-era Hungary]. Kisebbségkutatás, 2000, issue 3 (www.hhrf.org/kisebbségkutatás/)

105 Ibid. Beginning in 1381, the Slovaks and Germans took equal part in the town administration of Zsolna. Here, in the early years of the 15th c., the council secretary kept the meeting minutes in Slavic.

106 “On April 6, 1848, Stratimirovich and his band ‘cleaned house’ in the town council of Ópétevár-Újvidék and, following the example of Belgrade, forced that the town’s governing council be filled exclusively with rebellious Serbs. Until then, the council was staffed proportionate to the minorities, hence it was half Eastern-rite Serbs and half Catholic non-Serbs” in: Délvidéki, S. Attila: Lángoló temető. Az úgynevezett Vajdaság kihatásának elhallgatott titkai és borzalmái (1268-1868) tizenkét kötetben. Fejezetek a rájárások történetéből [Blazing cemeteries. ... Chapters from the history of the Serb raids]. Self published. Szekszárd, 2009, p. 124.

107 Czeczey, Lénárd (c. 1500 – Kassa, 1551), Hungarian nobleman, took the side of Szapolyai János after the Battle of Mohács. He took part in the occupation of Kassa on December 4, 1536, whose citizens have, for a long time, taken a sharp stand against the king. He carried out reprisals against the German populace who opposed Szapolyai, expelling 55 members of the town council and had the Germans of the town under continual observation, suspended the town’s privileges and banned the use of the German language. The Evangelicals observed their rites in three languages (Hungarian, German and Slovak), while the Protestants did so exclusively in Hungarian. Between the intolerance of the 16th c. Protestants and 18th c. Catholics, in the mid-1600s a relative calm emerged due to a temporary balance in the positions of strength, abating extremism. Annually, on the day of the Epiphany, the three ethnic groups (Magyar, German, and Slovak) chose an equal number of representatives to the 100-person council. The representation had to be equal among the three religions, as well (Catholic, Evangelical, Reformed), in: Kováts, Miklós: Egy város metamorfózisa [The metamorphosis of a city], Európai utas, 1995/issue 3, p. 32. (www.hhrf.org/europaiutas/66/31)

108 Vujcsics, Sztóján: Szerbek Pest-Budán [Serbs in Pest-Buda]. Főpolgármesteri Hivatal és Szerb Föv-i Önkormányzat, Budapest, 1997, pp. 14-15.

109 Kőhegyi, Mihály: Baja története a kezdetektől 1945-ig [The history of Baja from the beginning to 1945]. Akadémia, Budapest, 1989. Scherer, Ferenc: Gyula város története [The history of Gyula]. Gyula, 1938. (írási jegyzőkönyveket,

It also occurred that a non-Magyar community received the privileges of a town through a charter that ensured their right to the use of their language and administration of the town. Here we can list the Armenian towns in Transylvania, as well as the southern Hungarian towns of Baja and Gyula. After the town of Gyula was depopulated during the Turkish occupation, beginning in 1723, Harruckern János György settled Germans from the Rhine region in several waves. He assigned them his own melon and corn fields to settle. In 1734, the Germans elected their own judge and separating from Gyula, created Németygula (Germangyula) where, for 123 years, they formed a town under independent administration.¹¹⁰ Elementary schools were separate, by religion and language: Roman Catholic, Reformed and Orthodox. At the end of the century, Németygula built a teacher's house and German school. The local manor house held 21 German-language presentations between 1821 and 1845. In Békés County, letters concerning civic legal matters were only begun to be recorded in Hungarian in 1826. The election of the judge, in both towns, was held on November 1, from the landowner's nominees, and the council members, as was their contractual right. In 1784, referring to the contractual right between landowner and peasant, the Reformed and Greek Orthodox sects also petitioned to have council representation. From 1790 onwards, in proportion to the population, besides the six Catholics, three Reformed and three Orthodox councilmen took a seat.¹¹¹ In 1834, in Németygula, as in Gyula, a chief justice, 1-1 vice judge and 12-12 councilmen are elected. In Gyula, of the two notaries, one is Catholic, the other Reformed Protestant. The unification of the two towns of Gyula was successful in 1857 and the agreement was signed on June 15, setting out that the administration was to include all three religions and minorities.¹¹² At the time of the resettlement, a so-called Romantown existed. Later, the Orthodox sect (Serb, Romanian) has its own mother-tongue school in both of the towns. The teachers are paid from their own taxes.¹¹³ In 1857, the Catholics have a four-grade elementary school, with four teachers, and art class with a teacher, while in the former German-town; they have a two-class elementary school with two teachers. In both sections of town, there is one and one girls' school, taught by cantors.¹¹⁴ The Jewish community established a school in 1858.

In Újvidék (Novi Sad), the Racs (Orthodox Serbs) formed the ruling class: they formed the intellectual class and provided the money.¹¹⁵ Here, a Magyar was the judge only every third year. In Tiszaföldvár (**Bačko Gradište**) in 1830, Magyars were not represented in this Serb administered community.¹¹⁶ The Bunyevci (Catholic South Slav Croats), Bos-

képviselőtestületi jegyzőkönyveket, népszékirásokat vizsgálták meg a levéltárakban!) Hársfalvi, Péter: *Az önkormányzat Nyíregyházán a XVIII-XIX. sz-ban* [Local government in Nyíregyháza in the 18th and 19th century]. Budapest, 1982.

110 The Romanians, Magyars and Germans lived in separated parts of town. In 1730, the town consisted of 250 families, or about 1,250 people; in 1783, the population rose to 6,434. All three religions (Roman Catholic, Reformed and Orthodox) built a modest church. More permanent churches were only built at the end of the century, in: Scherer: *Gyula ... op. cit.*

111 *Ibid.*, p. 349.

112 *Ibid.*, p. 85. The German town's judges' names were recorded between 1734 and 1834.

113 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 117. The number of students in the 4-class elementary was 258, in the German-town school: 206. There were 130 girls in the Magyar school and 148 in the German-town one.

115 Délvidéki: *Lángoló ... op. cit.*, p. 117.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

nians and Eastern-rite Greek Orthodox Racs settling in Baja in the 17th c., received a market town royal charter in 1696 from Emperor Leopold I, allowing them officially to use the Serbian language in matters connected to their settlement. Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II offered them the same freedoms and rights as enjoyed by the Hajduks, to no avail. They remained loyal to the Habsburgs, completely devastating Kecskemét in 1707. Later, Germans and Magyars settled in place of the Serbs who died in the battles. Count Antal Grassalkovich, in his instructions regulating the election of the town's magistrates (1755), stressed that the elected judge should be Magyar in one year, German the next and Racs in the third, paying attention to the ethnic composition of the population. The three nationalities that inhabited Baja were each represented by 8 delegates on the 24-man council.¹¹⁷

In a sign of religious toleration, the emergence of autonomy, whether Protestant, Orthodox or Israelite, was permitted or assisted. The Jews of Baja had autonomy similar to those in Újvidék. They could annually elect their judge, who looked after their civil and legal cases. Beside him, they could choose four jury members and two caretakers, who oversaw legal cases and collected taxes. Only a local Jew could be chosen judge.¹¹⁸ In light of the fact that religious distribution often meant ethnic distribution, as well, they contributed to the independent ethnic cultural development, the emergence of the basis of cultural autonomy, e.g. – the Jews of Baja, the Orthodox Romanians of Csaba, and the Slovak Evangelical Church of Csaba.

Taking into account all the previous facts, we should not be surprised that in the 1820s, when the ratio of Magyars fell below the total of the other nationalities as a result of immigration and resettlement, many leaders, besides Széchenyi, were concerned over the continued existence of the Magyar language and identity.¹¹⁹ While “Széchenyi did not awaken the spread of the use of the Hungarian language, the German language was held dear in the entire country of Hungary, not just here at home,”¹²⁰ noted an observer of the period, Miklós Komáromy.

Besides the regional and church autonomy ensured by laws, the multi-lingual reality of the towns also ensured that the various nationalities were able to use their mother tongue in their public affairs, as well as in their private life. We can assume as natural that members of the Upper House were often bilingual.

117 The instruction was based on the fact that two-thirds of the population was Catholic, one-third Orthodox, in: Kőhegyi: Baja ... op. cit. pp. 207-229.

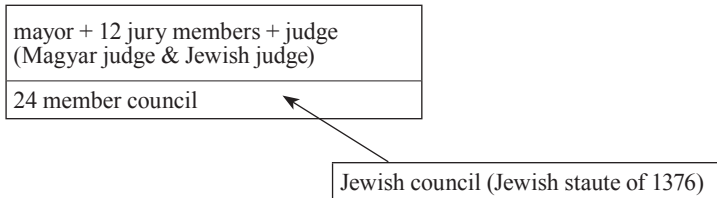
118 Ibid, p. 227. They could ask for permission to build a synagogue.

119 “From this time [from 1816] and for 32 years ... the German language – with the exception of the counties – was deeply entrenched in the offices of the government and treasury ...” in: Lehoczky: Bereg ... op. cit. p. 266.

120 Ecsedy, Gábor - Komáromy, Miklós: Gyula város története és korabeli állapotának leírása [The history of Gyula and a description its circumstances]. Békéscsaba, 1982, pp. 77-78, 114, 135.

City / town administration according to religious of ethnic proportion, from 13th to early 19th c.

1) Pozsony (Bratislava) – 1291.



2) Zágráb (Zagreb) – 1377.

Members of city council: 3 Slav + 3 German + 3 Latin (Italian) + 3 Magyar + mayor

3) Zsolna (Žilina) – 1381.

City council: Slovak and German evenly. (XV century: minutes kept in Slav)

4) Kolozsvár (Cluj) XV century, patterned on Buda

Election of judge: German / Magyar, alternating annually.
Inner council: 6 German + 6 Magyar
Grand council: 50 German + 50 Magyar councilmen (half well-to-do, half from guilds [3-4 each])

5/ Kassa (Košice)

Small council
100 member grand council: Magyars + Germans + Slovaks (Catholics, Reformed, Evangelicals) in equal proportion

6) Baja – royal free market town

XVII century: populated by Bunyevci + Bosniacs + Orthodox Racs 1696,
Leopold I grants market town rights + Serbian adminis-

tration language

XVIII century: Magyar & German resettlement, 1755 directive of count Grassalkovich

Administration	12 elected (4 Magyar + 4 German + 4 Racs)
Grand council	24 counselors (8 Magyar + 8 German + 8 Racs)

Jewish minority council:
4 elected + 2 caretakers + 1 judge

7) *Siklós market town (1731-1848):*

80 judges (3 Serb, 5 Croat, 9 German, the rest Magyar)

Inner council: judge + Magyar, Greek, German vice-judges, notaries (Croat, German, Magyar), councilors (Croat, German, Magyar), town criers (Magyar, German, Serb)
Grand council: annually elected representatives

Gypsy minority council:
judge + 3-4 representatives annually

8) *Pécs (1697)*

Administration: mayor + 4 German + 4 Magyar + 4 Croat
Grand council: German, Magyar, Croat national groups in equal proportion

9) *Békéscsaba*

1817: 87% Evangelical + Reformed and 12% Catholic (they bear 1/7-th of common expenditures)

1847: "old tradition": a Catholic judge is elected every 7th year

10) Gyula market town – 1794.


Magyarygula (Magyartown)	Németgyula (Germantown)
1 chief justice + 6 Catholic + 3 Reformed + 3 Orthodox councilors + 1 later, 2 notaries	1 chief justice + 10 Catholic + 2 Orthodox councilors + 1 notary

1841: Out of a sense of economizing, the number of councilors is reduced in Magyarygula to 9, in Németgyula to 8.

11) Buda

In the early days:

Administration: judge + 10 German + 2 Magyar representatives



XV century

Administration: judge + 6 German + 6 Magyar representatives
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XVIII century

Beside the city council:

Serb minority council (judge + elected reps) each year. Serb language administration

The laws regulating language usage in the 19th century – after the regime change, the technical literature was enlarged with research in neighboring countries, and knowledge of European parallels – did not bar our ethnic nationalities from using their own languages and, furthermore, cannot be taken as attempts at assimilation. On the contrary, within the framework of partial or complete self-administration, they enabled the development of culture in the mother tongue among our minorities. Thus, the time is here for us to state: In our country, contrary to European practice of the times, there was not an assimilative ethnic policy. Before 1914, less than 20% of the minority nationals spoke the official state language of Hungary, leading to the well known situation that, on the territories of the Kingdom of Hungary, the population of some minorities doubled, in some cases trebled, and did not shrink to half, as happened to Magyars living in minority status after 1920 in the successor states.

The source of our disparity with ethnic nationalities is, therefore, not that they cannot use their mother tongue but, rather, the anxiety over retaining the rights they now enjoy, that the state will intervene in education and laws will introduce the official state language in schools. Furthermore, that the Serbs, Romanians and, to some extent, the Slovaks did not receive the same extensive territorial autonomy as did the Croats.

It should be seriously considered to make use today of the previous facts and numbers in local government offices and departments to lobby on behalf of Magyars living in minority status.

Steve Béla Várdy

ETHNIC CLEANSINGS OF HUNGARIANS AFTER THE TWO WORLD WARS

*McAnulty Distinguished Professor of History
Duquesne University*

The Tragedy of Hungary's Dismemberment

Although in the period after World War II the Germans were the primary victims of the officially sanctioned policy of “ethnic cleansing” (about 16 million Germans were expelled for their ancient homelands), the Hungarians were also subjected to this policy of mass expulsion by the various “successor states.” The latter had been established or significantly enlarged mostly from territories that before World War I had been part of Historic Hungary. In point of fact, the “ethnic cleansing of the Hungarians” began immediately after World War I, following the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the simultaneous dismantlement of the old Kingdom of Hungary (1919-1920). The primary beneficiaries of this disintegration and dismantlement were the newly created states of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and much enlarged Romania that did not even exist in that form and under that name until the middle of the 19th century.

The ethnic cleansing of Hungarians took place in two separate stages, after each of the two world wars. The first of these stages was less systematic and took the form of the expulsion or flight of 350,000-400,000 Hungarians from the detached territories. Most of these deportees or exiles were educated people who had been members of Greater Hungary's administrative and military apparatus, or perhaps of the landowning nobility and gentry, whose landed estates were coveted by the new rulers for the ethnic restructuring of their newly created states. These Hungarian officials and social elites were expelled or they simply fled because of fear of repercussions from the new ruling regimes.

These expulsions were done for several reasons, including the desire to decapitate the former ruling nationality and to lessen the presence of the Hungarians in the “successor states.” The Hungarian elite's refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the new states also played a role.

Unless possessing property in much diminished Hungary – which had been reduced from 325,000 to 93,000 square kilometers (from 125,500 to 35,900 miles)¹²¹ – these refugees or expellees faced unusual hardships. The defeated and mutilated country could offer them very little support by way of housing and jobs, and barely enough food to keep them

121 On these territorial losses see: Ignác Romsics: *A trianoni békeszerződés* [The Peace Treaty of Trianon] (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2001), pp. 229-233.

alive. Many tens of thousands of them were forced to live for months in railroad cars or in other temporary shelters on the outskirts of towns and cities. Moreover, even if later they were able to secure jobs and housing, the quality of their lives was in no way comparable to what they had left behind in the detached territories of Historic Hungary. Given their situation, they naturally came to constitute an important core of those irreconcilable elements, who were strong supporters of the policy of territorial revisionism. It was this policy – however just or fair – that subsequently drove Hungary into the arms of Mussolini and Hitler, and then in 1941 into the Second World War.

In the course of 1938 through 1941, Hungarian revisionism did triumph temporarily, for during those years Hungary had regained many Hungarian-inhabited territories. In consequence of these territorial revisions the country almost doubled in size from 93,000 to 172,000 square kilometers (from 35,900 to 66,400 square miles). The regained territories included Hungarian-inhabited Southern Slovakia (1938), Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia (1939), Northern Transylvania (1940), and much of Voivodina (1941).¹²² But as these territorial changes took place with German and Italian mediation and support, they lacked the necessary international recognition to make them permanent. What was even worse, however, these “gifts” from the hands of Hitler and Mussolini bound Hungary to the Axis Powers, and made her – however reluctantly – a partner in Hitler’s war against the Soviet Union. Moreover, when that war ended in defeat, so did Hungary’s hope of retaining these territorial gains, notwithstanding the fact that these changes were basically in line with American-inspired policy of national self-determination.

Post-World War II ethnic cleansing in Hungary involved several groups of Hungarians and non-Hungarians. The most horrible aspect of this process was the deportation and extermination of a sizable segment of the Hungarian Jewry. While scholars argue over the number of the victims, we can probably accept Ignác Romsics’s summary in which he asserts that “the total loss [of Jewish population] on the territory of Trianon-Hungary was over 300,000, while on the territories of Hungary of 1944 it was close to half a million.”¹²³ There are, of course, those who are convinced of either much lower or much higher losses.¹²⁴ But in this study we will not even attempt to reach a consensus about these discrepancies.

Next to the Jewish Holocaust, ethnic cleansing of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin involved the following events: 1) Hungarians expelled from Czechoslovakia to

¹²² Hungary’s territorial gains in the course of these revisions were as follows: Southern Slovakia (12,000 sq. km. = 4,630 sq. miles), Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia (12,000 sq. km. = 4,630 sq. miles), Northern Transylvania (43,000 sq. km. = 16,600 sq. miles), and Northwestern Voivodina and the Mura Region, 11,500 sq. km. = 4,440 sq. miles), that is, a total territorial gain of 78,500 sq. km = 30,300 sq. miles. Cf. Ignác Romsics: *Magyarország története a XX. században* [Hungary’s History in the 20th Century] (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 1999), pp. 244-250.

¹²³ Romsics: *Magyarország története*, p. 263. For an excellent set of short essays on the Hungarian Holocaust, see the monthly *História*, vol. 26, nos. 2-3 (2004), pp. 2-67. The number of deportees given there, based on Randolph L. Braham calculations, is 445,000 to 450,000. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

¹²⁴ The latter include Raphael Patai, who believes that the losses of Hungary’s Jewish population for Trianon-Hungary was over half a million, while for the enlarged country it was 686,000. Cf. Raphael Patai: *The Jews of Hungary. History, Culture, Psychology* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996), p. 590.

Hungary, and deported from Slovakia to Czechia; 2) Hungarians expelled from Romania to Hungary, and massacred in Northern Transylvania; 3) Hungarians expelled from Yugoslavia to Hungary, and massacred in Voivodina; 4) and Hungarians deported from Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia to Ukraine and Siberia.

Ethnic Cleansing of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia

Before signing the Paris Peace Treaty on February 10, 1947, most Hungarian political leaders – with the exception of the Communists and Social Democrats – hoped that, by virtue of the principle of national self-determination, Hungary would be able to retain much of the previously regained Hungarian-inhabited territories. This dream, however, soon fizzled, primarily because reconstituted Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were now counted among the victorious states; and Romania's timely withdrawal from the Axis (August 23, 1944) made her a belated ally of Soviet Russia, and thus placed her in a favorable situation vis-a-vis Hungary. As such, all three of these states received preferred treatment over Hungary, whose attempt to withdraw from the war on October 15, 1944, failed, and consequently she went down in history as "Hitler's last and most faithful vassal."

Taking advantage of this situation, President Benes of Czechoslovakia made known his views concerning the Hungarians in the so-called "Kosicky Program" of April 5, 1945, elaborated in Moscow a month earlier, wherein he proclaimed the "collective responsibility" of all Hungarians for Czechoslovakia's dismemberment, and consequently deprived all Hungarians – with the exception of a few active anti-Fascists – of their Czechoslovak citizenship. Moreover, his decree closed all Hungarian schools, and stated that no Hungarian can acquire landed property in reconstituted Czechoslovakia.¹²⁵

It should be noted here, however, that no such punitive measures were taken against the Slovaks, notwithstanding the fact that independent Slovakia under the presidency of Msgr. Josef Tiso (1887-1947; r.1939-1945) was perhaps Hitler's most faithful vassal state. In contrast to Hungary, Tiso's Slovakia had initiated the "ethnic cleansing" of Slovakia's Jewish population on its own much before the deportation of the Hungarian Jews, following Hungary's German occupation on March 19, 1944.

The chauvinistic content of the Kosicky Program was later incorporated into the so-called Benes-decrees, one of the earliest of which was issued on August 2, 1945 (33:1945).¹²⁶ Moreover, they were also included in the May 14, 1946, resolution of the

¹²⁵ Magyarország történeti kronológiája [Hungary's Historical Chronology], ed. Kálmán Benda, 4 vols. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), vol. 4, p. 1018. See also the relevant article in the Magyar Nagylexikon, vol. 10 (2000), pp. 628-629.

¹²⁶ A complete list of the Benes-decrees can be found in Steven Béla Várdy, H. Hunt Tooley, Agnes Huszár Várdy, eds.: *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*, foreword by Otto von Habsburg (New York: Social Science Monographs, Columbia University Press, 2003), pp. 823-828, hereafter cited as Várdy, *Ethnic Cleansing*; and in Miklós Patrubány, ed.: *Benes Decrees. Taking Victims in 2002* (Budapest: World Federation of Hungarians, 2002), pp. 55-60. See also Róbert Barta: "The Hungarian-Slovak Population Exchange and Forced Resettlement in 1947," in Várdy: *Ethnic Cleansing*, p. 566.

Slovak National Council (65:1946).¹²⁷ These decrees and resolutions had a major negative impact on the Hungarians of Slovakia, whose homeland had been incorporated into the Czechoslovak state. In addition to depriving them of their citizenship, their homes, and their agricultural properties, they also divested them of their jobs, their pensions, and their general livelihood. They likewise forbade the use of the Hungarian language in all public places and public functions, expelled Hungarian students from the universities, disbanded all Hungarian cultural associations and institutions, and froze all Hungarian bank assets.

This so-called “Kosický Program” – which became the Czechoslovak government’s official policy vis-a-vis the Hungarians¹²⁸ – was a lesser version of the “ethnic cleansing” that had been embodied in the Beneš-decrees,¹²⁹ which had “cleansed” the artificially constructed Czechoslovak State of over three million of its German citizens. It is to the credit of Václav Havel, the President of post-Communist Czechoslovakia, and then of the Czech Republic, that in his capacity as the last President of Czechoslovakia he acknowledged the immorality of the policy embodied in the Beneš-decrees. Sadly, however, this acknowledgement was not followed by any effort at compensation or restitution; let alone the revocation, invalidation, and nullification of these decrees.

The first manifestation of “Hungarian ethnic cleansing” in Czechoslovakia was the expelling of all Hungarians from capital city of Bratislava (in the 16th-19th century, the Hungarian Royal Capital of Pozsony) in May 1945. The expelled were put into temporary concentration camps near the village of Ligetfalu [Prtzalka], where they were kept until August 1946. During these deportations many atrocities and mass murders were committed, most of which remained hidden and unspoken of until relatively recently.¹³⁰ Some of these anti-Hungarian atrocities are described in the documentary prepared by the editors of the Budapest periodical *Kapu* [Gate] entitled “Magukért nem felel senki” [No one is responsible for you]. These atrocities are also summarized in a report by the Hungarian World Federation (Budapest), dated April 22, 2002, in conjunction with the debate over the Beneš-decrees which are still in effect today’s Czechia and Slovakia. The

127 For a list of the decrees of the Slovak National Council, see Várdy: *Ethnic Cleansing*, pp. 828-834; and Patrúány: *Beneš Decrees*, pp. 60-65.

128 Concerning Hungarian expulsions and the fate of Hungarian minorities in the surrounding Successor States, see Elemér Illyés: *National Minorities in Romania: Change in Transylvania* (New York: East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1982); John Cadzow, Andrew Ludányi, and Louis J. Élter, eds.: *Transylvania: The Roots of Ethnic Conflict* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1983); Stephen Borsody, ed.: *The Hungarians: A Divided Nation* (New Haven: Yale Center for International and Area Studies, 1988); and Raphael Vágó: *The Grand Children of Trianon: Hungary and the Hungarian Minority in the Communist States* (New York: East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1989).

129 Cf. Patrúány: *Beneš Decrees*. See also the collection of these “Beneš Decrees” compiled by Professor Charles Udvardy [Wojatsek] of Bishop’s University, Canada. Cf. Várdy: *Ethnic Cleansing*, pp. 823-834. The list is also available on the Internet, along with the article: “Ethnic Cleansing in post World War II Czechoslovakia: the presidential decrees of Edward Beneš, 1945-1948.” See: www.hungarianhistory.com

130 Some of these anti-Hungarian atrocities are described in the documentary prepared by the editors of the Budapest periodical *Kapu* [Gate] entitled “Magukért nem felel senki” [No one is responsible for us]. These atrocities are also summarized in a report by the Hungarian World Federation (Budapest), dated April 22, 2002, in conjunction with the debate over the Beneš-decrees, which are still in effect in today’s Czechia and Slovakia. The first to question the legality of the Beneš-decrees, and to speak openly about the moral and economic problems posed by the expulsion of millions of Germans and Hungarians from post-World War II Czechoslovakia was Viktor Orbán, the Prime Minister of Hungary (1998-2002) during the final months of his incumbency. Cf. *The Economist*, March 2, 2002, p. 52.

first to question the legality of the Benes-decrees, and to speak openly about the moral and economic problems posed by the expulsion of Germans and Hungarians from post-World War Czechoslovakia, was Viktor Orbán, the Prime Minister of Hungary (1998-2002), during the final months of his incumbency.

After expelling of Hungarians from Bratislava, the new Czechoslovak Government began drafting all able bodied Hungarians for public works projects. These draftees were resettled in various diverse parts of the country, including the Sudetenland in Bohemia, where they were forced to assume the work that used to be done by the deported Sudeten Germans. Although this process of banishment began in the fall of 1945, when 9,000 Hungarians were pressed into forced labor battalions, mass deportations from Hungarian-inhabited territories did not really begin until November 1946. In the course of the next few months about 44,000 Hungarians were uprooted in Southern Slovakia and transported to Bohemia. Their deportation was carried out with the help of the armed forces. According to fairly reliable statistics the deportees came from about 220 Hungarian villages along the northern frontiers of Hungary, where they were forced to vacate 6,602 family homes, which then were given over to Slovak settlers from the country's northern hill districts.¹³¹

According to most sources, these deportations had the following goals: To uproot Hungarians from their southern homeland in the vicinity of the Hungarian border, to replace the expelled Sudeten German workers with a proven work force from the country's non-Slovak-inhabited regions, and to force the Hungarian Government to agree to a population exchange in return for stopping these domestic deportations of Hungarians.

On February 27, 1946, with the active support of Soviet authorities, the Czechoslovak Government was able to exact a population exchange agreement from the hapless Hungarian Government. Carrying out this population exchange, however, proved to be more difficult than expected. The most important problem was that there were eight times as many Hungarians in Slovakia as there work Slovaks in Hungary. Moreover, of the 75,877 Hungarian Slovaks no more than 14,000 volunteered to leave Hungary. Only after a powerful propaganda campaign by the Czechoslovak Government, and only after learning about the economic advantages of this resettlement, were they able to persuade 60,257 Hungarian Slovaks to resettle in Slovakia. The expelled Hungarians left behind 15,700 family homes and 160,000 holds = 91,200 hectares of agricultural land in return for 4,400 family homes and 15,000 holds = 8,500 hectares of agricultural lands left behind by the Slovaks. The resettled Slovaks, therefore, received much better accommodations than the ones they had left behind in Hungary.

At the same time 76,616 Hungarians were forced to leave their native towns and villages in Slovakia. But to this number must be added nearly twice as many others, who have fled in the course of 1945-1947 to escape the ever growing harassment by the Slo-

131 Magyarok a világban — Kárpát-medence [Hungarians in the World — The Carpathian Basin], ed. Sándor Kasza (Budapest: CEBA Kiadó, 2000), pp. 47-48.

vak authorities, as well as those who have been expelled illegally before the official exchange agreement. In point of fact in the course of 1945-1946 over 200,000 thousand Hungarians were driven across the Danube, most of them in the middle of the winter and without proper clothing and provisions.

Simultaneously with these forced exchanges and illegal deportations there began the campaign of "Re-Slovakization." To escape persecutions and forced expulsions many Hungarians agreed to identify themselves as Slovaks. Of the 600,000 Hungarians in Slovakia in 1945, about 423,264 asked to be registered as Slovaks, of whom 326,679 were in fact registered as such. Of course, most of these national affiliations proved to be temporary reclassifications made under duress. Thus, as soon as conditions permitted, the great majority of these "Slovak Hungarians" reassumed their original Hungarian national identity. As a result, in spite of all the pressures and conscious misidentifications, by 1960 the number of persons who declared Hungarian as their mother tongue rose to 534,000, and then by 1970 to 600,249.¹³²

Ethnic Cleansing of Hungarians in Transylvania (Romania)

Following the dismemberment of Historical Hungary in 1919-1920, the largest lost Hungarian territory (103,000 sq. kilometers = 39,800 sq. miles) and the greatest number of Hungarians (1.6 million) were acquired by Romania. The lost territory consisted of historic Transylvania and the so-called Partium that connected Transylvania with Hungary proper. Because of its geographical size and the size of its Hungarian population, the majority of Hungarian refugees that inundated post-Trianon Hungary also came from Transylvania.

With the Second Vienna Award of August 30, 1940, Hungary had regained Northern Transylvania along with slightly over 1.1 million Hungarians. This was followed by the reestablishment of Hungarian political and cultural dominance over the region. Sadly, however, Hungary's unfortunate role in the Second World War made these gains very short-lived, and the more than two million Transylvanian Hungarians, who had enjoyed Hungarian rule only for four years, had to be left to their fate.

During the final months of the war, the Romanians, who in August 1944 left the Axis and switched over to the Soviet side, reoccupied the region and began a bloody process of ethnic cleansing campaign against the Hungarians. The worst perpetrators of this terror were members of the so-called Maniu-Guard, who were not content with simply expelling Hungarians. They went ahead to engage in torturing and mutilating their civilian

¹³² Barta: "The Hungarian-Slovak Population Exchange," pp. 568-574; Edward Chászár: "Ethnic Cleansing in Slovakia: The Plight of the Hungarian Minority," in Várdy: *Ethnic Cleansing*, p. 562.

victims. Many of the victims were decapitated or otherwise maimed and killed¹³³ For a while these atrocities became so widespread and so violent that even the Soviet military authorities were taken aback, and they ordered the Romanian administration out of Transylvania.¹³⁴ The latter were permitted to trickle back only after March 1945, although full Romanian administration did not return until after the Peace Treaty of Paris was signed in February, 1947.¹³⁵

In contrast to the situation in Czechoslovakia, however, Romania did not engage in the mass expulsion of Hungarians. Nor did it sign a treaty for forced population exchange with Hungary. In point of fact – as described by László Hámos of the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation – “during the first years after the introduction of Communism, conditions were actually favorable for Rumania’s minorities. In 1952, though largely symbolic, a Hungarian Autonomous Region was created at the center of the country to include the most densely Hungarian-populated counties.”¹³⁶

This relatively tolerable situation, however, did not last very long. Following the short-lived anti-Soviet Hungarian Revolution of 1956, Moscow gave free hand to the Romanian regime to deal with the Hungarian minorities in Transylvania. This immediately set off an anti-Hungarian campaign. In 1959 they force-merged the Hungarian Bolyai University with the Romanian Babes University in the city of Cluj (formerly Kolozsvár); in 1960 they dissolved the Hungarian Autonomous Region and through various boundary changes diluted its Hungarian character; then they began an onslaught against Hungarian schools and various cultural institutions; and finally the regime undertook a policy of resettlement, whereby they forced young Hungarians to find employment in the Regat (old kingdom), and at the same time settled hundreds of thousands of Regat Romanians in tightly packed Hungarian regions and purely Hungarian towns and cities of Transylvania.

The climax of this anti-Hungarian policy was reached under Nicolae Ceausescu’s communist dictatorship (1964-1989), which for a while threatened the very existence of the Hungarian population of Transylvania. Only the very effective publicity campaigns of Hungarian organizations in the United States and Western Europe, and Romania’s simultaneous effort to court the West, prevented the implementation of the planned forced assimilate all Hungarians in Romania.¹³⁷

133 For some of the contemporary description of the activities of the Manui-Guard and other Romanian freebooters, see Magyar Holocaust. Dokumentumok a magyarok megsemmisítéséről, 1917-1967, 4 vols. (Kaposvár: Magyar Nemzeti Történelmi Társaság Kiadványa, 1998-2004), II, pp. 83-88.

134 Magyarok a világban, p. 359.

135 Ibid.

136 László Hámos: “Systematic Policies of Forced Assimilation against Rumania’s Hungarian Minority, 1965-1989,” in Várdy: Ethnic Cleansing, pp. 669-670.

137 Romania’s anti-Hungarian crusade under the Ceausescu-dictatorship is detailed by László Hámos: President of the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation of New York, in his above-mentioned study. Cf. Várdy: Ethnic Cleansing, pp. 665-692.

Ethnic Cleansing of Hungarians in Voivodina (Yugoslavia)

Yugoslavia – like Czechoslovakia – was also an artificially created multinational state that came into existence after World War I on the ruins of the former Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Turkish Empires. In 1910, in what later became Voivodina, the Hungarian population was 424,000, which, within three years after the war (1921), had declined to 371,000. Although their numbers had increased slightly in the next ten years to 376,000, in relative terms the Hungarians have lost significant ground.¹³⁸ This rapid decline after World War I was the result of a Serbian-induced forced emigration of Hungarians to Hungary and to various overseas territories. Thus, between 1918 and 1924, about 35,000 Hungarians have left their birthplaces in the provinces of Bácska [Bachka] and Bánát [Banat] to settle in Trianon Hungary; while during the two decades of the interwar period 60,000 Yugoslav subjects – virtually all of them Hungarians and Germans – have emigrated overseas.

