

**Béla Török**

## **In the Mainstream of XX Century – A Living History**

### **Part 3 - HOW I SAW IT**

*(The published book in Hungarian has been translated by Leslie (László) Török into three parts. In Part 1, the author wrote extensively about his father, childhood, tertiary education, his university degrees and early employment. Part 2 of his book is about his family as Refugees in Germany and Migrant Life in new Home in distant Australia. Part 3 is assessment of the politics of that period and how he sees the future possibilities.)*

## Table of Contents

3	<a href="#"><u>Hungary's Miklós Horthy</u></a>
21	<a href="#"><u>Hungary during the Second World War</u></a>
42	<a href="#"><u>The fall of the Third Reich</u></a>
59	<a href="#"><u>Evaluation of the Second World War</u></a>
71	<a href="#"><u>At the Dawn of the New Millennium</u></a>
82	<a href="#"><u>The Last Decade of the Century</u></a>
101	<a href="#"><u>Epilogue</u></a>

## **Hungary's Miklós Horthy**

I was born in Szeged and my earliest memories were from the era of revolutions (e.g., communist revolution in Hungary 1918-1919). It is natural that in my eighties when I try to revive the past and compile the impressions of the quarter of a century (1920-1945) representing the Miklós Horthy's Hungary I can only report through Szeged glasses. Szeged is where I lived, went to school and college. This is where I got acquainted with the country's political life and it is natural that I cannot paint a full picture of this era. You must also keep in mind that through my family I belonged to the noble middle class.

I've never completed any sociological studies, so this chapter can only be a summary of my memories and insights without scientific inquiry. But perhaps for a later historian this could add to the perception of this era.

It is understandable that after the lost World War II, the winners and all those who helped the invading power (Russian Communist Government) tried to attribute all blame at the expense of the Horthy era. This might seem to be acceptable to many in the misery of the first years, but as the years went by and the real face of the new system in Hungary manifested itself to everyone, people slowly began to recall their memories of the calm and peaceful life of the twenties and thirties; And when they talked about the past among themselves, the Horthy era was referred to as the "little peace". This opinion I thought was the true peoples' view of the Russian occupation.

When Miklós Horthy became head of state (Regent) in 1920, I was a little child, and I received impressions of the events from my parents' narratives.

My father was then a young man of about 40 years who was soldier in World War I and after the decommissioning built a lawyer's practice. He participated in the counterrevolutionary organization in Szeged as a patrol officer but during friendly discussions he met future Prime Ministers Gyula Gömbös (1932-1936) and Pál (Paul) Teleki (1920-1921 and 1939-1941)

An anti-communist alliance called ABC was formed in Szeged. One of the most enthusiastic members of this organization was Pál Bokor a lawyer. I knew him well. He was a nationally sensitive, socially aware, good Hungarian man, working for decades to raise the conditions for the Hungarian peasants and workers. Finally, he died in emigration. From Szeged, the reorganized armed forces also started towards other parts of the country when the

international situation allowed the national government to extend its influence. My uncle, Lieutenant Ittebei Miklós Kiss, was one of the most decorated soldiers in the first world war.

There were no major atrocities in Szeged during this era of revolutions. During the Autumn Rose Revolution, moderate people became leaders, and in Szeged the revolution never became real communism, especially after the French occupation. This ensured that the wounds of Szeged society were not serious.

All those who had been exposed on the left side re-found their place in the political and social life of Szeged.

The Jewish people in Szeged did not break away from the national-minded population. Szeged was not an immigration target for the Orthodox Jewish masses from Galicia, so the Jewish settlers in Szeged did not have to choose between the highly subversive Communist-Jewish revolutionary strata and the Hungarian population. As a consequence, the Jewish people who operated mainly in trade and industry quickly found their place in the economic and social life of the city.

Looking back from a historical perspective, it can now be concluded that the leadership after the end of World War I was still in the XIX. Century mode, as in their younger years they were still sons of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy living in the political and social framework of the Habsburg Monarchy. They formed their world view through their conservative glasses fighting for the restoration of the old state and social order.

Among their younger helpers many had revolutionary ideas. Essential issues, such as the idea of land reform and raising the conditions of the industrial workers were in fact closer to that of the adherents of the failed revolution than they were willing to admit.

These young people were the then national radicals. Naturally, we saw some violence but every revolution has its own victims. But pure faith and will to change are an essential element of national radicals.

The Horthy era had never been able to cope with the tragedy that followed after the loss of war and the subsequent Trianon peace treaty. Hundreds of thousands of refugees entered the territory of Hungary and the placing of these masses in jobs required a superhuman effort. The flurry of refugees made the big national tragedy known to everyone and society was completely overwhelmed with the will not to consider the Trianon decision as final. The 'No, Never Never!' slogan really reflected the will of the whole nation. Through the refugees from Košice (Kassa), Bratislava (Pozsony), Cluj (Kolozsvár), Oradea (Nagyvárad),

Arad, Subotica (Szabadka), and Novi Sad (Újvidék) became alive for the Hungarians of the Great Hungarian Plain and Danube and thought of liberation became like a religion for the country and the political forces could not even if they wanted to, be able to prevent it. Later, governments were criticized that they had taken advantage of these emotional feelings of national despair, and that some circles felt that this interest of the nation distracted attention from internal social problems.

From a long-term historical point of view, of course, the question is whether it was wise to convince the population that it was possible to achieve a revision of the peace treaty by peaceful means. The Hungarian political leadership obviously overestimated the sympathetic words from the Italian and English voices.

Perhaps it would have been better to focus our efforts on restoring the social and economic problems in Hungary. But it is unimaginable to think that the priority of this important national question would have allowed us not to join the revision forces in overthrowing the Versailles treaty when the II World War broke out. The nations of East and South East Europe would not be able to protect their neutrality.

In addition to revision politics, the era was dominated by fear in both the people and the leaders as they watched developments in Russia. When Béla Kun's bloody rule introduced the country to the purposes and methods of a Marxist Revolution, it is understandable that most people were basically anti-communist.

This attitude, however, had a negative consequence that influenced the fate of the nation for decades. All radical social reforms were painted by the capitalist and conservative forces with the horrors of Bolshevism, hindering the implementation of the necessary reforms. It is characteristic that they also attempted to stamp the German ascension as "brown Bolshevism" to divert attention to social issues.

The atheism of the Russian Revolution also caused profound upset and the ecclesiastical circles also joined the anti-communist forces but they also sharply criticized the religious policies of the German system.

All this contributed to the strengthening of the conservative powers position. Economic life was very much dependent on the help of foreign capital and István Bethlen tried to convince his City bankers that era of revolutions was over and that Hungary was willing to take part in the French, English sponsored new European order.

As a result of this they didn't carry out the land reform needed and only a measured land distribution helped in reducing some of the tension. It was obvious that a radical reform

was only possible if the current land owners were willing to accept partial compensation. Against this those who promote the principal of private ownership protested. Even though the lands occupied by the churches were not in private hands the church leadership was unwilling to take the lead based on the higher principals of Ottokár Prohászka and obstructed all serious steps in this direction.

Next to the church estates the aristocracy skillfully used ancient estate laws for their cause. Those who demanded land reform were opposed on the basis that all previous governments had approved these land awards in a truncated country, should not now turn against the Hungarian historical ruling class.

It is true that the great estates of the Hungarian aristocracy came to being through the Habsburg donations and from the confiscated Kuruc estates, but aside from this question, it can now be concluded that the most radical land reform plans did not aim at the destruction of all aristocratic large-estates. Only a few families would suffer a loss limiting their holdings to 500 hectares while assisting Hungarian agriculture.

Mátyás (Mathew) Matolcsy was the leading expert and time has since validated his plans. If Hungary had been able to implement these reforms there would have been less possibility that the Communist rulers could seek the cooperation of the peasants (farm workers). Today 1980's (communist system) agriculture can only be revitalized in Hungary if the medium farming estates are reinstated to supply the European market place.

From a historical perspective it is easy to see that the Miklós Horthy government leadership was only of a transitional nature. They accurately saw that their actions had to be measured and thoughtful in re-establishing order and create a climate to attract foreign capital to enable progress. Their targets were in the whole achieved. The tragedy of the nation and the leadership was that after a few short years the world was stuck by the Great Depression halting any progress.

The economic depression was universally suppressed by a deflationary policy, and the Hungarian leadership also followed this path. Of course, this at first time eased the recession but then only increased the crisis and the shadow of millions of people burdened Hungarian political life.

In this crisis, political forces which had the support of both the left and the right began to organize, to rebuild the Hungarian society.

In fact, the Hungarian society of the twenties was still in the 19th century. Many thinkers had recognized this fact. János Makay wrote a satire of his countrymen and Hungarian

society, and Gyula Szekfű's 'Three Generations' contemplated the Hungarian neo-baroque. The Hungarian middle class was almost completely isolated from the peasant, craftsman and merchant society. He identified himself with the nation and yet those outside his class were considered not of his equal. Makay's vision was true that those who were called "Ur" (Lord, Gentleman)" in Hungary were not considered to be real gentlemen.

What was the reason for this unstable situation? In fact, the Hungarians knew only the rotation of the sword and plow, and the country was lagging behind the Western European nations in economic development. The Hungarian industry and commerce, which was prosperous in the Middle-Ages, could not develop; the country became free prey to the inflow of foreign capitalist forces. The nobility was impoverished, and its livelihood was found in public administration. The emerging professions, law, medical and engineering faculties were part of this middle class. Since this layer was the nobility, slowly a new class was strengthened, if not formally, but stayed together. The cohesive power of this layer was in secondary education and professionalism, but it also separated them from the peasant, industrial and civic classes which represented the majority of the nation.

One of the main reasons for the separation of the "gentlemen" was the underdevelopment of the education system. Many did not even use the opportunities offered by the 'six elementary system', while the public schooling was still in children's shoes.

On the other hand, within the framework of the middle class, the re-evaluation of the national past, the desire for national independence, and the present bitterness encouraged the former noble families to investigate their origins. Again, the use of noble prefixes, family research and the use of a family coat of arms became fashionable again.

In the second half of the 18th century, in Hungary, it was desirable that the Nobles did not use their distinctive titles and badges of the past, however in the Horthy era the forms of the past were-again used and can be interpreted as a reaction.

Making the family names more compatible with the Hungarian language was also a characteristic of our contemporary society. One of the reasons for this is that in the peaceful period of the Compromise, the number of migrant assimilators grew rapidly, who, despite their origins, regarded themselves as Hungarians. However, at the time of the Trianon treaty the Hungarians with foreign names were questioned by the authorities of the successor states, so the process of changing their names to Hungarian started in the now truncated country. This was not happily supported by the authorities and was also opposed in many families, whose traditional father's name was regarded as important.

The re-emerging labels also led to the fragmentation of Hungarian society. Unfortunately, the oriental spirit of Hungarian language strengthened this trend like the use of the word 'honorable' and 'honorable gentleman/ lady'. For example, government honors acknowledged these titles. Industrial and commercial leaders were often awarded on the basis of their donations. The phenomenon is also well-known in the West, but in the Trianon era, this was taken to extreme lengths.

In a kingdom without king, it was not possible to win nobility naturally. The Vitéz Order was established to fill this gap. It is a respectable idea that the nation recognizes the bravest who have indeed stood in the toughest conditions and who have risked their lives for the Hungarian land. The use of the word 'Vitéz' was less fortunate, especially as this title could be inherited. Not all courageous dads had soldiers as sons, and they often caused a smile when their offspring was physically unable to bear this title. Fortunately, the Order restricted the inheritance of the title to the first-born male offspring. (This limiting factor exists in the English nobility too.) That nobility in our system was inherited by all of our descendants was apparently so that the order could replace its great blood loss in the Turkish and German wars.

In the early thirties there appeared in the Hungarian political and social life a generation of 20th century reform minded who clearly saw that Hungarian society needed renewal. This was highlighted in the misery of the global economic crisis that essentially agricultural Hungary needed radical land reform to create healthy conditions for the peasant farming if the nation wanted to take its place in the changing world economy.

Appalling stories were published describing the "Three Million Hungarian Beggars" and pessimistic views denied the possibility that a peasant revolution would be able to rebuild the homeland, but behind every negative view the will of the young generation of Hungarians' strove to move the country out of a very serious economic situation.

These young people were not part of a single political group either. Later however due to international pressure they moved away from each other. There were some "left-wing" groups, but the young leaders of the right also quoted some on the left as basically they shared common goals. Since Hungary in its history had always turned to the west, to transform the social order the right-wing politicians could now formulate their plans. Radical land reform, the engagement of Hungarian workers in the affairs of the nation, the development of social security, the protection of workers' rights, a safe workplace and annual leave were the main demands of the reform generation. On a national basis, they



were adherents to Hungary rearming and were determined to break out of the nation's Little Entente restrictions.

Amongst others György Oláh, István Eszterhás and József Végváry were the country's outstanding representatives. The tragedy was that only a few years were available to them after all from 1938 Europe was in the grip of an impending war with no time to even think about these issues. It was necessary to fully engage in the pending threats.

The era was otherwise influenced by national considerations.

The truncated country was a national state and the statistical data even underestimated the number of remaining minorities. Many of the Jews declared themselves to be Hungarians; even in the separated areas the German population of the villages of Baranya and Transdanubia were strongly Hungarianized. Change only came after the early victory of German National Socialism when German cultural organizations started to operate in these areas on a nationalist basis and this disrupted the friendly relationship between the Hungarians and the Germans.

The role of relatively fast-assimilating Jews also changed in the course of events. On the one hand, they could not turn their backs on the still influential and hard to assimilate Galician migrants. On the other hand, the bad memory of Jewish leaders of the Communist rule (1918) made their situation difficult. The fact that the barely 7-8 percent Jewish population assumed a leadership role in trade, in big industry, and the professions aroused a resentment amongst the middle class. German events naturally only increased the friction and the Hungarian Jews were increasingly isolated.

However, these social difficulties were strictly controlled within the legal framework. Miklós Horthy Hungary was a state ruled by law and freedom of expression and other rights were available to all citizens.

The Horthy System opponents were really malicious when they introduced this country both in Hungary and abroad as if it were a "fascist dictatorship". But the question is what can or should be regarded as fascism and where are the boundaries of dictatorship and democracy?

Mussolini symbolized his system with the Roman "fasces" symbol (*in ancient Rome, a bundle of rods containing an axe with a projecting blade*), and the irony of history is that they speak of "red fascism" in international political literature as well. Yet, in Mussolini's Italy, there was a one-party system, but in political life the king was heavily influential by

his constitutional powers, for example, during the war he replaced the "dictator" (Mussolini).

In Hungary, at the time of Miklós Horthy, there was no single party system. The head of state did not function on its own and the constitution tightly described his powers. This fact was confirmed by the events of October 15, 1944, when the majority of the Hungarian parliamentarians ensured that they did not recognize his negotiations for an armistice with USSR without ministerial approval.

Criticism of the Hungarian system was valid at that time only in that there was only a partial secret ballot and the fact that constituencies were divided so that the ruling party was able to gain parliamentary majority. Is it possible to achieve absolute democracy for all? This is still questionable. The Weimar Constitution, for example, exaggerated the system of electoral mandates obtained on the basis of proportional votes which however created a fragmented parliament with incapacity to work efficiently. This also accompanied the French regime between the two wars and this also made the French leadership almost disabled.

On the other hand, England is still insisting on the solution of winning seats in the districts that win the most votes. So many times, 30 to 35 per cent of the votes cast in a district will be elected to parliament. This is not very democratic, but this is the basis of the two-party system. In the US system the voters can choose from only two groups.

In Hungary, by reorganizing the upper house to ensure that the interests of the members the right to comment and decide and with the republican organizations of the country being granted the right to comment and decide, was politically democratic and is in the middle way between the Weimar system and the dubious one-party systems.

The system was regarded as moderate in matters of the economy. Of course, it rejected and excluded from the political life of the nation the forces that aimed at the violent subversion of the state and social system in 1918. These forces were representatives of the failed Communist regime, who, however, continued their underground activities during the two peaceful decades of the Horthy regime.

It should be noted, however, that even though the ruling party and the opposition parties both believed in a free market and a social order built on private ownership of property, there was room for social democratic representatives of the Marxist philosophy, but aimed for a peaceful transformation of the public and social life. According to those times, those who aimed for the nationalization of the factories were originally from the industrial

workers. In Hungary, however, industrial workers were only a significant factor in Budapest, and their numbers were few. That is why they chose secret voting in industrialized centers, thus securing the position of social democracy.

Szeged was a typical example of this sharing of power. The city sent three mandates to parliament. Almost regularly, a member was elected from the list of the ruling party, a representative from the Social Democrats, and a representative of the traders (mainly Jewish merchants) in the person of Charles Rassay.

There was in Hungary complete freedom of the press. According to the rules of democracy, of course, only real news could be given. Hundreds of defamation lawsuits were brought before the courts when journalists had gone too far in their comments.

The Horthy regime was not anti-Jewish. In the era of revolutions (1918), the system did not overturn the excesses of the superficially assimilated first and second generations of Galilean Judaism. What the regime did do was to launch a series of Jewish laws, with the aim of reducing Jewish supremacy in professions (*affirmative action*).

Later, when German pressure threatened the Hungarian Jews, the conservative Horthy and his supporters did everything to alleviate the proposed legislation and to exempt at least the Jews who demonstrated their allegiance to Hungary by taking on Christianity and participating in the counterrevolution of (1918).

This system did not implement economic reforms, nor did anti-capitalist actions take place in the form of "state planning" or "corporation law". Indeed, between 1935 and 1944, the Horthy Government and its members were accused by the radicals of serving up a form of "feudal capitalism".

They were on the right track as the aim of these attacks was to improve the fate of industrial workers and ensure the implementation of a radical land reform. But their claim that Hungary was feudal was in any case exaggerated. Perhaps they only understood this to mean that the influence of the big estates was still strong. This cannot be denied. But it should be taken into account that even though it would have been desirable to have a radical reform of Hungarian society, to raise industrial workers and to implement a radical land reform was impossible in the given (short) time.

In terms of public criticisms of his administration, Miklós Horthy was the most attacked after the loss of the war. This is understandable, as the forces now open to the overthrow of the state and social order sought to create a new life form. So, it was prevalent to attack the

public servants, the county gentlemen (*land owners*) and especially the gendarmerie (*branch of the armed services responsible for internal security as in France*).

But if we analyze the Hungarian public administration system, most of the accusations will collapse. The series of governments in the parliamentary system and in accordance with ancient methods of Hungarian constitutional development, tried to ensure the implementation of the regulations not directly but in cooperation with local government. The country's ancient county division remained, only the seat of the nobility was replaced by the local government organization. Of course, the local government was not as wide-ranging as the people who wanted the reforms, but still the cornerstones of the counties and cities with the right to the law became a truly well-established local government system. The assemblies of the county councils and cities gathered in assemblies provided an opportunity for critical discussion of regulations and all proposals for amendments. The lord mayors were the chief executive officers and with the help of a qualified civil servant provided the actual administration of the villages and districts. The government exercised control over the local government's powers and the mayor only played the role of applying the brakes against any tendency to pursue goals that were contrary to the government's policy. Thus, local governments could not be regarded as fully democratic using today's standards. Not only because the electoral system of local governments had only been given limited choice in selection of voters and issues to be decided. These circumstances together with the government's built-up control powers can only lead to the conclusion that the Horthy regime's administration can only be considered as a directed democracy. At the same time freedom of speech and organized debates was leading towards a more complete democracy and so we cannot claim that the population lived under the suppression of the judiciary and the police force (gendarmerie).

The public servants developed in an administrative capacity with a legal education and many of them were trained in the Ministry of the Interior. The younger generation mostly favored the reformation of the society and in particular had the interests of the Hungarian peasantry foremost in their mind.

We can only hold the activities of the Hungarian gendarmerie with the greatest respect and the Austrian established organization at the turn of the century became a national institution in the nation at the time of Miklós Horthy.

The most able young soldiers of the army were chosen to serve the country in a gendarmerie framework, and their officers were recruited from young legal officers with

legal qualifications. This organization kept the order strictly in legal terms. Certainly, there were abusers amongst them. No law enforcement system in the world could claim that no members needed to be disciplined but it can be stated that the gendarmerie did not maintain a rule of violence, but deserved the appreciation and cooperation of the population. Governments put great emphasis on the fact that their military organizations are exemplary and from the perspective of history the image of the 'rooster' feather of their helmet is highly regarded. In the last bloody battles of World War II, they honorably represented their institution and fought for their country almost to the last man.

But the image of Hungarian public administration is incomplete if we do not remember the village clerk, always the brave, fearless representative of the interests of Hungarian village and peasantry. The fact that the new rulers attacked them after World War II is evidence of the good work they performed for Hungary.

In the cities, police ensured compliance to the legal system. Naturally, in the urban environment their activities were different from those gendarmes who were assigned to the countryside, but never the less law enforcement was still their guiding principle. Police captains who led their subordinates were legally qualified and therefore were guided by non-military considerations. Their police courts considered offenses in legal terms and relieved much pressure from the judicial courts.

The theory of the separation of state powers, as is realized in the United States of America, was not known in Horthy's Hungary. Our system was built on the principles of the 1848 parliamentary constitution, so the courts also had executive roles as royal organs. Judicial appointments also belonged to the head of state, based on the submission of the Minister of Justice. However, a nominated judge could only be relocated or assigned to another position if mutually agreed. Their promotion was assured, at least as regards their progress in the pay classes. Their independence was guaranteed by the professional nature of the judiciary. The administration of the judicial courts was a lawyer who began his career in the judiciary. After five years of court practice, if they had been successful in their exams before the Judicial and Attorneys' Commission, they could expect to receive a judicial appointment. In other words, the Hungarian state leadership avoided linking the judiciary and the political party, which is still accepted in the United States which practice expressly aims to change the jurisprudence through top judicial decisions in the political party spirit.

Even in England and its overseas dominions the practice was to proclaim judicial appointments from the most famous lawyers, which often meant that judges were selected from those sympathetic to the ruling party.

Horthy's judiciary came from the middle class in Hungary, so full judicial independence did not exist, as the judges represented the dominant political views, but not withstanding they could freely and impartially consider the claims before them.

Hungary's Horthy abolished the jury system - this was an anti-democratic step in many people's eyes. The author himself worked as a forensic judge, later in the emigration he had the opportunity to get acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon legal system and subsequently agreed with the abolition of the jury system. The citizens of the XX Century were less and less able to decide the probable truth of the "evidence" as a result of more and more complex economic, technical and scientific questions being raised.

By contrast, the Hungarian appeal system included three members for the tribunals, five panel members for judgments, and seven members for the royal supreme court –all were educated loyal lawyers who could consider the matter in front of them with due regard.

In Hungary at this time there were no political litigations such as in the Soviet Union or on a daily basis after the end of the World War II. There were, of course, cases in which political differences forced the judges to make judgments on which they did not necessarily agree. It was only in the difficult years preceding World War II when the state took into account the possibility of adverse judicial judgments, to ensure discipline in the country's extremely sensitive foreign policy situation and not to allow society to experiment with fundamental economic considerations.

It is characteristic of the difficult situation for the judges that my boss, Jenő Szemák, the President of the Budapest Criminal Court, participated in a number of convictions against national radicals, but when the nation was in danger of having to decide on the country's continuation of the struggle, he was appointed President of the Hungarian Royal Supreme Court (Curia Regia).

Cooperation between the royal courts and the government and the head of state was ensured by the Ministry of Justice. In addition to the ministerial officials, there were many judges in the field, all of whom made decisions in the spirit of judicial independence with respect for the rights of liberty.

However, it cannot be argued that only the aspects of the existing state and social order were taken into account. They had such spiritual leaders as Andor Sárffy Andor and Gábor

Vladár, men of great wisdom who, within their own sphere of authority, did everything in their power to enforce the principles of the legal system.

Ministers almost without exception recognized the independence and knowledge of this leadership layer. Many of them relied on the support of the Government.

In spite of the reigning of conservative forces the spirit was liberal, and the young could boldly broaden their views.

The weakness of the system was shown in that it was not compulsory to complete an eight-class elementary education, so the large masses from the country areas could not read or write well. Education, especially in villages, remained below the desired standard. One of the reasons for this was that there was a need for the children in the fifth and sixth grade to be part of the workforce. On the other hand, some very poorly paid teachers neglected the absence of the older students, accepting the needs of the working parents.

Criticism can also be raised against the high school education. In the vast majority of schools, the curriculum consisted mainly of humanitarian subjects. In the real-life grammar schools, real schools and commercial institutes, either languages and bookkeeping or mathematics and physics was the choice but basically, they did not train students for earning an income.

University education, especially the "rural lawyers", left much to be desired and as a result the doctoral title was diminished. It is true that the title of the doctoral meant that the recipient could only apply for position of municipal notary or an administrative position, which did not require more in education as in Western Europe and America being equivalent of secondary education. If the person really wanted to find a legal career, he had to have five years of practice in the court system or as a lawyer, and he could only start his law practice or judicial appointment after completing the judge attorney examinations.

By contrast, the University of Technology and the Faculty of Engineering were already of European standard, and the medical faculties also carried out top-class work. Only the financial situation limited their research. The youth of Trianon Hungary were willing to make sacrifices and worked almost without any remuneration under the supervision of the leading professors. In addition, a number of young scholars worked with the Szeged Nobel prize winner assisting the researcher's work without receiving any direct recognition.

There was also serious work carried out to raise the level of the country's education system. The work of the Civil School Teacher Training College, specific departments of the

Universities and the young people of the Eötvös College were all aimed at training sufficient numbers of teachers who would work to raise the level of education.

The Horthy system also made it possible for talented young people from the poorest classes to complete tertiary education courses. Horthy College Colleges and university campuses were all aimed at opening the gates to the poorer but talented young people enabling them to live a higher standard of living.

