Hungarian Studies Review, Vol. X, No. 2 (Fall 1983)

Part II
The Search for Peace

Introduction

The less than four years that separate the summer of 1941, when Hungary became involved in the war, and the spring of 1945, when the war ended, constitute one of the most fateful periods of modern Hungarian history. These years witnessed the loss of much of Hungary's youth, the country's occupation by German forces, the deportation and subsequent extermination of the majority of the Hungarian Jewry, the destruction of many of Hungary's cities, and finally, the imposition of an occupation regime by the Soviet Union. For convenience's sake, this momentous period may be divided into shorter time-spans coinciding with the administration of the men who headed Hungary's wartime governments. The first of these, the Bárdossy period, lasted from June of 1941 to March, 1942. This was followed by the two years of Miklós Kállay's premiership. Then came Döme Sztójay's term in office (March-August, 1944), followed by the short-lived government of Géza Lakatos (August-October, 1944). Finally, the last months of the war saw the regime of Ferenc Szálasi.

While Prime Ministers came and went in Hungary, the dominant figure of the country's historical evolution until 15 October 1944 was Miklós Horthy, the Regent. Although he probably did not relish this exalted role, the crises brought on by the war had thrust him into a position of increasing influence and enabled him to command more respect and awe than did any other Hungarian inside or outside the country. In reality then, a periodization of Hungary's wartime history would be more accurate if it were based on the twists and turns of Horthy's political outlook rather than on who headed the government. This is especially true of the last seven months of his regime when he was no longer always able to exert influence over the composition of his government due to increased meddling by the Germans.

While the principal figure of the Hungarian political scene in 1941-44 was Horthy, the dominant political issue was the question of participation in the war. Every Hungarian public figure in this period felt compelled to weigh the pros and cons of this issue, and come to some decision on the desired nature and extent of this participation. Most of them were eventually forced—by their own consciences or as a result of pressure from others—to grapple even with the question of ending their country's involvement in the war altogether.

The essays in this part of this special volume deal with various aspects of wartime Hungary's quest for the curtailment of the country's participation in the war. The history of this quest has been told before.[1] Thus most of its details are known. Nevertheless, a survey of its highlights might be useful as an introduction for the lay reader or as a review for the professional historian.

As has been pointed out in the introduction to the first part of this volume, most of Hungary's leaders never really relished the thought of making common cause with Germany in a European war. One of them, Pál Teleki, even took his own life to protest the prospect of his country abandoning the policy of neutrality. Notwithstanding Teleki's sacrifice, the policy of non-involvement in Germany's military ventures was abandoned by Hungary, above all in the decision of June, 1941 to join the war against the Soviet Union. The extraordinary circumstances of that decision have been discussed in detail in Part I of this volume.

The wisdom of joining the war, not adequately considered in those crises-ridden days of June, 1941, was soon questioned by Hungary's leaders. Even before the Germans suffered any serious reverses, some of Hungary's leaders realized that the decision to enter the war was a mistake, and began devoting their energies to devising plans for dissociating Hungary from the Axis war effort. This soul-searching among Hungary's leaders, and especially by Horthy, coincides with the Bárdossy period mentioned above. It resulted in an important decision that manifested itself above all in changes in the composition of the country's civilian and military leadership. By the end of this period, the chief architects of Hungary's involvement in the war, László Bárdossy and Henrik Werth, were no longer in office.[2]

If the months of Bárdossy's wartime administration constitute the gestation period of the Hungarian decision to reverse the

country's war policy, the two years of Miklós Kállay's rule can be characterized as the time of search for the ways and means of implementing that decision. In the final analysis, this search was unsuccessful. Ideas regarding the limiting and even ending of the Hungarian war effort were plentiful, but their implementation more often than not proved very difficult. Obstacles to disengagement were numerous: the most formidable were the strategic realities. As long as all or most of East Central Europe was firmly in the hands of the *Wehrmacht*, there could be no Hungarian defection from the Axis, the most Hungary could do was to reduce her support of the German war machine. Another major obstacle was the attainment of some kind of an agreement with the Allies. Part of the problem was arranging and conducting secret negotiations with Allied representatives. Another was the fact that the Allies spoke with many voices. Then there was the phenomenon of the Hungarians making what they considered to be significant moves toward disengagement, only to be told that what they had done was not enough to earn the respect of the Allied governments.

Frustrated by these obstacles, the Kállay government made only limited gains in its quest to redefine the Hungarian involvement in the war. Limited though these gains were when seen through the eyes of those who expected a complete turn-about in Hungary's allegiance, they represent a remarkable feat of political maneuvering when seen in the context of the general European situation of the time. Perhaps the most important of the Kállay government's achievements was the cessation of hostilities with the Western Allies. British and American aircraft, for example, could fly over Hungarian territory undisturbed. In return, Hungary was spared strategic bombing for the time being. A change came on the Russian front also. There, what was left of the Hungarian forces after the winter of 1942-43 were withdrawn from fighting and were assigned to occupation duties. Other concessions by the Kállay regime were Hungarian help to Yugoslav partisans, and favourable treatment of British and American POWs who had escaped to Hungary from German camps. On the home front, Kállay's policy of gradual dissociation from the war manifested itself in a liberal treatment of opposition elements, of refugees from German-controlled lands and, relatively speaking, of Hungarian Jews. As a culmination of its policies, the Kállay

administration became involved in a scheme calling for Allied paratroops landing in Hungary, and a decision to order home all Hungarian units from Russia.

Not surprisingly Hitler learned of these plans and his patience ran out with the ever-reluctant and "double-dealing" Hungarians. He decided to invade Hungary and to occupy her in conjunction with Rumania and other Axis satellites. In the end cooler heads prevailed in Berlin and the planned invasion was not put into effect. Instead, Hungary's leaders were summoned to Salzburg and were told that as long as they complied with the German government's wishes their country's invasion and dismemberment by its neighbours could be avoided. Even before the Salzburg discussions were concluded, German troops poured into Hungary effecting a quick and practically bloodless occupation.

Among the conditions imposed on occupied Hungary were the appointment of a government acceptable to Hitler, and the "solution" of Hungary's Jewish question according to German wishes. Döme Sztójay, a former Hungarian minister to Berlin, was appointed Prime Minister. Next, the round-up and deportation of Jews was started under the watchful eyes of "experts" from Germany headed by Adolf Eichmann.

In the spring and early summer of 1944 it seemed that the last had been seen of the Hungarian plans to leave the Axis. In the second half of the summer, however, these hopes were reborn, mainly as a result of a further deterioration of Germany's strategic position. The first significant development was Horthy's decision to abandon his self-imposed (since the start of the German occupation) withdrawal from politics, and to intervene personally in the deportation of the Jews. As a result, the Jews of Budapest escaped the horrible fate that befell their less fortunate co-religionists in Hungary's provinces.[3] Next, Horthy replaced Sztójay with General Géza Lakatos whose secret task was to effect Hungary's defection from the Axis.

From the very start, the Hungarians' expectations were disappointed. They kept hoping for divisions of British and American paratroopers to land in Western Hungary, and they wanted a negotiated armistice. They were told that sending Western forces to Hungary was out of the question and that a Hungarian surrender had to be unconditional. In the end, the Lakatos government began secret armistice negotiations with the Russians.

While one group of Hungarians was preparing the defection, another group conspired with the Germans to effect a wholesale change in Hungary's leadership. In the end, it was this German-backed group which succeeded.[4] Within hours after the announcement of the armistice, Horthy and his associates were driven from power and the government was entrusted to Ferenc Szálasi and his Arrow Cross Party. With this ended the Hungarian quest to terminate involvement in the war through action from above. From this time on, Hungarians opposed to the German alliance could look only to outright resistance as a means of accelerating the process of their country's liberation.

The histories of Germany's wartime satellites are usually discussed in terms of resistance and collaboration. This approach proves simplistic and not very useful in the case of the Hungary where, in a sense, some of the chief collaborators were also the chief resisters. Of course, even within the country's leadership it is possible to identify people who favoured closer collaboration with Germany, and those who opposed, to various degrees, participation in the war. Indeed, many Hungarian leaders made the transition from collaboration to being opponents of it, and a few behaved in a highly opportunistic fashion and changed their position according to the dictates of the moment.[5] Considering these facts, the application of the term resistance in its most commonly used sense—the one that conjures up images of saboteurs and gun-toting partisans—to the Hungarian case does not appear useful. In the Hungarian context it seems far more appropriate to equate resistance with opposition to collaboration. Considered from such a perspective, the wartime history of Hungary reveals a complexity that belies the simplistic image of the country as Germany's subservient, "last satellite."

What is true in this respect of Hungary's wartime leadership, is true also of the country's population. Undoubtedly, most Hungarians were ill-at-ease about the war. It is also true that they were generally wary about seeing their country transformed from being a reluctant German satellite to being a rebellious one, as this involved far too many risks. In any case a popular rebellion against collaboration made little sense throughout most of the war since during the Prime Ministership of Kállay, and again under Lakatos, there were repeated rumours of an impending deal with the Allies and defection from the Axis. Of

course, for a while after the German occupation, and again after the Szálasi takeover, resistance must have seemed more logical, and indeed it did increase as some of the essays in this volume point out. But for much of the wartime experience of Hungary, active resistance was confined to groups that on the whole had no faith in the desire of the country's leaders to be anything but Germany's loyal agents. As such groups, including the communists, were very small and uninfluential, Hungary's active resistance movement was feeble until the final phases of the war.[6]

The lack of an effective resistance movement did not mean that all elements of Hungarian society endorsed the Horthy regime's policy of reluctant collaboration. In fact the Kállay government's practice of treating with both the Germans and the Allies was commonly referred to as the *Kállay-kettős*, a play-on-words on *kállói-kettős*, the double dance of Kálló, a folkdance from Kállay's home county. Some groups, such as opposition politicians, populist writers and concerned churchmen, favoured a more determined effort to dissociate Hungary from Germany. Their activities only widened as the crises of 1944 swept the country. The effectiveness of their work was hindered by the mass arrests that were carried out by German security units (and their Hungarian collaborators) after the German occupation and again after the Szálasi *coup* seven months later.

One of the papers in this part of our special volume deals with an aspect of the resistance instituted by Hungary's government. In this study, Professor Istvan Mocsy examines the Kállay cabinet's efforts to reach an agreement with the British regarding Hungary's defection from the Axis. He points out that while unrealistic conditions insisted on by the Hungarian government made progress in the negotiations difficult, in the end the quest for a deal with the Western Allies failed because it was not in the interest of the Soviets, who were able to frustrate Hungarian aspirations. Professor Mocsy concludes that both in this matter and in the settlement of the postwar fate of East Central Europe, it was not the "conduct or desires" of the small nations that mattered, "but the interests and the power alignment of the Great Powers."

The three papers that follow Professor Mocsy's work deal with the opposition to collaboration that was generated by three important elements of Hungarian society: the Churches, the

intelligentsia and the students. The first of these studies examines the attitudes of Hungary's Churches to National Socialism and the German war. According to Professor Leslie Laszlo, the study's author, the leaders of Hungary's Churches were alerted to the danger of German Nazi influence as a result of the treatment the Christian Churches received in the Third Reich. Hungary's concerned churchmen reacted to the danger first by seeking greater cooperation between the Catholic and Protestant Churches. At the same time, many churchmen condemned the teachings of National Socialism in books, pamphlets and in religious periodicals. Under a deeply religious and anti-Nazi Prime Minister like Pál Teleki, the Churches collaborated with the government in countering radical right-wing propaganda. Still another sphere of anti-Nazi activity for the Church was the combatting of the ever-increasing influence of German Nazi ideas among Hungary's ethnic German population. [7]

In the next paper, Professor Mario Fenyo, the author of a major monograph on wartime Hungarian-German relations, [8] discusses the subject of resistance among the Hungarian intelligentsia. Like the leaders of Hungary's churches, the country's intellectuals, in particular several young populist writers, perceived the Nazi threat early and tried to counteract it by emphasizing in their writings Hungarian values and traditions, and the need to preserve Hungary's independence. They also continued to advocate social reform and published periodicals for the dissemination of their ideas. All this was usually done with caution, Fenyo argues, without open denunciation of the war and the German alliance. Hungary's intellectuals, like their more conservative counterparts in the political establishment, preferred methods of peaceful opposition to those involving open confrontation.

The last of the three studies dealing with particular elements of wartime Hungary's society examines a group closely linked — both temperamentally and professionally — to the intellectuals: the country's students. In an autobiographical essay, Professor Janos Horvath relates his recollections of the 1944 Hungarian student movement for independence. It is with this paper that we at last get descriptions of resistance activities in the tradition of the struggles of German-occupied, subjugated territories. Horvath describes clandestine organizational work, attempts at illicit

publishing, police raids, arrests, interrogations and, in the case of the lucky few such as Horvath himself, escapes. His account also speaks of heroism as well as youthful naiveté on the part of university and college students who conspired against a ruthless occupying power (and its local agents) in the name of national independence. In the end, the defeat of the Germans and their Arrow Cross allies was brought about not by the students (and other members of the resistance) but by the Red Army, which arrived at the gates of Budapest just as Horvath was being tormented by his captors for information on his associates. Horvath's paper completes the series of essays which has taken the story from Hungary's drifting toward war, to the capture of Budapest in the winter of 1944-45. These papers are followed in an appendix-like fashion by a documentary article in which Professor Laszlo analyses and presents excerpts from the diaries of one of wartime Hungary's most prominent men, Prince Primate Cardinal Jusztinián Serédi. This evidence, Dr. Laszlo argues, helps to dispel the charge made by some historians that Hungary's Churches collaborated with the Germans and failed to serve the cause of peace. Professor Laszlo's documentary study is in turn followed by reviews of books dealing with or touching on Hungary's involvement in the Second World War.

As an epilogue to the story of Hungary's futile quest for a timely end to involvement in war, a few words should be said about the peace that eventually awaited her at the end of the road that she had travelled since 1941. It must be noted in this connection that Hungary's ultimate fate was influenced in part by two factors. One of these was Hungarian participation in the war on Germany's side, while the other was the fact that two of the country's neighbours—Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—were considered to be Allied powers. As significant territorial adjustments at the expense of victorious powers were unlikely, the possibility of territorial rearrangement in the Carpathian Basin boiled down to the question of the future of Transylvania. As has been seen in Professor Mocsy's paper, in 1943 the British were inclined to favour Hungarian claims to much of that land, or were willing to allow the re-establishment of an independent Transylvania. It is also known that the United States State Department at times also expressed similar sentiments.[9] Unfortunately for Hungary, however, the country that had most to say about postwar frontiers in the Carpathian Basin was

neither Britain nor the United States, but the Soviet Union.

While the British and the Americans could almost look upon the territorial division of the Carpathian Basin as a theoretical question, the Russians considered this issue to be vital to their interests. They no doubt considered this region to be a possible staging area for any future attack on their country, and believed that one part of it—Subcarpathia—could serve as a "Piedmont" for Ukrainian irredentism. For these reasons they, and above all Stalin, maintained keen interest in this issue throughout the war.

Soviet aspirations in the Carpathian Basin can be divided into two categories. In some areas the Russians had direct interests, elsewhere they hoped to exercise indirect control. Into the former category belonged Subcarpathia with its majority Ruthenian population. It has been argued that Stalin had designs on this land already in 1939.[10]

A region of intense, though indirect, interest to the Soviets was Transylvania. On the future of this land Russian pronouncements kept shifting during the war. In 1940, when Moscow asserted its claims to certain Rumanian territories (the old Russian province of Bessarabia and other regions), the Soviets encouraged the Hungarians in their machinations to regain Transylvania. A friendly Russian attitude toward Hungarian revisionism continued for some time and survived even Hungary's joining of the German-Italian-Japanese Tripartite Pact in November of 1940.[11] But good relations between Hungary and the USSR, born mainly out of common hostility toward Rumania, did not last much longer. They were weakened when Budapest assumed a role in the German invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941, and were shattered when Hungary entered the war two months later. During the years that followed, Soviet plans regarding Hungary evolved partly as a result of consultations with Eduard Benes of the Czechoslovak government in exile. These plans called for the occupation of Hungary by Soviet troops alone, the detachment from Hungary of the lands she had regained between 1937 and 1941, and the expulsion of Hungarians from these and other regions. If there were doubts in Moscow about the future of Transylvania, these were dispelled when Rumania managed to effect a turnabout in her allegiance but Hungary could not.[12] The British and the Americans did make some efforts to influence the outcome of events but these proved too feeble. As is known, the British

suggestion to establish a democratic federation in East Central Europe (with possible Transylvanian membership) was effectively opposed by the Soviets, as was Churchill's 1943 plan to send Western troops into the Middle Danube region from the south. Mainly because of their military successes, the Soviets were able to achieve the region's postwar reorganization single-handedly.

The new territorial arrangement was legalized by a number of international agreements. The Soviet-Hungarian Armistice of early 1945 re-established Hungary's frontiers in the North, East and South as they had been in 1937. Next, a Czechoslovak-Soviet agreement gave Subcarpathia to the USSR. The final settlement, in terms of a peace treaty with Hungary, was slower to come about, and at times the impression was created in Moscow that Hungary had the right to bargain, but in the end all Hungarian pleas for favourable consideration of Hungary's territorial and ethnic interests were disregarded and the Trianon dictum was officially reimposed on the country with one minor exception—a border adjustment in favour of Czechoslovakia.[13] The pain caused by this settlement to Hungarians was aggravated by the treatment given to co-nationals in the neighbouring states. In Czechoslovakia, for example, their property was confiscated and they were deprived of their citizenship (and the rights that went with it). Moreover, many of them were expelled from Czechoslovakia, or were deported to remote regions of it.

The reasons for this harsh treatment of Hungary by the Soviets (and their East Central European allies) were numerous. The "unprovoked aggression" of Hungarians against the USSR had probably little to do with it. The Soviet decision to award Transylvania to Rumania, for example, was influenced in part by Moscow's acquisition of some of that country's eastern provinces. Through gaining territories in the West, Rumania's communist-controlled government could ward off the wrath of the masses displeased by the losses in the East.[14] In Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia too, Stalin expected pro-Soviet governments to emerge after the war, while for some time he was not sure that the same would happen in Hungary. Accordingly, Stalin was much more eager to appease those countries than Hungary. As regards the West's inability to influence the unfolding new territorial order in East Central Europe, it must be kept in mind that Western military leaders were most reluctant to see wrangles over future boundaries in that part of Europe interfere with the

effective prosecution of the Allied war effort.[15] And by the time the war had ended, the Soviets were in complete control of the Carpathian area and the West's influence there had diminished even further. In this manner, peace did come to Hungary in the end. It was a "hostile peace" as one commentator has put it,[16] one that probably exceeded in its harshness the most pessimistic premonitions Hungarians may have had about their future during the war.

N.F. Dreisziger

NOTES

1. Most ably by C.A. Macartney in his *October Fifteenth; A History of Modern Hungary, 1929-1945* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957), especially vol. 2.
2. These two men are most often blamed for Hungary's entry into the war. The question of responsibility is more complex than it is sometimes suggested, and has been discussed in Part I of this volume. By early 1942 Horthy blamed Bárdossy for Hungary's involvement, forgetting conveniently that in June of 1941 he himself had failed to exercise adequate caution.
3. This subject is discussed in a study by Professor Leslie Laszlo, "The Role of the Christian Churches in the Rescue of the Budapest Jews," that will appear in one of the 1984 issues of our journal.
4. Macartney, *October Fifteenth*, vol. 2, chapters 18 and 19. Also, Peter Gosztonyi, "Horthy, Hitler and the Hungary of 1944," *Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies*, II (1975): 43-58.
5. For example, General János Vörös, who during the fall of 1944 worked in turn for Horthy, the Germans and finally the Russians.
6. Bennett Kovrig, *Communism in Hungary from Kun to Kadar* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institute Press, 1979), chapter 6.
7. The subject of the radicalization of Hungary's German minority on the eve of World War II will be explored in one of the forthcoming issues of our journal by Professor Thomas Spira in a paper: "The Radicalization of Hungary's Swabian Minority after 1935."
8. Mario D. Fenyo, *Hitler, Horthy, and Hungary; German-Hungarian Relations, 1941-1944* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972).
9. Bennett Kovrig, "A Hostile Peace: The Disposition of Hungary's Territorial and Ethnic Interests, 1944-1947," p. 5. This paper is scheduled for publication in a volume of essays collected by Professor Stephen Borsody. I am indebted to Professor Kovrig for a copy of his manuscript.
10. Peter Pastor, "Hungary and Rumania in Professor Mastny's *Russia*'s Road to the Cold War," p. 7. This paper is scheduled for presentation at the forthcoming meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies. I am indebted to Professor Pastor for letting me see this manuscript.
11. Ibid., pp. 9f.
12. Ibid., pp. 13f. See also Kovrig's paper, pp. 7f.
13. Pastor, p. 2l; Kovrig's paper, pp. 9-13.
14. Professor Mastny cited by Pastor, p. 20.
15. Kovrig, "A Hostile Peace," p. 8.
16. Professor Kovrig, *idem*.

Hungarian Studies Review, Vol. X, No. 2 (Fall 1983)

Hungary Amidst the Great Powers: Documents of the Failed 1943 Peace Mission

Istvan Mocsy

The secret peace negotiation of 1943 between Hungary and Great Britain was a feeble attempt by a small state, caught amidst the warring Great Powers, to regain control of its destiny. Hungary was provoked into making the peace initiative by the sagging military fortunes of Germany. After the Allied invasion of North Africa in November 1942 doubts strengthened in Budapest about the ultimate outcome of the war, which, after the German defeat at Stalingrad and the subsequent destruction of the Second Hungarian Army at the Don during January and February of 1943, hardened into a conviction that the war was lost. The Hungarian Prime Minister, Miklós Kállay, as well as the Regent, Admiral Miklós Horthy, realized that if Hungary was to avoid paying the full penalty due for joining Germany in war, she must extricate herself from the conflict at the earliest possible moment. As a result, during late 1942 and early 1943, their unofficial representatives established contact with the British Foreign Office and maintained them until Germany finally occupied the country on March 19, 1944.

The Hungarian leaders' interest in the details of the negotiations was always keen. Although the negotiations had only a negligible direct impact on the course of the war, the policies of the Hungarian leaders were influenced by the hopes they attached to the discussions. In fact, they are the key to an understanding of Hungary's war-time conduct. Also, during the postwar accounting for war crimes some of the former leaders of Hungary used the secret negotiations with Britain as proof of their opposition to Hitler. A lack of adequate documentation, however, prevented a complete reconstruction of the incident and a clear assessment of the reasons for the failure of the negotiations. Built upon circumstantial evidence, earlier accounts of the negotiations picture them to be much more complex and imply that their chances of success were greater

than was the case in reality. Most early accounts of the incident, written without the use of the key documents, were based upon secondhand information on the recollections of the involved Hungarian officials and particularly upon the memoirs of Kállay.[1] Such evidence, however, could be challenged as self-serving and subjective, or at least as being based upon a perception of events that was necessarily altered by the passage of time and a retrospective viewpoint. The pertinent Hungarian documents are permanently lost: soon after the German invasion of the country, to protect the participating officials and diplomats, they were destroyed.

