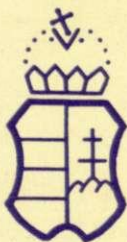


the HUNGARIAN DIGEST

APRIL-JUNE, 1966



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AMERICAN HUNGARIAN LIBRARY
AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HUNGARIAN DIGEST

A SURVEY OF HUNGARIAN LIFE AND LETTERS.

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The colophone, or emblem, on the front cover, designed by György Marossy, was inspired by the Trade Mark of a Hungarian product, popular in the U.S., the Herend porcelain. The Trade Mark, in turn, was inspired by the Arms of Hungary, used formerly for centuries but not at present.

Due to the recurrent illness of the Editor, the April-June issues of The Hungarian Digest could not be published earlier. As, however, The Digest does not carry up-to-date material, and as we had not intended publishing during the summer any-

The American Hungarian Library and Historical Society was incorporated by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, Education Department, under a provisional charter granted on May 27, 1955, and extended by action of the Regents on July 29, 1960, and was granted an Absolute Charter on June 28, 1963 by the same Authority.

THE VIEWS EXPRESSED IN THIS PUBLICATION ARE NOT
NECESSARILY SHARED BY THE AHL&HS

TO THE READER:

More than two hundred Magyar language daily, weekly etc. papers are being published outside of Hungary. This is all well and good; the mother-tongue has to be nurtured and cultivated.

At the same time, it is a pity that so many excellent articles, so much information, ideas and aspirations contained in these Magyar language publications, remain largely unknown to the rest of the world because of the language barrier. It also seems a pity that second and third generation Hungarians outside of Hungary, many of whom do not read Magyar well, are unable to remain in creative contact with their cultural background for the same reason.

These problems, however, are "tailor-made" for the AHL&HS because Section 2, paragraph a. of our Constitution expressly states that the number one purpose of our Society is "to promote and encourage research in Hungarian history, art and sciences, and to further interest in and knowledge of their contribution to the United States of America."

Such are the aims of The Hungarian Digest.

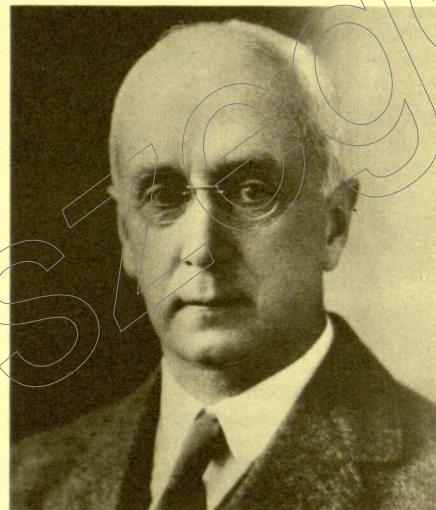
Let us grow together! The Digest hopes to grow in circulation, the number of pages and quality. Growth depends entirely on our subscribers; the more subscribers, the faster we can grow and vice-versa. It is as simple as that!

LET US GROW TOGETHER!

way, and as we are giving just as many pages here as the April and June issues would have contained if published separately, we trust our readers will forgive us the delay.

AMERICANS in the memory of our hearts.

"Gratitude is the memory of the heart."
—J. B. Massieu



Dr. Louis Craig Cornish (1870-1950) was the best friend the religious minorities of the world ever had. And—because he found the religious minorities of Transylvania the most persecuted—Transylvania never had a truer friend. It was after World War I that he visited Transylvania the first time but—seeing the plight of the religious minorities—he returned twice more to see and to help. In the meanwhile, he persuaded leading churchmen of the U.S., Great Britain, France, Switzerland and other countries to go to Transylvania and see for themselves. On the basis of these visits he organized the American Committee

on the Rights of Religious Minorities in which such outstanding laymen participated enthusiastically as Chief Justice William Howard Taft (formerly President of the U.S.), President (of Harvard U.) Charles W. Eliot, Mr. Herbert Clark Hoover (later President of the U.S.), the Hon. Henry Morgenthau, the Hon. Oscar Straus (in chronological order), and such clergymen of world-wide fame as Harry Emerson Fosdick, John H. Holmes, Bishop William F. McDowell, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Thomas C. O'Reilly, Rabbi Stephen Wise and many others. Dr. Cornish initiated several memoranda to the League of Nations, published books with carefully checked data of the persecutions, and generated the campaign to frustrate the otherwise triumphant visit of Queen Marie of Romania in this country to obtain loans as long as the situation in Transylvania was not remedied. As President of the American Unitarian Association (for twelve years), Dr. Cornish instituted the "sister-church" movement through which well-to-do U.S. churches "adopted" and helped struggling Transylvanian churches. As President of the International Association for Christianity and Religious Freedom (for ten years) he achieved the "impossible," through the Holland HQ, and later from the U.S. he kept alive the flame of mutual helpfulness among minority groups no matter which side of the world-conflict they happened to live.

The last book he ever published, "Transylvania. The Land Beyond the Forest"¹ (1947), starts with these memorable words: "Transylvania groans in her anguish. Her ancient civilization is being ground away. Make no mistake, we are involved . . ." and—on the flap—"the peace of the world may depend on the just government of Transylvania."

The Hon. John Pelényi (by then President of Free Europe University, Strassbourg, France) wrote these, in part, about Dr. Cornish: "His unswerving devotion to his fellow-men; his willingness in taking up their burdens and making them his

own; his abhorrence of tyranny and of spiritual bondage; his unfaltering energy in championing the dignity of the individual and fighting for the freedom of the soul—made him the most perfect soldier of Christ.”

Our Honorary President, Mr. Pelényi, was not alone in his high esteem of Dr. Cornish. Many higher institutions of learning expressed their appreciation by conferring honorary degrees on him, among them St. Lawrence Univ., the Univ. of Chicago, the Univ. of California and several colleges of the Independent Church of the Philippines. This latter also elected him their Honorary President in 1939 (which shows that he was interested in religious minorities outside of Transylvania as well). The University of Szeged, Hungary, made him Doctor of Pol. Science (honoris causa), in 1931.

Dr. Cornish and the cause he was so vitally interested in: the rights of religious minorities, deserve, nay, demand to be remembered, honored and perpetuated. The Hungarian Digest, therefore, hereby announces the establishment of a “*Dr. Louis C. Cornish Prize*” to be awarded once a year to the person or persons who have done the most for the cause of religious minorities in the spirit of Dr. Cornish. (See the details in the Announcement.) This is the least we can and must do: Dr. Cornish and his cause belong to those few for which “inaction becomes a crime.”

ALEXANDER ST.-IVANYI

¹ *Transylvania. The Land Beyond the Forest.* By Louis C. Cornish. Dorrance & Comp. Philadelphia. 1947. 260 pp.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The *Hungarian Digest* announces hereby the establishment of the
DR. LOUIS C. CORNISH PRIZE
to be awarded annually from 1967 on in two categories:

1. a public, documentary award for the person or persons who render important service to the cause of religious minorities in the spirit of Dr. L. C. Cornish; and
2. a cash award for the best article or essay written on this same problem and in the same spirit.

The *Hungarian Digest* also appeals herewith for contributions to this end. The names of contributors will be publicly acknowledged with or without the donated amount—according to the preference of the donor. Checks or Money Orders to the order of the AHL&HS are tax-deductible.

TENTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

of the freedom-fight of October, 1956, will be held in New York at Carnegie Hall, on October 23, 8:30 P.M. The Mayor of New York will open the program with Tamás Vásáry, Zoltán Rozsnyai, a Hungarian ballett-group and symphony orchestra etc. Free tickets are available to our subscribers from Dr. György Telegdy, 111 West 57 St., Suite 1515, New York, N.Y. 10019. Tel. JUDson 2-3634.

TRANSYLVANIA AGONISTA

Since our last issue, the following items claim our interest on “agonized Transylvania.”

The Hon. Philip J. Philbin, Congressman (3d District, Mass.), was so kind as to send us (April 7) the “answer to my continued intercessions.” The answer is from the State Department, by the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, and its contents may be summed up in the categorical sentence (of paragraph 3.) “*We have seen no evidence that the Romanian Government is following a policy of persecution of the Hungarian minority.*” The letter, however, also says: “I am enclosing for your convenient reference a copy of a statement on the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania.” The statement, then, enumerates the many fields in which the Hungarian minority is threatened by extinction: “*The Rumanian Government has pursued a cautious but systematic policy of romanizing the Hungarians of Transylvania (italics mine) by requiring them to learn the Rumanian language, by gradually reducing the number of Hungarian-language cultural institutions in Transylvania, by intermixing (?) Rumanians with Hungarians in positions of authority, and by assigning some Hungarian intellectuals (and skilled workers, etc. A.S.) to posts outside of Transylvania;*” “*it is becoming increasingly difficult if not impossible to attend higher educational institutions without knowing the Rumanian language;*” “*the method of assigning jobs to most university graduates (and skilled workers, etc. A.S.) on a nation-wide basis rather than according to the desires of the individuals, tends to scatter Hungarian intellectuals throughout the country*” (so it is not only “some” of the intellectuals but “university graduates” in general A.S.); “*Rumanians are brought in from other areas*” (to Tirgu Mures, for instance, “the principal Hungarian stronghold” where also “*a Rumanian theater was organized*” and, of course, the city was forced “to subsidize it;”) “*travellers from Hungary to Transylvania . . . must present a letter of invitation from the person they propose to*

visit as an entry requirement” (and it is easy to guess what will happen to the unfortunate Transylvanian who extends such an invitation! A.S.) “*and they appear to be subject to restrictions on their movement not in force against regular tourists;*” “*Transylvanian Hungarians travelling to Hungary require only a travel authorization, not a passport, from the local (Rumanian, A.S.) militia*” (Italics mine), (is it monumental naivety, or callous cynicism that makes the Department add: “*a more liberal practice?*” knowing, as they ought to, that the “local militia” is the hardly ever supervised or checked representative (i.e. enforcer) of both (Rumanian) nationalistic and Stalinist intransigence!); “*it appears . . . that the Rumanian Government has indeed been following a course aimed at . . . assimilating the Hungarians there into the Rumanian population.*” Notwithstanding the here quoted details of the Statement, the State Department nevertheless states categorically (in the letter): “We have no evidence that the Rumanian Government is following a policy of persecution of the Hungarian minority.” It will be well if national minorities everywhere, among them the French in Canada, take notice of this new policy of the State Department, namely that the *assimilation of national minorities into the majority population, through constant and drastic cultural, economic and political pressure, is not persecution!* (Actually, the Department seems to endorse this convenient method of the elimination of the problem of minorities. If so, however, then why are our dear ones dying in Vietnam?) The Statement also remarks: “*There is evidence that the Hungarian Government has recently taken an increasingly active interest in the situation of the ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania.*” I respectfully doubt the sincerity of this statement, for the following reasons. 1. Responsible heads of the concerned “desks” assured this writer of the same “increasingly active interest” four years ago—all ascertainable evidence pointing to the opposite, then and since. 2. The “Amerikai Magyar Szó-Hungarian

Word" (New York)—unusually well-informed about the political "line" of the Hungarian Government—kept on denouncing those who complained about the persecution of Hungarians in Romania. Their April 14, 1966 issue, for instance, devoted a whole page (p. 9) branding everyone, doing this, a "Fascist" (Arcátlanul terjesztik a nagy hazugságokat. The Big Lies Shamelessly Propagated). Evidently, if "the Hungarian Government (had) recently taken an increasingly active interest in the situation (what an evasive term for "suffering"!)" of the ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania," as the State Department says—the "Hungarian Word" would not call the "situation" a big lie and, those who try to protest it, Fascists. 3. We would also like to recommend Tibor Méray's splendid analysis (I.U., April 1-15, 1966) of the "Quarreling between Hungarian and Romanian Communists," as reported in Le Mond, the internationally known French daily, to the State Department for reading. Mr. Méray points out that Zoltán Komócsin, one of the secretaries of the Hungarian Communist Party, put this "quarreling" in the proper perspective in his long ideological dissertation (published in Népszabadság on March 14) emphasizing the Marxist-Leninist dogma of supporting the "mother-party" of Russia, (which Romania was and is trying to avoid—more or less), not the persecution of the Hungarians in Romania.

We could go on citing reasons why we do not believe the State Department refers to "an increasingly active interest" on the part of the Government of Hungary for any other reason except that they can claim "clearly two sides of the problem" in which the U.S. must not take sides.

