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The Carpathian Basin

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THE HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY was first published in the spring of 1934 by the Society of the Hungarian Quarterly. The editors were: Dr. Joseph Balogh, Budapest, Hungary, Owen Rutter, London, England and Francis Deak, New York, USA.

In 1944 the Society of the Hungarian Quarterly was dissolved, and in 1945-46 its members imprisoned or deported into Russia.

Years later the communist government in Budapest started the **NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY**, a propaganda publication, which in no way can be regarded as the legal successor of the original Hungarian Quarterly.

Forty years after the occupation of Hungary by the armies of the Soviet Union, which occupation is still demonstrated by the presence of Soviet troops on Hungarian soil, members of the Hungarian exile in the USA, Canada, Australia and Europe decided to pick up the fallen banner, of "peace, justice and a better future through knowledge and understanding," and republish the Hungarian Quarterly in the USA.

Our aim is the same: to acquaint the English speaking world with the past as well as the present situation of the Carpathian Basin and try to deal with the difficult problems of the future. To clear up the misconceptions and blow away the smoke-screen created by unscrupulous political adventurers in their determination to enforce their nationalistic goals at the detriment of a multi-national population which inhabit the Carpathian Basin for long centuries.

According to the newest statistics the population of the Carpathian Basin includes: 15 million Hungarians, 4.5 million Croatians, 4 million Rumanians, 3.8 million Slovaks, 0.6 million Germans, 0.5 million Serbians, 0.6 million Ruthenians, and 0.6 million others.

Our aim is to point out the festering problems which smolder under the surface ready to explode again and search for a wise and just solution of these problems, a solution which could save the future of 29.6 million people from more destruction, more killing and more suffering.

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Evaluation and Conclusion

by Albert Wass

With this eighth issue of the *Hungarian Quarterly* we have completed the second year of our publication. Our aim was to inform the English speaking world about the delicate structure of the multi-national Carpathian Basin. To point out the desperate situation into which the national minorities were forced to exist within the newly created national states after the dismemberment of the multi-national Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. To emphasize the economical, cultural and political necessity of reconstructing this long-standing and well proved unit in some modern and acceptable form, which could restore the economical balance of Central Europe and solve the sensitive problems of the minorities.

Our aims were honest and sincere. We have approached the existing problems with care, not to hurt the sensitivity of anyone, but still uncover the injustices of the past and the wrongs of the present. We tried to explore the possibilities of the future, seeking solutions which could assure every member-nation of the Carpathian or Central European family that these injustices and wrongs would not be perpetuated. We felt that the time was ripe for an objective evaluation of all problems tormenting this part of the world where the co-existing nationalities and cultures are so intermingled and overlapping, that the national-state system of the past century, favoring one group to the detriment of others, must be regarded as obsolete and outdated. We started this work under the assumption that after so many decades of terror and suffering the exiles of the co-existing nationalities: Hungarians, Slovaks, Croatians, Rumanians, Ruthenians, Serbians and Slovenians were ready to face the problems in a calm and constructive manner and work out a solution which would be acceptable to all and could be implemented whenever opportunity should

arise, in order to bless every member of the Carpathian or Central European family of nations.

We were wrong. Though the great majority of the people living today under a ruthless communist oppression in Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia are eager to unite again in a free Carpathian society in which everybody is equal before the law, not just on paper but in practice also — the exiles are still hostile toward each other and indulge themselves in bickering over the past instead of looking ahead into the future for constructive solutions.

Moreover, we were viciously attacked in the press by an irate Hungarian commentator residing in the United States, who accused us of collaborating with the communist government of Hungary. The accusation was absurd, but turned an international spotlight upon our efforts to build contacts with certain young intellectuals in Hungary as well as Transylvania and Slovakia. This one man's blockheaded stupidity resulted so far in two arrests and seven "travel restrictions" in Transylvania alone.

We named our publication "*The Hungarian Quarterly*" in order to emphasize our intentions of following in the footsteps of such venerable gentlemen as Count Stephen Bethlen, Count Paul Teleki, Tibor Eckhardt, Owen Rutter, Philip Marshall Brown, Nicholas Roosevelt, Ernest Minor Patterson and others who have tried more than half a century ago to make the world aware of the mistakes made under the influence of hate, prejudice, ignorance and greed. The world did not listen to what they had to say, and the mistakes were repeated on an even more magnified scale, causing destruction, suffering and death in Central and Eastern Europe.

We were shocked to realize that even from the Hungarian exile only a very few select peo-

ple seemed willing to support our aims. Except for a few friendly letters, the representatives of the Slovak, Croatian and Rumanian exiles stayed aloof. For two years we have tried to awaken from their lethargy our own compatriots as well as members of all the other nations involved, urging them to forget their narrowminded bickerings and unite in a constructive effort for the sake of the future. The only encouragement we have received during these two years came from United States Senators, Congressmen and certain State Department officials who recognized the value of our efforts to future world peace; especially in regard to a lasting solution concerning the overlapping and co-existing nationalities.

Considering our experiences of these two years, we must conclude that: 1. The so-called exiles who claim to represent the Central European nations under communist dictatorship are still entranced with the glamorous expectations of their own nations and are unable and unwilling to accept anything else for the future than the absolute one-nation rule of all the territories they have acquired and the complete annihilation and assimilation of all "foreign elements". In other words, they do not believe either in the possibility of a peaceful co-existence or in a "multi-cultural" landscape within their national borders.

In contrast to this negative attitude, the silent majority of the countries involved who have suffered untold hardship during these last four decades, are yearning for a just and fair solution to all their problems. They realize that living within a larger, multi-national unit under

an acceptable, democratic form of government would bring prosperity to all of them and at the same time would solve the festering problems of the national minorities. In spite of the fact that the governments of Rumania, Slovakia and Yugoslavia do their utmost to keep the hate alive in the hearts and minds of their constituents against the minorities, the good, simple people of those countries have seen so much horror that their hearts go out to those who are persecuted. These people are ready for peaceful co-existence.

These are the conclusions we were able to draw from the experiences of the two years. As we go on into our third year with our October issue, we will be attempting to formulate a plan which would enable us to move ahead, step-by-step toward the direction we chose to take.

We are certain that sooner or later the time will come, perhaps fifty years from now, when the possibility arises again for a re-organization of Central Europe. History moves by cycles and whosoever can manage to ride the top of the wave when the moment comes, can accomplish much. Since we are not working for any totalitarian power structure, but strictly for the good of all the people of the Carpathian Basin, it is of utmost importance that we do our homework ahead of time and be ready when the opportunity arises.

No matter what the clamor is trying to tell us to the contrary these days, we know that God is still there, and God is good and God is the God of justice and peace and brotherly love. In Him we trust.

Letter to President Ronald Reagan

Mr. President:

We are disappointed with you. Whenever we had the opportunity to inform you of the deplorable situation of the three-and-a-half million Hungarians of Transylvania who are exposed to the most inhumane treatment by the Rumanian Government that part of Europe has ever experienced, you told us that you sympathized with their plight and will try your best to convince the Rumanian Government that it was in their own interest to abide by the International Agreements concerning the treatments of the minorities.

Now when Congress finally voted to suspend Rumania's "Preferred Nation Status" until the government of that country fulfills its obligations toward the Hungarian minority, restores their rights to language and culture, restores the freedom of their churches and their right to self-administration — You, Mr. President, overturned the decision of the Congress and granted Dictator Ceausescu the 600 million dollar aid.

You made us believe that you were on the side of the tortured and oppressed and now we found out with dismay that you are aiding the oppressor, the bloodiest dictator of our age who openly advocates his intentions of "solving the minority problem" by eliminating and exterminating the Hungarians of Transylvania.

Mr. President, we were behind you for six years, because we believed in you. Indeed, we are disappointed.

In the name of 1.5 million Americans of Hungarian descent.

The Hungarian Quarterly

Hungarian Cultural Heritage Annihilated

Members of the Transylvanian World Federation are working on a research project which would list all the historical monuments, churches, schools, museums, libraries and archives which were destroyed on the order of the Rumanian government in Transylvania. Though so far only one-third of this ancient Hungarian homeland is done, the results are hair raising. Rumanian government agencies are indeed doing a thorough job of erasing every sign of the Hungarian past. In the 744 towns and villages surveyed so far, 512 historical monuments, 171 old churches, 411 Hungarian schools, 11 museums, 29 libraries and 18 archives were demolished and destroyed on government order.

Historical monuments destroyed include statues and monuments of the 12th and 13th centuries, while seven of the demolished churches date back into the 13th century. One archive of international value was also demolished in Torda, the very building where the Hungarian

Congress declared the "freedom of religion" law of the land in 1556. The torch of "freedom of religion" was carried by the Reverend Ferenc David, founder of the Unitarian Church, therefore the archive, established in this old historic building was named "the Ferenc David archive" and became the home for all documents dealing with the freedom of religion Hungarians of Transylvania were so proud of.

Dealing with this famous archive the Rumanian authorities followed the same method they used to annihilate Hungarian libraries. Everything was carried outside, thrown into a pile and burned. Then the building itself was demolished and replaced by office buildings in order to eradicate even the memory of a Hungarian past. It is being whispered in the city of Torda, that the old archivist, a retired High School teacher, attempted to steal during the night some of the half-burnt documents, but was caught and beaten to death by the police.

Documents

concerning the conditions of the Hungarian Minority in Czecho-Slovakia

We have clear evidence that the oppressive nationalism is on the rise today in Czecho-Slovakia among the Slovak population. Recently this anti-Hungarian attitude resulted in violent acts against Hungarian cultural institutions in Bratislava (Pozsony) which were reported in the West European Press and prompted the "Charta 77" organization in Czecho-Slovakia itself to address a firm protest to the Federal Government and the Joint Parliament, demanding thorough investigation.

Hereby we publish the article of the LE MONDE, in Paris, followed by the letter of "Charta 77."

Attacks on Hungarian Minority's Buildings in Slovakia Reported

Paris LE MONDE in French 24 Mar 87 p 6

The beginning of March, several attacks were directed in Bratislava against buildings of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of the Hungarian Minority in Czechoslovakia has confirmed.