The collection of documents entitled *Magyar-brit titkos tárgyalások 1943-ban* (Hungarian-British Secret Negotiations), edited by Gyula Juhász, fills this void.[2] It contains over one hundred documents selected from the archives of the British Foreign Office: reports by British diplomats from the various neutral capitals of Europe on contacts with Hungarians, documents which were sent to Britain by representatives of the Hungarian government and notes prepared by officials of the Foreign Office for internal use. For over thirty years these papers, now deposited in the Public Record Office, were classified and thus unavailable to scholars. Together they correct some of the earlier Hungarian misconceptions about Western reception of the peace feelers and help to assess the importance of roles played by some of the participants. Above all, they permit an accurate reconstruction of both the underlying Hungarian reasoning which led to the negotiations and the policies of the British and other Allied powers towards East Central Europe. The meticulous editorial work of Juhász, his explanatory notes and the extensive cross referencing help to measure the relative weight and significance of each document and to link them together to form a coherent and even an exciting narrative of the incident.

The documents are introduced by Juhász in a lengthy essay on Hungary's pre-war foreign policy and on the history of the peace negotiations. In its thoroughness, precision and objectivity, it is typical of the quality of scholarship we have become accustomed to expect from the best scholars of Hungary. It provides an outline of Hungary's foreign policy prior to the war and the connecting information that is needed for an understanding of the context of the negotiations. Juhász also offers a complex

analysis of the motivations and objectives of the Hungarian leaders, the reactions of the major Western powers and the Soviet Union and finally weighs the chances of success of the initiative.

As a whole, the book gives us a clear example of the extreme difficulties the foreign policy makers of the small states of East Central Europe had to face both before and especially during the war. Here we can highlight only some of those difficulties which arose from the system itself within which Hungary and the other states of the region had to operate.

Operating within the international political order that was created after the First World War, the small states could rarely pursue a rational and independent foreign policy based upon principles or self-interest and especially not when those policies conflicted with the interests of the Great Powers. From the point of view of the small states, the system itself was flawed.

In creating a new order the architects of the Paris Peace Treaties wished to achieve a number of ends. Among others, they wished to prevent a rebirth of German militarism, to isolate the Soviet Union and, in general, to arrest the spread of socialist ideologies and the revolutionary movements. In short, they aimed to keep East Central Europe free from both German and Soviet economic and political influence. They also hoped to draw the newly created East Central European states into Western economic and political orbit and to provide for the security of all states under the umbrella of collective security. What the system lacked were means of orderly and peaceful change and guarantees that the vital interests of all states, large or small, defeated or victorious in the last war, would be equally protected. Not surprisingly, aside from its counterrevolutionary purpose, the settlement was not successful it failed to prevent the resurgence of Germany or to provide security for East Central Europe. At best it could temporarily uphold the *status quo* and enforce the decisions of the Western powers against the small states. But the system was unable to restrict the actions of Great Powers, who could always escape from the constraints of the system by resorting to power politics. The small states, on the other hand, could act in their own interest only as appanages of a Great Power and at times at a cost to their independence. The alternative was either suicidal heroism or petty Machiavellism. In other words, collective security became a myth and the system of tangled alliances reemerged, a system that left the small states

impotent and exposed to the manipulations of the Great Powers.

Viewed from the perspectives of the genuine economic and security needs of the peoples of East Central Europe, the principal weakness of the postwar system was due to the break-up—as opposed to the reform—of the Central European Empire of the Habsburgs. By permitting the fragmentation of the area into jealously competing small states, the peoples of the region were deprived of the means through which to uncover and defend their real regional interests. Each of them necessarily became preoccupied with security or with territorial claims. Thus the collective strength of the area was neutralized and all of the East Central European states became vulnerable. Moreover, divided and preoccupied with their military security and national ambitions, the social and economic development of virtually every one of those states was arrested.

In the case of Hungary, the dismemberment of the country in 1919 and the injustices of the territorial settlement fixed in the Treaty of Trianon greatly aided the defeat of the progressive, democratic and anti-nationalist elements. As a result, throughout the interwar period, the driving force behind Hungarian foreign policy was nationalism and its aim, the destruction of the Treaty and the restoration of at least some of the lost Hungarian territories. (See the study by S.B. Vardy.) Those goals put Hungary at odds with most of the East Central European states, however, and prevented a collective defense of the region against external dangers. First Italy and then Germany were willing to support Hungary's revisionist policies, but German ambitions also endangered Hungary's independence. On the eve of the Second World War this contradiction confronted the Hungarian foreign policy makers with a difficult choice. The conservative Hungarian leadership and a substantial segment of the middle classes favoured a pro-British orientation, but such a policy failed to produce tangible results for the country. The result was an ambivalent policy.

Unable to formulate and then pursue a clear line of policy, Hungarian actions came to depend upon an uncertain assessment of the future policies and probable actions of the Great Powers and upon the anticipated outcome of the struggle between them. Not surprisingly, during the late thirties and early forties, this led to a series of foreign policy miscalculations as Hungary's expectations of international developments were repeatedly

violated. Contrary to Hungarian expectations the Western powers failed to react to the re-militarization of the Rhineland and in 1938, to the annexation of Austria. Hungary, anxious to prevent the extension of the Reich's frontiers to her borders, was perhaps the only country to contemplate military aid to Austria.[3]

Fears of further German expansion and anticipations of a sharp Western response in the next crisis made Hungary inclined to temporarily forego her territorial ambitions and to normalize relations with the threatened Czechoslovakia in the Bled agreement.[4] Western capitulation to Hitler at the Munich conference came as a complete surprise. Hungary also refused to aid Germany against Poland and was dismayed at the ineffectiveness of the Western military effort and especially by the ease of the defeat of France. Not surprisingly, the phenomenal initial German successes against the Soviet Union in 1941 at least momentarily shook the faith of even the most optimistic believers in an Allied victory.[5] Seduced by the illusory German successes, Hungary abandoned its neutral stance to join Germany in war against the Soviet Union. That was the final miscalculation which proved to be disastrous to both the Hungarian leaders and to the country as a whole. The replacement of the pro-German Bárdossy with Kállay in March 1942 indicates that Horthy himself realized the folly of that move. Gradually, Kállay began to resist the repeated German demands to increase Hungary's economic and military contribution to the war effort, he also began to manoeuvre so as to regain control of the country's foreign policy. But all of the policy options were hedged with danger.

The short term threat came from Germany and from the ultra-right wing domestic opponents of the regime. If sufficiently provoked Germany could occupy the country and install a subservient government drawn from the various factions of the extreme right. But to remain allied to Germany and to increase Hungary's sacrifices in the war held an even greater, long term danger. What the conservative leaders of the country feared most was the prospect of a Soviet victory and Soviet domination of Hungary, which was certain to result in a domestic revolution and a takeover of the government by the left. It was considered not beyond the realm of the impossible that in a peace treaty Hungary would be dismembered[6] or even absorbed by a greatly

expanded Soviet state. Even in the best of circumstances, they feared, the recently recovered territories might be lost once again. The Allied invasion of North Africa seemed to have opened an escape route from all the dangers. But it was a narrow path which could be travelled only if the Western Allies vigorously pursued a Mediterranean and Balkan strategy. If a victory in Africa was quickly followed by a massive invasion of the Balkans, the Allies could have reached Hungary's frontiers long before the Soviets. That such a strategy was in the best interests of the Western powers was taken for granted, no one could believe in Budapest that the West would yield East Central Europe to the Soviet Union without a fight. [7] The opening of secret negotiations with Britain reflected these hopes and Kállay's desire to be prepared for the exploitation of such fortuitous turn of events. But once again, as prior to the war, the success or failure of Hungarian policies depended very little on the positive actions of the country, though it should be noted that the regime did less than was within its powers.

During the initial contacts with British officials the representatives of the Hungarian government indicated that Hungary was ready to open peace negotiations and, at the time when the armies of the Western powers reached Hungary, to open the frontiers to them. [8] Moreover, the Hungarian leaders were eager to convince the West that their economic and military contribution to the German war effort was made under duress, [9] and in any case it was of limited nature. In fact, Hungary's contribution was intentionally held to the minimum that was judged to be necessary to preserve the country's independence and to ward off a German military occupation. The Allies also learned that Horthy was determined to keep Hungary's best military units intact and within the country's boundaries so as to guarantee the success of Hungary's planned switch to the Allied side. This was a tempting offer, potentially of great strategic value, though neither Great Britain nor her allies were eager to pay the price that Hungary wished to extract.

The various Hungarian memoranda which reached the British Foreign Office make it clear that the Hungarian leaders' prime objective was the preservation of the conservative economic, social and political order. [10] Integrally connected to that goal was the exclusion of the Soviet Union from East Central Europe. In fact, Germany presented a lesser threat to the regime than the

Soviet Union and, therefore, Germany's defeat on the Eastern Front was not desirable until the Western forces reached the Hungarian frontiers. [11] It did not escape the eyes of the British officials that in approaching Great Britain and offering to surrender to the Western powers, Hungary wished not only to encourage a Balkan strategy, but also to drive a wedge between Britain and the Soviet Union. [12] The Hungarian leaders assumed that the ideological differences between East and West were only temporarily suppressed, and would once again surface when the bond of a fighting common enemy was broken and a new political order that was to be imposed upon East Central Europe had to be decided. The Hungarians pointedly reminded the British that Hungary was engaging in active hostilities only against communism and the Soviet Union, [13] while thousands of Allied soldiers, escaping from German prisoner-of-war camps, Polish soldiers and civilian refugees and Jews were well treated once they reached Hungary. [14] Through such arguments the regime tried to rehabilitate itself in Western eyes and to assure that in a postwar redrawing of the map of East Central Europe Hungary's legitimate territorial claims would not be ignored. They were particularly anxious about the fate of Transylvania. The documents repeatedly returned to this subject and pointed out that the division of that province in the Second Vienna Award, due to the hostile disposition of Germany towards Hungary, actually favoured Rumania. [15] A fairer division would have been a return to Hungary of territories north of the Maros River line, but ideally, due to Transylvania's historical ties with Hungary and to its natural geographic and economic links to the Danubian basin, it should have been rejoined intact with Hungary. [16] If neither of these solutions were practicable, Hungary would have preferred an independent Transylvania. [17]

British policy toward Hungary was always filled with ambiguities. Though at times sympathetic to Hungarian efforts to stay out of German orbit, British commitment to the East Central European enemies of Hungary prevented a close cooperation between the two countries. The British documents frequently acknowledge that of the East Central European states only Hungary managed to preserve its old parliamentary form, a multi-party system, which still allowed a functioning of the Social Democratic Party, a relatively free press and the trade unions. [18]

But already in 1940 Britain informed the Hungarian government that "since Hungary can render us no service in the war, it is not worth our while to make any sacrifices on her behalf."[19] Until 1943 British policy did not differentiate between Germany and her satellites. The initial reaction to the peace overtures, therefore, was a contemptuous rebuff "as long as Hungary continues to make war on our allies and supports the Axis, she can count on neither help nor mercy."[20] In February 1943 British policy began to change, for, as Alexander Cadogan put it, "it seems to me that in the present critical phase for Germany, anything that we can do to make the satellite states more of an embarrassment to Germany would be all to the good."[21] It should be noted that in both instances, in 1940 as well as in 1943, the telling argument for adopting a specific policy was expediency and self-interest and not abstract principles or even the specific behaviour of Hungary.

After February 1943 British attitude softened towards Hungary. The British government was willing to dispel Hungarian fears about a new dismemberment of their country and, as Eden noted, Britain did not intend to punish the Hungarian people for the follies of their leaders.[22] On the all important territorial issue, Britain differentiated between Hungarian claims against states allied with the West and those made against another satellite of Germany. Hungary was expected to give up the territories she gained from Britain's Czechoslovakian and Yugoslav allies, but the British showed some sensitivity to the Hungarian position even in those cases.[23] According to Churchill, Hungary simply had to trust in the fairness and good will of Britain.[24] On the surface, Britain showed disinterest and impartiality over the disposition of Transylvania and a capacity to understand the complexity of the issues involved. In her policies, however, she also showed her duplicity.

In general the Hungarian-Rumanian dispute was at times an irritant to the Great Powers, to Germany and the Allies alike, especially when it deflected those countries from concentrating against the true enemy and when it prevented them from marching in locked steps with them. Often, Transylvania was used as a bait to induce one or the other to do the bidding of a Great Power.

In 1940, at the time of the Second Vienna Award, the British

government, in an attempt to make mischief for Germany, sided with Rumania, refused to recognize the Award and urged the Rumanians to resist.[25] At the same time, Britain applauded Bulgaria's seizure of Dobruja from Rumania. In September 1940 Hungary was thrown a conciliatory bone in Parliament when Churchill announced that he has "never been happy about the way in which Hungary was treated after the last war."[26] Churchill may have expressed his genuine beliefs, but those could not interfere with the pragmatic interests of a Great Power. By 1943, Britain saw no advantage in supporting Rumania and became more sympathetic to Hungary, not as much because on the whole Rumania "behaved much worse than Hungary," but because of an increasing Soviet interest in Rumania.[27] The internal working papers of the Foreign Office began to indicate that Britain expected to redraw the borders between the two countries in favour of Hungary or perhaps, as the most equitable solution, to push for the reestablishment of an independent Transylvania.[28]

Even before the outbreak of the war, Britain was aware of the failure of the international order that was established in 1919. In some measure the concessions made at the time of the Munich crisis were made to correct some of its specific errors. The breakdown of the security system, the failure of the Western powers to fulfill their obligations under the old system of guarantees and the inability of the small states of Central Europe to defend themselves against a Great Power, forced the British policy makers to draw up plans for a new order and a new state system. They turned to the idea of a federalized East Central Europe and under its sponsorship various emigre governments in London agreed to link their states after the war. The Polish-Czechoslovak union was to form the core of a Central European Federation and the Greek-Yugoslav merger that of a Balkan union.

In December 1942 Eden held out the possibility that Austria and Hungary might join the future Central European Federation.[29] The existence of these plans allowed Hungary to assume that Britain and the Western powers did not intend to concede the region to the Soviet Union. Already in 1940 the former Hungarian Prime Minister, Count István Bethlen, in a long secret memorandum to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, analyzed the prospects of the various possible combinations for a

federal state and came to the conclusion that Hungary's interests would be best protected by a union of Poland, Rumania, an independent Transylvania and Hungary, after the return of Slovakia and some of the Yugoslavian territories.[30] Such a state, with a population of 60 million people and with Italian and Western support, would form a bulwark against both Germany and the Soviet Union. During the war, with some variations, these plans were repeated,[31] but each contained the idea, as a British official put it, of an expanded and strengthened Hungary surrounded by its satellites of Croatia, Slovakia and Transylvania, ruling over the Carpathian basin and in alliance with Poland defending "Christian Democracy."[32] Hungary, however, expressed strong reservations about a union in which her power would be reduced due to a preponderance of Slavic nations.[33]

The political preconditions set by the Hungarian government, the territorial demands and the reservations about a future federated state made the negotiations more difficult. But Hungary's hopes and British plans were shipwrecked on the interests and strength of another Great Power, the Soviet Union. The position of the Soviets was unambiguous. They rigidly opposed negotiations with Hungary until they themselves were in such a military position as to direct the course of events. Since 1919 the Horthy regime was one of the most outspoken opponents of the Soviet Union. Not surprisingly relations between the two countries were always cool. Nevertheless, in June 1941 Molotov informed the Hungarian government that the Soviet Union had no specific observations to make on the Second Vienna Award[34] and, if Hungary remained neutral, the Soviet Union would support her claims in Transylvania.[35] After Hungary had joined Germany against the Soviet Union, Stalin's attitude changed dramatically. Already in 1941 he expressed the view that Hungary must be punished by extending both the Czechoslovak and Rumanian frontiers at her expense.[36] In June 1943 in a letter to the British Ambassador, Molotov echoed those sentiments when he stated that for assisting and for the crimes committed against the Soviet people not only the Hungarian government, but the Hungarian people also must be held responsible.[37]

Rumania was also an ally of Germany, and she participated in the war against the Soviet Union with greater enthusiasm than Hungary. Yet the Soviet attitudes towards Rumania did not

harden, which suggests that Stalin's anger against Hungary was political in nature. He intended to draw Rumania into the Soviet orbit, to protect her against Hungary and to gain new military and naval bases for the Soviet Union.[38] A Rumanian state possessing Transylvania, out of fear of Hungarian attack, would be a more willing ally. In any event, since both Hungary and Rumania waged war only against the Soviet Union, Stalin believed that the final decision on the fate of those countries ought to belong to the Soviet government.[39] Similarly, the Soviet Union wished to curb the enthusiasm of the British for the proposed federations. The formation of large blocks on its borders did not favour Soviet interests,[40] and in the planned federations the Soviet leaders saw only Western attempts at a resurrection of the old *cordon sanitaire*. It suited Soviet plans to keep the small states divided the Soviet leaders preferred to deal, at the right moments, separately with each state.

Partly to limit Western influence in East Central Europe and the Balkans, Stalin vigorously opposed the idea of a Balkan invasion by the Western powers. At the Teheran Conference in November 1943, he joined Roosevelt against Churchill to adopt operation "Overlord," the cross channel invasion of the continent, which limited Western operations to the Atlantic and French Mediterranean coasts. Thereafter, to divert German attentions from "Overlord," only the illusion of a Mediterranean operation remained.[41]

That decision greatly reduced the value of Hungary's offer to surrender. The Soviet Union was always cool to the idea of the negotiated surrender of Hungary. Nor was it in her interest to help the survival of a regime that had been her consistent foe. But if that regime chose to commit suicide, she had no objection. The Hungarian offer contained the possibility of some tactical advantage to the Soviet Union, but only if Hungary was willing to take immediate military action against Germany. In that case the Soviet Union was not opposed, since Germany was certain to occupy the country, which would have drawn away some of the German reserves,[42] and may have even eliminated the Hungarian conservatives. The British attitudes underwent some modification after the Teheran Conference. At the time of the Quebec Conference, while Churchill was still hoping for a Balkan invasion and a rapid advance through Italy, he was enthusiastic about the strategic significance of the Hungarian proposal and

strongly opposed to frittering away the opportunity for mere tactical advantage.[43] But after Teheran the issue became moot and even Churchill's enthusiasm waned. Not able to create the proper conditions that would have made a Hungarian surrender useful, nor willing to ask the Hungarian government to commit suicide and to expose the one million Jews and refugees to German reprisals, the British government limited itself to demands of symbolic acts of Hungarian resistance to Germany.

Juhász concludes his essay with the question "Was it possible for Hungary to break with Germany in the fall of 1943?"[44] The strategic situation at that time did not favour such a move. He points out that all of the states which switched sides were able to do so only when the front reached them. In 1943 both the Western powers and the Soviet Union were still far away from the Hungarian borders. But the domestic political pre-conditions were also absent in Hungary. The Kállay government's willingness to accept risks was conditional, the Hungarian leaders were willing to act only if their main objective, the saving of the regime, was assured. In all of the instances, however, when a country revolted against Germany and switched sides, the conservative or fascist regimes were also overthrown by the liberal and anti-fascist forces. At that cost the Hungarian leaders were not willing to accept the risks of German retaliation. Then too, the Hungarian liberal opposition, though it wished to break with Germany on moral grounds, was both too weak and unwilling to force the government to surrender or to overthrow it. Their reluctance was due to what Juhász calls the schizoid Hungarian political condition, where the pro-German elements were still in opposition and the liberals ended up supporting the government which allied with Germany. The anti-German groups recognized that an overthrow of the conservative government would most likely result only in the victory of the extreme right.[45] They had to recognize their impotence and did not pressure the government. Only the hope remained that the external events would force a fundamental political change in Hungary.

The Kállay government itself gradually recognized that the negotiations with the Western powers no longer had a realistic foundation and could not assure the survival of the regime. As a result, the government sank into inaction. By February 1944 Kállay had to admit that the future of the country would be determined less by the Western powers than by the Soviet Union

and, therefore, Hungary had no other choice than to establish contacts with that power.[46] The German occupation of the country on March 19, 1944, however, ended all hopes of a negotiated surrender. Undoubtedly the character of the Hungarian government, its real objectives in extending the peace feelers, and the political contradictions of Hungarian politics contributed to the failure of Hungarian policy in 1943. But we may pose a second question did the failure of Hungary to turn against Germany influence the treatment of the country at the peace conference and in general its postwar history? In the final analysis the specific war-time policies and actions of none of the East Central European states, save those of Yugoslavia, did materially alter their postwar treatment. Churchill's promise, made in September 1943, that the "satellite states, suborned or overawed, may perhaps, if they can help to shorten the war, be allowed to work their passage home," proved to be a hollow one.[47] The small states were at times treated with paternalism, at other times with arrogance and righteousness, always with an air of superiority, and never as equals. Not surprisingly, therefore, in the decisions over the political order that was to be imposed upon the region, or in the redrawing of its map, not the conduct or desires of the small nations, but the interests and the power alignment of the Great Powers proved to be decisive.

NOTES

1. Nicholas Kállay, Hungarian Premier, *A Personal Account of a Nation's Struggle in the Second World War* (New York, 1954). See also, Stephen D. Kertész, *Diplomacy in a Whirlpool; Hungary between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia* (Notre Dame, 1953). Some of the best earlier accounts of the incident are found in C.A. Macartney, *A History of Hungary, 1929-1945* (New York, 1957), vol. II; and Mario D. Fenyő, *Hitler, Horthy, and Hungary* (New Haven, 1972). Of the more recent works using the war-time British documents are Elisabeth Barker, *British Policy in South-East Europe in the Second World War* (New York, 1976) and György Ránki, *1944 március 19* (Budapest, 1978).
2. Juhász Gyula, ed., *Magyar-brit titkos tárgyalások 1943-ban* (Budapest, 1978).
3. Malcolm Muggeridge, ed., *Ciano Diplomatic Papers* (London, 1948): 193.
4. Kertész, p. 34.
5. The Hungarians were not alone in that; at one point, British military experts expected a Russian collapse within ten days. Harold Nicolson, *Diaries and Letters*, vol. II: *The War Years, 1939-1945* (New York, 1967): 175.
6. Eden to Halifax, 10.3.43 in Juhász, p. 102.
7. Kertész, pp. 70-73; also, Admiral Nicholas Horthy, *Memoirs* (London, 1956): 206-7.
8. Juhász, p. 83, fn. 2. Also pp. 104-6.
9. Memorandum by Aladár Szegedy-Maszák, June-July 1943, ibid., p. 195-6.
10. Summary notes on Hungary by W.D. Allen, 10.6.43, ibid., p. 158. Also, Szegedy-Maszák memorandum, ibid., p. 205.
11. Ránki, p. 77.
12. O. St.Clair O'Malley to A. Cadogan, 27.9.43, in Juhász, pp. 253-4.