The relative decline of the region's Hungarian population, however, was not only the product of state-induced emigration. It was also of the result of the implantation of tens of thousands of Serbian families to formerly purely Hungarian-inhabited territories in Northern Voivodina. In the early 1920s, for example, about 88,000 Serbian peasant families – 20,000 of them newcomers from Southern Serbia – were given lands in that region. At the same time, these lands were not made available to landless Hungarians.¹³⁹

The situation changed drastically in 1941, when Hungary had regained the north-western half of Voivodina, including Bácska and Baranya. During the three years of Hungarian rule (1941-1944) the province witnessed the radical rise of its Hungarian population by around 80,000 persons to 457,000. This rapid increase was due partially to the settling of 20,000 Hungarian civil and army personnel, as well as over 13,000 Hungarian-speaking Bukovina Csangós [Changos] to the regained territories. But it was also the result of the reclassification of the national identities of tens of thousands of others, who under Yugoslav rule saw it preferable to assume Serbian identities.¹⁴⁰

The next radical change in the history of the province came toward the end of the war in 1944. The deportation of 11,000 Hungarian speaking Jews to German concentration camps in the summer of 1944 was followed up in the fall of that year by the flight of 20,000 Hungarian settlers and about 70,000 Germans, known as the Danube Swabians. Moreover, as soon as the Yugoslav authorities returned to the province, they undertook a series of ethnic cleansings and ethnic exterminations. The result was the massacre of 25,000 to 40,000 Hungarians, and perhaps as many as 200,000 Germans.¹⁴¹ In line with the Decree of October 17, 1944, issued by the guerrilla chief Josif Broz Tito,

138 Magyarok a világban, pp. 597-598.

139 Andrew Ludányi: "The Fate of Hungarians in Yugoslavia: Genocide, Ethnocide, or Ethnic Cleansing?" in Várdy: Ethnic Cleansing, pp. 575-600, figures from p. 581.

140 Ibid., p. 598.

141 Ibid., p. 598.

the invading partisan units “were given free rein over the entire region. This legalized the terror which was now inflicted on the minority population.”¹⁴² The prospective victims who were collected from various villages were forced to dig their own graves. Then they were machine-gunned into the ditches, and the next group of victims had to cover them up, before they too were forced to dig their own graves, and then machine-gunned.¹⁴³ This well-planned and systematic massacre “was followed by the expulsion of almost all of the remaining Germans and about 30,000 Hungarians. In their place, Serbs from Bosnia and the Krajina region were brought in to bolster the local Serb population.”¹⁴⁴ In consequence of this policy of violent retributions, Voivodina – and thereby Serbia – was cleansed of all of its German and a significant segment of its Hungarian minorities.

It should be noted here that at least part of the anti-Hungarian massacre was the result of an earlier Hungarian-induced massacre that took place in January 1942 in and around the city of Újvidék [Novi Sad]. As described by Andrew Ludányi, this so-called “Novi Sad Massacre” was the result of “an overreaction by the Hungarian Military to subversive activity, including guerrilla activity targeting Hungarian occupying forces.”¹⁴⁵ Two Hungarian military commanders – Major Gen. Ferenc Feketehalmy-Czeydner and Brigadier Gen. József Grassy – ordered the rounding up of all communists and guerrilla sympathizers, which roundup then led to the summary conviction and execution of 3,309 persons – among them 700 Hungarian Jews.¹⁴⁶ It must be added here, however, that as soon as this massacre came to the attention of the Hungarian Government, the responsible military commanders were relieved of their command and court-martialed. True, with the help of some sympathizers among the Hungarian officer corps they were able to escape to Germany. But following the war they were handed over to Yugoslav authorities, who had them executed at the scene of their crimes.

It is a sad fact that the perpetrators of this much larger counter-massacre of 1944, which killed at least ten times as many Hungarians as the number of Serbians who had fallen victim to the Novi Sad Massacre, were never brought to justice. In point of fact, Serbian historical scholarship simply denies the existence of the Serbian massacres of 1944. And what is even worse, this “denial syndrome” is also picked up unwittingly by

142 Ludányi: “The Fate of the Hungarians in Yugoslavia,” p. 586.

143 For the description of this Serbian massacre of Hungarians and Germans, see Tibor Cseres: *Titoist Atrocities in Voivodina, 1944-1945* (Buffalo: Corvinus Publishers, 1993); and Márton Matuska: *Megtorlás napjai [Days of Retributions]* (Novi Sad, 1990). See also the collection of personal recollections by Julia Teleki: *Visszatekintés a múltba [Looking Back Into the Past]* (Privately printed in Voivodina, 1996). The expanded second edition of this work appeared under the title: *Keresem az apám sírját [I Am Searching for My Father's Grave]* (Privately printed in Voivodina, 1999), which contains the names of 865 victims from three small Hungarian villages. See also Julia Teleki's article “A csurgói magyarok meghurcolása” [The Sufferings of the Hungarians from Csurgó], in *Amerikai Magyar Népszava-Szabadság [American Hungarian People's Voice - Liberty]* (East Brunswick, New Jersey), vol. 114, no. 21 (May 21, 2004), pp. 14-15.

144 Ludányi: “The Fate of the Hungarians in Yugoslavia,” p. 586.

145 *Ibid.*, p. 585. This Hungarian-induced massacre was described in detail by the Hungarian author Tibor Cseres in his historical novel, *Hideg napok [Cold Days]* (Budapest, 1964). Subsequently Cseres also described the Serb-induced counter-massacre in his documentary essay, *Vérbosszú Bácskában [Vendetta in Bachka]* (Budapest, 1991).

146 Judit Molnár: “A ‘legtudósabb rabbi’ sorsalansága” [The “Most Scholarly Rabbi” without Destiny], in *História*, vol. 26, nos. 2-3 (2004), pp. 17-22, esp. p. 18.

a number of Western scholars who are unfamiliar with the history of the region and accept the Serbian view uncritically.¹⁴⁷

*Ethnic Cleansing of Hungarians
and Hungarian Jews in Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia*

Carpatho-Ruthenia, inhabited mostly by Rusyns, Hungarians, and Yiddish-speaking Jews, the latter of whom were in the process of assuming Hungarian identity, was detached from the Kingdom of Hungary after the First World War. After a brief period of autonomous existence as Ruska-Krajna (December 21, 1918-March 21, 1919), it was attached to newly created Czechoslovakia, which position was legalized in the Peace Treaty of Saint-Germain on September 10, 1919. Of the province's 848,000 population 356,000 were Rusyns, 267,000 Hungarians, 94,000 Romanians, 93,000 Germans, and 38,000 Slovaks. These statistics, however, do not reflect the fact that of the province's Jewish population was categorized either as Hungarian or German.

The first Czechoslovak census of 1921 altered the ethnic picture significantly, in which transformation the Hungarians were the greatest losers. This was the result of a number of factors. These included the flight of many Hungarians, who did not wish to live under Czech rule; the reclassification of a huge number of Hungarians as Hungarian-speaking Jews and Gypsies; and finally the reclassification of all Greek/Byzantine Catholic Hungarians as Rusyns/Ruthenians.

Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia survived as a remote province of Czechoslovakia until November 1938, when its reintegration into Hungary began. The First Viennese Award of November 2, 1938, assigned its Hungarian-speaking southern fringes of the province to Hungary, while the total disintegration of Czechoslovakia and the proclamation of independent Slovakia on March 14, 1939, was followed by Ruthenia's reincorporation into Hungary.

Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia remained part of Hungary for over five years until the fall of 1944, when its conquest by the Soviet Red Army altered the situation. Meanwhile, however, in 1941, largely on the orders of the Hungarian Ministry of Defense – which was thoroughly under German influence – Hungarian authorities began to collect refugee Soviet Jews, and later also some Hungarian Jews, for deportation to German-controlled Ukraine. In August of that year nearly 20,000 of these prisoners were taken across the Tatár Pass of the Carpathians, and beyond the Dniester River, to the region of Kamenets and Podolsk. Apparently the German SS forces in that region had no orders and did not know what to do with the accumulated mass of human beings. So, in

¹⁴⁷ See Ludányi: "The Fate of the Hungarians in Yugoslavia," p. 585, who cites Andrew Bell-Fialkoff: "A Brief History of Ethnic Cleansing," in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72 (Summer 1993), as an example of a Western scholar accepting the Serbian claims at face value.

the course of August 27-29, they machine-gunned all of these Jews into ditches. According to an official German military document dated September 11, 1941, during those three days, the German “Einsatzgruppe D” had executed 23,600 Jews. This means that in addition to the deported Hungarian and Polish Jews, many of the local Jews also met similar fate.¹⁴⁸ It should be noted here that this mass murder took place five months before the Wannsee Conference (January 20, 1942),¹⁴⁹ where the total liquidation of the European Jews was worked out.

Following its conquest by the Soviet Red Army, Sub-Carpathia remained in a limbo for about two months, before the reconstituted Czechoslovak Government agreed to transfer it to Soviet Ukraine. Although the relevant agreement was not signed until June 19, 1945, the actual transfer took place at the time of the Soviet conquest in January 1945. This move further endeared Benes and the Czechoslovaks to Stalin, who thereafter supported all their aspirations vis-a-vis Hungary. This meant even the detachment of three additional purely Hungarian villages from Hungary in the vicinity of Bratislava, on the other side of the Danube.

The incorporation of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia into the Soviet Union – which then was renamed the Trans-Carpathian Province of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic – complicated further the position of the Hungarians and the pro-Hungarian Rusyns. The most visible sign of Soviet Communist anger and distrust was the collection and deportation of about 40,000 of Sub-Carpathian Hungarian men, along with tens of thousands of equally distrusted Rusyns. The latter included the majority of the working age men and many women, as well as the political, cultural, and religious leaders of the distrusted nationalities. Among the deportees were 129 Greek/Byzantine Catholic priest, 19 Roman Catholic priests, and 20 Reformed/Calvinist clergymen, along with all of the teachers, journalists, and other exponents of Hungarian and Rusyn culture.

With the collection and deportation of Sub-Carpathian intelligentsia, Sub-Carpathian society was basically decapitated. Moreover, by forcing the Greek/Byzantine Catholic Church to merge with the Russian Orthodox Church, they destroyed the only institution that could have stood up to defend the separate and distinct national identity of the Rusyns. Those Greek/Byzantine Catholic priests who refused to go along with this forced merger were arrested, tried, and convicted to 25 years of hard labor in Siberia.¹⁵⁰ Some of them died already in the “holding” or “distribution camps” of their own province, while others perished in Siberian slave labor camps. Such notorious “holding”

148 Cf. Tamás Majsai: “A Kamenec-Podolszkij-i deportálás” [The Deportation of Kamenec-Podolsk], in *História*, vol. 16, no. 7 (1994), pp. 26-29; and György Haraszti: “Kárpáti rapszódia” [Carpathian Rhapsody], in *História*, vol. 26, no. 2-3 (2004), pp. 23-28, esp. 25.

149 For this fateful gathering see the film by Heinz Schirk: “The Wannsee Conference,” co-produced by INFAFILMGmbH Munich, Manfred Korytowski and Austrian Television - ORF, and the Bavarian Broadcasting Corporation, 1987. In German with English subtitles.

150 Concerning these developments in Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, see: Magyarok a világban, pp. 244-247; Paul Magocsi: *The Shaping of a National Identity. Subcarpathian Rus, 1848-1948* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 191-271; Walter C. Warzeski: *Byzantine Rite Rusins in Carpatho-Ruthenia and America* (Pittsburgh: Byzantine Seminary Press, 1971), pp. 172-192, 251-266; and *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture*, ed. Paul Robert Magocsi and Ivan Pop (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), pp. 58-60, 450-451.

and “distribution camps” were located in the vicinity of Szolyva and Szanok in Sub-Carpathia, where as many as 120-150 people died every day. Some of the victims were Rusyns, Slovaks or Ukrainian, but the majority of them were Hungarians.¹⁵¹

The deportees who survived began to trickle back starting with the year 1946, but about 70% of them never returned. They died of hunger, privation, torture, and various kinds of diseases. As recalled by one of their chroniclers, “their bones lie in unmarked graves from Szolyva (in Sub-Carpathia) to far off Siberia.”¹⁵² Their miserable fate was also shared by a number of Germans, including young German girls and women. Those who managed to return were mistrusted for many years. Only after Stalin’s death in 1953 did they begin to feel a change for the better.

Two clergymen who left written records of their trials and tribulations include the Reformed Bishop Pál Forgon,¹⁵³ and the Byzantine Catholic priest, Msgr. Gyula/Julius Marina.¹⁵⁴ The first of them suffered many years of Siberian exile, while the second was forced to stage his own death and funeral to escape conviction and perhaps execution. After many vicissitudes he ended up in the United States, where he was able to write his memoirs.

Some Conclusions

Although the ethnic cleansing of Hungarians never reached the level experienced by the Germans, Armenians, and some smaller nationalities in Stalinist Russia, it has been a constant feature of 20th-century Hungarian life, both in Trianon Hungary and in the detached territories. The pain of Trianon was felt by all Hungarians irrespective of their ethnic background, religion, or political affiliation. The resulting “Trianon Syndrome” was the dominant feature of Hungarian life during the interwar years, and for the political emigration it continued to be so also during the half century of Soviet occupation of Hungary.¹⁵⁵ True, in the homeland all manifestations of nationalism were suppressed by the communist regime, but not even they were able to bury the pain felt by the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring states, who were compelled to survive in an atmosphere of national oppression throughout these decades. The alternative for them would have been to accept expulsion (“ethnic cleans-

151 See Magyar Holocaust, I, pp. 35-37; Magyar Holocaust II, pp.89-90.

152 György Dupka: Kárpátalja magyarsága. Honismereti kézikönyv [Hungarians of Sub-Carpathia. Handbook for Fatherland Studies] (Budapest: Magyar Nyelv és Kultúra Nemzetközi Társasága, 2000), p. 29.

153 Pál Forgon: Ott voltam ahol legszebb virágok nyílnak [I Was There, Where the Most Beautiful Flowers Bloom] (Budapest: Kálvin Kiadó, 1993).

154 Gyula Marina: Ruténsors. Kárpátalja végzete [Ruthenian Fate. Destiny of Sub-Carpathia] (Toronto: Patria Publishing, Ltd., 1977).

155 On the impact of the Treaty of Trianon upon the Hungarian mind, see Steven Béla Várdy’s following studies: “Trianon in Interwar Hungarian Historiography,” in *War and Society in East Central Europe: Essays on World War I: A Case Study of Trianon*, eds. Béla K. Király, Peter Pastor, and Ivan Sanders (New York: Social Science Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1982), pp. 361-389; “The Impact of Trianon upon the Hungarian Mind: The Nature of Interwar Hungarian Irredentism,” in *Hungarian Studies Review*, vol. 10, nos. 1-2 (1983), pp. 21-42; “The Trianon Syndrome in Today’s Hungary,” in *Hungarian Studies Review*, vol. 24, nos. 1-2 (1997), pp. 73-80; and “Treaty of Trianon and the Hungarian-Americans,” in *Eurasian Studies Yearbook*, vol. 69 (1997), pp. 127-145, (the last study written jointly with Agnes Huszár Várdy).

ing”) from their homelands, which they and their ancestors have inhabited for ten or eleven centuries. But this option was neither appealing, nor really available to most of them.

Though conditions have changed since the collapse of communism, they did not necessarily change for the better. The collapse of international communism let loose the hitherto submerged feelings of national chauvinism, especially among the nations who have been the gainers at the expense of the Hungarians during much of the 20th century. And this upsurge of national chauvinism has made the position of the Hungarian minorities in their homelands ever more tenuous. As territorial revisions – however fair and just – are out of question in the early 21st century, their only hope is that the membership of their respective countries in the European Union will mellow the chauvinism of the dominant nationalities, and thus make their lives increasingly tolerable. Although the kind of ethnic cleansing they have experienced after the two world wars appears to be unlikely, a kind of creeping and mostly invisible ethnic cleansing is still going on. It is still affecting their lives in all of the surrounding states that have benefited from the collapse of Hungarian rule in the Carpathian Basin.

WHEN DID HUNGARIANS SETTLE IN THEIR PRESENTHOMELAND?

Thoughts on the Dual Conquest Theory of Hungarian Ethnogenesis

According to the traditional explanation of the settlement of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, they arrived there at the end of the 9th century a. d. In sharp contrast with this interpretation, the “dual conquest” [kettős honfoglalás] theory suggests that in the second half of the first millennium a. d. two important events took place in the Carpathian Basin that determined the course of Hungarian ethnogenesis. The first of these was the arrival, long before the 9th century, of the ancestors of the Hungarians, a development that established the demographic basis of the future Hungarian nation. The second event was the conquest in 895 of the Carpathian Basin by a group of nomadic tribes under Prince Árpád — whose descendants later created a centralized feudal kingdom that still later transmuted into the modern nation state of Hungary. A corollary of the dual conquest theory is the idea that the nomadic tribes that conquered the Carpathian Basin in 895 were probably not Hungarian (or not all Hungarian) in ethnicity and that the members of this second wave of arrivals were assimilated by the descendants of the more numerous earlier wave.¹

The founder of the dual conquest theory was Gyula László (1910-1998). For some time he worked for Hungary's National Museum and from 1957 to 1980 he taught at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest. His examinations of 7th to 10th century graveyards led him to believe that the vast majority of the Hungarians' ancestors must have settled in the Carpathian Basin much earlier than had been suggested by historians, probably during the Avar Era of Central European history. Linguistic evidence, produced by László's contemporaries, told him the same thing. He remarked in an interview he gave near the end of his life, that 90 to 95 percent of the personal names of the elite in post-conquest Hungary was Turkic, while among the subject population, 90 to 95 percent of the people had Hungarian names. Another circumstance that reinforced his new interpretation of the “Hungarian conquest” in László's mind was the fact that his study of contemporary cemeteries told him that the subject peoples of 10th century Hungary vastly outnumbered the newly-arrived conquerors. The ancestors of the Hungarians lived in large villages and their cemeteries contained the remains of thousands, while in the same cemeteries the graves of the newly-arrived numbered only a few dozen. When 20 members of the elite lived among 2,000 of their subjects, who assimilated whom? — he asked.²

In his lifetime, and especially while he was still teaching, László earned much respect in scholarly circles but there were also many critics of his ideas. During his retirement and after his death the task of defending his theory became the lot of one of his disciples János Makkay.

Makkay (1933-) studied at Eötvös Loránd University and was later employed by various museums and then by the Institute of Archaeology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. After 2002 for a few years he was a member of the faculty of the University of Pécs. One of Makkay's early publications in defence of the dual conquest theory appeared in Hungary's leading anthropological journal in 1993.³ A more detailed work regarding the subject was his monograph, *A magyarság keletkezése* [The dating of Hungarians]. In this work Makkay used evidence produced by historians, linguists, anthropologists and scholars in other disciplines to support Gyula László's arguments. Concerning linguistic evidence Makkay argued that the Bulgaro-Turkic loan words that exist in the Magyar language were "borrowed" not during the Hungarians' travels through the steppe-lands north of the Black Sea as the proponents of the dominant theory of Hungarian ethnogenesis suggest, but were acquired while Hungarians had lived along with various Bulgar tribes (as well as other Turkic peoples) in the Carpathian Basin in the centuries before 895. And the same was true according to Makkay of Slavic loan-words in Hungarian: these were acquired by Magyar agriculturalists who had co-habited with Slavic settlers for centuries in the Carpathian Basin — long before the so-called "Hungarian conquest". Makkay points out that many words in Hungarian describing organized religion are of Slavic origin. According to him these words entered the Magyar language in the Carpathian Basin as the result of the interaction over many generations of the Hungarians with Christian Slavs there. Had Hungarians not been living in the Carpathian Basin at that time but only after 895, their exposure to Christianity would have come only around the year 1000 when Hungary's rulers invited missionaries mainly from the German world to convert the descendants of the nomads who conquered the Carpathian Basin a century earlier. In that case words describing organized religious life in the Hungarian language would have been German and not Slavic.⁴

In his book Makkay also took issue with the relative numbers of the conquerors and the autochthonous (in Hungarian: *őshonos*) population of the Carpathian Basin at the time of the conquest. He suggested that the size of the conquering population of Prince Árpád's warriors was much smaller than historians in Hungary estimated and he cited the similar opinions of numerous Hungarian historians. Finally Makkay turned to the issue of the origins of the Magyar-speaking Székely populations of Transylvania and he suggested that some of them, especially the peoples of the region in the heart of the Transylvanian Basin known as *mezőség*, had probably settled there even before the rest of the Hungarians arrived during the time of Avar rule.⁵

László's and Makkay's unconventional interpretation of the Hungarian past is by no means unique in the annals of the historiography of Hungarian ethnogenesis. Similar theories have been offered by other Hungarian scholars both before and after László's and Makkay's works appeared.

One veteran member of the Hungarian academic establishment who also held alternative views about the settlement of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin was physical anthropologist Pál Lipták (1914-2000) of the University of Szeged. Through a study of the anatomy of the occupants of Conquest-era graves, Lipták came to the conclusion that the majority of the people who conquered the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 9th century were anatomically different from the people who lived there at the time, that is the majority of the conquerors were probably not Hungarians. The real ancestors of the Hungarians, Lipták argued, had settled in the Carpathian Basin in several waves, from the early 5th century on to the end of the 9th century, but especially during Avar times.⁶

Still another prominent critic in Hungary of the dominant theory of the "Hungarian conquest" was Gábor Vékony (1944-2004). Vékony spent most of his career teaching at Eötvös Loránd University. His researches told Vékony that the ancestors of Hungarians didn't come to the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 9th century but most likely in the second half of the 7th, or possibly as early as the 5th — and he went further and suggested that the nomadic tribes that conquered the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 9th century probably spoke Turkic languages — which they lost when they were assimilated by the masses of Hungarians they found living there.⁷

Soon after the appearance of Vékony's monograph, another book surfaced in Hungary that questioned the traditional interpretation of Hungarian ethnogenesis. The book was by veteran scholar Péter Király. His arguments against the traditional interpretation of the "Hungarian" conquest are based mainly on the study of medieval Central European written sources. After studying the latter for nearly seven decades, Király came to the conclusion that the ancestors of the Hungarians probably started to settle in the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 6th century. Among other things Király cites pre-895 lists of the members of monasteries in what are now Germany, Austria and Switzerland, suggesting that Christian Hungarians from the Carpathian Basin were joining monastic houses in Central Europe long before Prince Árpád and his warriors arrived in the Carpathian Basin.⁸

Although the above list of Hungarian scholars who question the traditional theory of Hungarian ethnogenesis is not complete, in today's Hungary the vast majority of archaeologists and historians endorse the old theory. The debate between the two camps is very uneven with a handful of still living believers in an "alternate theory" facing a massive phalanx of scholars defending the historiographical orthodoxy regarding the Hungarian conquest.

The debate between the two camps revolves around many issues and in this short paper only three of these can be discussed. The most important of these is the question of relative numbers: the ratio of the newly-arrived to the size of the autochthonous population. Another issue is the ethnic identity of the conquerors: were they Hungarian-speakers or an ethnic group completely unrelated to Hungarians? And the third critical question is whether a conquest similar to that described by the vast majority of historians in Hungary has ever happened in any other land in Europe in the Middle Ages? In the rest of this essay I will discuss these three issues one-by-one.

The question of relative numbers is probably the most crucial issue of the debate between the upholders of the orthodox theory of the Hungarian conquest and the followers of novel interpretations of that event. If the nomadic tribes that conquered the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 9th century were indeed a large mass of people, and if the local population was small in numbers, then it is plausible that it was the conquerors who assimilated the locals. However, if the conquerors were not a large mass and the locals outnumbered them by a considerable margin, then there can be little doubt that it was the autochthonous population that assimilated the newcomers.

Not surprisingly the members of the two historiographical schools tend to provide numbers that support their respective theories. Exact numbers are difficult to find since during the Dark Ages there was no record keeping of any kind in the Carpathian Basin. The last censuses taken there were in Roman times and they indicated that the part of the Basin that was administered by Rome was quite densely populated. Not having any local data as guidance, historians have usually resorted to guessing the size of populations in the 9th century.

Most of the supporters of the traditional version of the conquest of Hungary have argued that the conquerors who arrived in 895 numbered 300 or even 500 thousand. At the same time they suggested that the original, autochthonous population could not have numbered more than half this number. In contrast to these speculations László and the others have all argued that the original population far outnumbered the newcomers. According to László, in some communities the ratio was one hundred to one in favour of the autochthonous population. And we have to keep in mind that historian Vékony had given this “100 to 1” ratio for the entire Carpathian Basin’s two populations: the locals vs. the newly-arrived conquerors.⁹

We may ask where lies the truth in the face of these two extremely divergent claims? For estimating the numbers of the conquerors we can only rely on the estimates given by archaeologists and historians. In this connection we could cite the views of more than a dozen eminent Hungarian scholars all of whom had given numbers far below those usually offered by the supporters of the traditional interpretation of the conquest of 895.

For estimating the pre-895 population of the Carpathian Basin we have somewhat better methods. By the time of the 14th century Hungary was a Christian kingdom

where the church kept records as to the approximate membership of parishes. From such record keeping, as well as from the size of cemeteries, historians can estimate the size of the Carpathian Basin's population of the times. The growth-rate of the population of Christian Europe in the late medieval period is also known. As a result the population of the Carpathian Basin five centuries earlier can be calculated — even if only approximately. Such calculations suggest that the size of this population was larger than the supporters of the orthodox theory of the Hungarian conquest believe.

There is still another method of estimating the region's population in the 10th century. Historians have a fairly good idea what the population was in various parts of Christian Europe. It is known that the population of the lands that later became France was at least seven million — and that the population of the Italian peninsula was not much smaller. Why would the Carpathian Basin, which was also blessed with a favourable climate and plentiful resources, have a much smaller population? Our overall conclusion can only be that the pre-conquest population of the Carpathian Basin must have been far larger than what the supporters of the traditional theory of the Hungarian conquest suggest.

If the ancestors of the Hungarians were already living in the Carpathian Basin before 895 as the advocates of the dual conquest theory say, who then were the conquerors? Anthropological examinations of the skeletal remains of individuals from 10th century graves, according to Lipták, suggest that the elite of post-conquest society in the Carpathian Basin was to a large degree different anatomically from the other elements of society.¹⁰ This suggests that the conquerors, or at least most of them, belonged to different ethnic groups than the Carpathian Basin's subject population.

In the past half decade evidence surfaced that reinforces this conclusion. This evidence came from the newly-emerged science of genetics, in particular three genetic studies that had been conducted by Hungarian geneticist István Raskó and a team of experts. Raskó's team studied mitochondrial, y-chromosomal, and autosomal DNA extracted from the skeletal remains of men and women — both members of the elite and members of the subject peoples — and DNA samples taken from present-day Hungarians living in Hungary and in the Hungarian-populated counties of Transylvania.

All three of Raskó's studies suggested that the conquerors of 895 were different genetically from both the subject peoples of the 10th century — as well as from Hungarians living today. This fact indicates above all that the conquerors were small in numbers and could leave only minimal "genetic footprints" in the population of the Carpathian Basin. As István Raskó remarked in a book he recently published: "the contribution of the conquerors to the genetic pool of present-day Hungarians [was] insignificant."¹¹ Despite this statement Raskó assumed that the conquerors spoke Hungarian and claimed that the pre-985 population of the Carpathian Basin "adopted [átvette]" the language of the conquerors. This of course is inconceivable, this is not how hu-

man evolution worked in the Middle Ages. In those times all nomadic warrior tribes who conquered a region populated by settled peoples became assimilated by the local population.

The course of European history from the demise of the Roman Empire in the West to the 12th century is full of examples of barbarian (i.e. nomadic) peoples occupying one or another part of Europe. Every time such an occupation occurred the result was the same: the occupiers were sooner or later assimilated by the local, autochthonous population.

Let us briefly examine these occupations starting with the conquests by Germanic-speaking peoples. Soon after the collapse of Roman rule in Italy the Ostrogoths occupied most of that land and established a Kingdom of their own — and their children started to be Romanized. About the same time the also German-speaking Burgundians moved into what is eastern France today. In our days nothing remains of their language in that part of France. Also in the 5th century, the Visigoths conquered much of the Iberian Peninsula and within about half-dozen generations their descendants spoke Spanish. In the 6th century, the Longobards set up a kingdom in Italy and today only the name Lombardy reminds us of their Germanic language and culture. Still later the Franks, a federation of German-speaking tribes, extended their rule over much of what is now France, part of Italy, and much of the rest of Central Europe. Today there is no linguistic trace of them except in the lands that had been originally populated by German-speakers. Some people say that the conquest of England in the 5th century by the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes was different, that these tribes imposed their West-Germanic language on the people of England, but this is not the case if we are to believe geneticist and historian Stephen Oppenheimer of Oxford University. According to him the migration of West-Germanic peoples to England had started before Roman times and by the time the Saxons and the others invaded, much of the population there spoke an early form of English.¹²

The experience of Scandinavian conquerors was similar. Wherever they conquered lands (Novgorod, Kiev, Sicily, etc.) they became assimilated by the locals. Early in the 10th century they occupied Northern France and established what became known as the Norman kingdom, and in about half-dozen generations their descendants spoke French. In 1066 these French-speaking Normans occupied England and in another half-dozen generations their descendants began speaking English. Much further east, in Eastern Europe's lower-Danube region, the Turkic-speaking nomads known as Bulgars came as occupiers in the 7th century. They established themselves as the region's ruling class — and in less than ten generations their descendants spoke Slavic, the language of their subjects.

In today's Hungary the vast majority of historians believe that Hungarians are the descendants of the nomadic tribes who arrived in the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 9th century. The works of László, Makkay and the others are ignored by historians

and are forgotten by the public. Those dictating what is acceptable in academic historical writing dismiss the findings of scholars such as Lipták as well as Raskó and his team, as having been based on insufficient number of samples. Indeed, these studies are based on a limited sample base and, as a result, can be easily dismissed.

Under these circumstances historians in Hungary continue to ignore the works of László, Makkay, Lipták, Vékony, Király and the others as not ignoring them would be tantamount to admitting that they might have been mistaken about the Hungarian past. At the same time Hungary's general public is also unlikely to endorse a theory of Hungarian ethnogenesis that does not embrace the romantic notion that Hungarians are different from Europeans because they came from lands somewhere in Central or Eastern Asia. They are also reluctant to envisage ancestors who were peaceful tillers of the soil rather than fierce warriors who instilled fear into the hearts of Europeans.

The conquerors of the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 9th century were nomadic tribes who were relatively small in numbers and were assimilated by the local population. This fact should not detract from the legacy that Árpád, his warriors, and their descendants bequeathed to the Hungarian nation: the establishment of a centralized state that soon became one of Central Europe's Christian kingdoms and later turned into the modern nation-state of Hungary.

NOTES

This essay is a greatly abridged version of a paper that I presented at the 51st Hungarian Congress of the Hungarian Association of Cleveland, Ohio, in November of 2011. For the full text of the paper see the Association's website www.hungarianassociation.com/kronika/51

- 1 János Makkay, *A magyarság keletkezése* (Szolnok, 1994) 2nd revised and expanded ed., pp. 153-162. Also, Gyula László, *A „kettős honfoglalás”* (Budapest, 1978).
- 2 Gyula László, „Életem egyik fele, a régészet.” *Akadémiai beszélgetések*, 17 April 1997, <http://www.mmakademia.hu/ab/3/303.php>
- 3 János Makkay, „Emberral kapcsolatos adatok a ‘kettős honfoglalás’ vitájához,” *Anthropologiai Közlemények*, 35 (1993): 213-219.
- 4 Makkay, *A magyarság*, in *passim*. Makkay's book was reviewed by József Vekerdi: *Hungarian Studies Review*, 24, 1-2 (1997): 116-118.
- 5 Makkay, *A magyarság*, especially p. 153. Also, Vekerdi, p. 118.
- 6 Lipták, *Avars and Ancient Hungarians* (Budapest, 1983), 160-62.
- 7 *Magyar őstörténet – Magyar honfoglalás* (Budapest, 2002).
- 8 Péter Király, *A honalapítás vitás eseményei* (Nyíregyháza, 2006).
- 9 László, „Életem egyik fele”. Vékony, *Magyar őstörténet*, p. 219.
- 10 Lipták, *Avars and Ancient Hungarians*, p. 161.
- 11 István Raskó, *Honfoglaló gének* (Budapest, 2010), 158.
- 12 Oppenheimer, *The Origins of the British* (London, 2007), 477ff.

HUNGARY'S HISTORY 895-1945

Chapter One: *László Gulyás, Prof.*

Introduction

Magyar, and associated, tribes entered, and began to conquer, the Carpathian Basin in 895, thus, beginning modern Hungarian history. Historians commonly assign the subsequent 1,100-plus years into the following sections:

1. The age of the conquest and the tribal state 895-1000
2. The Middle Ages in Hungary 1000-1526
 - 2.1 The era of the kings of the House of Árpád 1000-1301
 - 2.2 The era the kings from diverse ruling houses 1301-1526
3. The Habsburg era 1526-1918
 - 3.1 A country in three parts 1526-1699
 - 3.2 The era of the Habsburg Empire 1700-1867
 - 3.3 The Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy 1867-1918
4. The Horthy era 1919-1945
5. The era of Communist dictatorship 1945-1990
6. The period after the regime change, 1990, to today.

