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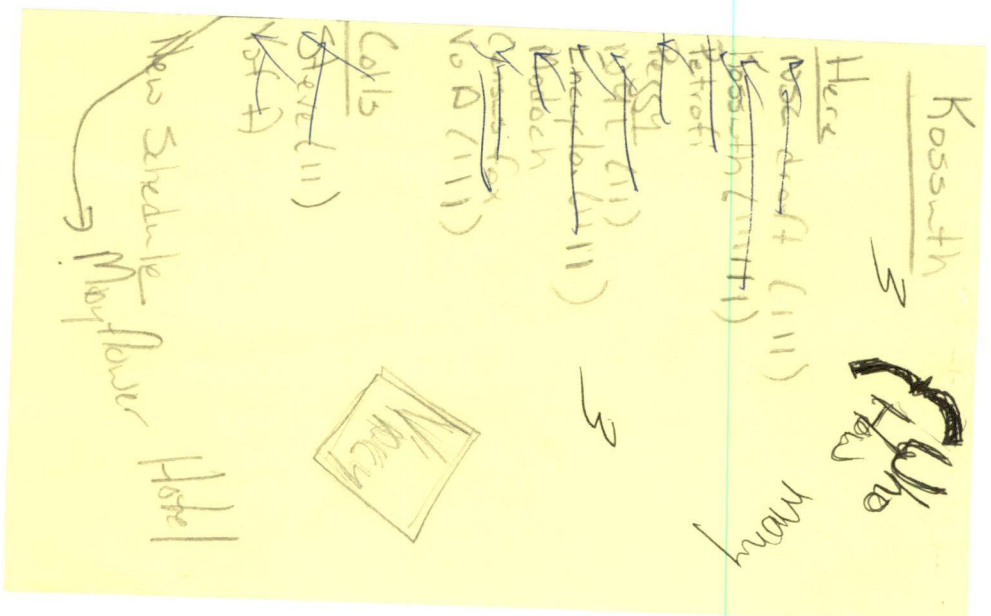
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Steven Benko

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A szokás, hogy délben megkondulnak a harangok Kalixtus 1456. junius 29-én kiadott un. Török-bullája nyomán alakult ki.

+Kalixtus = (Eng.) Callistus

leidenden Züge seines Auftraggebers. Auch das Kunstgewerbe nahm unter der für alles Schöpferische und Schöne begeisterten Initiative des Papstes einen hohen Aufschwung. Einer seiner Lieblingspläne, die Übersetzung der gesamten griechischen Literatur, vor allem Homers, ins Lateinische, ist durch seinen frühen Tod ins Stocken geraten: Die Entwicklung der Renaissance hätte sonst einen anderen Verlauf genommen. Nikolaus' hohe, seine kleinen Schwächen weit überwiegende menschliche Eigenschaften sind viel gerühmt worden. Er war unfähig zu heucheln, und seine alle bezwingende Großmut und Großzügigkeit nahmen gegen ihn gerichtete bissige Bemerkungen nie übel. Ludwig von Pastor schreibt: »Er war wohl der freigebigste Mann seines Jahrhunderts«, und Gregorovius: »Die Seligkeit des Gebens für edle Zwecke hat selten ein Mann so genossen wie Nikolaus V.«

## KALIXTUS III. Alonso de Borja. *8. 4. 1455 bis 6. 8. 1458*

Der gelehrte, trockene, an kulturellen Fragen uninteressierte Jurist, seit Damasus I. der erste spanische Papst, wird italianisiert Alfonso Borgia genannt. Im Jahre 1378 geboren, war er von Gegenpapst ›Benedikt XIII.‹ zum Kanoniker gemacht worden; er war Professor an der Universität Lérida gewesen, von wo ihn erst Alfons V. von Aragon — als König von Neapel Alfons I. —, sodann Martin V. in ihre Dienste nahmen. Borja hatte Gegenpapst ›Klemens VIII.‹ veranlaßt, sich zu unterwerfen, wofür ihm Martin V. durch Verleihung des Bistums Valencia dankte. Nachdem ihm die Versöhnung Alfons' von Neapel mit Eugen IV. gelungen war, erhob ihn der Papst zum Kardinal. Wenige Wochen nach seiner Wahl, am 29. Juni, kanonisierte er Vinzenz Ferrer, der ihm einst die höchste Würde geweissagt hatte. Zu Beginn seines Pontifikates wurde die Türkengefahr immer drohender; Kalixtus betrieb mit spanischem Glaubenseifer einen Kreuzzug. Wie sein Vorgänger bemühte er sich als wichtigste Voraussetzung um Frieden unter den Mächten, entsandte hierzu Legaten in alle Länder und veräußerte Schätze der Kirche nebst eigenem Besitz. Die von Nikolaus V. begonnene Bautätigkeit brachte er aus Sparsamkeitsgründen zum Stillstand. Er förderte statt dessen den Bau einer Flotte, die 1456 in See stach, ohne etwas gegen die den griechischen Archipel bedrängenden Türken ausrichten zu können. Sultan Mohammed II., der Eroberer von Konstantinopel, setzte sich 1456 auf Belgrad zu in Bewegung. Da erschien Kardinal Juan Carvajal, seit Eugen IV. eine der bedeutendsten und adeligsten Persönlichkeiten seiner Zeit, als Legat mit dem heiligen Johannes Capistrano auf dem Vorposten Ungarn. Beide standen dem ungarischen Nationalhelden Johannes Hunyady bei, der zur Zeit Eugens IV. bei Varna gegen die Türken unterlegen war. Ein kleines Kreuzheer, das Hunyady fast ganz auf eigene Kosten aufgestellt hatte, siegte nach einer achttägigen Schlacht am



22. Juli 1456 bei Belgrad über die Türken. Kalixtus schrieb zur Erinnerung an diesen Sieg das Fest der Verklärung Christi aus. Die Großmächte waren an der Ausnützung des Sieges so uninteressiert wie vorher, und der Papst und Carvajal standen in ihren Bemühungen weiterhin allein, nachdem Hunyady der Pest, Johannes Capistrano den Entbehrungen erlegen waren. Antirömische Tendenzen in Deutschland und das plötzlich gespannte Verhältnis zu Alfons I. von Neapel erschwerten die Lage des Papstes noch mehr. Doch tat er, besonders durch die Unterstützung des albanischen Nationalhelden Skanderbeg, weiterhin und nach wie vor allein alles in seinen Kräften Stehende, um die Türken abzuwehren. Weist sein Pontifikat, so gesehen, wahre Größe auf, so hat er durch seine verhängnisvolle Wiederbelebung des Nepotismus ein großes Unglück beschworen. Er förderte nicht nur fast ausschließlich verwerfliche Familienmitglieder seines unheilvollen Geschlechtes, sondern bahnte mit seinem fünfundzwanzigjährigen Neffen Rodrigo de Borja, dem späteren Alexander VI., einer der nichtswürdigsten Gestalten den Weg. Es ist erwiesen, daß er Pedro Luis, dem Bruder Rodrigos, die Krone von Neapel gewinnen wollte, wo er das Thronfolgerecht Ferrantes, des Sohnes Alfons' I., bestritt, der 1458 starb. Der Terror der Borjas, denen der Kirchenstaat ausgeliefert war, begann schon damals die Öffentlichkeit zu beunruhigen.

Das Mittagsläuten der Kirchenglocken geht auf Kalixtus' Türkenbulle vom 29. Juni 1456 zurück. Ein Bild Sano di Pietros aus der Akademie von Siena, wo die Madonna dem Papste erscheint, zeigt die Züge Kalixtus' III., dessen Sarkophag mit der Grabstatue in den vatikanischen Grotten steht.

## PIUS II. Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini. *19. 8. 1458 bis 15. 8. 1464*

Er war am 18. Oktober 1405 in Corsignano bei Siena geboren. Seinen Geburtsort taufte er später in Pienza um. Den Papstnamen Pius wählte er zweifellos nicht im Hinblick auf den neunten Papst nach Petrus, sondern als Humanist und Verehrer des *pius Äneas* Vergils. Er studierte an der Universität Siena und war Schüler Filelfos in Florenz gewesen. 1432 begegnete er in Siena dem nach Basel zum Konzil reisenden Kardinal Domenico Capranica, einer der geistigen und menschlichen Größen des heiligen Kollegiums, wie sie unter den letzten Pontifikaten oft hervorgetreten sind. Capranica hätte vermutlich an Stelle von Pius den Thron bestiegen, wäre er nicht zwei Tage vor dem Konklave gestorben. Piccolomini wurde der Sekretär Capranicas, später anderer Kirchenfürsten, darunter auch des Kardinals Albergati, des Gönners Nikolaus' V. Nach der Rückkehr von einer geheimen Mission am schottischen Königshof blieb er in Basel, inmitten einer antipäpstlichen Atmosphäre. Doch mehr bedeutete ihm, der kein

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Kossuth

VOLUME 16

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the protamines, which he distinguished as an entirely different class of proteins from the histones. By the end of his career Kossel was recognized as one of the leading biochemists in the world. He died in Heidelberg on July 4, 1927.

JOHN PATRICK SWANN
*University of Wisconsin*

**KOSSOVO.** See Kosovo.

**KOSSUTH,** kō′shōōt, **Lajos** (1802–1894), Hungarian statesman, who led the national revolutionary struggle against Austria in 1848–1849.

**Early Years.** Lajos (Louis) Kossuth was born on Sept. 19, 1802, at Monok, in northeastern Hungary. His father, of old noble stock, was a landless and penniless lawyer. Though Kossuth's parents were Lutherans, religion played almost no role in his upbringing. Graduating in 1821 from a Calvinist law school, Kossuth practiced law and served as a junior official in his own county between 1824 and 1832.

**Journalist and Politician.** In 1832, Kossuth was sent to the National Diet at Pozsony (now Bratislava) to represent some absentee magnates. There he hit upon the idea of issuing bulletins on the Diet's meetings. They became an instant success, partly because by 1832 a significant reformist element among the ruling nobility was ready for the kind of liberal and nationalist reporting Kossuth had to offer. These nobles aimed at asserting Magyar autonomy within the Habsburg monarchy and Magyar authority over the national minorities in Hungary. They also hoped to modernize the country, a process that ultimately abolished noble privilege.

After the ending of the Diet session in 1836, Kossuth turned to reporting on Hungary's county assemblies. Judging him seditious, the authorities had him sentenced to four years in prison in 1837. Amnestied three years later, he was permitted in 1841 to become editor of *Pesti Hirlap* (the *Pest News*) and to turn it into Hungary's first political newspaper. In the same year he married Teréz Meszlényi.

Angered by Kossuth's militancy, the authorities engineered his dismissal from *Pesti Hirlap* in 1844. He continued the struggle in other papers and as a founder of several ill-fated associations for the development and protection of Hungary's fledgling industries. His program aimed at political and economic autonomy for Hungary and drastic modernization. His greatest opponent, Count István Széchenyi, however, argued that an independent but backward Hungary could neither build a prosperous economy nor deal with the demands of the national minorities. Kossuth's views proved more popular, and in 1847 he was elected to the Diet as a leader of the Liberals, or "National Opposition."

**National Leader.** Inspired by the French and Italian revolutions of 1848, the Hungarian reformers conducted a bloodless revolution in March of that year. They demanded and received from the emperor-king, Ferdinand, virtual independence in a personal union with an equally liberal Austria, emancipation of the peasantry, civil rights, the abolition of privilege, and the promise of reunification with Transylvania and the so-called Military Border. In all this Kossuth played a decisive role with his unsurpassed oratory and his political and legal flair. He became minister of finance in Hungary's first constitutional cabinet.

Conflict soon arose over Hungary's unwillingness to help the monarch against his Italian and other enemies and over its refusal to grant major concessions to the national minorities. First the Serbs revolted, and then, in September, the Croats attacked, with the blessing of certain circles in Vienna. The Hungarian government resigned, whereupon the newly elected National Assembly entrusted executive authority to a National Defense Committee led by Kossuth. In December the Austrians invaded, and Kossuth fled to Debrecen in eastern Hungary, where he organized the brilliant spring campaign that drove the Austrians out of Hungary. On April 14, 1849, the National Assembly dethroned the Hapsburg dynasty and acclaimed Kossuth as governor-president.

But victory was short-lived because the Austrians, now completely triumphant in Italy, invaded Hungary again in June. A vast Russian army also came to the aid of Francis Joseph, the new emperor. By late summer the Hungarians were defeated, and on Aug. 11, 1849, Kossuth resigned, appointing Arthur Görgey, his best general and archrival, as dictator of Hungary. Two days later Görgey surrendered to the Russians. Meanwhile, Kossuth had fled with thousands of other revolutionaries to Ottoman territory, from which he unjustly denounced Görgey as a traitor, revealing the worst aspect of his own character: a readiness to shift blame.

**Exile.** The Austrians' efforts to extradite him helped make Kossuth world famous as a defender of liberty against tyranny. In 1851 he left Turkish internment on a U.S. frigate. He made a triumphant voyage to England and from there to the United States, where he was acclaimed as a "Second Messiah," thrilling the public with masterly orations delivered in excellent English. But what he wanted was effective help for Hungary, which the United States could not and would not grant. Returning to western Europe in 1852, he spent the rest of his long life plotting a new revolution in Hungary and then, when this hope was dashed by Hungary's "Compromise" with Austria in 1867, serving as the liberal conscience of his nation. He died in Turin, Italy, on March 20, 1894, still an exile, his name forever linked with national independence, the emancipation of the peasantry, civil rights, and, unfortunately, nationalist intolerance in multinational eastern Europe.

ISTVAN DEAK, *Columbia University*

**Further Reading:** Deak, Istvan, *The Lawful Revolution. Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848–1849* (Columbia Univ Press 1979); Komlos, John, *Louis Kossuth in America, 1851–1852* (Hungarian Cultural Foundation 1973).

**KOSTROMA,** kos-trə-mä′, capital of Kostroma oblast in the Russian republic of the USSR. It is situated on the left (north) bank of the upper Volga River, in north central European Russia. Flax is grown in the region, and the city, which is an important textile center, processes it into linen; it also manufactures textile machinery. The region supports a dairying industry, and the Kostroma cattle breed is well known in Russia.

Kostroma dates from the 12th century. In the 16th and 17th centuries it was one of Russia's largest towns. The walled Ipatiev monastery from this period is well preserved. Population: (1979) 255,000.

THEODORE SHABAD
*Editor, "Soviet Geography" Magazine*

(Smith/Blessey)
July 6, 1989
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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOSSUTH SQUARE
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

Mr. President, My Hungarian and American Friends.

That great poet of the 1848 Revolution, Sandor Petofi [SHAHN-door PET-oo-fee], once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, let me address you in the name of millions who convey their warmest greetings: The people of the United States.

Six years ago, I became the highest-ranking American official to visit Hungary. Today, I become the first acting American President to travel here. Now, as then, Barbara and I are moved by your reception. And we thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

I want to say to all of you that I have seen few cities lovelier than Budapest. And I have seldom seen a city more alive. Alive with commerce, change, and, above all, hope. Alive with a people who believe that like a lamp lighting the darkest night, liberty can light the globe.

In a few moments I will be received in a symbol of that liberty -- the Hungarian Parliament. And as I speak, I will recall how 137 years ago a true Hungarian patriot was received in another house which embodied freedom -- the Congress of the United States.

His name was Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth]. His statue stands behind me. And he arrived in America after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. For he believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

"I have a steady faith in principles," he said. "I trust to the future of republicanism." And he also added: "Bayonets may support, but afford no chair to sit upon."

Even now, the memory of Lajos Kossuth lifts us, teaches us. For his life was a celebration of bravery, and of dreams. He knew that a courageous people would not bow to bayonets and barbed wire. He knew that the light of liberty would shine forever.

This great man became the conscience of Hungary. And just two blocks away -- here, too, an eternal flame lights the fire of democracy. Like other Hungarian heroes, Lajos Batthyany [LOY-osh BAHT-on-ee] sought free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. They knew that no matter how much suffering beset this Nation, its light of liberty would shine forever.