13. O'Malley to K. Roberts, 17.3.43, ibid., pp. 109-10. Also, Memorandum by Károly Schrecker, April 1943, ibid., p. 129.
14. Ibid., p. 123.
15. Ibid., p. 133.
16. Szegedy-Maszák Memorandum, ibid., pp. 213-4.
17. Ibid., p. 214.
18. Note by F.K. Roberts, 12.2.43, ibid., p. 86. Also, A. Eden to Halifax, 10.3.43, ibid., pp. 101-2.
19. Barker, p. 63.
20. Juhász, p. 78, fn. 1.
21. Note by A. Cadogan, 11.2.43, ibid., pp. 86-7. Also, note by F.K. Roberts, 26.2.43, ibid., p. 98 and Eden to Halifax, ibid., pp. 101-2.
22. Ibid., p. 102.
23. Ibid., also, note by W.D. Allen, 25.7.43, ibid., p. 179 and summary note by F.K. Roberts, 22.9.43, ibid., p. 247.
24. Note by Allen, 25.7.43, ibid., p. 178.
25. Barker, p. 64.
26. Ibid., p. 65.
27. Notes by F.K. Roberts on "Hungary's Future," 27.9.43, in Juhász, p. 247.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., p. 107.
30. Gyula Juhász, ed., *Diplomáciai iratok Magyarország külpolitikájához 1936-1945*, vol. IV: *Magyarország külpolitikája a II. világháború kitörésének időszakában, 1939-1940* (Budapest, 1962): 760. See also N.F. Dreisziger, "Count István Bethlen's Secret Plan for the Restoration of the Empire of Transylvania," *East European Quarterly*, 8 (January 1975), 4, pp. 413-23.
31. K. Schrecker's memorandum, in Juhász, pp. 130-1; notes by D. Allen, 27-31.5.43 and Szegedy-Maszák's memorandum, pp. 210-1. 32. D. Allen comments, 31.8.43, ibid., p. 217.
33. Schrecker's memorandum, ibid., p. 131.
34. Ránki et al., *Magyarország története*, vol. VIII (Budapest, 1976): 1047.
35. Juhász, p. 53.
36. Comment by A.R. Dew to Schrecker memorandum, 30.5.43, ibid., p. 137. Also, Notes by A.R. Dew, 28.7.43, ibid., p. 180.
37. Perhaps not to alarm the British, Molotov did not completely rule out some territorial changes in Transylvania. V. Molotov to A.C. Kerr, 7.6.43, ibid., pp. 158-9.
38. Comments by A.R. Dew, 30.5.43, ibid., pp. 137-8.
39. Notes by A.R. Dew, 28.7.43, ibid., p. 180.
40. Ibid. Also, V. Molotov to A.C. Kerr, 7.6.43, ibid., p. 159.
41. Barker, p. 210.
42. A. Eden to W.S. Churchill, 7.9.43, in Juhász, p. 233.
43. W.S. Churchill to A. Eden, 7.9.43, ibid., p. 232.
44. Ibid., p. 65.
45. Ibid., p. 69-70.
46. H.M. Threlfall to F.K. Roberts, 18.2.44, ibid., p. 307.
47. Barker, p. 208.

Hungarian Studies Review, Vol. X, No. 2 (Fall 1983)

Fighting Evil with Weapons of the Spirit: The Christian Churches in Wartime Hungary

Leslie Laszlo

There would be hard to find in history a parallel to the wild swings of the political pendulum which occurred in Hungary in the wake of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of World War I. Within less than a year, between October 31st 1918 and July 31st 1919 to be exact, the country passed from a conservative constitutional monarchy, through five months of a liberal, though increasingly left-leaning democratic republic, to one-hundred days of a Soviet type Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and then back again to right-wing authoritarianism in a nominal monarchy, without a monarch. The years following these times of troubles were dubbed the "Christian Course" since the Counter-Revolution being consolidated under Admiral Miklós Horthy's Regency claimed to have been inspired by Christian moral principles. While the regime's "Christianity" was questionable and manifest mostly in anti-Semitic demagoguery, the Christian Churches did, in fact, receive important political favours and material aid from the government, which considered them the most solid pillars of a stable social order.

The most important vehicle of Church influence in Hungary was, undoubtedly, its near-monopoly of public education. Not only were over two-thirds of the grammar-schools and teacher's colleges, as well as about half of the secondary schools, operated directly by the Churches, but they also provided religious instruction—a mandatory subject for all students up to the university level—in the "secular" state and communal schools. While it would be hard to measure the impact of school indoctrination and its residue in adult life, one would have to assume that such a massive and lengthy exposure—we are speaking of a quarter of a century, 1919-1944—did definitely contribute to the belief system and character formation of the population. Hence also the co-responsibility of the Churches for the ethical-moral standards and behaviour of Hungarians during

the times of trial which were to come. It is not enough to say that the clergy was of the people, that the Churches were part of the nation: their role was that of teachers of the nation and as such they cannot escape the judgment of history, be that praise or blame.

This essay will attempt to give an account, even if short and incomplete, of the little-known efforts of the Christian Churches in Hungary to counter the influence of Nazism, its anti-human and anti-Christian ideology. To the degree that the Christian population of Hungary, or at least part of it, responded to these promptings, resisted Nazism and helped the persecuted, one can say that all was not in vain: indeed, whenever the depressingly bleak picture of those times is illuminated by rays of humane behaviour, heroism and charity, we do find committed Christians in the first row among those fighting evil.

* * *

Having been rescued from the atheistic Communist dictatorship of Béla Kun, with their former privileges and wealth restored, the Churches were naturally thankful to Horthy and supported his regime with its loud protestations of patriotism and Christianity. They even participated — while there were, of course, exceptions — in the anti-Semitic hysteria, a gut reaction by the Christian majority to the Red Terror of 1919 which was headed by communists of Jewish origin. Leading churchmen advocated restrictive measures against the Jews who had a disproportionately large share of the economic wealth and were overrepresented in the most lucrative professions (such as medicine, law, journalism, theatre and the arts), and also among academics and university students. Although during the relatively prosperous years of the twenties the conservative Prime Minister, Count István Bethlen, succeeded in taming much of the right-radicalism and anti-Semitism of the first years of the Counter-Revolution, the Great Depression, which hit agricultural Hungary with devastating brutality, and then the rise of Hitler, once again upset the political equilibrium.

The triumph of National Socialism in Germany had fateful consequences for Hungary as well. On the one hand, the Third Reich, flaunting its power and its eagerness to use it, attracted into its orbit Hungarian foreign policy, which was determined by

revisionism and had up to this time leaned on Mussolini's Italy, while at the same time the ideas of National Socialism were undermining the Hungarian political and social order. All the factors and circumstances which made the victory of Nazism possible in Germany—the passionate nationalism born of bitterness over the lost war, the laying of blame for this defeat on left-wing socialism and on an international Jewish conspiracy, the unsolved social problems, extensive unemployment, the disillusionment with the existing order on the part of thousands of unemployed university graduates and their readiness for experiments that promised radical change—all these things were present in Hungary also. As a matter of fact, the radical right wing that had appeared in the counter-revolutionary movement of Szeged could claim priority in raising many points also contained in Hitler's program. There was quite a vogue in Hungary for castigating the feudalism of the aristocratic landowning class and the plutocratic rule of Jewish bankers years before the world press started paying attention to similar pronouncements by the Führer.

Thus when Hitler denounced the Treaty of Versailles and called for breaking asunder—by violence if necessary—the chains of the dictated peace treaties it was only natural that he should be enthusiastically applauded by Hungarians.

But even if we disregard patriotic fervour and other emotional factors, it is not at all surprising that the obvious and grave social ills besetting Hungary and the seeming indifference to them of the reactionary ruling class, which clung rigidly to its privileges, drove many into a camp of right-wing radicalism—all the more, since the communist experiment of Béla Kun had discredited for a long time to come the alternative of the radical left. [1]

In the beginning few people recognized Hitler's real intentions and the historic significance of his rule. Hungarian public opinion was not especially concerned about the fact that the new dictatorship abolished democratic freedoms in Germany. The Hungarian press, which was largely of a nationalistic and right-wing orientation, had long accustomed the Hungarian public to seeing mainly the defects of the democratic systems of Czechoslovakia or France and to sympathizing instead with the authoritarian governments, more akin to the Hungarian system, of such countries as Poland, Italy and Portugal and to admiring Pilsudski, Mussolini and Salazar. Later, during the Spanish Civil

War, this same press naturally took the side of General Franco who was fighting against the "Reds." In the beginning it seemed that the change in Germany belonged in this same category the number of effeminate, decadent, corrupt and almost anarchic democracies had again been reduced by one and the German people had also found its heroic leader, who would, on the basis of a nationalist and socialist view of the world, lead his nation into the better European future then emerging.

Recognition of the true face of Nazism was slow in coming, and even when it came it was confined to certain circles. The foreign policy of the Hungarian governments that followed one another tied Hungary ever more closely to Germany, until finally the two countries became wartime allies. As a result, official government pronouncements, as well as the press (which was under the direction of the government) remained friendly to Germany until the end, and attempted, in the interests of this friendship—and even more out of fear of this powerful ally—to gloss over the unpleasant features of Nazism. This is how it could happen that a good part of the Hungarian public was convinced up until the final defeat at the end of the war—and many remained convinced even thereafter—that Hitler was a statesman of genius and a man of high moral character, that National Socialism was unquestionably superior to other ideologies, that the German army was invincible, and—most incredible of all—that the Führer and those around him were pro-Hungarian. After the victorious conclusion of the war, or so they thought, Hitler meant to assign to Great Hungary, re-established with his help and treated as an equal partner, an important role in the New Europe.[2] That not everyone shared these delusions can be ascribed partly to the efforts of the Churches.

We must, of course, remark right at this point that just as the counterrevolutionary Horthy regime sympathized with the right-wing, authoritarian governments of Europe, the Hungarian Churches did not see much reason either to find fault with the fascism of friendly Italy. Benito Mussolini was not only a sincere friend of Hungary—and in this instance propaganda corresponded more or less to reality[3]—and not only was he the first to take up the cause of revision of Hungary's postwar frontiers, but it was he who by the Lateran Treaty had assured the sovereignty of the Pope over the Vatican state and had thus gained for himself undying credit in the eyes of Catholics all over the world.

In addition, many Christians, dreading communism, considered the vigorous and dynamic movement of fascism the most effective antidote to communism, rather than the old parliamentary systems that seemed tired and chaotic.

In replaying the happenings in Austria, the Catholic press was on the side of Dollfuss and Schuschnigg in their struggle against the godless "Reds," just as later it supported Franco in the Spanish Civil War. Sympathy among Catholics for the right-wing dictatorships was heightened in addition by the fact that Mussolini, Salazar, Dollfuss and Franco had established in the Catholic countries under their leadership the occupational corporations urged by the social teachings of the Popes and had based their new governmental systems on these corporations, rejecting the parliamentary system based on popular representation. Few people were aware, however, that this corporative constitution, supposedly superior to the parliamentary system of the Western democracies, served in practice merely to camouflage dictatorship. [4]

Hitler's rise met a very different reception from the Churches. It is true that he also began his rule with the conclusion of a Concordat with the Holy See. But he at once proceeded to break it: he took away the schools and other institutions of the Churches and propagated a neo-pagan ideology directly opposed to Christianity, and he put the entire machinery of the state, the schools, the press and the organization of the Hitler Jugend, which was designed to re-educate youth, into the service of this ideology. The Catholic world learned of the fate that awaited the Churches under the aegis of the Third Reich from the occasional cries of protest, still able at times to break to the surface, of the German faithful and from the protests of the Holy See, while the Protestants learned the grim truth from their German co-religionists, especially Karl Barth, who had gone into exile. [5] The Hungarian faithful could observe at close range the subversive activities of the Nazis in neighbouring and friendly Austria. The brutal murder of Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss in 1934 aroused universal shock and indignation. The sorrow and sympathy of the Catholic public was heightened by the fact that the press extolled Dollfuss as the model of the truly and deeply religious statesman. [6]

The thrust of National Socialism toward territorial and ideological conquests did not, however, stop at the borders of the

German linguistic area. Its goal in Hungary was, on the one hand, to organize the German-speaking minority, the *Volksdeutsche*, and to make them into Nazis and into the "Fifth Column" of the Third Reich. And on the other, it attempted, by extending material and moral support to the Hungarian right-wing movements, to bring about the establishment of a Nazi-type regime in Hungary, which was, of course, to be in a subordinate and dependent relationship to the German *Herrenvolk* and its Führer.

The conservative Hungarian ruling class could naturally not watch these activities without attempting to intervene. Regent Horthy and his governments were reluctant, in spite of the ever tightening foreign political and economic connections with Germany, to endure interference in Hungary's internal affairs. Even in the face of grave pressures, the *Volksdeutsche* were not surrendered to the mercies of the Reich until the German military occupation of Hungary in the last year of the war. And the Germans were able to establish the Arrow Cross in power only after the forcible removal of Regent Horthy. [7]

Depending on the fluctuations of the domestic and external political balance, Horthy at times appointed definitely pro-German politicians, such as Gömbös and later Sztójay, to head the government, while at other times he chose definite Anglophiles, such as Teleki and Kállay. [8] Given the existing situation, of course, the hands of the latter were tied as well. In public they had to assume a pro-German right-wing position, but, as will be shown later in this paper, secretly they sabotaged the aims of the Germans, repressed the extreme right-wing movements, and urged the intellectual élite of the nation to opposition against Nazi ideas.

The Christian Churches also viewed with increasing concern the inroads right-wing radicalism was making into Hungarian public life. The harmonious relationship that had developed between the Church and the State during the 1920s cooled perceptibly as early as the premiership of Gömbös (1932-1937), an imitator of Mussolini and Hitler. [9] During the succeeding years, when anti-Nazi forces began to organize in the face of ever increasing German pressure and the rapid spread of native National Socialist movements, the Churches willingly offered their cooperation. This cooperation was evident in the support given to the ostentatiously anti-Nazi behaviour of the legitimist

aristocracy,[10] and in the close connections maintained with the liberal-conservatives, who were roughly the same individuals who wrote for the *Magyar Nemzet* (Hungarian Nation), a daily that had been started in 1938 with an expressly anti-Nazi orientation by the former Prime Minister Bethlen. It was manifested also in the fact that, while the Christians continued to be unwilling to come to terms with Marxist Social Democracy on the ideological plane, they nevertheless considered that the existence of the Social Democratic Party was in the given situation not only useful but even necessary. With the unfortunate Austrian example before their eyes, they did not urge the suppression of the Social Democratic Party but concluded instead an unspoken armistice with it for the duration of the common danger.[11]

We must point out as an important factor that National Socialism enjoyed in the case of Hungary a particularly great attraction in the fact that, in contrast to Marxist internationalism, it appeared in a national guise. In this way, while on the one hand it won the dissatisfied lower classes with its promise of social revolution, it gained ground among the middle class, and especially among the youth of the intelligentsia, with its loud anti-bolshevist, anti-Semitic and above all "deeply Hungarian" (*mélymagyar*) nationalistic slogans. As a result, even many outside observers could see only a quantitative difference between the National Socialist ideology and the "Szeged idea" sponsored by the ruling counterrevolutionary Horthy regime, and consequently they did not see the danger, or took it too lightly.[12] Resistance was further hindered by the fact that the Hungarian National Socialist movements differed in a very important respect from the German prototype. While the latter rejected Christianity and attempted instead to force on the German people a "German religion" concocted from ancient Germanic legends and from the "blood and race" myths of Alfred Rosenberg, the Hungarian extreme right—with insignificant exceptions—professed itself decidely "Christian." The various National Socialist parties in Hungary not only did not attack the Christian Churches in their programs, but promised positive protection for religion and Christian morality and assigned an important role to the Churches in the new order.[13] Ferenc Szálasi, who after 1938 was the leader of the Arrow Cross movement and from October 16, 1944 was for a few months head of state as "National Leader," remained a practising Catholic to

the end, and liked to imagine himself a crusader defending the Christian West against atheistic bolshevism. This show of Christianity had quite a confusing effect on the judgment of the faithful, and not infrequently even on that of priests and ministers. Their confusion was only increased when some bishops, priests, ministers and religious laymen raised their voices, in speech or in writing, against the unbridled anti-Semitic agitation carried on by the extreme right and branded it un-Christian. Was it not the Christian Churches who in the past had waged war most vigorously against the inroads of Jews in economic and intellectual life and against their deleterious influence on Christian morality? Had not such outstanding Christians as Bishop Prohászka the Jesuit priest and fiery orator Béla Bangha or the great leader of the Calvinists, Bishop László Ravasz, been anti-Semitic? But let us leave the Jewish question apart, since it requires a much more detailed discussion, and let us examine instead what concrete activities the Hungarian Churches undertook to counteract the challenge of the Nazi attack on the basic tenets of Christianity.

* * *

First we should mention the fact that, as their members came to realize the common danger, a movement toward unity was born within the Christian Churches. The goal of this movement was the defence of the common values of Christianity against the anti-Christian teachings of both bolshevism and Nazism. The idea of union was raised by the militant Jesuit Béla Bangha, who had the reputation of being an implacable opponent of Protestants, in the issue of February, 1937, of the prestigious *Magyar Szemle* (Hungarian Review), edited by Count István Bethlen and Gyula Szekfű. [14] His article, which created something of a sensation, was received favourably and enthusiastically by both sides. It was in this same year that the Franciscan Kelemen Király returned to Hungary. As the pastor of the Hungarian colony in Berlin since 1934, he had observed at close range the heroic struggle of the "Confessing Church" (Bekennende Kirche) of the German Lutherans against Nazism, and he had also witnessed the cooperation that had developed among the Christian Churches of Germany. It was under these influences that Father Király became the apostle of the unity movement.

He recounted his experiences in Germany and urged Christians to join forces against the Nazi danger in numerous lectures and speeches, as well as in his book published in 1942 and entitled *A keresztény egyházak egysége különös tekintettel a németországi protestantizmusra* (Unity of the Christian Churches with Special Reference to Protestantism in Germany), and in the monthly *Egység Útja* (The Road to Unity), which he started in 1942 with the approval of the Prince Primate. [15] It is true that neither the good will and readiness of both sides to cooperate, nor the discussions conducted in the press and in meetings for unity, nor yet the exchange of views carried on in the pages of the *Pester Lloyd* by the Calvinist Bishop László Ravasz and Krizosztom Kelemen, Archabbot of Pannonhalma or their personal meeting which created a great sensation, led in the end to a *de facto* union, that is to an actual unification of the Christian Churches. But these attempts at achieving union did have some beneficial results. They put an end to the earlier fierce battles between the various denominations, and at the same time they made the clergy and the faithful aware of the danger threatening the Christian religion and of the need for cooperation and common action among the Churches in the face of this danger. [16] Only with these antecedents could it happen, for instance, that when at the end of 1938 German pressure forced the banning of the Catholic weekly *Korunk Szava* (Word of Our Age), which had courageously criticized Nazism, it was the *Protestáns Szemle* (Protestant Review) that came to its defense against the *Völkischer Beobachter* which had commented on the ban with malicious joy. [17]

The most significant event on the Catholic side in the struggle against Nazism was without doubt the issuing by Pope Pius XI in the spring of 1937 of the encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge*. In this document the Vicar of Christ, leaving aside all diplomatic affectations, used harsh words to condemn the persecution of religion in Germany as well as the teachings of Nazism as contrary to natural law and incompatible with the tenets of Christianity.

The Hungarian Catholic press expounded the encyclical in detail, [18] and the Actio Catholica summarized the teaching of the Pope in a pamphlet written in a popular style entitled *Nemzetiszínű pogányság* (Paganism in national colours). Of this leaflet, which contained the criticism and condemnation of

National Socialist ideology in the Pope's own words, 300,000 copies were published and distributed to a wide public by the Catholic rectories and by the various Catholic associations and organizations.[19] In the same year that the encyclical was issued there appeared a study contrasting Nazi racial theories with Christian teaching written by Kálmán Klemm (later Kálmán Nyéki), a professor of the Faculty of Catholic Theology at the University of Budapest, and entitled *Kereszténység vagy faji vallás?* (Christianity or a religion of race?)[20] In 1939 a book entitled *Világnézeti válaszok* (Ideological Answers) by the immensely popular Father Bangha, whose Sunday sermons were regularly carried by the radio, achieved such unprecedented success that three new editions had to be printed during that same year. In this work, written in ordinary language, the learned Jesuit defended the tenets of the Catholic Church against teachings branded erroneous by the Church, such as Nazi ideas on race, the nation, the state, the individual and the community, religion and anti-Semitism.[21]

In the meantime both the Catholic and the Protestant press followed with close attention domestic and foreign political events and on occasion sharply criticized the activities of the German Nazis as well as of the Hungarian extreme right.

The banned Catholic weekly *Korunk Szava* (Word of Our Age) soon reappeared under the new name of *Jelenkor* (The Present Age) and, together with the *Magyar Nemzet* (Hungarian Nation), which was also edited in a strongly Catholic spirit, it continued to fight courageously against the spiritual poison of Nazism until its closure under the German occupation in the spring of 1944.

In providing the opportunity for a public confession of the Christian Catholic faith by hundreds of thousands, the celebrations in 1938 commemorating the nine-hundredth anniversary of the death of St. Stephen, first king of Hungary, and the XXXIV Eucharistic World Congress held at the same time in Budapest served to strengthen spiritual resistance to Nazism. The pride of Catholics was much increased by the great respect with which the Protestant Head of State Miklós Horthy received the papal legate Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII) and extended hospitality to him in the Royal Palace. The Regent's Catholic wife took part with exemplary piety in all the religious celebrations, as did Prime Minister Béla Imrédy and the Catholic members of his government. At the same time it was

impossible not to notice that the invited guests from Germany, and from recently annexed Austria, were missing from among the ecclesiastical dignitaries and pilgrims who came in great numbers from every continent to be present at these magnificent festivities in Budapest. It was also painfully offensive that of all the European radio networks only the German (and Austrian) stations refused to transmit the closing speech of the papal legate, which because of heavy rain he delivered in the studios of the Hungarian radio. They did so in spite of the fact that Cardinal Pacelli spoke on this occasion in German. Or could this be precisely the explanation for their refusal?

The extreme right in Hungary was emboldened by the success of the *Anschluss* and started to throw its weight around ever more audaciously. To bring it under control Imrédy forbade soldiers and public employees to be members of any political party or to be active in party politics at all, and he had Ferenc Szálasi, who by this time was indisputably the most popular leader of the National Socialist movement in Hungary, imprisoned. However, the self-abasement of the Western democracies at Munich caused Imrédy to abandon his Anglophile and anti-German policies, and this change manifested itself in a strong shift to the right in his domestic policies as well. Because of this, Horthy forced Imrédy to resign in February, 1939, and chose as his successor Count Pál Teleki, who was an irreconcilable foe of Nazism. Teleki organized a secret resistance movement with threads extending over the entire country, which he called "intellectual defence of the nation."[22] The Churches were the mainstay of this "resistance." Their priests and ministers utilized the various institutions and movements under their direction to educate the youth and the broad masses of the people to adhere to the truly Christian and Hungarian view of the world, in accordance with the wishes of the Prime Minister. Nothing illustrates conditions at that time and the unreal quality of Hungary's independence better than the fact that the secretariat of this "intellectual defence of the nation," which had been established at the initiative of the Prime Minister, was under his personal direction, and had its offices in the building of the Prime Ministry, was forced nevertheless to operate under a cover name, and that its anti-Nazi pamphlets and regular newsletter had to be printed in a hidden printing shop and distributed secretly. It happened more than once, anomalous though it was, that the organs of the

Ministry of the Interior, mainly the county authorities, confiscated the "subversive" writings originating in the Prime Ministry and initiated criminal proceedings against those distributing them.