The system also sought to open the door of the country's borders to the most talented youths. In the Collegium Hungaricum in Vienna, Berlin and Rome, the most hopeful sons and daughters of the country were given the opportunity to expand their horizons and deepen their expertise, and the honest administration of scholarships also gave young people from the disadvantaged to these opportunities. There were also individual scholarships from the French, English and Americans. Trianon Hungary really did everything to develop a farsighted leadership group.

In my memories of Szeged, I think a lot about the great minister of culture, Count Kunór Klebelsberg, who not only supported the development of Szeged as a university town, but also showed the direction for the development of the agriculture schools that really served the future of all Hungarians.

Universities naturally operated in a national and Christian spirit. Many of them later attacked this university life suggesting that they encouraged "Jewish baiting". But this is a falsification of the image of the young Hungarian middle class. Admittedly there were occasional protests but serious work in the universities was always discussed by the youth in a free and liberal spirit. Despite the "numerus clausus" laws (10% limit on Jewish students), the number of Jewish students surpassed this 10 percent in virtually every degree. It is also a fact that more prosperous Jewish families still had the opportunity to have their sons and daughters graduate in English, French or German universities, which was then almost without exception ratified by the Hungarian authorities.

The associations of the youth in university life should also be mentioned. After the war was over, these organizations were blacklisted by the new Communist government, though these associations and the Hungarian youth who participated in them were full of Hungarian faith and enthusiasm, especially in trying to transform the Hungarian social life and in many respects opposed the conservative forces of their elders.

Americanica served mainly for the revival of Catholic life and the so-called "territorial" associations focused primarily on the protection and interests of the Hungarian



populations in Southern Hungary (part of Serbia, Croatia), Transylvania (part of Romania) and the Upper Hungarians (now part of Slovakia) while the Turul Federation was the largest comradeship association of the time setting Hungarian aspirations as its targets and its leaders soon became spokesmen for the reform generation.

The Turul Alliance strongly demanded radical land reform and the elevation of industrial workers. They worked in an ecumenical spirit on religious matters and were unconditional supporters of the revision program. Even at the fun-filled "wet camps", at midnight, when the Memento (radio reminder of Hungary's annexed countrymen) was announced all vowed that when the time came, they would be willing to fight for reunification.

After World War II, the majority of Turul's members were attacked either at home or in exile. Some of them attempted to enlighten the foreign forces that came to power. Their experiment could not succeed as the new regime relentlessly persecuted those advocating a Hungarian style of socialist transformation.

Based on the traditions of the army, the Ministry of Defense directed the revival of the armed forces which was almost completely disbanded after World War I. No longer were they vetoed by a foreign ruler and they could express their respect to Hungarian sovereignty. They included those serving in the old common (Austrian Hungarian) army, and even in that respect they could not have gone further. Many Austrian officers continued their service in the Hungarian army as they did not want to take part in the Austrian Social Democrat system. To this (allowed 35,000-strong army) room had to be found for the officers from the occupied territories who sought refuge with their families in the Trianon homeland. As a result, the officer count was too high compared to the number of troops. This situation was only worsened during the two decades of the Horthy system. The maintaining of the officer numbers was based on the idea that when the number of troops could be lifted, it would not be a problem for the leadership. But it was excessive to treat the officers equally with civilian civil servants; the retired officers were retired as colonel. Many of these older officers took over the administration so they were less suitable for active field roles.

However, the officer's training was really high. The Ludovika Academy and the later embellished 'brother-in-arms' academies were highly trained. True, due to the relatively high pay of young officers and as a result of the interests of some families in this vocation many applicants often were not the right people. Meanwhile, as a result of the global

economic crisis, the unemployed graduates were living from one month to the next in part time jobs. It is likely that their high-quality academic training should have been better used. Conversely, the training of the General Staff was truly outstanding. The candidates, in addition to the direct military sciences, also dealt with the social and economic problems of the country and the world, so that the country trained many people with wide-ranging and responsive skills.

It is unfortunate that after World War II, the new government used these people as scapegoats. Their action is especially to be condemned as they tried to paint the majority of the Hungarian General Staff as wanting to serve the leaders of the German Empire and not that of Hungary. When examining a particular war incidence, officers were labeled as German-friendly, conducting a family search to substantiate their "accusations" by locating German names in the officers' family past. While they used racial discrimination against the officers, they thought no one would notice. In the eyes of the liberal, Hungarian thinkers following the spirit of St. Stephen regarded this as an example of a witch hunt as had occurred during past destructions of other great Hungarian national rebirths.

The heroic times were these two decades, since the humiliating Trianon treaty and the restrictive anti sovereignty measures it necessitated day-to-day efforts to rebuild the Hungarian defense forces almost from scratch. From my childhood I still remember the people's enthusiastic contribution to the undercover rearmament while diverting attention of the Entente forces. We have also been proud to note that the Hungarian air force was born in the civilian sector. I also packed the rectangular, blue uniform of the Junior Police Officer and chose my armored division.

The foreign policy of the Horthy system was loyal to Hungarian interests. Its primary task was to break the Entente ring around the country and establish contact with other powers who wished to revise the Versailles imposed state order.

First of all, Italy contacted us. Mussolini's foreign policy was the hallmark of the revival of the Roman Empire, building a land and sea-based power. He turned his revisionist spirit towards South-East Europe. In opposition to Yugoslavia was the Italian culture of Fiume, Trieste and the Dalmatian coast and he sought connection with the Catholic Croatian people and so aroused the interest of Hungary. From independent Austria, however, he looked for protection against German revisionism in connection with South Tyrol. Thus, the Italian-Hungarian cooperation did not only coincide with the revision ideals but in a sense contributed as a stabilization factor.

Then Germany began its revival and it was natural that the leadership gladly welcomed the new revisionist power. When Prime Minister Gyula Gömbös decided that the Hungarian foreign policy interests were with the Berlin-Rome Axis powers there was no intention for a military union. He wanted to stress that the culturally western Hungary's interest was best served by central Europe as opposed to the eastern Slavic nations. This was also the essence of St. Stephen's political decision when he accepted the holy crown from Pope Sylvester. Hungarian independence flourished in the Christian Europe of the German-Roman Empire, our tragedy began when this European central power broke down and the Turkish Sultan entered Hungary into Vienna.

In Horthy's Hungarian democracy, the various political thinkers were free to discuss the country's foreign policy problems. It is enough to look back on the political struggles of the last era.

With the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, our country had not only become independent, but it had also been significantly torn apart. Many people thought nostalgically about the recent world and hoped to restore the Habsburg kingdom. The Catholic hierarchy strongly advocated the legitimism of the Habsburg rule and the aristocracy also saw this as a guarantee against radical land reform.

Charles IV's attempts to regain the throne proved that when Eastern Europe was moaning under the rule of French imperialism and Polish rule, it is not possible to crown a Habsburg ruler in Budapest.

The ruling party was controlled by Count István Bethlen at this time, and the Protestant leader succeeded in establishing the Unified Party. This party controlled the country by October 15, 1944, when it was organized under different names. It was a middle-way conservative party. After assessing the social situation, they were aware that they had to develop socially, but this was only at a very moderate pace in defending the old classes. The urban citizenship was largely under Jewish influence promoting liberal principles. The Smallholders' Party was the first of the frustrated peasant representatives who felt that radical land reform was derailed by the ruling party. Later in the shadow of World War II, they were only trying to limit the influence of Germany.

The rise of German National Socialism influenced the forces of national renewal all over Europe resulting in the development of many national socialist parties in Hungary. Their leaders however were, in a laughable manner merely copying them. Otherwise, despite all accusations, it was obvious that the German government did not give any kind of assistance

to these parties, but only attempted to establish relations with the ruling Horthy Government.

The Hungarian radicals only became relevant when the different parties joined forces under Ferenc Szálasi. His program was summed up by the former General Staff's book 'The Way and the Goal'. This is an interesting reworking of the ideas of the national radicals, especially in terms of land reform and industrial relations.

While the parties who imitated the Germans made the Jewish question the centre of their program, in the case of Szálasi, this was only a subtle detail, which was only made because of public pressure.

The program's novelty was Hungarianism. It aims to bind the peoples of the Carpathian Basin in a cooperative federation under the leadership of Hungary. After the war, Marshal Tito applied these principles in Yugoslavia. However, it could not succeed because it lacked the cultural and historical past which existed in Hungary that could have united the peoples of the Carpathian Basin.

However, at this time the Hungarian leadership did not see the possibility nor the advantages of such a federation, so even with the use of police tried to suppress this movement in its rudiments.

Nevertheless, the Hungarian society obviously was not police state; this was evidenced by the many social organizations known as "secret" that tried to influence everyone with their political views.

Both the right and the left political groups created their own societies/clubs through which they tried to influence the development of political life. Such an organization was the Hungarian National Protection Association (MOVE) known as "Love of Country". The national radicals with their German-friendly line were opposed by the Turánia Society who sought to surpass the national radicals in their revisionist politics. The "Mindent Vissza (Everything Back!)" slogan was accepted even by London as a ground of attack against the Germans.

Conservative circles, however, maintained a very good relationship with the head of state, and their influence was significant.

When looking back at the system of government in the Trianon Hungary we have to admit that the country's democracy was limited in comparison to English or French parliamentary systems but the Horthy regime was not a single-party rule or, as it is still fancifully called by some today, a "fascist dictatorship". Within the framework of a multi-

party system, people were allowed to exercise their freedom of expression, and the freedom of organization was restricted only when it was directed against the state and the social order. My contemporaries should still remember the experiences of the often fierce, good-tempered disputes between people of different perspectives.

During the crisis of the country's war years, the writer often argued with István Bibó's colleague, Pista, in his room, to express his anti-German, Russian-friendly ideas without anyone reporting it. My other colleague, Tamás Simándy, who later became president of NOT, was well-known that he saw in Marxist socialism and Communism the way to improve the lot of the Hungarian people. István Bibó was detained on October 15, 1944 by the communist authorities for only 24 hours because the new National Socialist leader of the law-preparatory department made arrangements for his release.

The 'black lists' however were being prepared by the left and under Russian occupation Hungarian democracy and freedom ceased.

## **Hungary during the Second World War.**

The nation did not want to forget the loss of many of its people under the treaty of Trianon following the lost war and so placed its hope for them in its fight for a revision of this treaty. The Statute of the League of Nations does, at least in theory, allow a review of post-war decisions and in the 14-point guidelines of Woodrow Wilson (self-determination) there were hopes for a review.

The Hungarian western military efforts were finally rewarded by the success of the referendum in Sopron.

But the leadership knew well that this partial result was born only from political considerations of power, and was aware that the fate of the country had to be primarily solved by diplomatic means. Accepting the Versailles order, we sought economic cooperation to ensure the fate of those who lived in nations beyond the borders. These attempts including the idea of the Czechoslovak-Austria-Customs Union, the Romanian-Hungarian-personal union and the friendly offers extended to Yugoslavia but they did not lead to a solution.

French domination however triggered a reaction from England to maintain the balance of power. To overcome the France influence Britain discovered the injustices that had occurred with Hungary and started to support the Hungarian revisionist aspirations. The publicity campaign was entitled "Justice for Hungary!" This however was obviously overestimated by the Hungarian public when the son of the English press baron was given a royal welcome at a number of gatherings.

The politicians were aware that despite this support the revision program goals had a long way to meet its objectives. Yet it was of great significance that the nation was overwhelmed by these revisionary goals and when the European crisis came to war it was difficult to steer the country into different goals, without mentioning the geopolitical ties of Europe and the Danube basin.

Mussolini's Hungarian friendship was one of the consequences of Italy's pressure on Yugoslavia and the promotion of Croatia's self-determination aspirations which Hungary participated in. The French also accused the country of supporting the Croatian cause. Subsequently, the French foreign policy stiffened to maintain the Little Entente.

It became increasingly clear that the modification of our borders can only take place if the state order created by the peace treaties in Paris is broken and the preponderance of

power in Europe, which was also directed against us, from the side of France and its Little Entente alliance was changed.

It was clear that only the strengthening of German nationalism could make the changes we were expecting. The signs of this were already evident in the Weimar Republic of Germany and with the collaboration with Russia indicated the possible preconditions for change. However, this development was interrupted by the economic crisis of the 1929 world depression. Germany suffered poverty and unemployment and public opinion looked for a more nationalistic response. In 1933 it allowed Hitler's rise to power his centre-piece program was the eradication of the Versailles state order.

The Hungarian public, with mixed emotions, saw the newsreels of the marching brown shirted battalions. On the one hand, they were happy to finally see their old allies regain their pride. It seemed natural that the common failure was now followed by a common rise. The German radical movement was not only nationalistic, but was also a socialist, and this was particularly concerning to the leading layers of the Hungarian state because socialism demanded sacrifices from both the land holders and the barons of capitalism.

The culture of northern Germany was also very different from the experiences of Hungarian Christianity, and National Socialism, which proclaimed a strict separation of the state and the Church, promoted a negative judgment from the Hungarian ecclesiastical circles.

The Jews were rightly concerned that the strongly anti-Semitic new German politics would have an impact on us too, so the Hungarian press operated by Jewish newspaper editors also judged the changes in Germany negatively

In these decisive years Gyula Gömbös was Prime Minister of Hungary, and he especially appreciated the German National Socialism because he saw the advance of the Revisionist Forces. He hoped that our own program would be easier to implement if the new system strengthened in Germany.

From an economic point of view, we had a direct interest in dealing with the German leadership who was successful in reviving their economic life if we were to escape from our own economic crisis.

When he talked about the fact that the axis of Hungarian foreign policy was based on the lines of Berlin and Rome, he did not propagate German-Italian treaty but only emphasized the need to maintain friendly relations with both Rome and Berlin.

The Hungarian governments both before and after the Gömbös all sought to ensure the flexibility of the Hungarian diplomacy in a hostile and fenced-in situation. We had also tried to establish our relations with England and we tried to prove that we had closed the era of revolutions that followed the lost war. Gömbös even stated that he himself had changed his position on the Jewish question.

Indeed, the Hungarian Jews did not suffer any disadvantage during these years. From the occupied territories many migrants arrived. Hungary had increasingly become a refuge for the underprivileged European Jewry.

After Hitler's rise to power, he started the German rearmament. The invasion of the Rhine area and Austria's annexation began a process in which Hungarian diplomacy had to come to terms with the dangers of an outbreak of a new world war. In this overwhelming crisis, the German Empire was once again in conflict with its old opponents: the British, French, Russian, and American forces. The memory of World War I was still alive, so it was understandable that we were watching the events with fear. Revisionism was increasingly in the background the main goal now was the preservation of Hungary's neutrality.

In 1938, Hitler received the Governor's few visits with solemn ceremony. It appeared that the German proposal presented in the negotiations in Kiel did not only surprise the government, but also split the lines of Hungarian leadership. The essence of this was that in exchange for the Hungarian contribution to the German plans for the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, the whole of the Felvidék could return to Hungary. The offer was tempting, but the Hungarian government gave a controversial answer. The leaders thought that England and France could not accept the attack on Czechoslovakia, and that a new world war could begin. However, Hungary did not want to participate in this struggle as a German ally.

Thus, the Munich accord surprised the government in fact that the Hungarian demands were not even discussed.

The Hungarian society with revisionist ideas did not want to accept that we should not use this historical opportunity to our advantage and large masses urged direct Hungarian involvement.

In this situation at home Miklós Horthy flew to visit Marshal Göring. Germany gave a positive answer by delivering further opportunities to Hungary. The negotiations culminated in the First Vienna Decisions which agreed to the return to the mother country the highland areas including the city of Kassa.



The judgment resulted in a balanced outcome for the Hungarian government. The land gains for the Germans and Italians did not require a military alliance. It is true that our political perception suffered in the West, yet Poland also participated in the anti-Czechoslovakian action and the West also accepted the Vienna decision.

Perhaps the Hungarian society remained the most divided about the result. The anti-German forces stressed that Ribbentrop often recommended the fixing of the borders with anti-Hungarian intentions resulting in a greater acceptance of the "Everything back!" slogan in London.

War fears hit Europe in the fall of 1938. People and governments were relieved when after four-months at the Munich conference the English prime minister declared that the agreements reached had ensured peace for the rest of our lives.

Soon it became apparent that the peace talks that had begun did not continue and England's response to Munich Agreement was an acceleration of the rearmament process even escalating the prescribed pace of 1934. Later, according to published information, Great Britain was prepared for a conflict with the German Empire but under no circumstance before 1939.

The German Empire had made great efforts during these years to win Britain's cooperation with its more distant goals. Hitler's plans were never kept a secret, and General Marshal Göring also expressed the German view to the English by sending a Swedish businessman as a spokesman. According to them the German Empire wanted to rewrite the borders set by the Versailles Treaty. The first step in the German revision was the reunification with Austria and did not hide the fact that they wanted the Czech Republic, as a member of the former German-Roman Empire to a state of cooperation with the German Empire. There was also no doubt that they did not give up on neither Danzig nor the Polish Corridor. The Germans would have preferred that Poland join the German federal system at the expense of nationality conventions and be a springboard for the 1943 plans aimed at breaking up the Soviet Union. German diplomacy sought to persuade the Poles that it was in their national interest to cooperate with them. In that sense, Miklós Horthy also tried to influence the Poles. Poland however gave an evading response to the German rapprochement; they decided to try to preserve their independence, both against German and Russian pressures.

British diplomacy, however, stepped up its efforts and asserted that it is unwilling to accept the German proposals and was not willing to go back on the centuries-old English political

doctrine, which was that it will prevent the unity of Europe if one state is overweight on the continent.

Thus, after Emperor Napoleon and Wilhelm II, Adolf Hitler was also confronted by England. In vain, the German leaders tried to persuade the British that they appreciated the British Empire, its cultural and global political weight. They even proposed a treaty to actively support the British Empire if it faced difficulties in British India or in the other colonies. The German leadership hoped that, at the crucial moment, England would not declare war and risk losing their empire following a Second World War

Hitler refused to change his European program and began his steps of breaking the Czechoslovak state in early 1939.

In his speech in Stettin in November 1938, he stated that he could not tolerate the English moves to encircle the German Empire. He stressed: "This war will not be when your lordships want it!"

Hungarian diplomacy was aware of the German plans and was prepared to be ready to look after the Hungarian interests in the upcoming crisis. Transcarpathia was influenced by an increase in the Ukrainian autonomy movement. In Berlin, it was obviously viewed as a springboard for this area, in preparation for the time when Germany would begin to break up the Soviet Union.

Slovakia was also encouraged by Berlin to proclaim their independence in the decisive hours. Hungary watched the Slovakian aspirations of independence with understanding, but did not dismiss the regaining some of the Transcarpathian areas. Military this would not have to exceed the country's ability and was politically well-founded. The Soviet Union would have preferred to accept Hungarian rule in the Carpathians rather than face the backbone of the Ukrainian secession forces.

It was in the interest of Poland that this region be returned to Hungary, as Ukraine's minority would have regarded this Carpathian-Ukraine as a springboard.

Czechoslovakia got the German Ultimatum on the eve of March 15, 1939 and under duress, they accepted the German absorption of the Czech Republic; the plans of the German leadership did not affect the Carpathian Basin at all. This was also confirmed by Hitler later, stating that the borders of the German Empire bordered the Carpathian line in this area and beyond this line there was no direct imperial interest.

Thus, the Hungarian military reached our ancient frontier and its troops met with the Polish units, this did not contradict either the Berlin or the London ideas.

It should be emphasized, therefore, that this part of the area had returned to the motherland with Hungarian efforts with the support of both the West and also by Berlin and Moscow.

However, the international situation deteriorated further. The English carried out a repressive and encircling policy against the German Empire and despite the protestations of the Germans England gave the Polish a guarantee applicable in every possible conflict; Hitler terminated the German-English Fleet Convention. Nevertheless, negotiations behind the scenes continued. It however became clear that in a German-Polish conflict a threat of war was a reality.

The German leadership was convinced that in the decisive hour England would be willing to settle the conflict peacefully, but there was another trump card for the German leadership. Negotiations for the Soviet Union were underway for months, and Germany seemed to be the winner diplomatically, because Stalin eventually decided to accept Hitler's offer. Anglo-French politicians could not promise anything tangible to the Soviet Union, but from the first days of the war they would have had to face the German attack. Germany, on the other hand, advocated restoring the 1914 borders to re-occupy the territories that had fallen due to the peace in Paris and the Polish-Russian war. In addition, Stalin was given a free hand to establish his relationship with the Baltic States and Romania. Their behavior was also influenced by the fact that Poland did not want to hear about the presence of Russian troops in their country even in the face of a global conflict. Thanks to the German-Russian agreement, therefore, the German Empire could boldly invade the West without the risk of a two-fronted war, and the Soviet Union was pleased to see that confrontation. The exhaustion of the parties in a long war would only serve Russian interests.

The increasingly threatening danger was that for geopolitical reasons, we were getting deeper into an imminent World War. The leadership from the First World War, which was only 20 years ago, wanted to avoid losing again on the German side. Miklós Horthy, István Bethlen, a close adviser to the head of state, and Prime Minister Pál Teleki also believed that if the US intervened in the fight, Germany would once again be defeated. Therefore, Hungarian diplomacy did everything to emphasize to Britain and France that Hungary wished to maintain the independence and neutrality of its country. Pál Teleki received with great relief that during the German talks in Germany in May 1939, the German leadership did not make any further attempts to create a Hungarian-German military alliance; they

only expected a friendly neutrality from Hungary if a European conflict took place. Germany also sought similar assurances from the other nations of South-East Europe; they sought only economic cooperation while fighting in the West.

Regarding the Hungarian revisionary demands, they also asked that the country not take any actions that would upset the peace of South-Eastern Europe and disturb the economic cooperation with the German Empire. They assured Teleki that after the conflict they would support the revisionist aspirations of Hungary in a friendly manner. Interestingly, this is also what the leading English statesmen said. For a while it seemed that the neutral status of Hungary could be consolidated.

When Hitler decided in August 1939 that, despite opposition from Britain, to pursue his Polish demands it was still not decided whether or not it was possible to resolve the crisis by a compromise. In unconfirmed reports he outlined Germany's minimal goals including regaining Danzig and connecting the city with the Empire by elevated car and rail. In mid-August, Soviet negotiations with the Entente were interrupted. Stalin invited the German Foreign Minister to Moscow to settle the German-Russian relationship.

On the eve of the German invasion Hitler announced his minimum demands, asking for an immediate response from the Poles. The ultimatum only strengthened the spirit of Polish resistance. Lipski the Polish ambassador did not even read the German proposal, he replied immediately. He told England that within a few weeks a revolution would break out in Germany and Poland would be able to defend itself during this time.

The optimistic statement of the Polish ambassador seems now almost ridiculous, but then people were filled with hope in avoiding a new European tragedy. From England, the answer was that the German offer would only be dealt with if the German troops that crossed the Polish border on 1 September were withdrawn. The Germans refused to do so, but it was still a surprise to the German leadership when the English handed over the declaration of war.

The loyal leaders of the British Empire, the representatives of the provinces and the peoples of the country dutifully declared war on the German Empire and France similarly did not hesitate. The neutrality of Italy and other European countries, however, delayed the emergence of a World War. The non-war nations also felt that the Polish campaign conducted during the weeks had created a new situation. The Western world did not declare war on the Soviet Union for participating in the German campaign against East Poland. Contributing to this was the fact that on the western front the French troops did

not attack the German defense line. The revolutionary German strategy waged war with mobile air and armored forces against the trenches of the First World War with its restrictive firing spaces. It seemed that France saw the solution in an economic blockade and the expected German uprising. The neutrality of South Eastern Europe and Italy, as well as Russian economic cooperation, ensured that the German Empire's progress would run smoothly.

Hungary tried to show a friendly diplomatic friendship with both the Polish and German governments. They cooperated economically with the Germans, but also accepted the Polish refugees, and although the Germans expressed their displeasure, they agreed to the Poles being able to leave for the West.

The Soviet Union's resolute revisionist policy also strengthened the Hungarian government's decision to prepare for revisionary demands, regardless of the interests of the German and Western belligerents.

In April 1940, the situation for the German Empire was further strengthened by the successful completion of the Norwegian action, but with the rapid success of the May offensive, most of the neutral countries were hoping for a closing peace treaty between Britain, France and Germany.

Italy also intervened in the war on the side of the Germans, apparently, to be able to represent their demands against France more forcefully as participants in the expected peace talks.

The most important factor, however, was that the situation fundamentally changed for the Soviet Union due to the rapid German victories. Stalin obviously hoped that in a bloody war of many years, both the western and the German forces would mutually weaken, and so the Soviet Union, which was finishing its arming and reorganizing its forces, would become the laughing third power. However, the rapid victory in France, the possible restoration of peace, the victorious German Empire would turn east without the support of the English Empire. Therefore, the Soviets wanted to implement its territorial claims even before a possible peace negotiation. The Soviets enslaved the Baltic States, secured Finland, and sent an ultimatum to Romania for Bessarabia.

Molotov the Soviet Foreign Minister summoned Kristoffy the Hungarian ambassador in Moscow saying that he supported Hungary's demands for Transylvania and looked forward to Hungary taking the necessary steps in this direction. The Hungarian Armies on the Romanian border were ready to attack.

The Soviet Union set out to defend its interests against that of the Germans. All this was considered by the German leadership to be a hostile step.

Perhaps the Soviet behavior also contributed to Britain continuing the war even in this difficult situation and rejecting the moderate German peace proposal. From that moment on, Great Britain hoped that a Russian German War would encourage the rebirth of the First World War coalition.

Literature still debates the evaluation of the German reaction. The English invasion plan could only have been a solution if the Germans could secure the rule of the airspace. However, this was unlikely, since Great Britain had put its emphasis in its rearmament since 1934 on air power, so Hitler decided to move most of his forces to the east and clarify the Soviet intentions.

Hungary's Transylvanian action was viewed coldly Berlin. They claimed that we had promised neutrality in matters of our revisionist needs during the conflict and were therefore endangering economic cooperation with South-East Europe.