According to a document distributed Sunday in Prague by the leader of the committee, Mr. Miklos Duray, a signer of the dissident Charter 77 manifesto, during the night of 8-9 March unknown persons set fire to the meeting room and rehearsal hall of the folk dance ensemble of the Hungarian minority, Ifju Szivek (Young Hearts), using bottles of gasoline.

Also in Bratislava, unknown persons destroyed the glassed-in hall of the Hungarian-language daily ÚJ SZÓ (New Word) and broke the window panes of the cultural center of the organization of Hungarian workers in Czechoslovakia, CEMADOK.

In the letter addressed to the attorney general of Slovakia, the committee also indicated that the statue of the national poet of Hungary, Sandor Petofi, was also systematically damaged in Bratislava, that employees of Hungarian institutions had received threatening telephone calls, and that the inscription

"Death to the Hungarians" had appeared on walls in the village of Rimavska Sobota (South-East).

According to the committee, these acts are the result of an official policy that aims at "oppressing the Hungarian minority in the economic and cultural area and at inciting anti-Hungarian hatred."

Hungarians represent the most important national minority in Czechoslovakia, with about 600,000 people, who are concentrated primarily in Slovakia.

Translation

Charter 77 document No. 23/87

Federal Government of the CSSR
Federal Assembly of the CSSR

Anti-Hungarian incidents in Bratislava

We became acquainted with papers of the Committee for the Defense of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia, which concern the violent acts that occurred during the night of March 8th, 1987 against the offices and buildings of Hungarian minority cultural institutions in Bratislava. The papers of the Committee speak about the possibility that the attacks could be either an expression of nationality hatred or an action of a terrorist group, directed to provoke trouble, fear and hatred among the citizens of Czechoslovakia.

We regard the said acts of violence as alarming also because of the fact that they are the culmination of various regrettable expression of nationalist intolerance, such as provocative slogans and the damaging of Hungarian property, insulting and belittling of citizens speaking Hungarian on the streets and even the dirtying of the statue of the world famous Hungarian poet Sandor Petofi.

We are convinced that relations among nationalities of one state can be influenced by its citizens and that the constitutional organs have a special responsibility to keep peace. We demand, therefore, that you devote to the investigation of these terrorist acts the maximum effort. We further request that you direct the Czechoslovak media — and especially the Slovak media — to make public detailed information about these violent acts, as well as information about the course of the investigation.

We also demand for the state organs to take a stand with regard to these events in accordance with the legal system. It is our conviction that public life, the mass media and education in schools should be permeated with the idea, that it is necessary as well as desirable for the citizens of all nationalities in Czechoslovakia to live together in tolerance and friendship.

Prague, March 27, 1987

Jan Litomisky
Charter 77 spokesman

Libuse Silhanova
Charter 77 spokeswoman

Josef Vohryzek
Charter 77 spokesman

What is a Hungarian in Slovakia Today?

by Tibor Kass

(The author of this article is a young Hungarian journalist who recently escaped from Czechoslovakia. This article was published first in the Catholic Review, in Rome in 1986.)

The time has come when we have to assess the situation of the Hungarians in Slovakia, forty years after it was decided by the rulers of our land that 700,000 native Hungarians must be absorbed: eliminated one way or another. What does it mean to be a Hungarian in Slovakia, in regard to our biological and spiritual power, in regard to our work, our creativity? What are we?

Well, we are certainly not citizens of equal status. We are not regarded as human beings. To go to work, knock on doors, enter a restaurant, try to live, try to exist day after day and be treated like an animal just because you are Hungarian, is the worst human suffering. It is like a punishment handed down by mistake. No, even worse because this collective punishment was not the result of misunderstanding. It was imposed upon us intentionally with cold,

calculated decision: these people have to perish and disappear from the face of the earth.

Forty years ago when the people of Central Europe thought they could finally relax for there would be no more screaming of sirens, explosion of bombs; for something new was coming, something more humane, more honest, more uplifting; when the hope of the oppressed minorities who were torn from their ancestral homeland and put under foreign rule; when dreams were of a new, free way of life in a new democracy: then suddenly, once again shouts of: "You dirty Hungarian dog, you are a criminal for not being Slovak! You have to suffer for your crime!" And an entire nationality group of 700,000 people were dragged collectively in front of a so-called "tribunal" where prejudiced judges, seeking to justify their intent to eliminate an entire nation, declared the collective guilt. The guilty had to suffer: all Hungarians had to leave their homes, their towns and villages where their forefathers were buried. With nothing but a bundle of clothing on

their shoulders, they were ordered to move out into the unknown. There was no pardon, no tolerance, no compassion. Not even an explanation about where and what for? "You are a dog!" the Hungarians were told, "You are a criminal. Be glad we give you a place somewhere in our land where you can find a shelter. Be grateful that we allow you to live."

People obediently left. Those few who managed somehow to stay behind on their ancient homeland were excluded from society. Their homes were confiscated, all of their possessions were taken and no living quarters provided. They became "non-persons", living from one day to the next. They were soon picked up as vagrants and sent to forced labor camps. There was no escape from the punishing fist of the new law; no consideration for age, health or prior achievements.

"Hungarians are not human beings," read the cruel slogan pasted about on walls, "and they are criminals."

They were free prey to be insulted, to be kicked around.

"A stray dog is treated with more respect in Czechoslovakia than a Hungarian," my father told me after he was hit in the face for speaking Hungarian on the street. He had to take it; a tall, strong, stately man had to take it because two Czech gendarmes were standing behind the one who hit him.

That's the result of what happened forty years ago when 700,000 Hungarians had to face their future; their so-called "liberation"; their new life that was meted out to them. As time went on they cleared away the ruins of the old and made their place in the new; but were never allowed to forget the gnawing pain of the collective suffering during their "years of homelessness". Since the gripping animosity of the ruling nation was never relaxed, never changed during the four decades; the awareness of the inhuman treatment, of the suffering they had to endure was transmitted from one generation to the next: consciously and subconsciously. The tragedy of the nation was perpetuated in the genes. We the young feel that we were also part of those who were humiliated, ravished, defiled, disgraced, robbed of their manhood. We were part of it, we were present in the endless rows of homeless people dragging themselves

like cattle under the whip of the conquerors, toward the unknown future. Yes, I still feel the pain caused by the fist that hit my father's face.

During these past forty years the methods might have changed somewhat, but the essence not. We are still regarded as inferior human beings; third rate citizens. The ruthless effort of making a national state out of Slovakia by absorbing or annihilating the Hungarians is still very much on the agenda of Slovak politics. The uncertainty under which my father had to live, not knowing where he would have to start a new life, did not last as long as this terror under which we had to learn a new existence. In those days it was only a question of being moved from one place to another, but today we are dreading every minute of every day because today there is peace around us in the world and relative prosperity; but we Hungarians of Slovakia are still not regarded as human beings.

So what is a Hungarian in Slovakia? He lives there; he exists, though the official statistics keep dropping the numbers year after year. However, we would like to live like other nationalities do in other parts of the world; tied together by our ancient cultural heritage. Like the Slovaks lived for centuries in the Hungarian Kingdom. But that's not possible, therefore we just exist the best we can.

In spite of all the abuses, of all the inhumanity we suffered, we still remained human. The words of Zoltan Fabry are still valid today: "...human amidst inhumanity."

It is my desire that the reader feel the crushing effect of the detrimental situation under which the Hungarians of the former "Upper Hungary", known also as the "Hungarian Highlands", must survive.

Few nationalities were ever put through such mental and moral tests for such a long period of time. Without any encouragement, support or aid reaching us from the outside; all our strength, faith, and self-reliance had to come from within. We are alone and we know it. This knowledge makes the struggling human more noble, gives him more endurance and more strength. Those who know they have a right to life regardless of what their oppressors say, and have no one to rely on except themselves: they are building their future from within. They prove their values to the world by their own bare

existence. Prove: this is that damned, magic word that was whispered into our ear since early childhood; shouted into our face day after day in a hostile surrounding. "If you are Hungarian, prove that you are human; at least equal with us!"

It begins in the kindergarten with the mother's whisper: show them that you can do anything they can do and better. Then in the school: prove that you can make straight A's; prove that you are more intelligent than those Slovaks. Prove that you can pass the college test. Prove that you can do better work than any one of them! Prove, prove, prove, because in this land you will get ahead only if you know more than a Slovak; accomplish more than a Slovak, and are a better person than a Slovak! What a madness!

I remember from my school years: a Slovak could be lazy, come to school with long hair and dirty clothing. No teacher ever told them they were lazy, dumb, unkempt; because they were Slovaks. But let an Hungarian be a poor student; let an Hungarian misbehave and he was told immediately that of course he is inferior because he is Hungarian. The bare fact that he was Hungarian made him a misfit from the very start; far below the Slovaks and it was up to him to prove differently.

We did not mind being called Hungarians. We objected having it alluded to in a derogatory manner; branding us with a permanent mark that said "inferior quality, needs inferior treatment!"

The treatment we were exposed to resulted in a very strong national consciousness rooted deep in our soul. We learned and accepted the challenge that we were not just "persons" with a non-Slovak name. We were representing 700,000 oppressed people, collectively, therefore as a reaction to the constant discrimination we knew we had to act, learn and work to prove we were "humans". We learned that everything we did, if there was a flaw to be found in our work, brought down a verdict and we had enough of those verdicts handed to us with fists and truncheons, midst cursing and shouting.

As a result of these circumstances two types of people developed within the Hungarian community in Slovakia. Some did not care about anything and chose a neutral path; neither

Hungarian nor Slovak life, trying to assimilate as much as they were permitted. Others grew more and more conscious of the unavoidable fact they represented a thorn in a hostile body and no matter what they did they would always be an object of scrutiny; a despised foreigner in their own homeland, not protected by laws and no rights whatsoever. This realization became deeply imbedded in their consciousness and through every step in their life they worked as hard as they could to prove the system wrong for placing the Hungarians into a sub-human category. Those are the ones who graduated with honors, who became the outstanding experts in their chosen field of the sciences. Even those who ended up as mechanics, factory workers and such because they were locked out of the "gentleman class" for being Hungarians, became better mechanics, better factory workers than their Slovak counterparts. The number of those young Hungarians who chose this difficult and wise method of survival is unbelievably great.