Benjamin Franklin, who was as great a diplomat as an inventor, left us the advice: "Would you persuade, speak of interest, not of reason!" Unfortunately, we can not speak of U.S. "interest" here from the Hungarian side, for the State Department seems firmly convinced of gaining a "new Tito" in Romania. Admittedly, the State Department has to serve the interests of the U.S., not of the

Hungarians. As U.S. citizens, however, we regret that the State Department does not seem able to serve U.S. interests without abandoning the traditional U.S. sympathy for the persecuted. Chief Justice (and formerly President of the U.S.) William Howard Taft told me, a Harvard student at that time, when I thanked him for his very active interest in the fate of the Hungarians in Romania: "The world can not long endure half slave and half free." I soon learned, of course, that Mr. Taft was only applying Mr. Lincoln's well known words to the world. True, Mr. Taft spoke in 1925, and Mr. Lincoln in 1858. I firmly believe, nevertheless, that Mr. Taft and Mr. Lincoln represent the true American tradition.

ALEXANDER ST. IVANYI

The Vatican for Freedom

If it is any consolation (but, of course, it is not!), the State Department shows the same unfortunate attitude towards the Baltic States, among others, as towards the Hungarians of Transylvania. Writes Oswalds Akmentins (*Boston Herald*, Aug. 22, 1966): "As I understand, the State Department has regarded the adoption of the S. Con. Res. 51, and other resolutions by the Congress that the United Nations provide for the self-determination for the Baltic States, as undesirable. These resolutions ask the President of the United States to bring the force of world opinion through the United Nations and other appropriate international forums to bear on behalf of the restoration of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The proposed action is certainly a peaceful method of trying to establish fundamental human rights in the Baltic States.

"We know that some times the State Department claims that the United States is in war in Vietnam in order to provide the Vietnamese with a government of their own choosing. This attitude (against S.Con.Res. 51) is contradictory (to the claims for the Vietnamese self-determination) and highly discriminating against the Baltic peoples."

On the other hand, an article in the same paper (Sept. 6, 1966), entitled: "Pope backs hopes of Lithuanians," informs us how the Vatican is taking the side of the persecuted, although His Holiness is in a much more vulnerable position than the State Department is. "Pope Paul VI, Monday (Sept. 5) expressed the hope that the Church would be permitted to 'live and work' in Lithuania 'without obstacles' and that all Lithuanians would obtain religious liberty. In a letter to Bishop Vincentas Brizgys of Chicago, spiritual leader to Lithuanians living outside Europe, on the occasion of the blessing of the Lithuanian chapel in the new Church of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D.C., the Pope said: 'We cherish the hope, venerable brother, that Lithuanian aspirations and prayers will obtain from God, through the intercession of Mary, that religious liberty defended by the Ecumenical Council; may they obtain that the spirit of understanding, which all wish for nowadays, permit the Church to live and work in your mother-country without obstacles, to carry on the mission entrusted to her by divine mandate, and favor a continual increase in faith and in religious practice.'"

Let us hope that competent Hungarian Catholic representatives will respectfully intercede with His Holiness to make similar declarations about the suffering Hungarians in Transylvania. We do not know of a Hungarian Catholic bishop outside of Europe, or even outside of Hungary, (although there are cca eight million Hungarian Catholics and only cca two million Lithuanian Catholics in the world), but we do have outstanding Hungarian Catholics both among the clergy and the laity. At any rate, we feel highly gratified that the Vatican was not afraid to raise its voice in defence of freedom, while the State Department of "the land of the free and the home of the brave" seems to be reluctant to do so.

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HUNGARIAN DIGEST

Hungarian Pioneers of Religious Freedom*

by KENNETH TWINN

Szent-Iványi Sándor: A Magyar Vallásszabadság. Kézirat Könyvtár. (Hungarian Freedom of Religion. Manuscript Library.) American-Hungarian Library and Historical Society. New York. IV.+196 pp. \$1.95.

There has recently come into my hands through the author's friend, the Rev. J. W. Dumble, a book published twelve months ago by the Rev. Dr. Alexander Szent-Iványi, who will be known to a number of British Unitarian ministers and others. Dr. Szent-Iványi was before the war Unitarian minister at Kolozsvár, professor of Theology at the Unitarian Academy there, and, during the war, minister and Deputy Bishop in Hungary. A strong liberal both in religion and politics, he was a member of the immediate post-war Hungarian parliament but was obliged to leave the country for the United States at the beginning of the communist take-over. Since then he has been a minister in New England. Besides literary honours in his own country, he was awarded the "token of gratitude" by Field-Marshal Alexander as Allied Supreme Commander in the Mediterranean, and the Order of Merit of the first (post-war) Republic of Hungary.

This book is *Hungarian Religious Freedom (A Magyar Vallásszabadság)* and is the first in a series for Hungarian-speaking Americans, called *Manuscript Library* because the text is reproduced typescript, and is published by the American Hungarian Library and Historical Society in New York, of which Dr. Szent-Iványi himself is president. It is in a sense polemical writing, since it attempts to refute the judgment of a Hungarian historian whom he honours as a patriot but rejects as an historian. This judgment is that the sixteenth-century laws of toleration in Transylvania, "had nothing to do with modern toleration nor were they an

* This book-review was published in the January 15, 1966 issue of *The Inquirer*, a London, England, bi-weekly.

anticipation of the principle of religious liberty." He seeks to show, by taking each piece of legislation in turn, how the idea of general religious toleration developed with Francis Dávid as one of the great advocates, and to prove that this achievement so long ago is something of which Hungarians can be proud, and from which even today both they and other peoples can learn with profit: "If only that spirit of tolerance which imbued those who passed these laws lived today, it would bring peace and mutual understanding to our world spiritually so multifariously divided as it is."

Dr. Szent-Iványi reaches five conclusions from his studies, which may be summed up as follows:

1. In thirty years (1545-76) about twenty-four Diets, including that of Torda in 1568, were occupied with the problem of religious liberty, incomparably more than in any other state of that—or any other—time. This shows at least that the members of the Diets took the question of religious liberty seriously, and this was praiseworthy in itself!

2. These decrees, with perhaps two exceptions, were so progressive as to extend the bounds of religious liberty in a way unique at that time.

3. Catholic as well as Protestant members of the Diets granted freedom of religious practice, and Catholic monarchs confirmed this. And this was not just political expediency because, as one authority put it, "persecution of the Protestants would not have been a political disadvantage." It was the spread of humanist ideas which gave the impetus.

4. The texts of the decrees make no reference to "accepted religion" either in Hungarian or Latin, because this was a concept of later times when power struggles made some sects wish to deny toleration to others.

5. The theological teachings of those days were not so sharply defined, and the Diets gave to these theological "tendencies" a share in the liberty of being discussed and propagated within the "Church" as then universally interpreted, and a free decision on new doctrines was allowed to the national Synod.

The back cover features the whole, and

the front cover part, of the painting (the work of Aladár Kriesch, 1863-1920), of the 1568 Diet of Torda showing the defence of religious toleration by Francis Dávid in the presence of John Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, and the other prime mover, Biandrata. As there is no extant portrait of Dávid, Kriesch took for his model F. Liszt (then the most famous living Hungarian) but, as the author explains, Kriesch slightly "saxonized" his features, as David was half-Saxon! The liberal religious world will shortly be celebrating the fourth centenary of this important event.

CEAUSESCU AND THE KOMINTERN

Nicolae Ceausescu, first secretary of the Communist Party of Romania, made a one-sided declaration on May 7, of this year,—reported in every major paper of the world,—that Congresses III, IV and V of the Komintern (Comintern, 1919-43) were wrong to qualify Romania "a typical state of many nationalities." Sándor Körösi-Krizsán, a (former) member of the Communist Party in Romania, reminisces about the circumstances that produced this qualification (resolution) of the Komintern, in UJL (July-August, 1966 issue). The Komintern took into account that 1. Romania tripled her territory when the victorious Entente Powers handed over Transylvania, Bucovina, Bessarabia and parts of the Banat to her, but more than one-fourth of her population was non-Romanian; 2. these territories were handed over to Romania without any plebiscite, by the Capitalist Powers; 3. Russia was declared a state of nationalities (not a national state), consequently Romania could not be declared otherwise either; 4. all peoples' right for self-determination was, then, universally accepted, consequently the Communist states could not disregard it either without a loss of prestige. Another reason was that Transylvania was the highest developed industrial province in Romania and, according to Marx, industrially developed peoples were to be preferred as more ripe and fit for Communism. The author defected, left the Party, "thanks to Panait Istrati, the famous Romanian-French writer."

THE ETRUSCAN MYSTERY

by Géza Kúr.*1

It is often said in scientific circles throughout the world that the Etruscan language is a mystery. When, occasionally, someone claims that the Etruscan mystery has been solved, denials immediately appear. In 1961, Raymond Bloch, the most prominent Etruscan scholar of our time, insisted that not only its twin brother, but even its distant cousin, cannot be found. In an article in the *Scientific American* in 1962, Bloch added that "outside of a few notations related to religious rites which were solved by the Latin text of a similar cult, the scientific world is certain about the meaning of [only] about 30 Etruscan words. The effort of the scientists to achieve the understanding of the Etruscan language by comparing it to other known languages was hindered by the isolated nature of the Etruscan language."

I do not doubt Mr. Bloch's statements, but I believe that the real reason why scholars have been unable to decipher the Etruscan inscriptions is that they have not followed the track open before them. They have ignored the monumental work *La Langue Étrusque*, published in Paris in 1923 by the French linguist Jules Martha. Without doubt, this work quite positively points to the whereabouts of the relatives, even of the twin brother, of the Etruscan language. I started out on the road shown by Professor Martha although he was unable to solve the mystery of the Etruscan language because he did not know Hungarian. That is, I believe that he was not able to construct meaningful sentences from the correctly understood words because he did not realize an important similarity between the Etruscan and Hungarian languages: that is, that much can be said with a few words. Since I know the dialects of the Hungarian language quite extensively, it was not hard for me to combine the correct meanings of words given by Professor Martha into meaningful and complete sentences.

After working on short Etruscan inscriptions, like those on the Seal of Magliano and on the Memorial Stone at

Perugia, I tried to solve the longest known Etruscan inscription, that on the cover of the mummy at Agram. The Seal of Magliano, more correctly described as a round disc, with the text running in a circle from left to right, is an exchange of letters between the son of a sick man and a doctor. The son describes the symptoms on one side of the disc, and the doctor answers on the other side, giving him instructions. The Memorial Stone at Perugia commemorates the death of an Etruscan tyrant and indicates the way in which the story of his death should be preserved; passages in the songs of Hungarian bards describe identical methods.

The inscription on the cover of the Mummy of Agram can best be described as an excellent report on the funeral of a seaman who committed suicide.² It used to be customary among Hungarian people, even in the last century, to place in the coffin a statement regarding the cause of death, a description of the funeral rites, and all the important data regarding the deceased. In the very same way, the inscription on the Mummy of Agram describes everything connected with the funeral. This description gives us an insight into the religion of the Etruscans—their rituals, their form of confession, their concept of penitence, their prayers calling upon minor deities for aid and protection. When we read the following sentence from the sermon of the priestess: "God also loves the concealed rich man and mercifully watches over the needy," we see that through their belief in God these people were seeking peace. From the inscription, we also learn that the priestess conducting the funeral rites not only taught and led the choir but also, after the funeral, operated on a sick person brought to her. The statement of Etruscan scholars that the inscription on the Mummy of Agram preserved about 500 different words is true; but more than 75% of these words can also be found today without change or with only insignificant shifts of meaning in the roots of words in the present Hungarian language.

Of the surviving Etruscan records, the inscription on the Clay-slate of Capua ranks second in length, but in terms of what it tells us about the culture and history of the Etruscans, it stands first.³ It deals with the question of public health in such a magnificent way that even today it would fit very well into the speeches of the authorities involved in social problems. Every line of the inscription shows vividly the close relationship of the Etruscan and Hungarian languages. In it we find Hungarian words whose evolution has hitherto remained unexplained. For example, the word SII with the ending TAL is the Etruscan SIITAL, which in both meaning and sound is identical with the Hungarian verb SÉTÁL, meaning "to walk slowly." In the inscription, there is also a proverb which, word by word and without change in meaning, is alive today in the language of the Hungarians in Csallóköz.

Like the inscription on the Mummy of Agram, the Etruscan grave inscriptions and proverbs reveal the philosophy of the Etruscans and show the relation of the Etruscan and Hungarian languages. In his work "Saggio di Etrusca" (1789), Luigi Lanzi, an Italian scholar, introduces fourteen grave inscriptions with original Etruscan lettering. All of these speak of the noble soul, of belief in God, and of the philosophy of the Etruscans. One of them says, "I asked for it, God laid me down, wipe off the tears." Another says, "I announce great joy, the grave gives you peace."