Romania also deduced its own conclusions. Britain's guarantee proved worthless against the Russian claims, and therefore the Romanians sought protection of the German Empire. Germany accepted the request of the Romanians, but they were informed that the Hungarian question should be settled by them. The German Empire no longer wanted to intervene in this case, because now Romania had become its ally. When, however, the parties could not agree at the Turnu-Severini Negotiations (Second Vienna Declaration) the Hungarian military action came to an end, Germany accepted the role of the arbitrator in order to prevent a Hungarian-Romanian confrontation which would have disrupted the supply lines to Germany.

Hungary welcomed the King Solomon like decision of the Italian-German governments regaining only part of the sought-after Transylvanian area. Teleki, however, saw well that the German wishes for the transfer could adversely affect the Hungarian-Soviet relationship, which could have been normalized after the German-Russian agreements. One such wish was for Hungary to allow the passage of German troops on Hungarian territory to Romania. The so-called "tan-troops" carrying trains rolled through Hungarian railway stations from December 1940.

These troop movements had a dual purpose. On one hand, the defeats suffered by Italy required that the British forces on the Bulgarian-Greek border, the Balkan Peninsula; be

confronted and on the other hand, if there were a war between the German and Russian troops Germany secure the southern wing.

Because of the Soviet actions and the German maneuverings, the possibility of a Russian-German war came to the fore, the German state administration also had to count on the European war becoming a world war. Therefore, German diplomacy activated Japanese cooperation and had solemnly signed the Three Pact Convention.

Hungary was obliged to accede to this convention when the German troops were allowed to cross the country, they also had to take into account the interests of Italy.

The danger of the possible expansion of the war, and especially the possibility of a Balkan war theatre, directly affected both Hungary and Yugoslavia. In this situation, both states sought to preserve the relative peace of their country and this was the common interest of negotiating the two governments for their relations. A similar convention was concluded with the Yugoslavs with Bulgaria, stipulating that Bulgaria will not raise its revisionary demands.

The German Empire welcomed the Hungarian-Yugoslav negotiations and supported the effort to reach an agreement between the two countries. On December 12, 1940, the signing of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Treaty seemed to ensure our situation at our southern borders. Yugoslavia accepted the Hungarian position that our revision needs will be solved only after the end of the European War. On 27 February 1941, the Yugoslav and Hungarian foreign ministers solemnly exchanged documents of friendship ratified by their parliaments.

Thus, all obstacles appeared to be removed from the perspective of the German diplomacy, and the negotiations between the two countries (Germany and Yugoslavia) could be started, ensuring the relative peace of the Balkan Peninsula. Yugoslavia would not be a combatant but join the Three Pact Convention.

However, the English secret service, which had worked to push the Balkan Peninsula to its side of the war, organized a military coup in Belgrade and the new Yugoslav government openly joined the coalition against the German Empire. It did not ratify the Three-Party Pact and gave a contradictory answer to the question of the validity of the Hungarian and Bulgarian treaties. Since these contracts were linked to the federal system of the Three Pact Convention, it is clear that they were also nullified in the same way. The "eternal friendship" structure in the text of the convention meant nothing. Hungarian diplomacy did

not want to accept this form, but as the Bulgarian-Yugoslav convention used this term, the Yugoslavs did not want to change the words.

Germany, without delay, decided to launch a reprisal offense against Yugoslavia. Hungary was directly affected by this decision, as their treaty with Germany assured the German troops access across Hungary. However, the Hungarian government did not want to participate directly in the anti-Yugoslavia action.

Hitler's offer again aimed at full Hungarian-German military cooperation. He said that in return for a joint operation against Serbia, Hungary could return Bácska and Bánát to the motherland and, in fact, restore the partnership with Croatia and be allowed to open a new port in Fiume. This tempting offer was the subject of discussions between the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Defense Council between March 28 and April 1, 1941.

Some of our leaders thought that this offer could not be rejected; they would have accepted full cooperation with the German Empire.

Prime Minister Pál Teleki strongly opposed this position. He believed that it would be fatal if in assisting Germany it led to war with England. Teleki sought to make sure that even if Hungary cooperates with Germany to a limited degree, we do not turn our back to the Western forces. He was convinced that in the post-war peace talks Britain would have great weight. He admitted that the Yugoslav government had violated the Hungarian-Yugoslav convention but, in his view, this did not entitle Hungary to declare war on Yugoslavia.

The last meeting of the Supreme Defense Council took seven hours to discuss the situation. Finally, Pál Teleki's position won. Hungary decided not to take part in the German invasion and would only occupy territory if Yugoslavia broke apart or attacks Hungary.

Paul Teleki's will prevailed, but the following night he committed suicide. His death was later explained by the chief ministers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs saying that the prime minister was under great pressure from Germany, trying to alleviate the responsibility of Hungary in the eyes of the British authorities. Years later "farewell letters" were reconstructed from memory which sought to support this theory. The writer believes that Teleki had a nervous breakdown not only because of the difficult political situation but also greatly influenced by the fact that his wife was lying in a hospital with a terminal illness.

It is also possible that he received reports that the Soviet Union did not want to conclude a non-assault and friendship agreement with the new Yugoslav government, indicating that



the German-Russian relationship was approaching an explosive termination. As a consequence, Hungary would be forced to mobilize and face the predominant Slavic forces. After the death of Teleki, László Bárdossy became prime minister, who faithfully executed the decision of the Supreme Defense Council in Teleki's spirit.

The German campaign was launched on April 6, 1941, and two days later, Yugoslav pilots attacked the Hungarian cities of Pécs, Szeged and Nagykanizsa. There was also news of atrocities committed on the Hungarian minority. Hungary was still waiting. On April 10, Croatia proclaimed its independence and the defeated Yugoslav army was disbanded. Only after that, after the break-up of Yugoslavia, the Hungarian army regained the area of Bácska (Bačka is a geographical and historical area within the Pannonian Plain).

The moderate Hungarian behavior was not appreciated by the West. English propaganda convicted the Hungarian government for giving permission for the German troops to take part in the attack on Yugoslavia. On the other hand, they criticized the Hungarians for desiring to revise the treaty of Versailles. London's Hungarian radio broadcasts attempted to poison the Hungarian German relationship by announcing the German occupation of Bánát. In this delicate question, the Germans were not in a comfortable position, and it was not appropriate to look at the problem of the area in question due to the conflicting claims of Serbia, Romania and Hungary.

Otherwise, the German leadership was disappointed in Hungary after it was again proved that even their full revisionary demands would not end the efforts of the Hungarian government to preserve their independent war foreign policy.

They did not bring Hungary into the preparations for the Barbarossa military operation that was planned against the Soviet Union. Of course, this did not mean that Hungarian diplomacy was not aware that the war would take this direction.

In any case, the Yugoslav campaign forced the German leadership to postpone the attack from May 20 to June 22

Romania and Finland joined the operations at the same time, while Italy, Slovakia and Croatia announced that they considered themselves to be at war with the Soviet Union. Hungary made a last attempt to stay away from the impending clash. The government said that it would break their diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union.

Berlin's diplomacy criticized Hungary's inadequate behavior. Italy advised Hungary to join the action.

The decision was made easier by the bombing raid of Kassa (Kosice Slovakia) which was reported to be carried out by Russia. According to some reports, however, that the attacking planes carried some Axis powers signs. (It is possible that the attack had been implemented by German forces in order to facilitate Hungary's involvement in military operations.) After the war, researchers of the Hungarian Air Force residing in a free Europe carried out very thorough work on this subject. The secret German records were also available, but no information was disclosed to confirm these charges. It was found that if no Russian planes were involved then probably Slovak or possibly Romanian planes could have dropped their bombs on Kassa when they deserted the Soviet Union after the outbreak of German hostilities.

However, the government's decision to move towards war was also influenced by the fact that according to the Three Power Pact the partners could use the transport network of Hungary, so it was virtually impossible to maintain our neutrality in a German-Russian conflict.

The state leadership also considered that in the case of a Western victory, Hungary had already proved its moderate behavior as opposed to Romania, which now on the side of the German Empire turned against the Soviet Union. Therefore, the government believed that in any peace talks the winners when comparing Romania and Hungary's behavior, the issue of Transylvania would not be able to be judged against us. On the other hand, in the case of a possible German victory, if we did not continue our moderate but firm cooperation with the Empire, Germany may undertake a revision of the results that we had achieved in the second Vienna Declaration.

The air raid on Kassa allowed the government to avoid making a formal declaration of war and the parliament only accepted the government's announcement that the hostilities of the Kossuth attack had brought about a state of war between Hungary and the Soviet Union. The decision was made with a heavy heart, as despite the government's position against communism, Hungary had no territorial disputes with the Soviet Union.

After the war was lost, László Bárdossy (the Prime Minister at that time) was sentenced to death (by the by an extra-judicial People's Court in Russian controlled Hungary for war crimes) on the basis of a constitutional violation.

This accusation was unfounded. The government and the Head of State discussed the situation, and both the head of state and the government had to take political responsibility for the decision. The decision was immediately announced by the government to the

parliament in accordance with the spirit of the constitution which approved the planned steps. Namely that the Hungarian units would cross the Transcarpathian border and join the German military movements.

Later, the House of Representatives discussed the issues relating to the entry into the war. The opposition did not accuse the government of violating the constitution, but emphasized the fear that, in the eyes of the Western powers, Hungary had now drifted into a situation that could already have fatal consequences.

The Hungarian military involvement in the German offense was very limited, essentially settling residual opposition. The 'rapid brigade' was recalled before the winter. Hungarian participation was limited to cooperation with the invading forces.

The German campaign, because of the events in Yugoslavia started five weeks later while the autumn rains arrived very early that year followed by a hard winter. As a result, the German forces could not achieve their strategic goals and the Soviet Union had the opportunity to unite its forces.

Japan and the United States also entered the war. Conservative Hungarian leaders fear that Germany would again face a winning coalition as in World War I was realized. Japan's triumphs revived the hope that America's intervention would not have its impact in Europe for a few years and it could be expected that in 1942 the German Empire would re-invade the East.

Unfortunately, the evolution of world politics did not favor this idea. The US had decided to give priority to their efforts to settle the European theatre.

The concept of a compromising peace was unthinkable to both the US and British empires, proclaiming the policy of unconditional surrender. The US launched large-scale military shipments to the Soviet Union. The situation in the German Empire had become critical, and carpet bombings against German cities had begun.

Miklós Horthy at this time believed that Hungary should begin increasing its diplomatic efforts towards the Western powers, at least in order to clarify Hungary's position.

Under Miklós Kállay's cabinet, the government sought to spare its forces. He also treated the Jews liberally and as a result, Central Europe Jewry looked to Hungary as a refuge, where they could live, undisturbed while being subjected to retaliatory German measures in Yugoslavia, Romania and Slovakia.

Hungary emphasized to Germany that the country was ready to undertake the necessary sacrifices and comply with German wishes and set up the country's 2nd Army. These forces took part in the German offensive in the spring of 1942.

The German and its allied troops pushed to Stalingrad and the Caucasus, but they could not overthrow the Russian forces in spite of their gains. Moreover, after the failure of the Stalingrad fighting and the retreat because of the second Russian winter, they had to face the Russian counter-attack. The installation of the new 2nd Hungarian Army was initially weak; they were focused on infantry and light artillery, with no serious armored forces. Hitler saw that the Achilles heel of the eastern front was that part where the Hungarian and Romanian troops held the front, without any serious depth. Historians say that he issued a command to reinforce this part of the front, but somehow it was lost amongst the German General Staff and the necessary reinforcements did not arrive.

When the Russian armored vehicles broke through the weak Hungarian defensive line it was as if there were not enough reserves on hand they swept through, as it were an open gate, encircling and entrapping the Hungarian fighting units. Great numbers became prisoners and they only managed to stabilize the front by the heroism of some small numbers of troops.

The Hungarian military situation was also not without problems in the southern borders. Yugoslavia's conscript army fell to the lightning campaign, but fanatical Serbian forces organized a partisan war (guerrilla warfare). They caused heavy losses to the police and gendarmerie and our military garrisons were often attacked.

The partisan war (guerrilla warfare) had become a major factor since the beginning of the Russian-German war. According to international law, opposition dressed in civilian clothes behind the front lines were considered out of bounds and the occupying power under the Geneva Convention was entitled to the most severe retaliation against them.

Unfortunately, since the start of the Second World War the conflict took on an ideological character and Western propaganda regarded the political assassins and partisans as freedom fighters. The German leadership on the Eastern Front also made a serious move to eliminate the political leaders of the Soviet army and the supporters of the Communist Party.

Hungary had done its utmost to keep away from the partisan war; our Russian occupying troops treated the population humanly. It is typical that no serious partisan activity was

developed in the area occupied by the Hungarians, but those captured partisans were also brought before a tribunal and investigated their actions before judgment was passed.

The military and internal affairs in the south of the country had for many months tolerated the hostilities of partisans (guerrilla warfare). Eventually, the situation became so serious that the Government ordered a clearing program in the town of Újvidék (Novi Sad). This was carried out by a brigade from Szeged. This retaliation was formally conducted as a result of military investigations and was carried out by military officers, but it must be noted that there were obviously many abuses and thousands of victims of the cleansing process. In other words, during the purge of Novi Sad, war crimes were committed. The government ordered an immediate investigation and based on the results of which the military court commenced action against a number of senior military and gendarme officers.

It is for another time to discuss how much a lieutenant is responsible for being part of the executing squadron. He received his orders within the law and the action met the requirements of international law. You cannot expect the soldier to consider the moral-and political aspects of his command. If he did this, he would not only be subject to military court proceedings, but could also lead to the disintegration of the army.

Following World War II, Jewish and Arab terrorist acts also justified the decision of the Geneva Convention which rejected the legitimacy of the civilian population behind front lines and allowed serious retaliatory acts for the occupying power.

After the defeat at Stalingrad, the front moved dangerously close to the borders of our country. The conservative government would have liked to prevent the Russian troops from entering the Hungarian soil, so it started negotiating with some countries through diplomatic representation in an attempt to examine the possibilities of a Hungarian separate peace agreement. These efforts were multiplied when Italy exited from the war, and its new government regarded itself at war against the German Empire.

There were also romantic ideas about English parachuting troops landing in Hungary and thus ensuring that no Russian occupation came at the end of the war, but at that time there was a firm agreement between the USA and the Soviet Union and it was not realistic to assume that from the south the American and British troops could wrap up the German front.

The German Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels in the journal 'Reich' addressed the South-East European countries publicly. He declared that these countries were hoping in

vain that the Western powers would push south to the Balkan Peninsula because this plan was vetoed by the Soviet Union and Western invaders will be forced to invade the continent in France. The minister of propaganda emphasized that these countries only hope was in a German victory, and that their national interest would require a full-fledged effort on the side of the Germans.

In the case of German defeat, according to the minister's prediction, an iron curtain would fall on the western boundaries of these countries and a Bolshevist repression would befall on Europe.

Hungary's position and obvious steps to get out of the war occupied the German leadership. As early as 1943, there was a proposal before OKW (The Oberkommando der Wehrmacht was the High Command of the Wehrmacht of Nazi Germany during World War II) that military units would occupy Hungary. But Hitler did not accept this plan at the time and he warned his generals that such a move would only create Hungarian revolutionary forces. Hitler an Austrian remarked: "The gentlemen are not familiar with Hungarian history ...". Nevertheless, the German leadership monitored the developments. When, in the spring of 1944, Russian units had reached the Carpathians, Hitler accepted the need to secure the Hungarian front.

He discussed, with the governor, on March 18 the removal of the Jews in Hungary.

However, he stressed that he was willing to withdraw his troops if the government agreed to further cooperation with the Germans. By the time the governor got home, the German troop movement was completed. Since the presence of German troops at such numbers was not expected there were conflicts between the Hungarian and German armies at many border crossings, but no organized resistance was possible.

The resignation of Miklós Horthy would not have solved the problem of the country, but would only open the way for the ascendancy of a national radical government. This step would not have helped the Jewish situation either. He decided to nominate a cooperating government with the Germans, hoping that he would be able to freely preserve some actions.

The formation of a new government was not a simple task. The leader of the 'Arrow Cross Party', Ferenc Szálasi, was not welcomed by the governor to assume power. Szálasi himself did not want to assume the Prime Minister's office. In his view, it was unacceptable for the Germans to demand that the cause of the Jews be directly handled by them.

Conservative parties did not want to take on the responsibility of forming a government while under occupation, so finally the governor asked an old military advisor, Sztójay Döme, who accepted the call to form government. The Germans trusted him because he had represented his country in Berlin for many years and built a good relationship with many German statesmen. At that time, he was seriously ill and obviously took up the task without political ambitions.

The Sztójay government soon introduced itself to parliament. The parliament voted confidence in them. In an extremely difficult situation, they sought to persuade the German political representation that they were willing to cooperate on both internal and defensive lines, but also made steps to alleviate the measures taken by the German security forces that violated the sovereignty of the Hungarian state. They managed to maintain order and limit excesses whether from the left or right of the political spectrum.

The German occupation forces organized the transport of the rural Jewry to the Polish labour camps. They proclaimed that they would be treated humanely, so it was with the Jewish Council's co-operation the Jews residing in the country areas were deported.

The churches sharply protested against the deportation of the Jewish rural population, including the reading of pastoral letters in all churches, but the government's hands were tied. Unfortunately, some rural policemen and gendarmerie personnel had to be involved in the deportation process; this poisoned the relationship between Hungary and those affected.

It can be stated that the Hungarian military, police and gendarme forces continued to be disciplined, with loyalty to the head of state, and when Miklós Horthy considered that he could act against the deportation of the Jews in Budapest because of the military situation and the effect on the German leadership of the attempted assassination of Hitler the Hungarian military and gendarmerie forces prevented the deportation process. It was illogical, therefore, that the gendarmerie were all condemned after the war for being abusive during the war. Today it is clear that this only serviced the Hungarian Bolsheviks serving Russian interests.

From a Hungarian point of view, the war reached another fatal turn when Finland began negotiations with the Soviet Union and the Romanians switched sides. A large number of German troops fell into the hands of the Russian army and the road opened up to the Russian forces enabling them to penetrate into Transylvania and Bánát through the Southern Carpathians - bypassing the Hungarian defenses of Transcarpathia.

Our diplomacy in connection with the Western Powers did everything to help us to get out of the war and proposed the acceleration of the British 8th Army to the Hungarian basin. But the West said that we should negotiate with the Soviet Union.

In this desperate situation, the governor decided personally to try the impossible by seeking a relationship with the Soviet Union.

Miklós Horthy was aware that as head of state he had no right to take steps to conclude an armistice agreement without the consent of the government. The government was responsible to the House, and it was common knowledge that the overwhelming majority of the Parliament at this time - like the National League - resolutely wanted to continue the seemingly hopeless struggle.

The National League was waiting for Germany to finally launch its new weapons, which, if they could not secure a full victory, could create the preconditions for a compromise peace. There were rumors that the Russian-Anglo-Saxon alliance was stressed. It was clear to Horthy that he could only talk in a private capacity.

He removed the Sztójay government and appointed General Géza Lakatos as his administrative replacement. Its members were almost exclusively from his personal followers. The government was not aware of Horthy's deliberations with Russia but in all likelihood ministers in key positions were informed about his experiment. Negotiations did not remain secret in front of the German secret service and so the resistance forces had an opportunity to prepare for a takeover of power.

Kórody, the chairman of the Arrow Cross Party brought this rumor to the attention of the members of the parliament namely that the head of state had been negotiating with the Soviet Union. By this time the President of the House of Representatives, András Tasnády Nagy interrupted the speech saying that it was inconceivable that the Governor, who had for twenty years in an exemplifying manner led the country according to the Constitution, would engage in such a constitutional violation.

The negotiations between Horthy and the Russians continued and they agreed on the main points. The question remained whether the Hungarian troops on surrender would then confront the Germans. In this matter, Horthy could not decide because his chivalrous spirit was conflicted with the thought that, in this critical phase of the war, we should turn against our former ally.



Today it is difficult to find out what was Miklós Horthy's idea on this issue. Perhaps he expected the Soviet Union to relent on this question. In any case, the Governor planned to announce the existence of the on-going ceasefire agreement by noon on October 15, 1944. On this same day, in the morning, Miklós Horthy received the Extraordinary Ambassador of the German Empire who had the task, if possible, to make Miklós Horthy stop the talks with the USSR. The German commissioner explained that Hungary's hope to get a more favorable treatment was valueless if it accepts the unconditional agreement offered it. The governor gave an evasive answer to the ambassador. He told him he would not change his plans. We know that the Governor's radio speech only resulted in resistance from the opposition and who took power advocating German-Hungarian co-operation. Miklós Horthy under compulsion signed his statement of resignation, and the ruling government was introduced to the House. Ferenc Szálasi took the oath before the Holy Crown and the parliament and the head of state assumed power on a constitutional basis. The vast majority of the army and civil servants took the oath and the fight continued. The Armed Forces Commander and the General Staff stressed that the troops would continue to fulfil their duty.

The military evacuation of Budapest started on 30 October 1944. The leadership took steps to protect Budapest if hostile forces reached the capital.

During these days, revolutionary protests took place many were directed against the Jewish population, but the government, intervened vigorously as soon as they came to its notice. The German security forces urged the deportation of the Jews from the capital, but Ferenc Szálasi denied this and virtually guaranteed the security of the Jews already grouped in certain districts.

On Christmas Eve the capital was encircled by the Soviet Army, but the Hungarian and German garrisons strongly defended the city.

The military significance of the storming of the city was sighted well after the war by one of the journals of the French military academy in a longer article. The expert writer found that this fight was from a military point of view of major importance of the Second World War. Indeed, during this siege, the nation had shown that by defending its homeland to the last person, applied not just to the leading political layer, but the overwhelming majority of the population which was not willing to accept Bolshevik servitude.

The troops of the armed forces, the tough squadrons of the gendarmerie and the university club youth heroically held their positions. Their struggle, however, would not have lasted

for six weeks if the population did not support the fighters with disciplined and jealous affection. The German conscripts also held their positions; the leadership did everything to relieve this defensive unit.

In the battle, time was gained by the country's defenders; new divisions were set up, mostly based on a voluntary basis. The Hunyadi armor grenades and the St. László Division had shown in the last Transdanubia battles that this country never turns against its allies and is ready to defend the country to the last scrap of land.

There were many, especially after the end of the war, who believed that it was unreasonable for Budapest to suffer so much during the siege and sincerely cried at the sight of all those beautiful bridges now in the water as well as the burnt-out palaces.

Cities can, however, be rebuilt. Budapest was also reborn. Today it is again one of the most beautiful cities in the world. It is ironic that during the rebuilding of the castle the memories of our medieval past were brought to light, so the burning of the baroque palace led us back to a more distant past.

But the soul of the nation can only be preserved if the current generation can retrieve the past, and allow the self-sacrificing great acts of the ancestors warm their hearts. Today, the pains have faded and what remains is the memory of the heroes defending the capital of the nation with honour. After the struggle against the Turks, the fight against the Habsburg repression, the Hungarians in the twentieth century again demonstrated that they should be taken seriously by the great powers under all circumstances.

Some appreciated the hard-core Hungarian resistance at the end of the war in that it protected Europe and Christian civilization against the eastern communist tide, our 7-month resistance gave the West time so that the Iron Curtain fell only on the Stettin-Trieste line and thus the European forces had the opportunity to prepare for the future liberation of Eastern Europe.

## **The fall of the Third Reich**

The Great German Empire's historical comet only darkened the European sky for a moment, yet world literature is still examining each detail today after over half a century later. The reason for this is obviously that the Second World War's sufferings and outcomes still infinitely affect the fate of man today. Again, and again, we have to face this fatal twelve years. It seems that this short time is a dividing line in world history. Maybe it will influence events for many centuries.

The rise and fall of the Great German Empire was intertwined with the successes, weaknesses and sins of the German National Socialist movement. When I look for the causes of the empires fall it is therefore necessary to deal with German National Socialism (NAZI) as a political movement.

First of all, it is necessary to clarify concepts because the post-war literature naturally sees the recent past through its winning spectacles. It simplifies the problem by describing the German movement as a "defeated and outlawed" regime with the title of "Nazi" or "Fascist". For example, today they even use the term "red fascism" if they want to discuss the oppression and illegitimate rule of the Bolshevist system.

Most misunderstandings and disagreements are caused by the fact that the movement had called itself socialist. There is no serious attempt yet to analyze what this socialism actually meant. I feel that behind this wording there were a number of different ideas.

In my opinion, socialism may also mean that the party or the movement called for the creation of social justice, which was obviously for the 20th century one of the major problems while industrial capitalism developed. The United States and Great Britain are the most representative of this form of total capitalism. It is undisputed that the industrial workers could then only feel that they were exploited in this system.

In addition to improving the situation of industrial workers, socialism also sought to incorporate this layer of society into the life of the nation by constitutional law. However, in agrarian countries, the socialist forces also wanted to improve the situation of the peasantry.

On the other hand, socialism may also be interpreted as represented by the European socialist democratic parties. According to them, large banks, industrial conglomerates and public services such as railways, hospitals, etc. should be placed under state control.

Basically, they did not attack the major ideas of the capitalist society but wanted to achieve their constitutional aims by adopting a multi-party democratic system of government. Lenin represented a socialism, which, according to the Marxist philosophy of history, proclaimed that it was possible to realize social order that was built entirely on community forms, and to achieve this it was necessary to bring into being a temporary proletarian dictatorship. Finally, according to their theory, the socialist state would be frustrated and the communist society would mean paradise on earth.

This idea was utopian, as the dictatorship of the proletariat was a one-party order command. But its own history theory was ignored by the Soviet Union by becoming imperialist arguing the need to free the exploited proletarians of the world by taking part in an ensuring arms race and the oppression of those peoples who did not agree.

German National Socialism (NAZI) showed similar features. First of all, I mean the one-party system. In both Hitler's Germany and the Soviet Union, the ruling party rejected the multi-party system of parliamentary democracy. The new Germany was also imperialist in the sense that it sought to break the European order in Versailles, but their goals were not world-wide because they only wanted to secure a living space for the German people in Eastern Europe. Even the survival of the British world empire was to be guaranteed, as opposed to the Soviet Union, which, with the help of the ideology of the communist regime, clearly aimed for world domination.