In chapter one of our work, we shall follow this conventional division and relate the more important events of Hungarian history.

1. The Age of the Conquest and the Tribal State 895-1000

The history of the Magyar tribes previous to 895 AD, to which historians refer as 'Magyar ancient history', is not totally known to this day. A significant group of historians – those who primarily do research into ancient history through linguistics – cast their ballots for a common Finnish-Ugric ancestry for the Magyar people. The other group – who base their conclusions on archeological findings and modern genetic tools – vote for a Turkic origin that sprang up in Inner and Central Asia. The arguments still persist today. A compromise theory has also been put forward according to which, of the seven Magyar tribes of the conquest, four were of Finnish-Ugric origin and three were of Turkic origin.

What we know for certain, from written sources mentioning the Magyars, comes from the works of Byzantine historians of the 10th century. They record that, *circa*

830 AD, Magyar tribes lived on the South Russian steppes (meaning the region along the Donets, Dnieper, south Bug and Dniester Rivers, commonly called Levedia by Hungarian historians). According to these written sources, the Magyar people living in Levedia consisted of seven tribes, of which the Megyer tribe was the acknowledged leader. Sometime between 850 and 860 AD, these tribes began to migrate toward the West from Levedia to escape the conquering thrusts of the Kazar Empire (occupying the area between the Volga and Don Rivers). They resettled in what Hungarian historians call 'Etelköz', the region between the eastern Carpathians and the South Bug River. From here, the Magyars launched a regular series of raiding sorties towards Byzantium and into the Carpathian basin. In fact, by 881 AD, during their wandering raids they penetrated into lands west of the Carpathian basin, into what today is Austria (Erdélyi 1986).

During these peripatetic forays, they appraised that a political vacuum emerged in the Carpathian basin after the collapse of the Avar Empire in the 8th century. Towards the close of the 9th century, three states were sharing control over the Carpathian basin: Trans-Danubia was occupied by the Franks; the Moravians were able to establish a smaller principality, the Moravian Principality, along the Morva River (which flows into the Danube at Bratislava); while the Bulgarian state was able to exercise its power over the eastern and southeastern portions of the basin (today's Transylvania and Slavonia /now eastern Croatia/). At the same time, the lands between the Danube and Tisza Rivers, and those East of the Tisza, were populated only by remnants of the Avars. We apply the words 'political vacuum' to this situation because the centers of the Frank and Bulgarian states were outside the boundaries of the Carpathian basin, hence, for the purposes of these two states, Carpathian basin lands were peripheries, and there was no recognizable state that exerted control over the center. The leaders of the Magyar tribes living in Etelköz – we allude to the tribal sovereign Álmos and his son Árpád – recognized the possibility a successful incursion into this power vacuum and hence, military preparations for this conquest were mindfully made, as an ancillary aspect of the western raids. This plan was hastened when the Bulgarians, in alliance with the Pechenegs living East of Etelköz, attacked the Magyar settlements (in retaliation for Magyar raids). Against the concentrated and powerful attacks, the Magyars, under the leadership of chieftain Árpád, pressed on into the Carpathian Basin; the now-empty Etelköz was then occupied by the Pechenegs. What this means is that, while the conquest was a pre-planned process, the specific start date was inadvertently supplied by the Bulgar-Pechened attack.

Of the exact timetable and progress of the conquest, we can only say that the occupation of the Carpathian basin proceeded in several phases. The first phase, 895-896, saw the Magyars occupy the center of the basin (between the Danube and Tisza Rivers and toward the South-east). In the second phase, over the next four years, the Magyar tribes annihilated the Moravian Principality and occupied what later became Northern Hungary (up to the East-West crescent of the Carpathians), forced the Franks to cede

Trans-Danubia and, in a parallel action, began to spread in a South-Southeasterly direction to force the Bulgars out of Transylvania. By 900 AD, the Magyar tribes exercised sole control over the vast Carpathian basin.

That, during the conquest, the Magyars drove out the eastern Franks (Bavarians) from Trans-Danubia cut deeply into the interests of the Kingdom of the Eastern Franks. The eastern Franks did not want to yield (the former Roman province of) Pannonia and made attempts to reclaim it. To this end, they mounted several campaigns against the Magyars. Of these, the Frankish campaign of 907 was the most significant. The deciding battle took place in July of 907 near today's Bratislava (Hung.: Pozsony), during which the Magyars delivered a crushing defeat on the Frank forces. After the rout, the Franks made no new offensive attempts during the 10th century against the Carpathian basin and the Magyar settling-in process. In fact, after 907, the Franks were forced to bear Magyar raiding campaigns to or across their territory. The significance of the 907 victory lies in the fact that the Magyar tribes were able to repel the western attack and were thus able to ensure unimpeded stability for settling on the lands conquered. Put another way, they were able to avoid the fate of previous mounted nomad tribes living in the Carpathian basin – the Huns, Avars – who could exert their power over the basin only for a short period of time.

If we examine the rest of history of the 10th century, we shall see that the chieftain/prince Árpád and his descendants ruled over the Magyars in the Carpathian basin. But, in actual fact, these rulers of the Árpád dynasty exercised absolute power merely over the territory settled by their own tribe – the Megyer tribe – since there was no unified Magyar state but, rather, a collection of tribal states living in close proximity. (Kristó Gy-Makk F. 2001) The explanation for this state of affairs is that the settlement of the Magyars in the Carpathian basin took place by tribe, meaning that each of the seven tribes took possession of a large tract of land. As an example, the ruling Megyer tribe, Árpád's tribe, settled in one block in central Hungary along the Danube from today's Budapest down to Kalocsa. Within this area, each clan's and extended family's head carried on independently; the ruling chieftains (the princes of the House of Árpád) possessed only nominal power over them.

The Magyar tribes continued to follow their former mounted nomad lifestyle in their new home. This meant primarily the husbandry of large grazing animals (horses) but also extended to their regular venturesome raids to the West (mainly to German and Italian territories) and South (to Byzantium). Between 907 and 970, the Magyars carried out 50 major campaigns. During this time, the prayer: "*From the arrows of the Magyars protect us, O Lord!*" could be heard regularly in churches across Europe. The utter defeat at the hands of German forces at Augsburg, on August 10, 955, spelled the end of westward incursion by Magyar raiding forces. They did, however, continue toward the South, until the Byzantine victory in 970 at the battle of Arkadiopolis.

With the closing of the age of the raids, the Magyars had to assimilate into a Europe with a Christian order. This was all the more important German emperors could easily start a war against the pagan Magyars under the guise of protecting Christian-

ity. It was exactly for this reason that chieftain Taksony (955-970) requested Christian missionaries from Pope John XII in the early 960's. The serious Christian conversion was begun during the reign of chieftain Géza (970-997), when the monk from St. Galen, later appointed bishop, baptized now-prince Géza, his family and vassals. With this act, the wholesale baptism of the Magyars was begun.

2. The Middle Ages in Hungary 1000-1526

2.1 The Golden Age of the House of Árpád 1000-1301

The attempts prince Géza made to position the Magyar people closer to a Christian Europe were continued after his death in 977 by his son Stephen (István). In 977, Stephen had to fight for the title of ruling prince with his brother, Koppány. Koppány wanted to continue the old nomad tradition under which, on the death of the ruling chieftain, the oldest male member of the ruling tribe becomes the chief. It is called the principle of seniority. Stephen, on the other hand, wanted to apply the principle of primogeniture applied by Christian rulers where succession is passed through a direct male line, father to son. The two opposing forces met and fought near the town of Veszprém, where Koppány, too, lost his life. Stephen asked the pope (Sylvester II) for a crown in 1000, which duly arrived [signifying acceptance into the Christian community of nations-*ed.*] and he was crowned as king on January 1, 1001.

During his long reign (1001-1038), King Stephen was victorious over all his enemies, both internal and external. In the years following his coronation, he gradually overcame all internal opposition, disposing of Gyula, prince of Transylvania, in 1003 and Ajtony, ruler of the Maros region, in 1008. When Conrad II, the Holy Roman Emperor, attacked Hungary in 1030 and advanced with his troops deep into the country – all the way to Esztergom – Stephen defeated him, too, and chased the retreating Germans all the way to Vienna. In our opinion, beside the very important victories, the true significance and greatness of King Stephen [later to become King Saint Stephen of Hungary] can be summarized in three points.

Firstly, it was King Stephen who organized Hungary's network of public administration and created the county system, having marked out 50 during his reign. The county system [a royal fortress at the center of each, a king's representative, the Royal Constable, appointed to each, royal law and assize courts in each, etc.-*ed.*] impressed its stamp on the internal life of the Hungarian state through a thousand years. Its resiliency and value is clearly shown that, even today – when the European Union is strongly urging the dissolution of regional structures – it still plays an important role in Hungarian public administration.

Secondly, through his books of statutes – during his reign, he published two books of his collected laws – he created and solidified a feudal social and economic order mir-

roring western European customs. Hence, he unequivocally allied Hungary to the western European social and economic model. Beginning with King Stephen, up until 1945, the country attempted to follow western European examples and models.

Thirdly, King Stephen laid the basis for Christianity in Hungary. One of his laws directs that Sunday and the Church holidays be observed. He also enshrined in law that every ten villages were to raise a church and make provisions to keep a priest. To impose order over the large number of churches thus built, he created ten dioceses (bishoprics), of which two, Esztergom and Kalocsa, rose to become archbishoprics. He also endowed a number of monasteries. To enable the Church to carry out its tasks, he granted huge estates to the various establishments.

We must note here that King Stephen, intending to leave the throne to his son, Prince Imre, wrote a book, titled *Admonitions*, summing up his views on kingship and ruling. Alas, the young prince died in 1031 in a hunting accident.

In summary, we can state that the significance of King Stephen's reign laid in his creation of a feudal Christian Magyar state, created its institutions, constraints and passed such laws as to make possible the continued, robust existence of the state.

After his death in 1038, members of his extended family (descendants of the original Árpád dynasty, founded by the tribal chieftain Árpád) ruled as kings of Hungary through two and a half centuries. Hence, history refers to this period (1000-1301) as the era of the kings of the House of Árpád.

The following table lists them:

Table 1: Kings of the House of Árpád

King	Reigned
Stephen I	1001-1038
Peter Orseolo	1038-1041
Aba Sámuel	1041-1044
Peter Orseolo	1044-1046
Andrew I	1046-1060
Béla I	1060-1063
Salamon	1063-1074
Géza I	1074-1077
Ladislaus I	1077-1095
Coloman the Bookish	1095-1116
Stephen II	1116-1131
Béla II	1131-1141

King	Reigned
Géza II	1141-1162
Stephen III	1162-1172
Ladislaus II (anti-king)	1162-1163
Stephen IV (anti-king)	1163-1165
Béla III	1172-1196
Imre	1196-1204
Ladislaus III	1204-1205
Andrew II	1205-1235
Béla IV	1235-1270
Stephen V	1270-1272
Ladislaus IV	1272-1290
Andrew III	1290-1301

Space considerations prevent us from treating, in detail, each of the kings of the Árpád dynasty in turn. Thus, we will merely skim and mention only the most important events. During the 11th and 12th centuries, the Magyar state was threatened by two

neighboring ‘superpowers.’ On the one hand was the Holy Roman Empire, which had already made vassals of the Czechs and Poles and was looking to do the same to the Magyars and, on the other hand, the Byzantine Empire, which had conquered the Bulgarian state. During these two centuries, both of these great powers attacked Hungary several times but the Árpád dynasty was always successful in defending the country’s independence. In fact, Ladislaus I (1077-1095) had enough forces to enlarge the country. In 1091, he began the conquest of Dalmatia and Croatia – an initiative completed by his successor Coloman the Bookish (1095-1116). Coloman was crowned King of Croatia in 1102 and the two crowns (Hungary and Croatia) continued to be worn on the same head until 1918.

During these centuries, Hungary rose to the status of a European middle power. It is best demonstrated by the regular military campaigns the kings led outside the country’s borders. They were involved in the fights of succession of the Russian principalities, fought Venice for control of the Adriatic coast of Croatia, and, at the behest of Pope Honorius III, Andrew II (1205-1235) even led a Crusade (the fifth) to the Holy Land in 1217.

Beside defending the independence of the country and integrating into the European political fabric, the Árpád dynasty spent a great deal of energy in maintaining order within the country. King Ladislaus I compiled three books of laws during his reign. In them, he took a stern tone in defense of the feudal order. His draconian law prescribed hanging for theft over the value of a hen. We can state that the feudal economic and social order typical over all of western Europe was completely adapted and entrenched in Hungary by the end of the 12th century. The success of the process can be displayed by two events: one, Béla III (1172-1196) was prosperous enough, in spite of his wars, to build a new royal palace for himself in Esztergom in the newest style sweeping Europe, the gothic; in 1222, the Magyar nobility forced Andrew II to sign the *Golden Bull* (named after the golden seal attached) The *Golden Bull* spelled out the rights of the nobility, even going as far as to state that, if Andrew or his heirs fail to observe the laws, the nobles can legally rise up [even take up arms-*ed.*] without the charge of treason. A document similar to the Golden Bull – in which a ruler guarantees the rights of the nobility – was rare in the Europe of the period, only the British nobility was able to force it out of their king in 1215 in the *Magna Charta*.

In spite of the previously mentioned successes, the Hungarian state was unable to withstand the assault from the East by the Mongols, usually called as the Tatar Incur-sion in Hungarian historiography. Genghis Khan’s Mongol hordes began their un-stoppable series of conquests in Inner Asia in the first half of the 13th century, over-running Central Asia and the countries of Eastern Europe. In December of 1240, the Mongols, under Batu Khan, sacked Kiev; in March of 1241, they breached the Magyar defenses along the Carpathian Mountains and swept into the country. Béla IV (1235-1270), leading the main Magyar army in person, met the invaders and joined

battle in the Sajó River valley at Muhi. He suffered a devastating defeat, being himself forced to flee from the battlefield. [He fled, and was chased, all the way to the Adriatic coast to what today is Trogir in Croatia, where he finally found refuge from his mounted posse by taking to a ship in the harbor-*ed.*] The Mongols wreaked havoc and destruction over eastern Hungary until, with the onset of winter, they were able to cross the frozen Danube River and to continue their trail of devastation in Trans-Danubia. The campaign of destruction suddenly stopped in the spring of 1242 and, as suddenly as it appeared, the Mongols withdrew from the country. The event is explained by our historians that in December of 1241, the Great Khan [khagan-*ed.*] of the Mongols, Ogodei, died in distant Mongolia and Batu Khan, leading the forces in Hungary, swiftly returned to the center of the empire in hopes of becoming the next Great Khan.

The devastation was enormous. There were counties on the southeastern Great Plains of Hungary where fully half of the settlements were obliterated. After the withdrawal of the Mongols, the Magyar state had, for all intents and purposes, to be re-established. As this was accomplished by King Béla IV, he is usually referred to as the second founder of the country. During the reconstruction, the king placed special emphasis on two things: one, grants of landed estates were tied to the building of stone castles and fortifications, i.e., the noble who received title and land was forced to build a stone fort on his land, and second, the depopulated, devastated areas were re-populated by foreign settlers.

As a result of the actions of the king, the country weathered the Mongol destruction in a relatively short time but a new and dangerous trend emerged in the second half of the 13th century, under Béla IV and his heirs. A small group of nobles became extremely wealthy and militarily powerful, giving rise to a baronial class which divided up the country among themselves into semi-independent territories. These barons – also called mini-kings – maintained their own courts, rose in opposition to the king and often carried out an independent foreign policy. The reigns of the last kings of the Árpád dynasty, Stephen V (1270-1272), Ladislaus IV (1272-1290) and Andrew III (1290-1301) can be described as a permanent struggle against the barons.

2.2 The Era of the Kings from Sundry Ruling Houses 1301-1526

With the death of Andrew III in 1301, the House of Árpád died out. The Hungarian kings of the 14th, 15th and early 16th centuries came from a number of dynastic families, the distant offsprings of various ruling houses. Hence the term, era of kings from sundry ruling houses.

Table 2 lists their dates:

TABLE 2: SUNDRY RULING HOUSES

King	Reigned
Interregnum	1301-1308
Charles Robert (House of Anjou)	1308-1342
Louis I, the Great (Anjou)	1342-1382
Mary (Anjou)	1382-1385
Charles II (Anjou)	1385-1386
Sigismund I (Luxemburg)	1387-1437
Albert I (Habsburg)	1437-1449
Vladislaus I (Jagiellonian)	1440-1444
Ladislaus V (Habsburg)	1445-1457
Mathias I (Hunyadi)	1457-1490
Vladislaus II (Jagiellonian)	1490-1516
Louis II (Jagiellonian)	1516-1526

The period between 1301 and 1308 is called the Interregnum, as none of the claimants to the throne (the Czech prince Wenceslas, the Bavarian prince Otto, Charles Robert of Anjou) were able to make solidify their hold on the crown. In the end, Charles Robert overcame his challengers and, in the following years also dealt with the barons who opposed him. The date of 1312 is important in this progression, when the king won a victory over one of the most powerful barons, Amadeus Aba, in the battle of Rozgony. By 1321, the entire country was under his firm rule and he moved his court / capital from Temesvár [today Timisoara in Romania-*ed.*] to Visegrád. Charles Robert distributed the confiscated wealth and estates of the defeated barons among his own followers, creating an aristocracy loyal to him. (Bertényi I. 2000)

Charles Robert not only re-ordered the political life of the country, but also brought order in the economic area, as well. Based on the so-called ‘regal rights’ - duties, taxes, gold and silver mining - he increased the income of the crown. Hungary was rich in gold and silver deposits; European commerce had a great need of them. It was the custom under the Árpád dynasty kings that, wherever miners found a deposit of silver or gold, the king immediately declared it as crown property and brought it under his direct control. Hence, the landowners were not motivated to invest in mining activities. Charles Robert addressed this in 1327 by leaving the property in the hands of the landowners and, what’s more, they could also retain one-third of the extracted minerals. In one stroke, he significantly increased the amount of both gold and silver being dug up. The mining towns (Besztercebánya / Banská Bystrica today, Körmöcbánya / Kremnica, Nagybánya / Baia Mare, Selmecbánya / Banská Štiavnica) annually produced 2,000 to 2,500 kg. of gold – or about three quarters of the amount extracted in Europe. It was due to the increase in mineral extraction that, in 1336, Charles Robert ordered the minting of the Magyar golden forint, which became one of the most trusted coins in Europe for centuries. He encouraged trade and the development of towns through certain exemptions and rights. In the interest of increased trade – foreign trade in particular – Charles Robert carried out an

active foreign diplomacy. Since trade from Central Europe toward the West was impeded by Vienna's right to halt [and tax-*ed.*] all shipments, in 1335 Charles Robert convened a meeting of kings at his court in Visegrád – attended by the Czech and Polish rulers – and agreed on a new trade artery (Buda-Nagyszombat / Trnava -Brünn / Brno). On the whole, we can state that the reforms of Charles Robert were successful, leaving a strong, stable country to his successor on his death in 1342. (Draskóczy I. 1992)

The oldest son of Charles Robert, Louis I (1342-1382), continued his father's activities in increasing commerce and trade. However, his real actions revolved around his foreign wars. In his reign, he waged the following wars: three with Venice over possession of Dalmatia (1345-1346, 1356-1358, 1378-1381), the South Italian wars for the throne of Naples (1347-1350), the Bulgarian campaigns (1365, 1368), and a war against Muntenia (1375). On top of it all, in 1370, he was also crowned as King of Poland – reigning until 1382. For all his military glories, posterity has endowed him with the name Louis the Great.

Louis died without a male heir, leading to a period of conflict between the potential successors until, finally, in 1387, Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387-1437) emerged victorious. Under his lengthy rule, the almost three century-long Turkish-Magyar conflict commenced. In the second half of the 14th century, the Turkish Empire had begun an increasingly aggressive expansion in the Balkans. The Turks dealt a defeat to the Serbian army in 1389, at the Battle of Kosovo Polje (Hung: Rigómező), which resulted in the Serb state becoming a vassal of the Empire. Sigismund attempted to halt the Turkish extension but the Crusade force he instituted – which consisted of Magyar, French, German, Italian and Polish soldiers – suffered a serious defeat at Nikápoly [today Nikopol in Bulgaria-*ed.*] in 1396. Hereafter, Sigismund did not start a major campaign directly against the Turks but rather tried to organize the Balkan states lying South of Hungary (Bosnia, Serbia, Muntenia) into a buffer zone.

Sigismund's foreign policy interests were increasingly drawn toward western Europe, where he tried to secure additional posts, rather than the looming fight with the Turks. His western endeavors brought numerous successes as he was crowned German king in 1410, Czech king in 1420 and Holy Roman Emperor in 1433. These posts, however, came with serious obligations and Sigismund got completely embroiled in European politics (synod in Constanta, the struggle between Pope and anti-Pope, the Hussite wars). These resulted in Sigismund being away from Hungary for several years at a time, leaving the running of the country and its problems – such as the anti-Turkish war – to the nobles.

After Sigismund's death, the crown was inherited by his son-in-law, Albert of Habsburg (1437-1439) but the young king died of dysentery while on a campaign against the Turks. Again, a war of succession broke out until, finally, Vladislaus I (1440-1444) secured the throne. Yet, the real politician who personified the age was János (John) Hunyadi.

Hunyadi was born around 1407, to a father who migrated from Muntenia and settled in Transylvania where he received the castle of Vajdahunyad from king Sigismund in 1409. The family began to use the Hunyadi name from that point. János spent his child-

hood in the court of Sigismund where he gained knowledge of western and Hussite forms of warfare. During the reign of king Albert, he is given the position of Voivod [viceroyned.] of Transylvania. Parallel to Hunyadi's rise, Turkish forces make ever more determined attempts on Hungary's borders, including increasingly frequent raids into the country. The first significant battlefield victory of Hunyadi's was against one of these raiding parties in 1442 in southern Transylvania. In 1443, he launched a successful offensive against the Turks in the Balkans. Alas, in 1444, he suffered a defeat at Varna; king Vladislaus I himself perished on the battlefield.

On the death of Vladislaus, the estates elected the four year old son of Albert I as king Ladislaus V but, while he was a minor, appointed Hunyadi as Regent. He used his period of regency to try and make his grand plan into reality: to drive out the Turks from Europe. However, at the second battle of Kosovo Polje in 1448, he suffered a crushing defeat. To add to his troubles, a group of nobles hostile to him – led by count Cillei – convinced the king to declare himself 'of age', forcing Hunyadi to relinquish the Regency. The Turks conquered Constantinople in 1453 and, in 1456, laid siege to the keystone of the southern Hungarian defensive system, Nándorfehérvár [today Belgrade in Serbia-ed.]. The fortress was held by Hunyadi's brother-in-law, Mihály (Michael) Szilágyi. Hunyadi hurried with mercenaries hired from his own purse, volunteers from the nobility and serfs and broke the siege. Shortly thereafter, the plague broke out in the camp and Hunyadi perished. However, the victory under Belgrade ensured that the Turks made no attempts to attack Hungary for the next 70 years. In memory of Hunyadi's victory, and as encouragement for future battles, the pope, Callixtus III, ordered that church bells be rung at noon, every day, in all of Christendom.

After Hunyadi's death, the struggle between competing groups of nobles revived, resulting in the beheading of Hunyadi's older son, László; the king, Ladislaus V also died suddenly. In the end, the mass of the lesser nobility, siding with the Hunyadi family, forced the upper nobility in 1458 to elect Hunyadi's younger son, Mátyás (Mathias), as king.

During his reign, Mathias (1457-1490) strove to strengthen the central authority and power of the crown. (Draskóczy I. 2000) In practical terms, this meant a significant trimming of the powers of the nobles. To this end, he introduced a number of edict: instead of the higher nobility, he selected members of the lower estates – and even commoners – to fill the positions in his administration / council; secondly, he raised the much-feared Black Army [named after the color of their armor-ed.], the core of a mercenary, standing army loyal to himself; thirdly, he introduced a new taxation system with which his revenues increased significantly. In 1476, Mathias married Beatrix, the daughter of the king of Naples, who brought with her the Renaissance to Hungary. A regal palace was built in Buda and Visegrád in the Renaissance style and Italian intellectuals and artist were frequent visitors to his court. His fabled library held 2,500 volumes, the Corvinas.

Mathias waged war twice against the Turks retaking the fortress of Jajce in central Bosnia in 1464 and the stronghold of Szabács [Šabac, today in Serbia-ed.] in 1476. It is a

logical question to as why Mathias waged only these two minor campaigns against the Turks when he was embroiled in almost permanent warfare in the West? According to Hungarian historians, Mathias came to the conclusion that the strength of Hungary, standing by itself, was insufficient for a large-scale and successful offensive against the Turks. To be able to defeat the Turks, a large and powerful Danubian empire had to be created. This was the reason Mathias waged serious wars in the West. In 1468, he declared war on Bohemia. In 1469, a segment of the Czech estates elected him as their king, the remainder of the noble estates opted to elect Vladislav Jagiello, then king of Poland, as the king of Bohemia. Thus, in this Magyar-Czech war, the Poles joined on the side of the Czechs. Peace between the warring parties was signed in 1478; Mathias retained title to the Czech crown, along with the territories of Silesia, Moravia and Lausitz. Mathias began a war against Friedrich III, the Holy Roman Emperor, in 1482, during which his Black Army overran a large part of Austria, even occupying Vienna in 1485. Mathias even relocated his court there. He was endeavoring to have his conquests recognized by other rulers when he suddenly died in 1490.

Hungarian history remembers Mathias as one of the greatest of the Hungarian kings, for it was under his reign that medieval Hungary reached the zenith of its development, making the Kingdom of Hungary one of the most powerful force in Europe.

After the death of Mathias, the nobles, forced out of power during his reign, strove to elect a king who would be able to create a much weaker central authority than Mathias. Hence, their ballots were cast for a member of the Jagiellonian dynasty. During the reigns of Vladislaus I (1490-1516), and his son Louis II (1516-1526), central authority continued to decline. As but one example, unable to pay their salary, the famous Black Army had to be disbanded as early as 1492. In fact, during the reign of the Jagiellonian kings, the crown revenues were only half of what the treasury collected under Mathias. While the upper nobility and high clerics waged an intense war against the order of the lower nobility for political power and wealth, the Turkish forces again appeared on the country's border. In 1521, the key center of Hungary's southern defense chain, Nándorfehérvár/Belgrade, fell. This foreshadowed the fall of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

3. The Habsburg Era 1526-1918

3.1 A country in three parts 1526-1699

August 29, 1526 is one of the darkest days in Hungarian history. In the course of a day, a Hungarian army of 20,000 suffered a crushing defeat by the Turks in a matter of two hours: seven bishops, 28 members of the high nobility and 14,000 soldiers lost their lives. The king himself drowned in a creek [in full armor-*ed.*] while attempting to escape.

After the defeat at Mohács, the estates convened and a group voted to elect János (John) Szapolyai, Voivod of Transylvania, as king, while the opposing faction voted for

an Austrian grand duke, Ferdinand of the House of Habsburg. The following decade and a half was consumed with the conflict between the two claimants to the throne. In the fighting, Ferdinand I (1526-1564) was supported by his brother Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, while John I (1526-1540) was backed by the Turkish Sultan, Suleiman II. The situation was further complicated when John married the daughter of the Polish king from whom a son – John Sigismund – was born and who was elected king after John's death by his supporters. The Turks, grasping the opportunity, seized the capital of Hungary, Buda, in 1541. Thus the partition of Hungary into three became permanent for a century and a half.

The situation must be envisaged as the western and northern parts of Hungary (the remaining Kingdom of Hungary) came under the control of the Habsburg ruler; the center of the country became a province of the Turkish Empire (the part usually called 'vanquished'), while the eastern part of the country – a portion of the Great Plains (the Partium) and Transylvania – became the realm of prince John Sigismund. In 1570, John Sigismund signed a peace treaty with the Habsburgs, ensuring for a long time the independence of the Transylvanian Principality. In fact, the next ruling prince of Transylvania, István Báthory (1571-1586), had enough excess energy to secure the Polish crown in 1575.

The common border between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Turkish Empire, dotted with border fortifications, – but actually deep inside Hungary – was the scene of a century-and-a-half struggle between the Magyar and Turkish forces. During these decades, Hungary was the "protecting bastion of Christendom." This era is one of the shining periods of Magyar military history, the soldiers manning the border forts giving ample evidence of bravery. Of these, the most important: in 1532, the few defenders of the tiny fortress of Kőszeg halted the vast Turkish army on its way to lay siege to Vienna [~800 vs. 44-50,000-*ed.*], in 1552, the defenders of Eger successfully repelled the Turkish siege [2,000 vs. 200,000-*ed.*], and in 1566, Miklós (Nicholas) Zrínyi halted the Turks under the fort of Szigetvár [3,000 soldiers plus ~2,000 other men vs. ~72,000. The 75-year old Suleiman the Magnificent, leading the army, died toward the end of the siege-*ed.*]. (Kalmár J. 1990).

In 1591, the so-called Fifteen Years' War (1591-1606) broke out during which neither the Habsburgs nor the Turkish Empire were unable to claim victory. The Transylvanian Principality was also drawn into this Habsburg-Turkish war. This resulted in the sacking and burning of Transylvania by Austrian General Giovanni Basta (1601-1603). In retaliation, the Heyduks of Stephen Bocskai drove out the Habsburg imperial forces from the Northern Hungary part of the Kingdom of Hungary. Although the Sultan offered a king's crown to Bocskai, he signed a peace treaty with the Habsburgs – the Treaty of Vienna, 1606 – and was content to remain as the ruling prince of Transylvania (1605-1606). His successor, Gábor (Gabriel) Báthori (1608-1613), was better known for his scandals.

The next ruling prince, Gábor (Gabriel) Bethlen (1613-1629) was again of that line of Magyar rulers who politicked in European matters. In 1619, he became embroiled in

the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), on the side of the Czech protestants [Transylvania was staunch Protestant territory-*ed.*], in what was to become the struggle between European Catholics (mainly the Habsburgs) and European Protestants. Bethlen was allied with the German Protestants in 1623, and fights successfully against the Catholic Habsburgs in 1626 as part of an England-Denmark-Holland alliance. Bethlen fought for the reunification of the Magyar state, starting from the south-east, from Transylvania.

His successor, György (George) Rákóczi I (1630-1648), continued Bethlen's European policies, signing an alliance with Sweden in 1643, leading a campaign into Moravia but, under pressure from the Turks, had to make peace with the Habsburgs. As part of this treaty, he was able to retain Transylvanian independence and the freedom of religious practice for the population of the Kingdom of Hungary.

His son and heir, György (George) Rákóczi II (1648-1660), did not calculate that, with the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648, Transylvania's international position would decline. In 1657, he tried to secure the Polish crown – without Turkish permission. His attempt failed; the Sultan deposed him from his throne; he died on the battlefield attempting to recapture the throne of Transylvania.

With the death of Rákóczi II, Transylvania's role as an important power came to an end, that role transferred to Hungary where the leading Hungarian political personage of the age, the poet and military leader Miklós (Nicholas) Zrínyi (1620-1664), grandson of the hero of Szigetvár in 1566, set as his goal the expulsion of the Turks. During his campaign of 1663-1664, he defeated the Turkish armies in several battles but the Habsburg ruler, instead of continuing the war, signed a disadvantageous peace treaty with the Turks in August of 1664. Subsequently, Zrínyi puts out feelers to the anti-Habsburg king of France, Louis XIV but his further actions are cut short when a wounded boar fatally gored him in a hunting accident in November of 1664. His younger brother, Péter Zrínyi, and several magnates – the Palatine, Miklós (Nicholas) Wesselényi, Ferenc (Francis) Frangepán, Ferenc Rákóczi I – continued the anti-Habsburg intrigue. The plot was unmasked by the Habsburgs and harsh countermeasures enacted. The majority of the leaders were executed (1670), the Protestant ministers sentenced to be galley slaves and the Hungarian soldiers manning the border forts – although they took no active part in the plot – were discharged. Imre (Emeric) Thököly organized a revolutionary army in 1678 from these discharged border fighters. Thököly's anti-Habsburg uprising brought success, enabling him to bring into being the independent Principality of Northern Hungary. With it, the country was torn into four.

In 1683, the Turks began a battle to lay siege to, and take, Vienna, which ended in failure. In fact, the Habsburg forces and their allies – the Holy League [Austria, Poland, Venice and Russia-*ed.*] – went on the counteroffensive. This was the beginning of the War from Turkish Liberation (1683-1699) during which the Habsburg forces gradually drove the Turks out of Hungary (retaking of Buda in 1688, battle of Zenta in 1697). As part of the same extended war of expelling the Turks, the Habsburgs eliminated

Thököly's Principality of Northern Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania, as well. When the Habsburgs signed the Treaty of Karlovac in 1699 with the Turks, except for one region, all of Hungary was now securely under their rule.

In closing our sub-chapter, we must make note of the negative effects of the Turkish period (1526-1699), which exerted long-term effects on Hungary's history. The most serious consequence was the vast destruction effected to the network of settlements and the concomitant significant reduction in the population. Also, this population decimation affected the Magyars living along the main roads and campaign routes than the South-Slav and Romanian populations living around the periphery. To state it in other terms, as a result of the Turkish occupation, the reduced Magyar population, vis-à-vis the South-Slav and Romanian populations began the march on the long road toward minority status.