I know only a few of the proverbs. Mayani introduces twelve proverbs in his work "Die Etrusken beginnen zu sprechen." The meaning he forces into them is quite different from the real meaning. For example, he translates Proverb Number 6 (Page 355) as "Glücklich wer viel Wein in sein leeres Maul giesst" ("Happy is the man who pours much wine into his empty mouth"). If the text is broken up into correct words and the damaged letters correctly completed, one finds here the very honorable proverb which is alive today in many places in Hungary: "It is hard to watch over the fire, in vain to scold the loser."

I hope that the Etruscan mystery will be completely solved some day.

¹ The Rev. Géza Kúr is editor and publisher of A Fáklya, a Hungarian language bi-monthly (Warren, O.) in its XV. year.

² In addition to Professor Martha's description, see Krall, Die Etruskischen Mumienbinden des Agramer National Museum, Wien, 1892. ³ In my comments on this inscription, I have used not only Professor Martha's data but also Franz Bücheler's study, "Companische Etruskische Urkund."

Hungarian House in New York

After five months of wrestling with "red tape," the American Hungarian Library and Historical Society (AHL&HS) has finally succeeded in getting the "Deed" transferred to our name in the middle of September. Now the title will be transferred to the other two, equally contributing and sharing organizations, the Hungarian Catholic League of America and the Széchenyi István Society. The three organizations will hold the House as "tenants in common." The House, 213-215 East 82nd St., New York, N.Y., contains an appropriately large and high hall (for 200) on the second floor, another one (for a restaurant) on the first floor, and several smaller rooms on four floors. In this House, the collections, paintings, statues etc. of the AHL&HS will find a permanent home, and offices for the three organizations will be housed.

Three separate offices to other Hungarian organizations, with a common waitingroom, will be also available, and there will be lobbies on the first and second floors (leading to the main hall).

The great advantage of the Hungarian House—from the standpoint of our AMH&HS—is that our premises will be burglar-proof. We shall no longer have to worry about exhibiting our valuable paintings, among them the Munkácsy-painting donated by our unforgettable benefactor, the Countess László Széchenyi.

After the necessary improvements and alterations, this House will provide a dignified and architecturally, as well as artistically satisfying center for New York's Hungarians—for the first time in history.

THE TELEKI-PELENYI PLAN

János Pelényi (see Who's Who) spent most of his diplomatic career in the U.S. and was Hungarian Envoy in Washington (1933-40) until his resignation. As an old and highly successful diplomat, he was taken into the confidence of most Hungarian Prime and Foreign Ministers. He was especially friendly with Count Pál Teleki (1879-1941), our martyred Premier. Mr. Pelényi has already published an article in The Journal of Modern History (June, 1964) entitled: "The Secret Plan for a Hungarian Government in the West at the outbreak of World War II." There, however, he published only five documents to authenticate his statements. Gyula Borbándi, (with) twelve more documents, gives a well-balanced account of the Teleki-Pelényi Plan for establishing firm relationship with the Western Powers, in ÚjL. (March-April, 1966 issue). In possession of information that the average Hungarian did not have, and also because of the growing activity of the Volksbund (an organization of Hungarian citizens of German origin) and the Arrow-cross Movement, Teleki feared a Hitler take-over in Hungary, similar to the one in Austria. Teleki was also convinced that our just claims for the revision of the Treaty of Trianon, could not be achieved, with permanent validity, without the consent of the Western Powers. Proven friends of Hungary, in responsible positions in Western countries, encouraged Teleki to form a Free Hungarian Government (Ellen-kormány) in some Western country with both the Regent and the Premier leaving Hungary. (Interestingly enough, the victorious Western Powers did not encourage a Free Hungarian Government when the Soviet threatened to put through a "take-over" in 1946. Western Envoys in Budapest said that the experience with Free Governments during World War II. showed that an alienation took place between the populations left to the mercy of the occupying Power and the Free Governments abroad. Editor.) The collapse of the European Western Powers in 1940, as a result of the "Phoney War," pushed

the center of Hungarian plans to the U.S. Actually, an amount of five million dollars was transferred to Mr. Pelényi by the Hungarian National Bank to support the needs of a Free Hungarian Government here. On May 25, 1940, Pelényi was instructed to deposit this amount to the Federal Reserve Bank (U.S.) which he immediately did (and still holds the Receipt for same). Published accounts have not shown us, however, what happened with this Hungarian money. The Alien Property Custodian may have confiscated it after the declaration of war; the Nagy-Rákosi visit (1946) may have liberated it; or it may still be among the "frozen assets" which are subject to negotiation between the U.S. and the present Hungarian Government.

There are, of course, many more interesting details of this problem mentioned in Borbándi's article. Mr. Pelényi (and Mr. Borbándi) furnished great service to history by making these details public. (See, also, Our Man of Destiny, in this issue.) The selfless, patriotic attitude of Teleki, Pelényi and other Hungarian statesmen, as thoroughly demonstrated in this issue, also, gives one a good, warm feeling, and hope for a better Hungarian future.

(The "missions" of Viktor Bátor and Tibor Eckhardt in the U.S. are not mentioned in the article. Yet, we feel that their "missions" also belong to this story.)

L. L. RIHARY

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Thank you!

OUR MAN OF DESTINY IN 1944

(Col. Charles T. Howie)

There are many kinds of "men of destiny" as there are many kinds of men and destinies. Here I am thinking of a very special type, of foreigners who risked their lives for Hungary in decisive moments of history. Stefan Zweig's *Sternstunden* are the category I am thinking of, when history is precariously balanced on the razor's edge, ready to fall to this side or to the other, and when the intervention of one man decides the issue. Thus, Captain of the Guard Lehmann helps Prince Ferenc Rákóczy II escape from the fortress of Wiener Neustadt (Nov. 7, 1701) thereby not only saving the life of the Prince but also making a decade-long Hungarian War of Independence possible. Lehmann himself pays with his life for his intervention into the plans of the Habsburg Emperor, but his name is revered even today by all Hungarians. Thus, also, Roger Casement, an English gentleman, overhearing the vanquished Kossuth's difficulties at Widdin, Bulgaria, (Sept. 1849) volunteers to deliver Kossuth's letter to Lord Palmerston, foreign minister of Great Britain. After ten days of risking his life repeatedly, Mr. Casement finally delivers the letter to Palmerston who, in turn, sends a special message to the Porte of Turkey saying that "the Sultan would be supported by the entire British fleet, if necessary, in case he gave unconditional protection to Kossuth and his compatriots." Without Mr. Casement's intervention, the Porte would have extradited Kossuth to the Habsburgs.¹ Yet, few Hungarians even know the name of this splendid Englishman, our Man of Destiny in 1849.

Before the same fate overtakes Lt. Colonel Charles Telfer Howie's role in 1944, let us throw what light we have on his "mission." Through a series of unexpected events, the present writer possesses some data which were hitherto not available even to historians. This "series of unexpected events," however, is a very long story. Having very little space in the *Digest*, I shall try to make this long story short.

1. Toward the end of 1938, my wife

and I organized the Emerson Guild in Budapest for the dissemination of English and American history, literature and, of course, the language itself. 2. When World War II broke out, the Emerson Guild naturally tried to help English and American citizens who lived in or moved to Hungary as the Nazi armies occupied one country after the other. 3. The Swiss Legation at Budapest, representing—as a Neutral Power—Britain and the U.S., heard of our work and asked me to co-operate with them. 4. The Regent (Miklós Horthy) unofficially appointed me to an unofficial committee which was unofficially preparing documents etc. to be used in Britain and the U.S. after the war. The members of this committee all had had previous experience and contacts in these two countries. Dr. Elek Boér, chairman of one of the highest courts of Hungary, represented the Reformed Church several times in England and the U.S. Dr. László Medgyessy was Consul General in New York before World War II. Baron Antal Radvánszky represented the Hungarian National Bank at various negotiations in the Anglo-Saxon countries. Dr. Domokos Szent-Iványi was Hungarian Consul in Cleveland, O. and in San Francisco, Calif. I, myself, had studied at Harvard Theol. School and at the Univ. of Chicago in 1924-26 and 1932-33, and guided several English and American "fact-finding commissions" in Romania working with the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities. 5. British and U.S. (including Australian, Canadian, New Zealand and South African) prisoners of war—escaping from German prison camps—began to arrive in Hungary. As long as we were already caring for Anglo-American civilians, we took up the care of the P.O.W.s as well. 6. On a September day in 1943, Col. Howie arrived directly to my ministerial office at Koháry u. 2, showing how well informed the P.O.W.s in German camps were. So far all our activities were accepted by the Hungarian authorities with the clear understanding that if the German govern-

ment discovered anything, we could not count on their help. Even the Swiss Legation followed this method, the first document legitimizing me as working with them being issued only on Oct. 10, 1944. (In telephone and personal conversations, on the other hand, they often prepared my visits to Hungarian government-offices, as did several high officials of the Hungarian Foreign Office and the Ministry of Defence.)

To avoid any possible misunderstanding, may I emphasize right here and now that I never received a penny for my work from any government or government agency. In other words: I was not a "foreign agent."

My wife and I did receive a "citation," a "token of gratitude for and appreciation of the help given to the Sailors, Soldiers and Airmen of the British Commonwealth of Nations" (signed by H. R. Alexander, Field-Marshal, Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean Theater); the Swiss Legation expressed their appreciation in several official letters and so did the "Anglo-American Colony of The British Association in Hungary," "the only Anglo-Saxon Association in Hungary" since 1918. The U.S. Envoy for Hungary, H. F. A. Schoenfeld, on the other hand, kept on assuring me every time we met that they "would never be able to thank" me for my work and he was one hundred per cent right: they were never able to (meaning, that up to this day there never has been an official U.S. acknowledgement of that work). Yet, even at the time of my departure from Hungary, in September, 1946, there were still more than forty British subjects and U.S. citizens living in quarters for which I was responsible, and I have never found the secret of "transubstantiating" words, no matter how generously uttered, into food, fuel and other necessities for these—mostly elderly—people.

It is impossible, however, to let this opportunity pass without expressing heartfelt thanks to two fine friends in connection with money matters. Tibor Gyulay is the first, a parishioner at Budapest, also Secretary General of the Chamber of Commerce and, later (in the La-

katos cabinet), Minister of Industry. Whenever my resources ran out, which happened more and more often as the number of our Anglo-American "clients" grew, Tibor took the telephone and secured appointments for me at wealthy Hungarians to ask for "humanitarian contributions." The other friend was Béla Waldmann, General Manager of Shell Oil Company in Hungary, who came with me personally to beg, beseech, urge and solicit Budapest "Captains of Industry" to contribute to the support of these same "clients." Unfortunately these two were not available to help (because of the Nazi putch) when I rented the Pajor Sanatorium, the largest private Sanatorium of Budapest, for the purpose of giving protection and shelter to Anglo-Americans. From October 10, 1944 to February 7, 1945 (when the Red Army requisitioned the Sanatorium), the rent grew into enormous proportions. Only the subsequent inflation of the currency saved me from the debtors' prison.

The arrival of Col. Howie added a new element to the hitherto mainly philanthropic work. In no time, representatives of General Bor (Major Prince Sapieha and the Countess S. Tarnopolska) became daily visitors in our parsonage. They acquired and brought over to us a short-wave transmitter left behind by the U.S. Legation. This set became "the traveling transmitter" I ever saw: first we hid it in our clothes-hamper whenever the German radio-cruisers zeroed in on the sendings; then—after March 19, 1944—Dr. Ferenc Durugy, a high official and, later, Chef de Protocol of the Foreign Office, then a bachelor, hid it in his Buda apartment; after negotiations were re-opened with the Anglo-Americans, the set was twice taken to the Royal Castle and then smuggled out.