The bible of the German movement was *Mein Kampf*, in which Adolf Hitler stated his ideas. The writers who criticized the work are right in that this cannot be compared to the many volumes of philosophical work on history by Karl Marx in: *Das Capital*. Hitler was one politician who expressed his views on the political situation at that time. Thus, among others his opinion of the French hatred of the Germans was demonstrated by the desperate and retaliatory spirit displayed in the post-war years.

In vain, however, would a researcher find details in which the author (Hitler) expresses his views on the radical transformation of the economic and social life of Germany? In other words, the book did not provide an economic program, and the so-called socialist marking had its place in the name of the party only in that the uplift of industrial workers and their place was an important element in the nation. In this sense, the writer also dealt with the German peasantry, but his remarks outlined only a shadow of a peasants' program.

In other words, in socialism, the German movement believed the goal to be the creation of social justice, without any fundamental changes in matters such as private property measures.

The specifically anti-Marxist Deutsche Arbeitsfront (The German Labour Front) dismissed the idea of class struggle and brought together factory owners with their employees at the negotiating table. The party representatives provided these roundtable conferences to ensure that only the interests of the whole nation were taken into account by the negotiating parties.

German National Socialism was also opposed to the Italian system, because in the "corporations' state" the German literature only saw the continuation of class struggle. There was, of course, a true socialist wing in the movement. However, while Lenin and later Stalin's imperialism sought the utopia of world domination and a communist society, the German Strasser-Rohm group saw this socialism as a sign of German imperialism seeking to create total state management.

Hitler got into disagreement with this wing before taking power. When he considered the ineffectiveness of the 1933 coup attempt, he insisted on a constitutional solution and he had to clarify his position with the leaders of German industry. He repeatedly talked to the assembled German industrialists and convinced them that German National Socialism was not the Marxist kind and that free enterprise was not threatened by a change of power. On the other hand, communist forces also moved forward, trying to convince the population that only radical socialism could lead the working class from the current economic crisis. Thus, the German representatives of the large corporations began to give financial support to the National Socialists. They hoped that German rearmament would benefit them. The left wing of the party threatened with a possible coup, but Hitler succeeded in solving the crisis when he convinced his leftist opposition that the power of the party should first be focused on taking power.

However, after the taking power, the forces around Ernst Röhm felt that the party had betrayed "real socialism" and was preparing for a coup. When this came to Hitler's knowledge, he gave up using verbal persuasion and used force to silence them.

After the power takeover an economic boom followed. The rapid shrinking of the unemployed numbers and the strong involvement of the German worker in social life proved that the successes of the Communist and the Social Democratic parties were not dependent on ideological basis. They reflected the despondency of the workers and as the

status of this class improved, the opposition behavior ceased, and in the second half of the 1930s the street battles fought by red and brown para military troops were replaced by co-operation within the system.

Hitler stood by his word to the barons of the big industry. The Papen-Hugenberg Group also hoped that their goal would influence the National Socialists.

The agreement with the Vatican was also an improvement for German Catholics. Hitler respected the weight of the Rhine district and the Bavarian Catholics and sought only the separation of the state and the churches, which is a constitutional principle in the USA and France. In any case, it was in sharp contrast to the Soviet Union in this regard, where active atheism also destroyed the cultural monuments of the church.

Prior to 1933, the economists' fundamental problem was the world depression which was tackled by using austerity methods, resulting in abstinence and further impoverishment. Amongst the leaders of German economic life was the politically conservative H. Schacht who saw a solution in a novel way, by kick-starting the economic life with loans and public works which was not only acceptable but also desirable for the National Socialist leaders. Decades later, there was still talk among economists that this solution originated from Keynes, Schacht or Roosevelt, for it is obvious that the American rebirth, the New Deal, was built on economically politically similar principles.

In Germany, however, most of the public works served for the rearmament and even the road construction had a strategic background. Hitler had already explained in his work *Mein Kampf* that his main goal was the breakup of the Versailles state order. He also did not deny that once the Empire was restored, he wanted Germany to turn towards the east. This also meant that he had firmly dissociated himself from every political policy aimed at seeking revenge from the West. Behind the scenes he always encouraged the UK to maintain its empire and he tried to persuade France that he did not to seek to regain Alsace-Lorraine. In fact, even in South Tyrol's case, Italy was assured that it would be pointless if they could not cooperate with each other.

However, he did not let go of the need to advance to the east. He also guided the pace of his armaments to make the empire be ready to turn to the east in 1943. Schacht (Minister of Economics 1934 – 1937). had opposed the stepping-up of arms race because it was obvious that Germany could not do this if he led his economy through traditional methods. Since Hitler would not relent, the relatively untouched free enterprise system, was replaced by a

planned management. Göring became the driving force of the Four-Year Plan (Preparation for War 1936).

The German leadership was aware that the memory of the serious blood sacrifices of World War I was still alive in the soul of the people, so Hitler always emphasized the need to create the Great German Empire with peaceful means. Even one of their famous election posters emphasized that Adolf Hitler; the frontline soldier knew about war and therefore wanted peace.

The rearmament of the country only started after his request to for a full disarmament was not accepted by all states. (Germany was actually decommissioned in 1918).

England, after the first determined German steps, launched its arms program in 1934. The post-war literature now recognizes that they planned for the program to be ready in 1939 thus fixing the date of a possible European war.

The National Socialist leadership hoped that, in these preparatory years, when Germany was economically strengthened and by the creation of the Grand German Empire the nationalist spirit would overwhelm the country in a national unity, which is a prerequisite for every war effort.

Industrial workers were almost entirely supportive of the system, as industry leaders cooperated with management, but this was no longer the case for the higher middle class and the Junkers (the landed nobility in Prussia). When it came to questions such as the accession of Austria to the German Empire or the creation of the Czech-Moravian Protectorate, they could not take action against National Socialism because they were national targets. In the months immediately preceding the war, however, they were at the forefront of various underground movements and sought to clarify their own situation mainly towards the English.

So, despite the slogan "One Empire, one People, one Leader" German unity was still in formation. The memories of Bavarian, Prussian and other clashes still lived vividly in society.

The problem of the German Jews also amplified the conflicting views. It is also incomprehensible why the German Empire tried to solve the Jewish problem with known radical devices. This group did not cause as much trouble here in Germany as in Central and Eastern Europe. Indeed, those Jews escaping from Galicia wanted to preserve their oriental Jewish lifestyle. By contrast, the Jewish immigrants in Germany were already

European in nature. German culture was essentially accepted, German was spoken and their assimilation in Germany was continuous.

While in Central and Eastern Europe the rapid assimilation was made impossible because of their large numbers and inter marriage was only probable in the middle class whereas in Germany their numbers were only 2 to 3 percent and there were no major obstacles to assimilation.

Undoubtedly, the overwhelming influence of Jewry prevailed in the Weimar times in the major cities in the film, radio, theatre and the financial areas. Obviously, it would have been enough if Germany could overcome their overweight strength in these areas.

Conservative elements within the party worked in this direction, but most of the leaders had set the goal to assist the emigration of Jews. Post-war English literature finds that this process ran relatively smoothly in the pre-war years, with the Jewish population in Germany being reduced by one third.

The disappointed Jewish emigrants, however, began a powerful propaganda against the German leadership, which only helped the radical German elements. When in 1938 an assassination attempt had been made against a German diplomat in Paris, the radical wing of National Socialism carried out a veritable pogrom in the empire.

The National Socialist State system had another weakness. Today it can be stated that the Soviet Union system was more established in this respect. In Germany, the whole power was constitutionally focused on the Leader. In the complicated industrial society of the 20th century however, it was impossible for one man to keep all matters in hand, so Hitler entrusted the solution of each group of questions to one of his subordinates. Thus, he created little kings amongst his prominent leaders, making the executive power machine more cumbersome. It was later revealed that some of the executives of the state machine did not know much about any other parts of the war machine.

In contrast, in the Soviet Union, the council system (at least in principle) provided collective leadership. It is true that in the politburo, for many years, power was held by one man at a time, yet the politburo made decisions collectively.

In South-eastern Europe, the German Empire had no territorial needs but only sought to ensure friendly cooperation in this area

In the Hungarian context, enemy (England) propaganda did everything to confuse the Hungarian public by leaking fantastic "German plans". Of course, the plans of Baranya or Bánat's "Gau" were concocted only by biased brains. On the contrary, although the German



minority wanted the preservation of the popular character of the German minority, the German leadership also planned to relocate Southeast European Germans to the gains of the planned eastern European advance. Otherwise, German National Socialism never supported the radical national parties in Hungary, except to cooperate with the conservative government of Miklós Horthy.

After the accession of Austria and the establishment of the Czech-Moravian Protectorate, the German Empire had only one demand. Namely, Danzig and the Polish Corridor, which literature after World War I rightly predicted as a possible cause for a future war. Anglo-Saxon propaganda later attempted to paint the Danzig issue as if Hitler had violated the "promise" of the Munich conference when he claimed he had no further territorial claims in Europe.

In fact, for almost four years ago, Germany had done everything to win the cooperation of the Poles by promoting cooperation with the German federal system. He expected the German leadership to handle the Polish question in the spirit of South Tyrol or Alsace-Lorraine.

The German demands were very moderate. They only insisted that the city of Danzig, which was called a " free city" meaning that it did not belong either to Poland or Germany, be returned to the empire and as several years before the war it was suggested that an autobahn corridor be conceived as a bridge that connects Danzig with the motherland. The offer, which appeared to settle the Polish-German relationship, nevertheless caused a serious problem to the Poles. For the German alliance would have meant that Poland in a possible German-Russian conflict would become a theatre of war and in case of a German victory would force it to expand its borders to the east and urge the liquidation of the Polish Corridor.

On the other hand, Great Britain could not allow this development which Austria's occupation and the Czech Republic's defense agreement demonstrated and lead sooner or later to German hegemony in Europe and this had to be prevented by armed forces if necessary. That is why, after the talks in Munich, Great Britain immediately increased the pace of its armament and sought by guarantees in Eastern Europe to restrict future German steps in this direction.

Germany considered these steps of English diplomacy to be aimed at their encirclement. In response, the English-German Fleet Convention was terminated.

Great Britain needed continental alliances for a successful war in Europe, and, in addition to strengthening the French-British alliance; it took steps to bring the Soviet Union into the anti-German structure as well.

Germany, however, did not want to get involved in a new world war that would have to be fought, again, on two fronts. In the years between the two wars, German literature dealt in detail with this problem and was one of the truisms of German military policy was that a European war can only be on one front.

This was the backdrop of the German efforts to gain the understanding of the British Empire or, at least, its neutrality with its plans for the dismantling of the Soviet Union.

Soon, however, it became apparent to German diplomacy that Great Britain, despite the fact that another war may cause growing unrest of its colonial peoples and yet it could be fatal to them if they allowed any European state to become dominant in Europe. At this time, to prevent the actual encirclement of Germany, German diplomacy took the necessary steps to contact the Soviet Union.

The two sides were world-apart in their views and the Russian leaders were aware of the German's Eastern plans. During the negotiations, however, it turned out that behind the ideological cover, the interests of the nationalities were all important. Stalin, of course, saw it was smarter to weaken Europe by giving the German Empire a free hand in a new French-British versus German war. Stalin estimated that in a 3–4-year war, both sides would be so exhausted that a better armed Soviet Union would be able to play the role of a Referee and achieve its own aims..

Both sides of the German-Russian relationship fostered ideas that the co-operation between the two peoples and the separation of their sphere of interests would serve the interests of both peoples. The Western powers sought in vain to win the alliance of the Soviet Union, the convention concluded by Molotov and Ribbentrop appeared to turn off the threat of a two-front war. The English plans also ran into difficulties because Poland did not agree to allow Soviet troops to enter Polish territory.

German diplomacy after World War I was afraid of a possible American intervention, whose financial strength was highly respected. For a time, circumstances seemed to favor the German Empire. After the First World War, the USA was shocked by the bloodbath which only resulted in the rebuilding of the major European colonial empires. President Wilson's ideals were dismissed. The American public did not want to hear of re-engaging in a European war, their legislature voted for a neutrality declaration.

So, it seemed that Britain and France had to face the crisis alone, this was the approaching Danzig (Poland) flash-point.

Hitler was of the opinion that England would buckle in the final hour. He did not consider Poland's occupation a problem, and because of Russian-German cooperation, he believed that this front would soon collapse. He also hoped that the western front would only be represented by French forces, and it was well-known that the French leadership defense strategy was on defending the Maginot line.

Hitler was optimistic about his luck and so he did not want to change the launching date of the September 1 Polish campaign despite the fact that the English-German discussions were still going on. After the start of the fighting, Britain responded to the final and publicized German peace proposal, saying that any further negotiations were to be preceded by withdrawal of German troops from Poland. The German leadership of course was not willing to accept this.

At that time, practically the German leadership, Britain and Poland all accepted the fact that war was the only way to solve the problems.

It is typical of these fateful hours that when Lipsky the Polish ambassador on receiving Ribbentrop's German peace proposal, Lipsky did not read it, slapped it on the table, and was quoted by David Irving, an English historian saying "In Germany, in a few weeks, a revolution will break out and we the Poles will hold the front. "

The Polish war was indeed a lightning strike. Armored vehicles and aeroplanes showed the effectiveness of the moving war.

Following the campaign and the division of Poland, Hitler expected that Britain would now be willing to take part in a compromising peace. He was disappointed because behind the scenes, despite all the neutrality laws, Roosevelt's America had begun preparations to intervene on behalf of Britain.

Hitler planned an offensive against France in the fall of 1939 (October), but had to postpone it to spring 1940.

Italy's behaviour also caused difficulties. In late August, the Italian government surprisingly stated that it was obliged to remain neutral if, as a consequence of the German-Polish conflict, a European war broke out. Hitler accepted this because he still hoped that England would relent. Italy's non-interference in the war was not all but its actions unnecessarily expanded the battlefield with the opening of the Greek front.

The German western offensive was preceded by the Danish and Norwegian operations. This made it easier to aid the North-European economic transports. In particular, Swedish steel was important for the German military industry. The German operation was only 24 hours ahead of the English fleet's arrival in Norway.

The great German offensive launched on May 10, 1940 broke the resistance of the French and their allies in a matter of weeks, and France was forced to ask for an armistice from the Germans. The war operations were then completed. Adolf Hitler's peace offer was not accepted by the British Empire and the state of war remained among the parties.

Great Britain's rigid behavior seemed incomprehensible to many. The majority of European states believed that the war was virtually completed and that they were expecting peace talks.

The Soviet Union was particularly affected by the smooth German victory. Stalin's calculation was that it would be many years until the Soviets need to face the creation of a new European order. He did not expect a quick German victory, and now he anticipated England's acceptance of the new European order and give the German Empire a free hand in the east. That is why Stalin invaded the Baltic States and attacked Romania as suitable safeguard and he massed considerable fighting power on the Russian/German border.

Hungarian diplomacy considered these events including raising the problem of Hungarian Transylvania. The Hungarian and Russian moves against Romania were in step. From the point of view of the German Empire however the Russian military moves were a threat. It was clear that Great Britain was working to achieve a German-Russian confrontation, namely a two-way war.

There were plans for a British landing, but they did not take any serious form because the British Air Force was so well prepared that the Luftwaffe could not have secured air supremacy and that it was necessary to clarify Russian intentions. For this reason, the German Air Force attacked England's military targets, but all this was only in a restrained way. The German army moved to the eastern front.

The dilemma of the German leadership at this time was whether to turn south or east. Italy's thoughtless Greek operation was disapproved by Germany but raised the prospect of Britain attempting an attack from the South from the Balkans. Churchill had always been involved since the First World War with the idea of landing in Europe from the sea and attack from the rear.

The takeover of North Africa, the control of the Suez Canal and Gibraltar would have provided the German Empire with a tremendously large area that it could never have been threatened by a European blockade.

The road through Spain leads to Gibraltar. Hitler also held talks with Franco, asking for German troops to have access through Spain. Hitler with his plans to attack Gibraltar tried to win the Falange leader over however Franco refused to cooperate.

Winners' historians usually suggest that Adolf Hitler always used a violent, uncompromising negotiating method. In the Spanish-German negotiations he proved to be overly giving. The same was true of his discussions with Mussolini, and Miklós Horthy could always secure his position, often despite German interests and wishes.

During my study of German literature, I found that Emperor Wilhelm was regarded as crude and impatient in diplomacy whereas Hitler tried especially with his 'friends' to be very flexible. After the event it is easy to speculate what would have happened if Germany accepted the Russian position and not move towards Russia and the east but find its territorial and economic security by the sea.

Germany could use its military industry to further develop submarine warfare and airpower. By contrast, the German leadership decided to clarify the Soviet Union's intentions.

Molotov the Soviet Foreign Minister during his last Berlin visit discussed the international situation and the policy of the two states in an open exchange of views. Russia emphasized that they were willing to pursue Germany's economic support in the spirit of the German-Russian agreement but Molotov did not accept Hitler's proposal that Russia should limit its imperialism in the Persian Gulf. He also declared that Romania, Bulgaria, and even Turkey were considered to belong to the Soviet Union's sphere of influence.

During the talks, there was a British air raid, Molotov's remarks revealed that the Russian Foreign Minister had anticipated that the war to continue, and that European peace was not as close as what statesmen generally supposed.

Hitler was convinced at the hearing that sooner or later he would have to face up to the Russian question because he did not want to accept Russian rule over the Balkans. Both the German General Staff and Hitler were convinced that in a new lightning strike, the Soviet Union would be cut off from the war before England and America would be able to present a serious military force in the European theatre of war.

The US Navy had received orders to attack the German warships, even though the German navy was ordered for political reasons to avoid any conflict with the US forces so as not to create a reason to declare war.

The Barbarossa operation was scheduled for May 20, 1941 by the German leadership. The Greek front did not seem to require a longer operation. The necessary troop movements had been in progress since the 1940s in Hungarian, Romanian and Bulgarian territories. However, in Yugoslavia there were unexpected problems. It seemed that, as a result of successful German diplomacy, the Yugoslav government would join the Three Pact Conventions to enable the German troops to safely implement the completion of the Greek operation.

British diplomacy and secret service however succeeded in inciting a military revolution in Belgrade. The new government was anti-German and pro-Russian and therefore Germany was forced to extend the Balkans' restricted operation to include Yugoslavia. Some units had to be removed from the eastern front, so the offensive scheduled for May 20 could only be started on June 22nd.

The Yugoslav resistance was broken by the German forces in a matter of days. This was helped by the Slovenians and the Croats who saw this as an opportunity to become independent and isolate themselves from the suppression of Serbia.

Hungary also enforced part of its demands with the occupation of the Hungarian-inhabited Bácska. The Serb resistance did not cease because even though the administration of the Serbian state disintegrated, the army forces continued to fight in the mountains. At this time the partisan war of the civilian population was launched, which, of course, tied up a significant number of German troops.

The coup helped by the English secret service also contributed to the failure of the Barbarossa offensive failing to break the Russian resistance. In addition, this year the autumn rains and the harsh winter of Russia were more harsh than usual. In Western Europe the network of roads allowed an almost free movement of the armored forces while in the east a moving war had more natural barriers. The German troops were not properly prepared for a winter war and they only managed to hold the front with great difficulty. The Germans stood before Moscow, but the Soviet Union had time by then to set up new divisions.

On December 8, 1941, Japan did not see any other way out of the USA's hostile economic policy by carrying out an air-strike against Pearl Harbor and thus bringing the USA into the

war. This year, the German Empire finally faced the three great powers that had already once defeated it in the First World War and which imposed on it the Versailles world order. There is no doubt that the situation of the German Empire was much more favorable than during the First World War. Japan's war successes partially distracted US power and also weakened the British Empire. From Norway to Spain and further to North Africa there was virtually no military action and they hoped that in 1942 a new operation would disable the Soviet Union.

It can be stated today that in the eastern front German politics and diplomacy failed. On 22 of June the Germans and a substantial Hungarian force entered the territory of the Soviet Union. Surprisingly, the population welcomed them as almost liberators. The orthodox bishops appeared in full church-ropes in the villages offering bread and salt to the troops, welcoming them according to custom.

By contrast, German politics with its fervent anti-communism gave the special security forces the freedom to eliminate them. These forces also turned against the Jewish population and carried out massive abuses while the Wehrmacht officers looked on in contempt.

However, the biggest mistake in the political leadership was that the advancing German troops were not followed up by any measures that would have reinforced to the population that they were being truly liberated from the Stalinist terror.

For example, if Germany had facilitated the convening of the Ukrainian constitutional assembly in Kiev, the Ukraine would have proclaimed the independence of this Baltic State then the troops would not have had a partisan war, but the cooperation of the population thus making it easier to receive replenishment. Maybe they would have also fought on the German side.

It is still difficult to find out who was responsible for this. It turned out that Rosenberg of Estonian-Lithuanian origin believed in this strategy but Himmler's exaggerated confidence was won the day. In the earlier peace of the party, Hitler was always the balancing force but by that time his control had gradually slipped away. It is not impossible that the German Empire wanted to keep alive the possibility of German-Russian reconciliation and therefore did not want to become a "liberator".

We cannot believe that Italy was able to help militarily the German Empire. The commitment of the Italian soldier could also be questioned, so it seemed necessary to send German armor divisions to North Africa. This effort also weakened the position of the

eastern front. Perhaps it was also a mistake not to persuade Spain to intervene. Instead of securing the supply of the German Corps by the occupation of Gibraltar, this task was entrusted to the not so enthusiastic Italian armored combat fleet. German air superiority was already a thing of the past, but it was necessary to secure the reinforcement line. Thus, after the initial successes of Rommel, the momentum of the attack was lost, the war fronts stiffened.

The operation on the eastern front starting in the summer of 1942, could not achieve its intended objectives which were: Stalingrad's capture and the controlling the Baku oil supply. Moreover, the collapse of the Soviet Union could not be expected now as the American military shipments began to arrive combined with the country's territorial depth. The long siege of Stalingrad and the resistance of Leningrad were ultimately the turning points of the war. By this time, Germany was only hoping for a compromise peace. Germany was able to increase its arms production even in these difficult situations. There was a serious problem now that England and the United States were carrying out systematic air raids against German cities. These carpet bombardments were aimed not only at military targets but also on the annihilation of the civilian population.

The German submarine war had reached its climax. Although the maritime powers had suffered extraordinary losses, it had become clear that this would not be the deciding battlefield.

When the US troops in North Africa defeated the German-Italian expedition army, the political situation was shaken in Italy. It turned out that the political commitment to the Germans was only superficial by 1940, and most of the fascist leadership agreed with the king that Italy would surrender and change sides.

The German response was quick and effective against the Italians, but the allies' landings in Italy could not be prevented and the retreat from the Apennine peninsula to the Po valley began.

Anglo-Saxons successfully landed in Italy. Great Britain proposed to move the battlefield to the Balkans, but the Soviet Union now considered the entire peninsula as an area of interest, so it was not possible for Anglo-Saxon troops to enter the Balkans.

At this stage of the war, the Jewish question also took a serious turn. Originally, the German leadership planned to transport Europe's Jewry to Madagascar. However, when this was no longer possible because of the collapse of their maritime powers, they urged their Eastern



European relocation. They wanted to use them in the Polish and Ukrainian factory complexes. Himmler was charged with this task.

This was entrusted to special security forces, carrying Jews in inhuman cruelty to Eastern European labour camps. They were accommodated in barracks located in the vicinity of the artificial rubber and artificial petrol production units. The inhumane work and poor nutrition were the norm and they suffered grievously from the conduct of the Sadistic guards. They suffered from contagious epidemics and regular air raids.

When the advancing Soviet troops approached these settlements, the most serious situation arose. The German authorities decreed the removal of the equipment of the factory complexes and the evacuation of the Jewry. This was not possible because of the condition of the German rail network which was almost paralyzed by the constant air raids. During the winter time, the able men were made to walk. Often the weak did not survive this cruel march, and the road was scattered with the dead.

Women, children and the elderly went in the railroad wagons but they also had to suffer a lot because the trains often stood for days in the open on the twisted tracks, food supply collapsed and so the wagons were full of dead bodies and the survivors resembled skeletons. These were delivered to the concentration camps in Germany and the invading (liberating) forces were shocked to see this horrible picture.

This evacuation in such circumstances was a crime and the persons who were responsible were rightly called out for their actions. The German leadership also sinned against the German people and the memory of these actions still blurs the sins of the other side. The carpet bombardment against German cities was a sin! The cries of the hundreds of thousands of burning citizens in Bremen, Hamburg and Dresden have yet to be heard even today.

The German military situation was now in 1944 almost hopeless but the leadership still trusted in the Russian offensive. The difficulties of German reinforcement were reduced and there was an opportunity to deploy reserve troops at vulnerable points. They also thought they could repel the planned landings of the Allies on the west coast.

The German armaments industry relocated underground and great efforts were made to develop new weapons. Today we know that these were for missiles and jet aircraft. The first jets deployed achieved destructive results and they hoped that this would end the air strikes against the civilian population.

The landing of the Anglo-American forces, however, significantly restricted the possibilities of the German leadership, so they could only hope to avoid the unconditional surrender.

The German General Staff then organized the Arden offensive while the fronts were relatively stable on the eastern front. There was hope also that the new jet-propelled aircraft would soon appear in the airspace.

Following the initial successes of the Allies offensive begun at the end of 1944, Eisenhower began relocating his headquarters to France. The German advance was exhausted partly due to fuel shortages, which also hampered the deployment of jet-powered aircraft. The Hungarian refugees saw hundreds of these machines ready to take off at the edge of the forests without fuel.

The Wehrmacht capitulated and the war was over.

## Evaluation of the Second World War

The German Empire lost the war. The depth of the collapse can only be felt by those who have experienced this period on German soil.