Chapter II.: *Ferenc Szávai, Prof.*

3.2 The Era of the Habsburg Empire 1700-1867

3.2.1 *The Rákóczi Freedom Fight*

During the War of the Spanish Succession, the Magyars could count of French assistance. Personal affronts and his feelings towards the peasantry helped Rákóczi to make the decision to step to the head of the uprising. The time was also auspicious. From a military perspective, the Rákóczi freedom fight was seemingly an adjunct of the War of the Spanish Succession. Rákóczi was elected as the ruling prince and, at the Diet of Ónod on June 14, 1707; the Habsburgs were stripped of the Hungarian crown. Rákóczi carried out widely dispersed diplomatic activities. After the disastrous Battle of Romhány (January 22, 1710), He was hoping to secure assistance from Czar Peter the Great. He traveled to Poland to convince the czar. In the meantime, one of his generals, Károlyi began negotiations and, on May 1, 1711, on the plain of Majtény 12,000 soldiers laid down their arms and swore allegiance to the king. The prince did not accept the peace and, instead, chose a life of exile in Turkey. In any case, it became eminently clear that Hungary could neither be assimilated, nor was separation an option. Reorganization would have to make use of other principles, other practices.

For the Habsburgs, this is a significant turn of events. They were forced to recognize that the absolutist empire was no more. The shift in the center of gravity meant that the formerly minor holding, the empire up and down along the Danube, had become the major family estate. Charles VI, on behalf of the Holy Roman Empire, signed the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht on March 7, 1714 in Rastatt, accepting all its terms. (Gonda-Niederhauser, 1978).

3.2.2 *The Outstanding Events in 18th Century Hungarian History*

The dreams of Empire were replaced under Charles III with the reality of a Danubian empire, a Danubian monarchy. The members of the House of Habsburgs, Emperor

Charles I and Grand Dukes Joseph and Ludwig, come to an agreement among themselves regarding the empire's constitution and extending the right of succession to the female line. The secret family compact was accepted in 1703 and came to be commonly known as the *Pragmatica Sanctio*. The monarchic union acquires a basic constitutional law in 1713 which, for its internal and external security, states its non-divisibility and the unified order of succession based on primogeniture; succession is based on inheritance by the first born male, female heirs (daughter of the last male ruler) and her offspring's subsidiary right of inheritance. This is the most important basic constitutional law until 1918; Ferenc (Francis) Deák uses it as the legal basis for his argument for the Compromise [which ended with the creation of the Dual Monarchy, Austria-Hungary-*ed.*] Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor, was able to have the *Pragmatica Sanctio* recognized not only in the countries within his realm but around Europe, as well. Having accomplished his life's goal, he ensured the throne for his daughter, Maria Theresa.

Maria Theresa had hardly begun her reign when the Elector of Bavaria announced his claim to the throne. Thus began the war for the Austrian succession, during which Maria Theresa had to cede control of Silesia, Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla but was able to retain the Low Countries, occupied by the French during the war. In 1742, Maria Theresa creates the house, court and state chancelleries [meaning the Habsburg family's, the court's and the country's-*ed.*]; has Count von Haugwitz modernize the state's activities in the spirit of modern laws; under the tutelage of von Justi, trade is modernized; establishes a standing army with a military academies in Wiener Neustadt and the *Theresianum* in Vienna. In foreign diplomacy, an outstanding role was played by Chancellor Kaunitz, whose primary goal was the weakening of Prussia. The period of Maria Theresa represents an era of ascendancy; in 1777, the *Ratio Educationis* is published, the law regulating educational matters. Her son, Joseph II, the oldest of her sixteen children, becomes King of the Romans in 1763, then Holy Roman Emperor and co-regent of Austria in 1765, on the death of her husband [although Holy Roman Emperor but, in reality a mere prince consort-*ed.*] but the real decisions continued to be made by Maria Theresa until her death in 1780. [Joseph II went on to rule in his own right until his death in 1790-*ed.*]

The reforms of Joseph II referred to as an 'impatient mind' by historians, was typical of an enlightened ruler. Such were his decrees of toleration, and tolerance evinced towards other religions; he blended his mercantilist economic doctrine with physiocracy, granting the peasantry personal freedom in the crown provinces of Austria. To him, the most important goal was the state, and the aim of his educational policies was the educating of reliable citizens. Concomitant to these, he issued a dictate for reforming public administration and published collected statutes covering civil rights and criminal law. The internal reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II helped the emergence of a unified Danubian monarchy. At the top of the house, they believed in unity yet, at the time of Maria Theresa's death, those forces had already made their presence

known which later made the continued existence of the edifice impossible. (Gonda-Niederhauser, 1978).

In the division of labor within the empire, Hungary's role was seen as becoming integrated into the framework of the Empire, which closely agrees with Leopold Kolonich's concept that he published in 1687. In his often criticized concept, he suggested establishing a manufacturing base; a well thought out taxation system and recommended the transportation and settling of German serfs in Hungary. As well, he envisioned Hungary's role as the 'bread basket' of the Empire.

External demand for Hungarian agricultural products was mainly identified by the cameralists. [Cameralism: an economic-political theory in which the public revenue was seen as the sole measure of prosperity-*ed.*] Presciently, the Empire sensed a certain slowdown and its need was, besides unification, for soldiers for future wars and adequate revenues. It is to the credit of the cameralists for recognizing the necessity of development of the Habsburg Empire and for making suggestions appropriate for their era. The main areas of activity were:

1. Creating a unified economic whole of the country. Maria Theresa, in her customs regulation of 1754, wiped out duties between Bohemia, Moravia and the Austrian provinces. There still remained a so-called 'preferential relationship' where both parties paid lower fees for goods coming from that source. Colbert introduced it in France and Turgot continued it until its totality in 1789; in 1753 in Russia; in 1834 in Prussia, with the introduction of the Zollverein. All these advocated markets for Hungarian products in the Austrian crown provinces.
2. A unified system of coinage.
3. A harmonized system of weights and measures.

Internal demand also began a slow development. Hungary at the time professed to have 750 settlements that called themselves towns – of those, 284 were market towns which the surrounding peasantry regularly used to sell produce and make purchases. Of those, 138 filled the unique function of being the sole regional marketplace.

The cameralists did not express a great deal of interest towards agriculture but they did shine a light on it. Enlightened absolutist rulers realized the significance of state protection of the serfs, which had implications for agricultural production. Legislation governing the services expected of the peasantry was made on January 23, 1767. Its applicability extended to Hungary proper. The law unequivocally defined the 'serf lot' [granted for service or in lieu of payment for sharecropper usage-*ed.*] as the basis for the clarified suite of services and taxes. It provided legal basis for the system of land subdivision and ownership, while making services proportional to holdings; stabilized the sharecropper's labor due to a landowner and returned remuneration in-kind; laid the foundation for state taxation. The language of the legislation was unified, the publications identical in every settlement and in the language of the inhabitants of those settlements. (Gyimesi, 2006).

3.2.3 *The Opening Decades of the 19th Century and the Age of Reform*

The opening decades of the 19th century ended with the events and coda of the Napoleonic era. European accord and several alliances were unable to defeat Napoleon; for Central and Eastern Europe, it meant a prosperity fuelled by grains. Napoleon defeated the Magyar insurgents on June 14, 1809 outside Győr, crossed the Danube to his next victory at Wagram. His ambitions were ended at Waterloo, defeated by the coalition which imposed a peace and order that governed world politics for decades.

The Congress of Vienna, in 1815, re-drew the map of Europe based on dynastic politics and the concerted reciprocity of the five big powers. (Kleinschmidt, 2000) In this network of European alliances, the Habsburg Empire became a member of the ruling pentarchy, while its substantial component, Hungary, became one of its constituents. The position of the Habsburg Empire is demonstrated that, out of Napoleon's empire, it received as spoils Milan, Lombardy and Venice. (Pounds, 2003) On the other hand, the Austrian half of the Empire was omitted from the German customs union (1834), and Austrian reform attempts to enlarge the union met with failure at the meeting of rulers in Frankfurt in 1863 due to Prussian opposition.

The age of reform in Hungary is the decades that preceded the revolution and freedom fight of 1848-49, which recognized the necessity of change and need for social reform. Its most important personages were: István (Stephen) Széchenyi, János Kossuth, Miklós (Nicholas) Wesselényi, Ferenc (Francis) Deák, Mihály (Michael) Táncsics, László (Leslie) Lovassy and the youthful representatives of the Diet. Here we witnessed the birth of nationalism, marching along in lock-step towards a modern economy. Count István (Stephen) Széchenyi dedicated his *magnum opus*, *Hitel* (Credit), "to the more congenial ladies of our Country." In his work, in the chapter headed "What must be done," he points to credit [really, the lack of it-*ed.*] as the chief reason why the Hungarian landowner is poorer than he ought to be, given the size of his holdings. The laws of April 1848, freeing the serfs, codified the end of personal indenture, which came to be with legalized equality before the law and the abolition of the landowner's court (this last extended not only sharecroppers and indentured servants but estate domestics, as well). The majority of Hungarian population at this time was small time artisans and craftsmen: weaving and textile manufacture were the most important branches, as were sewing, embroidery, decorating ceramics, etc. Article 9, law 1836: VII began to weaken feudalism in the area of manufacture. Imperial and royal patents, especially law 1840: XVII, further lessened the basis of the guild system. Thus, Hungarian capital-dependent industrial development could not emerge out of neither the guild system nor the artisan model, having to look for a different model than those used elsewhere in the West or East-Central Europe. Hungarian industry requiring capital was aided in its development by armament production associated with the wars with France and with industrial growth in the Austrian crown provinces. (Széchenyi, 1991)

In the spring of 1848, Europe was in flames, Budapest was the same. It was the region's national awakening, then struggle, for independence through peaceful, later armed, means. The nationalistic, economic and social tensions rose to the surface – initially peacefully – culminating in the April laws of 1848. It was significant in Hungary's potential evolution into a country. The first independent Hungarian government was organized under Count Lajos (Louis) Batthyány. With regard to common law, the *Pragmatica Sanctio* remained in effect in Hungary. But, a whole string of questions remained unanswered.

The Magyar government had to organize armed resistance as the Ban of Croatia [viceroy or governor-*ed.*], Jellasics, crossed the Drava River on September 11, 1848 and urged the populace to take up arms. The National Defense Committee was formed. The self-defense battles, initially against Jellasics in the South, then Windischgrätz from the West, were undertaken by the government yielding outstanding victories in the spring campaign. The motion to strip the Habsburgs of their claims to the throne was accepted on April 13, 1849; Kossuth becomes Governor-President, Bertalan Szemere becomes Prime Minister. In the end, in the spirit of the Holy Alliance, Czar Nicholas I comes to the aid of Emperor Francis Joseph in July of 1849. Outnumbered, the Magyar forces, under Arthur Görgey, lay down their arms in front of the czarist forces at Világos on August 13, 1849. Retribution was swift: Batthyány was executed by firing squad in Budapest and 13 generals were shot or hung in Arad. Masses of high ranking officers and civil servants were sentenced and incarcerated in Austrian jails. Kossuth chose emigration. (Gonda – Niederhauser, 1978)

Without question, the two most important aspects of economic reform were the freeing of the serfs and the ending of the internal customs barrier between Austria and Hungary. The customs barricade existed, separating the countries of the Kingdom of Hungary, from the Middle Ages until October 1, 1850. Free trade began after October 1 and the research of John Komlos and László (Leslie) Katus seem to suggest that the customs union benefited both sides. (Komlos, 1990).

3.3 The Era of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy 1867-1918

3.3.1 The Birth of Dualism

The period after the revolution and fight for freedom was followed by the Bach regime, which carried out strong repressive and centralizing actions. There were debates over the future organization of the empire. For Interior Minister Bach, the ideal state was a central bureaucracy supported by the military. The new constitution, enacted on December 20, 1851, defined the Emperor's powers as absolute. After Bach's dismissal, a string of neo-absolutist reforms saw the light of day, one of the most significant of which was the Imperial Diploma of October 1860. It introduced, in place of the former absolutism, a constitutional system, in form at least. It restored the regional boundaries and the Hungarian, Transylvanian and Croatian Diets. The

arrangement was a step on the road toward dualism. The immediate rejection of the diploma persuaded Francis Joseph to name Baron Anton Schmerling as head of the government in December of 1860. In the end, the opposition forces publish the February Patent on February 26, 1861 as a solution of necessity. The document can not be seen as a continuation on the road to dualism. Its goal was the restoration of the ancient constitutions of Hungary, Transylvania and Croatia.

It is to Deák's eternal credit that, in his speech replying to the Emperor's regulation, he again stakes out Hungary's position in the Habsburg Empire. Basing his reasoning on the validity of the *Pragmatica Sanctio*, he reasoned that Hungary, in the form as recognized by the House of Habsburg, is an equal entity with Austria. This he was finally able to get the Emperor to accept, after numerous political articles and through diplomatic channels after initial setbacks. On February 16, 1867, the Emperor reinstated the Hungarian constitution and named an accountable Hungarian ministry. The preparations for the compromise were over.

Statute XII of 1867 stated that the Habsburg Empire is constituted of two states, the Kingdom of Hungary and the Austrian Empire; both countries have their own parliaments, government and public administration. Only insofar as the ministries of war, foreign affairs and finance are the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy deemed to be a single monolith. The ministers of these common ministers were designated as 'Imperial and Royal' to differentiate them from their Austrian and Hungarian colleagues. The Foreign Ministry filled an important role, directing foreign policy, the diplomatic corps, also exercising jurisdiction over the consular academy in Vienna and the house, court and state archives, too. The area of responsibility of the shared Ministry of War only extended to matters relating to the military. The joint Finance Ministry was initially restricted to formulating the budget for shared items. Beginning in 1878, subsequent to the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the running of its public administration also came into its jurisdiction. (Szávai, 2004)

In practice, foreign affairs were called the Ministry of the Imperial House, whose task was the running of the Austro-Hungarian Lloyd and advocacy of the rights and representation of the German knightly order. The finance ministry contained the Chief Audit Office, which oversaw certain of the purchases and expenditures of the joint budget items of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and prepared the balance sheets. (Konek, 1878)

The prerogatives of the [Imperial] Crown diminished with the compromise, yet the rights of the countries of Cisleithania [i.e., the countries of the Empire West of the River Leitha, forming the border between Lower Austria and Hungary-ed.] that remained were:

- 1 high command of the military,
- 2 the right to make international agreements,
- 3 the right to convene and prorogue representative bodies,

- 4 the right of assent to, and proclamation of, laws,
- 5 the right to enact emergency decrees, and
- 6 the right to appoint ministers, members of the Upper House and viceroys.

(BRAUNEDER, 1994).

3.3.2 The Problems of Dualism

Looking at the centrifugal and centripetal forces in action, it was clear that the nationality issue would remain unsolved. In 1880, the proportion of Hungarians whose mother tongue was Magyar was below 50%, by 1900 it rises to 51.4% and in 1910 it is 54.4%. Of the joint Austro-Hungarian statistics of this census, it became evident that the Monarchy encompassed 49 million people, of which a mere 23.4% were German, 19.6% Magyar and the remaining 57% was split among nine nationalities; only the Czechs achieved more than 10%. Subsequent shifts in proportion can partially be explained by differing birth rates, assimilation and emigration to explain changes to benefit the Magyars. In 1910 Hungary, the largest minority groups were the Romanians with 16.1%, the Slovaks with 10.7% and the Germans with 10.4%.

One of the most significant internal rifts was caused by stirring national consciousness and a desire for the creation of national equality. (Jazzy, 1983) The continued existence of a country is ensured by the objective alignment of nationality and state interests, as well as the effectiveness of a country's external manifestations. For the eleven constituent nationalities of the Monarchy, this objective alignment was lacking; the relationship of nationality and country a subjective actuality: a function of acquiescence and experience.

In judging the external situation, the sense of danger was in the forefront. Within the Monarchy, the success of a nationality was based on certain power criteria. Of the eleven nationalities within the Monarchy, none possessed a significant majority: the proportion of the Austrian-Germans was barely above 20% and, combined with the almost same proportion of Magyars, together barely exceeded 40%. While there were symptoms of isolation among the Austrian and Magyar circles, the others took a wait-and-see attitude and saw their future aspirations unchanged within the confines of the Monarchy. All this they did not do without reciprocity: there were definite and strict terms attached to their "allegiance" and they worked out various sized autonomy plans. These autonomy plans did not find a receptive audience in Vienna or Budapest. The Austrians acknowledged Dualism out of necessity and refused to hear of any federalization of Cisleithania. The Magyars, on the theory of "one political nation," rejected any suggestion of territorial dismemberment through regional autonomies – the sole exception made for Croatia. (Diószegi, 2000).

3.3.3 Hungary in the First World War

The forces of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were committed on several fronts, not only the major ones. The armies were especially engaged in the Italian and Balkan

theaters. Already in the first year, there were signs of fatigue. One of the greatest economic problems was the extremely high manpower losses and its attendant lack of manpower in the workforce, both in agriculture and industry alike. The peacetime manpower of the Imperial and Royal army was 450,000; 1916 saw 4.9 million in uniform, rising to 5.1 million by 1917. Hungary provided 46.6% of the joint army, meaning that circa 2.5 million men were drafted.

According to some estimates, the four years of war cost Hungary 32bn. Koronas as opposed to peacetime expenditures of 18bn. Koronas and is equivalent to 43.3% of government revenues. The war expenditures consumed two and a half years' worth of national revenue. This means no more or less – if we take into consideration the reduced industrial and agricultural output during the hostilities – than that, at the very least, three quarters of the national revenues were consumed by the pointless and bloody sacrifice. That said, the Hungarian soldier showed his mettle, acquitting himself in battle under difficult circumstances. (Szávai, 2004)

4. The Horthy Era 1919-1945

4.1 Internal Political Traits of the Horthy Era

After the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Socialist Republic (August, 1919), of the groups competing for power, Admiral Miklós (Nicholas) Horthy received the confidence and backing, contingent on the preservation of democratic voting rights. (Juhász, 1988) according to the general tendency of the age, dictatorships appeared in Europe, whose operating practices differed widely from each other. The Horthy regime is usually held to be similar to the Portuguese and Polish regimes, operating in a sharply different manner from the German and Italian models. In its internal policies, after a period of consolidation, it successfully restored the economy; Kunó Klebelsberg, Minister of Education, instituted serious cultural reforms, spending significant amounts from the GDP on education.

With regard to the political institutions of the regime and their performance, the form of the Horthy era can be described as a limited, civil parliamentary system containing autocratic elements. In a certain sense, the Liberal institutions, multi-party system, a parliament and a government accountable to parliament, sovereignty of the judicial and a pluralist intellectual and religious life are all carry-overs from the forms developed in the Dualism period. Historiography has more and more turned away from the categorical opinion that the Horthy regime was a neo-Fascist system. After 1945, the regime was branded as Fascist and semi-Fascist and a dictatorship but these labels were applied for other reasons.

If, however, we take a look at the options and freedom of action that the country had available at the time, perhaps we arrive at a different interpretation. Above all else were

the exemplary educational policy and the proportion of revenues directed at it, followed by the economic policies under Bethlen. Fundamentally, the regime can be interpreted in different time periods, phases and circumstances, whose important international goals were the consolidation of the infrastructure and the reclaiming of international recognition and acceptance. In this instance, the idea of revisionism [restoration of the borders to pre-WWI-*ed.*] posed as a serious problem, which we can only judge from a contemporary perspective. (Romsics, 1999) Economic historical research prove the results shown by developments in the Hungarian military industries, the drop in unemployment and the beginnings of industrial growth in the years leading up to WWII.

4.2 External Political Traits of the Horthy Era

Subsequent to the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the first foreign diplomacy success came from the execution of the plebiscite in Sopron and vicinity, ordered by the arbitrators of the Austrian Republic. The resultant vote indicated that a majority of residents opted to stay with Hungary, rather than be annexed to Austria. Austria respected the outcome.

Hungary was accepted into the League of Nations on September 18, 1922. Obviously, one condition of acceptance was recognition of the terms of the Treaty of Trianon. Since the actions of the League regarding minorities and the guarantees given them did not operate all that well – if at all – the economic and political plans proposed did not find resonance, rather, they raised objections from one or other Great Power. For Hungary, there was no possible alternative to revision. Initially, foreign diplomatic ties drew Hungarian towards Britain, Italy, finally Germany. One option was cooperation with the victors; the other was alliance with the defeated countries. This second was especially successful under the premiership of Gyula (Julius) Gömbös, culminating in joining the Tripartite Pact [Germany, Italy, and Japan-*ed.*] Gömbös stood for a program of modernization, which, understandably, gave hope to the majority of the populace as it offered something to everyone, promised some concrete improvements. It did achieve a positive improvement towards the government. In the meantime, Hungary also withdrew from the League of Nations.

Territorial changes often bring up thoughts of the disappearance of countries and the concept of continuity. Of utmost importance is the acceptance of the new borders by other countries. This is not the case with territory acquired by revision.

The Munich Pact was signed on September 29, 1938 between Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Italy. Its essence was the annexation of the Sudetenland to Germany and a common, precise agreement on the expatriation of non-Germans [ethnic cleansing in our times-*ed.*]. This territorial granting, or ceding, happened with the cooperation of Great Britain and France and later brought grave consequences. Hitler made use of the territorial demands and counter demands of the small countries of East-Central Europe to wring an increasing number of political and economic, later

military, concessions from them. This weapon turned out to be effective: both Slovakia and Romania had counter-claims against the first and second Vienna Arbitral Awards, which, for Hitler, was a threatening weapon against Hungary. (Halmosy, 1966). In a supplemental note, Hungary was able to secure a possible review of the Magyar minority in Czechoslovakia at a new four-power conference, if it had not been adequately addressed within three months.

In a matter of months, Germany broke the terms of the Munich agreement, rendering it null and void. On March 15, 1939, its armed forces entered Moravia and Bohemia and annexed it to the Reich as the Czech and Moravian Protectorate; Slovakia voluntarily becomes, through a treaty signed on March 18, a protectorate of Germany. In her book, Maria Ormos points out that the Slovaks proclaimed an independent state on March 14. Ormos called the occupation by Germany a turning point in international relations, since the unilateral German move reflected a German thinking that was no longer concerned with revision of borders but much, much more. It condemned British diplomatic appeasement attempts to failure. (Ormos-Majoros, 1998) In his book, Paul Pritz draws attention to Ernst von Weizsäcker – Under-secretary in the German Foreign Ministry between 1938 and 1943 – who suggested in December of 1939, after the German-Soviet non-aggression treaty, that Europe should be divided into German and Soviet spheres of interest. (Pritz, 1997) In early 1940, the Phony War ended and German forces were victorious on the field of battle in May and June of 1940. Germany exercised control over the European economy all the way to the Soviet border. (Fülöp-Sipos, 1998).

With the inclusion of the occupied territories, an expanded German economic market was created, which was directed according to military-strategic needs. German strategy changed significantly during 1942 with regard to the method of exploitation of the captured territories; these now became parts of the ‘European military economy.’ At Hitler’s repeated insistence, Foreign Minister István (Stephen) Csáky presented a letter to the Secretary General of the League of Nations on April 11, 1939, announcing that Hungary was withdrawing from its membership.

Since France and Great Britain acceded to the Polish and Hungarian demands contained in the Munich Agreement, Hungary did not object to the terms of the First Vienna Arbitral Award. Nothing was raised after reclaiming Sub-Carpathia because that made a common Polish-Hungarian border possible – something vigorously urged by the Polish government. In any event, through an independent military action and within the framework of the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia by Germany and Slovakia, Hungary acquired territory populated mostly by Ukrainians.

At the time of the Second Vienna Arbitral Award, Great Britain was at war with Germany. The British government saw no reason in providing aid to any potential ally of Hitler. (Ormos-Majoros, 1998) Discussions between Romania and Hungary regarding territory to be handed back began on August 16, 1940 in Turnu-Severin but quickly

broke down by August 24. The second Vienna decision took place on August 30, 1940 under whose terms Hungary was restored the territories of Northern Transylvania and Szeklerland. The League of Nations did not recognize the second Vienna arbitral action, either. During the process of the Second Vienna Arbitral Award, because of the proceedings of the German and Italian arbitration judges, Prime Minister Teleki was confronted with the failure of his foreign policy. (Fülöp-Sipos, 1998)

The final territorial gain took place in the spring of 1941 – under the proclamation and battle order of Governor Horthy, dated April 10, 1941 – when, in cooperation with German military forces (between April 11 and 16) in the occupation of Yugoslavia, Hungary repossessed its former territories of Bacska and the Mura region. According to Hungarian data, the reclaimed land represented 55.2% of lands given to the South Slav country in 1918. (Tilkovszky, 1982).

5. The Period of the Communist Dictatorship 1945-1990

5.1 An Attempt at a People's Democracy 1945-1948

The initial period of the era of people's democracy in Hungary still held out the possibility of an independent development. Of course, with the presence of the Soviet Army, this option was highly questionable. On January 20, 1945, the temporary government signed the Moscow cease fire agreement. This also covered the topic of borders, recognizing the December 31, 1937 borders. The Allied Control Commission was dominated by Soviet presence, and Hungary was assigned a precise role in Soviet plans. Its position in the 'cordon sanitaire' between East and West sealed Hungary's fate. [Geography is history-*ed.*] The Allies again acknowledged, as they had during the war, the economic, political and strategic right of the Soviet Union over the occupied territories, hence over Hungary. The reward for the Soviet Union's concessions over the occupied Italian and German territories was a free hand to exert Soviet dominance over Hungary within the framework of SZEB [Szövetséges Ellenőrző Bizottságok /Allied Control Commission -*ed.*] This is one reason why, when the November 1945 elections returned a significant majority for the Smallholders Party, a coalition government was formed. Since it wished to exercise power on a proportional basis, the Smallholders Party began to put its proportionality plans into effect; to prevent it, the Leftist Bloc was formed on March 5, 1946, made up of the members of the rest of the coalition. The 10-party coalition was successful against the Smallholders Party in the 1947 elections and, with the help of voting fraud, the MKP [the Hungarian Communist Party-*ed.*] won. At the county level, victorious opposition parties were next to be dealt with, making use of the precept of the 'salami tactic.' The Civil Democratic Party, religious based parties, radical parties, peasant parties were all liquidated one by one. The Hungarian Workers Party emerged from this process in 1948, made up of the membership of the Social-Democrat and Communist parties.

The Hungarian preparations for the Paris Peace Accord turned out to be full of illusions, since there were hopes for the withdrawal of the Red Army and perhaps some territorial readjustments based on the national self-determination of people. Demonstration of sovereignty demanded that the peace treaty be signed before membership in global bodies (United Nations) could be entertained. Hungary's place in this international constellation was only a question of time but it could, and did, immediately become a member of the Soviet alliance. There was no chance for a third way. At the multi-party elections on August 31, 1947, the Communist Party emerged victorious, leading to its merger with the Social-Democratic Party, which eventually led to a one party system. The election did not present an opportunity for a vote to the Magyars arriving from Czechoslovakia under a population exchange agreement, nor to the Germans of Hungary who were in the process of being deported. The measures taken in the terrible economic circumstances for attempted homogenization and assigned responsibility based on collective guilt were, without a doubt, deleterious. Due to geo-political and organizational characteristics, Hungary was integrated into the eastern bloc in a role as a client state in the Soviet Empire. This dependence in economic, political and cultural spheres became evident as the 'elite' scrambled to ape Soviet successes and examples. The amount of war reparations was, in the meantime, crushing, as was the daunting task of re-organizing and re-starting life after the war's devastation. As a reaction to the Horthy regime, there was a turnover in the 'elite' and insider groups. (Fülöp-Sipos, 1998) The potential for a third way, such as the Danish model, could not emerge.

5.2 The Communist Dictatorship 1948-1990

The one party state, show trials and the actions of the secret police led to countless unlawful acts. The former civil elites were essentially destroyed through deportation and nationalization of assets. The secret police initially searched for war criminals, then began to collect information on those opposed to Sovietization, inventing false accusations, supported by false evidence. The intent was to for a self-incriminating confession. The regime's aim was the expansion of heavy industry, at the expense of agricultural investment. The natural endowments of the country were ignored, expertise was ignored; a new elite emerged based only on political reliability and party loyalty – such was the cadre, or core, of the new regime.

Persecution and B-listing became the norm. Agricultural collectivization was pushed, assets held collectively became of decisive importance. The show trials were meant to represent the regime's legitimacy in every other socialist country. The first victim in Hungary was László (Leslie) Rajk who was arrested on May 31, 1949 and accused of being an imperialist [American-*ed.*] spy. His 'confession' was aired on public radio. He was executed on October 15, 1949; the case saw 141 people arrested, 14 executed, 11 sentenced to life imprisonment and 38 jailed. The Sovietization of Hungary was complete. (Romsics, 1999)

After Stalin's death (1953), the rejection and unmasking of the cult of personality exerted its influence over Hungary, forcing Party Secretary Mátyás (Mathew) Rákosi to cede his role and power. Imre Nagy tried to effect reforms in the economy and consumer goods but his time was limited. By 1955, the restoration of the previous model was essentially complete. This is what led to the revolutionary events of 1956, which clearly displayed the intent to change the Stalinist forms and formulas. Imre Nagy was again propelled into power. His immediate goals were the introduction of a multi-party system and the removal of the Soviet Army from Hungary. The world's strongest armed force faced off against a handful of revolutionaries. The first skirmish was unsuccessful; there was no infantry support. On a parallel track, the Suez Crisis obviously tied down a part of the forces of the international blocs. Now, Imre Nagy appealed to the Security Council of the United Nations (November 1, 1956) to have Hungary's neutrality recognized. American diplomacy was now in a delicate position. The United States, up until now the supporter of oppressed nations, retreated and recognized the status quo that has emerged in the region. The US president and heads of France and England would have been amenable to such a decision but the American Minister of State played a waiting game, delaying as long as possible, until the issue never made it on to the Security Council agenda.

On November 4, the Soviet Army made the decision – the Hungarian Freedom Fight failed. Allegedly at the suggestion of Tito, the Central Bureau's choice fell on János (John) Kádár who, after long convincing arguments, accepted the post – not realizing that the job would last more than 33 years. The return to orthodoxy claimed many victims: Imre Nagy, Pál (Paul) Maléter and Miklós Gimes were executed on June 16, 1958 and Hungary's mandate in the United Nations was suspended. The process proceeded under the greatest secrecy, at the same time, they were show trials same as pre-1956. József (Joseph) Szilágyi (politician) was executed previously, while Géza Losonczy (Minister of State in the short-lived Nagy government) died in jail while being force fed. We still have no clear information regarding the late and draconian sentences. (Rom-sics, 1999) Some of the children of the uprising were jailed until they reached the age of majority – and then were executed.

After 1956, Kádár did not pick up the threads of the Rákosi era. Instead, he created a sort of soft dictatorship. Since the edict of Moscow's amnesty was still a way off, there was nothing else to do but cultivate closer contacts in the third world. Kádár held himself as having no talent for diplomacy but soon learned the craft. He had to walk a tightrope between internationalism and nationalism but it was his dedicated opinion that communism could not be built without the Soviet Union. He had an especially close relationship with Khrushchev and, after 1964, with Brezhnev. It was on the basis of the Brezhnev doctrine that Hungarian forces took part in the united Warsaw Pact action in Czechoslovakia to put down the Prague Spring. To Kádár, this presented a dilemma as he had cordial relations with Dubcek. It suspended, but did not entirely stop, the economic reforms of 1968. (Magyarország helye a 20. századi Európában, 2002)

Since economic contact with the west was becoming more and more important, after the general amnesty [for the ~220,000 who escaped during or after the revolution and were sentenced *in absentia-ed.*] in the mid-sixties, diplomatic and economic relations were normalized with the leading western countries. Naturally, Hungary had to take part in the eastern economic, political and military integration. During the seventies, Hungary wished to play the role of mediator in any international conflict, although the period is better known for the emergence of peaceful coexistence, the loosening of rigidity by the blocs. Typical behavior was ‘bloc neutrality’ and the beginning of a movement of **non-aligned nations**. ??? The Conference on Security and Co-operation in 1975, held in Helsinki, was the high point of détente with its Helsinki Declaration. It was also the beginning of Hungary’s premeditated, planned road into ruinous debt.

Kádár supported a peaceful coexistence between the two camps. By the eighties, Kádár was seen by western leaders as the venerable old man of the eastern bloc. Then Brezhnev died in 1982, followed by several short-term Soviet leaders. By the time Gorbachev rose to power in March of 1985, the situation had changed significantly. An inexorable course of action had begun the process of dissolution of the Soviet Union. This, of course, contributed significantly to the eventual independence of Central European countries and their reintegration into the world economy.

In Hungary, Kádár was removed from his party secretary position in May, 1988 and pensioned off to the ceremonial post of president of the Hungarian Communist Party. On June 16, 1989, Imre Nagy and his fellow martyrs were ceremonially re-buried; Kádár himself died shortly after, on July 6. József (Joseph) Antall forms the first democratically elected government on May 23, 1990; the COMECON is disbanded on June 28, 1991 – followed shortly by the nullification of the Warsaw Pact on July 1. Regime change begins and Hungary gets an opportunity to join the western half of Europe. (Magyar külpolitika a 20. században, 2004).