Returning to the question: "What is an Hungarian in Slovakia today?", the answer is simple. They are human beings. They proved it in hostile surroundings against all odds. Human beings who learned to stand on their own feet in those difficult times. Human beings who did not conform to the lowly, to the corrupt and the immoral. Human beings who refused to sell their souls. Human beings who made up their minds to prove something in that hostile environment: and they did.

While it is an advantage today in Slovakia to be an Hungarian laborer, mechanic, farm worker, waitress, or cleaning woman, because their inborn abilities and tendencies to do good and honest work opens many doors to them; nevertheless there are thousands of engineers, doctors, and research scientists who never received top positions, irregardless of their knowledge and expertise: because they were Hungarian. Being an Hungarian in Slovakia is still regarded as an unforgiveable sin. However, those in power are sly. They offer to place good men into high places — if they forget they were born Hungarian and declare themselves Slovaks. Of course there are always some who can not resist temptation.

My former teacher used to say: "Let the rot-

ten apple fall into the ditch. When it comes to apples, I agree, but in the case of Hungarian; that's different. What will happen, as time goes on, with the Hungarian nationality in the ancient land of "Upper Hungary" which is today Slovakia? Birthrate declines rapidly, due to the inhumane terror increased by assimilation, and we shall burn down like a candle. Once the flame goes out, there is no way of relighting it. Unless the world brotherhood of free people does not come to our aid soon, in another half-century there will not be many Hungarians left on the ancient soil.

Those who remain, perhaps small in number, will be strong and hardy and much more conscious of their heritage as Hungarians. The main objective of their lives will not change, but expand: to stay alive and prove they are an outstanding people. Midst their struggle for survival and recognition they will keep cherishing their culture, the only inheritance left to them from the past; and keep their humanities intact as the expression of their national consciousness.

They will continue working to the best of their abilities: writing, painting, carving, singing the songs and dancing the dances of their forefathers. Humming the old lullabies while the little ones are sleeping in the cribs so the sweet melodies of the Hungarian culture may take roots in their consciousness.

No matter how loud the oppressors may shout, trying to force them to acknowledge their inferiority, they keep singing and knowing that irregardless of what is said, they are human beings; created by God though forced by men to live as Hungarians in Slovakia.

(Translator's note: This writing by Tibor Kass could have been written by an Hungarian from Transylvania, from the Bacska (Yugoslavia), or from Burgenland. The fate of five million Hungarians cut off from the mother country and put into slavery is the same everywhere. We pray to God that the days of our afflictions may pass and we can live again in peace within a free brotherhood of nations.)

The Rocky Road to Unification in Central Europe

by Huba Wass de Czege

Visionaries are important change agents because they portray a solution worth striving for. But their work is not complete until not only the picture of what should be is made clear but also the road to its attainment. And that road must be trafficable.

There are many good and rational reasons for a United States of Central Europe as described by Patricia Mocsanyi de Foen in the October 1986 issue of this quarterly or for a Danubian Federation as envisaged by Louis Kossuth over 100 years ago. The question is, are the reasons compelling enough to cause the creation of such a new entity among the countries of this world?

For a United States of Central Europe or Danubian Federation to exist it *should* make internal sense to its citizens and provide economic, political, cultural and security benefits to its people. This is especially so for a republic. Many have written why a unification of the peoples of Central Europe would provide such internal benefits. Some have argued about various internal arrangements and just what the boundaries of such a unified country should be and why. All who have written in this vein agree, and so does the author, that the peoples of the region all would probably be better off in many ways. But while this may be so, it is not enough to cause change to occur, except in a vacuum.

In fact, many countries do exist which are not ideal structures. These may be the remnants of colonial empires, where boundaries were drawn by outside powers, or the hodge podge of nations accumulated by a conquering power. These states exist as they are, not because the internal arrangements are most suitable for the citizenry, but because there is sufficient exter-

nal or internal power to guarantee the status quo.

Central Europe does not exist in a vacuum. In fact, it is in a pivotal position between Western and Eastern power blocs both economically and militarily. The only way a power vacuum in Central Europe can occur is after an unthinkable strategic nuclear exchange between the superpowers or the highly improbable internal disintegration of the Soviet Union and the Atlantic Alliance simultaneously.

Since Central Europe is unlikely to find itself in a position where internal advantages alone could give rise to a unification movement, then advantages to key external players is the only reasonable way to expect fulfillment of such a vision. And while it is important to debate the ideal structure and composition of a new unified state, and the possible interests of the current states of Central Europe, it is more important to examine the issue from the perspective of the key powers external to the area.

The Soviet Union, of all powers, swings the largest hammer in the area. It depends on Central Europe to provide a military buffer. It's people are well indoctrinated to fear a recurrence of two disastrous invasions just during this century. While the WWII generation is alive, this will be an enormously important factor. The countries of the Warsaw Pact also help offset NATO military power. The Soviet Union also has strong economic interests in the area through COMECON. COMECON nations are customers to Russian raw materials and a source of manufactured goods at favorable terms. But both the military and economic situation is in a state of flux.

The price of military readiness is a burden

that the Soviets would now like to reduce in order to pursue advances in other sectors. They are moving cautiously toward ways to reduce the armaments burden without affecting internal security.

The economic benefits of COMECON are also not always clear. Commitments to provide supplies to Central European countries and agreements to buy their goods are not always in their self interest when better deals are available in the Third World or in the West.

Then there is the question of political control through the established governments and communist parties. As in Poland and Hungary, political control also bears the price tag of necessary support. The lesson now being learned by the current Soviet leadership in Afghanistan is that political control can sometimes exact an uncomfortably high price.

It is possible then, that the Soviet Union might support an independent buffer state under certain conditions. It certainly would have to behave much like Austria and Finland. These countries do not pose a threat and are a buffer at no cost. They do not require occupation forces, nor economic subsidies. They are precluded by treaty from supporting enemies of the Warsaw Pact. Their armies are limited to self defense only. The key question from the Soviet standpoint would be how large this unified buffer state can be without posing a potential problem — a state too large and powerful to be bullied. They may desire a number of states they can play off one against the other rather than one large bloc from the Baltic to the Black Sea. What middle ground would there be?

From the standpoint of the United States, a neutral buffer State from the Baltic to the Black Sea would have certain advantages. There has long been pressure in Congress to remove some US forces from Europe and to devote more attention to other regions. With the latest pending reductions in nuclear forces, however, the importance of forward deployed conventional forces has become more evident. If the Soviet conventional forces were to be withdrawn to the internal borders of the Soviet Union, then the withdrawal of US forces might also be possible, although the distance from the Soviet border to the English Channel is still less than that from bases in the continental United States to

Western Europe. But it is possible that the United States could benefit from a bloc of neutral states in Eastern Europe.

The withdrawal of US forces from Europe and the apparent lessening of commitment to Europe will most likely cause changes in the Atlantic Community. It is not clear what changes will emerge. If the changes are due to a Central European buffer state and consequent relaxation of military tensions, then Nato will be much weakened. Many West European countries have growing political parties like the Greens in West Germany, which advocate a more neutral position. This could lead to unforeseen political realignments which the United States may not find advantageous.

What would be the advantages and disadvantages of the powers of Western Europe? From a military standpoint, such a state would be an immediate advantage, lessening the threat of surprise attack. There could also be a reduction of military expenditures, less dependence on US military support, and, thus, more political independence. Economical advantages would include freer trade flows, opening markets for western manufactured goods and farm products in return. In balance it is not clear that economic advantages would be great for Western Europe partly since Central Europe has relative advantage in some areas of manufacturing and agriculture which are depressed or subsidized in Western Europe. While such a relative advantage is a plus in pure economic terms it only strains political divisions. Over the long term, freer trade flows will result in advantages as Western economic are restructured to accommodate the new situation.

On the other side of the world, and with a lesser voice, the Chinese would accrue no real advantages. In fact, they could perceive a more dangerous situation vis a vis the Soviet Union which can now focus more military power in their direction.

The Persian Gulf and the entire Southwest Asian area would be faced with a Soviet Union more capable of exerting power into that region. Having secured its western flank, Soviet adventurism might increase in this area. The impact of a threat to a large part of the world's oil reserves by way of an invasion or subversion of Iran and subsequent control of the Persian Gulf

will be felt in Western Europe, Japan and the United States.

As is readily apparent, there are enough advantages to all of the key players that a unified bloc of nations in Central Europe should be of interest. It is also readily apparent that such a new creation would have a significant impact on world affairs when combined with currently ongoing trends. Statesmen are by nature a fairly conservative lot. They prefer to deal with familiar problems rather than create new and unfamiliar ones. This tendency will be an im-

pediment to change.

If the goal is worthy, then a rocky road is worth traveling. Those who believe that there is promise of a better world for the people of Central Europe through unification must not only explore the internal possibilities but the external ones as well. More discussion is needed of why the USSR and US and other powers would and should support a solution which also leads to peace and justice among the nationalities of Central Europe. Only when the advantages become plain to them is such a solution possible.

Letter to the Editor

Mr. Editor:

As an American of Slovak descent I am following your line of thought concerning a Central European Federation with great interest. (My granddaughter-in-law, who happens to be of Hungarian descent, is a subscriber to the Hungarian Quarterly.) My father, who passed away two years ago at the age of 92 — he left his native country in 1913 — told us quite often as children that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy would have been an ideal country to live in if it hadn't been an old fashioned Monarchy but a federation of sovereign republics. He would have enjoyed reading these articles you publish.

There is only one thing that puzzles me. Every time you mention the nations which should be included in a Central European Federation, you include the Rumanians, also. In my opinion this would be a mistake. Yourself being a Hungarian, you certainly should know better. The Rumanians are not Central Europeans, they are Balkan people. Their entire mentality is different from us. Their extreme cruelty toward every human being who is not a Rumanian reflects the inborn prejudices, the merciless hate so typical of the people of the Balkan. As a Slovak, I certainly would resist having Rumania part of my Federation.