We who could no longer be called front-line soldiers with the responsibility for our women and children heavy on our minds, in groups, in uniforms, drove vehicles or travelled stop start in train wagons towards an unknown end point, experienced the hopelessness of the situation very much. The Hungarian peasants fleeing to the West were machine-gunned by American sharpshooters. Trains were often stranded on the open track for days, and sometimes the passengers had to walk for many miles if the railroad workers managed to find an alternate link. It was also difficult to find night accommodation, and the population often barred their house doors in a cruel way. The authority of the leadership was collapsing and their requests for cooperation were often ignored. Food supply was limited to the most basic; refugees stole from the farms and recently established relief depots while some collected mushrooms in the forests.

The occupation of the victorious powers did not bring peace either. The spirit of retribution effected their military government - they burned all surplus food and clothes rather than distribute among the needy. The emergency food allocation was set at 1200 calories, pointing out that this was the required amount in the concentration camps. This dose was maintained for the needy for another year. The soldiers of the Western Powers did not kill the population indiscriminately and the soviet level of criminal behaviour was unknown, but they committed crimes here and there, first and foremost by the Central Intelligence system, in order to liberate the population from all their remaining valuables. However, there appeared some military commanders who were shocked to see the proliferation of the lawlessness and sought to limit the abuse of sections of the ruthless military.

The victorious ordered the decommissioning of all unharmed factory equipment. Soon trains went to Russia and it seemed that the Morgenthau plan would come to pass: 'Germany was to be degraded to an agricultural state'. The deployment of the East German Germans to Germany began with the East Prussian, Silesian Germans, Hungarian Swabians, Transylvanian Saxons, Upper Hungarian Saxons (Spitz-Szepes) and Sudan-Germans (Czechoslovakia) being forcibly relocated. Austria's merger with Germany (Anschluss) was not accepted even though the Austrians as Germans had expressed their will to live in one state with the rest of the Germans.

“From London and Moscow, Czech and Slovak political agents in exile followed an advancing Soviet army pursuing German forces westward, to reach the territory of the first former Czechoslovak Republic. Beneš proclaimed the program of the newly appointed Czechoslovak government on April 5, 1945, in the north-eastern city of Košice, which included oppression and persecution of the non-Czech and non-Slovak populations of the partially restored Czechoslovak Republic. After the proclamation of the Košice program, the German and Hungarian population living in the reborn Czechoslovak state were subjected to various forms of court procedures, citizenship revocations, property confiscation, condemnation to forced labour camps, and appointment of government managers to German and Hungarian owned businesses and farms, referred to euphemistically as "reslovakization." Wikipedia

The Russian occupation zone attempted to redirect the North German population using the previous Russian-German cooperation treaty and through them convince the Germans that by turning east and reaching the Atlantic with the help of the new 'Genghis Khan' troops whose Empire's eastern borders extend to the Pacific.

The Germans had to face the fact that their people were divided into three parts. For me I recalled the great tragedy of Hungarians: Mohács (battle lost to Turkey) when the great Hungarian state also broke up and split into three parts, Transylvania, the Turkish occupation and the surviving royal territory.

The depth of the German fall is also characterized by the fact that the Germans had to withdraw from their eastern expansion. They lost East Prussia and the City of Kant; Königsberg also came under Russian sovereignty. The new frontier, the Odera, was only sixty kilometers from Berlin the imperial capital. Germans were expelled from the areas annexed to Poland. There seemed to be no chance for a rebirth for them either.

However, a historically observant observer could perceive that the acceptance of the now forced resettled Germans proved to be a two-pronged advantage. The immigration of South-East Germans was especially a remarkable factor. Their settlement and gradual involvement in the life blood of the country solved a number of problems by helping to offset the severe blood losses of World War II. According to the laws of life, in 10 to 20 years the largely old German parents would be rejuvenated by the young German children. The deportation of these Germans appeared to be politically beneficial: they were Germans from foreign countries in the everyday life, and the relations of the German state with their countries would have been hampered. In Hungarian terms, I thought that the Germans

around Baranya were only slowly absorbed and assimilated into Hungary. However, they could now be nation building members of the future German state.

The dismantling of the German manufacturing industry did not lead to an agricultural transformation. At this time, the US feared that the full implementation of the Morgenthau plan as it would lead to the loss of Europe and the victory to communism. That is why the US now provided the Germans with the capital requirements needed to create a modern factory economy, and soon the German industry was once again among the world's leading producers.

In the XIX and XX centuries both Emperor Wilhelm II and Hitler had the aim of making Germany the strongest nation in Europe by building up its military, political and economic hegemony over Europe, and put its expansion in the east of Europe. The XX centuries two World Wars failed to achieve this. As the Sun King and Napoleons efforts also failed, and the French forces were exhausted by this effort. It may be that Germany will get the prime position only in the economic sphere. They could be the engine of economic prosperity in Eastern Europe.

It seems that France had accepted this view. After World War I, they felt that they could continue to follow this Napoleonic dream, to build up their alliance system in the East-European space created by the German-Russian defeat to ensure its hegemony in Europe. The II World War had shown that France can-not even think of building hegemony above German forces. So, with this thought, a long-lasting cooperation with the two long hostile nations started. Indeed, German-French understanding seems to have put a firm foundation on the policy of a united Europe for the future, in a true European spirit.

The writer also sees the French-German cooperation as a positive outcome of the II World War. Although, like all wars, despite serious casualties and spilled blood, it has brought other economic and social benefits. Among these, it is particularly interesting that the four-engine bombers which bombed the cities, in conjunction with jet-powered aircraft, allowed the development of world-wide tourism promoted by radio and television, bringing the people closer together and accelerating the process of history.

These events effectively helped to reconcile the peoples of Europe. In today's world, German, French, Dutch or Italian are in contact so often that the old intricate conflicts begin to blur. Today, there is a solid foundation for the idea of the formation of a unity between all the states in Europe.

Only the role of Britain is doubtful. After the war, Churchill also saw that, due to the breakup of the English empire, England would fall to the role of a medium power. He therefore sought closer contact with America. The North Atlantic Alliance, of course, meant that England did not want to share in the fate of Europe, which was increasingly belonging towards the east. Later, however, when American capital reinvigorated the economic life of the European states England moderated its reluctance and joined the European alliance. Now (1985), however, as the outlines of the united Europe unfold and as the financial unity is already in place, England is again reluctant to cooperate too closely, as it could only play its role as third-player with Germany and France. This is especially today's problem. We think that any Russian retreat must sooner or later be followed by an American retreat. The evaluation of the Second World War includes the development of the social and economic situation since 1945. This picture is very interesting because, despite the fact that the German Empire as a military power lost the war, the economic system in subsequent decades was not capitalist. At least, not during the Cold War. In the West, the institutions of the Welfare State were launched, i.e. they abandoned unlimited capitalism and adopted a definition of socialism that keeps in focus the political and economic needs of the working class. Farming remained free and the free-market management began to emerge even in the Soviet sphere of influence.

Later, this process was completed in the transformation of the Soviet Union. This is how the great equalization took place, which ultimately broke down the anti-communist concept of the "free world". This occurred because Marxism-Leninism had failed.

It is characteristic of these new insights that even the old concessions to socialism are beginning to be dismantled by states. The old, so-called mixed economy which allowed that the railways, gas and electricity, telephone, etc. to remain in the public sector for the public interest, even after the war, efforts to nationalize mines or banks were under way.

However, these trends were replaced by the re-introduction of the concept of private property.

That is to say that militarily the struggle against Communism failed, behind the anti-communist slogans the Germans, Italians and Japanese imperialism formed an unbeatable world alliance but communism also failed: Russia's strength had proved too small for the fulfilment of its world dream.

After the II World War Hungary unfortunately suffered even more than the battered Germany.

There is no reason to be ashamed of the politics of II World War. The conservative Hungarian leadership did not serve foreign interests, and with all its power tried to exploit the historical situation to achieve its sacred national goals.

Throughout the war, the leadership had always taken into account world-political considerations. They did not accept the Kiel German bid in 1938 and the return of the Felvidék lands (Upper Hungary) in the Munich agreement, to which all four major European powers had agreed to.

The occupation of Transcarpathia was carried out independently and in the spirit of Hungarian-Polish cooperation.

In Transylvania, despite German disagreement, we carried out our action with the Soviet Union in diplomatic consensus.

In the case of the southern countries, we were embarrassed to take into account the English point of view and we insisted that only after the breakup of Yugoslavia would we attempt to regain our former territories, in particular Bácska.

The Hungarian behavior was moderate against the Soviet Union. In fact, only inside the Carpathians did Russia become our enemy when they were attacked by crazed Romanian troops. The Hungarian nation and its current leadership, however, in these difficult months, instinctively recognized that the future of the nation could only be assured by suffering and loss, while firmly defending its national rights.

Cities can be destroyed, but buildings can be rebuilt. The soul of the nation must be preserved in such fateful times. The heroic defense of Budapest and the Trans-Danubian struggles to the last man proved that this nation can always be expected to be relied upon at all times.

The Soviet Union forced on us a strange and unrealistic utopia, their invasion and long-lasting influence could mean the death of our nation. The incorporation of Transcarpathia into the Soviet Union is one of the strongest evidences of the destruction of non-Slavic Hungary, the goal being at least to keep Hungary in slavery.

It soon became clear that the Soviet Union's aspirations were to seize domination over Europe. This was accomplished by the "socialist" utopia of Marxist-Leninist communism. The tragedy was heightened by the fact that the new European frontiers were drawn in the spirit of the Slav advances. Russian troops almost reached the Atlantic.

Thus, in the new peace talks in Paris, Hungarian considerations were even less effective as they were in the Trianon Palace of after the First World War. In Soviet philosophy there

was no question of nationality, they said that the separation by nationality was only the ransom of the capitalist class divisions and not compatible with the socialist world order. Thus, our Hungarian brothers who had been separated from their country and who had already been banished by Trianon to the oppression of foreign peoples would now have to retrace their Calvary.

While at the Trianon palace Count Albert Apponyi could still defend our interests the new leaders of Hungary were mostly Soviet citizens who only asked forgiveness for the previous alleged sins. They only represented Moscow's interest. The Conservative Hungary was sentenced to death, and the executioner was Mátyás Rákosi (leader of Hungary's Communist Party 1945-1956). Above all, they sought to destroy the Hungarian middle class.

The pretext was found in the fight against "war criminals".

Under the rules of international law, which are still valid today, only the offensive war was punishable. How is it possible that the majority of our Hungarian parliamentarians be therefore "brought to court"?

How could the Hungarian civil servant or officer be responsible for carrying out orders that his superiors had issued?

How could Cardinal Mindszenty be persecuted as the head of the Catholic Church during the war for his ethical considerations of higher moral issues?

The revenge fueled power called for bloody retribution. The series of actions for the destruction of the Hungarian middle class and the suffering of the displaced tens of thousands underline the fact that it really was about the destruction of the nation's middle class. The attack on the churches, the production of an unbelieving atheist society were one of their most significant means of achieving a Soviet people, creating in slavery a broken cringing people which was no longer capable of thinking for himself.

A society which did not have the most basic knowledge of human rights forced the peasantry into kolkhoz (collective farms), the urban citizen into 'rabbit cage' accommodation and the penniless chained worker to wait for his turn.

The irony of history is that the great mass of the deportees came from those who believed that the influence of the West would prevail in the case of German defeat and would prevent a Communist terror.

The gross cruelty of the Rákosi system finally overwhelmed the Moscow lords, and from 1954 reforms were forced on his government. However, the naïve Hungarian people (in



world politics) believed that the Russian system was collapsing, exploded in a revolution that was politically victorious, but it turned out that the opposing forces in the Cold War agreed to the status quo (USA and Russia). The president (Dwight D. Eisenhower) who announced the turning back of communism was only engaged in an electoral propaganda and only argued that he would not tolerate further Soviet advances. So once again, our nation was alone, and we had to acknowledge, the occupying power was still in charge. Decades passed in this redesigned communist system. The first years after the Revolution of the 1956 involved return of further bloody practices of terror and retaliation. Eventually the housing conditions improved, there was more bread, and the battle against the churches were eased. Many felt that in this long-lasting situation, you had no choice but work within the system. The masses, however, had lost their contact with the leadership and obviously did not regard the state as their country. Thus, a society developed that is only looking at its own self-interest, but this mentality gradually led the system towards its disintegration.

The worker was not interested in producing and the manager's most important task was to raise his own private assets. Corruption had grown incredibly and it really Balkanized the country.

Smuggling and manipulation of currency rules were not felt as a crime and any loss to the state was regarded a national virtue. Unfortunately, the Hungarian past also contributed to this attitude as romanticized by 'Sándor Rózsa and 'Jóska Sobri' novels (Robin Hood) now revived in modern forms.

The Second World War did have some positive effects. Perhaps the problem of national unity is the one whose solution had been advanced in these decades.

Before the Second World War, Hungary's national leadership was full of goodwill and rightly saw the direction of development - they tried to build a Hungarian unity. Typically, their political parties often choose the "unified" slogan in their designation. It is obvious that society was still wearing the 19th century way of life. Our leaders gradually absorbed the representatives of the emerging educated class but the great social differences that still existed in society of the former noble and ordinary classes, expressed in the way in which the peasantry and the workers expressed their differences with the word "urak" (my lord). This distinction and aversion was largely swept away by the 'red' (communist) storm. Many of the former middle class were now employed as workers to earn their daily bread often gaining recognition from their opponents. The children of the middle class already

deviated from career choices of the old system. The different career choices faded the previously negative attitudes towards certain professions.

The unemployed and those masses in exile were not a problem because the current living conditions did not meet their needs.

Even at the time of the 1956 revolution, there was an almost unified society, and I feel that even today's parties do not represent social conflicts, but rather seek different ways to achieve freedom.

The communist utopia emblem was placed on the new flag and they mimicked Russia's industrial policy as well. The Russians recognized that in the game of history a non-fully-industrialized society and state drifted into a socialist revolution and therefore sought to build the Russian heavy industry with the toughest means in a forced journey, hoping that the goals of communism would be easier to achieve. Their functionaries here also wanted to transform agricultural Hungary into an industrial state. They pushed for the development of industries that lacked raw materials and did not care that production would not find a natural market. They created immense human suffering with a series of misguided and degrading actions. In the field of education, technical training was also forced, and humanist education was neglected or ignored.

Even hopeless companies continued to trade and costing society. In the case of the long Turkish occupation and the colonial status of the longer Habsburg Empire, our middle class found its goal at its best, only in the medical and engineering professions and more often as lawyers and soldiers as well as public administrators. Thanks to the forced industrialization, the Hungarians have also learned the technical solutions of the different professions and today the Hungarian industry would be competitive on the world market if the internationally managed financial capital is available for the country to become involved in the modern market economy.

So, when Hungary re-engages in the industrial and commercial life of Europe and the world, we will not have to complain about our backwardness inherited by our historical past. Industry and commerce will just have to learn the financial rules of the capitalist world. It is clear to the contemporary witness that after almost half-century of occupation the country has become Balkanized.

The Communist land policy proved to be two left-handedness. In the beginning it seemed that the radical land reform, which was a program for many national parties, actually

triggered national unity. In many cases it really caused the illusion that in this process the victory of the Hungarian peasantry would be the result.

The hostile system against private property did not even consider that it would serve the nation's political and economic future by creating healthy peasant holdings. A system of cooperatives was implemented, which was intended as a transition to the creation of state managed agriculture. Co-operatives of the small farming peasants were created as state-owned economic units with poor production results. Only then did the fate of the co-operative population turn to the right, when the leadership introduced limited private farming. The Hungarian peasants then worked a miracle. In addition to achieving self-sufficiency, it also produced goods for the market, thus alleviating the previous difficulties in feeding the urban populations. This small concession was so successful that the rise of the small peasantry also caused the envy of the urban population.

For production reasons, the state-owned large estates still remained. They automated production, creating mechanized agriculture such as in large American, Canadian and Australian farms, only on smaller land holdings. However, while in overseas large-scale farms used mechanized production to facilitate the work of a family and the farmers adapted to the requirements of a free market for their individual economic purposes; the employees of the Hungarian state owned estates had no interest to increase their efforts. This is what happened in Russia. One of the most typical examples of this economic failure is that in these years, one of the largest agricultural states in the world was driven to buy wheat from others.

When ten years ago, after the withdrawal of the Soviet forces, the country partially repaid landowners for illegally and without compensation losing their medieval estates they could have created healthy medium sized farms that would have provided Europe with the great fruits of the Hungarian land. In the now industrialized country, even a wider capitalist economy could have been implemented, it would have been possible to create solid foundations for the role of private ownership and equity-owned companies. On the other hand, elements within the ex-communist government guarding their power had almost secretly privatized government owned infrastructure and made their power base even stronger.

The Second World War finally solved the very serious Jewish question.

The Hungarian people never thought of racial concepts. Throughout its history - perhaps excluding the first half of the 19th century the concept of a nation without differences

existed - Hungária always embraced all and considered the peoples of the Carpathian Basin people as his brothers. Jews also found security and opportunities in Hungary. During the Turkish rule the Jewish merchants traded with the Turks and were often in conflict with the Hungarians, and in the Middle Ages in particular religious reasons led to frictions among the supporters of the various churches. At the time of the 1848 War of Independence, the Jews living among us were mostly assimilated and their sons and sisters suffered with the nation struggling for its freedom.

Unfortunately, the masses of Judaism that were living in the Russian-Polish area in compressed conditions chose the Hungarian land as the first stage of their voyage, causing Hungary serious problems. According to the nature of things, only the inter-marriage of the middle class and the Jewry could have helped if we think of assimilation as a solution. The rapid and large-scale immigration at that time raised the number of Jews from forty thousand to one million in just under fifty-six years.

However, the traditions, talents, and the historical traditions of the Jewish tradition created an image in the host nation of a conquest that was in conflict with their interests. This explains the steps taken between the two world wars to curb Jewish influence.

It must be emphasized that these actions of the Hungarian people have always remained within the framework of humanism.

Unfortunately during the Second World War, the actions of the occupying German power severely affected the members of this group of people living in the country areas and who suffered serious loss of blood through deportation. Hungary however rescued the families living in the capital as soon as it had the opportunity to act freely. It is tragic that the whole Hungarian middle class was made responsible for what happened. This was a hasty and politically damaging move. A small group of Jews, the Muscovites, despite the intentions of the responsible Jewish religious leaders, staged a real hunt for members of the civil servants, the gendarmes and the police. It was at this time that there was a real anti-Semitic atmosphere in the country!

In 1956, however, the Hungarian Jewry in great numbers turned against communism and then began a mass migration to the west.

The number of Jews in Hungary was thus significantly reduced, and the assimilation of their remaining numbers in Hungarians continued. Thus, today, it is foolish and unjustified for Hungarians to rehash the past. The same applies to Judaism they have to learn that they can only be fully incorporated into the Hungarian nation if they can also forget the past in

the spirit of forgiveness. After all Hungarians have something to forget namely the Jewish leaders of the communist rule in Hungary after the World Wars.

The suffering after World War II also made the country aware that not only the Carpathian basin, but all of Europe with its culture is only where we can live in a humane and Hungarian lifestyle.

One of the dangers of communist repression was that their direction sought to persuade the Hungarians that a thousand years ago St. Stephen led us in a bad direction. We should have gravitated to the east. The basis for their propaganda was that, especially during the resistance to the Habsburg rule, many felt that the West deserted us and because of our Eastern origin there was a temptation to think that our place may not be in Europe.

It was a sophisticated propaganda, even the highly successful and much loved music rock opera, which focuses on St. Stephen, was trying to ripen this idea in the background.

All efforts towards the East proved to be ineffective. The Hungarian Christianity finally decided in favour of Europe. For a thousand years and now Hungary is just waiting to be a full member of the European community.

After the Second World War there were significant changes facing the Christian churches. For many it appeared that it was possible to ignore God and the Christian churches. The mass killer Moscow trained leader declared that the pope had no army, so there can be no obstacle to break down the Church's resistance. However, decades after his death, his theory proved to have been built on sand. The rock of Peter proved to be stronger and the hell of the Bolshevik invasion could not break the faith in Jesus.

The Catholic Church in Hungary has a thousand years of history to look back on the fifty-year-old atheist nightmare seems now to be just an episode. Persecution and repression also renewed the church that was sentenced to death. The chief priests could lose their riches and landholdings that were gained during the past history, but at the same time the pastors were now closer to the people, the wedge of wealth and power did not separate them. At the time of the great trials it is only human that the sufferer turns to the afterlife seeking the unreachable truth so spiritual life for a minority is strengthened.

It is understandable that there were church leaders who attempted to reach an agreement with the conqueror, but the people did not go to the peacemakers, but to the persistent resistors. After nearly ten years of freedom an increasing number of signs suggest that the rebirth of Christianity had started.

The moral reincarnation of the country is still hampered by the influence of Western materialism. Morality is needed to rebuild a homeland. The old spirit of "No, No, Never!" should not be allowed to die. The Hungarians are the strongest nation among all the nationalities that settled in the middle of the Carpathian Basin and it has undoubtedly a legitimate right to live in this area. We cannot claim domination over other nations, but you should expect that the other nationalities also respect the culture of the Hungarians and recognize their language.

We cannot fall into the same mistake that was perhaps unavoidable between the two world wars, not to accept a compromise solution and shout the then slogan "Give Everything Back!"

In the current political situation, it is obvious that the country's efforts must be focused on allowing the Hungarians living beyond our borders to keep their language, beliefs and culture.

The "new world order" following the Soviet withdrawal evidently intended to settle the European situation as at the close of 1945. Hungarian governments were forced to accept their wish to "make basic contracts" with the successor states. In these treaties, it acknowledged the existing boundaries, but also assured us that the situation of Hungarian minorities will be in accordance with a fair spirit. Unfortunately in practice so far this has not been satisfactory.

But there is no reason to despair. After a war, the victorious powers always demanded the right to tighten boundaries and secure the status quo. However, the process of history does not cease with such an act, changing times always make the possibility of revision. If the situation of Hungarian minorities does not substantially improve, it is always possible to consider these agreements as null and void.

A good example of this is Poland, which had been repeatedly divided among its neighbours yet it has now been reunited. At this moment, its western boundaries were artificially drawn and yet the old Polish territories had to be transferred to the winner. This winner has drawn the boundaries here in an imperialistic spirit. It also justified the imperialist direction of its policy with the occupation of Transcarpathia.

Taking all this into account, we can say that this arrangement is to be considered as a temporary state of affairs. Our government policy cannot be built on revisionist thinking, as government needs to take into account international opportunities, and society must always be ready to address its legitimate needs at the appropriate given historical moment.

We must devote all our strength to the social and national reconstruction of the country. An affirmed and unified country can, in any case, enforce its rights.

The result of the World War is that, despite the fact that we had been defeated on the battlefields, and after fifty years of Russian domination we are still under the control of a victorious power. Fate has however united us and we continue our struggle for Hungarian freedom and independence.

## **At the Dawn of the New Millennium**

Since the outbreak of the Second World War, sixty years has passed but even in the last years of the century, the future is not entirely clear, because the consequences of this fatal war still haunt us all.

The literature at the turn of the century was becoming more voluminous and more objective. Among them is a large formal study by Richard Overy, "The Road to War", which appeared in the form of a book and a television version also dealt with this topic.

The author honestly demonstrated in this book that the great powers at that time, without exception, regarded war as one of the instruments of international law. It made public, relying on the information available now, that the British armaments began in 1934 and were preparing to be ready by 1939 to face the German forces.

The book's summary analyses and evaluates the recent second half of the century. The objectivity of the historical perspective has made it possible to quote from the political will of Adolf Hitler the following sentences:

"Following the collapse of the German Empire and not until the national aspirations are strengthened in Asia, Africa and South America, there will only be two powers in the world: The United States of America and the Soviet Union.

Their geographic situation and the laws of history will fatally force these two colossi to consider each other's strength either on a military line or on an economic and ideological plane. "

That was indeed what happened. The two European-alien powers divided Europe among themselves. Much of Eastern and Central Europe had become the experimental kitchen of the Marxist-Leninist utopia; in vain did Europe for a thousand years protect the western part of Europe against the attacks of the foreign culture of eastern empires. Thus, the war was not only lost by Germany and its allies. It did not matter whether Yugoslavia or Poland were amongst the winners and yet a similar fate awaited them.

But the real loser of World War II was Great Britain. Britain accepted the risk of an II World War because they did not want to allow the Germans to control Europe. Although Hitler was willing to commit Germany to the defense of the British Empire, England was more confident about the US cooperation and the repeat the events of the First World War. They believed that the Germans and Russians would destroy each other and allow Anglo-French diplomacy restore the Versailles state order.



They did not take the US anti-colonialism position seriously, nor did they admit to themselves that their ally too wanted to provide control over the world.

The German victories in 1940 convinced the United States that the strength of England and France did not have the ability to stand up to the German forces which extended on the economic front in South America which the US regarded as in its own sphere of influence. This is how the USA and the Soviet Union formed a relationship which in 1945 led to the division of the world.

The European colonial empires could no longer be maintained, and in the emptied areas, American capital filled the gap.

If the Soviet Union using the Marxist-Leninist ideology, had not sought to break into the American space then the cooperation might have lasted longer. However, the US wanted to halt any further Soviet encroachments adopting a policy of containment, which even if it did not want to roll back the gains of communism, but wanted the Soviet Union to stay within the Yalta convention.

However, the decades after the war created a huge opposition between the so called "Super Powers". The gigantic rearmament which ensued, using traditional and atomic weaponry, directly influenced broken Europe.

It seemed that the end days of Christian Western civilization had arrived. The lawlessness and immorality reminded us of the end of the Roman Empire. The proliferation of atomic and hydrogen bombs made it possible to destroy the two thousand years of civilization that raised European nations to almost the height of world domination.

The Greek and Roman civilizations created by the peoples of the Mediterranean were eventually destroyed by the attacks of barbarians, the German and Turkish peoples attacking the northern and eastern part of Europe. But these victorious forces finally reconciled to the Roman civilization, and after a dark era of five hundred years, filled with the compelling power of the young and conquering spirit of Christianity, they began to build the culture that we rightly call the European man's achievements.