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THE LATE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY (1867-1918)

1. Modernization and Industrialization

The beginning of capitalist development and modernization in Hungary could only begin after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. Modernization was the monumental effort of the Habsburg state to transform the entire economy, with the end result that the difference in development be reduced between itself and the ideal, target countries – in this case, not only England but also those countries which were successfully ahead in capitalist development. It is, however, a common observation that, between the actual sources of strength and the stated goals, a certain disconnect can be noted, in both the Habsburg state and other ‘latecomers to industrialization’ countries.

In its content, the Compromise deemed only ministries of war, foreign affairs and finance as common matters [all else the right of each country]. From an economy point of view, the Compromise deemed Hungary as a sovereign country, entitled to independent policies in trade and taxation. We can clearly observe that Dualism – leaving aside the content of the compromise – presented us with a break in the proceedings full of optimism since the growing gap was recognized. However, the optimistic initial years pass and it becomes clear that certain pre-conditions of economic growth are still missing. It became evident that the work of long decades can not be created in a few years. As a result, decades of effort are still required. The transition from feudalism to capitalism only began to take root, with a delay of 200-300 years, at the turn of the 18th to 19th century. The elements of capital intensive production, the conditions for cyclical economic growth, were only marginally present in mid-19th c. Hungary. At the time of the Compromise, Hungary was a backward, agrarian country where 75-80% of the population worked in agriculture and only 10% in industry. (Katus, 1979)

Expenditures rose between 1868 and 1873 from 147.5 million Forints to 251.2 million Forints. The 70% expenditure growth brought an 18% growth in revenue, the shortfall having to be covered by loans. Between 1869 and 1889, every year showed a deficit – the average yearly shortfall was around 40 million Forints. The creation of a modern civil infrastructure was turning out to be more expensive than foreseen. The main source of revenue was taxation but could not keep pace with the expenditures. There being no other solution, the printing presses were utilized, and the selling of govern-

ment bonds on the international markets. Between 1868 and 1890, state expenditures rose: in Austria by 72%, in Hungary by 142%; the country's debt servicing cost reached 30.1% of revenues in 1868 to 1870 and 34.7% in fiscal 1886 to 1890. A balancing of the budget was finally achieved in the early 1890s.

According to the estimate of Katus, the economy grew on an average of 2.5% to 3% annually between the Compromise and the turn of the century, translating to an almost 25% increase in per capita growth. In the second half of the 19th c., backward countries were able to augment relatively quickly the missing, or in short supply means of production. The leading capitalist countries had foreign investments, in 1870, the equivalent of 15 billion Forints, which rose to 40 billion Forints by 1890. A significant amount was invested in Hungary. About half of capital expenditures between 1867 and 1890 were thusly financed, from French, German and Austrian sources. However, the major sources of internal capital accumulation in the two decades following the Compromise remained agriculture and trade. (Katus, 1970)

The development of capitalist world economy entered a new phase in the years following 1890. The building of an extensive railway system in Austria-Hungary, similar in characteristics to western European models, would not have been possible without foreign investment. Traditional internal sources of capital were insufficient to satisfy demand. Hungary, as part of the Habsburg Empire, later part of Austria-Hungary, was the target of a large volume of foreign investment since the beginning of the 19th century. Between 1867 and 1914, 6.8 billion Crowns of Austrian and foreign capital was invested in Hungary, amounting to 40% of capital investments (1990 to 1913, the amount of Austrian and foreign investment was 1.75 billion Crowns). During the period of the Dualism, the proportion of Austrian and foreign capital to internal capital accumulation, between 1867 and 1873, was 60:40; from 1873 to 1900, 45:55; from 1900 to 1913, 25:75. (Berend-Ránki, 1974)

2. Characteristics of industrialization, transportation and the capital credit system

Hungary arrived at the threshold of modern industrialization at a relatively low level of economy development, behind those western and central European countries where the Industrial Revolution began at the end of the 18th or the first half of the 19th centuries. In the last three decades of the 19th century, the development of a modern and competitive manufacturing infrastructure required: a relatively developed general economic environment; an extensive railway network; trade and credit channels; significant entrepreneurial, organizational and technical expertise and experience; a large labor pool; and last but not least, capital investment. The Hungarian version of industrialization – the late start and low starting point, its place in the international capital economy (this last one due, above all, to the labor specialization in the

Habsburg monarchy) – turned out uniquely. The textile industry, and generally the light industrial sector producing for the mass consumer market, played no role in industrialization until the end of the 19th century.

In Hungary, the industrial revolution began in those industrial sectors which offered comparative advantages due to plentiful raw materials at hand and demand from more developed countries assured wide and dynamic markets, which, in turn, attracted foreign and local capital in the hopes of certain, and large, profits. These, primarily, were the food industries, which played the leading role in our modern industrialization. During Hungary's industrial development through the 19th century, two industrial sectors played the star role: food and heavy industry. After the Compromise, however, mechanization and large-scale factories became the prevailing form.

The leading sector of our large industry was milling, which retained its primary position after the Compromise. During the 1860s, Hungary exported more flour than all the other countries of Europe combined. In short, the high profit and 26% interest on capital, ensured by the increased Austrian and German demand for wheat flour and the availability of cheap Romanian wheat, ensured an unprecedented growth in this sector until the end of the 1870s. At the turn of the century, in the export of flour, Hungary was second in the world only after the United States. Hungary's ratio of wheat: flour was 33:67, while the large European grain exporters exported their grains almost entirely in unprocessed form.

Fundamental changes were brought about by the higher technical level of industrial production, the transformation of organizational and plant setting, the shift from hand-crafts to mechanized techniques, and the move from the traditional small factory to capital intensive large plants. In Hungary's case, what made it much worse was that the traditional pre-industrial manufacturing base was smaller and more limited than the average. That industrial expansion could even begin was attributable to several reasons:

1. The urging of the economic community.
2. The imported methods of production from more industrially developed countries.
3. State subsidies for industry.
4. The actions of financial institutions to finance industrial enterprises.
5. Growth in demand in the internal market.

In the decades before World War I, the outstanding strategic role of banks in modern industrialization was a typically central European phenomenon.

The focus of industrialization shifted, at the end of the century, to heavy industry producing industrial machinery. Primarily, the importance of machinery, tool and die making, construction materials and chemical industry grew, while industrial food production declined. The most advanced branch of our machinery factories, both in the numbers employed and the value created, was automotive production. (Magyarország gazdaságtörténete, 1996)

The beginning of the railway network stretches back to the Széchenyi plan, according to which the capital is the central focus and linked to it are the complementary areas. The Magyar Államvasutak (MÁV, Hungarian State Railways) was founded relatively early. Secretary of State Gábor Baross (1883-1886), later minister (1886-1892) made the MÁV a well organized and profitable state enterprise. With the introduction of zoned tariffs, traffic increased six-fold.

The final stage of 19th century railway nationalization took place between 1889 and 1891. Hungary's 7.1 kms. / 100 km² of rails compared favorably with the western European average and surpassed the countries on the continent's periphery. The volume of goods transported by rail increased to 85%, later climbing to 94%, making some products cheaper. Steam engine technology reached its almost full potential before World War I. The Államépítészeti Hivatal (State Infrastructure Office) was created in 1877 to oversee the network of roads and public transportation. The expansion of the network of roads coincided with the improvements to vehicular transport. Improvements to vehicular design and the internal combustion engine were the merit of Donát Bánki (1859-1922) and János Csonka (1852-1939).

The capital's public transportation grew four-fold between 1873 and 1910; Budapest's population was in excess of 1.1 million. Double-decker buses played an important role. The subway line was inaugurated in 1896, second to London's. In steamships, the Dunai Gőzhajózási Társaság (DGT, Danube Steamship Company) continued to hold a monopoly it has held since before the Compromise. At the turn of the century, the network of Hungarian navigable waterways stretched to 4,971 kms. Between 1891 and 1913, Fiume became Europe's tenth largest port, after the founding of the Adria Magyar Királyi Tengerhajózási Rt. (Royal Hungarian Sea Transport Co.) by Gábor Baross in 1890.

Development of the postal system: after 1887, the Hungarian Postal Service became independent and began a period of rapid development. In 1914, it had 4,812 vehicles, 3,697 horses and 738 postal railway carriages.

The banking system of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was developed during the second half of the 19th century – a strategic sector in the economic development. The major banks operated on a shareholder financed basis such as the Austrian Credit Anstalt, estd. 1855, and the two key institutions in Budapest: the Magyar Kereskedelmi Bank in Pest (Hungarian Bank of Commerce (1841)) and the Magyar Általános Hitelbank (Hungarian Central Bank of Credit (1867)). Also, through investment from foreign capital (commercial banks) and partly through internal Hungarian sources (savings associations, credit unions, and local peoples' banks.) The assets of Hungarian financial institutions in 1848 came to 3 million Crowns, rising to more than 1.5 billion Crowns in the last year of peace before the war. The Budapest Mercantile and Stock Exchange, founded in 1864, although overshadowed by the Vienna Stock Exchange, still represented a new stock trading venue in the Monarchy.

May 9, 1873 is known as Black Friday, the day the Vienna stock market crashed, leading to the Depression of 1873. By 1880, the credit institutions were again in an expansion mode. In a decade, a further 172 banks and savings associations and 336 credit unions were born. The other aspect of development was that in the Hungarian banking system, the central bank was reorganized on a dualist basis with the Austrian National Bank (the Österreichische Nationalbank (1816)) was reorganized in 1878 as the Osztrák Magyar Bank (Austro-Hungarian Bank).

Servicing the financial needs of people with small needs was the mandate of the Postatakarékpénztár (Postal Savings Bank), established in 1886. The credit granting institutions were in close contact with the increasingly capital intensive agricultural sector, their chief service was the lending for mortgages. It is a considered statement that, in no other country did banks play as important a role in financing a capital intensive economy as in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. (Kövér György, 1982)

3. Fundamental restructuring of agriculture and foreign trade

Modern, capital intensive, industry for the agricultural sector is definable as the feeding of a population, providing the raw industrial materials required and supplying the workforce of other necessary sectors (industrial, trade and services). In the modernization of agriculture, it was first necessary to put agriculture on a scientific basis. Instead of traditional farming methods, a rationalized approach had to be initiated.

A general trend of the era was an increase in the farmed areas; in 1913, there were 8.5 million (6 million kat. hold) acres more under cultivation than there were in 1865. Over half of the increase was in pasture and meadow lands, one-fifth in fallow fields and the rest in various other crops. The chief attribute of traditional farming was its almost entire basis on grain production.

The key to the modernization of growing food crops is to be found in animal husbandry. During the years of Dualism, certain backwardness was apparent in the numbers of animals raised, their value, and methods of storing silage. The tipping point in the traditional means of raising animals was reached in mid-19th century; raising animals contributed 35% of the value of agriculture in 1870, 25% in 1890 and 30% in 1911. The greatest result was brought by the introduction of steam powered tractors in ploughs but the most mechanized process was threshing, using steam powered machinery. Mechanization was, of course, far behind that of western countries, especially the United States.

The beginning of Hungarian modernization coincided with a western European boom. This period of prosperity, which pushed grain prices higher, was dealt with by fundamental structural changes in Hungary, as part of the Monarchy's unified market. Exports took a drastic change in direction: in 1840, animal products made up 60% and

grains 26.5%. By 1870, the ratio was almost the opposite: grains made up 52.7% and animal products were 33.7%. The rationale was that, on the Monarchy's protected markets, grains were more marketable, at prices higher than the average European markets. The shift to modern agricultural production began in Hungary but did not come to fruition. (Orosz István, 1989)

It was the general trend of the era to see growth in the volume of international trade; between 1830 and 1890, Europe's inter-country trade grew by tenfold. This rapid expansion was especially noticeable between 1850 and 1860, a result of the revolution in transportation and the growth of the railway network in Europe. Parallel to the rapid expansion, the makeup of the export items also underwent a change. During the 1840s, 89% to 90% of exports were made up of unprocessed agricultural products, a large majority of it livestock and wool. After the Compromise, unprocessed agricultural products fell to 64% (grain made up 29% of it) and 36% was now industrial products (foodstuffs represented 15%); grains and flour constituted 38% of the export total. In the last quarter of the 19th century, Hungary stood as the world's second flour exporter, next to the United States. Besides grain and flour, the major export items were pork, wine, wool and lumber, although beginning in the 1880s, beef and sugar exports rose sharply.

In imports, manufactured industrial goods made up around 80%. During the entire period, three quarters of those were consumer goods, mainly textiles and clothing. The value of trade in the common (duty free) zone within the Monarchy always exceeded approximately three quarters of Hungary's total exports. It was especially in imports that the other parts of the Monarchy cornered a large, and growing, portion. Export data prove that the two halves of the Monarchy were increasingly dependent on each other. However, Austria was far less dependent on Hungary than the other way around. (Magyarország gazdaságtörténete 1996)

4. Growth of the middle class

If we consider the growth of a middle class as a certain kind of sign of social advancement, then we must firstly take into account the activities and role of entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurship is a form of socially sanctioned work and distribution activity, which first arose in England. Two large groups came into being in the first half of the 19th century in Hungary: commercial merchants (mainly German-speaking) and Jewish wholesalers (having come from the western parts of the Monarchy). In the period under discussion, the Jewish wholesalers made spectacular progress in the Monarchy, and Hungary, too. The capitalized industrial entrepreneurs came from various groups. One source, obviously, was from commerce.

Modern civil society is usually delineated into two main groups: the entrepreneurial and intellectual classes. The entrepreneurial group, as a class, made its appearance at the beginning of the 19th century (with some isolated examples, e.g. - Lazar Simon, who

appeared in the last third of the 18th c.). Some became wealthy through trans-shipment commerce (initially acting as agents for foreign companies). Trade in agricultural products promised, and delivered, larger profits, aligned mostly to large estates. These traders made vast profits buying up local produce and selling it elsewhere (e.g. - the Ulmans and Wodianers). (Bácskai Vera, 1989). The capitalist entrepreneur stratum was swollen primarily by the founders of the Hungarian food industry, especially the mills and sugar industries (Fellner, Deutsch), but also by construction (Drasche, Gregersen). The advances of the late 1880s forced another shift in the middle class – the way of the future of industrialization was intertwined with the banks – and this is the reality on which the third generation of entrepreneurs grows up (Chorin, Hatvani, Weiss).

If we include the better-off members of the lower middle class (holders of 30-70 acres), then the middle class makes up 10-12%, while the lower classes comprise the 89-90% of society. This represents a sparse middle-class layer. In comparison, the per capita of GDP was only 29% of England's and 38% of Germany's (Fónagy, 2001).

5. A short assessment of economic advancement in the period of Dualism

With that per capita proportion of the GDP, Hungary took a middle ranking position, in an economic development perspective, among the western and central European countries. Economic infrastructural assessment allows the conclusion that, between 1869 and 1890, those employed in industry grew by 3% while agricultural workers declined by 10%. In spite of it, the agricultural workers represented a total of 67.4% of the workforce; the numbers working in trade and finance doubled from 1.9%. Between 1890 and 1910, the agricultural workforce continued to decline, to 60% of the total, while industrial worker numbers grew to 18.3%; trade and financial worker numbers also continued to grow, reaching 6%.

The contribution to the country's GDP (without Croatia) was: 54% from agriculture, 31.2% from mining and industry, 14.8% from transportation and trade. In Austria, the comparable numbers were 34.5%, 45.4% and 20.1%. If we include the non-productive services, then agriculture's contribution becomes 43.6%, mining and industry's 25.3% and transportation's 11.9%, the remaining 19.2% being the non-productive services. In Austria, the largest contribution was made by mining and industry at 36.7% while non-productive services were 19.1%, agriculture was 27.9% and transportation and trade was 16.35% (Katus László, 1983).

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ROBBER-PRIVATIZATION IN HUNGARY

The major failure of the regime change

Early in the regime change progression, the Nobel Prize-winning American economist, Lester Thurow, still thought that, of the former socialist countries, Hungary had the best chance to close the gap in the shortest time with the developed countries. Nothing more was needed than to make the best use of those abilities which lay at the disposal of the populace: knowledge, creativity and first class educational-research networks. These tallies closely with the substance of a CIA study, published in the Tribune on May 17, 1990, according to which, Hungary placed third, behind East Germany and Czechoslovakia, in regard to economic indicators - meaning it was well positioned for rapid development and for closing the gap. Today, 18 years after the regime change, Hungarian economy and society are both at complete variance with those opinions; both are in the direst crisis. There is no mention today that perhaps the next 30 or 40 years will be sufficient for us to reach today's average of the developed European countries in standard of living, economic development and quality of life. Perhaps the most realistic forecast is that we have absolutely no hope of attaining it. Today, there are more and more international analyses, which point towards a permanent lag in the Hungarian economy, i.e., Hungary could find itself on the periphery of development. It is not by accident that, based on current socio-economic indicators, some studies now assign us in the ranks of the developing countries.

Hungary is today under a great deal more foreign debt than it was in 1989, its economy is controlled by multi-national conglomerates, it has scant influence over its own economic affairs, unemployment and poverty are high, and the gulf between the few super-rich and the growing number of extremely poor is widening at an alarming rate, which gulf also threatens to swallow the middle class.

Health care is bankrupt, as is education, and research and development, the very sectors which held the promise of rapid advancement for the country under knowledgeable development. Under this combined pressure, the population is dwindling drastically, as if Hungarians have completely given up on their future – as if they are contemplating committing collective suicide. Or, to be more precise, as if their leaders were consciously working toward a goal of reducing the population of the country.

What really happened in Hungary? Who did this to us? How did we move from leader to loser? To hopeless resignation? And how was it supplemented, and is still supplemented today, by the unfettered privatization of national assets?

From initial optimism to despondency

At the beginning after the regime change, it seemed that the country chose the right direction: towards creating a democratic market economy. As we can remember, those were the stated aims of the regime change. However, it quickly became apparent that the average Hungarian citizen was left out of the process. The regime change took place without them, behind the scenes. No one had any need for their knowledge and creativity, as praised by Thurow. A small group of financially implicated apparatchiks, assisted by a throng of well paid foreign consultants, decided who can appropriate which state asset, that is to say, who will be able to privatize what. Quickly, behind closed doors and with the total exclusion of the populace, the re-apportioning of state assets took place, assets that were created and accumulated as a result of the combined efforts of the nation. In most cases, the new owners had no intention of operating the cheaply acquired company, store, hotel or other asset but rather – in the interest of their own rapid wealth accumulation – sold them, usually at a handsome profit, to foreigners paying with hard currency. As a result of this traffic by the restricted in-group, in a short time many formerly well operated companies went bankrupt and closed their doors, with government complicity. The bogus ideological argument with which privatization was supported ran: “A socialist company can not be competitive in a free market economy.” This was an equally false reasoning, prescribed by economic-political interests, as today’s line that the state can only be a bad proprietor, hence the remaining state assets must be privatized as soon as possible. A regime change aimed at protecting the interests of the majority would have ensured that the corporations were given a chance to adapt to the new situation and, adjusting to the new circumstances of a market economy, try to remain viable and thrive. The future of the businesses was not determined by market forces, or by the purchasers, but by the privatization intent which was intertwined with the rapid wealth accumulation intent of a narrow stratum and the new market and cheap labor acquisition of foreign capital.

The falseness of the arguments can be demonstrated by one of the statements which were made to support privatization: ‘These socialist conglomerates are too big and monopolize the market. Thus, they must be broken up to encourage competition.’ However, after privatization, step by step, a significant slice of the economy came under the ownership or influence of gigantic multinational or global concerns, and far less in number than the former socialist concerns. The negative impacts of the process surfaced shortly: the country’s production fell and unemployment jumped. As a result of the initial privatization agreements, 1.5 million jobs disappeared. The majority of those let go had good professional expertise but, as the company either ceased operations or was transformed, there was no more need for that expertise. And the skill, which is not used, is lost. Thus, from this aspect, privatization resulted in a significant reduction in the knowledge base of the country.

The erosion and disappearance of this knowledge base was not only dramatic at the individual level but also on the state economy. With privatization, one-time long-established industrial traditions disappeared in food production, as well as in mechanized and light industries. The loss of knowledge was particularly severe in those areas which would have been able to serve as the basis for a successful economic transformation of the country.

The numerous erroneous decisions, and their destructive impact on both the economy and society, gradually awoke the people to the reality that the regime change was not about what the politicians had promised. The forceful appearance of foreign interests became more and more evident to all – and that the local economic-political elite echelon was quite willing to serve it against the nation's interests. Hungary found itself merely shifted from one political interest to another; out of the frying pan into the fire. And those who organized it received their rewards. The true face of the changes became increasingly more difficult obscure, since the people themselves began to feel the growing poverty, the helplessness and the exclusion from events. The majority of Hungarians were not even bit players in a drama directed from abroad, with the help of local assistant directors. There was a power shift in the world; events unfolded not with us but rather against and without us. The regime change did not have a goal that served the nation's interests; the search for the best means of execution was not deemed to require the expertise, knowledge or even the opinion of Hungarian experts. Yet the foreign experts were in no way more knowledgeable in knowing what, or how, could best be done since, on the one hand, they did not know the country and, on the other hand, they also did not have any expertise in the conversion of a socialist system into a capitalist one. History to date did not contain one example to follow. On top of it all, it is evident that these foreign experts were not in the least interested in finding the best solution or direction that reflected the needs of the nation or the people. In fact, it can be proven that the primary task of the foreign 'privatization consultants' was to evaluate the units of the national assets at the lowest possible price and then to assist in the transfer of ownership to their 'real' principals, the foreign interest groups. Clear evidence is their method of evaluation. An important part of the value of a business on the world market consists of its business contacts, market expertise and creativity. Experts call these 'intellectual assets' (or goodwill) and are calculated into the value of a concern being sold. In their evaluation of the Hungarian companies, the privatization experts only took into consideration the financial position of the company and the value of its fixed assets (machinery and buildings). It meant that very important financial elements were simply omitted in arriving at a valuation – obviously not accidentally.

It is with futility that the government of today pushes the term 'transformation of regime' vs. 'regime change.' Language is wise and people clearly see the difference. We could only have spoken of transformation if we, all of us together, were active participants, authors and beneficiaries of the process; meaning that if the transformation had

truly served the interests of the majority of the nation. Istvan Szechenyi said the following about political administration: “Every government’s philosophy is to make the biggest majority happy.” In our case, though, ‘change’ came from above and from abroad omitting, in fact excluding, the majority of the people. The people became conscious of it in short order and became dejected, cynical and distrustful of government. This is one of the major causes why the country began its economic, social and moral descent down the slippery slope. Finally, it must be noted that the entire progression was consciously planned out before the regime change. It must be noted that it was under the Nemeth government, in power from November 24, 1988 to May 23, 1990, that parliament passed the law of privatization, which opened the way for the so-called spontaneous privatizations through which state assets were converted – unsupervised – to private assets by the corporate managements appointed by the party state. The net result was that the nation’s wealth, the result of the people’s labor, migrated into the hands of a small clique at prices substantially below market values. However, for most of the ‘new owners’, the acquired business concern only represented an asset to be sold – for a quick profit – to foreign interests. Thanks to spontaneous privatization, by 1990, the year of the regime change, a significant portion of economic control was legally in the hands of the former communist cadre. The former ‘dedicated communists’ rapidly became ‘new capitalists.’ It is worth naming who were the leading figures of the Nemeth government who created the legal opportunity for robber privatization: Secretary of State, Imre Pozsgay; Deputy Prime Minister in charge of economic matters, Peter Medgyessy; Minister of Finance until May 10, 1989, Miklos Villanyi, then Laszlo Bekesi; Minister of Industry until 1989, Frigyes Berecz, then Ferenc Horvath; Minister of Foreign Trade, Tamas Beck.

The crimes of the economic policy

The form of privatization that was applied in our country not only caused huge damages by eliminating entire productivity traditions but also eradicated the livelihood of about a million people. Also, it contributed to smashing the formerly established and smoothly functioning economic networks. As an example, we can mention the sugar refining industry. Handing over the refineries to external owners put the Hungarian producers completely at the mercy of foreign companies, which could extract concessions from Hungarian growers of sugar beets by the threat of importing the product from abroad. This they were able to do with equanimity, since Hungarian economic policy was first to open its markets completely, or enter into market liberalization. Today, with one exception, all the sugar refineries are closed. They reaped what profits they could, then folded their tents and left. But before they went, they made sure that the factories could not be restarted later: the buildings were razed. This was conscious destruction.

Is knowledge imported or created?

Hungary started off on the wrong road at the very beginning of the regime change.

The Hungarian leadership chose, for the country's fate, a rudderless economic policy, tied to the interests of foreign capital instead of building on local abilities, knowledge, successful agricultural traditions and innovations. It effectively meant that any improvements were expected – and are still expected today – to be delivered from foreign investments. To this day, it (the government) has no confidence in the Hungarian people, in the Hungarian entrepreneur, offering no help or assistance to them. Foreign capital, on the other hand, can count on sweeping concessions: free land, buildings, infrastructure, tax incentives, and often tax free status. The most recent examples are the significant government subsidies given to the Korean tire factory and Mercedes-Benz. These concessions are withheld from Hungarian owned companies by their own government. In fact, they are encumbered with increased burdens and their activities under stricter controls. This is done in spite of the fact that currently Hungarian businesses provide more jobs than the over-subsidized foreign corporations. This, of course, leads to the unfortunate situation that the majority of Hungarian commerce is faced with a huge competitive disadvantage vis-à-vis foreign multi-nationals. A necessary addition to the policy of favoring foreign capital was the weakening of the trade unions, minimizing the rights of workers and keeping wages low. This economic policy is called the policy of 'competing on cost' by experts and represents an advantage, or profit, only for leasehold corporations but adds nothing to the development of a nation. This economic policy is a policy of short sightedness, servility, passivity, relegates national interests into the background and entrusts our future to others. A Harvard economics professor, Dani Rodrik, said the following about competing on cost: "Competing on cost diminishes and grinds down. It is in no way a forward looking, constructive strategy of which to be proud. In fact, it is to be ashamed of."

Michael Porter, internationally renowned expert on competitive advantage, also a professor at Harvard, wrote: "Competing on cost increases vulnerability. Companies will always find another country, which offers even cheaper sources of power and governments willing to give even larger subsidies. Countries competing on cheap labor costs will wake up to find that companies have moved on to another jurisdiction with even cheaper costs." It is exactly what is happening today. With the arrival of the economic crisis, foreign owned companies are closing their doors, or cutting back production, exactly those foreign concerns who received huge subsidies since the regime change and who took huge profits out of the country. In spite of it all, the government is fanatic about continued privatization; then it wastes, without restraint, most of the money thus raised. The national wealth thus disappears without creating new value for the benefit of the country. Hungary today is the prime example of devastating government. While we were still at the top at the time of the regime change, today we are a distant last. Compared to the other post-socialist countries, the nation's GDP continues to

shrink, the standard of living is declining, debt is climbing, and the state of the health of the population deteriorating and the knowledge base is eroding. It seems that the general malaise is both intentional and conscious. It will be expedited by the latest IMF loan, for which the IMF is demanding strict conditions. These conditions will not, however, affect those who took the country into bankruptcy but will make the lives of the working class, the families and retirees impossible. It will also spell ruin for the small and mid-sized concerns that were fortunate enough to live through joining the EU.

A moral standard is a national success criteria

The immoral privatization, the unraveling of well run economic systems, the shoddy economic policies all left their mark on the value system, the moral standard and spirit of the people. The lies surrounding the regime change, the corruption associated with privatization and the attendant economic troubles made, and still make, the entire society cynical, depressed and generally ill, in body and soul. Mistrust has become endemic today: people do not trust each other, or institutions but most of all politicians. The sweeping transformations took place in front of their eyes: at universities, the former party secretary becomes a professor of political science, the dedicated teacher of socialist political economy is transformed into the most dedicated fan of capitalism, the extreme Left-wing politician who used to rabidly attack NATO and the West turns into the unre-served vassal of NATO and Brussels. The 'social capital', which consists of a society's value system, norms and the trust it has in the existing socio-economic relationships, has been continually weakening since the regime change, in fact falling apart. The same deterioration can be seen in the state of our health and the increasing decline in the birth rate. Research validates that the two phenomena are inter-related. The general shift in values, the eroded social capital and the worsening state of general health are all outcomes of the economy. According to international measurement, those countries with the strongest social values, such as Finland, Sweden or Singapore, are also the most economically competitive and viable countries. It is also not coincidental that they are among the least corrupt of countries. Corruption is that most virulent of viruses that infects a society and corrupts the social values. Finally, social capital deteriorates if, in a given society, personal success and accomplishment do not depend on knowledge, ability or hard work. None of these apply to Hungary. The results of international surveys, but also our own experiences, reveal that promotion and getting ahead in Hungary depends mainly on who you know, who is indebted to whom and who is willing to serve which interests. The consequence is that certain positions are filled by people who are not the most suited for it. The process of privatization was carried out in this manner. Only those Hungarians were able to lay their hands on undervalued privatized national assets who were among the 'select few.'

Conclusion

The 18 years since the regime change can by no means be regarded as a success story. National assets have almost completely vanished; the quality of life and standard of living have both declined. The economy of Hungary has contracted and has become a country dependent on foreign capital, slipping to the level of a developing nation. The recently strong, competitive and successful agricultural sector is moribund; of Hungarian industries there is scant sign. There are no viable Hungarian banks, no independent Hungarian insurance companies.

Hungarian society has reached such a crossroad where minor adjustments and tinkering will not bring meaningful results. If we continue down this road, we will be permanently lagging or left behind. The population decline will accelerate and even family assets will be put in peril. For these reasons, the time has come for broad and fundamental changes, a government with different values and perspectives, an economic policy that is new and knowingly strives towards an economic goal, and a moral revival. Every segment, every member, of society must be part of this change because without the willing and comprehending cooperation of the people every initiative is doomed to failure.

The bishop Gyula (Julius) Glattfelder said the following in 1914: “And the moral and economic damage is incalculable, which people suffer, whose leading intellectuals fall from the ethical and moral high ground.”

However, the shift in values, the spiritual-moral renewal, must sweep through all of society. This same criterion is also mandatory for economic recovery. As the Italian economist and sociologist Pareto warned at the turn of the 19-20th century: “A society where truth and morality have been exiled can not be successful economically, either.”

Translated by Peter J. Csermely

WHY AND HOW TO LEARN AND SPEAK HUNGARIAN?

The main issue for Hungarian linguists concerns the origin of the Hungarian language. According to some, the current official explanation, suggesting a Finn-Ugric relationship was created by Austrian linguists, who had enjoyed official support by the government, and its purpose was to list Hungarians with peoples and cultures they had considered inferior. But in this paper I am concerned with the structure of the language which shows a surprising sophistication and consistency.

I have heard many anecdotal stories about the Hungarian language, and read several quotes from linguists, but not a detailed study until recently. I have heard also stories that the group of famous Hungarian scientists that included Edward Teller were men from the Mars who came to scout the Earth for an eventual Martian invasion. In a more serious vein, there was speculation that the group that had developed the nuclear bomb was so successful because of the Hungarian language they spoke.

I had also read about Cardinal Giuseppe Mezzafonti, the Italian linguist who spoke 58 languages, including Hungarian. He is quoted as asking in 1817: “Do you know which language competes with the Greek and Latin in its ability to be constructive? The Hungarian. It seems even the Hungarians fail to realize what a treasure their language is.”

The English philologist, Sir John Bowring (1792-1872), spoke many languages: Hungarian was one of them. He translated many Hungarian poems into English, and issued a literary chrestomathy. In its foreword supposedly he wrote the following:

The Hungarian language goes far back. It developed in a very peculiar manner and its structure reaches back to times when most of the now spoken European languages did not even exist. It is a language which developed steadily and firmly in itself, and in which there are logic and mathematics with the adaptability and malleability of strength. The Englishman should be proud that his language indicates an epic of human history. One can show forth its origin; and all layers can be distinguished in it, which gathered together during contacts with different nations. Whereas the Hungarian language is like a rubble-stone, consisting of only one piece, on which the storms of time left not a scratch. It's not a calendar that adjusts to the changes of the ages. It needs no one, it doesn't borrow, and doesn't give or take from anyone. This language is the oldest and most glorious monument of national sovereignty and mental independence. What schol-

ars cannot solve, they ignore. In philology it's the same way as in archeology. The roofs of the old Egyptian temples, which were made out of only one rock, can't be explained. No one knows where they came from, or from which mountain the wondrous mass was taken. How they were transported and lifted to the top of the temples. The genuineness of the Hungarian language is a phenomenon much more wondrous than this. He who solves it shall be analyzing the Divine secret; in fact the first thesis of this secret:

“In the beginning there was the WORD, and the Word was with GOD, and the Word was God.”

(<http://www.mcmllove.nl/english/articles/hungarian/bowring.htm>)

In fact, I was even afraid to use this quote, since I had little evidence to back it up. But just recently I found an essay by the Hungarian linguist, Iren Lange, that explains why and how is the Hungarian language different (see <http://www.betonopus.hu/notesz/lange-magyar-nyelv.PDF>). It made me realize that the above quotes were worth quoting, so I decided to write down, primarily for my children and grand children what a treasure the Hungarian language is and why.

While the most important and most obvious function of a language is to communicate ideas and experiences, and most languages do a satisfactory job, the Hungarian language goes further. It teaches one to think clearly and speak economically, without wasting words and time. Therefore if one wants to learn Hungarian, in addition to the vocabulary and the rules of grammar, one needs to acquaint him/herself with the mentality of the Hungarian language. Below are listed some examples.