You are probably trying to save the 2.5 million Hungarians in Transylvania by reaching out a hand of friendship to the Rumanians. It will not work. They would just keep on killing the Hungarians under one pretext or another because that is the nature of the Balkan beast.

The only possible solution I can see to save the Hungarians of Transylvania would be a population exchange. The Western half of Transylvania to be reunited with Hungary, all the Rumanians moved out of there and all the Hungarians from the Eastern half moved in. Looking at the map, I would draw the line from East of Arad to East of Kolozsvár then straight up North at Zilah and Szatmárnémeti. Think about it. I still have relatives in Slovakia but the way they have to live under the Czechs I am sure they would not mind moving out of their homes and settling in an independent Slovakia, member state of the Central European Federation. Those poor Hungarians who are suffering now for four decades the abominable abuse of their Rumanian masters, would be happy to move out of their reach, I am sure.

Keep up the good work!

J. Svoboda

Federation in Central Europe

by Milan Hodza

Milan Hodza (1878-1944) was an eminent Slovak politician, head of the Agrarian Party, member of the Czechoslovak cabinet several times between the two world wars and finally Prime Minister between 1935 and September 22, 1938. He drew up the "Hodza plan" in 1935/36 to avoid the collapse of Czechoslovakia. His plan, however, which included Hungary, Austria and the Danubian countries that Austria was willing to accept to avoid Anschluss was sabotaged by his opponents.

Hodza early recognized that a system of small pseudo-national states was erroneous because, from time to time, they became pawns of foreign powers.

While in London, after the collapse of Czechoslovakia, Hodza elaborated his plan for a Federation of Central Europe in a book published in London and New York in 1942. Unfortunately, he died in 1944, and his opponent, President Benes, again pursued the wrong path away from federalism toward ultranationalism and great power politics. By this choice he brought about not only his own ruin but, in 1948, a new tragic turning point for all Central Europe toward Stalinism. The following are some highlights from Mr. Hodza's book.

Preface

War events in Central Europe obviously fully vindicate the idea of a solidly organized future cooperation of all those eight states which are placed in complete geographic coherence between Russia, Germany and Italy. According to pre-war statistics, that means a space of about 582,000 square miles, i.e., not very much at variance with the total of the territory of the United Kingdom plus France plus Germany plus Italy, which is about 620,000 square miles.

For the overwhelming majority of Central European nations, and at the end indeed for all of them, it is precisely their present condition which provides the evidence that only understanding and cooperation could ever strengthen their security, and that lack of this cooperation has proved to be a critical point with them.

Some of their neighbours may be less enthusiastic about their federation schemes. Still, one day they will have to realize that the small and middle-sized nations of Central Europe mean about one hundred million people in the aggregate. It certainly would be a futile undertaking to attempt to extinguish the national life of one hundred million people, or to drive them away from their homes.

As for Soviet Russia, one day she may be interested in an independent and strong bloc established between herself and Germany. For Western Europe and its permanent and indelible forces, Central Europe means for them the indispensable continental pivot of European security. It has to become in fact much more than the object of tactical interest in an extraordinary situation. It is rather in the light of a durable political interest that not merely the one or the other Central European country will contribute to the building of a new Europe, but that it is the united potential of all of them which is to be one of the indispensable supports of the peace to come.

Central Europe is going to develop in the course of history into not only a geographic, political, and economic unit. It also has its determined artistic and cultural climate. Warsaw, Poznan, Cracow, old Vienna, Prague, Budapest, and recently also Bucharest, Belgrade, Zagreb, Sofia — they all have the merit of shaping cultural values. By their traditional organic growth and youthful temperament, their

peoples have already been recognized as able partners in and co-workers for European civilization. The Central European cultural effort is a worthy completion of an All-European cultural mission. For decades past it has been giving Europe new and fresh impulses and subjects originating in the particularities of its soil and soul. Placed in a vast territory between Berlin and Moscow, the Central European nations will have to play a part in European intellectual and artistic production which can only lay a very great stress on their importance.

A Scheme of Constitution

The freedom and security of individuals are to be guaranteed by the State. The freedom and security of small nations can only be guaranteed by their federation.

Is it, however, not too great a loss for a nation to sacrifice its full sovereignty? Since the Greek scientist and Minister, Politis, had the courage to establish what the position of sovereignties is becoming in the progress of a recent political development, discussing sovereignty is no more a crime. So it may be said that a voluntary agreement of putting sovereignties together and of making them a comparatively strong unit means definitely more to a small nation than the permanent danger of losing its sovereignty with no compensation at all.

It is not important to add to the discussion what federation may imply according to the various theoretical definitions. There may be several forms of it, from an organic but very loose cooperation to a federal state. The important point is rather plain. As any federation means an organized cooperation in order to secure for its members the advantages of a great economic and political unit, it is obvious that authorities have to be set up and machinery devised to provide a common administration and legislation for the Commonwealth as far as concerns those matters which are recognized by the Federation as common.

The Constitution. What is to be the constitution of a Central European Commonwealth?

It is tempting, indeed, when adopting this ambitious title to think of imitating the British

model as well. It would be a mistake, however, to look at foreign models. And it would be another and a worse error to neglect the special circumstances in which the British Commonwealth emerged from world history, not to speak of the oceans which divide its constituent parts and necessarily compel them to use the fullest possible autonomy. Constitutions have to rise out of their own soil and out of their own historic, economic, and psychological conditions. Central Europe is undoubtedly a special case. What it may accept from the classic British models is rather the *animus rerum gerendarum*. A spontaneous self-decision and expediency are the primary requisites of legal constructions. Central European cooperation may be enrooted in common purposes. It will be reinforced by very many historic affinities. Its ability to conduct its affairs will be increased by some common features of social and political differentiation as mentioned in the fourth chapter of this book. Spontaneous self-decision offers the basis of a constitution which in a cast-iron framework will have to express the goodwill to cooperate for the sake of national and European security.

So the independent and reconstructed countries will have to set up a Federal Treaty establishing common affairs and the mutual obligations by virtue of which their own constitutions are modified by transmitting the administration of those common affairs to the Federal Government.

Political practice has to reckon with psychological obstacles, and in some cases should accept temporary stages of federation, provided that these stages are not employed as instruments of obstruction but are accepted as steps in an organic evolution.

The Federal President and the Federal Chancellor. The Federation is to be headed by a Federal President elected first by a conference of national Prime Ministers and subsequently by the Federal Congress for a period of one year. The President has to appoint the Federal Chancellor and the members of the Government as well as the chiefs of army administration. He himself is the supreme Chief of the Army. His privilege and duty are to decide upon the resolutions of the Federal Congress if disputed by the

Federal Government or by the majority of any national representation.

Customs union; common currency; finances; commercial policy; defense; foreign affairs; federal law; communications; cooperation of trade unions and professional associations. A Central European Federation has to be based upon a customs union admitting interior tariffs for standard articles for a period of not longer than five years. Agricultural produce, the critical item of Central Europe, is to be dealt with by marketing regulations. A common currency has to be established. Defence and international policy are common affairs. This implies that the following affairs should be conducted by a Federal Government:

1.) *Finances*, embracing all affairs connected with common currency as well as with budgeting Federal affairs. The revenue from certain definite taxes is to be reserved for the Federation by Federal Congress and by national legislative bodies. A Federal Bank has to be subordinated to the Federal Finance Minister. Fifty percent of the national Post Office Savings Banks have to be administered by the Federal Bank.

2.) *International Trade* may require planning in some branches of production, in order to avoid over-production and to facilitate marketing policy. Planning requires special agreements with national government while international trade has to be fully reserved for a Federal Minister of Economics.

3.) A Minister of Federal *Foreign Affairs* has to concentrate the whole of diplomacy and external policy.

4.) A Ministry of Federal *Defence* has to concentrate all branches of military administration.

5.) A Ministry of *Communications and Post* will have to provide for measures designed to align the respective policies of the federated countries. Necessarily, it will have to deal with special Federal means of communication.

6.) and 7.) Special Ministries for *Air and Shipping* have to be established.

8.) Considering the fact that the Federation is to be an economic unit, a wide field of *Law* will require a strict coordination of the national policies in question. The Ministry of Federal *Law* will also have to deal with Inter-National

State's affairs.

The Minority policy of the National States has to be solidly embedded upon the principle of reciprocity. Inter-State arrangements based upon this principle should be compulsory. The respective treaties and their execution have to be put under the protection of the Federal Government and especially under that of its Ministry of Law.

9.) A Federal Ministry of *Cooperation* should foster by every means open to governmental power an effective fellowship of all national professional association recognized by law. Effective provisions for raising standards of living and for dealing with labour conditions will have to be a prominent joint matter of the Federal Government and the professional organizations.

Federal Ministers with portfolio; National Ministers without portfolio. All federated nations have to be represented in the Federal Government by Ministers of their nationality without special portfolio.

The Federal Government is headed and led by the Federal Chancellor, who is responsible to the Federal President.

The Federal Ministers are appointed by the Federal President on the proposals of the Federal Chancellor to whom they owe responsibility. The Federal Ministers without portfolio are to be proposed and appointed by the respective national governments and they owe responsibility to those governments as well as to the Federal Chancellor.

The Federal Ministers with portfolio have to be assisted by Under-Secretaries of State belonging to all federated nations.

In staffs, nationals of all federated countries have to be appointed in the ratio of population proportion.

Federal Congress. Control over the Federal Government's budgeting and legislation concerning Federal affairs is exercised by the Federal Congress of which the members are appointed by a two-thirds majority in the national parliaments, in the proportion of one member to one million inhabitants.

The function of Federal Ministers is incompatible with Congress membership.

The duration of membership of Congress is identical with that of the respective national

parliaments, which, however, are entitled to replace Congressmen at their convenience.

The official language of the Congress is to be decided by a two-thirds majority of its members. For individual speeches, limited to fifteen minutes, each member is entitled to use his own national language. These speeches are to be interpreted simultaneously into the official language by official interpreters appointed by the Congress Presidency.

The Presidency of Congress consists of the President and as many Vice-Presidents as are necessary for the representation of the nationals of all federated countries.

The presence of all members at all sittings is compulsory.