When the Hungarian playwright Imre Madach [IM-reh MAW-dawch] observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief -- the belief that free expression would conquer tyranny. And he wrote those words in that timeless literary work ironically entitled, "The Tragedy of Man."

My friends, our mission is to help liberty proclaim The Victory of Man. Proclaim it peacefully, not violently. For The Victory of Man can help Hungary's future be worthy of her history. And help Hungary live for what so many in the world have died for: opportunity, human decency, and democratic ideals.

Today, this quest for democracy fills the streets of Budapest and the great plains of Hortobagy [HORT-oh-buy], and from Debrecen [DEB-ray-cen] to Sopron [SHOW-prone]. It rides the currents of the Danube, and touches the gentle towns that grace its banks. For Hungary's love of liberty is political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. Its apostles say, work where you want. And vote as you choose. They believe that all things are possible for a Nation, and for a people. And proclaim the individual, not the State, as the voice of tomorrow.

Over the past twelve months, the world has watched this liberty transform the Hungarian Nation. You have shown how peace, freedom, and prosperity are allied. I applaud Hungary's greater privatization, and economic liberalization. I salute Hungary's movement toward democracy and increased flow of information. I welcome, too, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the planned cutbacks in the Hungarian military.

We watch with interest as the Soviet Union encourages such change. Indeed, we salute General Secretary Gorbachev as he encourages change through reform. Let us be clear: We want perestroika to succeed. And in Brussels just six weeks ago, I

proposed mutual reductions in arms that would further reduce -- significantly -- conventional forces in Europe.

Who would have dreamt that your love of liberty would do so much, so quickly, to improve the lot of Hungary? Now, let us use its promise to open boundaries, and minds.

We salute your decision for elections to be held in Hungary. We salute your decision to encourage more participation in the democratic process. For this holds the promise of an alternative future for Hungary -- a democratic alternative.

And this week, Radio Free Europe begins broadcasts originating from Hungary -- the first in a Communist country. Let its coverage spur even closer ties between East and West. In trade, as we remove unfair barriers, we must remember that only when economic and political freedom go hand-in-hand can Hungary be true to her heritage, and to her children. Becoming central to a Europe that is whole and free.

Lajos Kossuth came to America after Hungary had, for the moment, failed to secure its freedom. Yet his reception showed how our two peoples share a common love of liberty. In New York Harbor, an armada of ships sounded horns to celebrate his arrival. And when the City of New York held a parade in his honor, thousands rushed his open carriage. Perhaps no visitor since Lafayette had been greeted so emotionally.

Like Hungarians, the Americans of that time admired those who love what Kossuth called "the principle of . . . self-government." They opposed closed societies. And they believed

in helping individuals, and Nations, who understood that real freedom makes all progress possible. For they, like you, were determined to ensure that the light of liberty would shine forever.

Today, more than ever, this kinship binds the peoples of the United States and Hungary. For your gallantry evokes our admiration. Your example is our inspiration. Our Nations are linked by many things -- hard work, the role of community, and a deep religious devotion. And we will be with you always. As partners. And as friends.

We see this kinship in the nearly two million Americans of Hungarian descent. In giants like nuclear scientist Edward Teller. Or conductor Eugene Ormandy, who proved that music "is the universal language." Or Colonel Kovats [KO-vach], who gave his life for America's struggle for freedom during our Revolutionary War.

But this kinship isn't one-way: Americans admire Hungarians whose deeds so inspire us. Heroes like the great founder of the Hungarian State, Saint Stephen, and great composers like Liszt and Bartok. Or Hungary's many winners of Nobel Prizes and Olympic Medals. Or that great patriot by the name of Janos Hunyadi [YAHN-osh HOON-yah-dee] who more than five centuries ago stopped a would-be Turkish invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each Catholic church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, Catholic church bells all over the world ring precisely at mid-day.

Heroes, yes -- American, Hungarian. But there are other, unknown heroes, too -- the student in Budapest, the vintner in Lake Balaton [BAHL-ah-ton], the artist in Sarkoz [SHAHR-kooz]. Today, it is they -- you -- who are reducing the chasm between East and West. Enriching, and making possible, a more open, peaceful world. You are proving how liberty can expand Hungary's horizons. And enlarge the possibilities of her people. For liberty reflects the values of individuality, self-reliance, and respect for others. Values which underscore the dignity of man.

Four weeks ago, thousands filled this city's Heroes Square -- peacefully, movingly -- to honor the heroes, and spirit, of 1956. Among them was a patriot who, with many others, took part in that uprising. Astonished by the turnout, he found pride in Hungary's past -- and hope in her future. "For this day," he said, "it is worth living and forgiving. Today, this unity is a kind of Hungarian wonder."

My friends, you have endured much. And survived everything. Survived through family, and faith in God. And through the human spirit, oft-abused yet free. In coming years, your heroism can write a new chapter in the history of your Nation. Love Hungary -- as Imre Nagy [IM-reh NUDGE] did. Overcome oppression -- as Lajos Kossuth did. Show the **world** that the light of liberty will shine **forever**.

The darkness lifts. The bell resounds. The light grows brighter by the day. Together, let us raise what Kossuth called

"the morning star of liberty." The star that can lead us toward tomorrow. And bless the children of the globe.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, God bless America -- and as your National Anthem proclaims so unforgettably, "God Bless The Hungarians."

# # # #

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June 17, 1989, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 1, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1350 words

HEADLINE: Hungarian Who Led '56 Revolt Is Buried as a Hero

BYLINE: By HENRY KAMM, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: BUDAPEST, June 16

BODY:

Thirty-one years after he was hanged and his body thrown into a prison grave, Imre Nagy, who led the 1956 uprising against Soviet domination, was given a solemn funeral today on Budapest's largest square, followed by a hero's burial.

The ceremonies were organized by the opposition, which worships the former Prime Minister as a national hero, but four leading members of the ruling Communist Party came to pay tribute.

They were announced to the crowd by their Government titles, because it had been made clear that they would not have been welcome as party representatives. The Interior Ministry estimated the crowd at 100,000, nowhere near the quarter of a million the organizers had expected.

Eulogies and Condemnations

The four top party officials, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, Deputy Prime Minister Peter Megyessy and Matyas Szuros, the president of Parliament, laid wreaths and stood briefly as honorary pallbearers flanking Mr. Nagy's coffin.

They left before a succession of eulogies to Imre Nagy (pronounced im-reh nuhdge) that were unsparing in their condemnation of the Communist Party and its ally, the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Army crushed the uprising after feigning a withdrawal from Hungary on Nov. 4, 1956. Its tanks began rolling after Mr. Nagy, yielding to an aroused nation, formed a coalition government to replace one-party rule, declared Hungary's neutrality and withdrew from the Warsaw Pact.

Kadar Deposed Last Year

Moscow secretly put Janos Kadar, whom Mr. Nagy had earlier freed from prison, in full charge of the country, which he dominated until he was deposed last year. Mr. Kadar has been relegated into oblivion by his successor, Karoly Grosz, and is said by the party that for 32 years did his bidding to be physically and mentally ill.

Many in the crowd looked up in shock and seemed to be holding their breath to hear at so public a ceremony, in so sumptuous a setting, words of such

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astonishing candor. The Government network televised the ceremony live from 9 A.M. to 6 P.M.

Victor Orban, a spokesman for the Federation of Young Democrats, paid tribute to Mr. Nagy as a man who, although a Communist, ''identified himself with the wishes of the Hungarian nation to put an end to the Communist taboos, blind obedience to the Russian empire and with the dictatorship of a single party.''

As though speaking of the party leaders who shortly before had bowed before the coffins of Mr. Nagy and his colleagues, Mr. Orban continued:

''We cannot understand that those who were eager to slander the revolution and its Prime Minister have suddenly changed into great supporters and followers of Imre Nagy. Nor can we understand that the party leaders, who made us study from books that falsified the revolution, now rush to touch the coffins as if they were charms of good luck.''

Sandor Racz, who led the Budapest Workers' Council during the uprising and spent seven years in prison, condemned the Soviet Army and the Communist Party as ''obstacles for Hungarian society.''

Looking toward the coffins, covered in wreaths and bouquets, as well as single flowers laid on them by a long procession of mourners, Mr. Racz said, ''These coffins are a result of the presence of Russian troops on our territory.''

He said the party was ''clinging fearfully to power,'' although it was clear that ''what it failed to achieve in the last 44 years cannot be remedied now.'' He continued, ''They are responsible for the past. They are responsible for the damaged lives of Hungarians.''

Budapest experienced a day full of anomalies and contradictions. No state funeral could have been more solemnly and publicly marked or held in a more prestigious setting, but for the Hungarian Government and the ruling party, Mr. Nagy and the four companions who were sentenced to death and reburied with him remain traitors and counterrevolutionaries.

A review of their trial is under way, and after today's rites it can hardly end with anything short of restitution of their civil dignity and full rehabilitation as victims of judicial murder. But their sentences still stand.

As recently as earlier this year, Mr. Grosz still ruled out Mr. Nagy's rehabilitation. On the 30th anniversary of the hangings last year, the police broke up with considerable violence a small tribute organized by dissidents on a Budapest square.

It was an anomaly also that the Soviet Union and Hungary's other Communist friends sent diplomats, but not their ambassadors, to attend the ceremony, although it had no official character that would have obliged them to be there. But other Communist countries - China, North Korea, Rumania and Albania - stayed away.

The Heroes Square ceremony was staged, in one more irony, by the son of another executed Communist, Laszlo Rajk, who was Interior and Foreign Minister. Mr. Rajk, a loyal Communist, was hanged after a show trial in 1949 at the

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height of the Stalinist period.

The younger Laszlo Rajk, an architect and movie set designer, draped the neo-classical facade of the art museum and a tall column in the center of the square's vast expanse fully in black and white, traditional mourning colors among the Hungarians of Transylvania, annexed by Rumania.

He devised strikingly modern wood and metal structures as a setting on which to display the five coffins, as well as a sixth, empty one commemorating the more than 300 victims of judicial retribution after the uprising.

Tall, flaming torches stood between the coffins, and a permanent rotation of honorary pallbearers - including widows, children and other relatives of the five victims being buried - flanked them. Each coffin was inscribed with the name of the executed man and his dates, all ending in 1958.

Like all of the victims, Mr. Nagy was a lifelong Communist and friend of the Soviet Union, where he spent nearly one-third of his 62 years. The others were his Defense Minister, Gen. Pal Maleter; Minister of State Geza Losonczy; Jozsef Szilagyi, the head of the Prime Minister's staff, and Miklos Gimes, a leading journalist and close associate of Mr. Nagy.

General Maleter and Mr. Gimes were executed with Mr. Nagy, Mr. Szilagyi was tried and put to death separately, and Mr. Losonczy died in prison.

Mr. Nagy was buried in secret in a prison lot while his wife and daughter were interned in Rumania. He was reburied, again in secret and in an unmarked grave a few years later and exhumed this year when the party leadership finally yielded to demands for a decent burial.

Today, after the wreath-laying and eulogies, a procession of hearses, followed by cars and buses, set out for the huge public cemetery next to the prison where the hangings took place.

Potter's Field Is Landscaped

Plot 301, the once desolate potter's field that contains the graves of perhaps 260 of the victims, had been turned in recent weeks, since the reburial had been decided on, into a landscaped funeral park.

Fresh grass and trees now grow where only weeks ago there was only dirt and weeds. Paved paths led through the field to five open graves aligned in a row that had been dug for Mr. Nagy's companions and for the symbolic coffin.

Beyond them, in an adjoining field full of mainly unmarked graves, a tomb had been dug for Mr. Nagy. His daughter had requested that he be laid to rest amid the bulk of those who paid with their lives for following his lead.

Two actors read in alphabetical order the names of the 260 victims, who were executed from 1956 to 1961, their occupations and their ages. At each name, a torchbearer stepped forward, held high the flame and replied, ''He lives in us; he has not gone.''

When the name of one of the five was called, surname first, in the Hungarian fashion, like ''Nagy Imre, Prime Minister, 62 years,'' his coffin was

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carried to the grave and a friend delivered a eulogy. Then, supporting one another, his nearest relatives stepped to the grave to put down flowers and stand, with bowed heads, allowed for the first time to mourn in public, together with those who share their grief.

GRAPHIC: Imre Nagy, the Hungarian leader who was executed and buried in a prison grave after Soviet troops crushed the 1956 uprising, was given a solemn burial yesterday in Budapest. In the honor guard were Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, Matyas Szuros, the President of Parliament, and Deputy Prime Minister Peter Megyessy (Associated Press) (pg. 1); thousands of Hungarians honoring Imre Nagy, the Prime Minister executed for treason and buried in an unmarked grave after Soviet troops crushed the 1956 uprising. He and four aides were reburied yesterday (Agence France-Presse) (pg. 6)

NAME: NAGY, IMRE (D1958); KAMM, HENRY

GEOGRAPHIC: HUNGARY; UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (USSR)

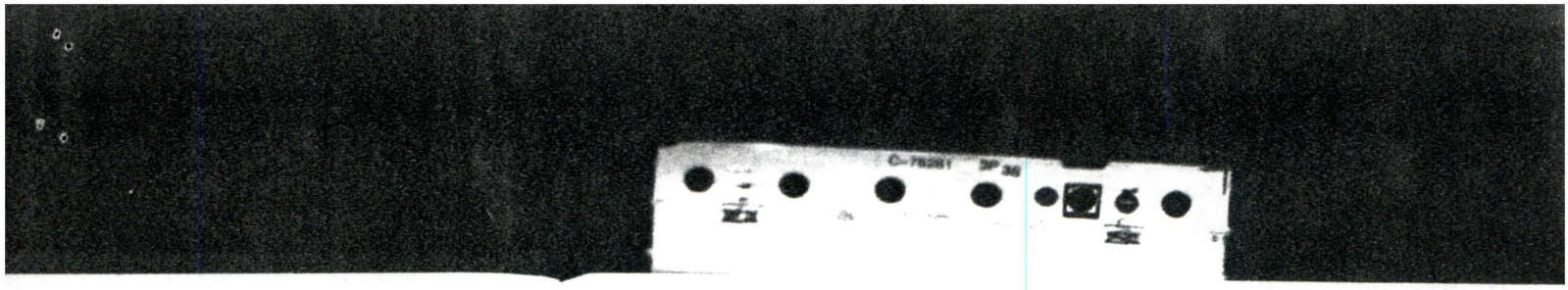
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# Imre Madách



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# THE TRAGEDY OF MAN



## FOREWORD

If we, Hungarians were asked to choose the literary work that we consider to be the closest to us, the most expressive of our history, the most modern classic which talks about our past and present with the same power and which, I believe, will also have a message for the future; well, this work would be The Tragedy of Man.

The strange thing about it is that the play does not take place in Hungary. It is a powerful vision of the poetplaywright about mankind, beginning with the creation up to an imaginary future through episodes of the history of the world in the form of the main characters' dreams.

If asked, I would not hesitate to say that no other play reveals so much about us to the world. For theatres and audiences throughout the world, the most easily approachable and receptible Hungarian drama would be The Tragedy of Man.

Up to now, it has been translated into 29 languages; there have been 9 different translations into English only. It has been put on the stage several times in different countries but I think the real breakthrough is going to come now.

This present volume is being published to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the first performance of the play and also to make it more widely and better known all over the world.

1985

The book contains the thoughts and notes of the directors of the most interesting performances in the past one hundred years as well as an essay on the history of The Tragedy of Man on the stage written by eminent Madách-scholar Dr. Ferenc Kerényi. There are a lot of photographs and also a bibliography to make the book complete.