In the middle Ages, despite all the dynastic wars and conflicts, we can speak of a European unity, because the emerging nations were united by the victorious Christian worldview and philosophers could rightly dream of Civitas Dei (City of God).

This European unit was broken by the Reformation. It is true that this movement rightly attacked the power-hungry and often guilty church rulers, but the disruption was not created by the internal Christian forces, which had been reformed, but by the formation of

national states. Of course, this was also supported by the wisdom and the fact that the interests of the Catholic forces on the land were contrary to the colonial interests beyond the sea, and so they often became enemies without theological contrasts. Such was, among other things, the English church disruption.

When the age of national states came to an end, the desire for European cooperation was resurrected. The tragedy of the Hungarians is that in these two hundred years we were fighting for our lives against the Muslim advance, and we were almost completely beaten but received no major European aid.

At this time, European thinkers were still formulating their plans in the spirit of the resurrected ancient Roman Empire. During Charlemagne also known as Charles The Great's time, under Frankish influence, later, with the strengthening of the Germanic peoples, Europe was formed under the hegemony of the German-Roman emperors. It must be emphasized, however, that conquering power in these centuries was always Christianity. The Gothic cathedrals today display Europe's unity with this religion.

The French Louis XIV the Sun King in his quest for the European hegemony, the idea of European unity was already under pressure, and the French sought to make the Turkish Sultan an ally. This unbridled French attempt did not succeed.

The French Revolution was a great social rebirth, the spirit of Freedom, Equality and Fraternity, made it possible for their nation to ensure the unity of Europe and the French hegemony.

The desire for social transformation, however, did not prove to be a force that would put the national thought in the background, so it is understandable that Blücher's Prussian soldiers ultimately decided Napoleon's rule. The fact that England was the founder and soul of the Conservative European Alliance proves that it has always been opposed to the aspirations of European unity, but only a politically and economically fragmented Europe could provide the safety of the islands of the United Kingdom beyond the sea.

After the wars of Napoleon, the Conservative Holy Alliance maintained the peace in Europe. However, this alliance did not prevent the gradual adoption of the ideas of the French Revolution; in the changing modern Europe the rule of the reactionary dynasties was gradually replaced by the emergence of imperialist great powers. German unity was also being implemented. The Second Empire was finally born in Paris after the victorious Prussian French War.

The Italian people also sought their identity -red shirted troops entered Rome (Unification of Italy by Garibaldi 1860's)

Both the Protestant and the Catholic Churches had to compromise with the ruling national strata, but the outright safeguards represent the influence of Christianity only in appearance, and the churches will only serve the national imperialist forces.

World War I was commenced by France's desire for revenge and the English traditional path to achieve a balance of power in Europe, which is therefore always against the aspirations of hegemony in Europe. Hungary was threatened by the aggressive Balkan politics of the Tsar led Russia, because world order promoted by the expanding pan-Slav movement Hungary would only have the role of a slave.

At that time according to the state of military technology, the standing trench warfare only balanced the resources of both sides and the German diplomacy failed to prevent the creation of a world alliance that had chosen to fight for its own financial supremacy. Central Europe had failed. Thus, in the First World War, the influence of Christian forces did not prevail. The Christian ministers dutifully blessed the flags of the opposing nations that faced each other and gave spiritual consolation to those who had to face death or those who were behind those who lost their loved ones.

The leaders of the victorious powers were not saturated with a Christian spirit, and only the policies of power politics prevailed in the Versailles peace treaties. The peoples of Europe did not make peace with each other, and the defeated vowed revenge and the winners made every effort to prevent the losers from finding their place in the new Europe of Versailles.

The possibility of a united and reconciled Europe was therefore only proclaimed by broad-minded thinkers. Their chance of success in the outlined atmosphere was not possible.

The borders of Europe were not drawn on the basis of the President Wilson's principles, the right of self-determination of nations did not exist and a new casus belli was born.

History was not able to stop these measures from failing. It was particularly primitive in that in Central and Eastern Europe, the void left by the Habsburg Empire was filled with artificial states between Germanic and Russian forces, and they collapsed by the re-emergence of the German giant.

German National Socialism eventually united the German nation and swept out the peace accord of the First World War. Hitler announced the idea of Neue Europa, a Europe under German hegemony. Perhaps he believed that the revolutionary ideas of his movement

would be able to connect European nations. However, this did not happen, and especially in Eastern Europe, when no steps were taken to accept the Polish, Ukrainian and Baltic peoples' independence desires, they took no action to foster the united Europe concept. Their policies were not compatible with the churches to promote a united Europe movement. The turn of the warfare eventually left the German people alone, and not only did the unity of Europe fail, but Europe was almost devastated in this struggle.

The era of Caesar mania actually came to pass in the XX Century, as predicted by Spengler's famous work, which was completed at the end of World War I. We the sons and daughters of the XX Century in our lives met the Caesars, who have radically altered the existing constitutional forms and these leaders created underdeveloped system of powers.

The rule of Stalin in Russia was one of the cruelest forms of Caesar mania, which even in the party program was completely in conflict with the constitutional past and millions became victims of its utopian ideals.

In Italy, Mussolini really behaved like a descendant of the Roman Caesars. True, he did not touch the monarchical constitution of Italy and even conciliated with the Catholic Church, but with the help of the state corporations and the ruling party he ensured his personal rule.

Adolf Hitler's party came to power in keeping with the rule of law and was respectful of the constitution, superficially appeared to rule in the spirit of the constitution. However, the essence of the system was his sole rule, and because he himself was incapable of deeply addressing the problems that arise from time to time, he delegated his authority to his subordinates who then built their own armed forces to protect their personal interests.

However, the oldest and most established parliamentary democracies were susceptible to the rise of Caesar mania. Churchill's role in England during the war was so personal in nature that his influence and power were perhaps greater than many so-called dictators.

In the United States, however, Roosevelt's role was most typical of the appearance of this type of aggressive personal power. The dictatorial personal power of the American president strengthened in the years of war against the keeping of the formality of the constitution. While earlier in 1939 the Congress chose neutrality, he issued an offensive command to the fleet against German submarines and warships. Using economic measures against Japan he gave Japan no alternative but to find a solution in war.

After the Second World War, the Caesar's rule continued. In the areas under the Marxist-Leninist utopia, the secretaries of the communist parties advanced the cult of the person, looking at themselves as the fathers of the nation, surrounded by a pomp fit for a king. Even De Gaulle's role in France it is easy to recognize his need to build a more autocratic system by transforming the traditional parliamentary system. The South American Military juntas governed as dictatorships, even if their rhetoric was against communist party dictatorships.

In the Century's seventies and eighties, the first signs appeared that signaled the end of the era of Caesar mania. The Vietnam defeat forced the US to revise the powers of the president and to adjust it according to the spirit of the age.

The Soviet Union after NOSZF (Russian Revolution 1917) seemed tired of the bloodshed and mass murder so they attempted to turn the Soviet state towards the rule of law. The loosening of the terror forced the Soviet Union to transform.

In the second half of the century, both of the two great powers had to be prepared for a global military confrontation. This problem was exacerbated by the problem of the destructive atomic weapons, and therefore prompted the super powers to look for allies. Their alliances in the first decades were content to be subordinated to that of the super powers, but they gradually became more independent and placed their own interests in the forefront. This process accelerated the development that Adolf Hitler raised in his political will, regarding the duration of the world rule of the opposing powers. Indeed, the national forces of Asia, Africa and South America are all more evident.

In Asia, Japan was the first great power to take advantage of the situation. The US saw that Japan could not be treated as an annihilated nation because the Japanese misery and national humiliation would sow the seeds in the country of the rising sun into the envelope of the sickle and hammer. Thus, under the wise guidance of General MacArthur, who knew well the peoples of the Asia, Japan restored itself and continued to rebuild its economic and social life under the leadership of its emperor. The Japanese industry, which started off with a modern factory machines, did indeed perform a miracle and not only rebuild the life of its own people, but found the Southeast Asian market open before it (the reason for entering the World War in the first place).

In the eighties the US was already threatened by the Japanese takeover of the markets in the US and would not mind if Japan re-armed. In any case, it is near time that Japan will soon have an independent foreign policy.

It is interesting to observe the development of Chinese territories during this period. The Yalta sharing of the world meant China was set aside to the Soviet Union's sphere of influence. It was in vain that General MacArthur wanted to reverse this decision and relying on America's nuclear power to force the victory of national forces in China, the geopolitical aspects were stronger than the ideological aspects, and now China is pursuing an independent foreign policy.

India - centuries ago was the glittering diamond of the British Empire - regained its independence and has managed to solve many of its problems over the last decades. Heavy ground, air and sea forces have been built up and will soon become a major force in politics. The evolving Arab world has been shaken in the last decades. Until the Second World War these areas were under British and French control but nowadays, they are still fragmented but are already pursuing independent political agendas. Progress is still being hampered by the failure to find a satisfactory solution to Israel's role. The reason for this is obviously that the United States of America under pressure from their influential Jewish citizens supports the efforts of Israel to pursue a country where Jewishness can live without the risk of direct attacks, while ensuring the survival of their nation. On the other hand, the opposition between the two super powers naturally brought about the idea of an Arab and Russian co-operation. It is not yet clear how Russia will change its policy on this issue. The uncertainty of the situation is typical of the efforts of the United States to establish the Arab Jewish peace and so far, it has not yet come to fruition.

The reconstruction of Europe has started in the western parts as well. The US had also recognized that the misery of Central Europe, and especially German poverty and total national humiliation, can only lead Germans to turn to an Eastern policy. There is a historical basis for a great political vision based on such a German-Russian co-operation, which cannot be overlooked even by the frustration of the two opposing ideological movements. That is why the Marshall Plan was born, which, was an about turn to the Morgenthau Plan propagated during the war, this was Germany's construction to become the key to the rise of Western Europe. Western European nations have also recognized this change. It is unthinkable that the former enemies who faced each other during the war on Flemish, French or Northern Italians battle fields now worked together for a united Europe. The European nations, therefore, began to move on the road towards unity and they seemed to have established their common currency at the turn of the millennium under the

guidance of a central bank. This is a decisive step to ensure that a common foreign policy will be pursued by the Member States.

England's intentions are still uncertain. In the united Europe, inevitably, German-French economies will set the course and England will have to adapt to these forces. Great Britain, however, still feels psychologically this to be unacceptable. It is not impossible that if England is left out of the European Union, then it will look to the United States of America. It is possible to build an Anglo-Saxon naval power base that will include Canada, Britain, Australia and New Zealand next to the USA.

The British community of states, the successors to the empire, now only gives economic benefits to the Member States, but for decades have gone politically towards total independence.

The unification of Europe at the turn of the century and the millennium, however, still does not represent a true unification. Eastern borders are still uncertain, and the situation with Russia is still to be clarified, but it is a matter of fact that the unity of the European market has the decisive advantage for the participating nations in their struggle for world markets. In any case, the current form of this unification also shows the way to the universal state, which is usually the final form of civilization.

As far as Russia is concerned, it is not surprising that it announced its wish to join the 'European House'. This raises the question: Does Russia really belong to Europe? If we want to solve this issue with the help of geography, then the answer may be that the areas west of the Ural are undoubtedly part of Europe. However, Siberia also falls under the sovereignty of Russia, and the eastern shores of their state are washed by the Pacific Ocean. Nor can it be ignored that the Russian people lived in the shadow of the Tartar Empire for five hundred years. Peter the Great tried to turn his country into Europe. This, however, only affected the upper classes who took on the European-style with contacts with French and German culture while the Russian people continued to live in an Asian lifestyle.

The seventy-year-old communist rule further pushed Russia into the Asian backwardness. Generations have grown up in an atheistic system without any religious education but in the long decades it will be possible to re-establish their cultural and political life on a European basis. So, for the time being, the need for their joining Europe Union seems to be premature. Their joining would also increase their influence on Europe. This is what the Russian leaders are aiming for. It is not with military campaigns would Moscow's rule in Europe prosper but with the use of economic and cultural factors.

It seems that the Anglo-Saxons are counting on this possibility. When the Russian president raised the idea of forming a Paris-Berlin-Moscow axis before the German and French leaders, the nervous response of the American press was very characteristic.

Europe then dominated by Slavic forces reminds us of the reign of the Genghis Khan, they would obviously come in confrontation with the policies of the countries built on maritime power.

Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the United States is cautious about whether to leave Europe on a military basis in the course of time but would like to maintain its English, Spanish, Italian, Greek and Turkish bases. However, the growing unity of Europe and the independent aspirations of the peoples concerned will force the US to become eventually more flexible.

For now, however, the formation of European unity has not yet been completed. The situation in Eastern Europe is still uncertain. Russia protested against the accession of Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland into NATO even though they had written off regaining control over them. They were strongly opposed to the further expansion of the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO), US conduct is uncertain on this issue, and the Balkan wars all suggest that final political decisions have not yet been taken. Friction is anticipated between Europe and the US.

The end of the Cold War and the end of the arms race for Europe meant that the absorption capacity of the overseas markets had declined. Growing unemployment and the consequent slowing of the economies again put the individual national policies in the forefront, creating new conflicting interests among the participating nations.

Europe can only be a lasting unity if a peace conference objectively clarifies the latent border and autonomy issues by not clinging to the boundaries that the winners had drawn on an imperialist basis.

Above all, however, it is necessary to re-establish the linking force that has led to the emergence of national civilizations in Europe. In other words, European unity can only be the rebirth of Western civilization if, in its universal state, Christianity is able to unite and hold its peoples. Perhaps it is symbolic that this great rebirth comes at the turn of the century, which is also the dawn of the third millennium of Christianity.

When Christianity reached the first millennium of its time, it was hoped by the believers that he would return to Earth and create the Civitatis Dei (City of God). By the time we reached the threshold of 2000, mankind has developed a lot spiritually; we now know that



for the Lord a moment is worth a millennium. Today we do wait for miracles. We may, however, feel that we must embark on a path of universal co-operation, a true Christian spirit, which, according to our faith, informs and accepts Jesus throughout the world. Christian Western civilization, like the rule of European man over the world, could have fallen. Perhaps the missionary's journey was misleading when they wanted to convert the peoples of the world to Jesus by cooperating with trade and imperialist forces. Many times, it seemed that Christianity was the religion of white people which explains the lack of success in converting the yellow, brown and black people of the world. Now, however, the world rule of the white man is broken. New Great Powers emerge before our eyes and it seems that sooner or later, we will see the coming of the "era of the hostile great powers", which Spengler predicted would follow the post-Caesar era. In this struggle, the European nations can play a major role if the Christian worldview is manifested in an exemplary, objective balancing spirit. This will also open the way for a Christian rebirth. Nowadays, the churches are still separated and cut off from state power and able to speak only in a weak and discredited voice. For this reason, the powerful ecumenical spirit must, in the first place succeed to achieve, according to the teaching of Jesus, one shepherd. We do not have to look for participation in state power, but through the faithful we must ensure that the new universal Europe is filled with a Christian spirit and thus have the right to be a spokesman for true justice in the new world.

## **The Last Decade of the Century**

Significant political and economic transformations took place in the last decade of our century. People were breathing easily because they believed that we were rid of the threatening horrors of a Third World War, the atomic war, we were all confident there was now a better, more peaceful and secure future. There is no doubt that the Cold War had collapsed between the Great Powers and that the Soviet Union eventually withdrew its occupying troops from Central and Eastern Europe. The Berlin Wall collapsed and the united Germany was one step closer on the road to restoring its sovereignty. The arms race ceased and Europe was no longer threatened by the atomic bomb. We all expected worldwide that the reconstruction of Eastern Europe and Russia will give work and prosperity for millions of workers.

By contrast, a new economic policy emerged and unemployment increased. The situation remained obscure in world politics as well. The Middle East tensions have not been resolved and the Russian-American relationship has remained obscure as it is clear that the organization of the Balkan relations also depends on a co-operation between the two super powers.

The termination of the Russian occupation did not bring national freedom in Eastern Europe, but only some relief from the existing communist system.

It is difficult today to outline the current global political situation. The age of great change, which began in the last decade of our century, is only a process whose evolution is still covered by the veil of the future. The springs of the events are still state secrets, that is, the historical perspective is missing in evaluating the present. That is why it is still impossible to write about these events as if they were history. Yet, it is necessary to try to understand the springs of the events to draw conclusions from the developments.

It is inevitable in this situation that our observations must be derived from the events of the Second World War.

First of all, we must deal with the relationship between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Here, first of all, it must be emphasized that, in the United States of America, since the war of independence had an anti-colonialism stance against England. That was the reason that after World War I President Wilson was disillusioned and he retreated from Paris and America emphasized that they did not want to participate in another European war on similar grounds in the future.

Finally, the US entered the Second World War because it was not in America's interest to have a European unity under a German hegemony. They found that the strength of England and France was no longer sufficient to prevent this and America found a partner in the Soviet Union to guide the new world order. Therefore, after the war, America did not give any help to the European powers to maintain their colonial empires in fact in 1956 the Suez Crisis forced Israel, Britain and France to retreat.

Behind this ideological position, there were also economic interests as US capital now occupied the place of European influence in these countries.

England in the war even attempted to restrict the Soviet Union and try to reach the second front on the Balkan Peninsula. However, this could not be done because the Soviet Union's future booty was threatened and they even threatened its allies with a German-Russian agreement. The Western Allies had to be aware that Berlin and Prague were to be occupied by the Russians. More than one US general saw the situation well and recognized the weakness of American politics, saying that America was perhaps on the wrong side in this fight.

American politicians also recognized that the Yalta convention was interpreted differently by the Russians as understood by the US President and his advisers. In particular, they were struck by the fact that the iron curtain in Eastern Europe descended on the Stettin-Trieste line. At the Potsdam Summit, the two major powers were still in agreement with the direct issues of Germany, and the Soviet Union was also willing to attack Japan, but the shadow of the Cold War had already cast its shadow.

When the Soviet Union strongly supported the outbreak of the Communist revolution in Greece and Turkey and were threatened by Soviet intervention, one of the most important principles of the post-war policy of the United States was formulated by President Truman, and what was referred to as 'containment'. This policy promised assistance to every state which wanted to defend against foreign domination. This was the time when the Marshall Plan was born, which started the economic reconstruction of Western Europe. Soviet aggression in the states of Eastern Europe had increased and serious disagreements also took place in the city of Berlin which was isolated from the west. Finally, the non-communist European states joined with the US in a military alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty (NATO) was concluded, and in opposition the Warsaw Pact came into existence. It must be pointed out, however, that this was only intended to emphasize the seriousness of these intentions. Today it is clear that the US did not want to end the Russian-American

agreement as contained in the Yalta agreement and only wished that the Soviet Union accept the American understanding of the agreement signed in Yalta namely that the Russia would not pursue its offensive policy. This is evidenced by the fact that, when the American president spoke of the halting of communist expansion, the official US reaction was only to cross their arms when acknowledging the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and watching the resulting Soviet Union intervention.

Some military circles in the US believed that the problem of the Soviet Union should, if necessary, be resolved by military means. Especially because they knew that the exclusive US possession of the atomic bomb would come to an end and wanted to avoid a costly atomic bomb race. There was an opportunity during the Korean War, but President Truman rejected the demands of General MacArthur and expelled the political minded soldier.

Finally, the Soviet Union was forced to accept the American interpretation of the Yalta Convention. In 1975 when the European Security and Cooperation Conference ended in Helsinki the final declaration issued stressed that the signatories respect human rights, freedom of thought, conscience and religious rights. On the other hand, this declaration strengthened the boundaries of the Soviet Union, which in an imperialist spirit they forced for themselves at the end of World War II.

This agreement still dominates the political picture today. On this basis, the Great Powers also recommended that the Hungarian governments agree to these basic treaties. In today's political situation the country was not able to deny it, but in my opinion, these contracts can only be maintained if the protection of minority interests is taken into account.

However, the Russian-American relationship was characterized by mistrust and threat for decades, the name of the 'Cold War' was appropriate. This 'cold war' was accompanied by an arms race. The fact that the Soviet Union was able to obtain the technical and theoretical data necessary for the atomic bomb, and later for the production of the hydrogen bomb, greatly increased the economic burden on both sides. It is understandable, therefore, that the opposing parties focused their efforts to limit this confrontation. This was the main theme of their Summits.

However, the Soviet Union continued its ideological and political war over the globe, and the threat of nuclear war was directly threatened by the Cuban crisis.

The gradual extension of the Vietnam War also showed that the Soviet Union could effectively exploit the "third world" problems. Today, of course, it is clear that the US made

a big mistake to get involved in a tropical jungle war. Military victory was only achievable by a major landing against Hanoi, which would not have been a problem for the US with its maritime and air supremacy. Of course, it is not impossible that the threat of intervention by the Soviet Union was why this solution was not attempted by the American forces. The United States economic strength enabled it to continue the arms race. They were able to successfully include their allies in bearing the burden of this heavy economic outlay, however: the US became indebted and the consequences of which are now also felt in today's economic life.

All in all, however, we can say that US policy was successful because it avoided the third (atomic) world war and forced the transformation of the Soviet Union and ultimately provided the US global hegemony.

For the observer, however, it is almost impossible to form a valid opinion on issues related to the transformation of the Soviet Union and it is necessary to review their history so that we can get closer to understanding today's (1990) situation.

There is no doubt that Czarist Russia was the most backward nation in Europe. After the French Revolution, most European states took over its ideas, but Russia insisted on its feudal system. Its peasantry was suppressed by the feudal lords, and its industrial development was only in children's shoes. The French influence of the Russian leadership classes was only superficial and Peter the Great's dream that his country would become involved in the life of the West remained a dream. Unfortunately, those proposing radical reforms became advocates of Marxist theory. They knew that it would be difficult to realize a Marxist revolution in a fundamentally agricultural, underdeveloped state. However, the Russian defeats suffered during World War I gave rise to this experiment and under the direction of Lenin the Russian proletarian dictatorship was born.

In the first years, naturally, they could only achieve the consolidation of their power - in a multi-year civil war this was achieved. Lenin refused to allow the West to intervene. Then Lenin relaxed his economic policy. It seemed that the resumed peasant agricultural production would repair the economic conditions. His early death and Stalin's rise to power, however, broke this development. The form of the constitution of the Soviet Union contained democratic elements, because the politburo represented the collective leadership. However, the Secretary-General controlled the security services and with the help of these forces he developed his personal domination. Additionally, Stalin had an

almost sickly suspicious nature and in the case of the slightest disagreement or suspicion he would suddenly and radically remove his real or imagined opponents..

In these years, the vision for communism was emerging for the future. One group believed that they should help initiate Marxist revolutions in industrialized Western states to create a world transformation to Marxism. Their initial successes were achieved in the countries that lost the war. Trotsky then failed, and Stalin believed that the road to be followed was the industrialization of Russia. He believed that the new Russian industrial power would be able to influence a European change.

New leaders, however, had to face the many nationalities of the former Czarist Empire. As a result of the lost war, Poland, the Baltic States and Finland became independent. As for the Tatars, Germans, Rumanians and Moslems, the solution was found in Marxist philosophy. According to this, the national disagreements are said to be derived from class contradictions only. In a state where there is no class difference, the national idea is extinct. Thus, Russia was transformed into an alliance of Soviet republics. With the emphasis of the council system, they wanted to ensure that the administration was tied to the people, that is, a democratic system. It is interesting to note that these council-republics were formed on a nationality basis. Leaders obviously did not see the danger that in the event of a crisis, these nationalities would have the administrative means to facilitate their autonomy. But the leadership of the Soviet Union hoped that its various national citizens would consider themselves Soviet people first. The problems before World War II would therefore not be intensified

Nevertheless, however, the Soviet Union had become the geopolitical successor of the essentially Slav majority of the Russian Empire and had pursued a pan-Slav policy. This policy served the world revolutions fostered by the Marxist forces.

Stalin continued to implement his industrialization plan. To this end, he implemented an action to abolish agricultural holdings held by small owners. Undoubtedly, the dream had already been realized in the thirties of our century and the unions in the heavy industries become a factor in the world.

The dream of the European Marxist Revolution, however, retreated because of the influence of German National Socialism and Italian fascism. Under the direction of Foreign Minister Litvinov, the Soviet Union tried to co-operate with capitalist powers as well.

However, as he found that the West refused to act collectively, changed direction and under

Molotov the foreign affairs minister started a policy as a European power from a geopolitical aspect.

Therefore, when the German Empire and the Western powers were threatened by the prospect in 1939 of war, the Soviet Union was no longer willing to participate in an anti-German alliance. This war would have claimed more bloodshed from the Soviet Union and did not promise recovery of areas lost in World War I. In other words, the Soviet Union was led by national imperialist goals when the non-aggression treaty was concluded with the German Empire in August 1939. This allowed the occupation of East-Polish territories. The outbreak of war between the Germans and the English and French made it possible for the USSR to attack Finland, and in the summer of 1940 when the Western forces were fully tied up they annexed the Baltic States. They also demanded that the Romanians agree to claims to the west coast of the Black Sea, which they needed to secure the Dardanelles. Germany completed their Western operations in these months and hoped that England would agree to a peace treaty. However, the Soviet Union's actions outlined above were regarded as hostile. Germany condemned the war against Finland. According to the literature of post-war winners, the incorporation of the Baltic States was made possible by the German-Russian agreement. However, according to the Germans the Russian-German agreement only acknowledged that these states belonged to the Soviet Union's sphere of influence and there was no justification to incorporate them into the Empire. The demands on Romania were considered to flag Russia's intention to move towards the Balkans. The clarification of the Soviet Union's intentions was therefore an urgent task of German diplomacy. This happened in the winter of 1940-41 when Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov met Adolf Hitler in Berlin. This meeting was decisive for Eastern Europe, because the Soviet Union did not accept the German line of definition of the German-Russian interest sphere, according to the Russian geopolitical criteria already outlined; it did not want to give up its Balkan influence.