Following the tragic death of Count Pál Teleki, the "intellectual defence of the nation" sponsored by him ceased also and its secretariat was disbanded.[23] But there was greater need than ever for the dissemination of information and for intellectual resistance at this time, especially after Hungary had entered the war on the German side. Realizing this, Antal Ullein-Reviczky, a highly-placed official of the Foreign Ministry and later Ambassador to Stockholm, decided to organize a resistance group based on personal contacts and asked István Horthy, the Regent's son and later his Deputy Regent, to head this undertaking. Prominent among those invited to participate were Prince Primate Jusztinián Cardinal Serédi, the Calvinist Bishop László Ravasz, the Lutheran Bishop Sándor Raffay, as well as the Provincial of the Franciscan Friars, an order that was popular among the lower classes. The task of the ecclesiastical leaders was primarily to instruct, through the lower clergy, the people and especially the youth in a Christian and Hungarian—and thus anti-Nazi—spirit. According to the testimony of Ullein-Reviczky, all the ecclesiastical leaders named above gladly accepted this task.[24]

Miklós Kállay, who during his tenure of two years (1942-1944) as Prime Minister worked to free the country from the fatal embrace of Germany and to lead it back from co-belligerency into neutrality, also speaks with the greatest appreciation of the resistance of the Churches against Nazism. He mentions the Catholic hierarchy among those who unceasingly urged him on to stronger resistance against the Germans.[25] And in speaking of the Upper House of Parliament he emphasizes that both the Catholic and the Protestant ecclesiastical leaders—among the latter especially the Calvinist Bishop László Ravasz—opposed National Socialist and anti-Semitic agitation in a most courageous manner.[26]

* * *

During the war years repeated attempts were made by the extreme right to merge, in the name of national unity and

cooperation, the various social organizations of differing ideological leanings. In other words, they wished to induct, following the fascist and German examples, all university students into a single organization, all workers into another, all peasants into yet another, and so on. This would naturally have meant that all the religiously oriented mass organizations, such as the Hungarian Scouts Association, which cooperated closely with the Churches, would have been disbanded and right-wing ideology would have been granted a position of monopoly. These attempts, however, came to naught as a result of the resistance of the Churches. And when the Levente organization was established for the military training of youth, the Churches were able to gain the concession of being allowed to organize, along the lines of army chaplaincies, Levente chaplaincies also. They attempted to counteract through these chaplaincies the one-sided extreme right-wing influence that a considerable part of the Levente instructors and military training officers represented.[27]

In those areas of Hungary inhabited by a German-speaking population the Churches conducted a tenacious struggle for the survival of Hungarian feeling and of Christianity against the re-Germanizing and Nazi propaganda of the *Volksbund*. At pressure from the Third Reich, the authorities pushed the establishment of German-language schools even in communities where the majority of the parents had voted for Hungarian as the language of instruction. Where there was no suitable German-speaking teacher, one was imported from Germany—always a thoroughgoing Nazi. Prince Primate Serédi and the other ecclesiastical authorities resisted these efforts to the end, and in many cases they succeeded in saving the denominational and Hungarian character of schools in German communities.[28] The unbridled Pan-German and Nazi propaganda was effective primarily among the Germans living in compact settlements on the Dunántúl. Count Teleki requested József Pehm, pastor of Zalaegerszeg, to undertake the work of counteracting this. Father Pehm fought against Nazism in words and writing, especially by means of pamphlets printed in the press established by him.[29] In 1941, when worship of things German reached its zenith, József Pehm changed his German-sounding name to Mindszenty, a name by which he later became known all over the world. This name-Magyarization signified a courageous profession of loyalty at that time when Germans who had in the

past assumed Hungarian names were re-Germanizing their names *en masse*.

Finally we should mention one of the most significant literary products of the Catholic intellectual resistance, namely the *Katolikus írók új magyar kalauza* (The new Hungarian guide for Catholic writers), which appeared in 1941.[30] The title is an allusion to a work of Péter Cardinal Pázmány, the great defender of the Catholic faith during the Counter-Reformation. His *Az igazságra vezérlő kalauz* (Guide leading to truth) had provided guidance in the chaos prevailing in tenets of faith at the time of the Reformation. According to the preface of the editor, József Almásy, the authors of this latter-day work wished, in the same way as Pázmány, to act as guides, to show the Catholic faithful the road leading out of the ideological chaos of the modern age. In this massive volume the intellectual élite of Hungarian Catholicism, both priests and laymen, discussed in seventeen essays problems of the age which affected everyone and expounded the stand of the Church in relation to them. The subject matter was comprehensive and varied. Recognized authorities discussed the questions of "Literature and Catholicism" (Sándor Sík), "Modern Ecclesiastical Art in Hungary" (Antal Somogyi), "Church Music and the Modern Soul" (Alajos Werner), as well as "The Hungarian Catholic View of History" (Gyula Szekfű). Several essays were devoted to the relationship of the individual, society, and the Church for example, "The Spiritual Problems of Modern Man" (József Tiefenthaler), "Family and Education" (Mihály Marczell), "Our Youth and the Church" (Gedeon Péterffy), and "Christian Social Reform" (József Cavallier). The most important parts of the *Kalauz* are, however, those chapters in which the writers attempt, by expounding Divine revelation and Catholic philosophy, to differentiate the Catholic view of the world clearly from the erroneous views then in fashion and to point out the correct course of Catholic politics. Into this group belong the essays "The Lord has Spoken" (József Ijjas), "The Philosophy of Our Age" (Pál Kecskés), "The Ordering Role of Natural Law" (Sándor Horváth), "Man and the Realm of Truth" (Ferenc Erdey), "Religion and Race" (Kálmán Nyéki),[31] "Politics and Morality" (Ferenc Ibrányi), and "The Bases of Hungarian Catholic Politics" (József Almásy).

Among the above essays we should single out, as most

significant in extent and scholarly weight, Professor Sándor Horváth's seventy page discussion of natural law, in which this Dominican priest, who was known all over Europe,[32] combats the totalitarian state and its demands with the weapons of Thomistic philosophy. We should also make special mention of the essay by Ferenc Erdey, in which he criticizes the bible of Nazi racial theory, Alfred Rosenberg's notorious *Der Mythus des XX Jahrhunderts*. The article by Kálmán Nyéki examines the "Germanic religion," built on the worship of blood and race, which was propagated by Professor J.W. Hauer of the University of Tübingen and points out its incompatibility with Christian teaching. Noteworthy further is the article by József Almásy, in which he criticizes Hungarian Catholic politics but at the same time points out the path to a worthier future. Shortly after the appearance of the *Kalauz*, Almásy published a small volume[33] that attracted much attention in which he applied the yardstick of the Ten Commandments to Hungarian public life and found, beneath the varnish of "Christian Hungarian politics," very little of true Christian attitudes and actions. Almásy, in the footsteps of Old Testament prophets, did not merely castigate the violation of the Lord's commandments but exhorted his readers at the same time to a more faithful adherence to them in the future. In his book he presented the outlines of a Christian political course which, based on faith in God and love for man, would seek the good of society without sacrificing the dignity and freedom of the individual and would rest firmly on justice and truthfulness.

It can well be asked, of course, how many people read the writings enumerated above and others similar to them, and whether they had any effect. We cannot answer these questions. We have merely attempted here to show that the challenge of Nazism did not go unanswered: there was an intellectual resistance in Hungary, there were politicians, priests, writers, and scholars who, realizing their responsibility as educators of the nation, confronted the tide of brown paganism, which seemed to be sweeping everything before it, and took up the battle with pen and word against its propaganda warfare. Anyone who had ears to hear and eyes to read could not have remained ignorant of the Christian teaching that condemned Nazism.[34]

NOTES

1. For a history of the Hungarian National Socialist movements, as well as a penetrating analysis of their social roots, ideological content, and goals, see the essay about Hungary by István Deák in Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber, eds., *The European Right; A Historical Profile* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966): 364-407.

2. In reality, Hitler entertained a barely concealed antipathy toward Hungarians. This is proved by many documents, as well as by the unanimous testimony of those within the inner circle surrounding Hitler. See Stephen D. Kertész, *Diplomacy in a Whirlpool; Hungary between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1953): 38, 203.

3. See Nicholas Kállay, *Hungarian Premier* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954): 175, 217.

4. Voices admonishing Catholics to caution *vis-a-vis* fascism, though rare, were not completely lacking. See, for example, the article entitled "Fasizmus és katolicizmus" (Fascism and Catholicism) in the Jesuit periodical *Magyar Kultúra,* 37 (1931): 5-10. The author of the article is identified only as an Italian university professor. The versatile worker for Hungarian Catholicism, Professor Béla Kovrig, stated as early as 1934 (in an article that appeared originally in the May issue of *Magyar Szemle,* XXI (1934)) that the state corporations set up by the Italian fascist regime do not correspond to the pertinent Catholic ideas, and he also expressed misgivings regarding the new Austrian constitution that had just been accepted. The author published this article once more in the volume entitled *Korfordulón* (At the threshold of a new age) (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1940): 164-80. This volume is an excellent illustration of Catholic political writing of the 1930s, since the articles and essays contained in it repeatedly accord enthusiastic praise to Mussolini, Salazar and the Spanish Right, but treat Hitler and National Socialism in a tone of caution and frequently of criticism.

It should be remarked that the other prominent Hungarian exponent of Catholic social teaching, Vid Mihelics, did not in the least share Kovrig's tolerant optimism toward Italian fascism and the other right-wing dictatorships. See Vid Mihelics, *Világproblémák és a katolicizmus* (World Problems and Catholicism) (Budapest: DOM kiadás, 1933): 136-51.

Austrian corporativism, which exercised a great attraction on Hungarian Catholics, was also criticized by some, and most sharply by József Almásy in his work *A tízparancsolat a közéletben* (The ten commandments of public life) (Budapest: Árkádia Könyvkiadó, 1942): 151-3.

5. Both of the Catholic and the Protestant press faithfully reported on the anti-Christian teachings and actions of the German National Socialists. Thus the column entitled "Külföldi krónika" (Events Abroad) of the *Katolikus Szemle* dealt during the 1930s primarily with events in Germany and with the persecution of Christians being carried out there.

Karl Barth, the anti-Nazi Protestant theologian of world renown, exercised a great influence on Hungarian Protestantism. During the 1930s his works were publicized and translated into Hungarian, and he himself was invited to make a lecture tour of Hungary, which he did in 1937. See István Kónya, *A magyar református egyház felső vezetésének politikai ideológiája a Horthy-korszakban*(The political ideology of the higher leadership of the Hungarian Calvinist Church during the Horthy Era) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967): 127-8; see also Gyula Gombos, *The Lean Years* (New York: The Kossuth Foundation, Inc., 1960): 33.

6. See, for example, the commemorative article about him entitled "Dollfuss vértanúsága" (The martyrdom of Dollfus) in *Katolikus Szemle,* XLVIII (1934): 580, as well as the lead-article "Dollfuss"by Count Iván Csekonics in *Magyar Kultura,* XXI (1934): 161-3.

7. On October 15, 1944, Horthy proclaimed Hungary's withdrawal from the war. Due to insufficient preparation and outright treason, the attempt failed. The next morning he was arrested by the SS and together with his wife, taken to Germany.

8. Imrédy began his tenure as Prime Minister as an Anglophile, and Bárdossy was "neutral"when he became Prime Minister. Only later did both turn increasingly toward

the Germans; this was precisely the reason that Horthy dismissed them. Considering the Regent's increasing antipathy toward Gömbös (who escaped forced resignation only because of his death) and further the dismissal of Darányi again because of his connections with the Germans and the Arrow Cross, as well as the fact that Horthy was forced by direct pressure from the Germans to appoint Sztójay and that he removed Sztójay as soon as this pressure decreased, we believe it can be stated with confidence that Horthy did not allow anyone to remain Prime Minister who entered into too close a relationship with the Germans or the Hungarian National Socialists.

9. This is shown on the Catholic side by the Christian Party's leaving the government. For the aversion toward Gömbös manifested by the leaders of the Calvinist Church, see Kónya, p. 73.

The following episode, which was related to the author by the late Baron Móric Kornfeld in the spring of 1965, illuminates the relationship of Gömbös and the Prince Primate.

Soon after he became Prime Minister, Gömbös called upon all public employees to take an oath of unconditional loyalty to him. Cardinal Serédi forbade the teaching staff of the Catholic schools to do this. Gömbös thereupon appeared in Esztergom, accompanied by Minister of Culture Bálint Hóman, in order to obtain an explanation of the Prince Primate's conduct. At their meeting, Cardinal Serédi explained—as he later recounted to Baron Kornfeld—that he did not know of any such thing as "unconditional obedience."Cardinal Serédi, who was a member of the Order of St. Benedict, said to Gömbös: "I am a member of a religious order, and thus I have bound myself by solemn vows to obedience to my superiors; but only *insofar as their commands do not conflict with the laws of God, of the Church, and of the Holy Order*. There does not exist on this earth the man or the authority that has the right to obligate someone to 'unconditional' obedience."It was obvious that the lecture did not exactly please Gömbös, but he did not press the matter further.

10. Thus at the mass meeting held in Körmend on October 10, 1937, which can be regarded as the first muster of troops of the anti-Nazi front that was gradually developing along the entire line from the conservative Right to the Social Democratic Left. See C.A. Macartney, *October Fifteen. A History of Modern Hungary, 1929/1945*, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1956/1957), I: 183-4.

11. See the reply entitled "Szocialista békejobb" (Peace offer by the socialists) in *Katolikus Szemle* LI (1937): 693-5, to the article "Kereszténység és szocializmus" (Christianity and Socialism) by the Social Democratic writer Ferenc Fejtő in *Szép Szó* (August, 1937). The reply in *Katolikus Szemle* held that agreement on matters of principle between Catholicism and Marxist Social Democracy continued to be impossible, but it considered tactical, political cooperation between them permissible under certain circumstances, in the interest of common goals or against a common danger. See also József Almásy, "Magyar hivatásrendiség?" (Hungarian corporativism?) *Magyar Szemle*, XLVI (1944): 73.

12. József Almásy, in his series of articles entitled "A magyar katolicizmus útjáról" (About the road of Hungarian Catholicism) which appeared in the Catholic weekly *Jelenkor*, warned against the "optical illusion"which "sees only a difference in degree between traditional Hungarian nationalism and the new totalitarian nationalism."An account of this series of articles by Almásy, including the above quotation, is given in "A katolikus politika feladatai" (The tasks of Catholic politics) *Katolikus Szemle*, LIII (1939): 669.

13. In *Mit akarunk? a Nemzeti Szocialista Földmüves - és Munkáspárt programja* (What do we want? The program of the National Socialist Agrarian and Workers' Party), which appeared in May, 1933, Szálasi's precursor, Zoltán Meskó emphasized that his national socialist party "is based on the religious-moral view of the world and on positive Christianity.... It demands the severe persecution of anti-religious agitation and increased protection for the religious feelings of all Hungarian working people."The program, drawn up in 1934, of another National Socialist Party leader, Count Sándor Festetics, contained a similar point:

We demand that the Christian view of the world be allowed to assert itself in all areas of governmental and social life. We demand denominational peace among the Christian

denominations, as well as respect for the Churches and protection of their rights and prestige.

Finally Ferenc Szálasi, in his program statement published in 1934 and entitled *Cél és követelések* (Our goal and demands), which was adopted by the Hungarian National Socialist Party that was established in the fall of 1937 as a result of the union of the various right radical parties, stated that of the three pillars of the Hungarian Movement the first was the moral pillar, which requires that "true faith in God and true love of Christ may lead alone and exclusively to a true love of nation and fatherland, and conversely also: true love of nation and of fatherland should lead us to a recognition of the true Christ and the true God."In the same place he made the pronouncement that "Hungarian National Socialism is inseparable and indivisible from the teaching of Christ."Going even further, Szálasi in effect claimed for himself an exclusive right to Christianity when he declared that "the weapon for transposing into practice the Jewish moral world order is Communism, while the weapon for transposing into practice the moral world order of Christ is National Socialism."See József Közi-Horváth, "A magyarországi nemzetiszocialista pártok története, programja és jelenlegi állása" (The history, program and present status of the National Socialist Parties in Hungary) *Magyar Kultura*, 49 (1938), lst half year, pp. 48-52, 75-8, 116-7; quotations from pp. 49, 51, and 77. See also Deák's essay in Rogger and Weber, p. 394.

In spite of the above, the investigation conducted by the Vatican in 1938 found the Hungarian National Socialist (Hungarist) ideology to be irreconcilable with the teachings of Christianity. See Macartney, I, p. 228.

14. "Keresztény unió?" (Christian unity?) *Magyar Szemle*, XXIX (1937): 105-15. From the Protestant side János Victor replied with "Keresztyén unió?,"*Magyar Szemle*, XXX (1937): 5-15; to this reply came a further one from Béla Bangha with "Még egyszer: a keresztény unió," (Once more: Christian unity) *Magyar Szemle*, XXXI (1937): 297-308.

15. See Kelemen Király, *Katolikus-protestáns egységtörekvés története Magyarországon* (The history of the efforts to achieve Catholic-Protestant unity in Hungary) (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Standard Press, 1965).

16. Ibid., pp. 76-90; see also, Kónya, p. 92.

17. See "Klerikális tintakulik" (Clerical scribblers) in the editorial column, *Protestáns Szemle*, XLVIII (1939): 102-3.

18. See, for example, the account by József Közi-Horváth in *Katolikus Szemle*, LI (1937): 286-8.

19. Zoltán Nyisztor, *Az actio catholica tíz éve* (Ten years of the Catholic Action) (Budapest, 1943): 29. According to another source, the number of copies reached several million and it was still being distributed, amid the gravest dangers, at the time of the German occupation. J. Vecsey, ed., *Mindszenty Okmánytár* (Mindszenty documents), 3 vols. (Munich, 1957), III: 14.

20. Before the publication of Klemm's book, those persons who read only Hungarian could gain a knowledge of this question from the work, translated into Hungarian by Zoltán Nyisztor, of Michael von Faulhaber, the famous resistance worker and later Cardinal Archbishop of Munich, entitled *Zsidóság, kereszténység, germánság* (Jews, Christians, Germans) (Budapest, 1934).

21. See Béla Bangha, S.J., *Világnézeti válaszok; Korszerű vallási kérdések és ellenvetések [illegible] megvilágítása* (Ideological answers: illuminating contemporary religious problems and contradictions) (Budapest: Pázmány Péter Irodalmi Társaság, 1940), especially pp. 18-32, 79, 87, 101-3, 109-10.

22. See Macartney, I, p. 354; as well as Béla Kovrig, *Magyar társadalompolitika 1920-1945* (Hungarian social politics 1920-1945), mimeographed, 2 vols. (New York: Hungarian National Committee, 1954), II: 174-83.

23. Teleki took his own life on April 3, 1941 because he was not able to prevent the entry into Hungary of German troops marching against Yugoslavia and the consequent turning against Hungary of the Western democracies. By sacrificing his life, he wished to dramatize to the outside world the grave situation in which his country found itself. See Macartney, I, pp. 474-90. For the disbandment at Bárdossy's order of the secretariat of the "national political service"organized by Teleki, see ibid., II, p. 14.

24. See Antal Ullein-Reviczky, *Guerre Allemande Paix Russe*; *Le Drame Hongrois* (Neuchatel: Editions de la Baconniere, 1947): 124-5.

25. Kállay, p. 254.

26. Ibid., p. 267.

27. See Miklós Beresztóczy, "A magyar katolicizmus harca a nemzetiszocializmus ellen" (The struggle of the Hungarian Catholicism against National Socialism) in Antal Meszlényi, ed., *A magyar katolikus egyház és az emberi jogok védelme* (The Hungarian Catholic Church and the defence of human rights) (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1947): 12-13.

28. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

29. Sigismund Mihalovics, *Mindszenty, Ungarn, Europa: Ein Zeugenbericht* (Karlsruhe: Badenia Verlag, 1949), p. 65. Also, József Közi-Horváth, "Mindszenty im öffentlichen Leben, in Josef Vecsey, ed., *Kardinal Mindszenty* (München: Donau Verlag, 1962): 159-60.

30. Edited by József Almásy, and published by Ardói Irodalmi és Könyvkiadó Vállalat, Budapest in 1941.

31. This essay, expanded to more than 500 pages, also appeared as a book: Kálmán Nyéki, *Vallás és faj* (Religion and race) (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1941).

On the Protestant side, the Calvinist theology professor Béla Vasady argued against the Nazi theory of race. See Sándor Bíró et al., *A magyar református egyház története* (The history of the Hungarian Calvinist Church) (Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1949): 50ö.

32. Horváth, who taught for a number of years at the University of Fribourg in Switzerland and later at the University of Graz, exercised a great influence on Catholic social teaching—primarily in Germany and Austria—especially through his conception of property rights, based on St. Thomas, which he expounded in his work entitled *Eigentumsrecht nach dem hl. Thomas von Aquin* (Graz, 1929).

33. See Note 4 above.

34. The participation of the Church in the anti-Nazi political resistance is treated in my article, "The Catholic Underground in Wartime Hungary: The Birth of the Christian Democratic Party,"*Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, XXIII, no. 1 (March, 1981): 56-69. The way in which it aided the persecuted and saved tens of thousands of lives is described in my paper, "The Role of the Christian Churches in the Rescue of the Budapest Jews,"presented to the Meeting of the Central and East European Studies Association of Canada in Montreal, June 4-5, 1980.

Hungarian Studies Review, Vol. X, No. 2 (Fall 1983)

Hungarian Intellectuals during World War II

Mario Fenyo

Attila József wrote in a poem about his Fatherland, a few years before World War II:

> Let man be more human
> and the Hungarian be more Hungarian
> so the country not become a German colony...

He did not live long enough to see his country subjugated by the Germans. Neither he, nor other Hungarian poets had the power to do anything about that subjugation.