The Tragedy is about the basic questions of our life today: it presents a whole series of dramatic problems. It is a dream, a vision

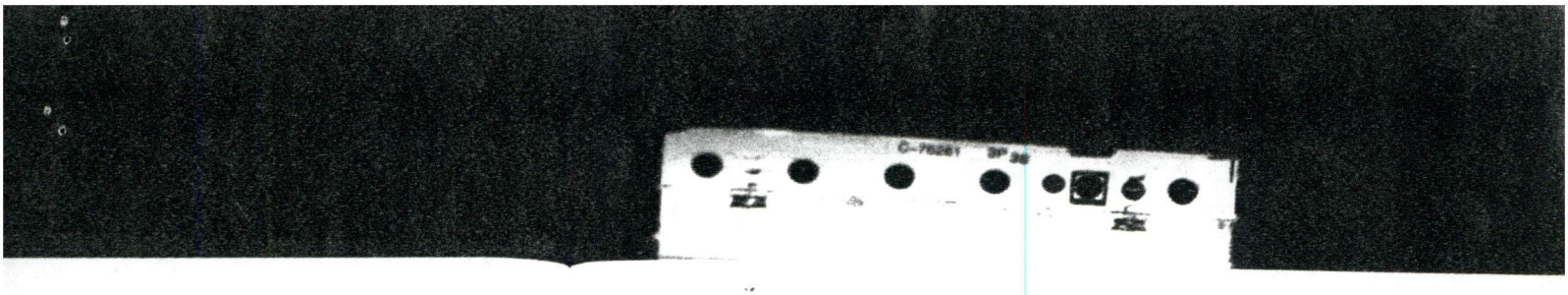




about Hungarian history, about mankind, politics, love, about the controversial relationship between man and God, between the individual and the masses.

We have to be aware that the Tragedy was written in one of the most tragic periods of Hungarian history. And in spite of all the inner doubts and contradictions expressed in it, it is the drama of everlasting fight and of survival.

György Lengyel



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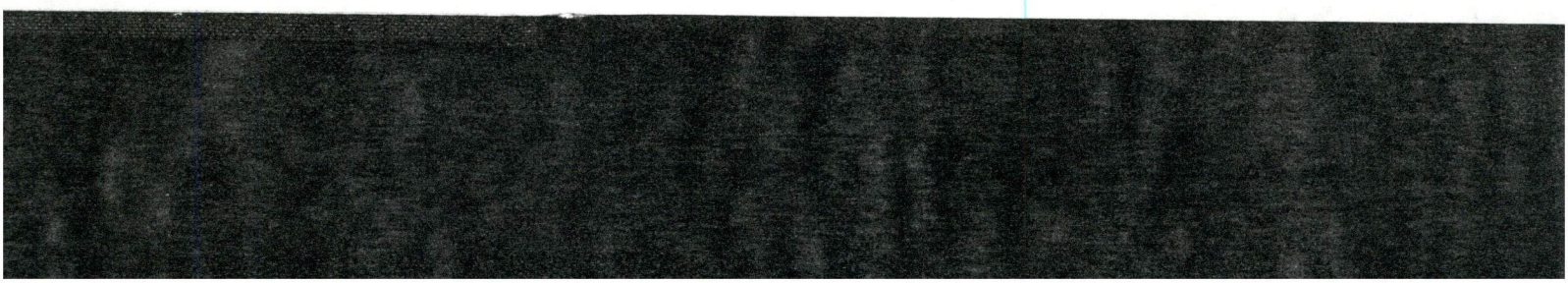
## A DRAMATIC POEM FROM HUNGARY TO THE THEATRES OF THE WORLD

It may sound like a paradox, but *The Tragedy of Man,* one of the most famous works of Hungarian literature which has been translated into twenty-nine different languages, was born in 1859–1860 in a small god-forsaken village (Alsósztregova/Dolná Strehová), in the backwoods of prewar, historical Hungary.

The country seat of the Madách family was not the only one in Hungary where landlords, after the daily toils of farming, found refuge in a rich library and in the centuriesold documents of the family archives. The Madáches could trace their origins back to the beginning of the thirteenth century and had every right to be proud of their past: they counted generals, poets and famous free masons among their ancestors.

Our poet, Imre Madách (1823–1864), started reading at a tender age; he studied books in the German, French, Latin and Greek original, as well as, of course, in Hungarian. He was but five and a half years old when he composed his first „manuscript": a two-line poem in French, written for his father's name-day. The future poet was only 14 when he started his university studies. The date was 1837; the year when the best sons of the Hungarian gentry took the lead in a movement towards liberalism. Theoretical books and practical experience had convinced them of the historical necessity of progress. The movement was aimed at the defeudalization of Hungary and at raising it to the Western European level of that time. Unfettered by linguistic barriers, the youth of this generation devoured everything that promised spiritual enrichment and social development: English economics, French political science, German philosophy and, naturally, literature: the great works of the flourishing Age of Romanticism. The subject of their enthusiasm was constantly changing much like Adam's, the protagonist in *The Tragedy of Man.* They searched for forms of rational human activity, for means of self-expression and self-realization. Imre





Madách lived among these enthusiastic reformers, shared their feelings and ideas. Like the other members of his generation, he also tried his hand at poetry and romantic historical drama and applauded the performances of the National Theatre. After his graduation as a lawyer, Madách experienced the difficulties of introducing into practice in local politics the liberal and radical ideas he had encountered as a university student. The members of this generation prepared themselves consciously for the great historical task of de-feudalization; they tried to shape their roles by imitating the heroes of antiquity and of the French Revolution and Lord Byron, who had died for the cause of freedom. In 1848, at the „Spring-time of Nations", it was they who formed the Hungarian vanguard of the European revolutions, it was they who fought the battles of the Hungarian bourgeois revolution and of the National War of Independence. In vain did Victor Hugo's, Heinrich Heine's and Henrik Ibsen's poems greet their struggle with enthusiasm, in vain did they enjoy the sympathy of the European people and of the American public opinion: the two great military powers of Europe at that time – the Emperor of Austria and the „Tsar of all Russians" – nipped the young Hungarian republic in the bud by their joint military force. Hungary became temporarily part and parcel of the powerful Habsburg Empire.

After 1849 Madách's liberal generation saw its very incentive to live collapse. The Madáches – like almost every other family in Hungary – mourned their sons who had fallen on the battlefields, been carried of to captivity or been forced to emigrate. Those who remained had to cope hidden among the walls of their manor-houses, with an other, internal but no less painful task: they had to confront the recent past, pondering over their seemingly defeated ideals, almost masochistically analysing the reasons for their failure, at times casting doubt on the very judiciousness of these ideals. In Hungary, as in all of Europe, the era of romantic enthusiasm was followed by a decade of doubts.

Without this short historical survey it would be difficult to understand how a poem on Mankind could have taken shape at the writing desk of Madách, a poem, Hungarian to its very core, albeit none of the scenes depicted takes place in Hungary and the work is

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completely free from self-bewailing provincialism. Both heroes of *The Tragedy of Man* represent the poet himself: Adam, the idealist, as well as Lucifer, the sober disenchanter.

Madách wrote his poem on Humanity, a favourite genre of romantic literature with which he was familiar. His library contained copies of Goethe's *Faust* and Byron's *Manfred* and *Cain*, and their influence on his work is undisputable. Madách's *Tragedy*, Victor Hugo's *The Legend of Centuries* and Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* are not connected by the dates of their creation alone, but also by their common approach to the problem. Literary works dealing with the meaning of the acts of man and, raising the ultimate question of human existence had not been unknown in Hungary either. Romantic fairy-tales, dramas which took place in the Land of Nowhere and speculative poetry had dealt before Madách with moments of helplessness, moments which occur only in the life of men who are full of fervour and ready to act. All this was enhanced by a new trend in philosophy which, in the 1850's, raised again the perennial question of the priority of matter over mind. In this period, new and more advanced scientific discoveries and arguments strengthened the position of materialism. Natural sciences and the philosophy of history, lyrical self-identification and positivistic ideology are fused together in Madách's work. *The Tragedy of Man* – as we have tried to elucidate – has values closely linked with the given period, both in Hungarian national culture and world literature, a more detailed analysis of which is left to the scholars.

Here and now, however, we are intrigued by another paradox: which are those timeless, to be more precise, theatrical values of *The Tragedy of Man* which have preserved its place for a century on the Hungarian stage and for more than nine decades on the stages of the world? The content of the more than 4100 lines in the work will be analyzed from the same perspective. Madách wrote lyrical poems which reflect many thoughts expressed later on in *The Tragedy of Man* but, frankly speaking, as a poet he was quite mediocre. He, whose other dramas could be produced only after considerable re-writing, found in the *Tragedy* the literary genre which suited him perfectly. Both the possibilities of a play unrestricted by time and space, and the structure of the dramatic poen, were eminently suited to his thoughts and style.

Madách based the substantial collection of thoughts in the *Tragedy* on philosopher's, well-known theory, according to which the clash between contradictions leads to the birth of a new, higher quality. Adam, reviewing in his sleep the history of Mankind, is confronted with the new and earthshaking ideas of the verious eras. One by one these ideas turn into their opposites and thus become the starting points of new historical epochs. Yet in the play, this does not sound didactic or tedious as history is not presented with philological accuracy but in the form of visions seen by Adam. The thoughts of the historical ages presented in Adam's dreams in Scenes IV–XIII, of the Tragedy are worked into the biblical framework of Scenes I–III, and Scene XV. This arc is more than a mere dramatic fiction or a biblical paraphrase: it is a conflict-laden exposition; it is the struggle between God and Lucifer for the most valuable element of the newly-created world: Man. Madách preferred to leave the struggle undecided, as a full-blooded dramatic conflict. Up to Scene XV he interpreted the well-known biblical stories relatively freely, almost as poetic raw material. This interpretation distinguishes Madách's work from its predecessors, among others from the celestial prologue in Goethe's *Faust*. Yet Madách had to go beyond the traditional, romantic confrontation of Good and Evil; he did not want to restrict the manifold conception of his work to ethical problems. Thus, the struggle between God and Lucifer cannot be interpreted purely statically; it is more than a theological conflict, more than the beginning of a clash between „civitas dei" and „civitas diaboli" and more than the philosophical confrontation between idealism and materialism. A brief description of the various scenes will illustrate this point. In the first scene of the *Tragedy*, the mechanical perfection of the order of the newly created world on the one hand is confronted by its antithesis, eternal intellectual negation, on the other:

THE LORD

The giant structure is completed, yes!
The engine turns, while its Creator rests.
It will rotate for many million years
Before I must renew its wornout gears.

bs? Clear up my mind,
r my destiny –
f by it,
worse than hell.

ich the hand of God
searching human eyes.
r soul forever live
me stay on earth,
er would be virtue.
dust will take your soul
to majestic deeds,
eeting moment's joy?
e glimmers through a mist
/ your present lot,
will lift
e should make you stray,
will barricade your way –
ill prevail secured.

rious career!
all become your leaders –
can be realized
norance
ing guard beside them.
great things with man?
and from mud he is
– in blindness he is great.

need not laugh at me!
creation of your knowledge,
y human heart.



My Lord, who will assist me in my life
That I may walk along the proper way?
You took away Your guiding hands when I
Tasted the fruit of that forbidden tree.

THE LORD

Your arms are strong, you have a noble heart,
An endless age invites you to your start.
And if you listen, soon a call will sound
Steadily guiding and inspiring you;
Follow it always! If this godly voice
Is silenced by your active being's noise,
Then far from every selfish venture's toll,
This tender woman with her spotless soul
Will hear that message. Through her heartveins, she
Will filter it to song and poetry.
With these two instruments the smiling-eyed
Consoling Genius stands upon your side.

*(To Lucifer.)*

And, Lucifer, you also are a link
In my creation. Strain yourself and think
That your cold knowledge and negation will
Become the yeart to make man's spirit still
Ferment and deviate! – But never mind,
Man shall return to me; and if you find
The very man you wanted to destroy
Will keep on bearing beauty, greatness, joy –
Your punishment will then become eternal.

THE CHOIR OF THE ANGELS

It is so great freely to choose
Between the good and sinful ways,
To realize that we are still
Shielded by God's eternal grace.
Act bravely, man, and never mind
If thankless people laugh and scream.

Man only should look at his goal
And follow it with self-esteem.
All other actions would be shameful;
And still the consciousness of shame
Should nail the scoundrel to the earth
And lift the right man to his fame!
Walking along your splendid path
Do not let visions make you blind!
In every action that you do,
You act for God Who is so kind.
And if He ever needs your help
To satisfy, tool-like, His will,
Then you will earn an honored prize
Because God asked you for your skill!

EVE

Thank God, I do well understand the song!

ADAM

I also guess it and will follow it –
Only that end! If I could just forget it!

THE LORD

I told you, man,
Struggle and trust!... Be always confident!

THE END

this brotherly love; and at the very moment of my entering this hall, I was informed of a circumstance which I consider so important as to beg permission to make in respect to it one single remark. I am told that one of the newspapers, with friendly and generous intention toward that cause which I have the honor to plead before you, has pointed out as the success of my standing here, that there is a committee established out of such men whose very share in that committee gives importance to it, and who are about to raise money for the purpose of revolutionizing Europe.—My axiom is that of the Irish poet, "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow." All that I claim is fair play; and that is the aim for which I claim the United States to become the executive power of the laws of Nature and of Nature's God. That is the aim for which I claim your generous public and private aid and support. The revolutions in Europe will be made by the nations of Europe; but that they shall have fair play is what the nations of Europe expect from the protection of the United States of America. Remember the power which you have, and which I have endeavored to point out in a few brief words. Remember this, and form associations; establish ladies' committees to raise substantial aid for Hungary. Who could, who would, refuse, when the melody of your voice is pleading the cause of my bleeding, my oppressed native land.

Now, ladies, I am worn out very much, so I am done. One word only remains to be said—a word of deep sorrow, the word, "Farewell, New York!" New York! that word will forever make thrill every string of my heart. I am like a wandering bird. I am worse than a wandering bird. He may return to his summer home. I have no home on earth! Here, at New York, I felt almost at home. But "Forward" is my call, and I must part. I part with the hope that the sympathy which I have met here is the trumpet sound of resurrection to my native land; I part with the hope that, having found here a short, transitory home, will bring me yet back to my own beloved home, that my ashes may yet mix with the dust of my native soil. Ladies, remember Hungary, and—farewell!

Speech given to a Congressional Banquet at the National Hotel hosted by the President of the Senate, Jan. 7, 1852. by Lajos Kossuth.

## SPEECH IN WASHINGTON.

Sir,—As once Cyneas, the Epirote, stood among the senators of Rome, who, with an earnest word of self-conscious majesty, controlled the condition of the world and arrested the mighty kings in their ambitious march, thus full of admiration and of reverence, I stand before you, Legislators of the new capitol—that glorious hall of your people's collective majesty. The capitol of old yet stands, but the spirit has departed from it and come over to yours, purified by the air of liberty. The old stands a mo[illegible] monument of the fragility of human things—yours as [illegible] sanctuary of eternal rights. The old beamed with the red [illegible]e of conquest, now darkened by oppression's gloomy nig[illegible] yours beams with freedom's bright ray. The old absorbed [illegible]orld by its own centralized glory—yours protects your own [illegible]ion against absorption, even by itself. The old was awful with [illegible]estricted power—yours is glorious with having restricted it. At the view of the old, nations trembled—at the view of yours humanity hopes. To the old, misfortune was only introduced with fettered hands to kneel at the triumphant conqueror's heels—to yours, the triumph of introduction is granted to unfortunate exiles, invited to the honor of a seat, and where kings and Cæsars never be hailed, for their powers, might, and wealth, there the persecuted chief of a down-trodden nation is welcomed as your great Republic's guest, precisely because he is persecuted, helpless, and poor. In the old, the terrible væ victis was the rule—in yours, protection to the oppressed, malediction to ambitious oppressors, and consolation to the vanquished in a just cause. And while out of the old a conquered world was ruled, you in yours provide for the common confederative interests of a territory larger than the conquered world of the old. There sat men boasting their will to be sovereign of the world—here sit men whose glory is to acknowledge the laws of Nature and of Nature's God, and to do that their sovereign, the people, wills.