7. Count Mihály Andrássy who gave shelter to some fifty of our P.O.W.s at Szigetvár (later, the Countess Joseph Károlyi at Fehérvár-Csurgó, and the Countess Antal Sigray, an American lady, at Leléd also accepted Anglo-American prisoners of war) introduced me to Count Antal Szapáry who, in turn, introduced me to Miklós Horthy, Jr. Through these contacts I was asked to

take Col. Howie and Major Sapieha to the Royal Castle. "Through a neutral businessman traveling to the Balkans, Howie sent down word to Istanbul that he was ready to escape, but thought he could do good work if he stopped in Hungary. He was told to stay." (C. A. Macartney, October Fifteen, p. 217.) Soon we were discussing the problems of direct contact with Anglo-American authorities. As a result, three representatives of the Allies were to be parachuted on the outskirts of Szigetvár on March 16, 1944. The prisoners of war on Count Andrassy's estate had their lanterns ready to mark the field for the parachutists, and Sombor-Schweinitzer, head of the Budapest police, was to bring them up to the parsonage at Kohary u. 2. The representatives, however, did not arrive. Years later, I met Mr. Florimund Duke (now of Phoenix, Arizona) who told me that he (a Colonel) and two other U.S. officers, Major Alfred Suarez and Captain Guy Nunn, were, indeed, sent (by the O.S.S., i.e. Allen Dulles) to keep the appointment. "We took off from Brindisi at 9 p.m., jumped at 2 a.m., landing south of Lake Balaton on St. Patrick's Day (March 17), were met by Major Király. Next day we drove to Budapest, met Gen. Ujszászi. Two days later the Germans crossed the border from Austria and we were prisoners for thirteen months in Belgrade and other German prison-camps." Mr. Duke is now writing a scenario of his experiences. Nota bene: there seems to have been two distinctly separate groups working on this project as the presence of Sombor-Schweinitzer in the one, and Gen. Ujszászi's in the other clearly indicate. What is much worse, however, and full of tragic portent for Hungary is the fact that the Allies also had two distinct groups working on such projects: the U.S. and Britain sending separate parachutist groups. Six months later this difference sealed the fate of Hungary. Leaving out, now, a lot of interesting detail for which we have no space, let us turn to the other major effort of the Hungarian government to deal with the Anglo-American powers directly. From March 19, 1944, (when the Germans occupied Hungary), to the mid-

dle of August, Col. Howie was in hiding; at that time, however, the Regent regained some freedom of action and I took Col. Howie to the Castle several times for conferences. On August 27, the new, Lakatos government was appointed and soon it moved to re-open direct negotiations with the Allies. Col. Howie was sent (with Gen. Náday) to Italy for this purpose. The details of this mission I put together by verbatim quoted phrases from three letters Col. Howie wrote to me when I was already in the U.S.

Howie: "At the first opportunity I sent you a letter last year when I was able to write direct to Hungary. . . ." (In that letter he described in detail the departure in a rickety old Heinkel which Majoros "spirited away" from the Germans; the bad weather; their losing their way and subsequently crash-landing at Foggia, Italy.) Howie continues:

"When I went to the Palace for the last time on Wednesday, Sept. 20, 1944, and the get-away was postponed for a few days, I asked Col. Tost if I could see you. I wanted to say a few words of farewell as I thought our chances of getting through were about 50 : 1 against. But Horthy's instructions were to allow no one to see me. I hope Tost told you I had left and gave you my goodbye. I tried to persuade Horthy to let us go to the Russian lines. . . . But he would not hear of it." Howie trusted the Allied relationship of the Russians to such an extent that—before leaving—he entrusted a letter to me to be forwarded to the Russian Commander of Budapest requesting his goodwill toward my group. Now to return to Sept. 1944, Howie writes: "When I arrived in Italy by air (what a flight that was! we crash-landed after dark, but no one was hurt) I arranged to take Gen. Náday to F. M. Wilson (Field-Marshal Lord Wilson, A.S.) in a few hours, and I thought things would go well." And again: "As soon as I arrived in Italy I made reports . . . and saw everyone who had any official connection with the underground in those parts. . . . If I had been an Hungarian Envoy myself I could not have put the case for Hungary more emphatically or genuinely than I did to all the officials I

met. . . . My crusade was inspired by my liking for the country, people, and for the help I had had." Unfortunately, the cards were stacked against his mission, as everyone told him "excepting the General and the Brigadier," writes Howie. This "excepting" deserves a note. I do not know who the "Brigadier" was but we know a lot about why the General (Wilson) was not against Howie's mission. It would take too long to describe why we, in Budapest, were for Howie's mission. Let me quote, instead, the distinguished British military historian, Basil Collier, who in his *Barren Victories*² describes the reasons why Gen. Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, Allied Supreme Commander in the Mediterranean Theater, wanted to develop his offensive "beyond the Pisa-Rimini line into the Po Valley, then strike through the Ljubljana gap into the Hungarian Plain." On the one hand, such a thrust would have forced Hitler to divert troops from the West, on the other, the post-war "reconstruction of Europe . . . would become immensely difficult if the whole Danube Basin were allowed to become a Russian sphere of influence." "Wilson's views were wholeheartedly endorsed by Allied commanders in Italy and notably by General Mark Clark, commanding the U.S. Fifth Army." President Roosevelt, however, at the political advice of the State Dept., and the military advice of George C. Marshall, vetoed this plan, believing that Operation Anvil (landing in the South of France) would divert more Hitler-troops than Wilson's plan and that the Russians are "easy to deal with. . . . They are . . . people who think and act just like you and I do." (Roosevelt.) It was easy, therefore, for Marshall to persuade "Roosevelt to intervene decisively in favor of Anvil by informing Churchill that he (Roosevelt) would regard any alternative as a breach of the Teheran agreement." So Anvil was put in effect and the U.S. Seventh Army, "with seven divisions reluctantly surrendered by General Clark . . . went ashore on the Cote d'Azur." (On Aug. 15, 1944.) That Marshall was wrong, the consequences showed: Hitler, not threatened from Italy, "promptly withdrew all but his

garrison troops from the neighborhood (of Anvil-landing) and transferred two armored divisions from Italy to Eisenhower's front and one to Poland." The political, long range, consequences were, of course, even more disastrous.

Lord Moran's recently published *Diary* (Churchill, *The Struggle for Survival*), also tells us in detail how agitated Mr. Churchill was, all through August 1944, that his "long-standing hope" of breaking through into Austria and preventing the Russians from sweeping through Central Europe were frustrated. On August 6, he can see "no earthly purpose" in the landings in the south of France. On August 20-21 he again discusses the possibility of breaking through to Central Europe with "Alex" (Field Marshal H. R. Alexander) and General Mark Clark, the "American Eagle." Just when Col. Howie arrived in Italy, Churchill was away at the Quebec Conference (Sept. 8-23). Wilson was probably waiting for some favorable news coming out of this Conference, hence his initial good reception of Howie and Náday. Churchill, however, left Quebec for England in a dejected mood. "What was this conference? Two talks with the Chiefs of Staff. The rest was waiting for a chance to put in a word with the President."³

Interestingly enough, in October 1944, Stalin—"after suffering a check"—suggested "that, after all, a drive by the Western Allies into Austria might not be unacceptable."⁴

The State Department's pro-Russian attitude, however, destined Col. Howie's mission to failure. Let me mention just one more episode. C. A. Macartney writes: "I have been repeatedly assured by Hungarians that on 15th October American troops in Italy were, when Horthy's proclamation was received, ordered to start by air for Hungary, but the order was cancelled when Vörös' counter-order was heard. Lord Wilson informs me categorically that there was by that time no question of sending combatant troops to Hungary, but an American military mission would have been a different thing and Lord Wilson might not even have been consulted about it." To this information I would like to add that

Squadronleader T. and Major C.—both of whom Col. Howie specially asked to see “that you and the few true friends were all right” (he himself not having been permitted to return to Budapest)—told me in detail (in 1945) how they were alerted on October 15 and how they waited in pouring rain for hours. They had been hurriedly briefed about the situation and were shown a place (on map) at the western part of the “Buda Cliff” (probably the Vérmező), where they were to parachute.

Is this a likely story? Apart from the direct testimony of the Squadronleader and the Major, the political “behind the scenes” story also makes it very probable. Notwithstanding the (second) Quebec Conference, Churchill redoubled his efforts to save Central-Eastern Europe. After much correspondence, he and Eden went to Moscow to gain Stalin’s approval to their plans. On the way, he stopped over (with Eden, Brooks and Ismay) at Naples (Oct. 6) for a four hour conference with Generals Wilson and Alexander. “I was much distressed by their tale,” writes Churchill.⁶ The Allied forces—deprived of seven of their best divisions (for Anvil)—were bogged down. “Nothing could be done until the spring,” said “Alex.” “Then,” the P.M. (Prime Minister) grunted, “it will be too late.” (i.e. to break through to Austria and Hungary.)⁷ There was just one more thing Churchill could do: to persuade Stalin to exercise moderation. This he succeeded to do (seemingly) on Oct. 10, in the well-known “paper-pushing” incident. “I wrote out on a half-sheet of paper” (writes Churchill): “Rumania (to be occupied by) Russia 90%, the others 10%; Greece (by) Great Britain (in accord with U.S.A.) 90%, Russia 10%; Yugoslavia 50-50%; Hungary 50-50%; Bulgaria: Russia 75%, the others 25%.” I pushed this across to Stalin. There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back to us.” Churchill suggested that they burn the paper. “No, you keep it,” said Stalin.⁸ “On the evening of October 17 we held our last meeting. The news had just arrived that Admiral Horthy has been arrested by the Germans

as a precaution now that the whole German front in Hungary was disintegrating. I remarked that I hoped the Ljubljana Gap could be reached as fast as possible.”⁹ The Ljubljana Gap was, of course, where General Wilson originally wanted to break through “into the Hungarian plain.” The Allied troops having “bogged down” in Italy, Churchill getting his 50-50% agreement about the occupation of Hungary in Moscow (Oct. 10), the news of which must have reached “Alex” and Wilson in a day or two, all these made the political “behind the scenes” situation favorable for a British-U.S.A. parachute landing in Budapest. Had Horthy’s forces been able to hold Budapest at least a day more, this parachute landing could have changed the course of Hungarian history.

This is the short account of the mission of Our Man Of Destiny in 1944. Col. Howie showed the same willingness to risk his life for Hungary as Captain of the Guard Lehmann did in 1701, and Roger Casement did in 1849. The present writer is working on a more detailed account of this mission as well as of the four year long struggle to keep British and American civilians and prisoners of war protected in Hungary. In the meanwhile, let us remember Col. Howie vividly and gratefully as Our Man Of Destiny in 1944.

ALEXANDER ST.-IVANYI

¹ *Kossuth In New England*. A full account of the Hungarian governor’s visit to Massachusetts; with his speeches and addresses that were made to him. Carefully revised and corrected. With an Appendix. Boston: John H. Jewett & Co.; Cleveland, Ohio: Jewett, Proctor, and Worthington. 1852. (VIII + 344 pp.) See: pp. 20 ff. ² *Basil Collier, Barren Victories: Versailles to Suez*. The Failure of the Western Alliance, 1918-1956. Doubleday & Company, Inc. Garden City, New York, 1964. 302 pp. My quotations are taken from pp. 230-34. ³ Lord Moran (Charles Wilson, M.D., Churchill’s personal physician), Churchill. Taken from the Diaries of Lord Moran. Houghton Mifflin Comp. Boston, 1966. My quotations can be found under the given dates of the Diary. ⁴ Collier. ⁵ C. A. Macartney, October Fifteenth. The Edinburgh Univ. Press, 1961. (I used the second edition.) Volume II. p. 353, footnote 1. ⁶ Winston S. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*. Houghton Mifflin Comp., Boston, 1953. p. 221. ⁷ Lord Moran, on Oct. 9, 1944. ⁸ Churchill, p. 277. ⁹ Ibid p. 240.

DOCUMENTS



SCHWEIZERISCHE GESANDTSCHAFT
ABTEILUNG FÜR FREMDE INTERESSEN
BUDAPEST

BUDAPEST, March 28th 1945.
V. SZABADSÁG-TÉR 12
TELEPHON 129-510
129-519

AKTENZEICHEN: UNSER dr.pz/ak
IHR

To the

Reverend Alexander Szentiványi,

Budapest.

Your Reverence,

We are pleased to confirm herewith that your activities since the year 1941 up to the present day have been a very valuable aid to many needy British subjects, both with regard to board and lodging, as also medical and juridical assistance. We further confirm our knowledge of the fact that at the present moment 62 British and American subjects are residing with you, most of whom are of British origin. Some of these persons were sent to you by us.

We beg to remain, Sir,

Yours faithfully
LEGATION OF SWITZERLAND
Division of Foreign Interests:

A. M. Fischer



Having been in close contact with the Reverend Alexander Szent-Ivanyi during the Nazi occupation and the Nyilas régime in Hungary, and having watched at close quarters his work from its inception, I desire, and deem it an honour, to testify to the services he has rendered to Allied prisoners of war and to British and American civilians.

Mr. Szent-Ivanyi hid and assisted many soldiers, including officers of high rank, financing and supplying them with maps and documents to enable them to escape. Many members of the armed forces owe their life and liberty to him, and to him alone. To the best of my knowledge, he was the only Hungarian Minister of religion - and I emphasize this - who dared in these dangerous times to risk his life for the Allied cause. He was in constant danger: for months he was away from home, hiding where he could find shelter, driven from pillar to post by the Nazis and later by the Nyilasok, who made frequent attempts to arrest him. No words of mine can do full justice to his work for the Allied cause.