The scope allotted to this paper is both too tight and too generous to explain why progressive thinkers and politicians in Hungary failed to maintain the country's neutrality and independence. Certainly too generous, if we must appraise resistance by the number of sabotage acts committed, occupation troops killed, or tanks disabled. There were a few acts of sabotage perpetrated by Hungarian patriots during the war, such as the bomb planted at the foot of the statue of Gyula Gömbös, the first prime minister with a clearly pro-Nazi foreign policy. All these actions, however, occurred towards the end of the war. As far as I have been able to ascertain, no Hungarian soldiers or gendarmes were killed for political reasons until the fall of 1944. The same applies to the members of the German occupation force stationed on the territory of Trianon Hungary.[1]

On the other hand, if we measure resistance by the number of victims, the numbers of those suffering or killed, or by the extent of pain, this article would require considerably more time and space. It is not easy to explain why Hungarian resistance deserves to be mentioned alongside movements in countries that have earned themselves a reputation for heroism. Conversely, how could there be victims of resistance, if there was no organized resistance? Equally paradoxically, why did Nazi Germany decide to invade and occupy a country which fought as its ally in the war, and was even regarded as a fellow Fascist nation, a member

of the anti-Comintern pact? It would take more than a paper to explain these paradoxes and anomalies.

Nevertheless, we can begin to make distinctions based on common sense. What sort of acts can be classified as resistance in the Hungarian context? Who may be included among those who resisted? Is it proper to dismiss the actions of Jews, or of Hungarians of Jewish descent, on the grounds that it was only natural for them to resist, as a matter of self-defense and survival?

For example, it is hardly possible to speak of organized Jewish resistance in Hungary. Jewish intellectuals were persecuted and struck down not simply because they were Jews, but because they were anti-Fascist. In fact, most of them tended to be "assimilated" rather than Jewish hence, when they acted politically they acted not only as anti-Fascist, but as Hungarian patriots, in what they conceived to be the best interest of the Hungarian nation.

Our biggest dilemma, however, concerns the period from 1941 to 1944, when Hungary fought as an ally of Germany, but was able to preserve a certain freedom of action. Against whom did the Hungarian patriots resist in this period? Was it against the Horthy regime, against the establishment? Against pressures from Nazi Germany? Or against the pro-Nazi and pro-German aspects of the policies of the Hungarian state?

It may be more appropriate to speak, not of a Horthy regime, but of a conservative establishment in which two conflicting tendencies struggled for supremacy. These tendencies were manifest in foreign rather than domestic affairs, a) to align the country's policies with those of Germany, either as a matter of sympathy and preference, or because it seemed unavoidable b) to resist German pressures, and curry favour with the Allies, preferably the Anglo-Americans. Hence, in the Hungarian context then, the term resistance may mean one of two things, resistance against the established conservative regime, regardless of whether it was pro-German or not; or resistance against the German pressures and the German orientation.

If we are talking about resistance against the established regime, several factors deserve to be mentioned. We should include the legal and usually loyal opposition the Social Democratic party, almost unique within the German sphere of influence the party of Rassay, the most prestigious leader of the liberal bourgeoisie [2] and the National Peasant Party, founded by

members of the March Front back in 1939.[3] There was also a true opposition, usually underground: the newspapers of the period continually report on individuals or groups arrested for illegal organizing, for dissemination of "Communist propaganda," or for membership in "cells." For instance, in Cluj (Kolozsvár) under Hungarian jurisdiction as a result of the Second Vienna Award, 664 persons were charged with "Communist activities" in the fall of 1943; they were "mostly Jews," specified the correspondent.[4] Unlike in neighbouring General government, or in Croatia and Serbia, only few of these "subversives" were hanged, but the judges seemed firmly convinced that the victims would be compelled to sit out their harsh prison terms to the bitter end. As in Germany, the public was hardly aware that the war was lost, even after Stalingrad and the rout of the Hungarian army at the Don River. It is only fair to add, however, that by 1942 agitators from the Arrow-Cross and other parties of the radical right were also officially persecuted.[5]

In most of Europe, the term resistance implied resistance against Nazi oppression. Thus we may plausibly argue that the first victim of this struggle in Hungary was Prime Minister Count Pál Teleki, who committed suicide as German troops were entering Hungarian territory in preparation for an attack on Yugoslavia. One of the later victims of this same struggle was Prime Minister Miklós Kállay, in charge from March of 1942 until the country's occupation by the Germans two years later; he was eventually deported to the concentration camp at Mauthausen. The Kállay regime had done nothing in an open or dramatic fashion against German interests, but its caution, designed to forestall a German invasion, proved futile. The stance of the regime was not cautious enough to delay the German invasion until the arrival of an Allied rescue force, nor was it clearcut enough by far to earn the country good points in the eyes of the Allies. Nevertheless, the Teleki government, and especially the Kállay government were covertly anti-Nazi and this attitude was understood by progressive and liberal intellectuals, even without tangible evidence. (It was also understood by the Germans who did have tangible evidence thanks to their efficient intelligence work and their awareness of secret Hungarian peace negotiations.)

This line of hesitant, often half-hearted official resistance did

not cease with the arrival of the German occupation forces. It surfaced again at the time of the Géza Lakatos cabinet in the summer of 1944. This time the Regent took a more determined stand as well and, as we know, the Hungarian government was able to halt the deportations and save the lives of close to 200,000 Jews, in spite of the presence of German troops.

What course of action was left open to the progressive intellectuals in the period 1941 to 1944? To be sure, they might have joined the underground Communist party. Few people did, however the Communist party in Hungary had no more than a handful of members, intellectual or otherwise. On the other hand, the progressive intellectuals could support the timid, wavering policies of the regime, encouraging it, perhaps, to follow a steadier, more decidedly anti-Nazi course. Indeed, many noteworthy intellectuals had decided to take precisely this line of action, or of inaction, and thus their resistance remained invisible, discounted by the historians. They had little impact, either in the short run or in the long run, much like the Kállay government itself.

There was, however, another alternative. Let us take a closer look at two particular groups of intellectuals who constitute something of an exception, who did have an impact. These two groups were the March Front of populist writers, and certain organizations of lower-class university students. My selection is not altogether arbitrary, for we know that writers, including poets, have often played a role of moral and political leadership in Eastern Europe, more so than anywhere else. Imre Kovács himself has gone so far as to claim that "Hungarian literature is perhaps the most political literature in the world." [6] University students were chosen as well not because they played a special function in Eastern Europe, but because so often they have been in the forefront of political agitation the world over.

Some of Hungary's most eminent young writers came together in a group that called itself the March Front, in homage to the spirit of March 1848. The cause that brought them together in 1937 was the neglect and exploitation of the Hungarian peasant and the misery of the country's villages. Politically, the Front had little impact, although their program was spelled out in "points," and included demands for individual freedom, universal suffrage, a minimum wage, a forty hour work-week, but most of all for the expropriation of the large estates. [7] Among the

members of the Front Imre Kovács, Péter Veres, Gyula Illyés. István Bibó and László Németh can be described as fellow-travellers of the Front. Each had produced novels, tracts and monographs revealing the plight of the peasant the best known, perhaps, being the autobiographical masterpiece of Illyés, *A puszták népe* (People of the puszta).[8]

Hungary's entry in the war did not elicit a united stand from these writers; several seemed impressed by the series of spectacular German successes. As Veres, one of the most prominent and progressive members of the Front stated, "the leaders of authoritarian and anti-Semitic movements in all countries were intellectuals." Only a minority of intellectuals had the courage, or even the inclination, to protest.[9] As progressive as he was, Veres himself attempted to make a distinction between "anti-Semite," a label he rejected, and *fajvédő* (rassen-schützlerich), one who defends his race, the latter a trait to which he ascribed a positive value.[10] The distinction strikes me as being rather subtle, not convincing.

The members of the Front, never a close-knit organization in any case, did not take a public stand against Hitlerism, whether in Germany or in Hungary; but several of them wrote of the "tradition" of Hungarian humanism, of the need to preserve the country's independence and its freedom of action. At the same time, they were unhesitatingly anti-regime, against the "semi-feudal system" which seemed to have survived in Hungary long after its demise elsewhere. It is not surprising that some of them were victimized alongside writers who were more explicitly socialist.[11] Thus Kovács was imprisoned in 1940 and charged with "lack of respect for the Hungarian nation, and agitation against the class of landowners."[12]

The organs of the Front were literary periodicals such as the *Magyar Csillag* (Hungarian Star), which was initiated in August or September 1941, under the editorship of Illyés and Aladár Schöpflin. This review was bold enough to publish poetry by Jews and crypto-Communists such as Miklós Radnóti, or by the worker-writer-artist Lajos Kassák, who had established his reputation as leader of the avant-garde during World War I. The periodical occasionally reviewed books published in Allied countries, including Joe Davies' *Mission to Moscow* and Wendell Willkie's *One World* rather favourably, in spite of both authors' sympathetic portrayal of the Soviet Union.[13]

The distinguished literary historian, Gyula Borbándi, wrote that the *Magyar Csillag* was a centre of spiritual resistance against Nazi ideas, and that only because of the caution and diplomatic ability of Illyés could the periodical continue to appear until the German troops marched in.[14] Borbándi used the term resistance somewhat loosely, however. It is not easy to tell, perusing the volumes of the journal, that a world war was being fought, a total war in which Hungarian soldiers and civilians were tragically involved. Unlike its predecessor, the more bourgeois *Nyugat* in the period of World War I, the *Magyar Csillag* did not challenge the censors, did not deplore the war openly, did not discuss Hungary's fateful predicament, and published no passionate pacifist poems like the ones Mihály Babits had had the boldness to write and recite (although those of Illyés came close).

As for daily newspapers, the *Népszava* (People's voice), the official organ of the Social Democratic party, continued to appear during the war. Apart from an outspoken issue published at Christmas 1941, which included articles by Communists and anti-Nazi intellectuals, its most progressive aspect was its ongoing polemics with members of the Arrow- Cross movement and the radical right-wing press. There was also the *Magyar Nemzet* (Hungarian Nation) and the *Magyarország* (Hungary), which dared to praise democracy at a time when democracy was a bad word, and reported on the events of the war in such a way that it was possible to read the truth between the lines. For instance, the August 17, 1943 issue of *Magyarország* reported without commentary the ridiculously bloated figures supplied by German propaganda agencies: 43,642 Soviet aircraft downed since the beginning of the war, and a daily toll in Allied aircraft over Germany that often exceeded three hundred. On the other hand, I have pored through the daily papers in vain in search of direct or indirect evidence of sabotage or of active resistance.

The March Front, and other progessive writers, often collaborated with groups of university students, especially those with a peasant background, in evoking the heroic past and in honouring the heroes of the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49. Some of them organized the Historical Memorial Committee, which is considered by some historians as a Communist "front," by others as a front for the resistance in general.[15] The specific task of the Committee was to lay wreaths at the monuments

dedicated to Lajos Batthyány, to Lajos Kossuth, to Mihály Táncsics. The gesture could not be misinterpreted, all were leaders of the movement of independence from the Austro-Germans in the 1840s, whereas Táncsics was also the most eminent representative of the left or even socialist wing of that revolutionary period.[16] Similar demonstrations took place on March 15 of each year by the statue of the poet Petőfi. Moreover, if we discuss the resistance of intellectuals, or of the political function of literature, then surely Petőfi deserves mention, even though the poet has been dead for almost a century.

During the war some university students participated in the so-called "People's Colleges" or NEKOSZ. At the outset, it is true, these colleges were not political associations, but merely dormitories specially funded to house impoverished indigent students, particularly those of a peasant background. The residents of the first and most prominent of these, the István Győrffy College in Budapest, soon recognized the need for political involvement. The tenor of the involvement was provided by a cell of Communist students instrumental in organizing conferences dealing with Marxism, socialism and related themes, at a time these were proscribed all over the country. The students at this College were present at or leading the anti-Nazi demonstrations. Many of them attended the writers' conference at Szárszó in August 1943, where resistance against Nazi domination was explicitly discussed by László Németh and others.[17] The College dissolved itself, under official pressure, on April 22, 1944, shortly after the arrival of the German occupation force.[18]

It is not helpful to compare resistance in Hungary to French, Belgian, Yugoslav, Polish, Slovak, or any other kind of resistance. Nor is it helpful to claim, as a number of Hungarian authors have done, that Hungary was a Fascist country by predilection, or that practically all Hungarians had accepted, passively or actively, German tutelage throughout the war.[19] It must be conceded, however, that resistance was almost always passive, seldom armed. This was particularly true of the intellectuals who tend to be a timid lot in any case. This was also true of the churches, of course, although religious organizations and individual clergymen directly or indirectly intervened to save the lives of many thousands of Jews, jeopardizing their own in the

process.[20] The one pistol shot fired by the opposition member of parliament Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, when a Gestapo unit banged on his door on March 20, 1944, was the lone heroic gesture of the day. Arrested, but released by the Horthy regime, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky and others had the opportunity to organize a resistance group, but the group was wiped out, and its leaders executed, before it could cause damage. Bajcsy-Zsilinszky was not a writer but he had regularly met with, and enjoyed the support of many Hungarian intellectuals.[21]

What may be more pertinent would be to explain and understand why resistance in Hungary assumed such a passive form. I have discussed one of the reasons: resistance to Nazi pressures was carried out, in however lukewarm a fashion, by the regime itself. Acts of physical violence against the Germans could have frustrated the government's efforts to resist Nazi pressures. Another factor, however, needs to be emphasized: the impact of a constant bombardment of anti-Semitic and anti-democratic propaganda over the years. It is debatable that Hungary was a dictatorship, let alone a totalitarian regime or a Fascist country between 1920 and 1944; but the anti-Semitic propaganda directed at the working-class and the petty bourgeoisie remained unchecked for twenty years.

At the same time, the Hungarian public was wounded in its nationalist sentiments by the punitive peace treaty of Trianon. The "average" Hungarian fell for Hitler and for Nazi Germany for the same reasons as the "average" German, a) because Hitler catered to the petty bourgeois mentality that felt its livelihood threatened by the presence of a sizeable Jewish minority, b) because Hitler presented the prospect of the recovery of lost territories, the revision of the treaties signed at Versailles in 1919 and 1920. Indeed, Hungary did increase temporarily as a result of Hitler's intercession and Hungarian nationalists would have required unusual acumen and self-denial not to feel gratitude, not to accept the gift they felt they deserved. Any act against Hitler or against his policies must have seemed an act of ingratitude. The resisters, those who denounced German pressure or Nazi Germany itself, could be seen as ungrateful, at best. Unlike the Yugoslav partisan, or the fighter in the French maquis, those who resisted in Hungary had to brave public opinion in their own country.

NOTES

1. Ferenc Mucs, "Quelques aspects de la Résistance armée en Hongrie contre le Fascisme," in *European Resistance Movements 1939-1945* (Macmillan, 1964), vol. 2, 155-69.

2. L. Nagy Zsuzsa, "A liberális polgári ellenzék pártjai és szervezetei (1919-1941)" ("The parties and organs of the liberal bourgeois opposition"), *Történelmi Szemle* (1976), no. 3, 335-60.

3. Imre Kovács, *A márciusi front* (The March Front) (New Brunswick, 1980), 64.

4. *Magyarország*, 20 October 1943.

5. The Arrow-Cross movement had peaked by 1942, and its advocates seemed to be carrying out rearguard action. In any case, the movement was clearly anti-establishment and its acts often had, explicitly or implicitly, an edge of social protest.

6. Kovács, *op. cit.*, 15.

7. S.B. Várdy, "The World of Hungarian Populism" (review article), *The Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies*, vol. V, no. 1 (Spring 1978), 41-50.

8. István Bibó, *Harmadik út* (Third Way) (London: Magyar Könyves Céh, 1960), 186. The masterpiece by Illyés is available in English translation under the title *People of the Puszta* (Budapest: Corvina, 1967).

9. "Egyenes beszéddel" ("In plain words"), *Magyar Csillag*, vol. III, no. 23 (December 1943), 653.

10. "Az író politikája" ("The politics of the writer"), *Magyar Csillag*, vol. IV, no. 1 (January 1944), 8.

11. *Wir Kampften Treu für die Revolution* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 462. Among the more explicitly socialist writers one might mention Zoltán Fábry in Tiso's Slovakia, and György Bálint in Budapest.

12. Kovács, *op. cit.*, 83-84.

13. Both review by Imre Csécsy, vol. III, no. 22 (November 1943), 620-4; and vol. III, no. 24 (December 1943), 742-6.

14. *Der ungarische Populismus* (Mainz: Hase and Koehler Verlag, 1976), 201.

15. A Communist front according to István Pintér, "Le role joué par les Communistes...," in *European Resistance Movements*, 170-90; a front for the resistance movement in general according to Borbándi, *op cit.*, 231.

16. *Sej, a mi lobogónkat fényes szelek fújják* (Bright winds blow our banner) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977); also *Népszava*, 11 November 1941.

17. See, for instance, Sándor Csoóri, "A magyar apokalipszis," *Tiszatáj*, vol. 24, no. 10 (October 1980), 28.

18. *Sej, a mi lobogónkat...*, 104-5.

19. See, for instance, Zoltán Horváth, *Hogy vizsgázott a magyarság* (Budapest: Népszava, 1947), 2. The historian Gyula Szekfű, likewise deplores the lack of resistance, and ascribes it to a love of comfort and safety in *Forradalom után* (After the revolution) (Budapest: Cserépfalvi, 1947).

20. For a detailed and thoughtful discussion of the attitude of the churches in Hungary see László T. László, *Szellemi honvédelem* (Spiritual defense) (Rome: Katolikus Szemle, 1980), as well as Professor László's writings in this volume.

21. Borbándi, *op. cit.*, 229.

Hungarian Studies Review, Vol. X, No. 2 (Fall 1983)

The Peace Seekers: The Hungarian Student Movement for National Independence in 1944

Recollections by
Janos Horvath

On December 14, 1944, I was arrested by the *Nemzeti Számonkérő Szék* (Court of National Reckoning), an Arrow-Cross detachment of the Hungarian military police operating in collaboration with the Gestapo.* They wanted to liquidate the *Szabad Élet* (Free Life) student movement, a network of resistance activists that served as a focal point of a broader alliance, the Hungarian Youths' Freedom Front. My captors employed an assortment of tortures in pursuit of their goals. They possessed fragmentary knowledge about our movement and sought details regarding specific activities and organizational arrangements, such as (1) the production and dissemination of leaflets, pamphlets, manifestoes, newsletters, posters, (2) our underground bureau issuing false identification documents, (3) the sabotage project, (4) coordination with the Hungarian Youths' Freedom Front, (5) contacts with the political and military leaders of the Hungarian Independence Movement, (6) contacts and collaboration with communists, (7) contacts with Jewish organizations, (8) international contacts.

Driven by passionate vengeance, the Court of National Reckoning proceeded to court-martial our group of twelve young

---

*Editor's note: The literal translation of this term is Chair (Bench) of National Reckoning (or Retribution). One North American author describes this "blood court of the Arrow Cross party" as a reorganized unit of the "field gendarmerie." See Nicholas M. Nagy-Talavera, *The Green Shirts and the Others A History of Fascism in Hungary and Rumania* (Stanford, California Hoover Institution Press, 1970), pp. 235f.

men and promulgated several death sentences. We were saved only by the unexpected advance of the Soviet Army to the immediate neighbourhood of the Margit Boulevard Military Prison on Christmas night. During the subsequent confusion we were transported numerous times, to be held in turn by the German Gestapo, Hungarian jail-guards and Arrow-Cross brigades. While being passed from one stage to another on January 17, 1945, I found a miraculous escape at a schoolbuilding's basement water tap by stumbling into Gyula Gombos and was led by him to the hiding place of Zoltán Tildy, Albert Bereczky, Viktor Csornoky and their families.

My brief compendium of events that unfold here will touch upon episodes remaining thus far only fragmentarily recorded by participants and historians alike. I hope that my present writing may turn out to be an encouragement to others to describe their own role and experience.

The Underground Student Resistance

On March 19, 1944 the German military occupation of Hungary brought to a grinding halt the government's effort to scale down and abandon participation in the war. In spite of the imposition of a pro-Hitler regime, the nation's desire for peace and reforms could not be halted. The occupying power forced the Hungarian Independence Movement underground.

I gradually found myself involved with underground activities. What might count as a first step was that I did continue meetings with others to plan for peace and reforms even after the banning of organizations and the arrest of leaders. The substance of our discussions was how to bring about peace and how to prepare for the building of a new Hungary. We envisioned reforms for a just, enlightened and prosperous country. We wanted a parliamentary democracy to stimulate self-determination and decentralized decision-making in all political, economic, social and cultural matters. The populist literature of the immediate past decade was our much cherished food for thought.

The inherent dynamics of an underground movement carried us toward activism. When the freedom of speech and assembly are banned, the written word is the next available method of sharing one's thoughts. But the writing down of things in defiance of prohibition tends to generate symbolic attributes.

The idea receives more careful clarification and expressions become more polished, as if subconsciously suspecting that a particular piece of writing might turn out to be the last composition in the author's life. The pressure is intensified by the awareness that the illegal text, if discovered by the authorities, will incriminate not only the writer, but also the reproducer, the reader, the transmitter and, not infrequently, even some totally uninvolved individuals.

Our initial writings drew heavily on quotations from poems and excerpts from prose. The selections were arranged so as to accentuate the country's predicament. Poet Endre Ady was quoted most frequently while excerpts were also drawn from a broad assortment of writers, philosophers, scholars, scientists, artists and statesmen. In due course the quotations and excerpts shrank while the commentaries grew in length to expand into full-blown articles. With the passage of time, we recognized the need for disseminating news so that information could be spread regarding vital issues. The main themes were (1) the unconstitutionality of the German-imposed regime and the arrest of Members of Parliament and other national leaders, (2) the inhuman treatment of the Jews and efforts to sabotage Eichmann's schemes, (3) data on the Allied Powers' superiority and the inevitability of German defeat, (4) Hitler's design to sacrifice Hungary in rear-guard fighting, (5) the Atlantic Charter and other pronouncements of the Allied Powers to guarantee Hungary's independence after the war, (6) the brutality of German occupation forces in Poland, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, (7) the ever-widening Hungarian resistance and the sabotaging of efforts, (8) glimpses into the future era of peace and reconstruction.

While engaged in creating this information, we came to recognize that our efforts became true underground operations. Such quantitative growth and qualitative refinement could have resulted only from the peerless leadership of Sándor Kiss, a Professor of Philosophy at the Teachers' Academy. Indeed, the history of 1944 Hungary remains incomplete until taking into account Kiss' role. At the year's beginning the unity council of all democratic student assemblies had claimed him as their leader. By the summer's end he was drafted to preside over the evolving alliance of national youth organizations student, worker, peasant and church-affiliated associations. By November he was

co-opted an insider of the underground national political leadership.