Sir, there is history in these parallels. History of past ages, and history of future centuries, may be often recorded in a few words. The

small particulars to which the passions of living men cling with fervent zeal—as if the fragile figure of men could arrest the rotation of destiny's wheel; these particulars die away. It is the issue which makes history, and that issue is always logical. There is a necessity of consequences wherever the necessity of position exists. Principles are the Alpha, they must finish with Omega, and they will. Thus history may be told often in a few words. Before yet the heroic struggle of Greece first engaged your country's sympathy for the fate of Freedom in Europe, then so far distant, and now so near, Chateaubriand happened to be in Athens, and he heard from a minaret raised upon the Propylæan ruins, a Turkish priest in Arabic language announcing the lapse of hours to the Christians of Minerva's town. What immense history in the small fact of a Turkish Imaum crying out, "Pray, man, the hour is running fast, and the judgment draws near." Sir, there is equally a history of future ages written in the honor bestowed by you to my humble self. The first Governor of independent Hungary, driven from his native land by Russian violence, an exile on Turkish soil protected by a Mohammedan Sultan against the blood-thirst of Christian tyrants, cast back a prisoner to far Asia by diplomacy, rescued from his Asiatic prison by America, crossing the Atlantic, charged with the hopes of Europe's oppressed nations, pleading, a poor exile, before the people of this great Republic, his down-trodden country's wrongs, and its intimate connection with the fate of the European continent, and with the boldness of a just cause, claiming the principles of the Christian religion to be raised to a law of nations; and to see not only the boldness of the poor exile forgiven, but to see him consoled by the sympathy of millions, encouraged by individuals, meetings, cities and states, supported by operative aid, and greeted by Congress and by the Government as the nation's guest, honored out of generosity, with that honor which only one man before him received—and that man received then out of gratitude—with honors such as no potentate can ever receive, and this banquet here, and the toast which I have to thank for—oh, indeed, Sir, there is a history of future ages in all these facts.

Sir, though I have the noble pride of my principles, and though I have the inspiration of a just cause, still I have also the conscience of my personal humility. Never will I forget what is due from me to the sovereign source of my public capacity. This I owe to my nation's dignity, and, therefore, respectfully thanking this highly distinguished assembly, in my country's name, I have the boldness to say, that Hungary well deserves your sympathy—that Hungary has a claim to protection, because it has a claim to justice. But as to myself, permit me humbly to express that I am well aware not to have in all these honors any personal share. Now, I know that even that which might seem to be personal in your toast, is only an acknowledgment of a historical fact; very instructively connected with



a principle valuable and dear to every republican heart in the United States of America. Sir, you were pleased to mention in your toast that I am unconquered by misfortune and unseduced by ambition. Now, it is a providential fact, that misfortune has the privilege to ennoble man's mind and to strengthen man's character. There is a sort of natural instinct of human dignity in the heart of man, which steels his very nerves not to bend beneath the heavy blows of a great adversity. The palm-tree grows best beneath a ponderous weight—even so the character of man. There is no merit in it—it is a law of psychology. The petty pangs of small daily cares have often bent the character of men, but great misfortunes seldom. There is less danger in this than in great good luck; and as to ambition, I, indeed, never was able to understand how anybody can more love ambition than liberty. But I am glad to state a historical fact as a principal demonstration of that influence which institutions exercise upon the character of nations. We Hungarians are very fond of the principle of municipal self-government; and we have a natural horror against the principle of centralization. That fond attachment to municipal self-government, without which there is no provincial freedom possible, is a fundamental feature of our national character. We brought it with us from far Asia, a thousand years ago, and we conserved it throughout the vicissitudes of ten centuries.

No nation has perhaps so much struggled and suffered from the civilized Christian world as ours. We do not complain of this lot. It may be heavy but it is not inglorious. Where the cradle of our Saviour stood, and where his divine doctrine was founded, there another faith now rules, and the whole of Europe's armed pilgrimage could not avert this fate from that sacred spot, nor stop the rushing waves of Islamism absorbing the Christian Empire of Constantine. We stopped those rushing waves. The breast of my nation proved a breakwater to them. We guarded Christendom, that Luthers or Calvins might reform it. It was a dangerous time, and the dangers of the time often placed the confidence of all my nation into one man's hand, and their confidence gave power into his hands to become ambitious. But there was not a single instance in history where a man honored by his people's confidence had deceived his people by becoming ambitious. The man out of whom Russian diplomacy succeeded in making the murderer of his nation's confidence—he never had it, but was rather regarded always with distrust. But he gained some victories when victories were the moment's chief necessity. At the head of an army, circumstances placed him in the capacity to ruin his country. But he never had the people's confidence. So, even he is no contradiction to the historical truth, that no Hungarian whom his nation honored with its confidence, was ever seduced by ambition to become dangerous to his country's liberty. That is a remarkable fact, and yet it is not accidental. It is the logical consequence of the influence of institutions upon the national

character. Our nation, through all its history, was educated in the school of municipal self-government, and in such a country, ambition having no field, has also no place in man's character.

The truth of this doctrine becomes yet more illustrated by a quite contrary historical fact in France. Whatever have been the changes of government in that great country—and many they have been, to be sure; we have seen a Convention, a Directorate of Consuls, and one Consul, and an Emperor, and the restoration—the fundamental tone of the Constitution of France was power always centralized, Omnipotence always vested somewhere; and remarkably, indeed, France has never yet raised the single man to the seat of power who has not sacrificed his country's freedom to his personal ambition. It is sorrowful, indeed; but it is natural. It is in the garden of centralization where the venomous plant of ambition thrives. I dare confidently affirm, that in your great country there exists not a single man through whose brains has ever passed the thought that [illegible] the seat of his ambition upon the ruins of your country's liberty. If he could, such a wish is impossible in the United States. Institutions react upon the character of nations. He who sows the wind will reap the storm. History is the revelation of Providence. The Almighty rules by eternal laws, not only the material but the moral world; and every law is a principle, and every principle is a law. Men, as well as nations, are endowed with free will to choose a principle, but that once chosen, the consequences must be abided. With self-government is freedom, and with freedom is justice and patriotism. With centralization is ambition, and with ambition dwells despotism. Happy your great country, Sir, for being so warmly addicted to that great principle of self-government. Upon this foundation your fathers raised a home to freedom more glorious than the world has ever seen. Upon this foundation you have developed it to a living wonder of the world. Happy your great country, Sir, that it was selected by the blessing of the Lord, to prove the glorious practicability of a federative Union of many sovereign States, all conserving their State rights and their self-government, and yet united in one. Every star beaming with its own lustre, but all together one constellation on mankind's canopy.

Upon this foundation your country has grown to a prodigious power in a surprisingly brief period. You have attracted power in that. Your fundamental principles have conquered more in seventy-five years than Rome by arms in centuries. Your principles will conquer the world. By the glorious example of your freedom, welfare, and security, mankind is about to become conscious of its aim. The lesson you give to humanity will not be lost, and the respect of the State rights in the Federal Government of America and in its several States, will become an instructive example for universal toleration, forbearance, and justice, to the future States and Republics of Europe. Upon this basis will be got rid of the mysterious question of language, and nationalities raised by the cunning despotisms in Europe to murder Liberty, and the smaller States will find security in the principles of federative union, while they will conserve their national freedom by the principles of sovereign self-government; and while larger States abdicating the principles of centralization, will cease to be a blood-field to sanguinary usurpation, and a tool to the ambition of wicked men, municipal institutions will insure the development of local particular elements—Freedom, formerly an abstract, political theory, will become the household benefit to municipalities, and out of the welfare and contentment of all parts will flow happiness, peace, and security for the whole. That is my confident hope. There will at once subside the fluctuations of Germany's fate. It will become the heart of Europe, not by melting North Germany into a Southern frame, or the South into a Northern; not by absorbing historical peculiarities, by centralized omnipotence; not by mixing in one State, but by federating several sovereign States into a Union like yours, upon a similar basis, will take place the national regeneration of the Sclavonic States, and not upon the sacrilegious idea of Panslavism, equivalent to the omnipotence of the Czar.



Upon a similar basis will we see fair Italy independent and free. Not Unity, but Union, will and must become the watchword of national bodies, severed into desecrated limbs by provisional rivalries, out of which a flock of despots and common servitude arose. To be sure, it will be a noble joy to this your great Republic, to feel that the moral influence of your glorious example has operated in producing this glorious development in mankind's destiny; and I have not the slightest doubt of the efficacy of your example's influence. But there is one thing indispensable to it, without which there is no hope for this happy issue. This indispensable thing is, that the oppressed nations of Europe become the masters of their future, free to regulate their own domestic concerns, and to secure this nothing is wanted but to have that fair play to all, and for all, which you, Sir, in your toast were pleased to pronounce as a right of my nation, alike sanctioned by the law of nations as by the dictates of eternal justice. Without this fair play there is no hope for Europe—no hope of seeing your principle spread. Yours is a happy country, gentlemen. You had more than fair play. You had active, operative aid from Europe in your struggle for independence, which, once achieved, you so wisely used as to become a prodigy of freedom and welfare, and a Book of Life to nations. But we, in Europe—we, unhappily, have no such fair play with us, against every palpitation of Liberty. All despots are united in a common league, and you may be sure despots will never yield to the moral influence of your great example. They hate the very existence of this example. It is the sorrow of their thoughts and the incubus of their dreams. To

stop its moral influence abroad, and to check its spreading development at home, is what they wish, instead of yielding to its influence. We will have no fair play. The Cossack already rules, by Louis Napoleon's usurpation, to the very borders of the Atlantic Ocean.

One of your great statesmen—now to my sorrow bound to the sick bed of advanced age—alas, that I am deprived of the advice which his wisdom could have imparted to me—your great statesman told the world thirty years ago that Paris was transferred to St. Petersburg. What would he now say, when St. Petersburg is transferred to Paris, and Europe is but an appendix to Russia? Alas! Europe can no longer secure to Europe fair play. Albion only remains. But even Albion casts a sorrowful glance over the waves. Still we will stand our place, sink or swim, live or die. You know the word. It is your own. We will follow it. It will be a bloody path to tread. Despots have conspired against the world. Terror spreads over Europe, and anticipating persecution rules from Paris to Pesth. There is a gloomy silence, like the silence of nature before the terrors of a hurricane. It is a sensible silence, only disturbed by the thousand-fold rattling of muskets by which Napoleon murders the people which gave him a home when he was an exile, and by the groans of new martyrs in Sicily, Milan, Vienna and Pesth. The very sympathy which I met in England, and was expected to meet here, throws my sisters into the dungeons of Austria. Well, God's will be done. The heart may break but duty will be done. We will stand in our place, though to us in Europe there be no fair play. But so much I hope, that no just man on earth can charge me with unbecoming arrogance, when here, on this soil of freedom, I kneel down and raise my prayer to God—"Almighty Father of Humanity, will Thy merciful arm not raise a power on earth to protect the law of nations, when there are so many to violate it?" It is a prayer and nothing else. What would remain to the oppressed if they were not permitted to pray? The rest is in the hand of God.

Gentlemen, I know where I stand. No honor, no encouraging generosity, will make me ever forget where I stand and what is due from me to you. Here my duty is silently to await what you in your wisdom will be pleased to pronounce about that which public opinion knows to be my prayer and my aim, and be it your will to pronounce, or be it your will not to take notice of it, I will understand your will, and bow before it with devotion, love, and gratitude to your generous people, to your glorious land. But one single word, even here, I may be permitted to say, only such a word as may secure me from being misunderstood. I came to the noble-minded people of the United States to claim its generous operative sympathy for the impending struggle of oppressed freedom on the European Continent, and I freely interpreted the hopes and wishes which these oppressed nations entertain, but as to your great Republic, as a State, as a power on earth, I stand before the Statesmen, Senators and Legislators of that Republic, only to ascertain from their wisdom and experience what is their judgment upon a question of national law and international right. I hoped, and now hope, that they will by the foreboding events on the other great continent, feel induced to pronounce in time their vote about that law and those rights, and I hoped and hope that in pronouncing their vote, it will be in the broad principles of international justice, and consonant with their republican institutions and their democratic life.



That is all I know and Europe knows—the immense weight of such a pronunciation from such a place. But never had I the impious wish to try to entangle this great Republic into difficulties inconsistent with its own welfare, its own security, its own interest. I rather repeatedly and earnestly declared that a war on this account by your country is utterly impossible, and a mere phantom. I always declared that the United States remained masters of their actions, and under every circumstance will act as they judge consistent with the supreme duties to themselves. But I said and say that such a declaring of just principles would insure to the nations of Europe fair play in their struggle for freedom and independence, because the declaration of such a power as your Republic will be respected even where it is not liked; and Europe's oppressed nations will feel cheered in resolution, and doubled in strength, to maintain the decision of their American brethren on their own behalf with their own lives. There is an immense power in the idea to be right, when this idea is sanctioned by a nation like yours, and when the foreboding future will become present, there is an immense field for private benevolence, and sympathy upon the basis of the broad principles of international justice pronounced in the sanctuary of your people's collective majority. So much to guard me against misunderstanding.

Sir, I must fervently thank you for the acknowledgment that my country has proved worthy to be free. Yes, gentlemen, I feel proud of my nation's character, heroism, love of freedom and vitality, and I bow with reverential awe before the decree of Providence which placed my country in a position that, without its restoration to independence, there is no possibility for freedom and the independence of nations on the European continent. Even what now in France is about to pass, proves the truth of this. Every disappointed hope with which Europe looked towards France, is a degree more added to the importance of Hungary to the world. Upon our plains were fought the decisive battles for Christendom. There will be fought the decisive battle for the independence of nations, for state rights, for international law, and for democratic liberty. We will live free or die like men; but should my people be doomed to die, it will be the first whose death will not be recorded as a suicide, but as a martyrdom for the world; and future ages will mourn over the sad fate of the Magyar race, doomed to perish, not because in the nineteenth century there was nobody to protect the laws of nature and of na-

ture's God. But I look to the future with confidence and with hope. Adversities manifold of a tempest-tossed life, could, of course, not fail to impart a mark of cheerfulness upon my heart, which, if not a source of joy, is at least a guarantee against sanguine illusions. I, for myself, would not want the hope of success for doing what is right to me. The sense of duty would suffice. Therefore, when I hope, it has nothing in common with that desperate instinct of a drowning man, who, half sunk, is still grasping at a straw for help. No; when I hope, there is motive for the hope.

I have a steady faith in principles. I dare say that experience taught me the logic of events, in connection with principles. I have fathomed the entire bottom of this mystery, and was, I perceive, right in my calculations there, about once in my life, I supposed a principle to exist in a certain quarter, where, indeed, no principle proves to exist. It was a horrible mistake, and resulted in a horrible issue. The present condition of Europe is a very consequence of it; but precisely this condition of Europe proves, I did not wantonly suppose a principle to exist there, where I found none would have existed. The consequences could not have failed to arrive as I have contemplated them well. There is a providence in every fact. Without this mistake, the principles of American republicanism would, for a long time yet, find a sterile soil on that continent, where it was considered wisdom to belong to the French school. Now, matters stand thus: That either the Continent of Europe has no future at all, or this future is American Republicanism. And who could believe that three hundred millions of that Continent, which is the mother of civilization, are not to have any future at all? Such a doubt would be almost blasphemy against Providence. But there is a Providence, indeed—a just, a bountiful Providence—I trust, with the piety of my religion in it; I dare say my very humble self was a continual instrument of it. How could I be else in such a condition as I was—born not conspicuous by any prominent abilities? Having nothing in me more than an iron will which nothing can bend, and the consciousness of being right, how could I, under the most arduous circumstances, accomplish many a thing which my sense of honest duty prompted me to understand?