Committees are to be set up for all Federal affairs to prepare legislation and the decisions of Congress.

Members' salaries have to be determined by Congress.

Statute and procedure for the Congress have to be settled with a view to directing its discussions in an objective and dignified way.

The permanent seat of the Federation and its Congress and Government is to be settled by the Congress.

The decisions and legislation of the Congress are definitive. They have to be put into operation by the Federal Government unless the Federal Chancellor re-submits them within a fortnight to the Congress for reconsideration. In the event of Congress's refusing to reconsider its decision within a month, the Federal Chancellor may submit the matter to the Federal President whose finding will be final and definite. The same procedure applies to a decision of Congress when the protest of the two-thirds majority of any national group has been lodged against it.

The Federal constitution set up by Congress has to be endowed and promulgated by the federated parliaments.

Secession; Supreme Court; Citizenship. Secession from the Federation is not admissible unless the constitution be modified accordingly.

A Supreme Court has to decide upon constitutional questions raised by the Federal or any national Government or Ministry.

Citizenship of any national state implies Federal citizenship, valid in all states of the

Federation.

The official language of the Federal administration, as far as the internal service of Federal affairs is concerned, is identical with that of Congress. Federal administration in federated countries, however, has to be performed only in the respective national language and only by the respective nationals in Federal services. For Federal staffs and definite categories of employees, knowledge of the official language of the Federation is obligatory from the third year of the Federation onwards.

Fundamental principles aiming at strong unity in common affairs. It must be emphasized that the items put forward in this sketch of the constitution can only point out the leading principles upon which a system of federation law has to be constructed. Setting up these principles, however, may offer full evidence that the suggestion advocated here does not demand a loose cooperation, but a strong union of those national energies in which the freedom and prosperity of Central Europe have to be embedded.

These principles are not in full accordance with precedents such as the British Commonwealth of Nations, or the U.S.A., or Switzerland, nor do they follow the lines laid down by many outstanding Western European authors. All these writers, including a number of experts, have the great merit of tackling the problem with the methods of conscientious scientists. They are constructing a wide, strong and useful basis for discussion. My suggestions, supported by some practical experience, may just be a contribution to the abundant material presented by them.

As to practical precedents, they can have the value of instructive examples only. The mechanical transplanting of constitutions into different circumstances would lead to failure. As I have said, constitutions have to emerge out of the particular historic, political and psychological conditions of those whom they are to serve.

This consideration may explain why a sort of Central European "Real Union" should be preferred to a loose connection similar to the British Commonwealth. Central Europe is a coherent territory on the Continent while the British Commonwealth presents itself as an ocean empire of world dimensions.

Why a Congress of national delegates, not immediately direct elections? None the less, one could hardly suggest even for the geographic unit of Central Europe a parliamentary representation directly elected by the people of the federated countries. Without at present mentioning some politico-psychological handicaps which may disappear after a certain period of closer collaboration, there is good reason for building up the Federal parliament upon national delegations. There is hardly to be found on a comparably small territory a more mixed variety of suffrages and ballots than those of eight prewar countries of Central Europe. And what suffrages some of them were and are! And what ballots! One might describe some of them rather as ways and means of concealing the people's political opinions and desires than of expressing them. An official arrangement will have strictly to respect national self-government and also in electioneering machinery. But a direct election of Federal M.P.s certainly could not be complicated by a sort of eightfold ballot. We have just to accept these facts and hope that Central Europe will, as soon as possible, get rid of what may involve a diminution of those national democratic forces from which the Federation will have to derive its vitality. In point of fact, Federal Congress will have to consist of national delegates appointed, in due proportion, by the national parliaments and each national state will have to be represented in the Federal Congress by not less than ten and not more than fifteen members.

Parliamentary "wire-pulling" to be avoided. The constitutional position of the Federal executive requires the most careful consideration. If it is made dependent upon the Federal Congress it may be doomed to lose time in that *jeu parlementaire* which can be prevented only by a strong parliamentary democracy gaining its forces from either its tradition or its cast-iron ordered discipline. Both of them require time to come to full strength. An organic evolution of Central Europe will certainly be apt to lead to this ambitious democratic goal. At present, however, federation itself is more important than the range of power of a new parliament. In the difficult first years of its functioning, it could hardly fail to embarrass the indispensable dynamism of the Federal Government. Central

Europe may appreciate the fact that the Government of the U.S.A. also enjoys a great measure of independence of Congress and Representatives.

Incompatibility of Congress membership with posts in Federal administration may offer another guarantee of the disinterested objectivity of Congressmen as far as their attitude towards the Front Bench is concerned.

French official language. There is one suggestion to be considered very carefully indeed. This is the urging of a Federal official language and its obligatory knowledge by those employed in Federal administration. This certainly means the obligatory learning of a foreign language. Astonishing as it may seem to anyone belonging to a great nation, it nevertheless seems unavoidable. The army, communications, national trade and also very many ramifications of intellectual work and leadership should never be handicapped by an inconvenience as petty as the necessity to make oneself understood. Oppressed peoples hate learning the language of the oppressor. Free nations, however, seeking national advantages in cooperation, and abandoning for this purpose a measure of their former sovereignty, will assuredly regard a special Federal language not as a nuisance, but as an advantage.

As far as learning languages is concerned most Central Europeans know at least one world language. Why should they not continue this tradition by getting familiar with that world language, very probably the usual diplomatic language, which their Federation may one day endorse? Languages have to help men in communicating with, not dividing, each other.

Embedding the Federation in deep and wide layers of the national masses. An explanation may be useful to clarify the function of a Ministry of Cooperation. Political systems and federations would prove futile efforts if they were doomed to live on the surface of an administrative and legislative mechanism only. The Central European Federation has to be the bulwark of the racial and social security of its peoples. So the stability of its political organization requires that it should be founded in the deepest strata of the nations which it has to unite for a common work and a common fate. A real federation has to embark upon a precisely

organized intrinsic cooperation of the peoples concerned. That means that all national organizations recognized by public law have to set up Federal centres. There they have to meet each other, seeing eye to eye and joining their valuable energies for what is a common purpose. All Chambers of Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture, workers' Trade Unions and all sorts of cooperatives, the professional associations of all vocations, such as the men and women of law, technical and medical services, science, journalism and education — they all have good reason to unite in cooperation. There is hardly a single field of human activity so indifferent as to be ignored by a federation which seeks the support of all the creative forces of those nations which expect it to provide for their moral and economic progress. All these associations are and remain as a matter of course; but to increase their efficiency, to assure for themselves the advantages of great entities, they also will find it useful to launch federations of their own national organizations. Like any human institution, a commonwealth of nations also requires Men apart from Measures. It must not throw the task of and the responsibility for its efficiency upon the shoulders of its Ministers and high officials. It has to be the organized cooperation of the lasting forces of its nations. This is the reason why a responsible federal government has to deal with it. No doubt national forces will frequently endeavor to reach federal cooperation through individual initiative as they have always done. But why not foster a combination of individual effort by governmental power? We will allow no part of public life to fail when an accumulation of the whole national potential has to make the Federation a living

organism of creative initiative, of creative force and of creative effect.

Epilogue

Referring to the Turkish victory over Hungary in 1526 and its sequels, a great British historian says: "It has been one of the standing misfortunes of Europe that the Poles, the Czechs and the Magyars have never been able to devise any durable form of political cooperation. From Bohemia, the richest and most civilized of these three monarchies, Poland was estranged by religion, Hungary by religion, race and language alike... The conjunction of Hungary and Bohemia... might have imposed a final limit upon the incursions of the Turk..."

The British historian refers to the religious conflicts and power policy which separated the two realms and their leaders. The Polish Jagellons were to undertake the task of uniting the forces of half Central Europe, but failed; and it was Habsburg who was going to build up his sway over the nations which were not able to unite their forces to erect upon this union their national freedom.

Yet, in the first period of Habsburg domination up to the end of the seventeenth century, European Christian civilization was safeguarded against Turkish aggression by Danubian Austria, supported at the critical moment by Poland. Now there is not Turkish aggression to be resisted. Now Liberty is to be defended on a larger scale than ever before.

Is it too daring a speculation to suggest that a Central Europe has to be constituted as a vanguard contributing a worthy share to the defense of Liberties by completing the architecture of European security?

Ideas of an Austrian on the Coexistence of Nations in the Danubian and Carpathian Basins

*Joseph Matl, Ph.D. University professor,
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I would like to start with my own experiences in my homeland on the German-Slovenian-Hungarian boundary line in Styria, then still a part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Here the river Mur abandons the German-inhabited foreland of the Eastern Alps and enters upon the Hungarian Pannonian Plains near Radkersburg. Here Styrian Germans, Slovenes, and Hungarians have lived peacefully with each other through many centuries, intermarried, and entered into many associations in connection with their daily work. As members of the same community, they lived through the same political and social events; for instance, through the Napoleonic wars, the emancipation of the present population, etc.

Furthermore, I am able to draw on later experiences when during many journeys I had the opportunity to acquaint myself with the countries of the Danubian and of the Carpathian Basins and with the Balkan Peninsula as well. Again, as an officer in the army in two world wars I came into close contact with the representatives of many nationalities. And last but not least, I have at hand the substance of decades of scholarly work to draw upon which have put me in touch with the cultural problems of these nations, especially the Slavs.

My experience in my homeland, on the German-Slovenian-Hungarian ethnic boundary, seems to underscore some typical features characteristic of the coexistence of nations in this region.