1. The first rule is “don't be redundant.” If something is obvious or self-evident, it does not need explanation or special mention, and to explain something, use as few words as necessary.
 - a. For example, if I name an object and assign it a size or color, like table and large, it is obvious that the two are related, therefore there is no need to make it explicit by using an auxiliary verb. In English the correct way is “the table **is** large,” but in Hungarian the auxiliary verb, the “is” is always omitted: “az asztal nagy.” From the context it is obvious that the “nagy asztal” exists, I do not have to add the verb “is.” When I want to say that the table exists, I would say “ott van (is) egy asztal,” or simply “ott az asztal” (There the table). In the English one has to emphasize “**there** is a table there.”
 - b. Another example is when certain obvious activity takes place: when “it rains,” or “it snows,” the question would be stupid: “what snows?” So in Hungarian we use a single word, and it is a complete sentence: “Havazik,” i.e. “snows,” singular third person, without any subject, noun or pronoun. Everybody knows “what” snows? The “it” does not give any new information.

- c. Similarly, when the subject is obvious, it is omitted in Hungarian. For example, “in the stone age, they believed in many gods.” In Hungarian we omit the “they,” since it does not add any new information to the sentence: “A kőkorszakban sok istenben hittek.” Who believed in several gods? Why, obviously, “they!” Who else? In any case, the verb “hittek,” is past tense third person plural already, so it refers to “them.”
- d. Just like in Latin, the Hungarian language also uses „conjugation,” that is, suffixes are added to verbs to indicate the tense, the person and number of the predicate. But unlike the Latin, except in special cases, it omits the pronoun, since the meaning of the verb is obvious from the ending. All six pronouns are omitted, because the six different endings make the meaning obvious. For example, “I ride a horse,” in Hungarian is “lovagolok; “you ride a horse,” becomes “lovagolsz,” etc. The same principle applies to all the other tenses and modes. In the English language similar omission occurs when one answers a question that includes the auxiliary word “do”. For example, when asked “Did you eat?” “I did” is sufficient. But in Hungarian even this is shortened to one word: “ettem.”
- e. If a number or a numeric pronoun is given, it is superfluous to use plural for the objects: in Hungarian any given number of objects is singular, as is the indeterminate “many,” “all,” (sok, mind) etc. unless you just name the object. Thus “two tables,” “many tables,” “all tables,” in Hungarian carry the singular case, “asztal.” Plural is only used if the noun stands alone, with the definite article: “bring here the tables,” i. e. “hozd ide az asztalokat.” In singular, it means one table, in plural it means all of them.
- f. Capitalizing the first letter of proper nouns is another example of language-economizing. For example, the historic agreement between the Austrian emperor and Hungarian king, Ferenc Jozsef and the Hungarian nation in 1867 is capitalized, “Kiegyezés” (Compromise). Otherwise, to make the meaning clear, it would have to be specified; “az 1867-es kiegyezés” (the compromise of 1867)
- g. There are objects that are obviously plural, or come in pairs, that in Hungarian are treated as one. In this case in Hungarian we use singular: “I have two hands,” in Hungarian singular: két kezem van.” If one had an accident and has (or uses) only one hand, instead of singular we use “half” hand or “half-handed,” like “fél kézű,” vagy “félkézzel.” On the two hands there are ten fingers, and on the ten fingers there are ten nails. In Hungarian none of these nouns is in plural. If somebody would say in Hungarian, hogy “levágatom a körmeimet” (I have my nails cut) it would sound foreign: one would know that the speaker is not Hungarian. If he wants to cut less than all ten, which is unusual, one would have to specify

how many, but in routine cases always use the singular. Similarly, for shoes, stockings or sox, since it comes in pairs, we use the singular for the noun: “a pair of shoes” in Hungarian is “egy pár cipő.” For one shoe we say either “one shoe,” “egy cipő,” or “fél pár,” that is, “half pair,” half of what is normal. For the pants the English specifies “a pair of,” while in the Hungarian it is only “nadrág.” It is similar with objects like “a pair” of scissors, glasses, binoculars, etc.

- h. Also, when it come to tense, the Hungarian language is economical. When one names an activity in the present tense, if it is happening then and there, it is obviously present tense. If it is not happening, then it is self evident, that one has the intention to have it done in the future. For example, “levágatom a körmömet” (I have my nails cut), if it is happening now, it is present tense, but if at the time one is doing something else, than it is obviously in future tense. Or, if one asks, what will you do tomorrow, you say again, “levágatom a körmömet” (I have my nails cut), and it is obviously in future tense. If the use of present tense is ambiguous, the Hungarian might add “majd,” which has several meanings, one of them is “sometime in the future.”
- i. Speaking of the future tense, the “to be” (lenni) auxiliary verb has a future tense, “lesz,” which in English is “shall be.” It is violation of the economy rule to translate this (or its German equivalent) and say “fog lenni.” Similarly, to indicate the future tense of other verbs , the proper method is to use the present tense and the “majd” adverb, instead of the “fog,” that is :shall” auxiliary verb. Fog may be used only for special emphasis, like “Te pedig el fogsz menni!”, like in “You SHALL go!”
- j. Another example of omitting the superfluous element in the Hungarian language is the absence of gender designation. All objects are genderless, unless gender makes a difference, but then we use the gender specific noun: father - apa, mother - anya, etc. just like in the English. Non gender-related objects are all treated as the same; there is no gender-related pronoun in Hungarian (this is the reason why Hungarians often make mistakes when referring to a person by a pronoun - they are not used to it). The only difference is that the pronoun for human persons is “ő,” (he/she), while for all other objects it is “az” (it). This feature makes the Hungarian society more gender-neutral, and the Hungarian word for “wife” is “feleség,” that is, “half-ness,” half of the marriage partnership.
- k. When it comes to the use of articles, the definite article depends on the first letter of the noun that it refers to: before vowels it is „az,” before consonants it is abbreviated to „a,” but it has no singular or plural. The indefinite article, “egy,” since it is numerical, when the object of the article

is singular, it is not necessary and unless it is emphasized, that is, when one speaks of one of many (egy a sok közül), it is omitted. Although the “egy.” indefinite article is used often, by purists it is considered a Germanism.

- l. Using the fewest words possible, often leads to new word creation. For example, according to the linguist Dénes Kiss, in the old days (boy scouts still do it) they used to rub two pieces of wood together to make fire. Why did they want the fire? Because it was cold. In English there is no relationship between wood, rubbing the wood, and cold. In Hungarian the wood is *fa*. The infinite of the activity with *fa*, to do something with the *fa* is “*fázni*”. To feel cold is also “*fázni*”. The logic is obvious: I am working on the wood (*fázok* [verb] with the *fa*) because it’s cold (*fázok* [feeling] - I am cold). Whenever possible, the Hungarians turn a noun into the appropriate verb. So we have word clusters that is rare in most other languages. All activity related to the horse, like rider or riding, are also related linguistically to the horse: *ló*, *lovas*, *lovagol*, *lovász*, etc. Also, the car is *auto*, the short form of automobile, to ride in a car is “*autózni*,” and to pick or eat cherry “*cseresznyézni*,” from the word “cherry,” *cseresznye*.
- m. As languages were formed, certain similarities in otherwise unrelated objects became represented in the language also. According to Kiss, circularity represents such an ancient word cluster: In languages in their primitive stage, using variations of runic writing, they wrote down only the consonants, in this case the KR, and filled in the vowels. Thus, we have a cluster of related words with KR, related to circularity: *kör-circle*, *kerek-round*, *kerék-wheel*, *karima-brim*, *karika-hoop*, *karám-corral*, *kerület-district or circumference in geometry*, *kéreg-tree bark*, *kering-orbit or revolve*, *circulate (blood)*, *kerítés-fence*, *enclosure*, *kerülget-go round about*, *elkerülni-going around*, *avoiding*, *korong-disk*, *potter’s wheel*, *korona-crown*. While these 14 words in Hungarian belong to one cluster, the English equivalents show some similarity only when they are related to the Latin *circle*. One can wonder, of course, if the Latin *circus* is related to the Hungarian KR root.
- n. Since the Hungarian language is stingy with new words, often new nouns are also created combining existing words. For example, sibling is combining body (test) and blood (vér): *testvér*. Brother is *fivér*, i.e. male blood (relative) and sister is *nővér*, i.e. female blood. Accent is “*hangsúly*,” i.e. voice and weight. Or when new words are needed, we often analyze the function or activity involved, to create a new word. In English the word “knight” has no other meaning than the obvious one. In Hungarian (and German) it indicates the most recognizable aspect of the knight: he rides

horses, so in Hungarian it becomes “lovag,” which derives from the horse, “ló,” and with the “-ni,” the suffix of the infinite, lovagolni means to ride the horse.

- o. An interesting case of abbreviation, i. e. using as few words as possible, is that while in English, the auxiliary word “is” cannot stand alone, when it means the existence or presence of something. We say “there is.” In Hungarian not only in the affirmative case can the auxiliary verb, “van,” stand alone, but in the case of negation we can use a single word as a full statement: “nincs” instead of saying, “nem van,” or “there is none” in English
2. The second rule is to put first things first. If some information is not self evident, than we always start with the most important, or most inclusive, and go to details from the important or the inclusive. This method became famous and is known in the computer programming industry as the “Hungarian Notation,” invented for Microsoft by Charles Simonyi, the Hungarian computer programmer who became a millionaire, and who went into space on a Russian space ship as a paying passenger. Hungarian Notation is a naming convention that (in theory) allows the programmer to determine the type and use of an identifier (variable, function, constant, etc.) It is frequently used in Windows programming, The essence of the H. N. is that it follows the sequencing order used in the Hungarian language (see <http://www.gregleg.com/oldHome/hungarian.html>). If Simonyi spoke German or English, he never could have invented the Hungarian notation, and Microsoft would not enjoy the near monopoly in the computer software business. This same principle is also used in logic. To define something, we must give the general category (genus), and the distinguishing mark, (differencia specifica). So the Hungarian language instinctively is very logical.
 - a. This sequence is most obvious in the use of names. In most languages the baptismal or given names come first, while in Hungarian the family name. The functionality of the Hungarian order is obvious if one looks at a telephone book. Imagine, if the phone book was organized according to first names: all the George’s or Joseph’s in one group.
 - b. Another, equally important usage is the addressing convention. Your address in the Anglo-Saxon convention starts with the house number, then the street, and finally, the city. Imagine, if the mail man would have to sort all the mail by house number first, or the list of addresses organized this way. The Hungarian convention starts with the most inclusive, the country, the city, then the street, and last are the house and the apartment numbers.
 - c. Similarly, the dates are all screwed up in English: month, day, year. The Hungarians start with the most inclusive, the year, followed by the month, and finally the day, which changes every 24 hours.

- d. The same logic is used in the number system. While the French uses the most complicated system, expressing 89 as 4-20-9, the German is shorter, 9 und 80, the Hungarian, just like the English, says 80-9. But with larger numbers, the Hungarian breaks it down even more than the English: nineteen hundred eleven while in Hungarian it's "ezer kilencszáz tizenegy." Here again the "ezer" (thousand) is enough, because it is obviously only one-thousand, but two thousand is kétezer. The same principle applies to the hundreds: we always omit the "egy" (one) when it is one hundred.
- e. The sequence of the parts of the sentence is also different. While in English, since it uses no suffixes, the order is always subject-predicate-object, in Hungarian it is flexible. Since the suffix always makes the meaning of every word, including the verb, exact, and the object is also indicated with a suffix (t), they can be found anywhere in the sentence. So Hungarians can start with the most important word, the one they want to emphasize. For example, "**Ettem** kenyeret" means I **ate** bread. But when asked "what did you eat?" the answer is "**Kenyeret** (ettem)" (that is, "**bread** that I ate"). If the bread was stale and I want to emphasize that, I put stale first: "**Szár**az kenyeret ettem." Another example would be "**zöld** autót láttam," that is, "**green** car I saw."

I did not exhaust by any means the unique features of the Hungarian language, but this should be sufficient to justify the statements quoted in the beginning of this brief essay, and to show that it is truly a unique treasure.

Adam Makkai,

SOME OF THE BETTER KNOWN HUNGARIAN LITERATURE IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

I. PROSE/DRAMA

Note: All authors below are listed in order of their year of birth.

The best known piece of all Hungarian literature is *The Tragedy of Man* by **Imre Madách (1823-1864)**. In it Adam, just exiled from Paradise, foresees all of human history in a dream. Although translated more than a dozen times ever since the 19th century, the three best English renditions are:

Iain MacLeod, Edinburgh, Canongate 1993, ISBN: 0862414180.

Thomas R. Mark, New York, Columbia U/P., 1989, ISBN: 0880331690.

George Szirtes, Budapest, Corvina, 1988, ISBN: 9631327302.

Hungary's best known 19th century novelist was **Mór Jókai (1825-1904)**, who wrote well over one hundred novels. Some of his best known works in English are:

The New Landlord, A.J. Patterson (trans), MacMillan, London, 1868.

Eyes like the Sea, R.N. Bain (trans), London, Lawrence & Bullen, 1894.

Black Diamonds, F. Gerard (trans), London, Gerrald & Sons, 1896.

A Hungarian Nabob, R.N. Bain (trans), London, Gerrald & Sons, 1898.

The Last Days of the Janissaries, R.N. Bain (trans), London, Gerrald & Sons 1897.

The Baron's Sons, P.F. Bicknell (trans), London, Macqueen, 1902.

The Poor Plutocrats, R.N. Bain (trans), London, Gerrald & Sons, 1899.

Regarded by many as Jókai's equal was **Kálmán Mikszáth (1847-1910)**, now enjoying a quiet renaissance:

A Strange Marriage, István Farkas (trans), Budapest, Corvina, 1964.

The Two Beggar Students, Mari Kattua (trans), Budapest, Corvina, 1964.

St. Peter's Umrella, István Fekete (trans), Budapest, Corvina, 1962.

Of equal fame and importance as both novelist and poet was **Dezső Kosztolányi (1885-1936)**. He embodied a free humanist spirit thriving toward aesthetic purity. His most important novels include:

Anna Édes, George Szirtes (trans), New York, New Directions, 1993. ISBN: 0811212556.

Darker Muses, Nero the Bloody Poet (prefatory letter by Thomas Mann, afterword By George F. Cushing), Budapest, Corvina, 1990. ISBN: 9631328414.

Skylark, Richard Aczel (trans), introduction by Peter Esterhazy. Budapest, London, New York, CEU Press, 1996. ISBN: 1858660599.

Hungarian prose in the 20th century reached its peak in the inimitable style of **Gyula Krudy (1878-1933)**. Historian John Lukacs compared it to „the voice of a chello”. An outstanding example of his work in English is:

The Adventures of Sindbad, George Szirtes (trans), Budapest-London, CEU Press, 1998, ISBN: 9639116122.

Considered the greatest realist of the 20th century was **Zsigmond Móricz (1879-1942)**. Instead of idealizing peasant life, he showed real suffering in a Zola-like naturalist style.

Be Faithful unto Death, Stephen Vizinczey (trans), Budapest, London, New York: CEU Press, 1995. ISBN: 1858660602.

Lajos Zilahy (1891-1974) enjoyed tremendous popularity both in Hungary and abroad. His best known works in English are:

The Deserter, George Halasz (trans), Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, N.Y. 1932, BL System No.: 004021337.

The Dukays, John Pauker (trans), London, Heinemann, 1950. Nat. bib. No. GB 5000647.

The Guns Look Back, Lawrence Wolfe (trans), London-Toronto, Heinemann, 1938. Sytem No.: 004021320.

One of the undisputed masters of 20th century Hungarian prose was **Sándor Márai (1900-1989)**, often called the „Hungarian Thomas Mann.” He has had a major renaissance in the English speaking world:

Conversations in Bolzano, or Casanova in Bolzano, George Szirtes (trans), Viking, 2004, London.

The Rebels, George Szirtes (trans), London, Picador, 2007 ISBN: 9780330454544

Esther’s Inheritance, George Szirtes (trans), New York, A. A. Knopf, ISBN: 1400045002

Embers, Carol Brown Janeway (trans), New York, A. A. Knopf, 2001 ISBN: 0375707425

A major essayist as well as a master novelist, **Antal Szerb (1901-1945)** author of a History of Hungarian Literature and a History of World Literature, died in a Nazi labor camp:

Journey by Moonlight, Len Rix (trans), London 2002, Pushkin. ISBN: 1901285375
The Pendragon Legend, Len Rix (trans), London, 2006, Pushkin. ISBN: 19018560X

The Traveler, Peter Hargitai (trans), Lincoln, NE., Author's Choice Press, ISBN: 978-0595-78508-6, also in New York, Puski-Corvin Books, 1994, ISBN: 0-915951-21-5.

One of the best known writers of the post-war era was a great wit full of sarcasm, **István Örkény (1912-1979)**.

Catsplay, Clara Gyorgyey (trans), New York, Samuel French, 1976. ISBN: 0-573-60755-9.

The Flower Show/The Toth Family, Michael H. Heim and Clara Gyorgyey (trans), New York, New Directions, 1982. ISBN: 0-8112-0836-2.

Hungary has also produced major woman novelists. One of the best known available in English translation was **Magda Szabó (1917-2007)**:

Night of the Pig-Killing, Kathleen Szasz (trans), London, Jonathan Cape, 1965 BL system no.: 00356501200000000.

The Door, Len Rix (trans), London: Harvill Secker, 2005. ISBN: 1843431939

The Gift of the Wondrous Fig Tree: a Fary Tale, Noémi N.Najbauer (trans), Budapest, Európa Könyvkiadó, 2008. ISBN: 9789630785327.

The first and so far only Hungarian winner of the Nobel Prize for literature in 2002 for his novel „Fateless” is **Imre Kertész (1929—)**:

Fateless, Cristopher C. Wilson and Katherina M. Wilson (trans), Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1992. ISBN: 0810110490.

Kaddish for an Unborn Child, Tim Wilkinson (trans), Vintage, New York, 2004. ISBN: 1400078628.

Liquidation, Tim Wilkinson (trans), New York, A. A. Knopf, 2004. ISBN: 1400041538.

Detective Story, Tim Wilkinson (trans), London, Harvill Secker, 2008. ISBN: 1846551838.

The Pathseeker, Tim Wilkinson (trans), New York, Melville House, 2008, ISBN: 978-1-933633-53-4

One of Hungary's most prolific authors is **György Konrád (1933—)**:

The Case Worker, Richard Allen (trans), London, S.J. Hutchinson, 1975, ISBN: 0091214408.

The City Builder, Ivan Sanders (trans), New York, London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977. ISBN: 0151180091.

The Loser, Ivan Sanders (trans), London, Allen Lane 1982-1983. ISBN: 0713915994.
The Melancholy of Rebirth,; Essays from Post.Communist Central Europe.
Michael Henry Heim (trans), San Diego-London, Harcourt Brace J. 1995 ISBN:
0156002523.

Péter Nádas (1942—) is one of the most read Hungarian authors:

A Book of Memories, Imre Goldstein (trans), London, Jonathan Cape, 1997. ISBN:
022403524X

The End of a Family Story, Imre Goldstein (trans), London, Jonathan Cape, 1999.
ISBN: 0224059556.

Own Death, János Salamon (trans), Göttingen: *Steidl*: London: Thames & Hudson.
ISBN: 9783865210194 Of Hungarian postmodernist novelists living today, one of the
best known is **Peter Esterhazy (1950--)**:

Helping Verbs of the Heart, Michael Henry Heim (trans), New York, Grove Wei-
denfekt, 1990-1991, ISBN: 0802111238.

The Book of Hrabal, Judith Sollosy (trans), London, Quartet 1993. ISBN:
0704370646.

She Loves Me, Judith Sollosy (trans), London, Quartet, 1997. ISBN: 0704380420

Celestial Harmonies, Judith Sollosy (trans), London, Harper Perennial, 2005 ISBN:
9780007141487, 0007141483.

A leading member of the new generation of Hungarian novelists is **László Krasznahorkai (1954 —)**

The Melancholy of Resistance, George Szirtes (trans), London, Quartet Books,
1998. ISBN: 0704380090.

War and War, George Szirtes (trans), New York, New Directions, 2006. ISBN:
0811216098 or 9780811216098.

II. POETRY

Note: authors are listed in the order of their year of birth.

In Hungary poetry has always been considered the main stay of Hungarian identity, national consciousness, indeed of history and survival itself. For a comprehensive essay see „A Nation and its Poetry” by László Cs. Szabó (pp. 1051-1122) in A. Makkai 2000 (Ed). Unless listed as a separate volume, references are to this work above.

The first known Hungarian literary text is a „Funeral Oration” rendered English by Alan Jenkins, (p.30 in Makkai 2000). The first poem „The Lament of Mary” dates from 1300 A.D. Several versions in Makkai 2000, including a Middle English one by Thomas N. Hall, (p.37). The first significant poet **Janus Pannonius (1434-1472)** wrote in Latin (pp. 46-50). The first poet writing in Hungarian was on a par with France’s Ron-

sard and DuBellay, **Bálint Balassi (1554-1594)**, (pp. 78-107). Translators include Keith Bosley and Peter Sherwood, Yakov Hornstein, Joseph Leftwich and W.D. Snodgrass. **Count Miklós Zrínyi (1620-1664)** is remembered for his epic poem „The Zrinyiad”, describing the Turkish wars. Marie B. Jaffee translated the first female poet, **Kata Szidónia Petrőczy (1662-1708)**.

The poets of the Hungarian Enlightenment are preceded by anonymous freedom-fighter and patriotic poets. The three major masters of the Enlightenment were **Mihály Csokonai-Vitéz (1773-1805)**, **Dániel Berzsenyi (1776-1836)** and **Ferenc Kölcsey (1790-1838)**; the latter is the author of Hungary’s National Anthem. There are many excellent translations in this section by Watson Kirkconnell.

Hungary’s 19th century saw the Romantic Era ushered in by **Mihály Vörösmarty (1800-1855)**, **János Arany (1817-1882)**, and **Sándor Petőfi (1823-1849)**. Arany’s translations of Shakespeare and Aristophanes into Hungarian are peerless even today. These three constitute the great „Hungarian Triumvirate” as constant national classics.

The first truly „modern” poet was **Endre Ady (1877-1919)** whose unique diction presents almost insurmountable difficulties in translation. **Mihály Babits (1883-1941)** was the epitome of the poet-scholar, his translation of Dante’s „Divine Comedy” remains unsurpassed. As the Editor of *Nyugat (The West)* he ushered in the modern age. Next to **Gyula Juhász (1883-1937)** here we find **Dezső Kosztolányi (1885-1936)** already listed among the novelists.

The list of classical poets born in the 20th century starts with **Lőrinc Szabó (1900-1957)** and **Gyula Illyés (1902-1983)** (pp. 714-781). With the tragically short life of **Attila József (1905-1937)**, who committed suicide at age thirty two, we reach an international figure who was inducted into the Western canon by Prof. Harold Bloom of Yale:

Harold Bloom, *The Western Canon*, New York, 1994 Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Relevant page: 527.

Attila József’s inclusion was based on:

Perched on Nothing’s Branch, Peter Hargitai (trans), Apalachee Press 1987, ISBN: 1-0-094082100 (1st edition), 5th ed.: White Pine Press, ISBN: 1-893996-06-X.

Selected Poems, Peter Hargitai (trans), iUniverse, 2005, ISBN: 9780595356140.

Selected Poems and Texts, John Batki and James Atlas (trans. and Eds), Introduction by George Gömöri, Cheadle Hulme, Carnconet Press, 1973. (Without ISBN No.)

Gyula Illyés (1902-1983) was the great synthesizer of the Socialist-Populist movement and of a heavily French-influenced Western orientation. He and Attila József were close friends. Illyés’ poem „One Sentence on Tyranny” (pp. 765-778) rendered twice by Vernon Watkins and George Szirtes both played a major role in the 1956 anti-Soviet uprising. Bruce Berling devoted a separate book to his poems on old age:

Charon’s Ferry: Fifty Poems, Bruce Berling (trans), Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 2000, ISBN: 0-8101-1898-3, 0-8101-1799-1.

Undoubtedly the most translated Hungarian poet is **Miklós Radnóti (1909-1944)**, who, although converted to Catholicism, was killed by the Nazis in the village of Abda. He described his own execution in a 7-liner called „Post Card.” (four versions on pp. 880-881.) Emery George of the University of Michigan translated and edited the complete poetry of Miklós Radnóti:

The Complete Poetic Works of Miklós Radnóti, Emery George (trans. and Ed.), Ardis Publisher, Woodstock, N.Y., 1980. ISBN: 9780882335155, 0882335154.

At the University of Cambridge, UK, George Gömöri in co-operation with the British poet Clive Wilmer, translated and edited:

Forced March. Selected Poems of Miklós Radnóti, George Gömöri and Clive Wilmer (trans. and Eds.), Manchester, Carcanet Press, 1979. ISBN: 85635-275-6.

The Life and Poetry of Miklós Radnóti, George Gömöri and Clive Wilmer (Eds.) (essays by different authors): East European Monographs, Boulder, Co., 1999, Distrib. By Columbia U. Press, ISBN: 0-8803-426-6.

The longest lived and most controversial Hungarian poet of all times was **György Faludy (1910-2006)**. He gained his fame and notoriety by recasting François Villon in Hungarian. Generations knew it by heart. (See Makkai 2003: 15-45). He was masterfully translated by Peter Zollman.

The most remarkable, indeed unique verbal magician of the Hungarian language, a prolific translator and writer of mythological plays was **Sándor Weöres (1913-1989)** Pp. 915-944). His better known translators include Edwin Morgan, Bruce Berlind, Peter Zollman, W. Arthur Boggs, and Donald E. Morse. He was nominated for the Nobel Prize for literature. The next truly major poet was **János Pilinszky (1921-1981)**, who has been translated into English by Ted Hughes, Peter Jay, and Peter Zollman.

Ágnes Nemes Nagy (1922-1991) was undoubtedly the topmost woman poet of Hungary enjoying European stature (974-1006). She first appeared in English translated by Bruce Berlind. She combines the rational and the supernatural in both free verse and the strictest of meters.

Selected Poems (by Ágnes Nemes Nagy), translated with an introduction and translators's preface by Bruce Berlind, Preface by Ágnes Nemes Nagy. Iowa City, Iowa, International Writing Program directed by Paul Engel. University of Iowa, 1980, (no ISBN or LC No. available).

The second longest lived Hungarian poet was **Győző ('Victor') Határ 1914-2006**. He wrote plays, essays and novels beside exquisite poetry. From the time of the Hungarian Uprising of 1956 he lived in Wimbledon (London) in the U.K. He has been masterfully translated by George Szirtes and Peter Zollman.

Nemes Nagy's and Határ's intellectualism was counterbalanced in the passionate folk-poetry inspired work of **László Nagy (1925-1978)**:

Love of the Scorching Wind. Slected Poems (of László Nagy), George Gömöri, Tony Connor, and Gyula Kodolányi (trans), Oxford-New York-Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1974. ISBN: 0-19-211823-4.

Nagy's wife, **Margit Szécsi (1928-1990)**, grew from Socialist rebel to a worthy partner of her husband (1020-1026). She was translated by Kenneth McRobbie.

The Transylvanian poet **Géza Páskándi (1933-1995)** was translated by J.G. Nichols and Neville Masterman (1031-1036).

Ferenc Juhász (1928—) continues to thrive. His grand symphonic poem „The Boy Changed into a Stag Clamours at the Gate of Secrets” (1038-1048) was translated by David Wevill, who properly identified the author's inspiration as Béla Bartók's „Cantata profana.”

The most significant senior poet alive today is **Sándor Kányádi (1929—)**, who hails from Transylvania (pp. 289-311 in Makkai 2003). He has been translated by Peter Zollman.

Among the best known modern poets we find **Otto Orbán (1936-1990?)** who had an innovating effect on Hungarian poetry:

The Journey of Barbarus, Bruce Berlind (trans), Passeggiata Press, 1997, ISBN: 1-57889-054-3.

Dezső Tandori (1938—) became famous for his love of birds:

Birds and Other Relations, Bruce Berlind (trans), Princeton University Press, 1986, ISBN: 0-691-06685-X.

Imre Oravecz (1943—) lived in the USA for a while. He writes a great deal about his birth place, Szajla, and te nearby communist concentration camp of Reck and other modernist themes:

When you became she, Bruce Berlind (trans), Xenos Books, 1994. ISBN: 1-879378-10-8.

Some more important anthologies

I. *In Quest of the 'Miracle Stag': An Anthology of Hungarian Poetry in English Translation from the 13th Century to the Present*, Vol. I. Adam Makkai (Ed.) 2nd Edition by Tertia, Budapest 2000. ISBN (Tertia), Budapest, 963 86024 2 2, Atlantis-Centaur, Chicago 0-9642094-9-7, Library of Congress: 00-132827.

The volume is currently available from TINTA KIADÓ, Budapest info@tintakiado.hu, kissgabo@tintakiado.hu, or tviola@tintakiado.hu Price: HUF 10,000. (The exchange rate varies, is HUF 230 to \$1 USD.)

II. *In Quest of the 'Miracle Stag': An Anthology of Hungarian Poetry in English Translation from the Start of the 20th Century to the Present*, Vol II (continuation of the previous volume), Adam Makkai (Ed.) Budapest, 2003. The International Association of Hungarian Language and Culture. ISBN: 963 210 814 0 and Atlantis-Centaur, Chicago. ISBN: 1-930902-00-X. Available from the Association of Hungarian Language

and Culture, Budapest, Rákóczi Blvd.38, I/2. Tel: (36-1) 413-0114, Fax: (36-1) 344-4366, Home page: www.mnyknt.hu Price: HUF 10,000.

III. *The Colonnade of Teeth. Modern Hungarian Poetry*, George Szirtes, George Gömöri (Eds.) Foreword by Edwin Morgan. Newcastle, Bloodaxe, 1966. ISBN: 1-855224-331-7. (35 poets by 27 translators).

IV. *Silenced Voices. Hungarian Plays from Transylvania*. Selected and Translated by Csilla Bertha and Donald E. Morse. Dublin: Carysfort Press, 2008. ISBN 978-1-904505-34-1

“Introduction: Falling Through the Cracks” (by the translators and editors)

András Sütő (1927 – 2003), *Advent in the Hargita Mountains (Advent a Hargitán)*, 21-98.

Csaba Lászlóffy (1939 –), *The Heretic (Az eretnek)*, 99 – 157.

Géza Páskándi (1933 – 1995), *The Avenger, the Gatekeeper, or It Is Requested that You Wipe Your Feet (A bosszúálló, a Kapus, Avagy: Kérjük a Lábat Letörölni)*, 159 – 197.

János Székely (1929 – 92), *Caligula’s Governor (Kaligula helytartója)*, 199 – 260.

Géza Szöcs (1953 –), *A Christmas Play or Uncle Louise and the Little Ones (Karácsonyi játék, avagy Laiosz Báci és a kisdedek)*, 261 – 282.

V. *Homeland in the Heights. An Anthology of Post-World War II Hungarian Poetry*. Csilla Bertha, (Ed.) Budapest, Eötvös József Kiadó, 2000. ISBN: 963 9024 88 0.

Poems by **Gyula Illyés (1902-1983)**, **Sándor Weöres (1913-1989)**, **János Pilinszky (1921-1981)**, **Ágnes Nemes Nagy (1922-1991)**, **Margit Szécsi (1928-1990)**, **Ferenc Juhász (1928--)**, **Sándor Kányádi (1929--)**, **Sándor Csoóri (1930--)**, **Gizella Hervay (1934-1982)**, **Sándor Gál (1937--)**, **Domokos Szilágyi (1938-1976)**, **József Utassy (1941--)**, **Árpád Farkas (1944--)**, **Gáspár Nagy (1949-2008)**, **Géza Szöcs (1953--)**.

HUNGARIAN MUSIC

“I was twenty-seven years old and lived in Budapest, completely isolated from all the new musical ideas, trends and techniques that had begun to appear in the West after the war. The decisive turning point in my development as a composer occurred in 1956” - wrote **György Ligeti**, one of the most prominent modern composers of the end of the 20th century. Similar sentiments voiced also thousands and thousands of Hungarians at the time, each according to his or her vocation, among them writers and publicists like the now Canadian **George Jonas**, **Stephen Vizinczey**, violinist **Marta Hidy**, pianist **Bálint Vázsonyi**, the guitarist **Szabó Gábor** and uncountable others for whom the Uprising of 1956 came as cause or opportunity for escaping the confines of a totalitarian system. From then on, the stage of western cultural life became populated with an ever increasing number of Hungarians, particularly musicians. It is perhaps puzzling how a small country could give a so disproportionately high contribution to the international musical life. It is true that the dramatic exodus that followed the savagely crushed Uprising displaced more artists than ever. The fact, however, that so many of them came to prominence can be explained – beside individual talent – with their background. Hungary fostered musical education vigorously and the country could also look back to a rich musical heritage stemming from both folklore and art music.