Being a man of vision and foresight, he began, as early as in June, 1944, to prepare accommodation for British and American people resident in Hungary, who would, he feared, as the war got nearer, need food and shelter. Through the Swiss Legation here, his suggestions were referred to Bern, but were rejected, as it was thought that the establishment of a centre for members of the British and American colonies was unnecessary.

Nothing daunted, however, Mr. Szent-Ivanyi proceeded with his preparations. He collected funds from his personal friends, renting a nursing home and purchasing food, fuel, blankets and other necessities. Many of us lived at this sanatorium until it was requisitioned by the military authorities. Then Mr Szent-Ivanyi placed his home at our disposal, and now bombed-out, homeless British and American civilians, some entirely without means or food, are housed and fed at the Unitarian Church House. The physical and mental strain which Mr Szent-Ivanyi must have sustained in providing for this establishment can easily be imagined. He has hardly been free from anxiety. There have been times when no more than two days food was in hand and days entirely without fuel for heating or for cooking. Yet Mr. Szent-Ivanyi has never failed us - we are indebted to him not only for material help, but for his unceasing moral support. He has undoubtedly been the means, under God, of saving many of our lives. There can be no shadow of doubt that by his many, super-courageous behaviour he has brought fresh glory to the name of the Unitarian Church in Hungary.

I would add that, if desired, I should be glad to amplify any of the statements made in this letter



J. W. Thompson
J. W. Thompson, F.I.L.,
ex- British Pro-Consul,
Chairman of the British Association in
Hungary, founded in 1918; the only Anglo-
Saxon association in Hungary.

Lt. Col. C. T. HOWIE, O.B.E. E.D.

TELEPHONE 2-2361.

TELEGRAMS } "SOCIAL,"
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P. O. Box 130, CAPE TOWN.

CIVIL SERVICE CLUB,
9, CHURCH SQUARE.
CAPE TOWN.

1st March 1948.

To whom it may concern

From September 1943 to September 1944
I was in Hungary on special duty for
the Allies. Most of this time I spent
with Rev. Alexander St.-Granje at
his apartment in Kuthány ut 2
Budapest. During this time it was
an exceedingly dangerous matter
helping in any way a British Agent,
but Rev. St. Granje was not only most
helpful to me personally, but also to
the Allied cause as a whole. He faced
the greatest risk to himself and his
wife in carrying out this duty and
I cannot speak too highly in his praise.

C. T. Howie

Lt. Col.

Cape Town

March 1st 1948.

BOOKS

Gombos Gyula, Szabó Dezső.
Auróra Könyvek, 1966, 424 old.
(Gyula Gombos, Dezső Szabó. Au-
rora Editions. Munich, 1966, 424
pp.) Price: \$5.00. American distrib-
utor: Cosmos Book Service, 1592
Second Ave., New York, N.Y.

Here is a book which is certain to be-
come one of the "classics" of Hungarian
literary biography. The reasons for this,
not so daring, prediction are self-revela-
tory. First of all, the subject of the book,
Dezső Szabó (1879-1945), was probably
the most loved, and most hated Hungar-
ian writer of the period between the two
World Wars. It is easy to write about
him for the "adulator" because no one
fought more fiercely on the battlefield of
the future of Hungary—which he identi-
fied with the future of the "people" (most-
ly: the farming population of the coun-
try-side); or for the "de-mithologizer" be-
cause Szabó repeatedly changed sides be-
tween the political Right and Left (know-
ing that the "people" had nothing to do
with either and would survive both), and
because he was the most adulation-de-
manding (some called it: megalomania-
cal) "lone wolf" of the Hungarian lit-
erature of that period. It is difficult, how-
ever, to appraise Dezső Szabó from the
standpoint of responsible literary criti-
cism (no pun intended). This Gyula
Gombos has accomplished with conspic-
uous success.

To begin with, I like the construction
of this work. There is a prologue (First
Sketch, "Premier Plan") which presents
Szabó as one would see him during a
visit; and an Epilogue (From A Dis-
tance), evaluating him from the, not yet
historical, vantage-point of twenty years.
The prologue presents Szabó in his apart-
ment, virtually a library of more than ten
thousand volumes (and this after the
"lean years" while he was ostracized by
both the political Right and Left, often
making his daily bread precarious, and
after he had twice sold his former li-
braries). One is unavoidably reminded
of Theodore Parker whose books over-

flew his rooms, the attic, the staircase and
the basement, and of Thomas Jefferson
who also sold his libraries twice (to the
Congress), but who left a third, splendid,
one behind nevertheless. All these three
book-lovers were, at the same time, also
champions of the underdog-population:
Jefferson of the "landed man," Parker of
the Negro, and Szabó of the "people."
And neither of them belonged to, or
lived among, the social group which they
championed.

The Epilogue unwittingly justifies the
reviewer about the parallel discovered
between Jefferson, Parker and Szabó. For
Gyula Gombos believes, the contempo-
raries admired, loved, or despised and
hated, in Szabó what was outdated, nine-
teenth century, in him. Szabó was twenty-
one years old at the turn of the century,
his "formative years" he lived in the last
century, the century of Jefferson (most-
ly) and Parker. Our century differs from
the last—according to Gombos—in that
intellectualism which has become "back-
wardness" in our days; because it is the
political "pragmatists" who mold the fu-
ture of the world now. And here Gombos
announces the most controversial thesis
of this book (but which this reviewer
liked the best): "Dogmas (which intel-
lectualism produces) are dangerous, not
only because they claim exclusiveness but,
mainly, because they make thinking su-
perfluous; wherever dogmas answer
everything, no one needs to think." Dezső Szabó was one of the few who re-
introduced into Hungarian political
thinking—thinking itself. The prologue
and the Epilogue, however, take up only
39 pages of the 424. The main body of
the book everyone should read for him-
self, everyone who is interested in Dezső
Szabó, his politico-literary work, and the
problems of the Hungarian future. It will
be worthwhile reading. In addition to
Szabó's extraordinary personality and
thoughts, the reader will be also en-
chanted by the scrupulous scholarship,
prophetic thoughts and brilliant style of
Gyula Gombos as well. A.S.

Cri de coeur *

by Leslie E. Acsay. Save the Splendor of Budapest. 24.25 cm., 23 pp., New York: American Hungarian Library and Historical Society.

Dr. Acsay, former member of the Hungarian Parliament—now living in New York—was awarded first prize after the second world war in the competition for a master plan to rebuild Budapest which, after a siege of three months, lay in ruins. The restoration began, but the political situation drove its original planners out of the country. The party men and the opportunists came, "those with the minds of technicians without imagination" and "the adventurers of social realism invaded Hungarian town planning."

Dr. Acsay describes the damage done and seems to hope that the present more liberal atmosphere will have its inspiring effect on all concerned before it is too late. The aim of this booklet, previously published in a Vienna magazine and reprinted in the Hungarian Quarterly in New York, is to draw attention to the artistic offences committed against the 'Queen of the Danube' and to urge their remedy. This it does well. In the second part there is a short but concise history of the city.

* This book-review was published in the June, 1966 issue of Riba Journal, published by the Royal Institute of British Architects, London, England.

"At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. . . . One way of life is based upon the will of the majority. The second way of life is based upon the will of the minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedom. I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free people who are resisting subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure." Harry S. Truman in Address to Congress, March, 1947; the "Truman Doctrine."

Regicide at Marseille, by Tibor Eckhardt (The American Hungarian Library and Historical Society, New York, \$4.50).

This book deals with a crucial period of prewar power conflict in Central Europe. Mr. Eckhardt does well to examine it in the light of King Alexander's assassination in 1934. The study, fascinatingly presented through the author's personal participation as a prominent Hungarian diplomat, has several merits: it makes the many-cornered wrangle among Laval, Mussolini, Hitler, Benes, Eden, etc. crystal clear; it accords the necessary attention to personalities, ideologies, and interests, sordid as well as honorable; and it casts a much-needed light on the relationship between France and the Little Entente, and on Hungary's role as a whipping boy when Laval's and Benes' various plans threaten collapse. Some weaknesses in organization of the book may make readers spatially distant from the events, feel it all to be a hopeless imbroglio to be dismissed as "Balkan politics;" and further, the author repeatedly returns to the episode of the Yugoslavian king's assassination, thereby creating an otherwise avoidable impression of chronological confusion. But these minor technical weaknesses are largely compensated by Eckhardt's virtue as a historian drawing lessons applicable today. He shows that small countries are almost invariably sacrificed to big-power appetites, and that the so-called "open diplomacy," embodied in the League of Nations and the U.N., leads only to greater hypocrisy, not to more noble moral conduct.

T. MOLNAR

This book-review was published in *National Review*, a weekly, on Feb. 23, 1965. "T. Molnar" is Thomas (Tamás) Molnár.

"I am a man of peace. God knows how I love peace. But I hope I shall never be such a coward as to mistake slavery for peace!"

—Lajos Kossuth (in Concord)

Könnyű László, Egy Költő Viszanéz. (A Poet Looks Back.) (As No. 1-2, 1966, of The American Hungarian Review, 7421 Rupert Ave., St. Louis, Mo.) 80 pp. Price: \$2.50.

László Könnyű, poet, P.E.N. Club member, publicist, organizer of Hungarian causes, and one of the very few self-sacrificing promoters of Hungarian literature in America (of the Károlyi Fekete—Rev. Géza Kúr school), wrote a most interesting auto-biography. It is interesting because of the cataclysmic historical events that accompanied his life; because of his folksy, country-side origins; because of the great number of writers, intellectuals, "men of affairs," and interesting Hungarians of all walks of life, whom he met at home and abroad, and whom he remembers with the astounding details of a "recall test"; and because of the "case history" he gives us of a poet-immigrant finding his way in America. From the standpoint of this reviewer, however, the most interesting aspect of this auto-biography is the Spartan simplicity, the lexicographer's unadorned, sober directness with which Könnyű chose to write about his reminiscences (to make them more realistic). He denied himself the pleasure of a poetic or even an "artistic prose" style and he repeatedly declined to exploit dramatic episodes (as, for instance, when his little sister died in the train and was carried home in the arms of her mother, on foot, for seven kilometers—in connection with which episode, Könnyű became a poet, p. 15). Practically the only lines where he allowed himself to wax poetic (and prophetic), can be found in the very last paragraph (but these are worthy of quotation): "My future possibilities are limited. Loosing the reading public of Hungary, I can strive for the lean glory of American Hungarian publishing only, which brings more deficit than profit. Who can understand the struggles of an American Hungarian writer? his loneliness as an 'island-dweller'? the constant nervous strain for spiritual survival? for the rescuing of Hungarian Kultur? his role as a 'bridge' trampled upon from both shores? Will anyone ever appreciate it? does anyone

understand the sacrifice? The future, possibly, will. And God will, certainly, because it was He who has created me a Hungarian poet, and who has planted me here, in great America!"

One wonders, will the "Goulash Hungarians," who so willingly spend ten times the price of this book, for instance, on one single Hungarian supper, in a second-rate restaurant, shedding patriotic tears into their beer—ever understand and appreciate the sacrifices of the American Hungarian writer? In the meanwhile, Könnyű may find solace in the words of Albert Camus (accepting the Nobel Prize): "In all the circumstances of his life, the writer can recapture the feeling of a living community that will justify him. But only if he accepts, as completely as possible, the two trusts that constitute the nobility of his calling: the service of truth and the service of freedom." These two "trusts" Könnyű has accepted and served with his whole life; the "living community that will justify him," therefore, should be his strong shield and brilliant crown—in his heart. A.S.

Carl Hermann Voss, Rabbi and Minister. The Friendship of Stephen S. Wise and John Haynes Holmes. The World Publ. Company, Cleveland & New York. Copyright by C. H. Voss, 1964. 384 pp.

"There were giants in the earth in those days. . . ." If you have never heard these clergymen speak, and do not know what they stood for, how they defended the underdog, the persecuted, the exploited and the "forgotten man," if you did not have a chance to follow their careers and never participated in an audience (usually of thousands) which was raised to the white heat of enthusiasm while listening to them—then you will not understand why I quoted those words from the Book of Genesis about giants. But, then, you owe it to yourself to read this well-researched and well written book. Within the limited scope of *The Digest*, we have to devote available space to our side of the story.