These stand out at once when contrasted with similar traits in the body of my subsequent knowledge of human and spiritual processes in

the Danubian Basin. These features are: the factor of *peaceful symbiosis* and the factor of *peaceful ethnical shifts* along a flowing, plastic ethnical boundary, a gradual transition and flow or assimilation of Germans, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Slovaks into the Magyar ethnic group; and of Slovenes, Croats, Czechs, and Magyars into a German ethnic majority. Assimilation on this level is a socio-psychical and biologic process of integration connected with intermarriage and social or cultural ascent. These are phenomena of a natural process of assimilation — the German, Slavonian, or Magyar ethnic majority absorbing minority elements ("Germanization," "Slavonization," "Magyarization") — which is completely void of any trace of propaganda. One has only to analyze the family names of Graz, Vienna, Klagenfurt, Budapest, Zagreb, Prague, assessing origins and present national loyalty feelings. We are under the influence of life-processes of biologic origin, which only became controversial during the nationalistic era of the second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th. The new development of nationalism poisoned the natural relations of the different ethnic groups. The outcome of this was that to belong to a certain individual group, — to have ethnical stability or plasticity, — provided new values with pejorative or meliorative meaning. I myself have witnessed in my homeland — and the same applies to the Czechs, Hungarians, Carniolians — that peaceful symbiosis became at once shattered as soon as a mutual campaign of national hate began to spread in the form of nationalistic power-propaganda.

The main instrument for this propaganda was the so-called "Nazional Freiheitliche Intelligenz" (Intelligentsia Fighting For National Independence), whose faith in nationality was only a substitute for lost religious beliefs.

Symbiosis became disrupted to such an extent that when, for example, the house of a German settler in the "Windischen Bücheln" (a Slavonic region) caught fire, his Slavonian neighbours, under the influence of nationalistic instigations, would no longer come to his aid. Or to quote another instance: during the Second World War, completely alien national-socialistic functionaries evicted Slovenian settlers, those who had been friendly with the Germans in the past, who possessed war medals from the Austrians and whose sons were fighting in the German *Wehrmacht*. These settlers were forced to leave their properties in 24 hours. These are only isolated examples of individual tragedies suffered by members of national groups; but these instances are multiplied into thousands and hundreds of thousands since 1918, and during and after the Second World War. There is ample documentary evidence for all this. Only the actors changed. The acts themselves followed the same pattern everywhere: whether Germans, Magyars, or Slavonians acted against each other; or whether national leaders of various creeds, or Communist leaders filled with class hatred made the decisions. Only the methods of destruction changed from country to country.

The "national question," with tensions between ethnic groups was entirely unknown until the first decades of the 19th century; that is, until the beginning of the era characterized by the idea of the "national state."

If we look closely at this symbiotic coexistence which lasted for several centuries, we find a host of subsidiary phenomena — the integration of different ethnic entities; the enclaves; and the formation of social strata, which, however, developed as national strata. We find, for instance, in Carniola and in the Slovenian Lower Styria that the merchant class in the cities was predominantly German; as was the greater part of the higher and middle civil servant positions until the second half of the 19th century.

In Hungary, townsfolk and artisan classes

were non-Magyar in their origins; however, the civil servants and the gentry were predominantly Magyar. These latter were the protagonists of the Magyar "national state" in a country which before 1918 was confronted with a near majority of non-Magyar ethnic groups: Slovaks, Germans, Serbs, Ruthenians, and Rumanians. In Bohemia, the industrially and culturally advanced city population was in the 19th century still strongly German, but there already existed a nationalistically-minded Czech city population and intelligentsia.

Given all this, we can understand the roots of the *characteristic dualistic consciousness* or awareness of belonging both to a state and simultaneously to a different ethnic group or "nation." This dualism developed with the growth of national sentiment in the 19th century and the broadening and progress of education became a characteristic phenomenon in the Danubian and Carpathian Basin under the Habsburgs. It was a diversely stratified, dual consciousness of integration. There have been thousands of cases in which a person was completely at ease professing himself to be a good Croat or Slovene or Czech and a good Austrian patriot. This was especially the case with civil servants and the officers of the army. Such individual duality of loyalties was, however, not restricted to the Habsburg Monarchy. It still persisted, though to a lesser degree, during the era of national states created after 1918. Consciousness of nationality remained solely on the level of the life-functions of a given ethnic group — i.e., language, custom, tradition, a primary sentiment and cultural consciousness — as long as this consciousness did not become contaminated by chauvinistic and imperialistic catchwords. That these circumstances were completely beyond comprehension of a Frenchman, an Englishman, or an American, was clearly shown when prisoners of war were questioned after 1945. English, American, or French investigating officers took the answer of the defendant, that he was a German from Hungary, or from Yugoslavia or from Rumania, as a Nazi provocation. They were capable of thinking only in terms of a national state, where the respective loyalties of "state" and "nation" were felt to be identical.

It is clear that the idea of the national state

as a focus of power and the simultaneous endeavours to invest right and power in Hungary only in the Magyar population; in Czechoslovakia only in the Czechs; in Carinthia only in the Germans; and in Yugoslavia only in the Slovenes, Croats, Serbs and Macedonians; in other words this nationalistic idea of the power state — as widely held and practiced in the policies of Hungary before 1918 and in all the new states after 1918, — must be regarded today as a residuum of chauvinistic intoxication. *In the present stage of the world situation, all this appears nonsensical and anachronistic.* It is anachronistic in the same manner as a restoration of the German "Drang nach Osten" appears today to be anachronistic; or a Magyar claim would be to hold sole control in the Carpathian and the Danubian Basins; or the Pan-Slavonic "Drang nach Westen"; or a restoration of the Habsburg Monarchy. All these belong to the past. Such illusory claims are only an impossible drawback to any attempt to rebuild a feasible symbiosis in East Central Europe, especially in the Carpathian Basin. Our value-judgments are no longer connected with national statistical figures but with human security and the inviolability of the law and with the spiritual and moral responsibility of the individual self.

As long as the members of the emigrant groups retain their fascination with such intoxicating psychic complexes of power as are incorporated in the practice of the "national state," and stubbornly petrify it along with an openly asserted or latently understood aim assimilating the other ethnic national groups, e.g., Pan Croat, Pan Serb, or Pan Magyar ideas; they will eliminate themselves from any new attempts at reorganization. It is becoming increasingly clear that the platform of the Austrian Social Democratic Party as promulgated in Brünn dealing with a solution of ethnical problems in the Danubian and Carpathian Basins, and also the so-called Renner Program, with the idea of a national register are still the politically most feasible solutions for a symbiosis of discrete ethnic units into a supra-national state. It was a tragedy caused by the interplay of historical forces that this solution could not be realized. I profess myself to be a partisan to this solution, although ideologically

and politically I do not stand on their platform. So much for the general description of the problem.

In the Austrian Republic of today the situation is the following: the older generation of the so-called "nationalists" still entertains feelings of superiority, especially in the frontier-regions in Styria, and in particular in Carniola, when facing the Slovenian minority. It does not come to light openly as before, but only in a latent way, when handling practical questions of the cultural autonomy of the Austrian Slovenian minority; e.g., the question of schools. They take a peaceful national and cultural assimilation of this minority as granted and as necessary. This is true, above all, in Carniola, where both groups display an aggressive attitude: a radically-minded German national group and a radical Slovene national group with Titoistic sympathies.

In Burgenland the Croat question did not create acute national tension as in the above-mentioned case. Symbiosis is satisfactory because the Croats are able to live their national life in their hamlets undisturbed. They have their own schools and are well integrated into the general economic life of the state with connections to Vienna. In the Western and Northern States these questions simply do not crop up. In general it can be stated that the remnants of the former civil servant and officer classes of the late Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, who still retain memories relating to peaceful coexistence of the individual ethnic units within the state, are dwindling in numbers from year to year, dying out slowly, and no longer possess political significance. Only a small faction of "Monarchists" tries to keep up the "tradition," but they have no political weight in the realm of public opinion. The new aims of the "welfare state" have disintegrated historical tradition. The younger Austrian generation does not care about problems of coexistence of different ethnic units in the Danubian Basin as these problems no longer exist in the practical affairs of their everyday life. They have adjusted themselves to the problems of their homeland — the minute Austria. The Iron Curtain is seen as a grim reality, as an existing boundary between two politically and economically different systems. Otherwise, interest is focused on

Western Europe and on the United States of America.

There is no longer the faintest awareness of possible new opportunities for future cooperation and symbiosis with the adjacent Slavs and Magyars in the Danubian and Carpathian Basins. The same applies to children of emigrants now growing up in Austria, whose parents, (Germans, Slavs or Magyars) were born in the Eastern Bloc countries. Any contacts still maintained with their country of origin are strictly on a family level.

What can be done? We must emphasize in education and in journalism the *common* foundations of evolution in the Danubian and Carpathian Basins, thus building our consciousness of history on the facts of symbiosis while giving due regard to the perpetuation of particular ethnic traditions in language, music, and customs. We should not repeatedly probe into old wounds which nations of this region have suffered from each other during a century of overheated national antagonisms — German-Czech, German-Magyar, Magyar-Slav, German-Slovene. We should avoid creating new resent-

ments. History, above all, must be taught from a European and Central European viewpoint, and not with a chauvinistic German, Magyar, Czech, or Slovene bias. It is one's duty to clarify historically and rationally, what truth, peace and national justice mean to a whole region.

Perhaps the day will come, when instead of present dual state and political systems and ideologies there will again emerge a new community of European nations within a European federation. I can fully appreciate the psychology of a crusading spirit so much cherished by emigré groups. Whether there is any hope of success in it when measured against the world situation of today is another question entirely. I unfortunately have become somewhat sceptical; perhaps because the supporters of the crusade for a "Christian Western World and its Human Liberties" have completely overlooked the deep demoralization inherent in this Christian West and the Western World as a whole caused by the totalitarian traits of a society saturated with luxury and well-being, and are therefore at a loss to notice the weakening of the sacrificial and fighting spirit and of the will to sacrifice self.

Pseudo-National States or Real National Identities in Central Europe

by Alexander Gallus

...Dieu peut bien permettre à des eaux insensées — de perdre des vaisseaux, mais non pas des pensées.

(Alfred de Vigny)

God may rightly allow the dumb Ocean to destroy ships, but not Ideas.

It is a necessity of life to revise from time to time the semantic contents of our tools of thinking, of our notions and ideas.

During the strong central administration of the absolute monarchies of the 17th century in Europe, the strongest ethnic element of the state progressively assimilated all ethnic enclaves within the boundaries of its area of influence, and thus created the idea of the centralized national state: one language, one administration, one absolute ruler and one religion.