Not unlike archeologists, ethnomusicologists can even in the absence of written documents “unearth” from older strata of folk music the partly presumed and partly evident musical treasure of early medieval times. Hungary had then its share of the vocal liturgical and sacral music of Europe. Later, the flowering cultural environment of King Matthias’ Renaissance court included also the worldly, secular music, both instrumental and vocal, of his contemporaries in Italy, Aragon and Provence. It is documented that minnesingers frequented Hungary at the time of King Sigismund (1387-1437) offering the best of the German courtly love poetry of the era. The princely and royal courts’ interest continued in music that has been played abroad in similar circles and, in spite of the intervening Turkish invasion, this trend had a revival in the 16th century, in the Principality of Erdély (Transylvania). This is where the widely acclaimed virtuoso lutenist **Bálint** (Valentin) **Bakfark** (1506-1576) was born. The artist was a treasured guest at the courts all over Europe as a lute player, but for his instrument he also composed works of enduring beauty.

In the part of Hungary ruled by the Hapsburgs art music was patronized by the Catholic Church and later also by the Hungarian nobility. The leaders in this sponsorship were the members of the Esterhazy family. The history of music making at the Eisenstadt palace is well known through composer Joseph Haydn’s employment and activity there but

even before his engagement, Prince Pál Esterhazy published the first Hungarian anthology of Baroque church cantatas. Outside the residences of the nobility, however, there was little if any place for art music. The lower ranks of nobility and the developing middle class embraced instead the folksy “Magyar songs” and the music based loosely on *verbunkos*. The *verbunkos* was originally conceived as a mood boosting, manly, strutting dance accompanying the ceremony of recruiting new soldiers. (Pronounced *verboonkosh*, originally from German *Werbung* = enlisting, recruiting). Due to its popularity and its rhythmic and ornamental adaptability the *verbunkos* gained acceptance in all forms of popular and art music. It has become the typically “Hungarian” music and considered as such by many foreign composers, notably Haydn, Beethoven, Weber, and Brahms. The most famous piece, the *Rákóczi March*, went through several arrangements by Franz Liszt, too, and Berlioz used it in his *Faust’s Damnation* in 1846.

In the ensuing part of the 19th century, the Hungarians suffered a failed attempt to gain political independence from Austria but remained motivated to achieve integrity on the cultural level. With new institutions and programmes to match this goal, the musical life in Hungary also rose to a European level. Operas, concerts, music education at the highest degree all came to life along with musical creativity approaching the foreign paragons.

Opera was the most telling expression of the spirit of Hungary at this time. **Ferenc Erkel** (1810-1893) brought to stage operas that possessed both artistic merit and political timeliness. With a few exceptions, his works are based on historical events, with titles clearly indicating the subject. (*László Hunyadi; Mária Bátori; Bán Bánk; György Dózsa; King Stephen.*)

If we follow the development of Hungarian music along this particular line, the public interest for opera kept the composers busy up to this day. From Erkel’s operas using historical themes so appropriate for the ideology of an awakening national identity, to modernist stage works as Ligeti’s grotesque and darkly humorous *Le Grand Macabre*, all operatic styles found followers in Hungary. Many of these operas won international acclaim as the *Violinist from Cremona* by **Jenő Hubay** (1858-1937- incidentally a brilliant and celebrated violinist himself); *Pierette’s Veil, Tante Simona* and *The Tenor* by **Ernő Dohnányi** (1877-1970), *Queen of Sheba* by **Károly Goldmark** (1830-1915), *Blood Wedding* by **Sándor Szokolay** (b. 1931) among others.

The Hungarian musical idiom, originally so typical for the operas, did not lose its appeal, but Goldmark, for instance, already felt closer to Wagner and the French composers, and in the operas of subsequent times there is an echo of *verismo* or (by some) expressionism (*Blood Wedding* by **Szokolay**), romanticism and Post-Romanticism (**Sándor Balassa’s** *Out of the Door*, premiered in 1978), while the music of another reaches intensities of pucciniesque drama (*C’est la guerre* by **Emil Petrovics**, born in 1930).

It is interesting that the much discussed national colour of the Hungarian art music had changed at the beginning of the 20th century. Following the activity of researchers

and collectors of native, folk music – among them composers Bartók and Kodály – the inspiration turned from the *verbunkos* - type tunes to authentic folklore material. This is why the true and complete transformation of the Singspiel or the French-Italian influenced opera into *Hungarian* opera became accomplished only with the stage works of **Zoltán Kodály** (1882-1967). His *János Hány* and the *Székely Spinning Room* (premiered in 1926 and 1932 respectively) represent a genuinely Hungarian entity in form, subject matter and musical inspiration.

Starting from medieval times – whose instruments are sporadically still in use in the folklore of rural areas of Hungary – **instrumental music** was lagging here behind the prevailing European trends. Its evolution took, however, a dramatic turn in the second half of the 19th century.

Franz Liszt (1811-1886) came as a timely catalyst to fulfill the inherent desires of the nation, until then dominated by Austria, to establish its own culture. Liszt is a monumental figure of the universal music history, with Chopin and Schumann co-founder of the Romantic movement in music, a prolific innovator in composition and in the art of performance. He lent his reputation and devoted much of his work to Hungary's developing musical life. Composer of an immense catalogue of works, symphonic poems, choral and instrumental works as well as church music, Liszt occupies a living presence in our contemporary cultural life too. From his Academy of Music in Budapest came almost all the significant musicians and composers of Hungary. So did the earliest outstanding representatives of the new, 20th century composers, **Leo Weiner** (1885-1960) and **Ernö Dohnányi** (1877-1960) too, followed by **Béla Bartók** (1884-1945) and **Zoltán Kodály** (1882-1967).

Bartók's music for its novelty and uncompromising originality came to be recognized much later than the works of his peers, and his full importance and contribution to the history of music has been acknowledged abroad much sooner than at home. Now he is considered one of the classics of modern music but the deciding exponents at the time of his stay at home were unsympathetic toward his *euvre*, and his works were banned or spurned by the Hungarian Communist regime after his death in America. Bartók's chamber music, concerti, piano pieces, orchestral works are, however, standard concert repertoire now all over the world.

Kodály's work was centered on music pedagogy, on the enhancement of music appreciation at an all inclusive, national level. Beside his exceptional educational achievements, Kodály was an outstanding composer whose symphonic and chamber works as well as his opera *János Hány* are widely performed.

In the post-war period, up to the end of the last millennium, Hungarian composers – at home and scattered all over America and Europe – kept either abreast with the ultra-modern musical experimentations or developed their own styles by employing more traditional methods. Opera and stage music, including ballet, remain in the foreground of their interest, sometimes coloured with lyrical elements of legends or folk- and fairy-

tales. (Szokolay: *Savitri* [1999], György Ránki: *The Emperor's New Clothes* [1953], and *The Moon's Oarsman* [1979], Attila Bozay: *Csongor and Tünde* [1981], János Vajda: *Leonce and Lena* [1999]). This is also the environment of Bartók's ballet *The Wooden Prince* (1917) and Imre Czomba's *Revans* (2003). Ferenc Farkas, in turn, gave expression to a modern version of comic opera in his *Magic Cupboard* (1942) and *A Gentleman from Venice* (1991).

The performing media have evolved so much that "instrumental music" does not cover any more all the means of generating sounds for music. Nevertheless, the Hungarian composers seem to find their way through the maze of contemporary acoustic or electronic and tonal-atonal-serial-aleatoric techniques, some even to international success and critical acclaim. György Kurtág (b. 1926) and Zolt Durkó (1934-1997) are in this category. Kurtág had already in the 60-ies proved his mastery in writing chamber works. (Noteworthy is that he elevated there a traditional Hungarian instrument, the cimbalom, into the sphere of modern art music.) From then on, his works bring to a personal synthesis everything from Gregorian chant to punctualism. Durkó's compositions (among them the oratorio based on the ancient Hungarian funerary prayer, the *Halotti beszéd*, first performed in 1972) follow a structurally strict polyphonic technique, rare in contemporary music.

It is a case of *nomen est omen* that from the esoteric heights of some of the modern music in Hungary the bridge to the living concert stage has been created in good part by Frigyes Hidas (*hidas* = having a bridge). "I am the last Hungarian Romantic composer!" - was he quoted in his obituary in 2007. (Born 1926.) A prolific composer of concertos, chamber works and ballet music, he is now a favourite of renowned classical virtuosi as well as of student orchestras and ensembles. As it is noted, his *Requiem* - a choral and symphonic work written to commemorate the fallen Hungarian soldiers at the river Don - beside its artistic value was also an act of political courage in the 1970-ies.

The list of internationally celebrated performing artists of Hungary changes with new additions as time goes. Even the attempt to make it will do injustice to too many since the question is from which date to start the list? Mentioning only a few of those that are right now at the peak of their career will bring us to singers Eva Márton, Szilvia Sass, László Polgár, Andrea Rost, Erika Miklósa; instrumental virtuosi Miklós Perényi, András Schiff, Dezső Ránki, Zoltán Kocsis, Vásáry Tamás.

Should popularity and public acceptance mean something, and if so much energy and vitality is invested in a sphere outside strict "serious" music, one should not neglect to point out the innumerable composers and performers of Hungarian pop music. Some of its exponents - as Zsuzsa Koncz, Tamás Cseh, Zoltán Pásztory, Zorán Sztevánovity - received the country's Kossuth Prize, designated for highest achievements in professional and artistic field. Another of the country's musical assets, the art of jazz music, has achieved international recognition thanks to exceptional per-

formers like basist Aladár Pege, guitarist Gábor Szabó, flautist Eszter Horgas, pianists György Vukán, Balázs Berkes, Béla Szakcsi Lakatos and trumpet player Rudolf Tomsits, to name only a few.

And the operetta ? This offspring of the French opera comique had world famous Hungarian representatives, too. While England found advisable to modify the originally cheeky and risqué genre as to become more “family friendly”, in Hungary it has often received local colours in its music. No wonder then that some operetta arias of Jenő Huszka (1875-1960) – as Kodály reported tongue in cheek from his field trips later – became “folk songs”. With their widely and continually performed works Imre Kálmán (1882-1953) and Ferenc Lehár (1870-1948) stand alongside the most famous composers of operetta. Even if the age of this musical genre is long over by now, the light opera endures under different disguises. Rock-opera, musical are respectively the subtitles of newer Hungarian stage productions, notably *Stephen, the King* (1983) by Levente Szörényi, *Masked Ball* (1004) by János Szemenyei, and *Abigél* (2008) by Tibor Kocsák.

HUNGARIAN FINE ARTS

The art of painting miniatures was in vogue in Western and Central Europe throughout the Middle Ages. Hungary was no exception. Its codex literature preserved beautiful samples of miniature painting. Ecclesiastical art as well, such as panels of altars in churches demonstrated a high artistic level of this genre. No wonder that the country's greatest Gothic painter, known only from his initials, Master M.S., appeared on the scene and enjoyed success as early as the onset of the sixteenth century. His art was firmly rooted in Hungarian soil and was superior to that of most contemporary painters in craftsmanship, richness of imagination and realistic approach. One of his paintings (*Visitation*, 1506) is housed in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts and four others (*The Agony in the Garden*; *Christ Carrying the Cross*; *Crucifixion* and *Resurrection*, 1506) are in the Christian Museum at Esztergom.

It was a custom, chiefly during the years of Turkish occupation, for gifted young men to leave Hungary to complete their studies abroad. As in the case of **Jakab Bogdány** (1660-1724). Born at Eperjes (now Presov, Slovakia), he studied in Vienna and in the Netherlands. From 1690 Bogdány lived in England; he died in London as a court painter. Bogdány excelled in painting birds and still-lives of flowers and fruit. His paintings were bought by royalty the world over and are now exhibited in Hampton Court Palace, Kew Palace, the National Museum of Stockholm and the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, among others.

One of the supreme talents in eighteenth-century Baroque portrait painting was **Ádám Mányoki** (1673-1757). Mányoki studied painting at Lüneburg and Hamburg with the famous German painter Scheitz. Appointed official portrait painter of the Berlin Court in 1703, Mányoki worked in this capacity until 1707. In 1709 he returned to his native Hungary and was court painter to Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II until 1711, the year of the defeat of the Rákóczi-led War of Independence (1703-1711)², when he again left Hungary. The years 1713 to 1723 found him working in Dresden and Warsaw as court painter. In 1723 Mányoki once again returned to Hungary to paint portraits of Hungarian aristocrats. In 1731 the artist returned to Dresden where he resumed the position of court painter until his death. Ádám Mányoki's *Portrait of Ferenc Rákóczi* and his *Self-Portrait as a Young Man* bear the distinction of being ranked among the most prominent portraits of eighteenth-century Europe.

Bertalan Székely (1835-1910) and **Viktor Madarász** (1830-1917) set an entirely new tone in the country's art movement. With outstandingly great talent both immortalized

tragic scenes from the nation's past. *The Bewailing of László Hunyadi* by Viktor Madarász was exhibited in France at the famous Paris Salon and in 1861 was awarded the highest French artistic prize, the Gold Medal of the State. His *Zrinyi and Frangepán in Prison* is regarded by some critics as the most representative work of Hungarian historical painting. Bertalan Székely also devoted his talent to historical scenes (*Ladislavus Vand Czilley; The Women of Eger*, etc.) and garnered great success. Historical painting in this superior tradition was continued by Sándor Wagner (1838-1919), who was a master of the Munich Academy. His most famous painting is *The Self-Sacrifice of Titus Dugovics*.

Mihály Zichy (1827-1906) had the most colorful career among Hungarian painters. He was among the first pupils of painter Giacomo Marastoni (1804-1860) in Pest. In 1844 Zichy left Pest for Vienna where he joined Waldmüller's private art school. In 1847 his oil painting, *The Lifeboat*, scored such spectacular success that Zichy was invited immediately to St. Petersburg, Russia as the drawing master of Princess Jelena Pavlovna. Then from 1859 on, with the exception of a few years which he spent in Paris and Budapest, Zichy was the official painter to the Russian Imperial Court. He worked primarily in water colors and favored pencil sketches. Zichy brilliantly illustrated the works of the literary giants Goethe, Lermontov, Imre Madách, János Arany and Sándor Petöfi. His graphics and paintings housed in Hungarian and Russian galleries still attract those visitors who enjoy works of the Romantic style.

The group of the first really modern Hungarian painters includes such masters as Mihály Munkácsy, László Paál, Pál Szinyei Merse and Géza Mészöly.

Mihály Munkácsy (1844-1900) was the country's most famous painter in the nineteenth century and one of the world's most gifted artists of his time. His tremendous success is owed mainly to his prize-winning oil paintings. At the age of twenty-six, in 1870, his painting entitled *Death Row* (1870) exhibited in the Paris Salon won the French Gold Medal. Years later another of his great compositions, *Milton*, was awarded another Gold Medal at the Paris Salon. Munkácsy's subsequent visit to the United States in November and December of 1886 forged numerous ties between him and American intellectuals and philanthropists. Munkácsy was one of the most celebrated painters in America at the time. More than sixty paintings of his were sold in the United States to various private and public collections. Of these paintings, *The Pawn Shop* is housed in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Milton* in the Lenox Library, New York City, while two of his biblical themes, *Christ before Pilate* (1881) and *Calvary* (1884) were acquired by John Wanamaker of Philadelphia for the highest prices ever paid in history to an artist up to that time. According to John Wanamaker's instructions these two Biblical compositions are exhibited every year during the Lenten and Easter seasons in the Grand Court of the huge Wanamaker department store in Philadelphia. 3

Munkácsy's art was highly esteemed in contemporary opinion. Let us cite two such views on his famous painting *Calvary*: *The Times* of London CT anuary 24, 1884)

wrote: "This picture is certainly one of the most perfect which have been produced for many a year, combining all the majesty of classic schools with the modern and personal stamp that marks it of the nineteenth century. When one gazes on this picture and hears Munkácsy speak, one realizes the feelings which the contemporaries of Rubens, Murillo, or Veronese must have experienced when they conversed with those great masters who were destined to be handed down to the admiration of posterity." Furthermore, the *New York Times* in the March 16, 1885 issue we read the following meditative words: "The *Ca/vary* of to-day, over which not only the world of art but the world of fashions, of thought and of religion is at present wondering, is indeed a marvelous picture. Taking all things into consideration, it is a strange subject to offer in this century of unbelief, of scepticism and of scoffing. Who has time now to think of the Man of Sorrows? What artist living in Christian England ever dares to offer such scenes to the critical public and who could imagine such a subject coming from a Paris studio, where even the last rags and shreds of religion are cast scornfully to the winds?"

Munkácsy was granted nobility by Emperor Francis Joseph I, as King of Hungary and he received the prestigious Legion of Honor twice, France's highest tribute rarely awarded to a foreigner. Munkácsy received countless other decorations from various countries of Europe.

László Paál (1846-1879), Munkácsy's close friend, is known as one of the best landscape painters of nineteenth-century Europe. He died at the age of thirty-three leaving posterity a legacy of only about seventy paintings. Paál followed Munkácsy to Paris and settled down at nearby Barbizon to paint landscapes. He was one of the founders of the Barbizon School.

László Mednyánszky (1852-1919), also a great landscape painter, learned the academic style of painting in Munich and Paris. The first stage of his development was characterized by his rare use of human figures in his admirably well-composed sceneries (*Marshy Landscape*, oil painting, etc.). Later he turned to portrait painting and created an impressionistic style of his own.

Pál Szinyei Merse's (1845-1920) oil paintings frequently feature human figures in perfect harmony with the landscape. Szinyei Merse also studied in Munich, though its fashionable trend of historical painting failed to inspire him. On the contrary, he preferred nature's beauties over historical canvases. The psychological explanation for his orientation towards nature was that, his father being a landowner in a beautiful countryside, Szinyei Merse as a young artist spent much of his time outdoors. This is why his masterpiece, *Picnic in May* (oil painting, 1873), reflects the dazzling colors of nature together with the exuberant atmosphere of a sunny May. This masterfully designed setting and the picnicking human figures form a coherent unity. In the opinion of art critics, this bold initiative, as manifested in the vivid coloring and audacious structural forms, is a unique solution which had never before been attempted by any-artist in this genre. The same artistic harmony can be enjoyed when viewing his

other major composition, *Woman in Purple* (oil painting, 1874), in which the painter's mother, a figure dressed in purple, blends perfectly with the picturesque background of this masterpiece.

Béla Iványi-Grünwald (1867-1942) and Károly Ferenczy (1862-1917), all eminent painters, belonged to the founding members of the Nagybánya school of art. Hollósy, like most of the members, studied in Munich. Though he never visited France he later became affected with the French artistic style. While in the incipient stage of his career he selected themes from rural life and he settled into portraiture. While at Nagybánya Hollósy occupied himself with producing the first sketch to the Rákóczi March and with book illustrations for a book of poetry by József Kiss (1843-1921). Then he left Nagybánya for Técső, where he created his fine paintings (*Trees on the Bank of the Tisza River; Técső*) in the simple and sincere spirit of naturalism. Hollósy trained a generation of eminent painters. In 1886 he opened his famous private art school in Munich, which became a center for young artists from countries all over Europe. In 1896 Hollósy decided to move his school to Nagybánya for the summer months. This was the beginning of the Nagybánya art colony and movement which educated many hundreds of gifted young artists and opened new vistas in the art of Central Europe.

József Rippl-Rónai (1861-1927) studied painting in Vienna, Munich and in Paris where he apprenticed at Mihály Munkácsy's studio. Shortly afterwards Rippl-Rónai became personally acquainted with distinguished French artists, including Maillol and Cezanne and exhibited his works together with that of these French masters at the Paris shows of the "Nabis" group. Rippl-Rónai's paintings are part of the collections in many galleries of Europe. *The Portrait of Aristide Maillol* is in the Musée de Jeu de Paume, Paris. Experimenting with several artistic trends throughout his career, Rippl-Rónai after World War I returned to plein-air coloring and Impressionist technique (*Self-Portraits; Portrait of Mihály Babits*, etc.). His oeuvre is internationally known.

János Vaszary (1867-1937), like Rippl-Rónai, was to a certain extent a representative of French orientation. Vaszary depicted rural life in the spirit of naturalism (*Old People*, oil painting in Museo Maragoni, Udine, Italy). *The Portrait of Primate Kolos Vaszary* (Christian Museum, Esztergom) shows the artist's superb craftsmanship. Almost each and every year János Vaszary made a study tour of a foreign country to become acquainted with new trends in order to enrich his own work and to utilize them in his curriculum as a professor of the Academy of Fine Arts in Budapest.

Vilmos Aba-Novák (1894-1941) started his career under the influence of István Szönyi. Later the Nagybánya style and his being the most talented member of the School of Rome some Italian influence, German expressionism and even Cubism, had an effect on his works. But in essence, Aba-Novák followed a strikingly individual course in compositions (*The Maker of Masks*, tempera, 1935) and primarily by his large-scale works in the Votive Church of Szeged and other places. We are indebted to him by the latter for thoroughly modernizing ecclesiastical art.

Individuality of style is very much evident in the case of Jenő Barcsay (b. 1900) who taught artistic anatomy at the Budapest Academy of Fine Arts from 1945 up to his retirement. Graphic art has become the country's most advanced form of fine arts through his works. Barcsay, who has won several national and international awards (Venice, 1964, for instance), is among the world's foremost designers of mosaics (*The Miskolc mosaic, 1965; The Szentendre mosaic, 1970*). Barcsay's beautifully illustrated monographs⁴ on artistic anatomy, drapery and on forms and space have been translated into several languages and won him world fame.

László Moholy-Nagy (1895 -1946), painter and architect, the renowned representative of the Bauhaus movement, founded the "New School" in Chicago..

One of the greatest figures of twentieth century painting, **Victor Vasarely** is considered the founder of the op-art movement. Born in Pécs (as Győző Vásárhelyi) in 1908, he was trained in the Bauhaus tradition in Budapest under Sándor Bortnyik. He left Hungary for Paris in 1930. Beginning of his Parisian stay he worked for years as a commercial artist doing illustrations and graphics. In his inimitable style Vasarely developed a new process of ornamentation. His pictures are a harmony of geometric forms and interacting colors. In 1963 the Musée des Arts Decoratifs featured a grand exhibition of Victor Vasarely's works. He willed his personal collection to Hungary, where his art is now permanently displayed in the Vasarely Gallery in Budapest.

Gyula Vásárhelyi is the most prolific postage stamp designer of the world, according to the Guinness Book of World Records. He designed stamps for 155 countries, and by 1998 he also designed eight thousand first day covers.

Makk Family: Americo, Eva, A.B. and Sylvia. The Hawaii based family of fine artists are world renowned, having collectors from the USA to Japan, from Brazil to Hungary. Portraits commissioned include President Reagan and President Carter. In May of 2010, Americo and Eva Makk presented their thirteenth historical mural to the Museum of Hungarian Military History in Budapest, Hungary where their murals are on permanent display.

SCULPTURE

Among medieval Europe's artistic movements, Hungarian sculpture with its bronze human figures and equestrian statues, occupied a special place. In the second half of the fourteenth century the Kolozsvári brothers, Márton (Martinus) and György (Georgius), created several such bronze figures. In 1373 they sculpted the world-famous mounted figure of St. George which now stands in the courtyard of the Hradcany in Prague. Both the human figure and the horse are distinguished by vivid realism. The concept of realism being altogether unknown in that age, the two brothers introduced an entirely new mode in the universal history of sculpture.

Excavations in the last decades at the onetime royal castles of Buda and Visegrád unearthed a lot of outstanding stone carvings from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At the Royal Court of King Matthias I mythological figures, fountains from which wine flowed, red marble ornaments, etc., represented a transition from the Gothic to the Renaissance style. The immense devastation of the Siege of Budapest in 1945 allowed archeologists to excavate at the site of bombed out seventeenth century buildings, finding valuable treasures in fifteenth century and older ruins underneath. Huge numbers of stone art work were found as well in parish churches, chapels and in the mansions of wealthy aristocrats and of the bourgeoisie. But the Turkish invasion nearly put an end to the large-scale artistic evolution. As a result Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque sepulchral monuments are the main representatives of the various stages of sculptural development in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In mediaeval times Hungary's mines supplied a large share of Europe's gold. Hence Hungarian goldsmithery assumed the lead in Europe during the Gothic period, that is, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Every kind of technique flourished. The world-renowned *Calvary of King Matthias I* is an important sample of the goldsmith's art. The *Calvary* is exhibited at the Christian Museum in Esztergom.

Miklós Tótfalusi-Kis (1650?-1702) studied theology in Reformed schools in Transylvania and was the school master in Fogaras when he was invited by Bishop Mihály Tófeus to travel to Holland and supervise the printing of the first Hungarian Bible. He went there in 1680, planning to learn the printing trade as well as attending a university. However, wartime conditions caused the loss of all contacts with his Hungarian superiors. Being left alone, he concentrated on printing the Bible. After arduous work in correcting the translation, he rented a small print shop and printed the Bible, followed

by the Psalms and the New Testament. In the process he learned the design of typefaces—probably learning his trade in Holland from the master type founder Dirk Voskens—and by 1684 he became sought after for his excellent font designs. His fonts were introduced in England, Germany, and Italy. He even created fonts for the Greek, Hebrew, Armenian and Gruzian languages. In 1689 he returned to Transylvania. His fonts are still popular today. Actually, Kis designed the typefaces that were previously attributed to Anton Janson, a Dutchman working in Leipzig from 1668 to 1687. These sturdy Dutch types were the examples from which British type founder William Caslon developed his incomparable designs. The fact that Kis was the original designer was uncovered by Englishman Harry Carter, with the aid of György Buday, in 1954. In remembrance of Tótfalusi Kis, the body text of this book is set in his typefaces.

Parallel to the revival of patriotism in the first decades of the nineteenth century, István Ferenczy (1792-1856) carved busts in stone or marble of eminent public figures of the national revival movement. Perhaps the most artistic of these carvings is the bust of *Ferenc Kazinczy*, a leading figure of the Hungarian literary revival. Beginning his studies in Vienna,

Ferenczy continued in Rome under the masters Canova and Thorwaldsen, the greatest sculptors of that period.

Miklós Izsó (1831-1875) learned the rudiments of sculpture in the studio of István Ferenczy and continued his studies in Vienna. Partly as a reaction to the Habsburg rule, Izsó revolted against the rigid academic forms. Rural themes derived from the simple life of peasant people were frequent features in his art. His *Shepherd in Grief*, is one of his many carvings exemplifying his life-like style.

The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 helped nourish intellectual life in Hungary. The demand for art grew. The newly founded Budapest Academy educated many a young sculptor. Alajos Stróbl, János Fadrusz and György Zala were the most gifted among them, but Alajos Stróbl (1856-1926) was the greatest of them all. Stróbl produced many of the best monuments in Budapest—for instance, the statues of famous musicians and writers, Ferenc Liszt, Ferenc Erkel, János Arany and Mór.

Jókai. He also carved the sculptural decorations for the Kossuth Mausoleum at the Kerepesi Cemetery in Budapest.

The specialty of **János Fadrusz** (1858-1903) was the making of historical monuments. Commissioned by the city of Pozsony (now Bratislava, capital of Slovakia), Fadrusz carved the *Monument of Queen Maria Theresa* (1896) which, unfortunately, was destroyed after 1918. His chef d'oeuvre is perhaps the bronze *Monument of King Matthias* erected at Kolozsvár in 1902. The fact that it is still standing is owed to the Romanians claim that Matthias came from a Romanian family, which is not true. His father, János Hunyadi was allegedly the illegitimate son of Hungary's King Sigismund, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The details are described by Stephen Pálffy in the appendix.

György Zala's (1858-1937) artistry lay in creating monuments for public squares. His *Equestrian Statue of Andrassy* was executed in the best traditions of sculptural art. Zala carved the majority of the statues on the

Millennium Memorial, which is a high priority in the sightseeing tours of Budapest.

Alongside monumental sculpture, the art of small sculpture started flourishing from the onset of the twentieth century. Having studied in Munich and Paris, Márk Vedres (1870-1961) spent the greater part of his life in Italy, where he attained perfection in the fashioning of small bronze figures.

Fülöp Ö. Beck's (1873-1945) plaques medals and portraits commanded international appreciation.

Ferenc Medgyessy (1881-1958) became famous for his reliefs. Medgyessy was awarded the Grand Prix at the 1937 Paris World Exhibition for his allegorical figures which now stand in front of the Déri Museum at Debrecen.

Béni Ferenczy (b. 1890) studied sculpture in Bourdelle's studio in Paris, after which he lived in Vienna and in Moscow for a long period. In 1936 Ferenczy created his well-known bronze *Bartók Medallion*.

Zsigmond Kisfaludi-Stróbl (b. 1884) was considered by many to be the greatest artistic talent of this age. He studied in Vienna, Brussels, Paris and Italy. Many of his works are in private and museum collections abroad, for instance, *The Birth of Venus* in California and *The Lizard* in London. High valued are his commissioned portraits of George Bernard Shaw, Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain, and others. Kisfaludi-Stróbl's famous monument of *Lajos Kossuth*, erected in 1952, is seen in front of the Parliament Building in Budapest. He also sculpted a 10 foot high bronze statue of the sixteenth century revolutionary leader *Ferenc Rákóczi II* for the Millennium Memorial in Budapest.

In relief sculpture, **Amerigo Tot** (b. 1909 at Fehérvárcsurgó, Hungary as Imre Tóth) was considered one of the leading artists of the world. He studied at the Budapest School of Applied Arts and from 1929 under László Moholy-Nagy in the Bauhaus at Dessau, then in Paris as a pupil of Maillol. From 1937 Amerigo Tot took an active part in Italy's artistic life, at the beginning belonging to the circle of R. Guttuso. In 1949 Tot won the contest to execute the facade reliefs for the Termini Railroad Station in Rome. His robust reliefs also decorate the Sports Palace and the Automobile Club in Rome.

Dóra Pedery-Hunt (b. 1913, Budapest) of Toronto, Ont., Canada, was a noted sculptress and designer who has won many international awards. Her works are exhibited in the National Gallery of Canada, The Art Gallery of Toronto, The Penning Cabinet of The Hague, The Royal Cabinet of Medals in Brussels, etc.

More painters and sculptors are listed in the „MADE in HUNGARY book, on the attached CD.

SPIRIT OF HUNGARY A NATION OF CHAMPIONS

Sport experts agree that among the many Olympic events, the competition that requires the most diversified skills and the highest degree of stamina is the *modern pentathlon*. While the decathlon covers only track and field, modern pentathlon athletes must be competitive in five different sports: handicap riding, fencing, shooting, swimming and running - skills that in ancient times were often required of military messengers crossing enemy territory. Even today, the modern pentathlon is considered a martial sport, its competitors recruited mainly from among members of the military.

A look at the statistics of the Olympic Games and world championships reveals that for decades the Hungarians have invariably placed either first, second or third in the modern pentathlon both in individual and team competitions, often ahead of the Soviet Union and the United States.

As remarkable as these victories are, Hungary's overall record in the Olympics during the past five decades is even more so, considering her size.

During the 1932 Olympic Games held in Amsterdam, Hungary won only five gold medals and five silver ones. Four years later in Berlin, she surprised the world by winning ten gold medals and placing third among the world's nations in team standing, with only Germany and the United States ahead of her. The most stunning among Hungarian triumphs was **Ferenc Csik's** victory in the 100 meter free-style swimming competition.

In London in 1948, despite having lost a war, and suffering Russian devastation, the Magyars again won ten gold, six silver and thirteen bronze medals, finishing fifth in over-all point standing.

Hungarian achievements in Olympic competition soared to their zenith in Helsinki in 1952 when she won sixteen gold, ten silver and seventeen bronze medals, taking third place one more time with only the United States and the Soviet Union ahead of her.

In the gloriously tragic year of 1956, with the wounds of Russia's crushing defeat of the Revolution still fresh, Hungary managed to win nine gold, ten silver and eight bronze medals, finishing fourth in over-all Olympic standing behind only the United States, the Soviet Union and Germany. The most dramatic event of those games, which that year were held in Melbourne, was the water polo final in which Hungary faced the Soviet Union. The battle, fought both above the water and under it, was so brutal that

the pool turned red from the blood of the injuries the players inflicted upon each other - but the score was wildly cheered by the millions who viewed the event either in the stands or on global television: Hungary 5, the Soviet Union 2. No victory was welcomed by the free world with more enthusiasm than this one.

In the ensuing years, Hungary's record diminished somewhat, though what for Hungary might be a decline would still be considered outstanding for many larger nations. (In the Games held in Mexico in 1968, however, Hungary again placed third in over-all point standing behind the United States and the Soviet Union.) In the Olympic Games held in Rome in 1960, in Tokyo in 1964, in Mexico in 1968, in Munich in 1972, in Montreal in 1976 and in Moscow in 1980, Hungary won a total of 42 gold, 50 silver and 62 bronze medals. In the Moscow Olympics, Hungary finished fourth with 32 medals, ahead of England, Italy and France.

In the history of the Olympics Hungary won more medals than Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia combined

In soccer, the world's most popular sport, Hungary won three Olympic gold medals. The Hungarian National Team ("the golden team") achieved legendary fame between 1950 and 1954, remaining undefeated for four years. (Out of 34 matches played, 31 were won and 3 were draws).

Hungary's team won its most spectacular victory on November 25, 1953, against England in a match heralded as "the soccer game of the century" by defeating the English team on its home turf. For the English, it was a day of "national mourning." In May 1954, when England's team went to Budapest for a rematch, Hungary crushed them 7-1.

According to soccer fans, the most brilliant and beautiful game ever played in the history of soccer was the match between Hungary and Brazil in Bern in 1954, the scene of the World Cup finals. Hungary in a dazzling display of soccer artistry, left 70,000 spectators and the world's sportscasters gasping as it defeated Brazil 4-2. In these years Hungary's "golden team" was led to victory after victory by **Ferenc Puskás**, while the star of Brazil's national team was Pele.