Oh, there is, indeed, a Providence which rules, even in my being here, when four months ago I was yet a prisoner of the league of European despots, in far Asia, and the sympathy which your glorious people honor me with, and the high benefit of the welcome of your Congress, and the honor to be your guest—to be the guest of your great Republic—I, the poor, humble, unpretending exile—is there not a very intelligible manifestation of Providence in it?—the more when I remember that the name of your humble, but thankful guest, is, by the furious rage of the Austrian tyrant, to the gallows nailed. Your generosity is great, and loud your patriotism of republican principles against despotism. I firmly trust to those principles;



and relying upon this very fact of your generosity, I may be permitted to say that that respectable organ of the free press may be mistaken, which announced that I considered my coming hither to be a failure. I confidently trust that the nations of Europe have a future. I am aware that the future is contradicted. Bayonets may support, but afford no chair to sit upon. I trust to the future of my native land, because I know that is worthy to have it; and it is necessary to the destinies of humanity. I trust to the principles of republicanism, whatever be my personal fate. So much I know, that my country will remember you and your glorious land with everlasting gratitude.

Please give the following fax-
pages to Miss Beasley.

Dear Miss Beasley,

Unfortunately I could not find the
full speech of Waterhe. Maybe you can
use the few sentences which I am sending you.

Sincerely
John Harrote

'89-06-21 00:09 ICM INT EXP IMP USA P.2



hand of A. C. Kingsland, Mayor of New York City, the sum of one thousand dollars.[63] His brother-in-law, Mr. Barnum, gave a Kossuth-benefit in his "Museum" in Philadelphia, turning over more than three hundred dollars to the same fund.[64] Apollonia Jagello, who settled with her husband, Major G. Tochman, in Washington, D.C., proposed to start a collection in the city in order to purchase a home for Kossuth in the nation's capital, and it was only because Ujhazy discouraged the plan that she did not go through with it.[65] The Tochmans were able to assist Joseph Frick, leader of one hundred twenty-eight Hungarian Forty-eighters from Sumla, Turkey, who on their way to New-Buda, Iowa, were stranded in Chicago. Mrs. Tochman appealed to the President, who in turn secured the financial assistance of the Washington financier, Mr. Corcoran, who then supplied the necessary funds.[66]

Shortly after Kossuth arrived in America, in his speech at the Municipal Dinner at New York, he said:

> Gentlemen, I would rather starve than rely for myself and family on foreign aid; but for my country's freedom, I would not be ashamed to go abegging from door to door (great cheering). Gentlemen, I mean financial aid; money to assist the cause of freedom and independence of Hungary. . . . There are two means to see this, my humble wish, accomplished. The first is from spontaneous subscription, to put the offerings of kind friends at my disposal for the benefit of my country's cause. The second is, should I be so happy to see that generous men would form committees throughout the United States, to raise out of the free offerings of the people, some material aid to assist the second course of freedom and independence of Hungary.[67]

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[63] New York Daily Tribune, October 6, 1851.

[64] Ibid., November 22, 1851.

[65] The National Era, (Washington, D.C.) February 2, 1852.

[66] Ibid.

[67] The New York Daily Tribune, December 12, 1851.

answer of the President!"[65] But Kossuth knew what Fillmore's words meant. "The curt, and decided speech of Mr. Fillmore, yesterday," wrote Everett's informant from Washington, "in reply to the invocation of Kossuth, fell on upon the illustrious exile like cold lead . . ."[66] It was after the private dinner which President Fillmore gave to Kossuth on January 3, 1852 that Kossuth saw his failure with the administration and Congress. He wrote that night to Webster:

> I will abide my fate, though I apprehend that my expectations in respect to the foreign policy of the U.S. are about to fail; although my prophecies as to the universality of impending danger to the principles of freedom on earth become sooner realized than even I have expected.[67]

In spite of the many rebuffs, Kossuth tried to make some capital out of his stay in Washington.

> In returning the private visits of the Cabinet - General Scott, and other distinguished persons holding office under the Government, Kossuth has studiously tried, by going to the departments and places of business of these gentlemen, attended by a retinue of Hungarians, to give his visits the air of official ceremony. . . .

wrote Wise to Everett. Even diplomats, said Wise, could see his motives and the act "will be universally stigmatized as a most criminal imposition upon the hospitality of the nation."[68]

The Kossuth reception, both in the Senate on the 5th and in the House on the 7th, was only a formal affair. In the Senate

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[65] Laszlo Karoly, Kanlotoradekek, (Budapest: Franklin Tarsulat, 1887), 154; also Aldor Imre, Vezlatok a Magyar Emigracio Eletebol, (Pest: 1870), 151.

[66] H.A. Wise to Edward Everett, January 1, 1852, Everett Papers, MS The Massachusetts Historical Society.

[67] Kossuth to Webster, Washington, January 3, 1852, Webster Papers, MS, The Massachusetts Historical Society.

[68] Wise to Everett, Washington, January 6, 1852, Everett Papers, MS, The Massachusetts Historical Society.

> . . . he had scarcely taken his seat, before Mr. Mangrim moved an adjournment. . . and then all the world flocked around the 'Child of Oppression' as Kulesmann calls him, and went through the usual American pump-handle expression of their feelings . . . The expression on his face was full of modesty and pleasure - at the same time he seemed proud and elated: and well he might - for an honor that would not have been paid to a King.[69]

Of the House Reception, Wise wrote, "I was only able to hear 'Ze United States' for there is a fierce Western Member beside me, who swore soundly that if the Governor did not stop in a minute, that he . . . would hiss him down. Luckily Kossuth did stop in time. . . ."[70]

More important was the congressional dinner tendered to Kossuth on January 7, 1852, where even the caustic informant of Everett, Mr. Wise, was charmed by Kossuth's oratory. "His manner is quite unlike that of any orator I have ever heard. His expression is inexpressibly sad and pleasing, his gestures full of grace and dignity, with a voice most exquisitely modulated - clear, full and manly."[71] The crowning glory of the dinner was the very pro-Kossuth speeches made by Secretary Webster, General Cass, and "the giant intellect of Young America," Judge Stephen Douglas. At first, Webster declined the invitation. It was only when Charles Sumner talked to William Seward and asked him to convince Webster to go that he consented to be present.[72] Webster wrote to Fillmore that he received assurances that nothing would be said at dinner that could embarrass the

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[69] Wise to Everett, Washington, January 5, 1852. Everett Papers, MS, The Massachusetts Historical Society.

[70] Ibid., January 7, 1852, MS.

[71] H. A. Wise to Edward Everett, Washington, January 8, 1852, Everett Papers, MS, The Massachusetts Historical Society.

[72] H.A.Wise to Edward Everett, Washington, January 19, 1852, Everett Papers, MS, The Massachusetts Historical Society.

In Washington, Kossuth was given no opportunity to speak to the general public. After his formal reception by both Houses of Congress, a semi-official banquet was tendered him on January 7, 1852, and he was invited to the annual Jackson-Day Dinner the following evening. He declared to his audience at the Congressional banquet that "Europe is but an appendage to Russia," and since the recent events in France only England remained free, "but even Albion casts a sorrowful glance over the waves." According to him, there was one possible advantage of Napoleon's rise to power:

> The principles of American Republicanism would for a long time find a sterile soil on that continent where it was considered wisdom to belong to the French School of centralism. Now matters stand thus: That either the continent of Europe has no future at all or this future in American Republicanism.[59]

In his Jackson-Day Dinner speech, Kossuth pleaded with America to foster the idea of Anglo-American Union and to give moral support to his theory of "intervention for non-intervention."[60]

Kossuth's bitter disappointment in Washington was reflected in his speech before the Legislature of Maryland at Annapolis on January 13, 1852, where he said in discussing Hungary's fall: "America was silent, England did not stir; and while you were assisted by a French <u>King</u>, we were forsaken by the French <u>republic</u> - itself now trodden down because it has forsaken us."[61] In this Annapolis speech he spoke eloquently of the "glorious destiny of America." According to Kossuth, now that America "had been as

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[59] <u>The Independent</u>, (New York Weekly), January 15, 1852.

[60] <u>New York Herald</u>, January 10, 1852.

[61] Headley, <u>op.cit.</u>, 288.

an asylum for the oppressed, it should become, by regenerating Europe, the pillar of mankind's liberty."[62]

After his Washington experiences, Kossuth knew that he could expect no financial help for his projected revolutionary fight in Europe from official government circles, so, accordingly his speeches in the Western States became more and more appeals for money and for public pressure on the government in behalf of Hungary. In his talk before the Pennsylvania Legislature at Harrisburgh, he expressed his warm approval of their official action in approving his theory of "intervention for non-intervention," and he made a strong appeal for financial aid through the forming of "Associations of Friends of Hungary."[63] In Pittsburgh, where his speech was delivered in the Masonic Hall on January 26, 1852, he discoursed at great length on the power of Russian secret-diplomacy and of its aim to exclude American exports from the continent of Europe. He prophesied that if the United States would not abandon its diplomatic indifference toward Europe, sooner or later it would have to fight alone against universal despotism.[64] In Salem, Ohio, where Kossuth was somewhat off guard because of his unpleasant experiences with the Pittsburgh Reception Committee,[65] he blurted out rather openly his reason for forming the "Associations of the Friends of Hungary." He said:

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[62]Endre Sebestyen, "Kossuth on America and American Democracy," Magyarsag (Pittsburg Weekly), October 15, 1943.

[63]Pittsburgh Post Gazette, January 24, 1852.

[64]Laszlo Karoly, Kapolcsredakek, (Budapest: Franklin Tarsulat, 1887), 170 ff.

[65]Kende Geza, Magyarok Amerikaban, (Cleveland: Szabadsag Publishing Co., 1927), I.

country home of Mr. McAllister,[17] before he could continue his journey to Philadelphia on the 24th of December, 1851.

The Philadelphia reception, which lasted from the 24th of December to the 27th of December, and the Baltimore reception from the 27th to the 29th of December were in many respects similar to that of the New York one. It has been reported that more than twenty military companies participated from surrounding towns in the Philadelphia parade. W. T. Coggshall[18] who had been appointed by Horace Greeley as a special reporter to cover the entire Kossuth Tour in America, wrote to his paper: "The civic procession exceeds that of the New York reception in displays. There are immense crowds."[19]

The nation's capital had no parades or mass meetings arranged for Kossuth, but the greatest honors Washington could give were his. He was received officially by both Houses of Congress on January 7, 1852. Kossuth felt deeply honored when he said in the House of Representatives:

> Through all the past, honors were bestowed upon glory, and glory was attached only to success, the legislative authorities of this great republic bestow honors upon a persecuted exile, not conspicuous by glory, not favored by success, but engaged in a just cause. . . . Therefore, there is a triumph of republican principles in this fact.[20]

How deeply the country was impressed by Kossuth's official reception in Washington, can be sensed from a letter of Thomas Corwin written to J.J. Crittenden, the day after the Kossuth reception. He wrote of the

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[17] Ibid., December 23, 1851.

[18] Carter, op.cit., I.

[19] The New York Daily Tribune, December 27, 1851.

[20] Republic, (Washington) January 8, 1852.

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5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Reuter Library Report

June 8, 1989, Thursday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 254 words

HEADLINE: RADIO FREE EUROPE TO OPEN OFFICE IN BUDAPEST

DATELINE: BUDAPEST, June 8

KEYWORD: HUNGARY -RADIO

BODY:

Radio Free Europe, long jammed by Hungary's Communist authorities as a tool of imperialist propaganda, will soon have an accredited correspondent and office in Budapest.

"There is no obstacle of principle and implementation is under way," the government daily Magyar Hirlap on Thursday quoted Foreign Ministry press official Jeno Szombath as saying.

"We ourselves created the information monopoly of such media organisations as RFE," Szombath said.

"Hungarians often learnt from them what was going on in the country but the situation has radically changed."

One frequent criticism of RFE in Budapest is that the U.S.-funded radio station, which prepares broadcasts to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in Munich, West Germany, incited Hungarians to senseless resistance against invading Soviet tanks during the 1956 uprising.

"Of course RFE has changed, but Hungarian realities have changed even more," Szombath said.

An RFE spokesman in Munich welcomed the Hungarian decision, saying the Budapest bureau would be RFE's first in Eastern Europe although other countries in the region may soon follow Hungary's example to allow greater access.

Some correspondents and researchers from RFE and its Radio Liberty affiliate were recently allowed into the Soviet Union, but Moscow has barred other station staffers for no apparent reason, the spokesman said.

Poland failed to act on a request from RFE for one of its correspondents to travel there to cover the June 4 parliamentary elections.

SUBJECT: PRESS & MEDIA; POLITICS

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

30-Jun-1989 15:18 EDT

**MEMORANDUM FOR:**
BENKO

**FROM:** VMS MAIL user WHSR
(WHSR@VAXE@)

**SUBJECT:**

Received: From VAXE(WHSR) by VAXC with Jnet id 5128
for BENKO@VAXC; Fri, 30 Jun 89 15:18 EDT
Date: Fri, 30-JUN-1989 15:16 EST
From: <WHSR@VAXE>
To: BENKO@VAXC

<DIST>
SIT: BENKO

<DIST>
PRT: HUGHES KELLER STUDDERT
SIT: BLACKWILL

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231331Z JUN 89

<ORIG>
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

<TO>
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6690
RUEADWW/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

<SUBJ>
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT

<TEXT>
BT
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881
WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By lt NARA, Date 06/02/23

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER,
By lt NARA, Date 06/02/23

WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
-
1. EVENT: ARRIVAL CEREMONY
DATE: TUESDAY, 11 JULY, 1989
TIME: 6:45 P.M.
LOCATION: FERIHEGY AIRPORT 1
ATTENDEES: 15 PLUS PRESIDENT'S PARTY
PARTICIPANTS:

| UNITED STATES | HUNGARY |
|---|---|
| PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH | PRESIDENT AND MRS. |
| - | BRUNO STRAUB |
| SECRETARY AND MRS. BAKER | FOREIGN MINISTER GYULA |
| - | HORN |
| LTGEN SCOWCROFT | CHIEF OF PROTOCOL |
| AIDE DE CAMP | AIDE DE CAMP |

OTHERS FROM PRESIDENTIAL PARTY
AMBASSADOR AND MRS. PALMER
MR. AND MRS. DONALD KURSCH (DCM)
MR. AND MRS. THOMAS LYNCH (POL)
COLONEL RUTH ANDERSON (DATT)
LTC SEAN MAXWELL (ARMA)
CW2 JAMES CALL (AARMA)
SFC KAREN LEAYCRAFT
SSG RICHARD FRENCH (DAO)
GYSGT SULLIVAN CLARK
FOUR MARINE GUARDS
PRESS: PRESS PLANE WILL HAVE LANDED 20 MINUTES PRIOR - ANTICIPATE FULL MEDIA COVERAGE.
SCENARIO: AT 6:45 P.M. AIR FORCE ONE ARRIVES AT FERIHEGY AIRPORT BUDAPEST, HUNGARY. AMBASSADOR PALMER AND THE CHIEF OF PROTOCOL WILL BOARD AIR FORCE ONE AND WELCOME THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH. THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH FOLLOWED BY AMBASSADOR PALMER AND THE CHIEF OF PROTOCOL WILL THEN DISEMBARK IN PROTOCOL ORDER.
THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH WILL BE GREETED AT THE BOTTOM OF THE STAIRS BY PRESIDENT AND MRS. STRAUB. THE TWO PRESIDENTS WILL THEN ENTER THE FIRST CAR AND THE TWO LADIES THE SECOND FOR THE RIDE TO KOSSUTH LAJOS TER. THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION WHO WILL PROCEED TO KOSSUTH LAJOS TER WILL THEN ENTER THE CARS WHICH WILL JOIN THE POLICE - ESCORTED MOTORCADE.
2. EVENT: ARRIVAL CEREMONY AT KOSSUTH STATUE
DATE: TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989
TIME: 7:15 P.M.
LOCATION: KOSSUTH MEMORIAL, KOSSUTH SQUARE
ATTENDEES: THOUSANDS (HUNGARIAN CROWDS, HEADS OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS, ATTACHE CORPS, HUNGARIAN WELCOMING PARTY)
PARTICIPANTS:

| UNITED STATES | HUNGARY |
|---|---|
| PRESIDENT BUSH | PRESIDENT STRAUB (SHTRAWB) |
| MRS. BUSH | MRS. STRAUB |
| SECRETARY BAKER | SECRETARY GROSZ (GROSS) |
| MRS. BAKER | PRIME MINISTER NEMETH |
| MR. SUNUNU | (NAY-MET) |
| - | AMBASSADOR HAJDU (HI-DOO) |
| AMBASSADOR PALMER | MINISTER HORN (HORN) |
| MRS. PALMER | INTERPRETER |
| INTERPRETER | |