I met Rabbi Wise in the Fall of 1932 for the first time—in an elevator. As, however, the Rev. Dr. John H. Lathrop

was taking me to a meeting of the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities to report on the persecution of religious minorities in Transylvania (see article about L. C. Cornish), he introduced me to Rabbi Wise. Naturally, I had heard him many times before on radio and twice in an audience, but it was only in the elevator (and later, during the discussion following my report) that I saw him as a person (not as a speaker). I was deeply impressed by his highly cultured personality, and even more by his genuine interest in the fate of religious minorities in Transylvania, by far the largest number of whom were Hungarians. Now, those who know that Rabbi Wise was born in Budapest (in 1874), that his grandfather, Joseph H. Weisz, was Chief Rabbi of Hungary, and that his mother was the Baroness Sabine de Fischer Farkasházy, daughter of Baron Moritz de Fischer Farkasházy, founder of the porcelain industry that produced the famed Herend porcelain—Rabbi Wise's interest in the Hungarians of Transylvania seems easily understandable. Actually, the story is not that simple. Rabbi Wise's father, Aaron, also a Rabbi, left Hungary seventeen months later. In America, he brought up his family using German (not Hungarian), for an everyday language at home. Our Rabbi Wise's grandfather, the Chief Rabbi, died in Hungary, his wife, however, emigrated to Palestine (in the late 1870s) where she became a legendary "mother in Israel" and died there. Mr. Voss tells us that, in those years, thousands of Jews escaped "from Czarist Russia or imperial Austria-Hungary, whether by bribes, the help of friends, or a *ness*—a miracle." (p. 29.) This statement we have to amend if we want to understand Stephen Wise. Repeated pogroms in Russia and Romania (which country Voss does not care to mention) did make the escape of Jews necessary and, at times, "miraculous," but that was certainly not the case in Hungary. On the contrary, Jews from the East and the North escaped to Hungary in ever growing numbers, exactly because they could enjoy more freedom there. The number of Jews in Hungary was 75,000 in 1785; 127,000 in 1805;

241,000 in 1840; 550,000 in 1870; 713,000 in 1890; 935,000 in 1914.¹ This unparalleled growth of the number of Jews in Hungary certainly does not indicate any need of "bribes" or "*ness*" for Jews to leave that country, as Mr. Voss states. Please note, I am not speaking of Nazi or Communist Hungary. Before these regimes, the record of freedom (I do not wish to use the word: tolerance, because it seems to imply condescension in these days!) in Hungary was at least as good as in any Western country, and better than in any Eastern country, through the centuries. In the XIX.c. also, great Hungarian patriots (B. József Eötvös, László Szalay etc.) fought for the complete emancipation of the Jews. The 1840 parliament, however, was able to pass a law for the complete economic freedom of the Jews (XXIX. t.c.) only, which they had already enjoyed "*de facto*" long before. The opposition, supplied by the representatives of towns with German majorities and by the Upper House (for economic reasons), frustrated the efforts of these great Hungarians in 1840, and again in 1843-44. The problem, however, received such a thorough thrashing out that complete emancipation was voted without practically any opposition, in August, 1849 (Szeged), especially emphasizing the patriotic participation of the Jews in the 1848-49 War of Independence of Hungary. This law the "*Ausgleich*" (the Agreement that brought about Austria-Hungary as a personal union) reaffirmed in 1867, extending it to the Austrian parts as well. (Italy passed similar emancipatory laws only in 1870, Germany in 1871, Switzerland in 1874, Russia in 1917, Poland in 1919 and Romania in 1920.) It is characteristic of the atmosphere in Hungary, that Károly Eötvös fought a nationally appreciated fight against local prejudice, as defender of the Jews accused of the "blood-myth," fifteen years earlier than when Emil Zola raised his voice in connection with the Dreyfus affair in France in 1898. Economically the Jews fared very well, indeed, even before 1840 and 1849, as Rabbi Stephen Wise's mother's family, the Baron Fischer de Farkasházy could also testify. In possession of economic

strength, the Jews were to fare even better in the following decades (up to World War II), entering fields—not only of industry and commerce (where Hungarians were held back because of the long struggle for political independence)—but also in other fields. In 1900, for instance, out of 4807 physicians, already 2321, 48%, were of Jewish origin, although non-Jewish Hungarians were not backward in this field (as Ignác Semmelweis etc. testify), only financially handicapped (especially in visiting foreign universities).

The reason for Aaron Weisz's emigration from Hungary, therefore, does not seem to have been persecution or economic limitations. As son of a Chief Rabbi, and husband of Baroness Fischer de Farkasházy, he certainly would have enjoyed at least the same advantages that brought hundreds of thousands of Jews to Hungary. This reviewer suggests that the reason was something else, something that—in lieu of a better term—I am compelled to call "Jewish survivalism," the conviction that the survival of Jews as Jews, is a historical necessity. Let me hasten to add that we, Hungarians, must understand this feeling better than anyone else; for we, too, feel that the survival of Hungarians as Hungarians, is a historical necessity. In addition to the love we carry in our hearts for "Eternal Hungary," we also feel that we have produced a culture, a civilisation, which has proved its unique value for mankind in more than a thousand years. On the other hand, if we feel this, the Jews have even more millenia to refer to when justifying their claim, at least four thousand years. (Interestingly enough, the number of Hungarians and Jews in the world is about the same: fourteen million.)

The facts that Chief Rabbi Joseph H. Weisz's wife emigrated to Palestine and became a legendary "mother in Israel" there; that Stephen Wise was an early follower of Theodor Herzl (also born in Budapest, in 1860), whose pamphlet, *Der Judenstaat* (1896), inaugurated the Zionist Movement; and that he accepted Herzl's invitation to become first American Secretary of the Zionist Movement,

at a time when The Central Conference of American Rabbis affirmed that "America is our Zion and Washington our Jerusalem," strongly opposing Herzl's plan "as a dream of romantic and impractical minds" (p. 41)—seem to indicate a state of mind which I venture to call: "Jewish survivalism."

This "survivalism" was being threatened by the growing pro-Hungarian "assimilationism" of the Jews of the country. Jews who lived in Hungary for a longer time, some of them, indeed, for centuries, showed their patriotism in 1848-49. Others, coming later, became sincerely fond of Hungary with its freedom-loving tradition and because of the great economic possibilities of a country which followed a policy of passive-resistance against the Habsburgs and, in consequence, could not develop her natural resources. Prof. Bernát Alexander (1850-1927), probably the most profound Jewish Hungarian thinker, has put into words this feeling the most succinctly: "This land (Hungary) seems to be predestined to bring about the unification of the souls of these two peoples for a powerful and creative undertaking."² And József Kiss, the great Jewish-Hungarian poet, wrote his most beautiful poems to prove that a Jew can be just as good a Hungarian patriot as a non-Jew. Both were right, of course, as countless brilliant examples prove.

Only, such a solution of the problem was not what the "survivalist" dreamt of. But, and this is the big "BUT" for which this background was given, Rabbi Wise proved beyond doubt that "survivalist" Jews can be sympathetic defenders of the persecuted, even when the persecuted belonged to the people which he had left, exactly because he wanted to survive as a Jew. Our loss—on account of the emigration of Aaron Weisz and family—became our gain through the efforts of Rabbi Wise for the better fate of the Transylvanian Hungarians. We, "Hungarian survivalists," can and must learn from his example.

A. S.

¹ B. Hóman & Gy. Szekfü, *Magyar Történet*. (Kir. Magy. Egy. Nyomda, Budapest, 1936), Vol. V. p. 552-3.

² *Ibid.*

TENTH ANNIVERSARY SILVER MEDALLION



The Inscription: A Magyar forradalom tizedik évfordulójára. 1956-1966. (To the tenth anniversary of the Hungarian Revolt. 1956-1966.) The figure in the center: freedom-fighter; young boy and girl behind him, also with guns.



The inscription: A Magyar Bizottság felhatalmazásából. (Authorized by the Hungarian Committee.) In the center: the flag of the freedom-fighters, with a hole in place of the hammer-and-sickle cut out by the freedom-fighters. Under the flag: "Msgr Béla Varga, elnök" (signed) = Monsignor Béla Varga, chairman.

The inscriptions tell the story. There are, however, two "personal touch" items connected with this medallion which deserve reporting.

1. The medallion was made and produced (free of charge) by a Hungarian of Jewish origin, living in New York who wishes to remain anonymous. One could write pages about the individual

and collective significance of this item. Let the reader "think on these things."

2. On September 20, of this year, one of the first essays (trial specimens) of this medallion was presented to the editor of this magazine by Monsignor Dr. Béla Varga. The essay-medallion is placed in a fine, silk and velvet lined box, with the inscription "Hungary" and the figure of a freedom-fighter on the top. On the inside of the box-cover, the inscription says: "Hungary. Freedom essay. Commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution, 1956-1966. Authorized by the Hungarian Committee. Msgr. Béla Varga, chairman."

Msgr. Dr. Varga presented the medallion to the editor in a warm and touching address, reminiscing about the many years during which they worked together, among dangerous circumstances at home, and in the new environment of America, "for God, for country and for mankind." Dr. St.-Ivanyi is not a member of the Hungarian Committee, but he and the Monsignor worked together, nevertheless, in fraternal understanding all during these many years. Their different denominational backgrounds (Catholic and Unitarian) never caused the slightest difficulty. As a matter of fact, their Hungarian Inter-faith Brotherhood, for instance, on which representatives of the Jewish, Lutheran and Reformed faiths also participated, long pre-dated the Ecumenical Movement and the Vatican Council (to mention them in chronological order). The presentation of the medallion was an outward and beautiful, symbol of this fraternal co-operation.

L. L. BIHARY

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HUNGARIAN DIGEST

HAMMARSKJOLD AND THE HUNGARIAN REVOLT OF 1956

By IMRE KOVÁCS

Several books have been published about the tragic death of this famed Secretary General of the U.N.O.; for Hungarians, however, the most interesting might be this one, written by the world-famous cartoonist and political writer, Imre Kelen, or Emery Kelen, as he is better known. An intimate friend of Hammarskjold, Kelen had many opportunities of learning about the Secretary's inner struggles, and to observe his decisions and actions during the "Fateful Fall" of 1956. The portrait is brutally frank but the overall impression turns out to be not so bad as imagined, with every right, by exiled Hungarians.

A very important part of this well written, witty book is Hammarskjold's attitude toward the 1956 Hungarian Revolt and Mr. Povl Bang-Jensen, Danish member of the Secretariat. On October 27, 1956, Britain, France and the U.S. demanded an immediate meeting of the Security Council to discuss the events in Hungary. According to Kelen, Imre Nagy, revolutionary Premier, protested this step for, in his opinion, this meeting would have been an "interference" in the internal affairs of Hungary. We have to correct this statement. True, there had been a protest launched, but by "Péter Kóos," actually: Leo Konkutorov, a soviet citizen, pretending to be "permanent representative" of the Hungarian Government at the U.N. Another statement of Mr. Kelen has to be amended. He writes that the very same day Imre Nagy asked that Hungary's neutrality be accepted and protected, János Kádár also wired that Imre Nagy's request was "illegal," for he, Kádár, was the Premier. Well, the Nagy cable arrived at the Secretariat on November 1, 1956, at 12:27 P.M. as the result of a meeting of the revolutionary Hungarian Government which Kádár himself had attended. There, allegedly, Kádár told Ambassador Andropov, who was also present: "As a Hungarian, I shall have to go out and fight your tanks in the streets, even if by

my bare fists." At any rate, a few hours later, Kádár disappeared from Budapest and formed, the very next day, a "counter-insurgency" government in Ungvár (now a Soviet town). Kádár's cable was sent to the Secretariat days after Imre Nagy's. Hammarskjold never went to Hungary to help negotiate a bloodless solution, and Kelen recalls the justified complaints of many Hungarians that "there were twenty-four hours" (at least) of the Revolt during which, if Hammarskjold had gone to Budapest, "history would have taken another turn."

According to Kelen, Hammarskjold liked fun, smiled easily and "he could be quite a gay blade." Yet, "death was always one of his party," as he himself intimated in his diary, "Markings." It was with the inevitability of the Greek tragedies, that he clashed with Povl Bang-Jensen, the Danish diplomat, who "was constructed by nature . . . as exactly as Hammarskjold himself, to die for a principle." The two Northmen had long known each other, and Bang-Jensen, who also had a civil service background, may have been somewhat jealous of his more successful Swedish colleague.

It was Bang-Jensen who compiled a list of Hungarians who were to appear before the Special (five member) Committee of the U.N., a fact-finding body. When he was instructed to hand the list over to the Secretariat office, Bang-Jensen demurred. He was afraid, the list might fall into unauthorized hands and repercussions to the families of the Hungarians might follow. He asked for an appointment with Hammarskjold but was turned down by him. The entire matter "could have been settled in twenty minutes," said Bang-Jensen, and added, bitterly, "he (Hammarskjold) is not a man. He does not dare to meet a real man face to face, such men destroy themselves." In the end, it was Bang-Jensen, who destroyed himself first. After the investigation did not absolve him, he committed suicide. Kelen thinks, Hammarskjold simply observed the letters of the rules, and that "the

principles were guilty, but Bang-Jensen, in the end, proved to be not strong enough to support their weight." "There are many who still believe that it was a political murder," says Kelen, adding, that actually, it was the Russians who were rather worried that Bang-Jensen would kill Hammarskjöld, or W. M. Jordan, his immediate superior. In the corridors of the U.N., a witticism was born saying: "It was not without reason that Shakespeare made Hamlet—a Dane."