Statistically, however, Hungary's greatest success has been not in the modern pentathlon, not in soccer, but in fencing. The list of all time individual winners is headed by **Aladár Gerevich**, who won four individual and 16 team gold medals, followed by **Pál Kovács**, **Rudolf Kárpáti**, **Ilona Elek**, **Endre Kabos** and **György Pillér**, each of whom almost matched the number of medals won by Gerevich.

Hungary's third most successful Olympic sport is gymnastics, in which the Hungarians won 12 gold, 12 silver and 15 bronze medals. The most successful Hungarian gymnast was **Zoltán Magyar** who won gold medals in the side horse event in three consecutive Olympics.

László Papp, a middle weight boxer, also won three consecutive gold medals, being the best Hungarian pugilist of all time, and who is now coaching a new generation of boxers in his homeland.

The uncrowned king of the modern pentathlon was **András Balczó**, now retired, whose highly patriotic autobiography has become a bestseller in Hungary.

Apart from Hungarians in Hungary, there exists a hidden reservoir of ethnic Magyar champions who compete under the flags of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania. Since their backgrounds are unknown to the world, these athletes enhance the prestige of their respective countries and not that of Hungary.

One such ethnic Hungarian, for example is **Ecaterina Szabó** (Kati Szabó) who triumphed in the 1984 Olympics, held in Los Angeles as a “Rumanian” woman gymnast. Another is **Béla Károlyi**, who had coached Nadia Comeneci, the “miracle gymnast” for the Moscow Olympics held in 1980, Károlyi, after defecting from Transylvania to the United States in 1981, then coached Mary Lou Retton, who became a multiple gold medalist and America’s sweetheart in the 1984 Olympics.

Daniela Silivas (Szilvás) a triple gold medalist in women’s gymnastics for Rumania in the Seoul Olympics of 1988, is also of Magyar origin along with **Noemi Ildikó Lung**, who won a bronze medal for Rumania in the 200 m. individual swimming event.

The Seoul Olympics also brought renewed glory for Hungary’s olympic team, which won 11 gold medals in swimming, modern pentathlon, gymnastics, fencing, canoeing and wrestling. In addition the Hungarians won six silver and six bronze medals in various event, placing sixth in the unofficial standing among all competing nations.

Two Magyar swimmers earned special acclaim: **Tamás Darnyi**, 21, and a half-blind, became the best all-around swimmer in the world by winning the tough 200 m and 400 m medleys in world record times. His teammate, **Krisztina Egerszegi** became the youngest Olympic champion ever. Little Krisztina, 14 years old, and weighing just 90 pounds stunned spectators when she churned to victory in the 200 meter backstroke event in an upset win over two heavily favored East German women, after having won a silver medal in the 100 meter backstroke the day before.

In modern pentathlon, the most mentally and physically demanding of all Olympic sports, the Hungarians beat the Soviet Union in both the team and individual competitions for the gold.

In fencing the Hungarian team again topped the Soviet Union for the gold medal in sabre, after coming from behind dramatically to win the last boot of the meet.

The medal collecting continued in Atlanta, Sydney, Athens and Beijing

The year 1988 also saw an extraordinary triumph for Hungarians in the mental sport of *chess* during the Chess Olympics held in Athens. Pitted against the seasoned Russian women’s team, the forbidding defending champions for decades, the Hungarian team, consisting of a *quartet of child prodigies*, **Judit Polgár**, 10, **Szófia Polgár**, 12, **Zsuzsi Polgár**, 1?, and **Ildikó Mádi**, successfully dethroned their Soviet opponents and won the gold medal.

‘This feat has become the greatest sensation in the history of international women’s chess competition.

During the recent (2012) London Olympic games the Hungarians collected 8 Gold, 4 Silver and 5 Bronze medals. By any method of figuring the standings, the Hungarians are in among the first ten. If you take into consideration the total inhabitants of the competing states and the Gold medals won, Hungary is tops.

*Total number of medals won by Hungarians in all
Summer Games (Wikipedia)*

Gold	167
Silver	144
Bronze	164

HUNGARIAN ACHIEVEMENTS AND INVENTIONS

Carburetor, helicopter, stereo radio, television, electric transformer, dynamo, holography, ball point pen, telephone exchange, krypton light bulb, automatic exposure, binary code, vitamin C, neutron bomb, Rubik's cube, jet propulsion, torpedo, contact lens, water turbine: they all have one thing in common. All of them are Hungarian inventions. Quite impressive for a nation that numbers less than 15 million, about the population of Florida.

Some of them were most successful, some of them were used by others, some of them were incorporated into a more advanced design. Others were not appreciated by their own inventors. The best example of the latter is the **electric motor**. The basic theory and the machinery was invented by Anyos Jedlik, a Hungarian university professor. Unfortunately he never envisioned a practical use for it. The German **Siemens** did. On homepage of the **Deutsches Museum** in Munich you can read the following:

Anyos Jedlik's best known invention is the principle of dynamo selfexcitation. In 1827, Jedlik started experimenting with electromagnetic rotating devices which he called "electromagnetic self-rotors".

In the prototype of the single-pole electric starter, both the stationary and the revolving parts were electromagnetic. In essence, the concept is that instead of permanent magnets, two electromagnets opposite to each other induce the magnetic field around the rotor. He formulated the concept of the self-excited dynamo about 1861, six years prior to Siemens and Wheatstone

Others were more successful:

Rubik Cube: Invented in 1974 by the Hungarian professor Ernő Rubik is a three dimensional mechanical puzzle, considered the world's best selling „toy”. To date, more than 350 millions were sold worldwide.

In 2009 the Rubik Sphere were introduced that will also „conquer” the World. The **Rubik's Sphere** is much more difficult to solve than the Cube..

The Volkswagen was invented by Porsche? Wrong! The concept was invented by a Hungarian engineer Béla Berényi

The case was finally decided in the Patent Court in Mannheim, Germany in late 1954: The decision was clear - Béla Berényi invented the basic concept of the Volkswagen before Ferdinand Porsche.

If the name Béla Barényi seems familiar it is no wonder - he worked for many years at Mercedes-Benz where his main achievements were improvements in the passive safety of ordinary production cars - the safety steering column (also featured on the 1925/26 project) among them. Some even say that Barényi was the father of passive safety!

Béla Berényi retired in 1974. This car designer was probably the most productive inventor in his field, with approximately 2500 patents to his name. From 1939 to 1974 he worked for Daimler-Benz, heading the strategic planning department for a significant period. Several of his inventions were decades ahead of their time.

Oil fires set by Saddam Hussein: When the Americans were too slow extinguishing the fires, the Hungarians were also called in. They have revolutionized the the trade, (up to then monopolised by “Red” Adair,) with their “Big Wind” monster, that easily put out the fires in minutes. The simple machine consisted of a stripped down tank and two surplus jet engines. (The Daily Telegraph and Mirror November 4, 1991 and Daily Mail October 31, 1991).

Desert Storm Strategy: Brigadier general—Huba Wass de Czege *behind the military's victory in Iraq: In 1982, Wass de Czege had written a major revision of the Army's war-fighting manual, FM 100-5. His rewrite outlined a strategy emphasizing agility, speed, maneuver, and deep strikes well behind enemy lines.*

By the time of Desert Storm, a small group of Wass de Czege's students had been promoted to high-level posts on the staff of Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf's Central Command. This group of officers, who self-consciously referred to themselves as the “Jedi Knights,” designed the ground-war strategy of the first Gulf War, and it was straight out of Wass de Czege's book—the feinted assault up the middle, the simultaneous sweep of armored forces up to the Iraqi army's western flank, the multiple thrusts that surrounded the Iraqis from all sides, hurling them into disarray before their final envelopment and destruction.

The ball point pen: was invented by a Hungarian József László **Biró**, a journalist and inventor who had emigrated to Argentine, obtained a patent on the ball point pen on 10 June 1943. Although there had been several attempts before, the first practical solution was found by Biró and Andor Goy, who participated in his experiments in Budapest. In some countries the pen is known as the “BIRO”

For hundreds of other Hungarian inventions see

Andrew Simon: MADE IN HUNGARY

László Sipka: SOME HUNGARIAN INVENTIONS

On the attached CD

HISTORY OF HUNGARIAN AVIATION

The first small, hydrogen-filled experimental balloons (1784) are associated with the names of **István Szablik** and **József Domin**.

In 1811, while traveling as a passenger on a gas balloon from Budapest to Gyöngyös (70 km), Dr. Menner dropped to earth various small domestic animals with little silk parachutes, unharmed.

The first Hungarian balloon, the "TURUL", filled with lighting gas, rose with its two passengers to 4040 metres (13,255 feet) on its first aerial journey (1902) and landed smoothly.

David Schwarz (1850-1897) said: "Dirigible aero-navigation can be attained with a rigid body of metal construction." In 1897 his truss girder structured airship, covered with aluminium sheets, achieved a speed of 35 km/h (56 mph). A Prussian officer as a "test-pilot" controlled the maiden flight.

Lajos Martin (1827-1897). A university lecturer, he became the first outstanding aeronautical experimentalist known worldwide. He suggested the use of aileron-surfaces in dynamic aviation. In 1893 his hovering wheel model, which applied one of the technological solutions of today's helicopters, reached completion.

In 1896 **Béla Tóth** gave notice for the first Hungarian patent for an airplane.

The first aeronautical journal, the "Repülő Hírlap" ("Aero News") appeared in 1893, and in 1902 the first professional journal, "The Aéronaut" was published. In October 1910, the reformed Hungarian Aero Club was accepted as a member of the Fédération Aéronautique Internationale (FAI). In June 1910, it organized international air-races in Budapest.

1909: Blériot flew over the English (La Manche) Channel and following that, held his first demonstration flight in Budapest the same year.

Ágoston Kutassy (1879-1932). Owner of the Hungarian No.1 pilot certificate, he sacrificed almost all his possessions and bought, during the summer of 1909, a French (Farman) airplane to show it at home. RÁKOSMEZŐ, 1909: The cradle of Hungarian aviation. Here the first two wooden booth-hangars were built. At the 1910 International Air-Race already 16 (plus 24 temporary) hangars stood at the disposal of the local Hungarian and the 29 competitors from abroad. The first 3 flying pioneers started from here, flying successfully, small, Hungarian-built, light monoplanes: János Adorján (1882-1964). The first Hungarian pilot to fly in this country on his own, self designed airplane (1910).

Ernő Horváth (1883-1943). Won the National Prize on the 2nd International Air-Race in Budapest. He started flying in 1910, but after a crash he withdrew and engaged himself only in design and building. His book, “The Flying Engine” became the textbook of Hungarian and Austrian flying schools.

Aladár Zsélyi (1883-1943). Famous for his innovations. At the time of the international race he had already flown 3-4,000 metres (1800-2500 miles) distances on a circular course. His machine was “the first Hungarian airplane constructed by an engineer with a master degree.” In 1912 he designed the plan of a 500 h.p. Aerobus to carry 34 passengers. Later, in 1912-13 he experimented with primitive gas turbines as a new source of power for aero planes. In 1913 he passed the pilot examination in Wiener-Neustadt, Austria, built a fast plane considered as modern for a 66 kW engine – but crashed at its test flight and died of tetanus infection.

Mihály Székely (1885-1959). His achievement won a distinguished place in the history of Hungarian aviation. In 1911, he flew with a Pischof-monoplane (60 h.p. ENV motor) from Wiener Neustadt to Budapest (240 km). This was the first long-distance flight by a Hungarian. He won second prize in altitude and third prize in speed at the National Air Race in 1913.

Géza Kolbányi (1863-1936). He was one of the airplane and aero engine designers of the initial stage of Hungarian flying from 1909. The Kolbányi-Galcsek 6-cylinder, 60 h.p. air-cooled, fan type engine was the most valuable part of his first machines. **József** and **Kálmán Tóth**. Two young mechanics. Their machine was the first completely covered, plywood stressed-skin structured plane in Hungary.

Sándor Svachulay (1875-1954). Dedicated his whole life to experiments in man-powered flying machines. He built one of his first planes “ALBATROS” with a boat hull: this was the first Hungarian experiment with an amphibian.

András Kvasz (1884-1974). Worked from 1909 as a mechanic at Zsélyi’s aero-experiments. He built several planes of his own from 1911 and was an outstanding pilot, the most popular in the country at the time.

Dedics brothers, **Ferenc** (1874-1929) and **Kálmán** (1877-1969). Pioneers of Hungarian aero engine manufacture from 1909. Kálmán studied in Germany. He built the first airplane engines between 1909-13, when the manufacture of planes was still in its infancy everywhere. He was the first to apply the 6-cylinder radial-engine which caused a sensation in 1911, as it produced 44 kW output with a mere 62 kg (137 lbs) mass. Later, the brothers switched to the production of 7- cylinder rotary engines.

Gyula Minár won with it their greatest success, the first prize, in 1914 at Pöstyén at the Austro-Hungarian air-race.

Mór Bokor (1881-1942). At the initial stage of flying, he experimented in America. In 1909 he built a machine for the airship-school there and won the \$500 Arlington prize with it. In 1910 he continued working at home.

Sándor Pfitzner (1880-1910). An American-Hungarian pioneer who graduated at the Hungarian University of Technology. In 1910 he flew 216 km (134 miles), reaching a height of 1100 metres (3600 feet) within 2 hours.

Lilly Steinschneider (1891-1989?). The first Hungarian woman pilot. She received, in 1912, the No.4 pilot certificate.

Antal Lányi came to Rákosmező in 1911 and became well known by his flight over Lake Balaton, the largest lake in Central Europe.

Létai brothers, **Sándor, Lajos, András** came to the forefront of Hungarian aeronautics by their up-to date constructions. Their most successful airplane (1913) was a monoplane with closed fuselage powered by a radial-engine, without the common single-skid undercarriage.

Between 1914-18, the Hungarian aircraft industry (established here by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) began developing. The 3 greatest: Hungarian Aircraft Factory (1914), Hungarian

General Aircraft Factory (1916) and Hungarian Lloyd Aircraft and Engine Factory (at Aszód – 1916). At Aszód, **Tibor Melczer** designed types according to his own imagination. 287 aircrafts were built during the war: fighter planes, bombers and reconnaissance planes.

The first air-to-air combats produced heroic fights with many tragic losses, among them one of the most famous and most successful fighter-pilot of the Monarchy, **József Kiss**, holder of 3 Gold, 4 Great Silver, 5 Small Silver Medals of Valour (with 19 victories, most of the enemy planes **forced down on our airfields – unharmed**).

In 1914, at the 3-day Schicht Air Race between countries of the Monarchy, out of 10 entrants, 3 were Hungarian. The winner, **Viktor Wittmann** won European fame for himself and shining glory for Hungarian avionics: he flew 1092 km (679 miles) within 15 hours, 50 minutes, 18 seconds. **István Petróczy**, colonel, played an important role in organizing amateur-flying after the 1st World War.

In 1921 the Sporting Flying Club of the University of Technology (MSrE) was set up. Three of its most famous founders: **Árpád Lampich** (1898-1956). An open-minded construction engineer and pilot, prime mover of the MSrE Club, played a leading role in the rebirth of Hungarian aeronautics in the early 20s.

Lajos Rotter (1901-1983). While still a university student, achieved outstanding international success with his dissertation for a Swiss helicopter competition. Later, with his glider “KARAKÁN” (1934) he broke the Hungarian distance and duration records with 276 km (171.5 miles) and 24 hrs 14 minutes flights respectively, scoring in 1935 the first international victory for Hungarian gliding. At the 1936 Olympics, with his masterpiece “NEMERE” he flew a 336 km (209 miles) goal-distance world record to great international acclaim. In 1937 the FAI established the golden ISTUS ring for outstanding work in glider sport – this was awarded for the very first time to Lajos Rotter.

Ernő Rubik (1910-1997). Aircraft engineer, (father of the inventor of the magic cube), was the creator of Hungarian sail-plane mass production which enabled pilot training in large numbers. He designed 24 sail plane archetypes, 5 motor-powered planes, 4 glider UL-aircrafts. Over 1000 of his machines were produced.

Antal Bánhidi (1902-1994). Became world famous by both his aircraft designs and his performance as a pilot. His plane “GERLE” achieved considerable international success. In 1933 with Tibor Bisits on “GERLE 13” they flew round the Mediterranean Sea, equal to 12,500 km (7769 miles), in 100 hours, 22 minutes. The moral success of this journey was significant; all known aviation journals mentioned it. The aircraft was rebuilt as an old-timer, and is still flying today.

Károly Kaszala (1891-1932). His world records: in 1927 he flew non-stop for 9 hours 21 minutes in a circular course on his light, low-performance machine. In 1928, he flew with the same plane to Rome, where they painted its later name ROMA on the aircraft. With this plane (L-2 Roma) its designing engineer **Árpád Lampich** made 1022 km (635 miles) in 16 hours – another world record!

In 1930 Hungarian patriots in the US and Canada set up the Hungarian Transatlantic Flight Committee to enable Hungarian pilots to make a transatlantic flight. Lord Rothermere helped by offering a prize and he decided to name the aircraft “JUSTICE FOR HUNGARY.” **György Endresz** was invited to be the pilot for this historical flight. In the summer of 1931, at the focus of international interest, he made the 5,800 km distance with his navigator, Sándor Magyar in record time (26 hours 20 minutes). This successful flight evoked immense international acclaim.

1938-1945 The Royal Hungarian Air Force took part in the war against the Soviet Union, alongside with the Finnish, Slovakian and Rumanian air forces, and in the later stages of the war defended the country as best as they could, against the vastly superior Allied Air Forces too.

Tódor Kármán (1881-1963). World famous aerodynamicist, one of the greatest scientists of our age. In 1912 he was commissioned to organize and manage the Aeronautic Research Institute in Aachen, Germany. During the 1st World War he already designed a tethered observation helicopter. In 1926 he was invited by the California Institute of Technology to organise the Guggenheim Aeronautical Laboratory in Pasadena, of which he became the director in 1930. His scientific work is preserved in over 100 scientific papers and books. He created the Theory of Edge Surface and in connection with this, the theory for the design and measurement of wing surface for supersonic flights. Based on his results he is regarded as the father of supersonic flight. In 1963 he was the first to receive the greatest scientific award of the United States, the National Medal of Science. He was also holder of the Prandtl Memorial Ring, the Watt International Medal and the Gauss Medal. His chief works were published in all major languages.

Péter Besenyi (1956-). The most successful Hungarian powered aerobatic pilot of all times, many times Hungarian, European and World champion. To this day, an active member of the FAI World

Grand Prix powered aerobatic pilot team, holder of several Gold Medals, and one of the most sought after air show pilot of Europe.

In 1962 the FAI awarded the right to organise the Second World Aerobatics Championship to Hungary. There **József Tóth** (1933-), glider pilot, holder of a golden diploma with one diamond, became overall world champion. This was an achievement never before attained in Hungarian sport flying, and constitutes the most shining pages of Hungarian civilian flying history. In 1966 József Tóth also became the Hungarian national champion.

In 1980, of the two fully trained Hungarian astronauts, **Béla Magyar** and **Bertalan Farkas**, the latter flew into space by the spacecraft Soyuz-36 (on board Salyut-6 space station).

In 1999 in Fairford, England, Maj. **Gyula Vári**, accompanied by Peter Kovács, won for the second time the prize awarded for the best solo demonstration flight of military pilots. Controlled maneuvering flight beyond the stall limit with the X31 as test vehicle.

With special thanks to Mr. Attila Szabo and Mr. Gábor Fekecs.

INTERESTING FACTS

Propaganda is not a modern invention. Many think that this 'weapon' was invented during the First World War by the British. They spread the rumor that their German cousins, the 'Huns,' impaled babies tossed in the air on bayonets or carved babies from their mother's womb. There is ample literature on the topic. Just check the pages on Google.

The accusation of a similar practice of baby killing, and the massacre of women, was leveled against the conquering Magyars (895) and the raiders of the following century. The truth is that not one credible western chronicle accuses them of this sort of 'amusement.' Of course, they were held to be 'dog-headed,' 'tenderized meat under the saddle' and 'drank human blood' but were never blamed with massacres.

The actions of western rulers and generals are amply documented. As an example, we can note the heroic action of Julius Caesar when he massacred the entire population of Avaricum (near Bourges) in 52 BC. Approximately 40,000 were slaughtered and only 800 escaped.

Charlemagne, in an effort to keep up with his illustrious predecessor, beheaded 4,500 Saxons in one day for failing to convert to Christianity (Bloody Verdict of Verden, 782 AD).

The Vikings were marauding the maritime lands about the same time the Hungarians raided all over Europe on their fast horses. While they were doing it for only about a century, the Vikings were 'active' for about three centuries. Most Vikings were traders, although some did plunder, often monasteries on the coasts of Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England, as they had a lot of valuables in gold and silver. As the monasteries were centers of learning and writing, their experiences were much more likely to enter the historical record. However, considerable literature in the monasteries would have been destroyed during the plundering.

We should also not forget about the Moorish – Saracen raids of the Mediterranean seaports and their long-term partial occupation of the Iberian Peninsula, Sicily and other islands. They also played havoc, as pirates, among the seafarers.

Compared to these kings, generals and peoples, the Hungarian 'visits' were like Sunday family picnics.

Incidentally, the horses the Hungarian warriors rode were not the compact Hutsul or Przewalski-type animals. In the graves of the time were found the skeletons of the

Rolls-Royce of horses, the Akhal Teke breed of present day Turkmenistan. In medieval times, they were held to be the best horses around. With very little food, they were capable of covering 120 to 130 km a day.

BUDAPEST *(Boodapesht)*

Budapest is inhabited continuously since times immemorial. The archeological evidence overwhelming. Even the Roman Empire maintained a strong military presence in the region. to defend the Province of Pannonia. The name of the strongly defended city is Aquincum on the right bank and Atiaquincum on the left bank of the Danube.

It was a typical roman town with two amphitheatres. One for the civilians, one for the military.

Since the arrival (or the return) and settling (or resettling) of the Hungarians under the leadership of Árpád, hordes of large armies were trying to wrest control from us over the centuries.

Consequently, the city of Buda changed hands often., ending in near total destruction.

It is safe to say, that the Hungarians had to continuously rebuild the city. Good example is the story of the Vár, the Royal Castle You can easily prove it to you by visiting the three layers of it.

The lowest one is the Sigismund (Zsigmond), basically only the royal chapel is visitable, but some of the components are exhibited in the later building.

The second layer is the remnant of a beautiful Renaissance Palace of King Mathias. This was destroyed by the United European Army under the command of prince Eugen of Savoy of 1686, when they wrestled it back from the Ottoman Empire, with a lengthy siege.

In 1849 we had to lay siege to it again to take it back from the Austrian (Habsburg) army.

Finally the present castle was rebuilt from the ruins of WW. II, but not like the splendor of the original. We just can not afford to rebuild it like it was.

The sad story is, that Hitler decided to defend the city thereby avoiding the likely destruction of his beloved city of Vienna. The Hungarian quisling government tried to declare it an “open city”, but Hitler would not even hear to it. He insisted on defending our beautiful city to the last man.

Instead of showing the rebuilt city you can see on the internet and the many travel books we decided to show you a handful of “before and after” photos. Looking at the ruins and the rebuilt bridges and the Castle, you can imagine the tremendous effort it took right after the War to rebuild all of this and pay reparations of hundreds of millions of 1939 US dollárs to the “victors”. It took two generations to get this far. All this huge effort without accepting a penny from the Marshall Plan that the Soviets did not allow us to accept.

LIST OF AUTHORS

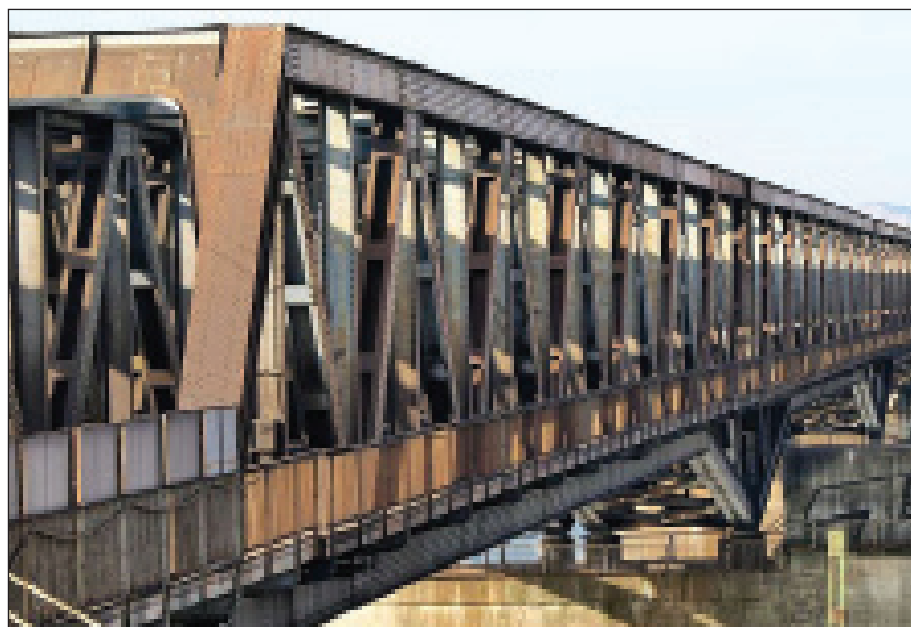
- Balassa**, Zoltán, P.Eng. author
Bandholtz, Harry Hill Maj. General, USArmy
Balogh, Sándor Ph.D., HVCC, State University of New York
Bonsal, Stephen USA diplomat
Chászár, Edward Dr. Prof. Em.
Csath, Magdaléne Dr. full prof. Coll. of János Kodolányi (Székesfehérvár)
Dreisziger, Nandor, Ph.D. historian, full prof. RMC
DuNay, André, Dr. author
Fejérdy Andrew, Ph.D. Historian
Gulyás, László Dr. associate professor, University of Szeged
Hayward, Steven F. Ph.D.
Hegedűs, István publicist, author
Hévizi, Józsa Dr., Historian
Jámbor, László, past Music librarian, McMaster U. Hamilton ON
Kapronczay, Károly Dr. Historian, author
Kazár, Lajos prof., author
Kovács, Mária, librarian, author
Krüger, Fritz-Konrad, Late Prof. of Wittenberg Coll., Springfield, OH
Makkai, Adam, Ph.D, author, Prof. Em., U of Illinois at Chicago
Montgomery, *O.J.F. USA diplomat, author*
Péter, *Miklós assistant professor, University of Szeged*
Sisa, *István historian, publisher*
Szávai, *Ferenc Dr. full professor University of Kaposvár*
Szóczi Árpád, *Filmographyst, journalists*
Vardy, *Steve Béla, Ph.D. Duquesne University, Pittsburgh*

THE FATE OF THE BUDAPEST BRIDGES



The Southern Railway Bridge in ruins

Photo: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum



Rebuilt



The Petőfi bridge (Horthy Miklós) in ruins

Photo: Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal



Rebuilt



Ruins of the Elisabeth bridge

Photo: Seidner Zoltán, Magyar Építészeti Múzeum

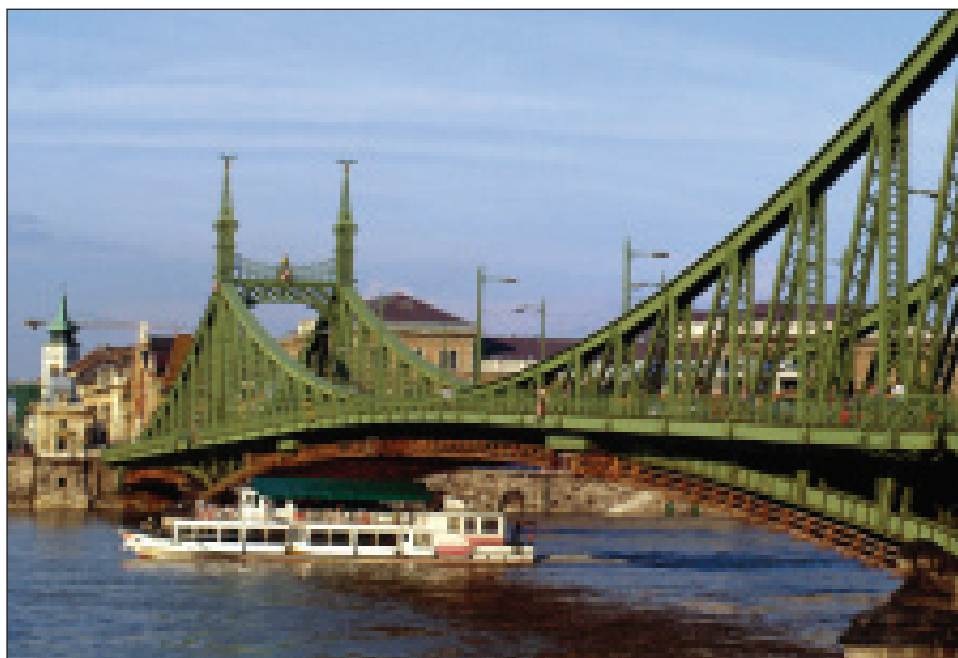


Rebuilt



Ruins of thje Szabadság (Ferenc József) bridge

Photo: Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal

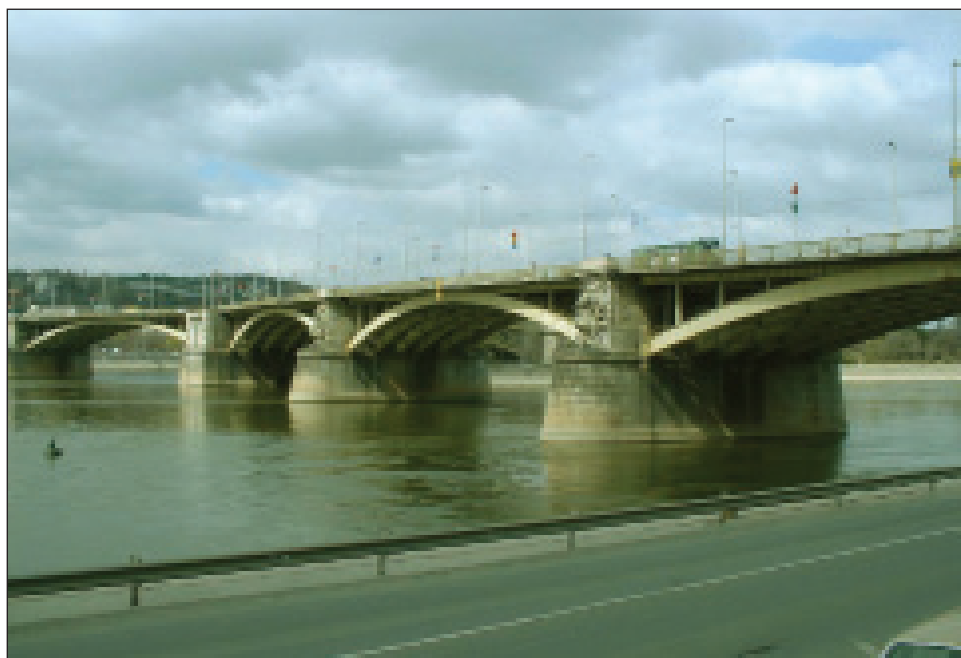


Rebuilt



Ruins of the Margaret bridge

Photo: Csörgeő Tibor, Magyar Fotográfiai Múzeum

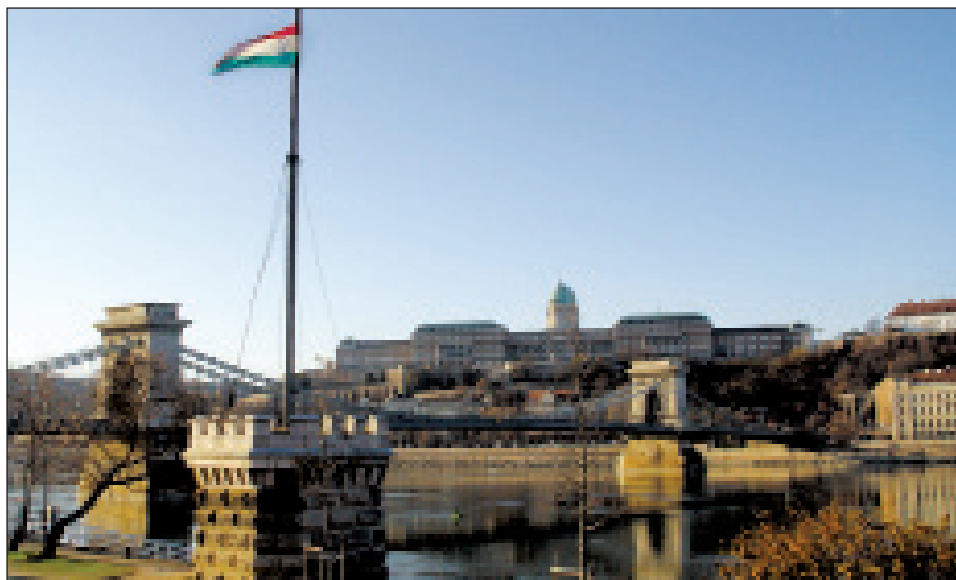


Rebuilt



Ruins of the Chain bridge and the Royal Castle

Photo: Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal



Rebuilt Chain bridge and the Royal Castle

Photo by Ferenc Bányai

Joseph Göbbels wrote in the March 1, 1945 issue of the *“Das Reich”*:
“At Budapest we have defended Vienna...”