PRESS: OPEN PRESS
BT
#6881
BT
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881
WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
SCENARIO: AT 7:10 PM THE PRESIDENTIAL MOTORCADE ARRIVES AT KOSSUTH SQUARE THROUGH ALKOTMANY (CONSTITUTION) AVENUE AND MAKES A RIGHT TURN. CROWDS OF HUNGARIANS ARE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE STREET THAT SURROUNDS THE SQUARE. MOTORCADE CONTINUES ON THE ROAD AS IT BENDS TO THE LEFT AND MAKES A LEFT TURN, CROSSING THE TRAM TRACKS AT THE INTERSECTION WITH BALASI BALINT STREET. THE MOTORCADE STOPS BY THE ENTRANCE TO THE PARK WITH THE KOSSUTH MEMORIAL, OPPOSITE FROM PARLIAMENT'S GATE XVII.
PRESIDENT BUSH AND PRESIDENT STRAUB DISMOUNT AND ARE MET BY HUNGARIAN CHIEF OF PROTOCOL, AMBASSADOR HAJDU, WHO ESCORTS THEM TO THE FRONT OF KOSSUTH MONUMENT. ONCE THERE, PRESIDENTS BUSH AND STRAUB ARE JOINED BY THEIR WIVES, SECRETARY AND MRS. BAKER, AND AMBASSADOR AND DR. PALMER, AND PRESIDENT STRAUB, PRESIDENT STRAUB MAKES A VERY BRIEF INTRODUCTION FOR PRESIDENT BUSH (NOTE: PRESIDENTIAL PARTY STANDS EITHER BEHIND OR TO THE RIGHT OF THE PRESIDENT AS HE MAKES HIS REMARKS). PRESIDENT BUSH APPROACHES THE PRESIDENTIAL PODIUM AND BEGINS HIS REMARKS, EXPECTED TO LAST 7-10 MINUTES (NOTE: TRANSLATOR'S MICROPHONE NOT ON PODIUM. AS PRESIDENT BUSH MAKES HIS REMARKS, CROWDS OF HUNGARIANS WILL BE IN FRONT, AND TO HIS LEFT. ALSO, TO THE LEFT WILL BE THE PRESS, HEADS OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS, MILITARY ATTACHES, AND HUNGARIAN WELCOMING PARTY.)
UPON COMPLETION OF REMARKS, PRESIDENT BUSH WILL JOIN PRESIDENT STRAUB AND PROCEED TO THE NATIONAL COLORS STAND ALONG THE PATH TO THE LEFT, PARALLEL TO AND CLOSEST TO THE STREET. CROWDS OF HUNGARIANS WILL BE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE PATH. MEANWHILE, MRS BUSH AND MRS. STRAUB WILL RETRACE THEIR STEPS TO THE MOTORCADE

AND PROCEED BY CAR TO THEIR PLACE AT THE OFFICIAL RECEPTION CEREMONY IN FRONT OF THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING, NEAR THE NATIONAL COLORS STAND. THE HEADS OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS, MILITARY ATTACHES AND HUNGARIAN WELCOMING PARTY WILL WALK TO THEIR POSITIONS FOR THE NEXT CEREMONY.

3. EVENT: OFFICIAL RECEPTION CEREMONY IN FRONT OF PARLIAMENT

DATE: TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989
TIME: 7:30 P.M.
LOCATION: KOSSUTH SQUARE, IN FRONT OF PARLIAMENT, NEAR THE NATIONAL COLORS STAND.
ATTENDEES: THOUSANDS (HUNGARIAN CROWDS, HEADS OF DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS, ATTACHE CORPS, HUNGARIAN WELCOMING PARTY)
PARTICIPANTS:

| UNITED STATES | HUNGARY |
|---|---|
| PRESIDENT BUSH | PRESIDENT STRAUB (SHTRAWB) |
| MRS. BUSH | MRS. STRAUB |
| SECRETARY BAKER | MINISTER HORN |
| MRS. BAKER | SECRETARY GROSZ (GROSS) |
| MR. SUNUNU | PRIME MINISTER NEMETH |
| AMBASSADOR PALMER | AMBASSADOR HAJDU (HI-DOO) |
| DR. PALMER | INTERPRETER |
| INTERPRETER | |

PRESS: OPEN PRESS
SCENARIO: ACCOMPANIED BY PRESIDENT STRAUB AND INTERPRETER, PRESIDENT BUSH ARRIVES AT KOSSUTH SQUARE AND IS MET BY THE COMMANDER OF THE HONOR GUARD, WHO SALUTES AND REPORTS TO PRESIDENT BUSH. AFTER THE COMMANDER OF THE HONOR GUARD REPORTS, THE HUNGARIAN AND AMERICAN NATIONAL ANTHEMS ARE PLAYED BY THE MILITARY BAND WHILE PRESIDENT BUSH AND PRESIDENT STRAUB STAND AT ATTENTION. UPON COMPLETION OF THE ANTHEMS, THE COMMANDER OF THE HONOR GUARD LEADS
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BT
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881
WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
PRESIDENT BUSH AND PRESIDENT STRAUB FORWARD TO SALUTE THE HONOR GUARD'S REGIMENTAL STANDARD (COLORS), MAKE A RIGHT TURN AND INSPECT THE HONOR GUARD. UPON PASSING THE HONOR GUARD'S LAST MAN (FIRST RANK ONLY), THE COMMANDER OF THE HONOR GUARD TURNS TO PRESIDENT BUSH AND SALUTES. HUNGARIAN CHILDREN WILL PRESENT A BOUQUET OF FLOWERS TO PRESIDENT BUSH AND MRS. BUSH, WHO WILL JOIN THE PRESIDENT BUSH AT THAT POINT. MAKING ANOTHER RIGHT TURN, THE PRESIDENT BUSH WALKS

RWARD AND GREET/INTRODUCES SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE
ESIDENTIAL PARTY AND EMBASSY STAFF. BY MAKING YET
)THER RIGHT TURN, PRESIDENT BUSH, FOLLOWED BY THE
ESIDENTIAL PARTY, CONTINUES WALKING TOWARDS THE
LCOMING HUNGARIAN PARTY, THE HEADS OF DIPLOMATIC
SSIONS AND MILITARY/AIR ATTACHES. NOTE:
ANWHILE, EMBASSY STAFF MOVES TO A POSITION IN LINE
TH THE WELCOMING PARTY AND OUT OF THE WAY OF THE
LITARY FORMATION.) AT THE END OF THE LINE,
ESIDENT BUSH RETURNS TO THE PRESIDENTIAL DAIS
)CATED IN FRONT OF THE HUNGARIAN AND DIPLOMATIC
ARTIES, AND OPPOSITE THE HONOR GUARD. MRS. BUSH,
RS. STRAUB, AND THE PRESIDENTIAL PARTY REMAIN
EHIND THE DAIS WITH EITHER PRESIDENT BUSH OR
RESIDENT STRAUB, WHILE THE OTHER IS SPEAKING. AFTER
RESIDENT STRAUB'S BRIEF INTRODUCTION, PRESIDENT BUSH
ILL MAKE SOME BRIEF REMARKS, AFTER WHICH, HE WILL
EVIEWS FROM THE DAIS THE CEREMONIAL MARCH OF THE
ONOR GUARD. AT THE COMPLETION OF CEREMONIES, THE
RESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH TURN TOWARDS THE MAIN
NTRANCE OF PARLIAMENT (TO THE RIGHT AND BEHIND THE
'RESIDENTIAL PARTY/EMBASY STAFF) FOR DINNER.

. EVENT: STATE DINNER AT PARLIAMENT
)ATE: TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989
TIME: 8:00 P.M.
LOCATION: PARLIAMENT
ATTENDEES: 100 - 120
PARTICIPANTS:
UNITED STATES HUNGARY
(GUEST LIST TO BE PROVIDED BY MFA)
PRESS: POOL COVERAGE
SCENARIO: PRESIDENT BUSH AND THE OFFICIAL PARTY WILL
ARRIVE AT THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING AT 8:00 P.M. AT THE
MAIN ENTRANCE. THEY WILL BE ESCORTED BY THE CHIEF OF
PROTOCOL UP THE MAIN STAIRS TO THE DOME ROOM. AT THE
TOP OF THE STAIRS WILL BE THE OFFICIAL RECEIVING
LINE, HEADED BY PRESIDENT AND MRS. STRAUB. PRESIDENT
AND MRS. BUSH AND THE OFFICIAL PARTY WILL MOVE DOWN
THE LINE, SHAKING HANDS WITH ALL INVITED GUESTS, BOTH
HUNGARIAN AND AMERICAN. COCKTAILS WILL THEN BE
SERVED FOR FIVE TO TEN MINUTES. THE CHIEF OF
PROTOCOL WILL THEN LEAD PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH AND
PRESIDENT AND MRS STRAUB TO THEIR SEATS IN THE
HUNTERS' HALL, WHERE THE DINNER WILL TAKE PLACE. ALL
OTHER GUESTS WILL FOLLOW, AND WILL BE SEATED AFTER
PRESIDENT BUSH AND MRS. BUSH AND PRESIDENT AND MRS.
STRAUB HAVE BEEN SEATED. GUESTS WILL RECEIVE (PRIOR
TO THE DINNER) DIAGRAMS INDICATING THE SEATING
ARRANGEMENT AT THE SINGLE LONG TABLE AND ADDITIONAL
ROUND TABLES.
ONCE ALL THE GUESTS ARE IN PLACE, REMARKS FOLLOWED BY
A TOAST WILL BE OFFERED FIRST BY PRESIDENT STRAUB AND
THEN FOLLOWED BY PRESIDENT BUSH. BOTH REMARKS AND
TOASTS WILL BE TRANSLATED PRIOR TO THE DINNER;

PRINTED VERSIONS WILL BE AVAILABLE TO GUESTS AT THE TABLE; THERE WILL BE NO INTERPRETERS FOR THE REMARKS OR TOASTS. THE MEDIA WILL BE PRESENT DURING THE REMARKS AND TOASTS, BUT WILL LEAVE PRIOR TO DINNER (NOTE: MEDIA PARTICIPATION AT THE HUNTER'S HALL WILL BE LIMITED DUE TO LIMITED SPACE.). AFTER THE MEAL IS OVER AND COFFEE HAS BEEN SERVED (APPROXIMATELY
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881
WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
10:00), PRESIDENT BUSH AND MRS. BUSH WILL BE ESCORTED FROM THE HUNTERS' HALL BY PRESIDENT STRAUB TO THE MAIN GATE FOR A 10:05 DEPARTURE. FOLLOWING PRESIDENT BUSH'S DEPARTURE, OTHER GUESTS WILL LEAVE.
5. EVENT: GUEST HOUSE
DATE: JULY 11-13, 1989, 1989
TIME: 10:10 P.M.
LOCATION: GOH GUEST HOUSE, XII BELA KIRALY UT 26
ATTENDEES: 50
PARTICIPANTS:

| UNITED STATES | HUNGARY |
|---|---|
| PRESIDENT | CHIEF OF PROTOCOL |
| SECRETARY BAKER | GUEST HOUSE DIRECTOR |
| AMBASSADOR PALMER | MFA OFFICIALS |
| OTHER OFFICIAL GUESTS | |

PRESS: NONE
SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT, MRS. BUSH, AND OTHER GUESTS WILL ENTER THE MAIN FOYER OF THE GUEST HOUSE AND BE MET BY GUEST HOUSE DIRECTOR, MR. ERIK GALOVCSIK. IT IS NORMAL PRACTICE FOR THE MFA TO MAKE REMARKS AND HOST A WELCOMING RECEPTION. THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH WILL THEN PROCEED TO SUITE 301 FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE EVENING. OTHER GUESTS WILL PROCEED TO THEIR ASSIGNED ROOMS.
6. EVENT: MEETING WITH PRESIDENT STRAUB
DATE: WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1989
TIME: 9:00 A.M.
LOCATION: NANDORFEHERVARI HALL, PARLIAMENT
ATTENDEES: 5
PARTICIPANTS:

| UNITED STATES | HUNGARY |
|---|---|
| PRESIDENT BUSH | PRESIDENT STRAUB (SHTRAWB) |
| INTERPRETER | INTERPRETER |

FRANCISCO GONZALEZ/NOTETAKER
PRESS: PHOTO OPPORTUNITY
SCENARIO: AT 8:58 A.M., PRESIDENT BUSH ARRIVES AT PARLIAMENT'S GATE I AND IS MET ON ARRIVAL BY THE

COMMANDER OF PARLIAMENT GUARD. PRESIDENT BUSH IS ESCORTED BY THE COMMANDER OF PARLIAMENT GUARD TO THE ELEVATOR AND PROCEEDS TO NANDORFEHERVARI HALL, TO THE LEFT OF THE ELEVATOR EXIT, TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT STRAUB.
NOTE: CONCURRENT WITH PRESIDENT BUSH'S ARRIVAL, MEMBERS OF THE WORKING PARTY ARRIVE AT GATE I OF PARLIAMENT, VIA SEPARATE MOTORCADE, FOR SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS. THE WORKING PARTY WILL BE MET ON ARRIVAL AND WILL BE ESCORTED TO A WAITING ROOM ADJACENT MUNKACSY HALL.
7. EVENT: MEETING WITH FIRST SECRETARY GROSZ
DATE: WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1989
TIME: 9:15 A.M.
LOCATION: MUNKACSY HALL, PARLIAMENT
ATTENDEES: 16
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 05 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881
WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
PARTICIPANTS:

| UNITED STATES | HUNGARY |
|---|---|
| PRESIDENT BUSH | FIRST SECRETARY GROSZ (GROSS) |
| SECRETARY BAKER | FOREIGN MINISTER HORN |
| AMBASSADOR PALMER | SIX OTHER HUNGARIANS |
| DON KURSCH/NOTETAKER | INTERPRETER |
| - FIVE OTHER AMERICANS | |
| INTERPRETER | |

PRESS: PHOTO OPPORTUNITY
SCENARIO: AT 9:10 A.M. PRESIDENT BUSH LEAVES NANDORFEHERVARI HALL, TURNS LEFT AND WALKS TWENTY YARDS STRAIGHT AHEAD TO FERHERVARY HALL. MEMBERS OF THE WORKING PARTY WILL BE WAITING OUTSIDE THE FEHERVARY HALL AND FOLLOW PRESIDENT BUSH. MEETING WILL LAST FIFTY MINUTES.
8. EVENT: MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER NEMETH
DATE: WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1989
TIME: 10:10 A.M.
LOCATION: DELEGATION ROOM, PARLIAMENT
ATTENDEES: 16
PARTICIPANTS:

| UNITED STATES | HUNGARY |
|---|---|
| PRESIDENT BUSH | PRIME MINISTER NEMETH (NAY-MET) |
| SECRETARY BAKER | FOREIGN MINISTER HORN |
| AMBASSADOR PALMER | INTERPRETER |
| SANDY DEMBSKI/NOTETAKER | |
| - FIVE OTHER AMERICANS | |