This move was clear in the months before the outbreak of the German-Russian War when the Soviet Union backed the new revolutionary Yugoslav government against the violated German Empire and offered a friendship treaty to the Serbian military forces preparing for war against the Germans. During the war, they clearly stated that they considered the Balkans as their own war prey and in answer to the weak English attempt to open the second front against the Germans at the Tehran summit; they proposed that the Western Powers open a second front in France aligned with a Soviet offensive.

In these years, Stalin seemed to have abandoned the world revolution politics of the Soviet-era and when the German forces were already in Moscow, the war was proclaimed as the Great Patriotic War and he made serious concessions to the Orthodox Church. However, after the war, he changed direction again. He promoted the Greek Marxist Revolution, seriously supported the West Communist parties and in the Far East also tried to bring about the ascendancy of Marxist forces.

In its imperialist offensive policy he even allowed an anti-Semitic line, and consistently set the Soviet forces to be the forerunners for a national independence and economic stability in the eyes of the peoples of the Third World.

The Soviet Union's foreign policy did not change in the years following Stalin's death. Internal politics however changed when the Soviet leaders began to recognize that their satellite states cannot be guaranteed only by military force, it was necessary to cooperate with the peoples concerned. In Hungary Rákosi's government was replaced by the "reform communists".

Khrushchev in 1956 at the 20th party congress denounced Stalin's excesses but he followed his predecessor in his foreign policy: he demonstrated this by using Stalinist tools in the Suez question and in the overthrow of the Hungarian Revolution. In 1963, Khrushchev also pursued an offensive imperialist policy in the Cuban crisis and withdrew his missiles only on the grounds that the US was ready to give up its prosperous bases in Turkey.

It continued to pursue this policy against the USA efforts in the Vietnam conflict and after the USA's defeat succeeded in securing and winning recognition from Europe of the new imperialist frontiers gained in World War II. Their only allowance was that they were ready to respect human rights in its power zone.

Of course, these concessions were rather for domestic policy reasons. The Bolshevik Revolution then had a history of thirty years, and the victims and leaders of the revolutionary era were vanishing. The new generations were no longer enthusiastic communists or desperate proponents of resistance, it was necessary to create a certain unity in society. The forced arms race did not allow sufficient consumer goods to be placed on the market. The appearance of radio and television had opened a window to the Soviet citizen. Many people waited for a more humane life, especially after the great blood loss of World War II.



The resistance of the peoples of the occupied countries also increased. The Poles used the unions to gain recognition of their rights and in Hungary they were also forced to make concessions, at least in economic terms, to ensure minimum cooperation.

The economy of the Soviet Union was unable to keep up the pace of installing and developing nuclear rockets with the USA and the leadership had to acknowledge that it must make an agreement with its opponents or assume the risk of a new war.

Clausewitz the great military philosopher of war in his famous work states that wars will only break out if opponents believe they have a chance to win the war. The military and civilian leaders of the Soviet Union realized that the Soviet Union would have no chance of winning the Third World War, with the power of Europe, America and Japan.

This recognition could have been the basis for Brezhnev's (Soviet secretary general) policy when he wanted to create a compromise with his opponents, thus gaining time for the Soviet Union. There were several summits with the US president but the US insisted on concessions that the Soviet Union was not willing to meet.

The situation deteriorated politically with a new but milder atmosphere of resistance and opposing opinions emerged. Finally, Mikhail Gorbachev became Secretary General of the Communist Party. His task was to reform the Soviet Union in domestic politics and to find a new way with foreign powers to secure the future of the Soviet Union

Domestically he proclaimed perestroika and glasnost. He proposed the introduction of a limited market economy and gave Soviet citizens freedom of opinion. He hoped that the communist regime would be renewed, and the Soviet state leadership would be strengthened in Lenin's spirit. His Foreign policy didn't change a lot he insisted on the Soviet Union's offensive, military-minded ideas, and though he sought to reach agreement with the Western powers, he could only imagine it under his own conditions. It is characteristic that he used words in his speech before a summit that made it possible to conclude that some actions already in place could not be stopped in the event of the summit's failure.

He met Reagan the US President in October 1986. Reagan refused to call off the arms race or the nuclear-missile plan called "Star Wars Strategic Initiative".

The unsuccessful summit politics was indeed extraordinary. It is impossible today to find out how Soviet military and political leadership may have reacted to this, but what is certain that the Soviet radio service even emphasized in foreign broadcasts that it would be

an exaggeration to conclude from the failure of the summit that the world is on the threshold to burn again.

Then the diplomatic process began, which eventually resulted in an agreement between the interested parties to reduce the tensions. The first result of these series of talks was that the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan and in 1989 withdrew the so-called "Brezhnev doctrine" that the Soviet Union reserves the right to intervene militarily in the affairs of the member states of the Warsaw Covenant if it sees it necessary.

It is clear that this announcement prompted the Communist leaders of the Warsaw Pact states to launch liberalization of their system. The Soviet Union, however, insisted that these changes should take place in a manner so that it did not appear that they were defeated. There were other summits, including President Bush in Malta; according to the observer, they formulated a program for the Soviet forces withdrawal without any conditions or compensation to the occupied nations.

There were also arms-limiting agreements and steps were taken to prevent the extension of nuclear weapons to other countries. The West appreciated the Soviet Union's concessions and in 1990 Gorbachev won the Nobel Peace Prize.

The wind of freedom passed through the Soviet Union, and the nationalities realised that next to cultural freedom it was time to gain economic and political independence. However, some of the Soviet military and security organizations found that the planned withdrawal of the Soviet Union and the Western-bound treaties only hiding their country's defeat in the struggle against capitalism. The nationalities breakaway was not relished either. On August 19, 1991, they wanted to halt the wheel of time with a military coup. However, this experiment was unsuccessful and it only helped Yeltsin gain recognition from the West and consolidate his power.

The uprising of the various national forces therefore fatally condemned the Soviet Union. The communist party was dissolved; the Soviet Union ceased to exist. Some of the former Soviet states proclaimed their independence, while the Slavic States made an alliance (Commonwealth of Independent States) under the leadership of the Russian Federation. Only the stump of the Tsarist Russia remained in one piece.

The older generation of the previous Russian imperialism were naturally dissatisfied with this situation and their uncertainty was heightened by the almost complete dissolution of economic life. I'm going to outline this state of affairs more fully. But now, let's look at the US response to this transformation.

It seems that the US leadership took a wait and see approach. The Russian-American military alliance of World War II, the tensions of the Cold War and now the revitalized military agreements could lead to a renewal. The situation in the USA has not evolved especially towards Europe. The constitutional system of the united Europe and its economic organization is not yet complete. Would the United States accept the image of this Europe that would be German-French hegemony, especially with regard to the economic power of this unity?

It is interesting to note that the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO) is still alive, although there are no opponents at the present. Military alliances are made when states feel threatened by other powers. Perhaps the purpose of this alliance is the beginnings of a military unit that maintains peace and can be deployed anywhere in the world? It is also reported that the interested authorities have also recommended association with Russia, but the conditions of this were not debated. It is also common knowledge that France, in particular, seeks that this organisation would become for united Europe an independent military organization. But in the current situation, when the technical and atomic dominance of the United States is so dominant and the Russian military situation is unclear, it is too early to talk about it. When the Soviet Union had completed its military and political withdrawal from East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, agreements were reached for the various arms controls and nuclear controls. For many, it seemed that history itself had come to an end. The President of the United States also believed that at least a new world order was born, and some observers called it the era of Pax Americana (American Peace modelled after Pax Romana).

During history, many times the winning great power has proclaimed world peace. It was often able to maintain peace for a long time. This is still possible today, but I'll write about this later.

It is necessary to look first at the social and political situation in Russia and then on the economic order represented by the victorious United States of America in the world. When I try to present the current Russian socio-economic situation, since I have never been to Russia and I do not speak Russian, I am in a difficult situation, totally referring to my daily news service and my readings. "Russia: Which Way Paradise?" was a large book written by Monica Attard and released in 1997. She was a reporter for the Australian national television station (ABC) in Moscow for 5-6 years, learned Russian well, and built up family relationships so she could outline a realistic picture of the situation in Russia.

Because of her family education, she sympathized with the Soviets before her trip, so she looked forward to the Russian way of life with a positive expectation.

But in 1983, when she arrived in Moscow, she soon realized that she was not coming to a communist paradise, in fact, the system was not far from a total collapse. There was no goods in the shops, people were afraid of the security forces, black market flourished, people were joking about the system's shortcomings. Most of the party members still believed that the Soviet Union could be reformed, but they had no influence on the events because the state power was in the hands of security forces and party leaders.

In 1985 Gorbachev took power and announced his economic and political reforms. They stirred up the country's society. On the street corners young people were playing western music. Smaller private businesses were also allowed and different democratic movements developed.

Soon there was anarchy in the country. The corrupt system rooted in lies and immorality could not be reformed. The Soviet system proclaimed equality that people accepted, even if it meant that everyone was equally poor. However, when they realized that Soviet leaders lived a much higher level of life, with state benefits; agitation began to demand for everyone a better home, easier access to consumer goods. Instead, during the transition period they received gas and electricity bills medical and hospital care went down, rent costs were raised, "cheap" homes increased their repayment obligations. Part of the society therefore doubted the capitalist reforms, and even though they did not want the terrorist communist regime to return but would have liked to have the human-face of socialism to prevail in the future. That is why the communist party could operate in the democratic new political order. Even Gorbachev believed in restoring Leninist socialism, he did not admit that Lenin's communism was also built on terror.

Gorbachev's reforms only increased the level of dissatisfaction. Suddenly, the price regulations were abolished and as a result prices went so high that the semi-autonomous peasantry and small-scale merchant's wallets were emptied. In the first few days, there were still some hidden wealth saved under the bed but now people were now forced to waste everything. The privatization of state-owned companies and institutions was introduced but often carried out in immoral ways. Every citizen was given 10,000 roubles worth of bonds to buy shares in private companies. However, this amount had little value in the increasing inflation and the result was that the companies had migrated to the hands

of former leading party members and their friends. According to her book she cited that 80% of state-owned enterprises were privatized in this manner.

Many were expecting US assistance at this time, perhaps a 'Marshall plan' for rebuilding Russia. By contrast, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) endorsed the Russian reforms and the US only tried to ease the turmoil and burden of economic transformation by providing loans. Yeltsin's state leadership was also disorganized. Sometimes his government was in favor of a fully free market economy, and when difficulties broke out the controlled reformist economists and politicians won the day. Organized crime also escalated; public security was shaken. In some companies, especially in the heavy industry, employees had not received their wages for months. The army was clearly undermined and the young soldiers massively deserted.

In the outlined social and economic crisis, the political picture was also nonrepresentational. It is typical that the re-established communist party managed to secure at least one third of the voters' confidence. And in Parliament, those who have seen the consequences of the defeat of Russia in the crisis also had a voice. Alexander Rutskoy, the vice president of the Duma, sharply attacked Boris Yeltsin, saying that Yeltsin was more likely to put up with the hunger of the people but was inclined to dispose of the institutions and companies that were built by their fathers and grandparents and was not prepared to stand up against the International Monetary Fund.

Vladimir Zhirinovsky, a showman, was an ultranationalist politician and leader of the LDPR party in the Russian parliament. His prospect of election was hopeless, but his position allowed him to express the views of the Russian masses without taking into account foreign policy considerations. He promoted a Pan-Slavic Russian foreign policy and protested strongly against NATO's planned Eastern European expansion, which he saw as plans to encircle Russia.

Following my outline of the Russian situation, I will now return to illuminating the American economic and political situation.

President Bush, when he announced the new world order, his vision was on the one hand, the victory of capitalism against communism, and on the other hand, he believed the United States alone remained supreme militarily. The technical and economic surplus of America ensured peace and began to be seen as the world's police force.

However, the exhausting rivalry of the Cold War pushed the leading state of the free world to the brink of bankruptcy. Thirty percent of the US industry worked in the armaments

sector and year-on-year the trade deficit worsened. That is, imports were always considerably higher than exports, and as a consequence the value of the dollar fell. By contrast, the European currencies and the Japanese yen had strengthened, as European and later Asian countries had built their economies on exports.

When after World War II, America announced the Marshall Plan, it was contrary to the spirit of American capitalism, but it was necessary to counter the threat of Soviet politics. The capital made available to European nations started their economies. However, during the Soviet transformation, the already weakened and indebted US economy was unable to take up this sacrifice. They tried to keep the balance between the leading currencies for two decades, but they could only help the troubled Eastern European and Russian economic economies with loans. These loans were disbursed by the International Monetary Fund, but the interest rate of the loans prevented them from breaking down inflation and improving the lifestyle of the population.

Following the fall of the Soviet Union's offensive policy and the conclusion of the arms control agreement, the US industry increased its production of consumer goods. This process took several years, but it turned out that the Japanese and Asian markets become more and more difficult for American exports to penetrate. The pace of Japanese economic life had fallen, and the smaller Southeast Asian countries had also experienced difficulty, with declining US imports unable to cover their obligations to Japan.

The situation was complicated by technical progress. The computer industry used for military purposes became available for industry and the personal computer transformed the construction of large corporations. Deployment of personnel had begun in large companies. Not only in America but also in US-owned companies that used cheaper labour throughout the world. So unemployment grew steadily and globally. Reform of the labour market came to an end: social benefits introduced to compete with communism after the war was cut back. American capitalism had also begun its attack on the so-called "welfare state" because, according to their theory, capitalism had triumphed and the world had to take note of the rule of capital. They were prepared to strike to protect their economic interests even if it meant using arms. The first military action of the new world order was the Gulf War against Iraq in 1990.

At this time, America was able to link up a military co-operation in which, in addition to the major European states, some Arab States and Far East forces also participated. There were enough forces coming to Iraq that the outcome of the war was in no doubt. The Navy and

the Air Force weakened its opponent with serious blows. And when land forces started fighting, it seemed that Iraq had only to surrender unconditionally. The armoured divisions of General Schwarzkopf started a military operation and approached the Iraqi capital, Baghdad.

What happened in these hours is still difficult to understand today, but many were confused by the fact that the US president had stopped further troop movements and directed the diplomats to arrange an armistice. The press reported that the Soviet Foreign Minister had given a message to the US capital before those decisive hours. However, the content of this message was never disclosed to my knowledge. Later, President Bush stated that some of his allies protested against Iraq's destruction and that the US was only there to release Kuwait.

The events outlined above show that the Cold War victorious US may not have unlimited political and military power after all, and it must take into account not only its allies but also other powers of the world.

In 1998, the US again considered it necessary to clarify Iraq's military position and reappraise the Persian Gulf situation. At that time France, China and Russia threatened to use their veto rights in the United Nations Security Council and the US resolved to use diplomatic channels.

I have already pointed out that the new Russia is strongly opposed to the extension of NATO and it is clear that the Russian government is doing everything to preserve its Balkan sphere of influence. They agreed to the fact that the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary become NATO members, but sought to defend the interests of Serbia in solving the Bosnian war. In Kosovo's quest, it also sought to resolve the solution diplomatically.

All this shows that the leadership of the United States is aware that it cannot maintain its world rule. History has shown that the world's peace can only be enforced by the proclaiming power if it is ready to use its military power.

But American democracy is unsuitable for this task. The isolation policy is still in a minority but there are signs that in American political life there is an inward view following the two World Wars, and its interest is increasingly confined to the two American continents. It has created free trade cooperation on the North American continent (NAFTA) and there are signs that the South American States are also interested in joining. Democratic political forces are also reluctant to take part in any US military intervention since the Vietnam War.

Unlimited American capitalism, without taking into consideration political considerations, is doing everything to maximize the benefits of existing free trade and the technical benefits that it has. With its electronic systems it can easily, quickly and freely move its capital to every part of the world. Their unscrupulous attacks on world currencies can create crises and shake the existing social order and thus the potential for the collapse of capitalism.

What are the consequences of the attacks on the currencies, especially in Asian countries where the capitalist financial order is still emerging after long colonial repression? They saw the solution in the appearance of the IMF on the scene with easy and ready loans, but with hard conditions causing serious interest burdens. How can one emerge from the crisis in such circumstances? Recently the solution would have been to increase exports. Today, however, when the US market is getting harder to break into and the US is struggling with unemployment this solution has not succeeded.

The world economic literature is dealing with this issue. The view of the Keynesian theory is that the revival of the economy can be achieved through the issuance of low interest rate or interest-free internal capital and large-scale public works but this cannot be applied to the economic system of the new world. Many see that the release of such interest-free internal capital would only be successful for a state whose currency and magnitude could balance an anticipated attack of the world capital markets. According to literature, only the US, Germany and Japan would be able to do so. The US administration has repeatedly expressed its view, especially with regard to the Japanese-American trade balance, that Japan should boost internal consumption. Even an offer to rearm was made to the defeated power. American economist Lester Thurlow suggested that considering Japan's narrow, crowded flats, a housing program would produce dividends.

The above economist mentioned that sooner or later USA will be unable to extend its trade deficit and its debt which is now estimated at \$ 1 trillion. The United States will therefore have to retreat to its own sphere of influence. New regional clusters will emerge hereafter in the world. The united Europe would be one of the strongest of these economic units, and the underlying euro currency would probably take over the role of the US dollar as the reserve currency. In the Far East, the Japanese yen came to the fore.

The US-Russian relationship is still hazy. Is the Yalta Convention still in force? However, the likely American withdrawal will in any event abolish the anti-European alliance of this convention and will only address limited global cooperation.



After the emergence of the economic and political unity of Europe, it will be necessary to clarify the relations and interests of Europe and the new Russia. When German Chancellor Kohl and French President Chirac visited Moscow in spring 1998, Russian President Yeltsin spoke about the need to formulate a political axis of Paris-Berlin-Moscow. This proposal is basically just a re-phrasing of the Soviet policy suggesting joining of the European Union. The US press responded sharply to this proposal. "Made in France" - they cried in opposition. There is no doubt that French politics when proposing Europe's unification always spoke of: the territory from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains. They ignored the fact that the borders of Russia are not at the Ural or the Pacific coast. With current difficulties it is unlikely in the present situation to create such a power group. However, in the relationship between Europe and Russia it is imperative that they agree on the boundaries of their sphere of influence. The new Russian Balkan policy and the extension of NATO to Eastern Europe demonstrates that, as in the course of the Molotov-Hitler Summit in 1941, it is now necessary to account for Russia's Balkan needs. Then, German imperialism went to war. We hope that Russia will be more understanding in these years as it is now facing the united Europe, which has no colonizing dreams.

Russia has to give up its Pan-Slavic ideas and retire to the World War II imperialist boundaries. The Helsinki Convention was built on the principle that the World War II boundaries are unbreakable, but history shows that borders are constantly changing as a result of power shifts. Western literature, however, would like to believe that the elimination of frontiers would ensure the integrity and development of national minorities in foreign states. Undoubtedly, if, for example, Hungary and Romania are members of the united Europe, then Romania will also have to face the loss of its sovereignty over its national minorities. On the other hand, Western European borders do not seem to be a question of revision. However, this cannot be said for either Germany or Poland. Germany after its unconditional defeat in the Second World War had to accept the Oder border. The historical value of this is questioned by the observer, just as the basic treaties concluded by Hungarian governments will not stand the test of history!

If, therefore, Russia is willing to modify its offensive Pan-Slav policy and acknowledge the Eastern expansion of the united Europe's borders, peaceful coexistence between the two power groups can develop, and their economic cooperation will spread from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean.

Finally, I would like to take a look at the developments of Hungary in the last decade of the XX century.

When the Soviet Union started its strategic retreat, it wanted to do so under the Russian-American agreement. They instructed its satellite states to introduce a more liberal economic policy and prepare for the introduction of a democratic multi-party system and cooperation with the West. This task was implemented by the Hungarian governments. Leaders of some other states despite Moscow's instructions, wanted to depart separately. They, the East German party leader and the Romanian dictator, paid a heavy price for this. In Hungary, the first multiparty election was held in 1990, when nationalist parties became the overwhelming majority. The people waited for the change of the regime, but they were disappointed because the national government did not make any significant political or economic change to that of the previous communist rule. They legitimized the new constitution that was opposed to the historical constitution of Hungarian traditions. The Constitutional Court was created with the aim of preventing any radical change.

The economic situation did not meet the hopes that change would bring. After the relative prosperity of "goulash communism", the American big capital demanded the repayment of the loans that the country had paid in the hope of loosening the Communist regime. There are data that some of these loans had migrated to Moscow and served as the founding of the personal assets of the communist leaders.

The privatization of state-owned enterprises began and was accompanied with inflation. The emerging economic and social situation was very similar to the picture I have already described in the transformation of Russia. As a consequence, the mood of the population became gloomy and the crowds said, "It was better under Kádár leadership (communism)." Like in Russia, the communist party was able to be re-established in Hungary even if under a different name. In 1994 they were able to obtain a large proportion of the mandate. However, the socialist party program could not be implemented and their survival was only possible because they had agreed to the provisions of the International Monetary Fund. They saw this and in the press reports preceding the 1998 elections they mocked the opposition saying that even if they were elected they could not do anything against the rules of the international big capital. This was partially correct because a small country such as Hungary is unable, in today's situation, to release the economy again and decrease inflation by creating a strong currency and issuing a low interest domestic capital.

The political transformation did not bring any real success. There is no doubt that again we can talk about freedom of expression and speech. The multi-party system provides some opportunities to clarify political views, but in the spirit of the Russian US agreement, the tools of information have been the property of international forces serving the existing international system. As for the basic treaties with successor states, this means that we have to forego our legitimate national demands including the need for a peaceful revision of the Treaty of Trianon.

These basic agreements were based on a legally uncertain basis, because future commitments cannot be incorporated into a state treaty which is excluded by the principle of parliamentary sovereignty. In other words, a later Hungarian Parliament may declare that it will no longer hold itself responsible for these agreements. This of course depends on the given political situation.

The present 1998 elections were followed by a change of government. There has been a shift towards the national parties, which is obviously the consequence of the fact that the socialist forces did not know how to lift the country out of its economic crisis and, as far as public security and national interests are concerned, their leadership was unsuccessful. In foreign policy, the issue of European-Atlantic integration provoked fierce debates. Opponents of joining NATO believed that it would be harmful to oblige our little country to participate in defending "peace" in remote areas. Although the military alliance emphasizes that it is not directed against Russia, it cannot be ignored from the Hungarian point of view that Transcarpathia is now in possession of the Slavic imperialist forces and geopolitics likes to extend such an extension to the Carpathians as a growth peak. In any case, if the enemy forces were to attack Munkács (Mukachevo Ukraine), there would be little hope of Western aid; the country would inevitably become a battlefield.

Obviously, the Western forces also regard this as transient, and are trying to push the Europe and Russian sphere of influence to the east. The question is, however, how successful this will be when the East Great Power (Russia) is strongly opposed to any further NATO enlargement. At this time, even in the case of the now reduced Yugoslavia, they are undertaking diplomatic action only.

The country must also understand that Central and South-Eastern Europe will ultimately be divided by a boundary between the emerging Western-European unity and the Slavic orthodox forces. Both Hungarian political life and the Hungarian economy have to face such a situation. But if the Western aspirations win and the North Atlantic Alliance is

transformed as a united Europe defense organization, it will be in Hungarian interest to continue to be part of Europe's defense system and defend Western civilization in accordance with our European traditions. Taking all this into account, it was the right decision to join NATO. It would have been better to achieve our political and economic participation in the united Europe first, but we cannot guide world politics.

Our destiny is severely affected by political and economic forces outside our control. The struggle between Russian and European forces moves on a diplomatic plane, and given the turbulent situation in Russia, it is hoped that a new Russia will adopt a European definition of its sphere of influence. In this case, however, it will be necessary to review the Helsinki Convention and the Second World War accepted Eastern European imperialist borders and its possible revision. From our point of view, the end of the war meant the restoration of the Trianon order, so we need to raise the question of a revision. (*Since demonstrated by Russia in 2017-2018*)

Not in the spirit of the imperialist "Everything Back!" but in European cooperation. This is how the unity of European nations can develop. If the idea of a Christian rebirth could fill the countries, it would provide the right and opportunity for our country to be once again a leader in the Carpathian Basin.

## Epilogue

My generation was born at the beginning of the XX Century. In our childhood and youth, we were counted as the subjects of the King of the Habsburgs and Saxony and Hungarians lived in the illusion of great Hungarian dreams.

World War I then buried this illusion and we had to face the serious problems of the truncated Trianon nation. The country had to be rebuilt after a four-year-blood bath and what made the situation of the truncated home even more difficult was the arrival of hundreds of thousands of fleeing refugees fleeing these cut-off areas. These former Hungarian public administrators and other branches of state administration had no place in the socio-economic system of the replacement states and they left their place of birth looking for a new life in the truncated remainder.

They were often forced to live in caravans for many years or were squeezed into small flats. Their situation impeded their career aims and the chances of their young were also restricted.

In industry and commerce, there was almost no room for them. The Jews who dominated in this area in Hungary secured most of its positions for their own children, but the boys and girls of this middle class because of their education did not have the preparedness or familiarity to move in this career direction. So, they sought their prosperity in public administration. The large jobless unemployed graduates typified this situation.

Still, the state under the leadership of Miklós Horthy gradually closed the era of revolutions, and even though he could not solve the Hungarian social and economic problems, he started on a path that would have provided for the peaceful development of the country if only he had the right time at his disposal.

Unfortunately, the global economic crisis in 1929 hit the agricultural sector in Hungary. Wheat prices fell and our products became unsalable on the world markets, so it was that situation that the political agitators spoke of when they spoke of the 'three million beggars' in our country.

In such circumstances, it is understandable that society as a whole saw the key to a better future in a revision of our borders, and my generation from a young age as school children believed that one day we would march on the Carpathians and would have to fight for the rebirth of Greater Hungary.

World War I, which resulted in the loss of two-thirds of our territory, and three and a half million Hungarians under foreign rule, had a positive side: we regained our independence which we lost after Mohács. Since our liberation from Turkish occupation (1701) we went from one bucket to another bucket, the Habsburg kings wanted to rule over us with the sword, while preserving the forms of the crown and the constitution. Our lack of independence can be found in the names of Rákóczi and Kossuth. The Austro-Hungarian compromise (1867) drawn up by Ferenc Deák was indeed a viable, cross-sectional relationship with the Austrian Germans towards independence, and thus strengthened us against the Slavic danger.