As a consequence, the "minorities" fought a losing battle against the dominant power for an independent language, religion and privileges. France and Spain having reached the final stage of concentration in the 18th century, the question of frontiers and safety of the state-territory became the central core of their strategic thinking. Territory and frontier-lines became important from the point of view of political dominance and military defense. Occupying new territory means also the expansion of central rule, with all its efforts for unification.

In Central Europe a more archaic situation prevailed. The Medieval State was built on correlation and not on central uniformity. The local privileges of cities, barons, settlers were jealously guarded and the unity of the realm depended on personal loyalty to a ruler. The state conserved a certain fluidity, as the boundaries were easily altered by marriages, contracts, inheritance or changes in loyalty. This medieval order of local privileges preserved within the

Central European Medieval Hungarian Kingdom of the Árpáds the ethnic identity of the Croats, Slovaks, Rumanians, Ruthenians and Germans, to mention only the largest groups, whereas in Western Europe the equivalents of these culturally and racially inbreeding ethnic units (Catalans, Bretons, Burgundians, etc.) became successfully assimilated. When the medieval state in Central Europe was attacked by the Turks, communication with the West was interrupted and the whole process of 17th-18th century political development in the Western States stopped at the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Osman rule preserved the medieval situation inasmuch as no central pressure for a unified language, religion, education, etc., in Central Europe, was exerted. After liberation from the Osman rule, all the different ethnic units emerged again, only to find themselves now subjected to aggressive actions, stemming from the contemporary ideal of the centralized national state.

The Hungarians, who defended their national identity against the centralized administration of the Habsburg emperors, kept under the cover of the Hungarian State, or even "Nation" ("Nemzet"), as opposite to "People" ("Nép"), the many ethnic units of the Carpathian Basin, who had preserved their ethnic unity under the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom and under Osman Rule: Croats, Slovenes, Ruthenians, Serbs, Rumanians, Germans. During the Hungarian national revival before 1848, and after 1867, a considerable part of the German middle class in the cities was assimilated. But when after 1867, the Hungarian Central Government belatedly stepped up centralization according to current Western ideals of the "National State," it, of course, caused immense

trouble and could not succeed with other nationalities because it attempted to achieve the impossible. The later war cry, however, in and after 1918, of "Hungarian oppression" was more than surprising as it was raised partly by representatives of Western centralized national states, who in the not too distant past had done the same thing, and had done it successfully.

But the big difference was in the *time factor*. A process which succeeded in the 17th-18th centuries, could no more be repeated and defended in the 20th century. History and human ideals change.

It was not only the Hungarian statesmen who acted in an anachronistic manner in Central Europe between 1867 and 1914. Learning nothing from the Hungarian failure to establish central national administration; Czechs, Serbs, Rumanians nursed also dreams of national centralization after 1918. The leaders of the new states, created by the victorious Western Powers, attempted to organize their own states according to the same principles of central national administration and assimilation which had been condemned by Western war propaganda in 1918.

The political leaders of Czechoslovakia tried to build up a new centrally administered national state based on the Czech elements and reacted with hostility when Slovaks, Ruthenians, Germans, Hungarians struggled for maintaining their own national and ethnic identity. The same was attempted by the dictatorship of King Alexander in Serbia (Yugoslavia) for the benefit of the Serb element; the situation being highlighted by two emotional killings: the Serbs killing the Croatian national leader, Radic and the Croats retaliating by killing King Alexander. The ensuing diplomatic stir in the League of Nations only showed that the Western leaders did not have the slightest understanding of the tensions in Central Europe. In the same way the Rumanians attempted and still attempt to build up a centralized state based on the administration of the privileged Rumanian element.

These tendencies resulted everywhere in a disregard for "minority rights" as formulated in the Peace Treaties after 1918.

The same tendencies culminated in incredible cruelties inflicted on minority ethnic units,

amounting to genocide, during and after the Second World War: death camps, shooting of prisoners of war, confiscation of property, expatriation, mass trials, etc.

By now it should be sufficiently clear, that the Western ideal of a centralized national state, which necessarily leads to the penalizing of minority groups is completely inadequate and that it cannot assure lasting peace and humane conditions in Central Europe.

But is there any alternative?

These problems and our groping for a satisfactory solution should especially be understood in Great Britain, where human relations developed differently from that of Western Europe. Great Britain is the result of political solutions, aiming at coexistence, rather than assimilation. It seems that the English were never numerous enough to press for full centralization. Now a similar situation exists in Central Europe. There is no single dominant nation in Central Europe, only outside of it. But instead of trying to eliminate each other as in Central Europe, the different ethnic units in the British Isles arrived at a synthesis, not without armed conflict, however.

The vexed question of Ireland was solved after the First World War by granting her total independence.

The Welsh joined England early in the Middle Ages, but preserved their language and separate religion. Scotland after a long and cruel conflict was offered and accepted a political union by "common consent," which was ratified in both parliaments. The Act of Union preserved the local legal system, a separate religion, their own banking system and an autochthonous language where the inhabitants themselves have not abandoned them.

Why then should world opinion tacitly support a situation in Central Europe which still remains opposed to a humane regulation of the same problems which seem to have been satisfactorily solved in Great Britain?

A new Central Europe can only be reconstructed by discarding the ideal of the centralized national state, and by accepting, as a regulating force, those instincts of national identity which during centuries in Central Europe succeeded in asserting themselves, in spite of so many attempts to the contrary, thus proving

their vitality.

These instinctive forces emanate from peoples and not from states. A state is a conscious organization with boundaries, legal system and central administration. A people, on the other hand, is not a conscious construction. Its cohesion is biologic and not administrative; it is an interesting community with an accumulation of uniform creative, and behavioristic tradition (culture). It does not have solidified boundaries. The flow of its settlements and family units interpenetrates with other flows within a geographic territory.

If we acknowledge the "people" (the "nationality" or "ethnic unit") as the basic unit to be preserved in Central Europe, or better said as *the basic value to be safeguarded*, then our notions of "state," "state boundaries," and "state organization," must be reshaped and we shall discard the ideal of the "centralized national state."

For a people or ethnic unit, state boundaries are nonexistent. Members of the "Hungarian People" presently live in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, the U.S.S.R., Austria, and all over the world.

The first problem thus to be solved in Central Europe is the restoration of free intercommunication, cultural unity and information between members of the same ethnic unit, or people, wherever they live. "Frontiers" must remain nonexistent in relation to communication between members of the same ethnic unit. The notion of "national minority" must disappear and the strife and struggle for state boundaries must become completely irrelevant. Administrative units with boundaries would, of course, still exist, but they would exist under the ideal conditions of a new federated system as envisaged by the opinions and plans presented in this volume.

The practical solutions for coexistence in

Central Europe must create a *modus vivendi*, which makes it possible that the actual site of a particular human group's abode, within or outside the main body of a dense settlement of a particular nationality, is irrelevant, because the full enjoyment of national identity (and not only "individual freedom") remains ensured everywhere within the larger area of the federated territory.

What really does matter is the frontier line of the federated territory itself, because the frontiers of the federated territory are real inter-ethnic pressure zones, with different ways of life, history, culture and tradition on both sides of the line. Thus they are organic and natural. They divide Central and Eastern Europe from Western state organizations, immediate neighbors, who have built up successfully a centralized national structure, and thus from our point of view exist on another level of organization, not applicable in Central Europe.

It is important for historians and politicians alike to perceive that *the periods of influence of this alien complex of ideas of organization have been and are the ultimate cause of the deep disturbances in Central Europe.*

A new solution in Central Europe must mean a final departing from foreign categories of thinking and the embracing of a train of political thought more congenial to Central European history and to the working of their own minds.

The peoples of Central Europe know that it is not in their power to make this an immediate reality, but I would like to remind the reader once again of De Vigny's prophetic words:

Le vrai Dieu, le Dieu fort, est le Dieu des idées... Jetons l'oeuvre à la mer, la mer des multitudes. Dieu le prendra du doigt pour le conduire au port.

The real God, the strong God, is the God of ideas... Let us then toss our work to the ocean of the multitudes. God will take it on his palm to guide it into port.

Hungarian Cultural Influence in Europe

(Between Two World Wars, 1919-1944)

VII.

Compiled by Prof. L. Konnyu, Cultural Historian

Because Hungary was on the loser's side, after World War I the Allied Powers cut her into five pieces. The Northern part, with one million Hungarians, went to the newly created Czechoslovakia; the Eastern part (Transylvania) with two million Hungarians was given to Rumania; the Southern part, with one million Hungarians, went to the newly created Yugoslavia and a smaller section on the Western side, with 50,000 Hungarians, was given to Austria. Hungary also had to pay a huge reparation to the winners. The mutilated Hungary (size of Indiana) with eight million population was left in complete chaos and the elected government of Premier Stephen Bethlen inherited an almost impossible task to rebuild the war-torn country.

It was a matter of considerable difficulty to let the world know the scientific and technical



Coloman Kandó, pioneer of electrification of railways



Lóránd Eötvös, geophysicist and inventor

achievements of mutilated Hungary. For example, **Lorand Eotvos'** (1848-1919) invention. He studied in Heidelberg, Germany. In 1872 he became professor of physics at Budapest University. His invention was the torsion pendulum which measures the thickness of the different layers of the earth. This instrument was used to discover oilfields in Europe and America. He also founded the Eotvos College, the Training College for secondary school professors. Also Budapest University was named after him.

Coloman Kando (1869-1931), mechanical engineer, was the European pioneer of the electrification of railways, — The law of the ultrasound air-flight was established by **Dr. Theodore Karman** (1869-1963). He started his experiments in Budapest Ganz-Factory, con-



Dénes Gábor
Inventor of Holograph

tinued in University of Gottingen, Germany, and finished them at the University of California. During World War II he became a General Advisor of the US Air Force. The first helicopter was designed and built by the Hungarian, Oscar Asboth (1891-1960). Beside Hungary he worked also for the Austrian, French, and Turkish governments. His first helicopter was demonstrated at Budapest Airport in 1928.