I had known Sándor Kiss since 1941. We became friends after 1943 when he came to a workshop meeting of the *Kaláka Szolgálat* (Kaláka Service) held at the premises of the Pozsonyi Street Reformed Church in Budapest. I was a co-organizer of the event jointly with István B. Rácz and Lajos Imre. The main theme of the symposium was a fashionable topic: Hungary's gloomy future between the grindstones of German and Russian empires. The tone of the meeting resounded cherished chords in the mind and heart of Sándor Kiss. He was moved by the participants' objectivity and humility. This was unusual considering the status of several participants, including Albert Bereczky, and Klára Zsindely Tüdős. Bereczky, a Reformed Church minister, was highly respected in the society. He was an effective intermediary between the political establishment and the left-wing opposition, and also a behind-the-scenes adviser to Regent Miklós Horthy. Klára Zsindely Tüdős, with her cabinet-minister husband, was perceived as one of the guardians of Pál Teleki's political heritage. She was a charming socialite, a patron of the leftist Győrffy College and a prosperous fashion designer. Sándor Kiss felt comfortable with this group and was readily accepted as a full partner. He was impressed enough to accept our invitation to join Kaláka Service's Executive Committee, which thereafter consisted of Lajos Imre, Sándor Kiss, István B. Rácz, Rezső Szij and myself.

In the course of the forthcoming year Sándor Kiss viewed his role truly seriously at Kaláka and participated in all its activities, including frequent membership meetings and special projects which all coalesced into various blends of Bible reading, poetry recital, folksong practice, theatre goings and weekend hiking. A popular and well-endowed Kaláka project was the sending of books into Hungarian villages expected to become again part of Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia after the war's end. Beyond its declared merit, this project served as a cover of legitimacy during the subsequent underground activities.

My own involvement in the student independence movement consisted of the operation of the centre responsible for the print shop, documents and liaisons. As I held a full-time job with managerial responsibilities, I was able to secure the facilities, equipment and resources essential for the operation. Because my

workplace became the main centre of the student underground activities, it is important to describe some of the pertinent arrangements.

Back in 1940 when I initially enrolled as a student in the Faculty of Economics of the József Nádor Polytechnic and Economics University, Budapest, I also took a job with the Futura National Marketing Centre. I was assigned to work in the accounting department of a major subsidiary, the Nostra National Warehouse Corporation with headquarters in Budapest and about 45 plants across the country. Within a few years I was advanced to the position of Deputy Chief Accountant an unusual career for a young man which could be explained by innovative adaptation of the latest accounting techniques just evolving in the university seminar to problems of a fast-growing business. Consequently, in 1944 I was in charge of a sizeable operation with control over substantial resources as well as freedom of movement across the country.

In April 1944 when the Allied Powers inflicted heavy bombing damage on Budapest, my department was evacuated to the village of Abony, on the Budapest-Szolnok road. Within weeks there evolved an auxiliary of the underground Free Life Student Movement with István B. Rácz and myself in residence, Sándor Kiss and Lajos Imre frequent guests for days. The Kaláka Service also branched out to Abony where we established friendly contact with Rezső Sedhy-Lengyel, a chaplain at the Roman Catholic parish. It was here that my two co-workers at the office, Erzsébet Beke, accountant, and Margit Holló, secretary, became deeply involved with Kaláka and subsequently with the underground print shop. My offices in Abony and Budapest had daily contact by a courier automobile in which we easily travelled and transported underground material. By the second half of the summer I kept reproducing a variety of manifestoes and leaflets as manuscripts reached me from Kiss, Rácz and others. In the meanwhile the dangers of underground activities became increasingly real. Arrests, interrogations and surveillance compelled caution. A group of students, including some Free Life activists, were seized at the Hársfa Street Student Home. Vilmos Fitos was arrested by the Gestapo. László Vatai was held by the Gestapo for weeks. Although each of these persons was released, we could no longer ignore the chilling fact that the intelligence agencies were working hard to discover us.

Perils did mandate caution, yet the very dynamics of the underground resistance movement prompted us to seek to mobilize additional persons and to seek to enhance effectiveness through collaboration with like-minded groups. These were the motivations that caused me to travel to Kecskemét around mid-August where I was introduced to and, quite unexpectedly, initiated into the Magyar Közösség (Hungarian Community). The message arrived through András Hamza, a trusted friend, a relative, as well as partner in the underground, inviting me to come for a weekend jointly with Sedhy-Lengyel. In Kecskemét, the two of us were received by Barnabás Kiss, law professor, Bálint Kovács, pastor of the Reformed Church, and András Hamza. The five of us discussed at length the miseries of German occupation, the cruel deportation of the Jews, the gloomy prospects of the peace treaty with Hungary after the war, and the compelling necessity of severing ties with Germany as well as re-establishing good relations with the Allied Powers.

All of us recognized that at this particular time of national emergency, immediate organizing for action was imperative. At this point our host confided that they already belonged to an association, named the Hungarian Community, through which individuals reinforced their struggle for independent Hungary. In the spirit of Endre Ady, Dezső Szabó, László Németh and other populist writers, the association's operational method was to lobby for the filling of decision-making positions with individuals whose past record revealed no loyalty risk. We were invited to join. Thus our student independent movement gained new allies who could be mobilized. (I had not even the faintest notion that two-and-a-half years later this event could be twisted around by Rákosi's secret police to suspend my parliamentary immunity, to forge the charge of my conspiring against the democratic system of government and to keep me in prison for four years.)

The summer's end in 1944 saw renewed initiatives by the Horthy regime to ease Hungary out of the Axis orbit. We were informed about these efforts through Albert Bereczky, Miklós Mester and Klára Zsindely Tüdős. In the student underground publication we chose themes that dealt with national survival and the lone Magyar island in the German and Slavic ocean. The tragic outcome of October 15 proved the darkest of the gloomy prophesies. The old political establishment failed its last

comprehensive test. The coup failed to force out Hitler's war machine partly because some Hungarian military command posts were infiltrated with persons whose German background and loyalties prevailed over their Hungarian citizenship. At this crucial point they betrayed their Supreme Commander Horthy and denounced their fellow officers. Hitler succeeded in establishing Szálasi as the *Führer* of Hungary.

For the student underground movement the October 15 tragedy signalled the compelling necessity to mobilize everything and to accept greater risks. Kiss' leadership was characterized by dedication, talent, innovativeness and coordination. Henceforth, he spent substantial time in the operation centre attached to my office at the Nostra corporation headquarters near Vörösmarthy Square. Adhering to underground operational rules, to my superior and colleagues he was introduced under the name of Pál Juhász, adjunct professor from the University of Kolozsvár, with whom I was supposedly writing an accounting manual for agricultural cooperatives. I assigned to him a desk with telephone, access to a conference room and a key to the basement pretending that he drew case-study materials out of the old files stored there. It was in this basement that I established the print shop of the Free Life Student Movement. We worked with two automatic stencil duplicators, three vintage mimeographs and several typewriters. We had practically unlimited supply of stencil, paper and copying ink. The supplies had been accumulated to hedge against wartime shortages. These facilities produced between 200,000-300,000 sheets of underground material.

The prime printed product was the periodical, *Szabad Élet* (Free Life), which had under its title a caption "Journal of the Free Life Student Movement." It was published about eight times. The issues consisted of varying lengths, from five to ten pages. These issues were produced in 1,000 to 3,000 copies. The content included editorials, news, essays, documents, poems, letters, etc. The editor was László Vatai and subsequently István B. Rácz. The list of contributors included Sándor Kiss, Emil Majsay, Pál Jónás, Vilmos Fitos, András Hamza, Lajos Imre and others. One recurring feature of the publications was poetry, mostly from Ady. Co-editor István B. Rácz stood always ready to insert a befitting line, or a stanza, or a whole poem. A sample may suffice to show the thrust of the message

Presently it is the orgy of the inferior epigons,
But we ready the stones and tools,
Because we shall bring forth the grand design,
To build the magnificent, and beautiful, and human, and Magyar.
If fate demands we shall die,
But it remains our blessed reward,
That after the cataclysm honorable men will rest under the ruins....
Then after the hiatus, others may reassert life to continue....
Presently during the blind night of shamelessness,
Every noble outcast must guard jealously his honor....

The editorial policy and production techniques of the periodical applied to the other publications, namely leaflets, posters and manifestoes. Some were excerpted from *Free Life* most were original manuscripts, which then were reproduced in numbers of a few hundred to several thousands, and this latter group of writings were targeted at specific places, groups and occasions. In general, all publications communicated the message that the puppet Szálasi regime was illegal and that the Hungarian people wanted peace immediately. A recollection of some of the topics appears appropriate here.

(1) Reports were written about the events leading to Horthy's Proclamation which called for the preservation of national integrity, the announcement of armistice negotiations with the Soviet Union, the order to military commanders to establish contacts with the Red Army commanders so as to hasten German withdrawals.

(2) Descriptions of the arrest of Horthy in the Buda Castle and his appointed deputy, General Lajos Dálnoki Veress, at the Trans-Tisza headquarters, by German SS commandoes.

(3) Reports that in September Horthy had already sent to Moscow a distinguished delegation consisting of Géza Teleki, Domonkos Szent-Iványi and Gábor Faraghó.

(4) We urged nationwide protest of the atrocities against Jews on the grounds of humanity, Christian ethics and Hungarian chivalry.

(5) Eyewitness reports from the Warsaw uprising and its bloody oppression upon Hitler's special instruction.

(6) News of Arrow-Cross officials slaughtering Hungarian soldiers

and civilians attempting to return to their homes in Transylvania.
(7) News of the torture and execution of three military officers of the Hungarian Independence Movement: János Kiss, Jenő Nagy and Vilmos Tarcsay. (The Movement's political head, Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, was executed after another month.)
(8) A call for peace entitled *Igaz szó igaz magyarokhoz* (True word to true Hungarians) based on a joint-statement by István Vásáry, Mayor of Debrecen, Imre Révész, Bishop of the Trans-Tisza Reformed Church, and István Balogh, the Roman Catholic priest of Szeged-Alsóváros.
(9) Appeals to resist orders for the evacuation of people and national wealth to Germany.

The distribution of all student resistance publications produced in the Nostra basement were arranged by Kiss. Occasionally, I could hear him saying into the telephone "Here is Pál Juhász speaking.... Have you shipped away the potatoes? There is another consignment for transit...." Also, we sent copies by mail to a variety of addresses using postage-free envelopes of governmental bureaux and military authorities. Furthermore, each of us yielded to the temptation to hide copies at places where they would be discovered by certain persons.

Even a cursory inventory of underground resistance material produced at the Nostra premises would remain incomplete without accounting for work done for at least four other groups. Here follows a sketchy description. First, the *Magyar Ifjuság* (Hungarian Youth), a periodical published by the Freedom Front of Hungarian Youth, a broad coalition from communists on the left to senior scouts on the conservative wing, held together by Kiss. Under his direction we typed and duplicated three issues in about 1,000-2,000 copies of each. Second, the periodical *Eb Ura Fakó* edited by middle-of-the-road intellectuals in the spirit of Pál Teleki. Its stencilled copies were taken away from the print shop by István Csicsery-Rónay who always appeared in the elegant uniform of an artillery lieutenant. Third, the *Occasional Papers* of a group of policy analysts, namely Baron Ede Aczél, József Dudás, Miklós Csomós and Ernő Péter. I recall the duplication of four pieces one lengthy (around 20 pages) position paper in 100 copies and three shorter (one-two pages) leaflets. A fourth group of clients represented by Esther Valkay and two lieutenants received bundles of published material from me four or five times.

The print shop's efficient and secure operation can be attributed to the fortunate physical facilities and a faultlessly working team. The former attribute has been mentioned earlier. The latter should be acknowledged at this point. I had felt that the particular combination of efficiency and security criteria required a technically competent and well-disciplined small workforce whose members were each capable of maintaining the equipment as well as spending long blocks of time on the job. Actually, the team consisted of four persons: István B. Rácz, Sándor Kiss, Lajos Imre and myself. Each of us was able to stay in the print shop at any hour of the day or night. I was home at Nostra here, my full-time job encompassed a broad range of managerial responsibilities that took me to places in which my absence from the desk should not catch attention. Besides, my secretary and my associate accountant were sufficiently aware of my off-desk involvements to hold a facade in case of need. Sándor Kiss was known as the workaholic research professor now tangled up in locating case studies in the archives. His coming and going at odd hours was substantiated. Rácz was employed by Futura, the parent corporation of Nostra, one short city block away. He had one rather peculiar need: he came with two guns in his pocket, placed them conspicuously on the table, saying, "Now I feel like working." The irony was obvious: if the Nazi troopers found this hideout then our guns would have been of no avail. Imre poked fun at this as well as some other illusions that blurred our sense of proportions. In any case, the hideout was optimally safe from accidental discovery. As a matter of fact, this place was not the weak link in the student resistance movement which would cause our arrests in mid-December.

The print shop's smooth operation paved the way toward involvement in additional projects in the student underground movement. By the end of the summer, and particularly after October 15, the safe in my office became a clearing house for personal documents. Initially, the task appeared rather simple as long as I adhered to the strictest rules of precaution. Sándor Kiss, assuming for this operation the name of Gábor Tóth, asked me to accept, safekeep and distribute blank documents issued by governmental departments and military headquarters. We were using them illegally, but in appearance these documents were perfect: printed on the appropriate paper, stamped with the official seal and signed by the appropriate office holder. I was to

complete such a document by writing in the user's name. Usually, the object was to facilitate safe conduct for someone to accomplish a mission. Quite often, however, the objective was to assist a person to escape persecution. With the passage of time these documents became used in increasing number simply to shelter deserters from the armed forces. In exchange for a military passport, the bearer agreed to deliver our printed publications to distant places and then to return for another sojourn. In time things became quite complex. At the outset I stored military documents from a few auxiliary commands. Later I was in charge of impressive looking documents from the Supreme Command supplied by General Staff Captains István Tóth and Zoltán Mikó. One innovative distributor of these rather sensitive papers was Foreign Ministry officer Géza Kádár with whom I regularly met in the bookstore on Múzeum Boulevard. It was also here that I repeatedly met Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat who coordinated a network involved in saving Jews in Budapest from Nazi brutalities. Occasionally I supplied him with military documents issued for names he specified and subsequently we met twice at the Gyáli Road Nostra warehouse to work out special arrangements for a consignment.

Another project of the Free Life Student Movement wherein I had a role was the Görgey Zászlóalj (Görgey Batallion). I recall the initial discussions to form a batallion of volunteers with the ostensible purpose of defending Budapest against the Russians, but with the real aim of preventing the use of the unit elsewhere. The secret design was to pull together several hundred men into a military unit that would seek contacts with the Red Army approaching Budapest in order to collaborate with them in minimizing destruction and loss of lives. Captains Mikó and Tóth secretly endorsed the plan and appointed Vilmos Bondoi as the unit's senior lieutenant as supply officer. Three friends, Endre Csohány, Károly Nagy and Kálmán Drozdy, became the commanding officers. Additional posts were filled with people recommended by the Free Life Student Movement and many from the Hársfa Street Student Home. Zoltán Nyeste and István Füzesi became influential activists. The Kaláka Movement and the Tutaj Street Apprentices' Hostel became briefing stations as we covertly campaigned to fill the ranks with trustworthy young students and workers. During this process I had given out many

of the conventional auxiliary command forms entitled "Order to Report." Noteworthy among our schemes was an attempt to divert the Arrow-Cross snoopers' suspicion. To this end we wanted to create the impression that the batallion was a hot-bed of right-wing extremists who were despised by the left-wing underground. We planned an attack on the guard post. Three students, Tibor Zimányi, Károly Derecskey and Géza Bodolay, implemented the plan, throwing a hand grenade while ascertaining that no one should be hurt. The next day *Free Life* reported that the event was only a first warning to the pro-Szálasi Görgey Batallion. Apparently, the deception did work because the suspicions of Arrow-Cross functionaries subsided for a while.

Perhaps the most daring of our ideas was the "Second Szálasi Manifesto." Although never fully implemented, it might be appropriate to outline the project here in order to shed light on the resourcefulness of the individuals involved. In short, the project was to write, print and post in several thousand copies a manifesto patterned after the one by Szálasi during the October 15 *coup d'état*. That time Szálasi in his "Supreme Command to the Armed Nation" gave reasons for his assuming power, for pursuing the war on Hitler's side until the end, and for re-shaping Hungary in the Arrow-Cross spirit. This time we designed a fake "Second Supreme Command to the Armed Nation" in the name of Szálasi, which declared that (1) the Germans use Hungarians as cannon fodder in the war; (2) Germany betrayed the alliance with Hungary; (3) honourable peace will be worked out with the Russians, British and Americans; (4) the armed forces including the Party Brigades will offer free passing to the Russian Army in forcing out the German Army. This bogus manifesto carefully imitated the jargon of Szálasi and copied phrases from his genuine manifesto a few weeks earlier. The printing itself was to imitate fully physical appearances: typeset, paper quality and the size of the poster. Therefore, the work was to be done at the Pester Lloyd Printing Company, the producer of the original manifesto. The place was the right choice also because it produced no newspaper currently—merely governmental supplies—and therefore it was guarded by soldiers and not Party armed guards. The whole process at the printing plant was spelled out in minute details by András Hamza and his team, including Gyula Ibrányi, Imre Bense, Sándor Arany, with the assurance of support from the Görgey Batallion. The special

written order to assure access to the printing press was forged in the name of Béla Kerekes, Deputy Minister of Justice, and endorsed by Emil Kovarcz, Propaganda Minister. The project was aborted because of security considerations one day before operation, and was to be re-scheduled later. There was no second chance for this mission, nor was there a chance to pursue others in progress because of several arrests.

In Captivity

My recollection is that the day was December 14, Thursday morning, as I began to work at my desk, when two men in civilian clothes entered my office while a third one stayed at the door. I guessed their business as my eyes surveyed the three figures: one wrestler-framed, one girlish-faced and one lanky. The wrestler moved behind my chair while the girlish-faced said, "We are looking for Mr. Horváth." Pretending absent-minded shuffling of account vouchers, I attempted to bury my coded notebook. "We want that," he continued in a steely voice while flashing an identification card, "and you come with us." The wrestler pushed a gun against my shoulder blade and with his chest shoved me toward the room's centre. They tied my hands tightly and led me to the street where I was ushered into a limousine marked, "Voluntary Ambulance Association of Budapest." A resourceful decoy, I thought while I was being rushed inconspicuously through the avenues of Buda into the yard of the Military Prison on Margit Boulevard.

Immediately I was led into a large room where each of the three men took note pads and pencils into their hands. The wrestler said, "You talk; we write." As I remained silent they looked at me and at each other with apparent surprise. When I continued with silence the girlish-face stepped toward me and said in a flat tone, "Mr. Horváth, you got nabbed. Your friends are arrested also. Almost the whole crazy group got caught. We need you to piece together all the details. Realize it; you made mistakes of judgment and you became involved in a deadly, grave underground conspiracy. You assist us so that we can help you. Think for a few minutes. We will leave you here alone." All three left the room and then came back parading before me two fellow students. The episodes were intended to prod me to talk. By now all three argued that I should talk. Indeed, having seen

two of my friends in captivity, I felt that it would not be a viable strategy to remain speechless. I remembered a scenario rehearsed a few times during the previous weeks: the rational behaviour should be to devise a scaled-down story made up of events, places and persons obviously known already to the interrogators. Notwithstanding the risk involved in their discovering my scheme and therefore retaliating with harsh treatment, still this appeared to be the logical attitude when loyalty and self-preservation complement one another.

Soon it turned out that my captors were in a hurry. They escalated the process of interrogation by resorting to a whole gamut of physical and psychological cruelties during the subsequent days....* I surmised from the thrust of the inquiry that my interrogators' prime target was to capture more of our fellow students still at large. They kept throwing names at me; with some I was in direct underground operation, others were part of our movement, still others I had met in the past but had no current operational ties with, some were persons I had only heard about, and finally, some were wholly unfamiliar individuals. Within the student movement Emil Májsay, Vilmos Fitos and Antal Gyénes were the main targets. Within the higher political sphere they scrambled the names of Zoltán Tildy, Béla Varga, Ferenc Nagy, Pál Auer, Vince Vörös, Imre Kovács, Gyula Dessewffy and others. Three questions dominated this wrangle: (1) When did I see him? (2) When will I meet him next? (3) Where was he at this time? So they were on a fishing expedition, I inferred, and risked dodging as many questions as I felt possible. Apparently, they were frustrated with my lengthy stories....

Shortly I was back in the interrogation room. Again Lajos Fehér, Vilmos Fitos and Emil Májsay were the targets of inquiry. I claimed that I was scheduled to meet Májsay that week one afternoon on the Kálvin Square, but could not remember the exact day and hour without deciphering my pocket calendar. They produced my calendar pages for the week, and I pretended that a disguised entry on the day after tomorrow, Saturday

---

* Editor's note: Many personal details of Horváth's interrogation have been omitted.

afternoon at two o'clock, was a coded reminder to meet Májsay. Whether the gamble worked or the captors needed a rest, I was led to the prison building.

Cell 105 of the Military Prison was a large room at the northeast end of the third floor. In two lines on straw sacks there were about 25 men lying. My escort meditatively assigned a cot to me around the middle of the left side row.... I awoke with a sharp pain in my feet and head. It was daylight and my roommates told me that I missed the breakfast because I did not respond either to words or shaking.

As I recall this was the morning when Gyula Szentadorjány was added to the cell's population. The interrogation resumed just before noon and lasted until evening. For a change there was no beating.... They took me into a group meeting with the three inquirers, occasionally with only one of them. Repeatedly there were other people in the room behind me, but I was forced to look into a bright flourescent light. The questioning added up to a potpourri of everything: the review of hundreds of photographs, how could religious people talk with communists, who was Jewish or communist in the student resistance, who were communists in the Peasant Federation; have Zoltán Mikó, István Tóth and Vilmos Bondor visited the Nostra office, how to locate Tibor Hám, István Csicsery-Rónay, Péter Veres, Pál Fábry, Gyula Totka; what did I know about the disguised ambulance limousine, etc. Whenever in talking I mentioned the name of Count Pál Teleki, the former Prime Minister and boy scout idol, they showed irritation. Next morning I was shaved, given a bigger pair of shoes and even my torn winter coat got mending. Repeatedly they rehearsed with me the anticipated *rendezvous* with Emil Májsay. I went through the motions with mixed feelings because in truth there existed no arrangement with Májsay. The decoy ambulance limousine took us to the Kálvin Square; four persons sat with me and they pointed at another civilian automobile in escort. They impressed me with the loaded guns in their pockets so that I should not think of any careless move while awaiting Májsay on the street. After 25 minutes of waiting, I was led back to the limousine and the caravan returned to the prison.

Their disappointment was not disguised. While riding in the limousine they gave me the ultimatum: "Lead us to the hiding place of Májsay if you want to save your skin!" I did not know his

hideout and noted that he must have learned about the arrest of all his colleagues, so he obviously disappeared. I even complimented their remarkable skill in catching all of us. Presently their furour was poured on me....

In cell 105 the evening of December 24, Christmas Eve, was the ending of another routine day. We could hear from the constant coming and going in the building that the investigating squads did not slow down; they wanted to wind up the case of the student underground movement. The news spread that they will take no holiday recess; the first day of Christmas they write the indictments, the second day the martial court will pronounce the sentences, and a minimum of three persons will be executed immediately—Sándor Kiss, Tibor Zimányi and myself—yet the number may go up to six. By midnight the place quieted down, but not for long; and then the approaching gunfire could be heard. These were the hours when the Soviet Army encircled Budapest and among other advances one tank unit reached Széna Square, about one kilometer from our prison. The next morning all the prisoners—about 80 persons—were led to a courtyard and one-by-one ushered into waiting buses. My name was read off among my colleagues' by the sergeant-major. Indeed, these were the short minutes when I saw my four captors in gendarme uniforms with sickle feather at the cap, each also displaying the Arrow-Cross ensign.