September 18, 1966 is the fifth anniversary of Dag Hammarskjöld's death in a plane which crashed near Ndola in Central Africa. As floral tributes are being placed both at the graveside in Uppsala, Sweden, and at the Hammarskjöld shrine at the U.N.O. in New York, this book by Emery Kelen, and its review by Imre Kovács, is more timely than ever. Editor.

From the Old Country

1. *Poor authors!* The Editorial Board of T. Sz. warns their authors to send in their MSS 1. typewritten (25 lines, 50 letters in a line), 2. without corrections (i.e. no crossed out or inserted words), 3. "press-ready" (whatever that means), 4. in two copies, 5. enclosing a short synopsis of the article, 6. also in two copies. Poor authors! With the limited number of typewriters, and the limited typing skills of the authors, in Hungary, they probably have to pay a commercial typist to produce such flawless MSS.

2. *Anonymus named.* Anonymus means simply "nameless," both in classical and modern usage. In Hungarian historiography, however, Anonymus is the "name" of the author of the earliest available history of the Hungarians. We know, of course, of many "krónika" (simple, chronological presentation of events) and "gesta" (res gesta = the exploits or carryings on of outstanding personalities or nations) from the XI. century. One of the latter, the "ős gesta,"

"ancient gesta," with the title: *Gesta Ungarorum*, was written during the reign of András I., 1046-60, (according to latest scholarship), many parts of which can be found in later "gestae" and chronicles. The original MSS, however, were destroyed by wars and other catastrophies. The oldest surviving MS. history of the Hungarians is thus the *Gesta Hungarorum* (in Latin) by Anonymus. The author calls himself "P. dictus magister," "P. who is called magister." "P." also gives another clue to his identity. He says he was a "notary" or clerk of king Béla. After long debates, historians agreed that "king Béla" could not have been any other than either Béla II. or Béla III. They also narrowed down the "P." to either Petrus, provost of the cathedral of Székesfehérvár (cca 1150), or Paulus, provost (cca 1200) under King Béla III.

The latest issue (1966, 1-2) of It.K. publishes two separate articles regarding this problem, the first by János Horváth, Jr. (P. mester görög, bizánczi, nyelvi ismeretei), the second by Károly Solyom (Uj szempontok az Anonymus-probléma megoldásához). Both articles are long (Horváth's to be continued in the next issue), detailed and well documented essays, and both agree that "P." ("P. dictus magister as quondam bone memorie gloriosissimi Bele regis notarius . . .") was identical with Péter (Petrus), royal chancellor (notarius), and provost of Székesfehérvár, during the reign of King Béla III., and later "elected" Bishop of Győr, who died in Syria (cca 1218), during the Crusade led by King András II.

Solyom also publishes a well documented, detailed "biography" of this Péter, some data of which are: he was born between 1170-75, (father: "Welek dux," mother: a Greek lady, possibly a lady-in-waiting of Queen Anna), had one older brother, two younger sisters; he was educated at the palace of (another) Péter, Bishop of Eger, together with Crown-prince András; between 1190-94, he received a Master's degree at a French (Paris or Orleans) university and wrote his Troy Story (known by historians); 1194-96, he was royal notary or clerk; between 1198-1202 he wrote his *Gesta*

Hungarorum; 1198-1204, he was provost at Székesfehérvár; 1202-4, he was royal chancellor (we have several documents written by him as such); between Nov. 1204 and May 1205, he was elected Bishop of Győr; in the meanwhile, he represented Hungary in several countries as special envoy; as such he was sent to Constantinople (for Queen Jolánta) in 1215. In 1217, King András II. led a Crusade to the Holy Land. German sources tell us that two Hungarian Bishops died at the siege of Damietta (Syria). Solyom suggests that one of these was our Péter. At any rate, we know that in 1219 Győr had a new Bishop, Kozma.

If Solyom and Horváth are right—and their arguments seem to be convincing!—then the first Hungarian historian was this Péter, Bishop of Győr. If so, then Anonymus was named; from now on, the author of the *Gesta Hungarorum* is not Anonymus but Péter, Bishop of Győr.

3. *Janus Pannonius not János Csezmiczei.* Yet another famous Hungarian of the past, Janus Pannonius, the greatest Hungarian Renaissance poet, (Aug. 29, 1434 - March 27, 1472), received a "new" name through the efforts of recent Hungarian scholarship. Janus Pannonius was probably the most internationally appreciated Hungarian poet in a thousand years, partly because he wrote his poems in Latin (as other Humanist poets of his age), thus making them understandable and enjoyable in the original. Pope Pius II. (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini), Erasmus, Carducci, Guarino, Galeottus Martius Narsiensis, other outstanding Humanists extolled his poetic virtues.

Hungarian historians of literature agreed during the last century that Janus was born at Csezmicze (Chesmicze), a small village of southeastern Pannonia (Transdanubia). Surnames (family names) came into usage in the XVI. c. only. In Hungary as well as abroad, people had only Christian names to which they added—for identification purposes—their birthplace. Thus Janus (János, John) identified himself as "Pannonius" = from Pannonia, the name of the western part of Hungary (Transdanubia)

since the Romans. He did not use his immediate birthplace because it was such a small village that no one would have been able to identify him through it. Vilmos Fraknói (in 1879), however, established the generally accepted view that Janus was born at Csezmicze; hence his name was János Csezmiczei thereafter in every literary treatise, even in the 1963-65, three volume, Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon.

In the 1965, No. 5 issue of It.K., however, István Tóth (Janus Pannonius származása) arrives at the conclusion that Fraknói was wrong and that Janus was born—not at Csezmicze (present name: Csázma)—but at Kesincze (originally written, in Italian spelling: Cesinge), another small village which no longer exists (because of the Turkish wars' destructions). Here are some of Tóth's arguments: 1. before Fraknói, all foreign and Hungarian authorities took it for granted that Janus was born at Cesinge (e.g. Stephanus Kaprinai in 1767, Sámuel Teleki in 1784 etc.); 2. Pope Pius II. in his 1460 document speaks of "our beloved son, Joannes Cesinge," and this document is accepted as speaking of Pannonius; 3. the silver plaquettes issued in memory of Janus right after his death, have these letters around his head: "Joh. Cesinge Eps V Basilic;" 3. Janus himself tells us that Archbishop János Vitéz was his maternal uncle (avunculus) through his mother, Borbála Vitéz, whereas János Csezmiczei, also mentioned as János Vitéz, Jr., is stated, in documents, as paternal nephew (nepos) of the Archbishop; 5. Csezmicze (Chesmicze, Csázma) is about 200 kilometers from the Dráva-Duna confluence, whereas Cesinge (Kesincze), of Valkó county, was right at the confluence as Janus himself described it. His new-old name therefore is János Kesinczei.

4. *Dürer motives in the Sylvester Bible.* Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), the great German painter, draftsman and engraver, was of Hungarian origin. His father, also Albrecht, was "born at Gyula, Hungary, in 1427, was a goldsmith by trade, and settled, soon after the middle of the 15th century, in Nuremberg" (Encycl. Brit.). Hungarian sources also state that the

father's name was originally "Ajtósi" of which the Thüerer, Dürer is a literal translation. Sylvester, on the other hand, or Erdősi Sylvester János (János Sylvester de Erdős), is one of the early Hungarian translators of the Bible. His New Testament (Uj Testamentum Magyar Nyelven, Mellyet az Görög és Diak nyelvből ujonnan fordíjtank az Magyar népnek Keresztyén hűtben valo ippülisire) was published in 1541 (author: Joannes Sylvester) and has exactly one hundred illustrations. Géza Kathona, in It. K. (1966, 1-2, p. 155-57) analyses these illustrations and finds that the ones in Revelations were made by a different engraver than the others. Quoting Mrs. Zoltán Soltész's study of the printing of Sylvester's New Testament, Kathona comes to the conclusion that the majority of the illustrations were engraved by Ioannes Strutius (who signs himself: I.S.), but that the ones in Revelations show a much poorer hand (probably that of Benedek Abádi). He had to take over the printing (and the illustrating) when Strutius abandoned the work (for unknown reasons). In the emergency, Abádi (?)—not a professional engraver himself—turned to copying motives of Dürer, of which there were many to be found in Hungary. Even after so many wars, we still have more than 80 Dürer altar-piece engravings (or engravings made as copies of Dürer engravings). Abádi could also readily find Dürer engravings in the library of Sylvester's friend and protector, Tamás Nádasdy, in the Sárovar Castle.

"Along with responsible newspapers (and magazines) we must have responsible readers. No matter how conscientiously the publisher and his associates perform their work, they can do only half the job. Readers must do the rest. The fountain serves no useful purpose if the horse refuses to drink." (An allusion to the well-known proverb: "You can bring a horse to the water, but you cannot make him drink.") Arthur H. Sulzberger.

Karinthy in English

Every Hungarian living in English-speaking countries, will be delighted to hear that two of Frigyes Karinthy's books, Utazás Faramidóba and Capillária, are available now in English. The Living Books, Inc. published them in one volume, as they also published several other books by Hungarian authors. We feel: we are performing public service when we announce the availability of some of these books. We can enjoy them ourselves, and we may want to lend them to friends who read English only. Is there a better way of convincing our friends of the high standard of Hungarian culture than to let them read books written by outstanding Hungarian authors?

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IMRE NAGY

Reading the June 15, 1966 issue of Irodalmi Ujság, a Paris, France, Hungarian semi-monthly periodical, the articles about Imre Nagy arrest our attention. Imre Nagy (b. 1896, executed: 1958), head of the multi-party government during the Revolt of October 23—November 4, 1956, "availing himself of a standing invitation extended a few days earlier, took refuge in the Yugoslav embassy" at Budapest. "On November 21, Kádár gave written guarantee, requested from him by Yugoslavia, of 'safe conduct' to their homes (Nagy's and his entourage's) and immunity from arrest." "When Nagy and his associates left the Yugoslav embassy on November 22, they were at once kidnapped by Soviet military personnel and taken to some unknown destination." "A communiqué, broadcast first in Moscow and then in Budapest, announced late on June 16, 1958, that . . . Imre Nagy, General Pál Maléter, and two advisers of Nagy . . . were sentenced to death" and that "the death sentences were carried out." ¹ (Editor.)

In a featured, front page article, Tamás Aczél writes tender (toward Nagy) and, at the same time, bitter (towards the powers that be) four columns with the title: "A Hetvenedik Születésnap" (The Seventieth Birthday). Aczél, and some other friends, were "informally" invited to celebrate the sixtieth birthday of Nagy at his Orsó St., second floor apartment (Budapest) in 1956. Imre Nagy was born in June (1896); he was also executed in June (1958). But Imre Nagy is proven to be more alive, though dead, than his executioners, in the love and remembrance of his countrymen, of the world, and of history. Therefore it is fitting that we remember the June of his birth, not the June of his death. Looking back from the vantage-point of ten years, we see his ideas: Hungarian democracy, independence, liberty and neutrality, these much scorned, "nineteenth century ideas," still our dearest objectives. "The grave oceans of the world are aboiling, oh Hungarians, but

not for you." Everywhere in the Communist world, the old "ideological conservatism" is being questioned, challenged and repudiated by groups, nations and countries. Hungary, however, is still "the last satellite" of a foreign power; servility is still the Hungarian political line. Against this, Nagy fought not only through his life and death, but also, and especially, through his character. Aczél concludes his article with the telling words: "It was ten years ago that—saying goodbye at his door—we shook hands. For eight years now that hand has been resting in an unknown grave: and we do not know, who shook that hand for the last time."

On page 8 of the same issue of I. U., Péter Gosztonyi writes about "The Last Heroic Gesture of Imre Nagy. Data of an Indian Diplomat about the Hungarian Revolt." Kumár Padma Sivasankar Menon (not identical with Krishna Menon) was Indian ambassador at Moscow, and, as such, he was also head of the Indian embassies at Warsaw and Budapest, from 1952 to 1961. During this time, the ambassador kept a diary, most of which he published later in two books. The "Russian Panorama" (1962) deals with his travels in Russia, Hungary and Poland. It is the second book, The Flying Troika² (1963), which contains interesting data about Nagy. On June 25, 1958, the ambassador wrote: "The first report, when I returned from my enlightening journey in Siberia, was given to me by my first secretary, Ahuja, about the execution of Nagy, Maléter and other Hungarian leaders. Ahuja added that these executions created world-wide repercussions; not even the behavior of the Soviet government in the defeat of the Hungarian Revolt, created as much indignation as the execution of Nagy. . . ." "A year ago, on June 1, I was chatting with Bulganin. I told him that, in my opinion, Nagy was not such a bad fellow, only weak. Among normal circumstances he would have been all right, but in the crisis he failed. 'You may be right, ambassador,' answered Bulganin, 'I do not know him that well.