Michael (Mihaly) Denes (1894-1953) started his television experiments in Budapest. In 1924 he went to AEG-Company, Berlin where, with German Physicist Traub, he produced the first television. **Coloman (Kalman) Tihanyi** Hungarian scientist, in 1926, invented the work-



Jenő Wigner
Atomphysicist, Nobel Laureate

ing television-picture-tube. The Color television was built by the Hungarian inventor, **Peter C. Goldmark** (1906-), in 1940. The holograph was invented by **Denis (Denes) Gabor** (1900-1969).

Famous Hungarian atomphysicists are: **Leo Szilard** (1898-1964), **Eugene Wigner** (1902-), and **Edward Teller** (1908-). **Stephen Oberth**, professor of physics at S. Ludwig-Roth College, Medgyes, Hungary was the father of rocketry; teacher of Dr. Von Braun; his collaborator on "Saturn" rocket in Germany and in the USA. **John (Janos) Neumann** (1903-1957), Hungarian mathematician was the father of computer technology.

The following list of Hungarian Nobel Prize Winners, between two World Wars, shows the



János Neumann
Father of Computer

advanced status of Hungarian science. **Richard Zsigmondy** received the award for Chemistry: Elucidation of the heterogeneous nature of colloidal solutions (1925), **Albert Szent-Gyorgyi** for Physiology of Medicine: Discovery of Vitamin "C" (1937) and **George Charles de Hevesy** for Chemistry: Use of isotopes as tracers in chemical research, (1941).

The Hungarian educators did not forget the Greek saying: "In a sound body there is a sound soul." In 1920's Hungary established a Physical Education Teachers' College in Budapest which was a model for many European states. Physical education brought handsome profits for the Hungarian sportsmen in the International

Olympic Games. Many times they reached the second or the third places among the big competitors. They received 10 Golden Medals at the Berlin Olympics in 1936. Just for example, let us list some outstanding individual Hungarian Sports Achievements. **Aladar Gerevits** was the best fencer at seven Olympics with nine World Championships, five European Championships and two College World Championships. **Ilona Elek** was the double winner of Gold Medals for woman foil-fencing. **Andrew Balczo** was the best Pentatlon champion with three Olympic Medals and ten World Champion Medals. **Sandor Komjadi**, the organizer of the Hungarian waterpolo, won with his team three World Championships. **Stephen (Istvan) Fele** was the double winner of Gold Medals at Los Angeles Olympics in gymnastics. **Laszlo Papp** was three times Olympic Champion in wrestling. **Stephen (Istvan) Kozma** was double Champion in Olympic and World Champion Race. The Hungarian origin **Bela Kiraly** coached Rumanian gymnast Nadja Komeniczki in the 1980 Olympics and the American gymnast, Mary Lou Retton in the 1984 Olympics. At the last Olympics the American Fencing team was coached by the Hungarian **Csaba Eltes**.

Between two World Wars in novels the writing of author **Francis (Ferenc) Herczeg** (1863-1954) excelled. He was born in Versec, Hungary (now Yugoslavia). First he studied law but switched to journalism and literature. In his books and plays he wrote about the aristocracy and gentry. He edited the official "Hungarian Observer". After the Trianon Peace Dictatum he became president of the Hungarian Revisionists' League. After the Russian occupation he lost his job, slowly used up all his resources and died as a pauper in 1954. His novels and plays have been translated into Western languages and in the past they influenced the thinking of the European intellectuals.

Francis (Ferenc) Molnar (1878-1952). His first stage play was produced in 1902 and after that almost every year, Molnar produced a play. Because of the German War, in 1939 he left Budapest (through Switzerland and Italy) for the USA. Since 1940 he lived in New York till his death in 1952. Many of his plays were translated into English, were filmed and shown around the world. "The Boys of Paul Street";



Ferenc Herczeg (Francis Herczeg) the greatest Hungarian dramatist and novelist.

"Farewell, my Heart", "The Devil", "Carousel", "The Guard", "The Swan", "Red Mill", "The Play is the Thing", "Breath of Scandal", "There will be Play Tonight", etc.

Sigismund (Zsigmond) Moricz (1879-1942). He studied Reformed theology but later changed to journalism and literature. His first novel ("The Seven Pennies") was published in "The West" magazine. In World War I he was a war reporter. Because of his participation in the shortlived "Aster-Revolution", later he was discriminated against. But this did not keep him from going around the neighboring countries and reading his novels. Moricz works were translated into many languages. He did influence the thinking of the East-European peasantry.

Andrew (Endre) Ady (1877-1919), as a young Nagyvarad (now Oradea) journalist was lured by "Leda" to Paris where he came under the influence of the French symbolists. After



Ferenc Molnár (Francis Molnár) dramatist



Novelist Zsigmond Móricz

returning home, in 1907, he established a new literary magazine "Nyugat" ("The West"), which advocated a revolutionary change in literary taste, a new economic system and democratic way of life. Ady became popular with the literary people of the Hungarians, Austrians, Rumanians and influenced the spread of symbolist poetry in Eastern-Europe.

Desider (Dezso) Kosztolanyi (1885-1936), the Hungarian "Poeta Aestheticus" was born in Szabadka, Hungary (now Subotica, Yugoslavia). First he studied philosophy at Budapest University, but shifted to journalism and literature. Kosztolanyi became one of the best Hungarian translators of English, French, German, Spanish, Chinese and Japanese languages. Kosztolanyi became president of the Hungarian



The poet Endre Ady

branch of the International P.E.N. Club. He also wrote plays and novels which were translated into Western languages.

Ladislav (László) Mecs (1895-1978). He studied R. C. theology and philosophy at Budapest University. As a Norbertian father he was sent to a Hungarian parish, Nagykapos, in Czechoslovakia. There he started to publish his poems in Hungarian books and papers. Beside Hungary and Czechoslovakia, his fame reached Germany, Italy and France. He traveled in Europe reading his poems about the suffering of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia, and the social injustice of the working people. After the Russian



Dezso Kosztolányi, poet, translator



Poet László Mecs

occupation, he went to Hungary proper where, under false charges, he was deported and silenced. After 1956, he was released and in 1978, he died in a retirement house in Pannonhalma. His Christian Socialist poetry became popular in certain parts of Europe.

The greatest painter of this age in Hungary undisputably was **Stephen (Istvan) Csok** (1865-1961). He started his training with Hungarian masters: Bartholomew Szekely, Charles Lotz and John Greguss. For graduate study he went to Munich Academy and finally to Julian Academy, Paris where Bouguereau and Robert-Fleury were his professors. In 1903, he settled down in Paris and the French public liked his nudes. The same year he won a Gold Medal in Vienna with his great canvas: "Lord's Supper". This painting was an expression of Christian faith which stunned skeptical Europe. Beside French museums he had many exhibits in Italy. He has paintings in the Galleria D'Arte Moderna, Rome: Thamar, 1918. His self-portrait hangs in Uffizi Gallery, Florence, Italy. In 1911 he went back to Budapest where he won a Gold Medal with his Portrait of Tibor Wlassics. Later he was decorated with Kossuth Prizes. In his age he was judged as the best painter of



Stephen Csók: "Do This in Memory of Me." Budapest. National Gallery.

Hungary and also one of the best contemporary painters of Europe.

John (Janos) Vaszary (1867-1939) started his training in the Budapest Masters' Training School. In Munich G. Hachl and Lofftz were his professors. In Paris he attended Julian Academy. Vaszary represented the best of the French post-impressionist school. He had followers not only in Hungary but also in Austria, Germany and France. He participated in many foreign exhibits and won many prizes. Some of his paintings are in foreign museums, for example: Modern Museum, Paris; Balaton Scene in Dresden Museum, Germany.

Without a doubt **Aurel Naray** (1883-1948) was the best spiritualist artist Hungary ever had. Allegedly he trained himself by copying and studying the best classical paintings in Budapest, Vienna, Munich, Paris and Rome. He became a spiritual painter of angels, saints, women, children, and religious pictures. In 1921 and 1923 he had a collection shown in the Budapest Fine Arts Museum. (In 1923 he exhibited in America.) His "Christ on the Sea" is in the National Art Gallery in Budapest, Hungary. He also has paintings in Budapest Ci-



János Vaszary, Portré (Portrait)

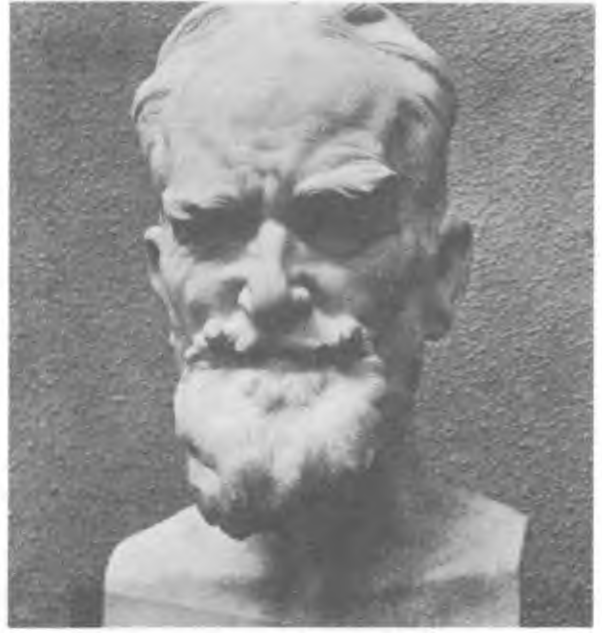
ty Museum, Malmo Museum (Sweden), Bombay Museum (India), Johannesburg Museum (South Africa), Rumanian Museum (Bucuresti) and in many American private collections. In art, Naray revived the Christian spirit of painting.

One of the most representative Hungarian sculptors of this age was **Sigismund (Zsigmond) Strobl de Kisfalud** (1884-?). He studied in Budapest, Vienna, Bruxelles and Paris. Many of

his works are in foreign museums: The Birth of Venus in California, The Lizzard and Bernard Shaw in London, The Archer, F. Rakoczi and Sowiet Heros' Memorial in Budapest. His by products are his portrait-busts: Elizabeth, Queen-Mother of England, Princess Elizabeth II, American millionaire: Woolworth. He had followers in Hungary and also in other European countries, especially in England.



Aurél Náray: Girl with Violin



Zsigmond Kisfaludi Strobl: G. B. Shaw