Swiftly the bus convoy started to move but instead of travelling the highway toward Germany, they approached the Pest District Prison on Main Street. This had been for months the German Gestapo prison. Immediately after registration, German officers with swastika arm bands began to deal with our case. Within hours I was taken to an SS Captain who quickly perused the documents on his desk and apparently noticed the name of Nostra Warehouse Corporation and inquired about my role in the arrangements at the Gyáli Street depot for the Swedish Red Cross and other international agencies. Obviously, he had been investigating something about that because in short intervals two men and a woman prisoner were brought in testing if we knew each other. To this SS Captain I explained in a professional manner the procedures a warehouse employs in dealing with clients in general and regarding the Red Cross consignments in particular. After about an hour of inquiry, suddenly the telephone rang and the Captain must have received a call from a

higher authority because he stood up and clicked heels. Within seconds he rushed out of the room in overcoat, and after another hour one of his deputies took me back to a prison cell. In this room there were several people; among them two French prisoners of war, one Polish officer and Count Miklós Eszterházy, a member of the Upper House of Hungarian Parliament.

Our stay in the Main Street Prison turned out to be brief because in a few days we were transferred into the basement of the Parliament building. Instead of automobile transportation, we were lined up in pairs to walk, guarded on both sides by German SS soldiers. Several episodes of this march have been inscribed in my memory. The incentive to cross the bridge fast was obvious because of the scattered artillery fire. Yet the trudging column could move only as fast as some of the prisoners could drag themselves. On the bridge pavement there were dead bodies, defunct vehicles and bomb craters. My wretched feet could hardly carry me, so my colleagues offered assistance. One memorable assistance was offered in the form of a walking stick by István Kemény, a medical student, who had permission to keep it due to a lame leg. Dragging on with the column was a must because of the familiar rule: whoever held up the process or fell out of line could be shot on the spot. Leaning on the borrowed cane and limping in stride, suddenly the end of my stick got stuck in an ice cleft. It did not yield and as I tried with a jerk to free it, the handle separated from the stick and there was in my hand a two-foot long dagger. A terrifying experience: could the Gestapo guards miss noticing the event and had they any alternative but to shoot the holder of the dagger? Perhaps the lifesavers were those two artillery mines that exploded on our half of the bridge at this very second. The guards shouted, "Take cover! Lie down!" Everybody did; guards and guarded ones shared a divine community of interest for a few seconds. In this melee I managed to free the butt of the walking stick so as to re-assemble it with the handle. My miraculous survival here became fatally accentuated only a few seconds later, when a member of our column slipped into a bomb crater to disappear into the icy Danube River. After another trying half an hour we were herded into the Parliament building to be kept there in the basement of the Upper House for about ten days.

The German Gestapo unit guarding us was commanded by a reserve officer Captain, a medical doctor in civilian life. He kept

shouting with a high-pitched voice and accused Hungarians of being ungrateful to the Germans; his oratory usually ended with hailing Hitler, and predictions of final German victory. His unit was charged with investigation as well as with meting out sentences. There was some investigation because there were delays during which certain contacts with the outside world evolved. A few persons received medicine, blankets and food from outside. I was the beneficiary of all these goods brought by the Reverend András Hamza. His courage was quietly appreciated by those of us who knew his prominent role in the preparation of the fake Szálasi manifesto and in other projects. During our stay in the basement of the Parliament building, we recovered somewhat from the tortures at the Military Prison. The twelve students of the Independence Movement were able to exchange words. These twelve were: Sándor Kiss, Tibor Zimányi, Pál Jonás, Zoltán Nyeste, István B. Rácz, Lajos Imre, István Fiam, István Kristó-Nagy, Miklós Takácsi, Ernő Bálint, Ottó Elek and myself. Also, István Kemény allied himself with us during those concluding weeks, even though his arrest was due to activities separate from ours. During these days we could pull together for meditation over the Bible and the quiet singing of psalms, usually around Sándor Kiss. Poetry became another source of sustenance with contributions from everyone and marathon recitals of Ady by Rácz.

Starting around January 10, 1945, there followed several transfers in succession. From the Parliament we were taken to the City Hall where the officials claimed unpreparedness for accepting us. During the negotiations we were held in a corridor when one of our group, István Kristó-Nagy, disappeared. Upon discovering the escape, our guards furiously threatened to decimate us in retaliation, and we were already lined up when a higher-ranking officer reappeared with orders to transport the group. Next, we arrived at the Arrow-Cross National Headquarters at Andrássy Street 60. Here our stay lasted one night. Our next stay was at the Gestapo Headquarters in the Buda Castle. The discipline was strict, and it was felt that the highest ranking security officers of the besieged city might deal with us summarily; but fortunately, they had only blurred vision of our identity and were busy interrogating prisoners of war just captured on the front line. During the whole night we were seated on chairs shivering under the broken windows. The next

morning we were loaded on four trucks. While speeding through the district of Tabán, our convoy was attacked by airplanes spreading machine-gun volleys. The driver halted the trucks; the guards ran into the buildings and the prisoners followed. Here, instead of seeking shelter in the basement, I ran up to the second floor, but could not devise a reasonably safe escape. However, it happened that on this occasion Jonás, Zimányi and Rácz successfully hid in a basement to find their escape. The trucks crossed the bridge to Pest to continue driving northward until another air attack compelled stoppage at the Kossuth Lajos Square. Again everyone tried to find hiding. Running, I just reached the wall of the Parliament building when a volley of bullets swept the pavement only inches before my shoes. Soon we were in the Markó Street Prison, where the warden, seeking instruction from the Ministry of Justice, was referred to the district Arrow-Cross Headquarters.

Soon an Arrow-Cross brigade came to escort us to their headquarters at 2 Szent István Boulevard. By now I gambled my defense on the hope that the investigation papers might have been delayed somewhere in the transfers and therefore I could invent a story of lesser crime or even a simple bureaucratic bungle. But the style of the crew dispelled any illusions. They displayed the most menacing blend of dilettantism, uninhibitedness and self-conceit. They appeared and sounded just as fearful as their reputation while ordering us to march in single line. They kept talking. A very young man at my side holding a submachine gun explained that it took only less than one inch turn of the disc to finish a case and that it was their responsibility to perform all functions of emergency governing. Upon arrival at their headquarters, we were immediately subjected to a screening in the courtyard. One of the staffers—scrutinizing the slope of my forehead and my curly raven black beard—speculated that I was a Jew, and he dropped the hypothesis only after further anatomical inquiry. Then I countered claiming that they ought to send me back to my job at Nostra, a business corporation charged with such vital things as rationing grain supply. Further, I claimed that I was in captivity only because of an incompetent sentry who detained me when one particular identification document remained accidentally in the pocket of another jacket. Soon we were all led to the basement where not much later a small group of us were ordered to stand in the light of an electric

bulb to be viewed by a higher official. This man wore the soldier's uniform, but without insignia. Looking us over, occasionally holding a flashlight into the subject's face, he demanded quick answers. Suddenly, he spotted a grey-haired man and after prodding him to say something, the fatal recognition followed: "I know you. I remember that eight years ago I spoke about National Socialism in Csepel and you ridiculed my speech. You caused the audience to laugh at me. Now you will admit that I was right." This was the interrogation as well as the sentence. The few of us there, including his son, saw him dragged out. He was killed on the Danube bank instantly as the news spread a few weeks later....

The next day I was among forty men taken by guards to the Vörösmarty Street School of the Scottish Mission, which this time was a station of the punitive platoons. We were summoned to join the fight; the ones excelling and surviving would be forgiven, but any sign of hesitation or speculation would be punished with instant death. In the school's auditorium there were about 150 men guarded by Arrow-Cross troopers. In scheming to learn more about the place and conditions I grabbed two buckets and asked a guard to take me to the water tap. He guided me into the basement where after two turns along the semi-dark corridors we spotted the building's only functioning water tap. Having returned with the full buckets and distributed the contents, I set out to repeat the journey alone. At the tap while I was filling the bucket there appeared from around the corner a man with a bucket in his hand. Suddenly I had to rub my eyes. Wrapped in lilac-coloured morning gown there stood Gyula Gombos. A writer himself in the underground movement and fully aware of my predicament, yet at this instant he could hardly decide what was more surprising—that I was alive, or that I was next to him. Quickly he signalled to follow him toward escape. I answered that I wanted to go back for Sándor Kiss, and I hoped to return within a few minutes. So I went back for Sándor, and we met Gyula who led us through an elaborate labyrinth into a remote part of the basement. There in a good-sized family quarter, we were most warmly embraced by other friends: Zoltán Tildy, Albert Bereczky, Viktor Csolnoky, Zoltán Tildy, Jr., and László Tildy. The secluded air-raid shelter household included the wives and other family members. Indeed, the most hunted leader of the Hungarian Independence Movement, Zoltán Tildy—who

became Prime Minister in 1945, President of the Republic during 1946-48, a leader in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956—this time was hiding here under the assumed name of Lajos Nagy, a land surveyor from Transylvania who had actually died a few weeks before.

There was no time to celebrate our escape but only to exchange vital information. It was obvious that we two newcomers had to be whisked out of this place immediately. Shortly, Sándor and I were fed, shaved, clothed for departure. The two Reformed Church ministers, Tildy and Bereczky, lent their clerical dark suits and ecclesiastical mantles to us so that we could walk through the streets pretending to bury the dead of the war. We walked to the Thanksgiving Reformed Church at 58 Pozsony Street where friends—Mihály Hogye, Jolán Tildy and others—sheltered us through three more days until the Russians finally cleared that particular part of Budapest of Germans. In the meanwhile, contemplating the danger of discovery by Arrow-Cross search troopers, we opted for an alternative risk. One might regard it as an application of risk minimization calculus. Even though the tower was riddled with holes from repeated artillery strikes, we chose to await freedom inside a battered nook of the church tower.

Postscript

During the subsequent months, I learned that the twelve members of the Free Life Student Movement survived the last days of Nazi German rule in Hungary. Beginning with early 1945 I observed these people in public life. When the next wave of regimentation hit Hungary, this time sponsored by the imperial overlord Stalin and perpetrated by his domestic viceroy Rákosi, then, alas, the survival rate worsened.* When the Revolution of 1956 shook Hungary and surprised the world, most of us were still there attempting to revive the 1944 platform, namely, representative government, progressive reforms and national independence. Subsequently, almost as an afterthought, several of us tried to preserve the Revolution's real spirit in exile.

---

* Out of twelve persons, seven were imprisoned for years.

The fact that I myself survived the turn of 1944 into 1945 could be thought of differently according to the commentator's predilection: either as a random event with very low probability, or as the Almighty God's loving care. Documents in archives subsequently revealed that the Court of National Reckoning had condemned me to death and that only the unexpected encirclemend of Budapest by Russian forces prevented it from carrying out the order. The court-martial prosecutor's role went to Bálint Balassa, Juris Doctor, a senior lieutenant of the gendarmerie. My "execution" was reported throughout the German-occupied regions of Hungary. But unexpectedly, Christmas night my would-be executioners were ordered to the front line and soon after they became part of the élite contingent which fought its way out of besieged Budapest. Additional ironies might be noted at this point. A year later, when Balassa was on trial with his companions, it became public knowledge that his taste for debonaire dressing was complemented with other refined attributes, such as being an accomplished piano player. I neither went to his trial nor gave testimony. He was sentenced to death, but the Head of the State, President Zoltán Tildy, commuted the sentence to life imprisonment in response to pleas from Mrs. Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, the widow of the nation's highest martyr, and from Cardinal József Mindszenty who, as Bishop of Veszprém had been detained by Balassa in January 1945. At the request of these two persons, I also signed the recommendation for clemency. Three years later a new trial was scheduled and he was executed. In the meanwhile, however, I had met Balassa as a fellow inmate while the Stalinists held me in prison. During those months, at one of the recurrent shuffling of inmates, he and I were temporarily in the same cell where we carried on a conversation. I was quite conscious of how moral indignation inside me became subdued by contemplative curiosity.

The Hungarian Independence Movement received national and international recognition during 1945. The student resistance movement was highly praised and I, among others, received prestigious awards. On occasions, these awards were further accentuated by recognition from the Allied Control Commission, specifically by the three generals who represented the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain respectively. Certain events were specially noted, among others my presence at two receptions given by Marshal Voroshilov, who

was the Chairman of the Allied Control Commission in Hungary. Thus according to the inherent dynamics of those times, I was drafted into public life. The political parties of the governing coalition competed for identification with the surviving members of the national resistance movement. I joined the Independent Smallholder Party and working through it, I was elected Member of Parliament and Member of the Budapest Municipal Council. There followed appointments to several advisory, policy-making and executive positions both in the private and public sectors. Indeed, it appears quite difficult to simply summarize this period without running the risk of overstating or understating the process. Let the generalization suffice here that I was involved in economic policy-making, I sponsored a major piece of legislation in Parliament, yet my primary task was to work on a daily basis with Sándor Kiss as Deputy Director at the Hungarian Peasant Federation.

As I look back on the content of this essay, I can think of no more dignified stopping point than to write down that the most important and most meaningful experience of all my working life has been the opportunity to work at the side of Kiss. Because my own participation in the student movement was intertwined with the personality of Kiss, I know that my behaviour and activities were rooted in our friendship. In fact, much beyond the time period recollected here, the two of us maintained and enjoyed through 39 years, until his death in 1982, an unparalleled friendship of warmth, trust and partnership. I never doubted his leadership and he never doubted my loyalty. The very opportunity to work with him amounted to the highest reward I could ever attain.

Hungarian Studies Review, Vol. X, No. 2 (Fall 1983)

Warmonger or Peacemaker: The Role of the Church Re-Examined in the Light of Cardinal Serédi's Diaries

Leslie Laszlo

A Hungarian Marxist historian, Sándor Orbán, in discussing the role of the Church in the Second World War,[1] assigns to the Vatican—in addition to the intrigues of American imperialism—the decisive role in the attack by Nazi Germany on the Soviet Union. From him we learn also that the Hungarian Catholic Church pursued the same policy as the Vatican and incited the fascist leadership of the country, goading it on to war against the Soviet Union. And following the declaration of war, "the organized propaganda of the Hungarian Catholic Church during the first phase of the predatory war against the Soviet Union vindicated and abetted the aggressors to the fullest extent."[2] The author then attempts to prove the complicity of the Church in the grave injuries inflicted on the Soviet Union by quoting priests exhorting the soldiers. According to Orbán, during the entire course of the war the Church did nothing in the interest of peace. He wrote, "the leaders of the Hungarian Catholic Church were far removed from helping the country, even by one step, down from the road of war against the Soviet Union and from freeing her from the camp of the aggressors."[3] And when he described the sufferings of the Hungarian people during the war and the deportations and mass executions under the German occupation and Arrow Cross rule, Orbán emphasized that

> The leaders of the Church did not raise their voices against the domestic bloodshed either that accompanied the continuation of the war.... Not only did the Church fail essentially to raise her voice against Hitler and his Hungarian accomplices, but she hastened to their aid. She saw her chief task in not allowing the war against the Soviet Union, in the service of which Hitler wanted to deploy all the resources of the

> country, to be abandoned. Herein lies the explanation for the fact also that she even cooperated with the supporters of National Leader Szálasi's band in the battle against the Soviet Union and against the liberation of the country....[4] The Church joined forces in its entirety with the Arrow Cross, which was waging an all out struggle against the liberation of the country....[5] The leaders of the Church hated their own people and the liberating Soviet Union so much that they would not make common cause with them in the interest of saving the country.[6]

These are definitely grave accusations, and if they were based on facts then we would have to agree with their author that "the historical blame which the Hungarian Catholic Church must bear for the country's participation in the war and for its consequences is very significant and heavy."[7] However, this is not the way things were. When Hungary, following the bombing of the city of Kassa—the responsibility for which has not been established to this day[8]—declared war against the Soviet Union without first requesting or obtaining the approval of Parliament as required by the Constitution,[9] Prince Primate Jusztinián Serédi lodged a protest both with Regent Horthy and with Prime Minister László Bárdossy. In his diary,[10] Serédi noted that

> It is probable that Parliament, together with me, would have voted against a declaration of war even if it had been quite clearly established that Kassa had been bombed by Russian planes, a note of protest, demanding compensation, could have settled this incident far more practically than by entering into a war in which hundreds of thousands of our country's youth were bound to perish, immense damage be suffered and millions of money spent not to speak of the constant uncertainty and the tormenting, unspeakable suffering caused by the war to every Hungarian citizen.[11]

This declaration of war on the Soviet Union was followed several months later, on December 6, 1941, by Great Britain's declaration of war on Hungary. In connection with this, Cardinal Serédi wrote:

> Through the Holy See I tried to prevent this declaration of war, but Cardinal Maglione, the Secretary of State, replied in a telegram that all

intervention was now useless as this step had now been fully and irrevocably decided on. Yet I still hoped that it might not go beyond the breaking off of diplomatic relations that the conflict could be still avoided, and especially that air attacks on our country could be prevented.[12]

About the circumstances surrounding Hungary's declaration of war on the United States, the Prince Primate wrote the following:

> After the British declaration of war the Bárdossy government decided to forestall the United States by declaring war on America first. Again without obtaining the consent of Parliament. Perhaps the Government thought that America was far away and that therefore this declaration would have no practical consequences for us on the other hand, they were doing something to please their German ally. Since then often enough we have experienced the practical consequences in destructive air attacks....
>
> Before the declaration of war I had two long conversations with the American Minister to Hungary. He told me that he had studied conscientiously the history and present situation of our country. And as he saw that many injustices had been done to Hungary, he considered it the purpose of his mission to try and support the just causes of Hungary. I quoted some instances (the question of Anglo-Italian sanctions, etc.) and pointed out that, in the outside manifestations of our political life and in judging these manifestations, the circumstances of heavy pressure must not be forgotten, for they had had a great influence on our decision. The Minister understood my allusion and when he called on Bárdossy to be handed the declaration of war, he said himself that according to his knowledge the Hungarian Government was acting under pressure, which had given him a certain reassurance.
>
> How the declaration of war actually took place I cannot elucidate. But it is the naked truth that we are in the war up to our neck and that all its terrors have been let loose upon our much-suffering nation. I told Bárdossy and the Regent as well that it might not be difficult to enter the war, but it would be most difficult to get out of it unharmed.[13]

In spite of the lack of success that attended his attempts to prevent the declaration of war, Cardinal Serédi continued to

work for the cause of peace. When in early March of 1942 the Regent appointed Miklós Kállay Prime Minister,[14] giving him instructions to try to extricate the country from the German alliance and to restore peace with the Allied Powers,[15] the Prince Primate, as well as all other ecclesiastical leaders, endorsed and supported this policy of the government directed toward peace.[16] Cardinal Serédi assisted Kállay in drafting the memorandum which the latter submitted to Pope Pius XII in January of 1943 and in which he requested the intervention of His Holiness in the interest of the restoration of peace.[17] Kállay wrote in his memoirs, "the memorandum was a cry for help, a supplication from the eastern borders of Catholicism to the head of the Roman Catholic Church and through him to the Catholics and Christians of the whole world."[18] Unfortunately, although Pius XII received the memorandum with the greatest sympathy and discussed in person the matters contained therein with Kállay during the latter's visit to Rome in March, it could not bear results, since the Pope was himself powerless to do anything the belligerents did not want to hear of any peace mediation by the Holy See. From the description of Kállay's lengthy audience with the Pope,[19] it becomes clearly evident that Pius XII was tremendously moved by the horrible inhumanity of bolshevism, and even more of German Nazism, as well as by the suffering which the war caused all over the world. As a result, his most fervent wish and all his efforts were directed toward the achievement of a just and equitable peace at the earliest possible time, which would involve abandoning total war and the mad idea of unconditional surrender. The Pope did not, however, see much hope for this so long as the opposing Great Powers, namely the German Reich and the Soviet Union, languished under the terroristic rule of fanatical dictators. His Holiness nevertheless expressed his willingness to undertake an initiating step in the interest of peace, if Italy would request this of him. Kállay hastened to inform Mussolini of this. The latter listened with great attention, but made his answer conditional on the consent of Hitler.[20] With this, Kállay's grandiose plan to induce Mussolini to break with Hitler, after which Hungary, Finland and possibly the other East European and Baltic states allied with Hitler would, under Italy's leadership, cease hostilities and conclude a separate peace with the Allied Powers, came to naught.

To return to events in Hungary, we should mention that Prince Primate Serédi approved of the plan that the government entertained to declare Budapest an open city, but he desired to include also the holy places of Hungarian Catholicism, Esztergom and Pannonhalma.[21] During the last days of the war, which inflicted the most devastation on Hungary, the Prince Primate, by then very seriously ill, joined in the demand which the bishops of the Dunántúl addressed to the Arrow Cross government urging the abandonment of the hopeless struggle and the conclusion of an immediate ceasefire.[22] And when the German high command ordered the evacuation of the city of Esztergom, which was the Primate's see, Cardinal Serédi bravely confronted the authorities and called upon the population to remain.[23]

The few facts enumerated above should be sufficient to refute the communist contention that the Church had incited the war and had been an enemy of peace.[24] The even more serious accusation, that the Church collaborated with the Nazis and the Arrow Cross and was their accomplice in the horrible crimes committed against humanity, has been answered elsewhere and need not be repeated here.[25]

NOTES

1. "A magyar katolikus egyházi reakció a Szovjetunió elleni háború támogatói sorában," (The reactionary Hungarian Catholic Church in the ranks of the supporters of the war against the Soviet Union) *Századok* (Centuries), 87, (1953): 108-41.
2. Ibid., p. 119.
3. Ibid., p. 126.
4. Ibid., p. 137.
5. Ibid., p. 139.
6. Ibid., p. 141.
7. Ibid.
8. See C.A. Macartney, *October Fifteen. A History of Modern Hungary, 1929-1945*, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1956/1957), II: 25-32; see also Part I of this volume.
9. Paragraph 13 of Act I of 1920 reserved the right to declare war and to utilize the army outside the borders of the country as prerogatives of the legislature.
10. Cardinal Serédi during the war made notations about the more important political events. The original of these notations is in the Primatial Archive at Esztergom, and a copy on film is in the National Archives in Budapest. My repeated attempts to obtain a microfilm copy were unsuccessful. The National Archives, as well as the trade organization "Kultúra," through which microfilms have to be ordered, both informed me that "it is not in their power" to fulfill my request. The excerpts below were taken from Nicholas Boer who had access to Serédi's *Notes* when he wrote his *Cardinal Mindszenty* (London: B.U.E. Ltd., 1949). A comparison with the original text, belatedly published in Hungary by Pál Rosdy, archivist of the Primatial Archives of Esztergom, under the title "Önvizsgálat vagy önigazolás? Serédi bíboros feljegyzése 1944 őszén" (Self-examination or self-justification? Notes of Cardinal Serédi, written in autumn, 1944) in the Catholic monthly *Vigilia*, XL, No. 3. (March, 1975): 191-5, shows Boer's English rendition to be absolutely faithful, in no need of correction.