However, the Trianon Hungarian society after such a long foreign rule was politically not mature to the science of possibilities, as noted by German Chancellor Bismarck. A policy of restoring the 1914 borders was the only thing that was imaginable for the nation that was stunned by the Trianon decisions and was crushed by the world economic crisis. The tens of thousands of people who came from the occupied territories wanted to leave their temporary tattered homes and return to their homes, and we did not want to give up their land. When during the Second World War we regained certain areas, the anti-German propaganda of the west rumbled that the anti-Hungarian German government repressed some of our frontier demands and that the English-speaking opposition agitated by suggesting that they backed our "Everything Back!" slogan.

The political naivety of Hungarian society is illustrated by how we welcomed the son of Lord Rothermere in Hungary who excited our emotions with the "Justice for Hungary" movement. But the English only wanted to give a signal to France that they do not look favorably on France attempting to make Eastern Europe as their own in Napoleon's spirit to build their hegemony over Europe, which was a possibility with the possible depletion of the German and Russian giants.

There was no single political party or group in Hungary that could have opposed the revisionist feelings of the Hungarian society.

My generation however saw the Hungarian social problems as well. The youth were naturally impatient with the policies of the ruling classes, strongly demanding the uplift of Hungarian workers and the implementation of radical land reform. It is typical that representatives of the radical National Socialist groups had found the way to the Marxist Social Democrats. It was well known that e.g., Ödön Málnási built up friendly relations with

working class leaders who, on the left side, worked towards the same goal i.e., the constitutional uplift of Hungarian industrial workers.

In 1941, the struggle that originally took place in the European War became a world war and the Coalition of World War I was re-united against Central Europe. At that time many fears were raised in my generation that we again were drifting to war on the German side and a new Trianon shadow began to haunt us.

This is exactly the situation that emerged. At this time, the spirit of the nation split into groups of pro German and pro English sides.

The best of the nation had already recognized in the 1942-43 years that the outlined conflicts could not be solved. Following his resignation as Prime Minister, László Bárdossy wrote a historical study in which he discussed the events of the times of György Fráter (1520's). It was aimed at those involved in the Second World War. He told us that choice between Germans and English was not our option. The political situation was compounded by the fact that the centre of gravity of the enemy coalition was in Moscow and Washington. The US did not have a European policy, and Moscow was planning to breakthrough Europe through our country's body.

The conservative Hungarian leadership was desperately looking for a way out. They did not deny limited cooperation with the Germans, but they sought to find ways towards England and the US to secure Hungary's future in the event of an outbreak of hostilities with Germany. However, every sign indicated that the country was included by them into the sphere of influence of the Russian USSR and all attempts to form a relationship with the British Government including their Secret Service were unsuccessful.

The March 19, 1944 German war activities in Hungary further disturbed my generation. The country's sovereignty was severely crippled. Those favoring Germany did not feel guilty, since in the case of full cooperation with the Germans, this would not have happened. It was typical that a colleague who had served on the eastern front for a year had been able to tell a lot about the sorrowful fate and suffering of the Russian people under the yoke of the Communist regime, so he could be described as one who opposed communism, recommended a partisan war on the German occupation. Even radical leader Ferenc Szálasi refused to take on a role for the Germans because they insisted on the right as occupying power, to decide the fate of the Jews. He refused to accept this condition. Miklós Horthy felt that cooperation with the Germans had to be restored.

A definitive break did not happen until no other viable route was seen other than asking a truce from the Russians. Miklós Horthy continued to do so only as an individual, but could not arrive at a common denominator because the Russians insisted that Hungary turn its weapons against their former ally.

When Ferenc Szálasi came to power on October 15, 1944, there was little hope left to avoid a defeat. It could only be hoped that after the German defeat and with the influence of England and the breakdown of the great alliance it would be possible for Hungary not to be included in the Russian sphere of influence.

For my generation this political situation gave us an opportunity to make an individual decision. Some of us took off the uniform and submerged ourselves into our families. However, the vast majority of the Hungarian Royal Army and professional and reserve officers did not surrender to the enemy in defending both the capital and Transdanubia defending the country and social order to the last square mile. In the most difficult circumstances, meanwhile the government carried out a large-scale economic and personal evacuation; this was only possible because the overwhelming majority of the people cooperated with the leaders.

The Bolshevik regime which came to power did its utmost to slander this generation, which had stood up in the toughest months of the war. These who were filled by the purest Hungarian spirit were called "Fascists and killers of their own people" for attempting to seek the country's independence.

The heroes of the Budapest defense were made up of new divisions that were submerged into those heroes of the Transdanubian battles were now persecuted if they survived. The new regime only raised monuments to the Soviet hordes, which abused the Hungarian women and girls. Much later in 1989 even the Reformist Communist Party on the request of the Hungarian Warriors 'Comrades' Community agreed to the establishment of a Hungarian heroic monument for these heroes.

After October 15, 1944, I also took the oath to continue the struggle with the Royal Hungarian Army.

The Russian occupation was completed on April 4, 1945. Typically, this day was proclaimed by the new regime as a Hungarian national holiday. However, this day can only be compared to the national disasters of Mohács (Turks, Ottoman Empire), Nagymajtény (Surrender to Austria), Világos (Armistice signed after failure of Revolution against Austria) and Trianon (loss of Territory and population as forced on Hungary by the Allies).



The Russian occupation of Hungary finally came to an end in 1991. The suffering of the country's remaining sons and daughters still lives in the memory of the people and many accounts have been written about their experiences.

I feel that after having spent these decades in exile, it is my mission to describe my own memories and allow the opportunity for reflection to the many tens of thousands of families who also had to leave our ancient land and who were thus lost to Hungary.

The decision to say goodbye to Europe and board a ship for overseas was a very serious and painful decision. Some tried to stay in Europe, but this possibility was very limited in the difficult economic circumstances. It would have been easier to get involved in life in Germany, because language and culture were not totally alien to us, unlike the overseas world. However, we would have been in danger of having our children finish their schools in Germany and even though it would have been close to the Hungarian border, they would have still been lost to our nation. This was especially because we did not feel like serving the Germans in the face of the objectionable, unjust, Bolshevist accusations. We fought for Hungarian freedom truly to the last man.

The optimists among us tried to look at our emigration as a new conquest but I still smile on this naiveté. Our immigration to Australia was more like wave of colonists that migrated into Hungary from German territories. Mór Jókai's beloved novel "The New Landlord" celebrated this process in the fusion of Hungarians, and we have become new landlords far away, on a strange land, our families being absorbed in the melting pot of the peoples living here.

Some of us had clearly seen our destiny. When Sándor Márai wrote "The Eulogy" (Halotti Beszéd) he spelled out the truth in poetic form.

I was also looking for a compromise; I thought that at the end of the struggle of the two powers in the Cold War, whether in the form of a war or a compromise, there would be an opportunity to rebuild a truly free, independent country at which time I could take my family home. I even thought I would not go home empty-handed. On economic and legal lines, I learned the Anglo-Saxon system so that I could contribute to the country's development with my acquired knowledge.

However, the struggle between the two super powers lasted for half a century and the limits of human life did not allow me to return home.

So today, at the turn of the century, the surviving exiles can only say goodbye to this homeless generation.

Sándor Márai wrote our "The Eulogy" at the beginning of the 1950s, but even this prophetic poet did not count on the fact that after 50 years, even though he was productive even far from home in his Hungarian language he would burn out and with his own hands end his life.

He was afraid our memories would fall apart. He was pessimistic in this area. They did not break apart, in fact, the image of the old Hungary, perhaps because we were so far away stayed alive. In the local community festivals, we talked about our most celebrated poets at the same time in Hungary around the Danube-Tisza the writers of the oppressive Russian system cited poems praising Stalin.

Our writers were quick to contribute heroic stories and necessary materials to help create newspapers, booklets and books.

Our country men in Hungary do not know the books written in exile. József Nyírő, Albert Wass, György Oláh or István Eszterhás does not mean much to them, but we quote them, proving that we have done everything for the preservation of our Hungarian heritage and we were preparing to return.

And when the angel of Death came in to our circle, most of us did not have a stranger priest administering to us but we could say good-bye with the help of consoling words from a Hungarian priest. The Hungarian pastors were the main coherent and cohesive force of these emerging communities. Now overseas, public administration was no longer supporting them, but they were able to sustain themselves only from the donations of the faithful and served Christ and our scattered Hungarians in an ecumenical spirit of the Vatican Congress.

Unfortunately, Márai was right when he wrote that our Hungarian culture did not mean anything to the foreign welcoming authorities.

Then they carried out an international decision. Hundreds of thousands of refugees had to leave Europe because, under Russian influence, their presence was unacceptable to the victorious nations.

Our hosts expected us to forget our mother tongue and assimilate into the life of the host country as soon as possible. Of course, nobody's case was criticized on an individual basis but only two occupations were included in our immigration documents: laborer and domestic. Indeed, this generation of migrants were overshadowed by the fact that they lost their citizenship, nationality, mother tongue, professional qualifications and virtually

without exception came to their "new home" without any property. The path to rise above this demanded heroic sacrifices from all of us and the ability to bear humiliating situations. When we immigrated to Australia, there were rumors that family members would be separated after arrival and our children will be educated in an institution to divide them from us. This did not happen, but life forced many Hungarians to ask for the help of the church by placing their children at least temporarily in an institution, while parents were struggling hard to overcome the housing problems. Of course, this foreshadowed the process whereby our children gradually took over the new language and customs of the host country, and as a result alienated somewhat from their parents

Márai writes in his poetic language: "... you read Toldi to your child to whom his response is OK!" This was indeed the case. I also read about one or two hours in the evening for my sons, books in the Hungarian language that I could lay my hands on. I read the Egri Csillagok (Egri Stars) five times, Gyula Verne (Jules Verne) novel Sándor Mátyás (Sandor Matthias) that became worn in our hands. However, our boys received their education in the English language school, and especially when they went to secondary school, the possibility of a Hungarian education was reduced greatly.

I loved the Hungarian poets and in my young age, under the direction of my father I became a good reciter of poems. I still remember how he taught me to express myself well. The words still ring in my ear:

*On dry branches with listening lips,  
how long will you sit there?  
you disheartened birds ...*

My pain is still there, as I could not pass these most beautiful forms and sayings of Hungarian culture to my sons.

We all had to face the fact that Australia had become the homeland of our sons and daughters. Their youth had been spent here and this society gave them the framework for their development. These are the memories of childhood and school years, and they look nostalgically to the Australian memories of their youth today. They are aware of their Hungarian ancestry, but they have already agreed that their families' destiny had brought them here and wanted to live their lives here.

This process was concluded when following the laws of life, they found partners. Irish, Scottish and French daughters became their wives and it was natural that our grandchildren's language would become English.

Of course, among the loving family grandchildren they learned some Hungarian words to thrill their grandparents, but this does not change the fact that this second generation belongs to Australia as their home country.

The same thing happens in families where young Hungarians married each other. Everyday life in the English language did not allow them to preserve the Hungarian language as a conversational language for the family. At the very best, the parents' tried to have more Hungarian memories in these communities.

Among the grandchildren studying in high schools there was still a great interest in their ancestors. They often delighted us, grandparents, that they choose a Hungarian theme when choosing a school assignment. In this case it was our job to produce the appropriate source work from our Hungarian language library.

We received a letter from far-flung Brazil, where Márta lives as a widow. We both know her from Szeged. She was a girl from Arad (now Rumania), later in Budapest she met and married a boy from Buda (Budapest). I think their son, Csaba, was born in Germany. Since then, Csaba now a middle-aged engineer married a Portuguese girl. Márta sent us a photograph of one of her grandchildren. From this picture, a blond, brown-faced Hungarian smiled at us – inherited from the dark-skinned Portuguese mother. On the back of the picture was recorded the boy's baptismal name: Raphael Vince de Oliveira Cavalcante. This is how this displaced generation says goodbye and will never return home. We are always mixing our English with the Hungarian in our speech and maybe now we don't belong here or there.

Over the past decades, the exiles have done their best to be the spokespersons for the independence of the country under occupation. There were books and publications that we sent to politicians. I am confident that, as a result, the Hungarian problem is now known to the world, and it will not have to deal with so many ignorant representatives as was the case during the Trianon peace negotiations following the First World War.

The passage of time has hindered this generation from participating in the rebuilding of the liberated country, as the Russian withdrawal obviously does not mean a complete change of regime.

The exiles will die here, and they cannot have the comfort of giving their progeny their sword to continue the struggle, as those living in the Danube-Tisza area. We will stay in the Second World War Missing Lists and our names are not even captured by a heroic memorial.

We often have doubts ourselves whether it would have been right to choose the prison or the tree (*gallows*).

If, however, we look back at the circumstances at that time, we can only say that everyone had to make their own decision, they had to decide on their situation. You cannot condemn those who did not see hope in continuing the struggle, as they trusted in the humanity of the winners, and similarly those who continued the fight to the end cannot be charged as guilty, nor can you find fault with those who did not give up but ended in exile. History has blown over us, nowadays the young soldiers of the past are old, and we know as soon the poet writes:” ***We crucified them on the gate of time***’.

In this mood, we visit the Hungarian cemetery in Rookwood, and there will say good-bye to those who lived together with us for such a long time waiting for the realization of Hungarian freedom.

This cemetery is the largest in Central Sydney. In addition to the Catholic and Protestant areas there is the Jewish section and as a result of the great European immigration following the Second World War, almost every nationality has its own parcel of land. The Hungarian cemetery was part of the Catholic parcel, but our pastors in the true Hungarian spirit ensured that our Protestant brothers and sisters could also rest here. In the second decade of immigration our peoples saw the need for this parcel, because they saw that the loss of the 1956 War of Independence meant that we, the refugees, were not likely to return home now. They found a nice plateau for our parcel, close to the main road; the area has many palm trees. On the western side, we face the Italian families’ crypts, while in the other directions they are mostly old Australian graves.

When the community took possession of this area, together we cleared it and we planted cypresses. These small seedlings are today huge trees, and they intricately encircle the cemetery cross, which is, of course, erected and marked as a ‘Cross of Heroes’, since every family had heroic dead. On November 2, the feast of St. László, the Sydney Hungarians gather together in the hope of not forgetting those who died on the war front for our great revisionist efforts or suffered martyrdom from the victorious and cruel enemy and their servants.

I cannot give a full account of this cemetery, as every tomb reminds you of the great migration of this people. They all made the greatest sacrifices; with their lives they demonstrated their love of their country and their faith which they could not deny. Before some graves I will recall them with a few words. I remember those people with whom I was in personal contact and so have direct knowledge of their lives.

Near the Heroes' Cross there are two gravestones of the Barcza family of Nagyálacsony. Two generations rest here. György Barcza was the last ambassador of old Hungary in St. James's Court in London; he was one of those who worked in a leadership role in the interests of the Hungarian emigration.

Close by is the grave of the Jani family. Here lies my comrade the elder Jani János, a former finance counsellor, who with his wife lived to a nice old age. They faithfully helped the household of their son and helped raise their grandchildren.

Vitéz (Hungarian order of merit) István (Stephen) Jani, my friend, will also have his resting place here, with his beloved wife, Györgyi, who left them unexpectedly at an early age. Györgyi was my Ica's good friend and when we go to the cemetery, we always recite the 'Our Father' over their graves.

Another friend of my wife Ica also has her grave here. Otmár Majsay, a former chief of staff, buried his loving wife, Eva here; she was well-known in the Hungarian colony and gained serious merit in the construction of the Hungarian Saint Elizabeth Old Age Home.

Here rests Major Vitéz Imre Kalándy and his wife our beloved Boriska, who left us so early. The grave of the Kalándy family also captures the memory of his father's memory.

Lieutenant General Kalándy had been retired when the enemy reached the capital (Budapest). He joined the defenders voluntarily. He died in captivity and his resting place was never found by his family. Imre's brother a Flight Lieutenant died a heroic death. His grave is at Rákoskeresztúron, but his memory is now also recorded on the Australian grave.

Sad three graves are the sleeping places of young people who had left their wretched parents in the flower of their lives so long ago. Péter Göllner, my son András's close friend, was a victim of a bicycle/car accident and has since been followed here by his parents.

Even Ottó Földiák died very young, and the death of Tibor Vincz, 15, was extremely tragic. He worked diligently to help clean his parents' abattoir when he was accidentally electrocuted. The main path to the Hungarian cemetery centre is almost completely populated and only one or two parcels are empty. Among them is our own grave site. We will move there with my Ica to be with the old friends.

Near the cross, in the second row is the grave of our priest István Galambos. He was 45 years old when he left us, damaged and despairing. His friends, who set up his head stone, chose well when they wrote on the marble a quotation from Cardinal Mindszenty:

**'I proclaim the sanctified traditions of our nation,  
without which some do,  
but the nation cannot live ...'.**

There are many soldiers in this cemetery. Here lies Kisléghi László Petőcz Lieutenant of the mounted gendarme (1920-1945), László Tömő Flight Lieutenant (1912-1975). Olajosi István Molnár Sergeant in gendarme said goodbye thus: ***For our country to death ... With God for the country!***

Győző Zoltán was the captain of the Hunyadi Armored Division, whose grave still represents his hard-core love of Hungary: ***Pro Patria et Libertate. (For Country and Liberty)***

We also remember Captain Pál Botond a battalion physician and poet in our exile. On his grave, his wife quotes from one of his poems: ***"My words are the voice of a distant home and in it I feel its sigh"***.

Here rests István Mátéffy gendarme commander who left us at the age of 68. He never complained and volunteered for all work needed, but he remained the respected leader of his men.

Supporters of the Hungarian language and literature still remember Gyula Szentirmay, our "bookshop" who, without any profit, served our language without profit. He died at the age of 86, but in his last days he was only interested in the fate of his library.

Similarly, in our small colony, Dezső Oláh, the former war correspondent, a Budapest photographer whose works will keep the lives of our Australian lives alive for a long time. Let's stop for a moment before the grave of Neszmély Béla Dolecskó a composer. He left us in 1970, but we all remember his lovely manner and individuality and his tireless work for the Hungarian community. Along with him is his wife, Maria Tauber, who with her singing performances inspired our Hungarian feelings.

We never miss praying over our beloved friend Bandi Mészáros. At age 56, he died of cancer. Former lawyer and officer he was forced to work as an industrial painter. He did his job without grumbling and remained a Hungarian gentleman.

Here is the grave of Sándor Magurányi and his wife, Ilona. Sándor served in the Hungarian diplomatic core, their memories went back to the times of the monarchy. They lived

modestly; they remained as noble representatives of the old world. Since then, their son has also followed them here.

'Uncle' Imre Kantek, a retired postal supervisor, could not forget the past. His inscription read:

**Extra hungariam non est vita Si est vita, non-est ita** *(There is no life outside of Hungary).*

I remember Dr György Csanády, who was a mayor in one of the villages of Pest County, and in this far-away country worked as an immigration officer. He was a reliable, good Hungarian man who always fulfilled his duty.

I also stop before Tibor Pálfalvy's grave. He was a lawyer, but since he came from the South of Hungary, he spoke other languages, so he earned his income as a translator. He was a lover of Hungarian literature and eventually left his great library to the Hungarian House. The grave of Feri Günther says only: **Our father who lived 70 years**. This Southern Hungarian, who never forgot his homeland, solved all his sorrows by listening to classical music.

Mihály Tóth's epitaph only states: **Here he lies in peace**. But tragically, he was a relatively young industrial victim. I very much appreciated him as a conscientious electrician.

In the lawn cemetery section of the Hungarian cemetery the visitor can read: **Here rests dr. Rev. Franz A. Debreceni**. Behind the German-like name, the grave covers a Hungarian from Transylvania Székely who migrated to Chile after the war. There he married a Spanish girl. When the Communists came to rule, they moved to Australia and reached a priestly rank within the framework of the Protestant Church. Otherwise, he was a shoemaker and earned his living by making orthopedic shoes.

Many epitaphs are bitter about the past. The family of István Takács from Décsi wrote:

**His tired body rests here forever,  
but his soul flew home to the sweet Hungarian soil.  
A sweet treasure was his beloved home. His birth place was everything.**

***The inscription for Sándor Papp (1902-1978): My dust is here; my soul is in the Carpathians awaiting the Hungarian resurrection.***

In Australia, so in Sydney too, the distances between cities are great, so for family reasons many Hungarian families did not choose to be buried at the Rookwood cemetery. That is why I cannot stand before the grave of my friend Elemér Szorkovszky, who moved to



Queensland after many years in Sydney. There his remains are in a rural cemetery and yet almost everyone in Sydney knew him as the tireless president of the Hungarian Association.

In one of the cemeteries in the northern part of Sydney is Uncle Ernő Altorjai, who came to retire here with his son, my friend Ervin. Székely Land (Now Rumania) was his homeland and, as a representative of the Independence Party, was a member of the Hungarian Parliament before the First World War. But in Hungary (since the communist takeover) he was lucky if he received a bite of dry bread. He had to leave his country. Since then, my friend Ervin is also resting with his father.

In the same cemetery, rests Dr Hunyor a forensic council chairperson, who withdrew and spent all his efforts to educate his sons. His efforts were effective as both sons are well known medical doctors in Sydney.

Dr Tibor Vértes a medical doctor has his grave here too. Tibor and I often met, he was a neurologist, and he often consulted me about legal affairs.

In one of the lawn cemeteries rests Klári Lehoczky a good friend of our family. Her family came from Hungarian-Croatian roots, and with her husband, my friend Laci, they raised their children with exemplary lives and with whom our sons were in good friendships.

I think that József Bogsányi was buried in Canberra, he was the head of the Hungarian Saint Elisabeth Home for the Aged for many years, and he also led the Hungarian royal gendarmerie community. He talked a lot about the early years of the gendarmerie since he was involved in this organization even before the First World War.

In Western Australia, my friend Péter Kemény was cremated, who, as a pastor of the Lutheran Hungarian communities, worked in a whole Australia-wide role. He could not deny Hungarian Christianity and could never communicate with the Russian appointed "peace pastors".

On July 25, 1990, my dear old friend and life friend Dr Ákos Oláh left us here.

Éva Malonyay, the 'Magyar Ítélet' (newspaper) Canberra colleague said good-bye in her chronicle:

"The Lord called to Himself Dr Ákos Oláh a respected member of the Canberra Hungarian community, the supporter and one time secretary of the Hungarian Canberra Women's Association, and personal friend of many of us. The one-time reserve lieutenant had been waiting for a long time for the heavenly call, who in his emigration served his nation as a scout leader with his respected character and great culture honored his homeland.

Both Hungarian and Australian friends and grandchildren took part in the celebration of his life, an English language singer and solemn mass, with Hungarian flag covering his coffin over which Dr Zoltán Hegyi said prayers and Dr Lajos Kazár said a touching farewell. Then the Hungarian Hymn resounded, that which dr. Ákos Oláh could never sing with us again. The heartbreaking words 'God bless the Hungarian' hurt doubly because it was especially meant for us in a foreign land.

We were deeply sympathetic and shared the mourning with the family."

Our first priest Father Ferenc Forró S J does not lie among his congregation here. In the seventies, he was relocated to a Bavarian monastery due to a serious heart condition and after a few years of service he took his final leave of this life.

Béla Barlay, Army Major General, lived in a wheelchair for ten years in various homes because of his severe stroke. He always wanted to go home, but as a member of the Counter-Intelligence the family considered this as unsafe. So, he flew to Burgenland to be close to his homeland. However, he lived for only a few months - died after another stroke. His family was then able to transport his body to Siklós (Hungary). Thus, he now finally rests in Hungarian soil and awaits the resurrection of both his country and his body.

My childhood friend borosnyói Miklós Tompa, gendarme captain was cremated somewhere in England. He was of Transylvanian origin and carried the fate of Transylvania close to his heart. As a commander of a battalion of the Saint László Division, he even fought the enemy beyond the Hungarian borders.

The Heroes Cross in our cemetery is also the tombstone for my nephew. I remember Kálmán Falcione armored division lieutenant in front of this cross, he died in Vérmező a heroic death in defense of Budapest.

My thoughts go to the shore of the Don River, where somewhere my friend Captain Paul Topay is dreaming his eternal dream in an unknown mass grave. We spent a lot of time walking around the army barracks before the war and I was very grateful for his glowing Hungarian patriotism. Truly he did what his homeland asked of him.

Another hero of the battles at the Don was Vitéz Lajos Tolnay a highly decorated hardened soldier who is also buried near us at the Penrith cemetery. He did not deny his military past here, and in fact, he rose to the rank of Major in the Australian Army.

My thoughts are wondering all over the world, as the old exiles of my generation can be found in almost every corner of the earth. In contrast to the small Hungarian village of Tekirdag in Turkey with its Hungarian streets is the XX Century world Tekirdag and its

hundreds of thousands. These hundreds of thousands are all lost to the Hungarian future. The list of losses is more severe than the defeats against the Muslims (Ottomans) or at the Don (Communists), and those who are responsible for their crimes will have to give account before the Lord that they had denied the Christian spirit and had not accepted the centre of Jesus' teaching as summed up in the Lord's Prayer:

***Forgive us our sins, as we forgive those who trespass against us.***

After this cemetery reflection and at other times I wondered what the epitaph of this generation should be.

***I've been thinking many times of a verse from Endre Ady's "A Magyar Messiások"- (Hungarian Messiahs).*** Indeed, this generation can say that they did not have reward for their efforts because they could do nothing, oh, nothing could be done.

Let us not judge ourselves, and trust in the Lord that our efforts make sense.

That is why I feel that on my grave and on the grave of the great lost Hungarian masses the words of the apostle ring as a message and an example for us and our decedents:

***I have fought the good fight and I have kept the faith***

2 Timothy 4:7, St. Paul

***Blessed be the name of the Lord.***