ERPRETER
SS: PHOTO OPPORTUNITY
NARIO: AT 10:05 A.M. PRESIDENT BUSH LEAVES
DORFEHERVARI HALL, WALKS TO THE END OF THE HALL,
RE HE CONTINUES TO THE LEFT. PRESIDENT CONTINUES
N THE HALL UNTIL HE ARRIVES AT THE MAIN STAIRCASE
A, WHERE HE TURNS TO THE RIGHT INTO THE DELEGATION
M.
E: UPON CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING WITH PRIME
ISTER NEMETH, PRESIDENT BUS AND REMAINING WORKING
RTY ARE ESCORTED DOWN THROUGH THE MAIN ENTRANCE TO
MOTORCADE FOR DEPARTURE.
EVENT: MEETING WITH STUDENTS
E: WEDNESDAY, 12 JULY 1989
E: 12:25 P.M.
CATION: TANCSICS MIHALY NO. 9, THE VAR
TENDEES: 15
RTICIPANTS:

| | |
|---|---|
| ITED STATES | HUNGARY |
| ESIDENT BUSH | ROBERT BRAUN, WALLENBERG COMMITTEE |
| LBERT E. KINDELAN II | MARTA PELLARDI, EOTVOS LORANT UNIV. |
| AO ECSODI | TAMAS SZIGETI, TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY |
| SGT SULLIVAN CLARK | TAMAS UNVARI, AIESEC BUSINESS GROUP |
| | CHRISTOPHER PINON, |

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 06 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881
HITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
HITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
EPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
.O. 12356: OADR
AGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
UBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT

| | |
|---|---|
| ISG #2 | ZSUZSA SZELENYI (FIDESZ) |
| ISG #3 | GABOR FODOR (FIDESZ) |
| ISG #4 | JULIANNA MATRAI (FIDESZ) |
| - | ANDRAS VAGVOLGYI (FIDESZ) |
| - | LASZLO KOVER (FIDESZ) |
| - | KMU #1 |
| - | KMU #2 |
| - | KMU #3 |
| - | JATE #1 |
| - | JATE, SZEGED |
| - | PEACE PEN #1 |
| - | PEACE PEN #2 |
| - | PEACE PEN GROUP |

PRESS: POOL
SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT WILL ARRIVE AT THE VAR FROM THE GUEST HOUSE BY MOTORCADE. HIS CAR WILL EITHER

DRIVE INTO THE COURTYARD FROM TANCSICS MIHALY UTCA OR HE WILL EXIT THE CAR AT THE STREET AND WALK INTO THE COURTYARD THROUGH THE MAIN DOOR.
IMMEDIATELY INSIDE THE COURTYARD TO THE RIGHT WILL BE A FOUR-MAN U. S. MARINE CORPS COLOR GUARD COMPOSED OF PERSONNEL PERMANENTLY ASSIGNED TO THE BUDAPEST EMBASSY MARINE SECURITY GUARD DETACHMENT. THE VAR BUILDING CONTAINS THE RESIDENCE OF THE MARINE SECURITY GUARD DETACHMENT.
AFTER REVIEWING THE COLOR GUARD, THE PRESIDENT WILL BE ESCORTED STRAIGHT BACK THROUGH THE COURTYARD TO A TABLE ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE WALKWAY (WITH THE OLD PRISON AS BACKDROP) WHERE HE WILL BE PRESENTED WITH A PEACE PEN. AFTER RECEIVING THE PEACE PEN, THE PRESIDENT WILL BE ESCORTED DOWN DOWN THE STEPS TO THE LOWER GARDEN OVERLOOKING THE DANUBE AND THE PEST SKYLINE WHERE HE WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET AND TALK WITH 15 HUNGARIAN AND AMERICAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS REPRESENTING A CROSS SECTION OF HUNGARIAN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION.
THE PRESS POOL WILL BE ABLE TO COVER ALL ASPECTS OF THIS EVENT UP THROUGH THE FIRST FEW MOMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH THE STUDENTS. THE PRESS WILL BE ABLE TO TALK WITH THE STUDENTS AFTER THE PRESIDENT DEPARTS FOR KARL MARX UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMIC SCIENCES AT 1:05 P.M.
AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING WITH THE STUDENTS, THE PRESIDENT WILL BE ESCORTED BACK UP THE STEPS, THROUGH THE COURTYARD TO TANCSICS MIHALY UTCA WHERE HIS CAR AND THE MOTORCADE WILL BE WAITING. THOSE STUDENTS INTERESTED IN ATTENDING THE KARL MARX SPEECH WILL WALK WITH THE PRESIDENT TO THE STREET WHERE A MINIBUS WILL BE AVAILABLE AT THE END OF THE MOTORCADE TO TRANSPORT THEM TO KARL MARX.
10. EVENT: KARL MARX UNIVERSITY SPEECH
DATE: WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1989
TIME: 1:15 P.M.
LOCATION: KARL MARX UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMIC SCIENCES
DIMITROV TER NO. 8
ATTENDEES: 2,000
PARTICIPANTS:

| UNITED STATES | HUNGARY |
|---|---|
| PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH | CSABA CSAKI, RECTOR, KMU |
| AMBASSADOR MARK PALMER | FERENC GLATZ, MINISTER OF EDUCATION |
| - | |
| GILBERT E. KINDELAN II | |
| JOAO ECSODI | |

PRESS: POOL
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 07 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881
WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL

DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
SCENARIO: THE SPEECH WILL TAKE PLACE IN THE AULA OF KARL MARX UNIVERSITY. THERE WILL BE 2,000 INVITEES COMPOSED PRIMARILY OF UNIVERSITY AND HIGH SCHOOL (ENGLISH BI-LINGUAL SCHOOLS) STUDENTS FROM THROUGHOUT HUNGARY, AMBASSADORS FROM THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY, HUNGARIAN AND AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN, AND INVITED GUESTS OF THE EMBASSY. ABOUT 600 OF THE GUESTS WILL BE SEATED IN THE AULA WHERE THE SPEAKER'S PLATFORM WILL BE LOCATED; ANOTHER 150 SEATS WILL BE IN AN ADJACENT HALL, BUT WITH LIMITED VISIBILITY; SEVERAL HUNDRED STANDEES CAN BE ACCOMMODATED IN THIS ROOM BEHIND THE CHAIRS; THREE CONTIGUOUS LECTURE HALLS, ONE SEATING 450 AND TWO SEATING 350 EACH, WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR THE OVERFLOW CROWD. THE ROOMS ARE EQUIPPED WITH THREE-METER (12 FEET) VIDEO PROJECTION SCREENS ON WHICH THEY WILL BE ABLE TO SEE THE SPEECH. A PLATFORM WILL BE CONSTRUCTED AT THE REAR OF THE AULA FOR USE BY THE PRESS POOL. A LIMITED NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL TICKETS WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR THE PRESS CORPS THROUGH THE PRESS CENTER IF IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO ARRANGE A LIVE VIDEO FEED FROM THE AULO TO THE PRESS CENTER.
THE PRESIDENT WILL ARRIVE AT DIMITROV TER VIA THE SZABADSAG BRIDGE FROM THE VAR AT 1;15 P.M. HE WILL ENTER THE KARL MARX UNIVERSITY BUILDING BY THE ENTRANCE FARTHEST FROM THE BRIDGE. KMU RECTOR CSABA CSAKI (CHA-BA CHA-KI) WILL GREET THE PRESIDENT AT THE STREET ENTRANCE AND ESCORT HIM DIRECTLY INTO THE AULA. AT THE FIRST SEAT TO THE LEFT INSIDE THE AULA, CSAKI WILL INTRODUCE THE PRESIDENT TO MINISTER OF EDUCATION, FERENC GLATZ (FEH-WRENZ GLOTZ). CSAKI AND THE PRESIDENT WILL MOUNT THE PLATFORM AND THE PRESIDENT WILL SIT DOWN FOR A MOMENT WHILE CSAKI INTRODUCES HIM. AFTER THE INTRODUCTION, CSAKI WILL LEAVE THE PLATFORM AND TAKE A SEAT BESIDE THE MINISTER. AT THE END OF THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS, THERE IS A POSSIBLE PRESENTATION TO HIM OF A MEDALLION AND SCROLL BY CSAKI ON BEHALF OF THE UNIVERSITY. IF THIS PRESENTATION IS FORMALLY PROPOSED BY THE UNIVERSITY AND ACCEPTED BY THE WHITE HOUSE, APPROPRIATE ACCEPTANCE REMARKS WILL BE PROVIDED FOR THE PRESIDENT.
AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE SPEECH (AND PRESENTATION CEREMONY), CSAKI WILL ESCORT THE PRESIDENT BACK THROUGH THE UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE HALL TO THE STREET WHERE HIS CAR AND MOTORCADE WILL BE WAITING TO LEAVE FOR THE RESIDENCE.
11. EVENT: MEETING WITH STATE MINISTERS REZSO NYERS AND IMRE POZSGAY
DATE: WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1989

TIME: 2:15 P.M.
LOCATION: RESIDENCE, GARDEN ROOM
ATTENDEES: 12
PARTICIPANTS:

| UNITED STATES | HUNGARY |
|---|---|
| PRESIDENT BUSH | IMRE POZSGAY |
| SECRETARY BAKER | REZSO NYERS |
| PRESIDENTIAL PARTY | |
| AMBASSADOR PALMER | |
| JEFF FELTMAN/NOTETAKER | |
| INTERPRETER | |

PRESS: PHOTO OPPORTUNITY. (STILL PHOTOGRAPHERS ONLY.)
SCENARIO: ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR PALMER AND THE PRESIDENTIAL PARTY, THE PRESIDENT ARRIVES AT THE FRONT ENTRANCE TO THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE AND PROCEEDS INSIDE. 45-DEGREE LEFT TURN; UP A FLIGHT OF
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 08 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881
WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
STAIRS; RIGHT TURN; THREE PACES; LEFT TURN; TEN PACES TO GARDEN ROOM.
AMBASSADOR PALMER INTRODUCES THE PRESIDENT TO THE MINISTERS OF STATE. PRESIDENT EXPRESSES PLEASURE AT MEETING THE TWO LEADING REFORMISTS/PROGRESSIVE FIGURES IN THE HUNGARIAN POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENT. (TALKING POINTS.)
FOLLOWING THE MEETING, THE PRESIDENT PASSES THROUGH FRENCH DOORS AT FAR END OF ROOM INTO THE DINING ROOM, WHERE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OPPOSITION ROUNDTABLE ARE ASSEMBLED FOR FOLLOWING MEETING.
12. EVENT: MEETING WITH LEADERS OF NEW POLITICAL PARTIES
DATE: WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1989
TIME: 3:15 P.M.
LOCATION: RESIDENCE, LIVING ROOM
ATTENDEES: 20
PARTICIPANTS:

| UNITED STATES | HUNGARY |
|---|---|
| PRESIDENT BUSH | MIKLOS VASARHELYI |
| SECRETARY BAKER | NINE OTHER NAMES FROM |
| PRESIDENTIAL PARTY | OPPOSITION ROUNDTABLE |
| AMBASSADOR PALMER | TO BE PROVIDED) |
| TOM LYNCH/NOTETAKER | |
| INTERPRETER | |

PRESS: PHOTO OPPORTUNITY. (STILL PHOTOGRAPHERS ONLY.)

SCENARIO: ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR PALMER, THE PRESIDENT PASSES THROUGH DOOR AND HALLWAY FROM THE RESIDENCE GARDEN ROOM INTO THE LIVING ROOM WHERE MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION ROUNDTABLE ARE ASSEMBLED. THE PRESIDENT AND SENIOR AIDES ASSUME SEATS ON THE CENTER SOFA.
FOLLOWING AMBASSADOR PALMER'S INTRODUCTION, THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSES PLEASURE AT MEETING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OPPOSITION ROUNDTABLE.
(TALKING POINTS.)
POINTS.)
POINTS.)
POINTS.)
13. EVENT: TENNIS
DATE: WEDNESDAY, 12 JULY 1989
TIME: 5:50 P.M.
LOCATION: AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE - TENNIS COURT
ATTENDEES: SIX
PARTICIPANTS:

| UNITED STATES | HUNGARY |
|---|---|
| PRESIDENT BUSH | PRIME MINISTER MIKLOS NEMETH |
| - | (MEEK-LOSH NEM-IT) |
| SECRETARY BAKER | RESZO NYERS (TENTATIVE) |
| - | (RES-O NERSH) |
| AMBASSADOR PALMER | LASZLO HEGYESSY (REFEREE) |
| - | (LAS-LO HEDG-E-SEA) |

PRESS: NONE
SCENARIO: THIS EVENT IS AN OPTION FOR THE
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 09 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881
WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE AND WOULD PROVIDE THE OPPORTUNITY TO GET TOGETHER INFORMALLY WITH PRIME MINISTER NEMETH. IF THE PRESIDENT DECIDES TO PLAY TENNIS, HE SHOULD LEAVE THE GUEST HOUSE AT 5:40 P.M. FOR THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. HE WILL BE MET AT THE RESIDENCE BY AMBASSADOR PALMER AND THE HUNGARIAN PARTICIPANTS. THE COURT IS RED-CLAY. PRESIDENT BUSH AND SECRETARY BAKER SHOULD PLAN TO CHANGE AT THE RESIDENCE FOR THE FOLLOWING 7:00 P.M. RECEPTION ALSO LOCATED AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.
14. EVENT: RECEPTION
DATE: WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1989
TIME: 7:00 - 7:45 P.M.
LOCATION: AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE
ATTENDEES: 200
PARTICIPANTS:

UNITED STATES:
PRESIDENT BUSH
MRS. BUSH
SECRETARY OF STATE BAKER
MRS. BAKER
NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF SUNUNU
REMAINDER OF OFFICIAL PARTY
AMBASSADOR PALMER
MRS. PALMER
DAN FOGEL, ACADEMIC DEAN, INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT
- CENTER
BOB HISRICH, FULBRIGHT PROFESSOR, INTERNATIONAL
- MANAGEMENT CENTER
ANDREW SARLOS, CANADIAN BUSINESSMAN
LYNN CURTIS, MANAGER, BECHTEL HUNGARIAN ALLIANCE
LAJOS SCHMIDT, BAKER AND MCKENZIE
ROBIN WINCHESTER, GENERAL DIRECTOR, CITIBANK
EDWARD SCHWINN
ROBERT V.D. LUFT, GROUP VICE PRESIDENT,
- INTERNATIONAL, AND CHAIRMAN, DUPONT DE NEMOURS
- INTERNATIONAL S.A.
DAVE MCKINNEY, PRESIDENT, IBM--EUROPE
ROY HUFFINGTON, ROY M. HUFFINGTON, INC.
(INVITATION TO HILTON)
PETER PFUGK, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT AND REGIONAL
- DIRECTOR, ESTEE LAUDER
MOGENS BAY, VALMONT INDUSTRIES
ROBERT EATON, GM
UPS REPRESENTATIVE
EDGAR BRONFMAN, WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
ISRAEL SINGER, WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
DR. ALEXANDER HARASZTI, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD,
- AMERICAN HUNGARIAN FEDERATION
CHARLES GATI, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
HUNGARY
H.E. GYULA HORN (DYOO-LAH HORN), FOREIGN MINISTER
H.E. TAMAS BECK (TAH-MASH BECK), MINISTER OF TRADE
H.E. FERENCE HORVATH (FEH-RENTS HOR-VATH), MINISTER
- OF INDUSTRY
H.E. FERENC KARPATI (FEH-RENTS KAR-PAH-TEE), MINISTER
- OF DEFENSE
H.E. KALMAN KULCSAR (KAHL-MAN KOOL-CHAR), MINISTER OF
- JUSTICE
H.E. ANDRAS DERZSI (AHN-DRASH DEHR-ZSEE -- "ZS" LIKE
- ZSUZSA), MINISTER OF TRANSPORTATION,
- COMMUNICATIONS, AND CONSTRUCTION
H.E. CSABA HUTTER (CHU-BUH HUHT-TER), MINISTER OF
- AGRICULTURE
H.E. JUDIT CSEHAK (YOO-DEET CHEH-HAHK), MINISTER OF
- HEALTH AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS
H.E. FERENC GLATZ (FER-RENTS GLAHTZ), MINISTER OF
- CULTURE
BT