11. Boer, p. 85.

12. Ibid., pp. 85-6; cf. Antal Ullein-Reviczky, *Guerre Allemande Paix Russe; Le Drame Hongrois* (Neuchatel: Editions de la Baconniere, 1947), p. 112.

13. Boer, pp. 86-7. This part of Cardinal Serédi's diary is quoted by Orbán also. He deliberately neglects to mention the Prince Primate's protest against the declaration of war on the Soviet Union and explains the steps taken by the Prince Primate to prevent the British declaration of war on Hungary and Hungary's on America by claiming that Cardinal Serédi, in accord with the Vatican, was manoeuvring to get the Western powers on Hitler's side in the war against the Soviet Union and a state of war with the Anglo-Saxon powers did not exactly fit into this scheme. This dilemma must have been all the greater since, according to Orbán, the task of the American Minister to Hungary was to support Hungary in its war against the Soviet Union. (See Orbán's article in *Századok*, 87 (1953), pp. 127-8.)

14. Horthy asked Prince Primate Serédi's advice also in appointing Kállay. See Macartney, II, p. 85.

15. Ibid., pp. 85-7.

16. See Nicholas Kállay, *Hungarian Premier* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954): 254, 267.

17. Ibid., p. 168.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., pp. 169-73.

20. Ibid., pp. 173-5.

21. See Boer, p. 23.

22. English translation of the memorandum in *Cardinal Mindszenty Speaks; Authorized White Book* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1949): 217-9.

23. See J. Vecsey, ed., *Mindszenty Okmánytár* (Mindszenty documents), 3 vols. (Munich, 1957), I: 36.

24. It is true that Sándor Orbán's article cited above appeared in 1953, that is, during the era of the "cult of personality"; however, in dealing with this subject communist historiography did not change after Stalin's death. Proof of this is provided by the relevant parts of two works dealing with the relationship of Church and State during the Horthy era, which were published in 1966 and 1967 respectively by the Akadémiai Kiadó (the Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), the publishing house enjoying the greatest scholarly prestige. In the first of these, *A magyar állam és az egyházak jogi kapcsolatainak kialakulása és gyakorlata a Horthy-korszakban* (The development and the practice of the legal relationship between the Hungarian state and the Churches during the Horthy Era), the author, Andor Csizmadia, on page 144 repeats Orbán's assertions regarding the role of the Catholic Church in the Second World War and gives Orbán as his source. And István Kónya in *A magyar református egyház felső vezetésének politikai ideológiája a Horthy-korszakban* (The political ideology of the higher leadership of the Hungarian Calvinist Church during the Horthy Era) makes the same accusations against the Protestant ecclesiastical leaders, primarily László Ravasz, the Calvinist Bishop of the Dunamellék, on pp. 61, 82, 84, 135, 204 and 214-36.

25. See my article, "The Catholic Underground in Wartime Hungary: The Birth of the Christian Democratic Party," in the *Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, XXIII, No. 1. (March, 1981): 56-69; and my paper, "The Role of the Christian Churches in the Rescue of the Budapest Jews," presented to the Meeting of the Central and East European Studies Association of Canada in Montreal, June 4-5, 1980. (Editor's note: this paper will be published in future issues of our journal.)

Hungarian Studies Review, Vol. X, No. 2 (Fall 1983)

Book Reviews

Julian Borsányi. *Das Rätsel des Bombenangriffs auf Kaschau, 26 Juni 1941.* (Studia Hungarica, 16) Munich: Ungarisches Institut, 1978, 260 pp.

Who bombed Kassa? Embodied in this succinctly stated question is perhaps the greatest puzzle of modern Hungarian history and one of the major remaining enigmas of World War II in Europe. Hungary's entry into the war was provoked by the bombing of Kassa (Košice) by several aircraft on 26 June 1941. The Hungarian government, ascribing responsibility for the bombing raid to the Soviet Union, quickly enlisted in Hitler's crusade against Communist Russia. From the start, however, questions were raised about the identity of the bombers, and ever since a variety of theories have been proposed in an attempt to explain the mysterious circumstances of the Kassa bombing.

One of the first investigations of the bombing of Kassa was conducted in 1941 by Julian Borsányi, at the time a captain in a technical branch of the Hungarian General Staff. After a hiatus of three decades, Borsányi returned to his investigation. The results of his labours are contained in this book, which represents the most exhaustive study to date of this historical puzzle.

Borsányi has closely examined, and in some cases discredited, some of the traditional sources, accounts, and theories. The testimony of the most famous eyewitness of the bombings, Ádám Krúdy, is shown to be inconsistent and unreliable. A similar skepticism is displayed toward the postwar statements of István Újszászy who was head of Hungarian military intelligence in 1941, and Rudolf Bamler, a former officer in the Abwehr. Both Újszászy, and Bamler claimed that the Kassa bombing was a conspiracy devised by military circles in Germany and Hungary who were eager to draw Hungary into the war. Borsányi is unconvinced. He points out that not a single document relating to a German-Hungarian conspiracy has ever been discovered. Moreover, he finds it "morally and psychologically" impossible to believe that any Hungarian officers could have

condoned or participated in an attack on a Hungarian city.

Yet Borsányi also finds serious weaknesses in the other theories that have been put forward. Could the bombers have been Soviet after all? Despite the discovery of bomb fragments with cyrillic lettering, Borsányi regards this as unlikely. All eyewitnesses, the author asserts, report that the attacking planes had no markings, yet no instance is known in World War II of Soviet planes flying without insignia. In any case, no purpose would have been served by such an attack at a time when the Soviet leadership hoped to keep Hungary neutral.

Another popular theory holds that Slovak (or Czech) pilots were responsible for the bombing. Borsányi acknowledges that there is some circumstantial evidence to support this idea, which apparently was widely accepted in Kassa after the bombing. The pattern of the dropping of the bombs (the post office was a major target) perhaps suggests an act of vengeance by Slovaks unhappy over the cession of territory (including the city of Kassa) to Hungary in 1938. Moreover, in an appendix to his study, Borsányi reports on some new evidence that may, after being verified, strengthen this "Slovak alternative."

After examining all of the evidence and the various theories, Borsányi is forced to concede that the "fundamental questions — who dropped the bombs on Kassa and why — remain open." The author has nonetheless been able to draw several credible conclusions. The bombers, he suggests, came from an east or southeast direction and left in the opposite direction. The aircraft had no insignia, and were not the same planes that had attacked a train in Ruthenia earlier. The Kassa attack was not unsystematic and terroristic, but a planned bombing of specific targets. The bombs that were dropped bore cyrillic lettering.

Although these conclusions and the supporting argumentation represent an important contribution to the study of this controversial question, Borsányi's book is by no means a definitive study. It is true that scholars will be greatly indebted to Borsányi for undertaking the monumental task of contacting virtually every surviving Hungarian who might have pertinent firsthand information about the Kassa bombing. On the other hand, Borsányi himself admits that he is not a trained historian, and his occasional biases and sometimes haphazard treatment of source materials tend to reflect this. Borsányi is too polem-

ical in his evaluation of the work of Marxist historians, even if his criticisms are often justified. By contrast, his sympathetic portraits of László Bárdossy and Henrik Werth will seem to some readers to be both uncritical and unwarranted.

Too often Borsányi draws conclusions on the basis of evidence from individuals who remain anonymous. On one occasion he even cites material from a book whose author and title he no longer can recall. Equally frustrating is the fact that Borsányi's use of published works is less than thorough. For example, though he refers briefly to the important article by Nándor Dreisziger on the Kassa bombing, he does not deal with its thesis or arguments in a systematic way. Only indirectly does he touch on the pertinent works of such historians as Mario Fenyő and György Ránki. My own modest contribution to the historiography of the Kassa bombing appears to be unknown to Borsányi.

Thus, the pursuit of a solution to what Borsányi calls this "tragic mystery" will continue. The true explanation may never be known, at least not until the opening of the pertinent Soviet archives. Until that time, however, Julián Borsányi's book will be a valuable guide and reference work.

University of Cincinnati *Thomas L. Sakmyster*

Anthony Tihamér Komjáthy. *A Thousand Years of the Hungarian Art of War.* Toronto: Rákóczi Foundation, 1982, 210 pp.

This survey of Hungarian military history is the first attempt to address an existing conspicuous vacuum. The author's purpose in presenting this survey in the English language was to heighten awareness of the present Hungarian situation by outlining the country's history from a military perspective. In doing so, he has geared the book to a wide readership, namely: military historians, second and third generation Hungarians, academics, statesmen as well as a general readership.

To gain insight into the formidable task taken on by Professor Komjáthy, one must examine the subject from two angles: scope and intensity. Hungary was an established state with Western Christian orientation years before the battle of Hastings and almost 500 years prior to Columbus' landing on Watling Island.

Hungary's geographic location invited incursion and occupation by the prominent powers of the time: Mongols, Turks, Austrians, Germans and Russians. In short, Hungary's military history is vitally linked to its national development. Any attempt to address a subject that is as intense as it is long is a considerable undertaking.

The task is not made easier by the destruction of Hungarian documents and manuscripts in the wars that ironically enough made that history. Most existing texts (in Hungarian) have strong socialist or pro-Russian slants and are thus too one-sided to be of great value for the serious historian.

Professor Komjáthy has opened the door to a subject that has eluded military historians of the West for some time. His book neatly categorizes the periods and highlights the prominent features such as the little-known lightning raid of Andreas Hadik on Berlin in 1757. He also provides an interesting chapter entitled "Hungarians in Foreign Armies," that documents the activities of Hungarians under foreign flags. Even here he could only skim the surface, not noting the hundreds of Hungarian Hussars who accompanied Emperor Maximillian to found the ill-fated Mexican Empire. Nor does the author mention the Hungarian engineers and artillerymen who cast their lot with Abd-el-Kader in his struggle to resist French penetration of Algeria in the 1840s. The magnitude of the subject is simply too great.

Nonetheless, a balanced criticism calls for comments in the spirit of academic circumspection. First, the title is a curious one. What is the "Hungarian art of war" (not to mention 1000 years of it)? One would be hard pressed to imagine a British or American art of war. Art is the practice and while Hungarian military history does have its peculiarities, the practice of war by Hungarians cannot be ascribed to a single national entity. It is hoped that readers will not judge the book by its title since the book itself is highly worthwhile. Secondly, as Professor Komjáthy has pointed out, Hungarian military history is strongly interwoven with the national spirit. Given this relationship, one would have expected the volume to provide more extensive treatment of the remarkable activities of 1848-1849 that caused an Emperor to abdicate, Metternich (whose very name was synonymous with reaction) to flee into exile, and Austrian armies to fall back on all fronts. It is

questionable under these circumstances whether the Russian intervention provided "only the final blow for the Hungarian freedom fight," as stated by the author. The intense energy of national-liberal feeling provided a force so great that Austrian imperialism simply could not contend with it. The intervention of 200,000 Russians under General Paskievich is better viewed as the turning point to a situation that had chances of success despite the triumph of reaction elsewhere in Europe.

A Thousand Years bears out the anguish of a proud nation struggling for national survival and self-esteem, a nation that because of its location so frequently had to confront a hostile environment. The book shows the pain of the politicians who so frequently had to sacrifice national pride for the nation's own future survival. As well, it provides an insight into the plight of soldiers who too often could not fight for their country and had to leave Hungary because the political realities did not allow them to fight for their cherished ideals. Hungarian military history is also a saga of the conflicts in civil-military relations.

The volume covers much ground. Professor Komjáthy intended it to be a survey that would generate further interest in the area of Hungarian military history. His book is bound to raise questions and spark interest in this previously neglected area.

National Defence Headquarters,
Ottawa, Canada

Captain Sándor Antal

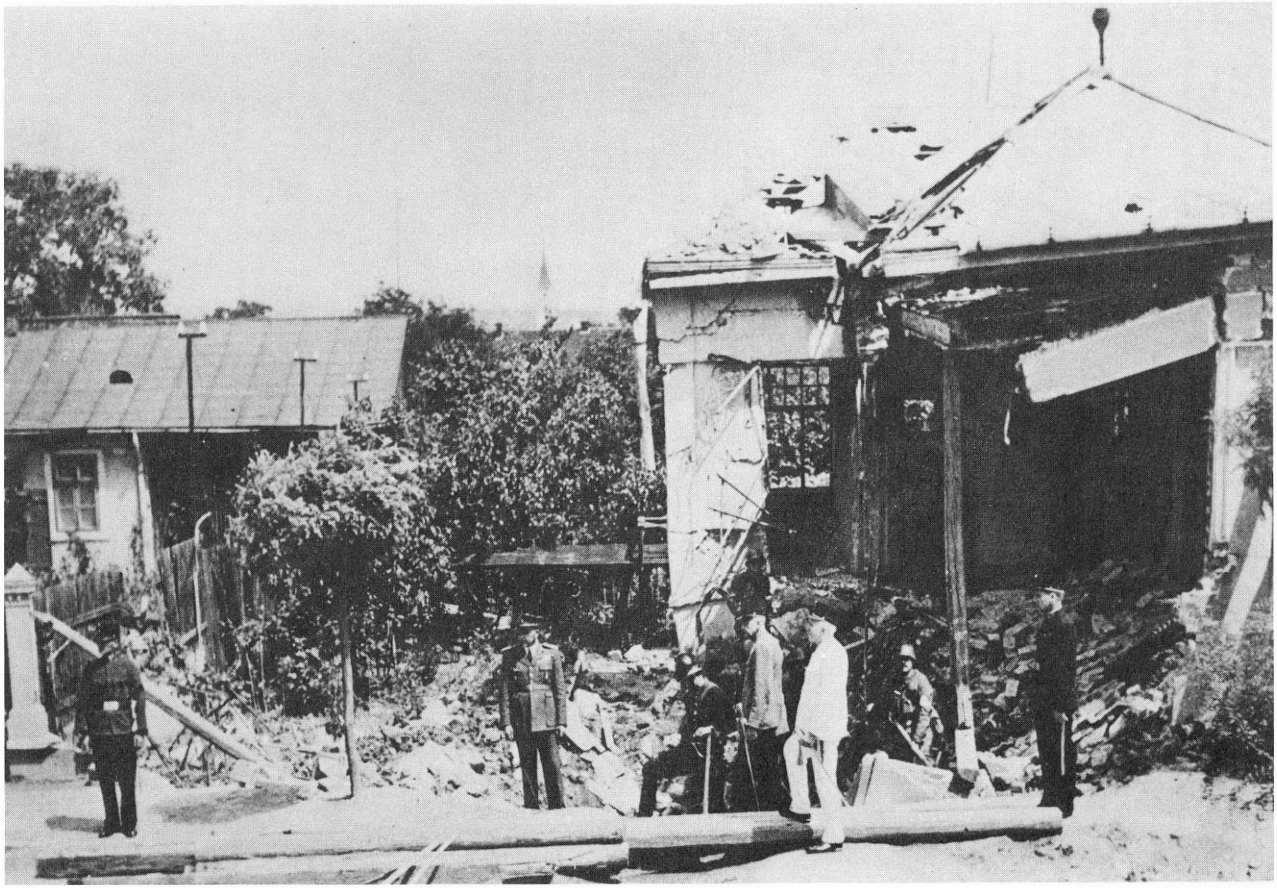
Hungarian Studies Review, Vol. X, No. 2 (Fall 1983)

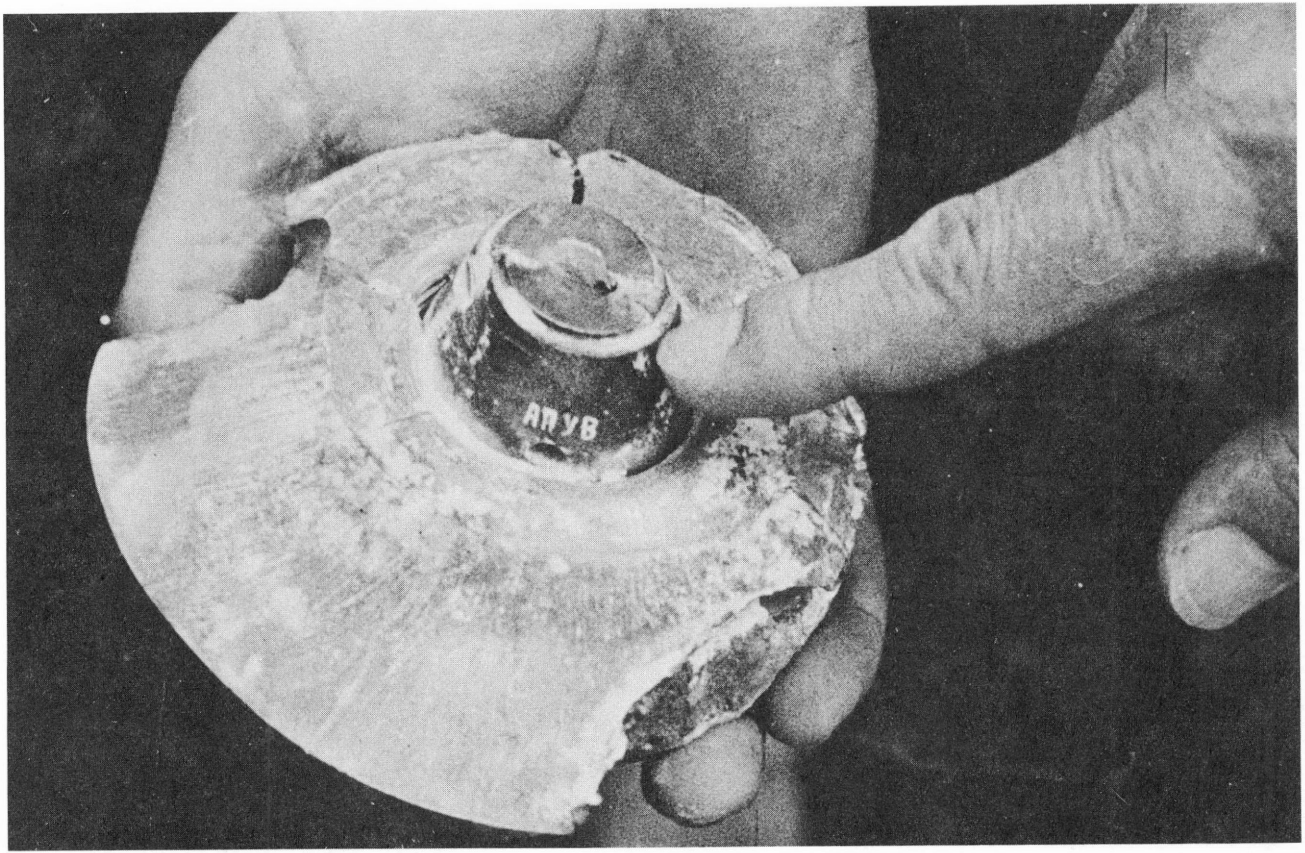
Appendix
Pictures of the Kassa Bombing

The following pages show photographs related to the Kassa raid of June 26, 1941. The first two pictures were taken at the airfield of the Hungarian military aviation school at Kassa on the 25th of June. They show a German warplane and its crew that made an unscheduled landing at the airfield. The two Hungarian air force officers seen in one of these pictures are Ádám Krúdy and Eugene Chirke. When unknown aircraft approached Kassa at about the same time the following day, some of the people at the airfield presumed that they were coming in for an unscheduled landing.

The following pages contain photographs that had been delivered by Hungarian authorities to Major R.C. Partridge, the American Military attaché to Hungary, during July, 1941. They illustrate a small part of the damage that had been inflicted on Kassa during the raid of the 26th of June, as well as close-ups of parts of an exploded bomb with Russian markings. From U.S. military intelligence records we know that some pictures, showing general damage in Kassa after the raid, were given to the American military attaché at the time of his visit to Kassa on the 1st of July, while pictures of close-ups of bomb fragments were sent to him by the head of the Hungarian information service at the end of the month. In forwarding the latter pictures to Washington, Partridge remarked that their "value rests entirely on the good faith of the Hungarian Government." (Major R.C. Partridge to Washington, supplement to Report no. 1344, 31 July 1941. New Military Records, Department of War, National Archives of the United States.)

The first two pictures are courtesy of Mr. Eugene Chirke of Montreal. The rest of the photographs were requested from the National Archives of the United States in 1972. They were declassified in 1973 and delivered to us subsequently.




АПУВ

Hungarian Studies Review, Vol. X, No. 2 (Fall 1983)

TO THOSE WISHING TO SUBMIT MANUSCRIPTS

1. The editors of the *Hungarian Studies Review* invite the submission of original articles and review articles in the field of Hungarian studies.

2. All manuscripts should be sent to the Editors, *Hungarian Studies Review*.

3. Persons wishing to review books for the *Review* should get in touch with the Editors.

4. Persons wishing to prepare review articles—either detailed discussions of a single book or a review of some area of Hungarian studies—should get in touch first with the Editors.

5. Since the *Review* does not normally publish highly specialized studies intelligible only to people in a particular discipline, contributors wishing to submit very specialized work should consult the Editors before sending in their manuscript.

6. The submission of an article to the *Review* is taken to imply that it has not been previously published and it is not being considered for publication elsewhere.

7. Manuscripts submitted to the *Review* are usually reviewed by two members of the editorial board (or outside readers) with the authors remaining anonymous. Comments on articles are conveyed to the authors with the commentators remaining anonymous.

8. Articles submitted to the *Review* should be between 4,000 and 8,000 words (ca. 16 to 32 pages) in length. Review articles should be between 1,500 and 3,000 words (ca. 6 to 12 pages) in length. Manuscripts outside of these limits will be considered if there is some good reason for their exceptional length or brevity. Articles in two parts may be accepted provided each part is independently meaningful and intelligible.

9. All manuscripts intended for publication should be submitted IN DUPLICATE. They should be clearly typed on one side of 8 1/2 x 11 inch or similar size paper. The entire manuscript should be double-spaced with ample margins. FOOTNOTES should be numbered consecutively in the text and typed double spaced at the end, beginning on a new page. The *Review* will also accept articles on 5 1/4 inch diskettes which fit TRS-80 computers and are in ASCII or Superscripsit format. Articles already on diskette would save the editorial office much time in editing and typesetting.

10. To avoid the loss of manuscripts in the mail, authors should always retain a copy of their contribution for themselves. The *Review* will not be responsible for lost articles. To save on postal costs, manuscripts are not normally returned to the authors unless their return is specifically requested.

11. On style, authors should follow previous issues of the *Review* or should use the *Chicago Manual of Style*. When in doubt, they should get in touch with the Editor.

12. Contributors whose native tongue is not English should have their manuscripts carefully edited by someone experienced in writing for English-language journals BEFORE submitting their work to the *Review*.