But I know that Nagy is a man of strong will. It is not true that he only let himself be carried away by the flood, as the saying goes. It was he who organized and led the counter-revolution.' If, however, this was already the official opinion of the Soviet government in June, 1957, then, it seems to me, the question should be asked—not: why they had Nagy executed, but: why did they not have him executed sooner?" "On April 28, 1961, the ambassador visits Hungary again—the last time in an official capacity—and has a ninety minute long discussion with Kádár." Kádár was in a reminiscing mood. He reminded Menon of the time the ambassador asked him to allow Hammerskjöld to visit Hungary. "Was I not right?" asked Kádár, 'that I did not let him come? See what he did in the Congo! He stirred up everything and caused the death of Lumumba, the very man who, as constitutional head of the government of the Congo, had asked the U. N. for help!" "Kádár also told Menon that he did not like executions, but the 'counter-revolution' had to be put down. He was more than sorry for those 'poor students' and others who—misled by Fascist agitators—had lost their lives. Today they could have been engineers, mechanics and other useful elements of society. Of Imre Nagy, Kádár spoke with sadness and evident remorse, rather than with anger. He told me, Nagy was invited to sign a statement that he did not regard himself head of the Hungarian government anymore. Had he signed it, he could have lived. By his refusal to sign, Nagy revealed his dark intent. After all, he could have escaped, if left alive, and form an emigree government abroad. Among the circumstances, said Kádár, there was no alternative, he had to repress his own personal feelings and act according to the best interest of the (Hungarian) people which had already had so much to suffer." "Kádár's information that Nagy was invited to sign a statement, which he refused to do, was new to me. This fact was not made public ever, probably because they were afraid that Imre Nagy's heroic stature would be further enhanced by it as that

of a man who rather dies than betray his convictions in the least."

After reminiscing for an hour and a half, Kádár offered Menon the highest decoration of the Hungarian Republic, but the ambassador declined saying that an Indian citizen was not allowed to accept any foreign title or decoration. Gosztonyi points out that—according to the Indian embassy at Bern—the Indian constitution has no such restriction. An Indian diplomat may accept and put on, with the assent of the government, any decoration. Says Gosztonyi: "Evidently, Menon used this argument only to be able to avoid accepting a decoration from Kádár." Menon, by the way, was in Moscow during the Revolt, but he visited Hungary toward the end of November and remained through the first days of December, 1956. He received several of the leaders of the Revolt who were still free at that time. His published diary, however, leaves a hiatus from November 27, 1956, to May 10, 1957. We may hope that—one of these days—the Indian diplomat will judge the time ripe for the publication of that part of his diary as well.

(The conversations reproduced here, may not be verbatim. Mr. Gosztonyi translated the original English into Hungarian and we re-translated the Hungarian text into English. The Editor.)

¹ These four quotations were taken from pp. 376, 388 and 445 of Ferenc A. Váli's excellent book, "Rift and Revolt in Hungary," (Harvard Univ. Press. 1961. pp. 590.) ² The Flying Troika. Extracts from a diary by K.P.S. Menon, India's Ambassador to Russia, 1952-61. (London, Oxford, University Press. 1963. 330 pp.)

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WHAT TO TELL OUR CHILDREN about Hungary. II.

The Carpathian Basin. "No state in European history has a beginning so precisely definable as Hungary," says Macartney. "It was brought into being well-nigh full-panoplied, by a single act, when the Magyars . . . entered the basin of the middle-Danube. This was in the last years of the ninth century A.D." We agree with Mr. Macartney (although the history of the Hungarian people is at least two thousand years older). We would like to add, however, that the Magyars entered the Carpathian Basin, not the basin of the middle-Danube. The difference between the two terms signifies the basis of a politico-strategic concept which enabled the Magyars to hold the Carpathian Basin much longer than any other people for thousands of years before them. The (almost a thousand mile long) Carpathian Mountains circumsulate the (cca 135,000 square mile) Basin like a natural fortified wall (Kosáry).² This (with the rivers ending their courses within the Basin, except two), Himly, the French geographer, called "the Magyar system." Himly, however, would be right to call Hungary in the Carpathian Basin "the Magyar system" politically as well, for it was the Magyars who made use of the Carpathians the first time. Before the Magyars came, many peoples held some parts of the Basin, none of them for long because they never thought of taking into account the Carpathians. Even the mighty Roman Empire attempted to defend the Danube line (of Pannonia or Trans-Danubia) only. (They occupied the southern part of Transylvania for a while also, and called it Dacia, but they never even attempted to occupy the Great Plain or the northern half of Hungary.) In their strategical thinking (based, possibly, on the heavy equipment of the legions), rivers could be defended easier than mountains. The Magyars, however, had plenty of experience of crossing rivers (with their lighter equipment) in Scythia (Russia today). Whatever the reason, the Magyars were the first to think of their country in terms of the Carpathian

Basin and—as a result—they held the Basin for more than a thousand years, incomparably longer than any other nation ever did during the five thousand years of written history. Consider for a minute the meaning of this fact. The Carpathian Basin was one of the first and most important centers of civilization in Europe. The (600 mile long) Danube was the most natural way for the exchange of goods between the Southeast and the Northwest, as early as the Neolithic Culture (cca 4,000 B.C.). In the Bronze Age, the precious metal of tin (necessary for making bronze) was found and transported from present day Czechoslovakia. The Carpathians also supplied salt, minerals and gold (Hungary produced three times as much gold as all the rest of Europe put together until the XVI. c.). All in all, the Basin was as precious a land as any in Europe. Yet, no Power was able to hold it long (before the Hungarians) because no Power tried to hold the entire Basin. Macartney mentions a very important political aspect of the problem (without drawing the logical conclusion from it, however): "a number of Powers claimed rule over parts of the Basin, but all of them were peripheral to it, their own centers far distant from it." Remember these words! The Magyars were not only first in thinking of the Basin in terms of the Carpathians, they were also the first to base the center of their rule in the Basin. The chaos that persisted in and around the Carpathians for thousands of years, was turned into stability through the "Magyar system." This fact should be remembered because: 1. some of the Slavs (but not the Poles and Ruthenians) carry on a "hate-propaganda" against the Magyars alleging that the Magyars divided the Slavs by wedging themselves between them (an eminently false accusation as the Slavs never held the Basin, only parts of it, and for a short time, and on a peripheral basis!); 2. the Basin was reverted to its former chaotic state by the Western Powers by dismembering Hungary (in 1919 and

again in 1946) and creating a number of "Succession States," all of which have "their own centers far distant from it." The "Magyar system" was destroyed and no peace seems anywhere on the horizon. If history teaches anything, it is that there will be no peace in East-central Europe until the "Magyar system" is reestablished (possibly in a larger economic unit, like a Danubian Confederation, but with allowing the Hungarians to exert their "Magyar system." This is quite possible unless the Succession States continue the annihilation of the Magyar minority groups within their borders.)

There is also a third aspect of the "Magyar system": it is the inclusive, tolerant spirit which the Magyars, coming to the Basin, brought with them and maintained. Even before they entered the Basin, the Magyars co-operated with a number of non-Magyar peoples, among them the three tribes "of the Khazars, the powerful Turki nation, famous for its conversion to the Israelite faith." (Macartney.) By the time they entered the Carpathian Basin, the Magyars (subdivided into seven tribes) had with them the "three Khazar tribes, collectively known as 'Kavars,' and six or seven minor 'Kun hordes'" (Macartney). The Magyars were by far the largest and the leading group; they elected—in place of Almus, who was too old to lead them,—Árpád, their Chief, also a Magyar, of course, and it was the Magyars who pioneered in finding out the situation in the Basin, first as allies of Emperor Arnulf (892) and then independently reconnoitering (especially) in Pannonia (894). Then, in the autumn of 895, they crossed the Carpathians through northern and southern passes *which were not guarded by anyone*. After defeating the peripheral armies of the Germans, Moravians and others, six Magyar tribes settled in Pannonia, facing the expected counter-attack from the west, the seventh, Gyula's tribe, going to Transylvania. Not only the auxiliaries were allowed free choice for settlement but also the defeated peoples were shown remarkable tolerance. "... not, as the Normans did in England or Russia, to impose the rule of a relatively small band of conquerors on the subject

people," the Magyars "admitted some of their chieftains into their own ranks, with their status unimpaired," others were allotted as tributaries to one or the other of the Magyar tribal chiefs" (Macartney). After such a beginning, it is only natural that St. Stephen, the first Christian Magyar king, not only liberated his own slaves, as an example, but also left his son the advice (in his famous Admonitions) "a country of one language and one morality is weak," and "be forbearing toward all, be they influential or poor;" that King Kálmán (1095-1119) declared that witches should not be persecuted because there are no witches; and that the invading Cumans be not slain: "Let us take them prisoners so that they may be converted and live in amity with us;" (Lengyel) ³ or that the first laws for religious toleration (anywhere) were passed by the Hungarian Diet of Transylvania (1557-71).

All these I mention—not to boast of them, but to show that the original and typically Magyar policy was tolerant-inclusiveness, and, that whenever the Magyars forgot that policy, tragic national catastrophes followed (e. g. Mohi, Mohács and 1944).

Before the disaster at Mohi (1241), xenophobic (foreigners-hating) crowds—instigated by Prince Frederick of Austria, and assisted by his soldiers,—assassinated Kuthen Khan (Kötöny), his family and immediate followers; whereupon the rest of the Cumans (kunok), some forty thousand families, turned against Hungary, joined the Tartars, or devastated the southern part of the country while leaving it. Thus King Béla IV lost at least twenty-five thousand first rate Cuman fighters and was decisively defeated by the Tartars at Mohi. (Prince Frederick returned to Austria, after finishing his "dirty work," and not only did not help King Béla fight the Tartars but captured him in flight and exacted fabulous ransom for releasing him.)

Before the disaster at Mohács (1526), first Dózsa's peasants devastated a large part of the country, killing, raping and burning the nobles, then Zápolya's army of nobles defeated and decimated the

(Continued on p. 55)

(Continued from p. 54)

peasants, torturing the leaders to death; in the years just before Mohács, the Diet (parliament) passed the most drastic laws, in a thousand years, against the Protestants, crowds attacked Germans and Jews in Buda, even the responsible leaders spoke of the Queen of Hungary, contemptuously, as "that German woman," and the "Scythian Party" (Szittyá Párt) spread hatred against everyone outside of their circle. It was a country consumed by strife and hatred, which was defeated at Mohács, and was unable to re-unite after the defeat, even though the victorious Turks left Hungary and there were no Turkish forces in the country for three years. As to 1944, we all know what happened.

On the other hand, whenever the Hungarians followed the original Magyar policy of the Árpáds: inclusiveness and friendliness, Hungary found great support in the Hungarians of foreign descent, outstanding foreigners hurried to help the country from abroad, and Hungary achieved brilliant successes in war and in peace. We shall see this in ninety per cent of the history of Hungary. There were very few exceptions (like when the nationalities were turned against Kosuth by Vienna). Can all these historical facts be due to coincidence only? Or is there a lesson in them which we had better learn?

To be continued

¹ C. A. Macartney D. Litt., Hungary. A Short History. Aldine Publ. Comp. Chicago, 1962. ² Dominic G. Kosáry, Ph.D., A History of Hungary. The Benjamin Franklin Biblio-phil Society. Cleveland-New York, 1941. ³ Emil Lengyel, 1,000 Years of Hungary. A Short History. The John Day Company, New York, 1958.

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Am. Hung. R. = American Hungarian Review (St. Louis, Mo.)
Digest = The Hungarian Digest.
E&I = Elet és Irodalom (Budapest).
HQ = Hungarian Quarterly (N.Y.) (Discontinued.)
I.U. = Irodalmi Újság (Paris).
It. K. = Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények (Budapest).
Kép. Vil. = Képes Világhíradó (Toronto, Ont.).

Lár. = Lármafa. (Lienz, Austria).
NHQ = New Hungarian Quarterly (Budapest).
Pászt. = Pásztortűz (Köln, Germany).
Száz. = Századok (Budapest).
Tört. Sz. = Történelmi Szemle (Budapest).
U.E. = Új Európa (Munich).
UjL. = Új Látóhatár (Munich).

* * *

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