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 10 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881
WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
H.E. LASZLO BEKESI (LAHS-LO BAY-KEH-SEE), MINISTER OF
- FINANCE
H.E. IVAN BEREND (EE-VAN BEH-REND), PRESIDENT,
- HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
FERENC BARTHA (FEH-RENTS BAHR-TAH), PRESIDENT,
- NATIONAL BANK OF HUNGARY
DR. BIELEK JOZSEF (BYE-LEHK JO-SEF), MAYOR OF BUDAPEST
H.E. ZSIGMOND JARAI (SIG-MOND YAR-RYE), DEPUTY
- MINISTER OF FINANCE
LASZLO KOVACS (LAHS-LO KO-VACH), STATE SECRETARY,
- MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DR. BELA HAVASI (BAY-LAH HAH-VAH-SEE), DEPUTY
- MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
FERENC RATKAI (FEH-REHNS RAT-KI-EE), DEPUTY MINISTER
- OF CULTURE
DR. ROBERT BOROS (ROE-BERT BOR-OSH), HEAD OF
- INTERNATIONAL DEPT, MINISTRY OF CULTURE
JOZSEF CZEGLEDI (JO-SEF SEH-GLEHD-EE), DIRECTOR
- GENERAL, HUNGARIAN TOURIST BOARD
GABOR HORVATH (GAH-BOR HOR-VAT), U.S. DESK OFFICER,
- MFA
LASZLO FODOR (LAHS-LO FO-DOR), U.S. DESK OFFICER, MFA
JOZSEF HAJDU (YO-SEF HI-DOO), PROTOCOL OFFICE, MFA
IMRE SZTANKOVICS (EEM-REH STAN-KO-VICH), HEAD OF
- CONSULAR AFFAIRS, MFA
DR. GEZA KILENYI (GAY-ZAH KEE-LAY-NYEE), DEPUTY
- MINISTER OF JUSTICE
DR. TAMAS BAN (TAH-MAHSH BONN), HEAD OF INTERNATIONAL
- DEPARTMENT, MINISTRY OF JUSTICE
DR. PETER TIMORANSZKY (PAY-TER TEAM-OR-ANS-SKEE),
- ASSISTANT HEAD OF INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT,
- MINISTRY OF JUSTICE
TIBOR MELEGA (TEE-BOR MEH-LEH-GEH), STATE SECRETARY,
- MINISTRY OF TRADE
SZABOLCS FAZAKAS (SAW-BOLCH FAZ-A-KAS), OFFICE
- DIRECTOR, MINISTRY OF TRADE
DR. IMRE SZABO (EEM-REH SAW-BOW), STATE SECRETARY,
- MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY
ARPAD SOMODY (AR-PAD SHOW-MO-DEE), HEAD OF
- INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY
PETER REININGER (PAY-TER RYE-NEEN-GER), MINISTRY OF
- INDUSTRY
ISTVAN TOMPE (EESHT-VAHN TUHM-PAY), COUNCIL OF
- MINISTERS
ILONA HARDI (EE-LO-NAH HAR-DEE), PRESIDENT,

- SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION
MIHALY KUPA (MEE-HI-EE KOO-PAH), BUDGET REFORM
- SECRETARIAT, MINISTRY OF FINANCE
CSABA REPASSY (CHUH-BUH RAY-PAHSH-SHEE), MINISTRY OF
- FINANCE
EDE SZIKLAI (EH-DEH SEEK-LI-EE), MINISTRY OF TRADE
DR. ENDRE JUHASZ (AHN-DREH YOU-HAHS), MINISTRY OF
- TRADE
ODON SKONA (UH-DUN SHKOE-NAH), HEAD, CIVIL AVIATION
- ADMINISTRATION
PAL BANHALMI (PAUL BAHN-HAL-MEE), CHIEF,
- INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, MINISTRY OF
TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS AND CONSTRUCTION
EVA MOLNAR (A-VAH MOL-NAR), U.S. DESK OFFICER,
- MINISTRY OF TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATIONS AND
- CONSTRUCTION
ISTVAN SZALKAI (EESHT-VAN SAHL-KI-EE), VICE
- PRESIDENT, NATIONAL BANK OF HUNGARY
IMRE TARAFAS (EEM-REH TAR-AH-FAS), FIRST VICE
- PRESIDENT, NATIONAL BANK OF HUNGARY
EDE BAKO (EH-DEH BAH-KO), MANAGING DIRECTOR, NATIONAL
- BANK OF HUNGARY
ISTVAN RACZ (EESHT-VAN RATS), HEAD, INTERNATIONAL
- MONETARY DEPARTMENT, NATIONAL BANK OF HUNGARY
LAJOS BOKROS (LI-YOSH BOK-ROSH), HEAD, CAPITAL
- MARKETS DIVISION, NATIONAL BANK OF HUNGARY
LASZLO KAPOLYI (LAHS-LO KAH-PO-YEE), STATE
- COMMISSIONER, PARLIAMENT
LASZLO SOMOGYI (LAHS-LO SHOW-MO-GEE), COMMISSIONER,
- WORLD EXHIBITION COMMITTEE
ANDRAS GUYLAS (ON-DRAHSH GOO-YAHSH), HEAD, MFA PRESS
- DEPARTMENT
JENO SZOMBATH (YEH-NEW SOM-BUT), MFA PRESS DEPARTMENT
SANDOR IGAZ (SHAHN-DOOR EE-GAHZ), MFA PRESS DEPARTMENT
BT
#6881
BT
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 11 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881
WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
H.E. VENCEL HAZI (VEHNT-SELL HAH-ZEE), AMBASSADOR,
- HUNGARIAN EMBASSY, WASHINGTON, D.C.
MR. ISTVAN PATAKI (EESHT-VAN PAH-TAH-KEE), DEPUTY
- CHIEF OF MISSION, HUNGARIAN EMBASSY, WASHINGTON
LAJOS FODOR (LAHS-LO FO-DOOR), RECTOR, TECHNICAL
- UNIVERSITY, BUDAPEST
BELA CSAKANY (BAY-LAH CHAH-KAH-NEE), RECTOR, JOZSEF
- ATTILA ACADEMIC UNIVERSITY, SZEGED
GYULA CSIKAI (DYEW-LAH CHEE-KYE-EE), RECTOR, KOSSUTH
- LAJOS ACADEMIC UNIVERSITY, DEBRECEN

MARIA ORMOS (MAH-REE-AH OR-MOSH), RECTOR, JANUS
- PANNONIUS ACADEMIC UNIVERSITY, PECS
CSABA CSAKI (CHUH-BUH CHAH-KEE), RECTOR, KARL MARX
- UNIVERSITY
DR. PETER HARDI (PAY-TER HAR-DEE), DIRECTOR,
- INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DR. GYORGY NADOR (GEORGE NAY-DOOR), DIRECTOR,
- INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL INSTITUTE
DR. TAMAS SZECSKO (TAH-MAHSH SAYCH-KO), DIRECTOR,
- INSTITUTE FOR MASS COMMUNICATION
FERENC SZABO (FEH-RENTS SAH-BO), DIRECTOR GENERAL,
- KFKI -- CENTRAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF PHYSICS
MIHALY SIMAI (MEE-HI-EE SHE-MAH-YEE), DEPUTY
- CHAIRMAN, INSTITUTE FOR WORLD ECONOMY
GYULA BERECZKY (DYEW-LAH BEH-RET-SKEE), PRESIDENT, MTV
ISTVAN HAJDU (EESHT-VAN HI-DEW), PRESIDENT, HUNGARIAN
- RADIO
ISTVAN KULCSAR (EESHT-VAN KOOL-CHAR), FOREIGN AFFAIRS
- COMMENTATOR, HUNGARIAN RADIO
JANOS AVAR (YAH-NOSH AH-VAR), FOREIGN AFFAIRS
- COMMENTATOR, MAGYAR NEMZET
ZSOLT BAJNOT (ZSOLT BYE-NOTE -- "ZS" AS IN ZSAZSA
- GABOR), EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, MAGYAR HIRLAP
PAL EOTVOS (PAUL UHT-VUSH), EDITOR-IN-CHIEF,
- NEPSZABADSAG
LASZLO FODOR (LAHS-LO FO-DOR), EDITOR-IN-CHIEF,
- NEPSZAVA
TAMAS KOCSIS (TAH-MAHSH KO-CHEESH), EDITOR-IN-CHIEF,
- KEPES 7
ZOLTAN BIRO (ZOL-TAN BEE-RO), EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, HITEL
SANDOR FEKETE (SHAHN-DOOR FEH-KEH-TEH),
- EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, UJ TUKOR
LAJOS BURGET (LI-YOSH BURR-GET), EDITOR-IN-CHIEF,
- HATAR-SZEL
GYULA BANYAI (DYEW-LAH BAHN-YAH-EE), MANAGING EDITOR,
- VILAGGAZDASAG
PETER TOKE (PAY-TER TUH-KEH), EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, REFORM
ZOLTAN BRADY (ZOL-TAN BRAH-DEE), EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, KAPU
TAMAS PALOS (TAH-MAHSH PAL-OSH), GENERAL DIRECTOR, MTI
IVAN LIPOVECZ (EE-VAN LEE-PO-VEHTS), EDITOR-IN-CHIEF,
- HVG
ISTVAN SOLTESZ (EEST-VAN SHOL-TEHS), EDITOR-IN-CHIEF,
- MAGYAR NEMZET
GYORGY VARGA (GEORGE VAHR-GAH), EDITOR-IN-CHIEF,
- FIGYELO
ENDRE GOMORI (AHN-DREH GO-MO-REE), FOREIGN AFFAIRS
- COMMENTATOR, VILAGOSSAG
IVAN BABA (EE-VAN BAH-BAH), EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, DATUM
ALAJOS CHRUDINAK (AH-LAH-JOSH KRUDE-EE-NAHK), HEAD,
- FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT, MTV
ENDRE ACZEL (AHN-DREH AHT-SAIL), MTV EVENING NEWS
ISTVAN SZABO (EEST-VAN SAH-BO), FILM DIRECTOR
GYORGY KONRAD (GEORGE KON-RAD), AUTHOR
COL GENERAL JOZSEF PACSEK (YO-SEF PAH-CHEK), CHIEF OF

- STAFF OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S ARMY
LT. GEN TIBOR TOTH (TEE-BOR TOTE), FIRST DEPUTY CHIEF
- OF STAFF
MAJ GEN EGON SZABO (EH-GONE SAH-BO), FIRST DEPUTY OF
- THE POLITICAL CHIEF OF STAFF
LT CSABA CSENDES (CHUH-BUH CHEHN-DEHSH), U.S. DESK
- OFFICER, MINISTRY OF DEFENSE
MIKLOS VASARHELYI (MEE-KLOSH VAH-SHAR-HAY-EE), SOROS
- FOUNDATION
LASZLO RAJK (LAHS-LO RIKE), FREE DEMOCRATS
PAL FORGACS (PAUL FOR-GACH), TDDSZ (INDEPENDENT UNION)
GABOR FODOR (GAH-BOR FO-DOR), FIDESZ (INDEPENDENT
- YOUTH LEAGUE)
JANOS KIS (JAH-NOSH KEESH), FREE DEMOCRATS
FERENC KOSZEG (FEH-RENTS KUH-SEHG), FREE DEMOCRATS
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#6881
BT
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 12 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881
WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
GABOR DEMBSZKY (GAH-BOR DEMB-SKEE), FREE DEMOCRATS
ARPAD GONCZ (AHR-PAHD GONTS), FREE DEMOCRATS
BALINT MAGYAR (BAH-LEENT MUD-YAR), FREE DEMOCRATS
IMRE MECS (EEM-REH MECH), COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL
- JUSTICE, FREE DEMOCRATS
OTTILIA SOLT (O-TEE-LEE-AH SHOLT), FREE DEMOCRATS
MIKLOS TAMAS GASPAR (MEEK-LOSH TAH-MAHSH GAHSH-PAR),
- FREE DEMOCRATS
JULIA VASARHELYI (YOO-LEE-AH VAH-SHAR-HAY-EE), FREE
- DEMOCRATS
PAL SCHIFFER (PAL SHEE-FEHR), DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE OF
- INDEPENDENT UNIONS
LASZLO BRUSZT (LAHS-LO BROOST),
- DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE OF INDEPENDENT UNIONS
LASZLO SOLYOM (LAHS-LO SHOW-YOM), OPPOSITION
- ROUNDTABLE
PETER TOLGYESSY (PAY-TER TOL-JEH-SHEE), OPPOSITION
- ROUNDTABLE
GYORGY SZABAD (GEORGE SAH-BAHD), HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC
- FORUM
ZOLTAN BIRO (ZOL-TAHN BEE-ROO), HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC
- FORUM
JOZSEF ANTALL (JO-SEF AHN-TAL), HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC
- FORUM
DR. ENIKO BOLLOBAS (EH-NEE-KUH BOL-LO-BAHSH),
- HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC FORUM
GYORGY BANFFY (GEORGE BAHN-FEE), INDEPENDENT MP
DR. LASZLO CZOMA (LAHS-LO TSO-MAH -- "TS" AS IN
- "TSAR"), INDEPENDENT MP

DR. LASZLO LAKOS (LAHS-LO LAH-KOSH), INDEPENDENT MP
DR. EVA BALLA (AA-VAH BAHL-LAH), INDEPENDENT MP
GYULA BUBLA (DYOO-LAH BOOB-LAH), INDEPENDENT MP
JUDIT BENJAMIN (YOO-DEET BEN-YAH-MEEN), LEADER OF
- INDEPENDENT MP CAUCUS
EDIT B. ROZSA (EH-DEET RO-ZSAH -- "ZS" LIKE ZSAZSA),
- INDEPENDENT MP
DR. SUDI BERTALAN (SHOO-DEE BEHR-TAH-LAHN),
- INDEPENDENT MP
MIHALY BIHARI (MEE-HI-EE BEE-HAH-REE), INDEPENDENT
- LAWYER
GYORGY RUTTNER (GEORGE ROOT-NER), INDEPENDENT LAWYER
SANDOR SZILAGY (SHAHN-DOOR SEE-LAH-GEE), REFUGEE
- COMMITTEE
BELA TOTH (BAY-LAH TOTE), INDEPENDENT TEACHERS UNION
TIBOR VIDOS (TEE-BOR VEE-DOSH), TDDSZ (INDEPENDENT
- UNION)
DR. SANDOR KERESZTES (SHAHN-DOOR KEH-REHS-TESH),
- CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
PETER BACSO (PAY-TER BA-CHO), FILM DIRECTOR
JUDIT EMBER (YOO-DEET EHM-BEHR)
MARIKA NEMETH (MAH-REE-KAH NAY-MET)
FERENC KOSA (FEH-RENTS KO-SHA)
FERENC BESENYI (FEH-RENTS BEH-SHEN-YEE), ACTOR:
- FIDDLER ON THE ROOF
SANDOR NEMETH (SHAHN-DOOR NAY-MEHT), ACTOR: SINGING
- IN THE RAIN
IMRE VARGA (EEM-REH VAR-GAH), SCULPTOR
DR. GYULA KODOLANYI (DYOO-LAH KO-DO-LAHN-YEE),
- HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC FORUM
MARIA ILYES (MAH-REE-AH EE-YEHSH)
CARDINAL LASZLO PASZKAI (LAHS-LO PAHS-KI-EE),
- CATHOLIC PRIMATE
BISHOP KAROLY TOTH (KAHR-O-YEE TOT), BISHOP OF
- REFORMED CHURCH
RABBI ALFRED SCHONER (AL-FRED SHOO-NER), CHIEF RABBI
- OF BUDAPEST
LASZLO LUKACS (LAHS-LO LOO-KACH), EDITOR OF VIGILIA
BISHOP ELEMER KOCSIS (EH-LE-MER KO-CHEESH), REFORMED
- BISHOP OF DEBRECEN
DR. ANDRAS LOSONCI (AHN-DRAHSH LO-SHONT-SEE),
- PRESIDENT OF JEWISH COMMUNITY
MIKLOS BLANKENSTEIN (MEEK-LOSH BLAHN-KEN-SHTINE),
- CATHOLIC BASE COMMUNITIES
TIBOR BARANYAI (TEE-BOR BAH-RAHN-YAH-EE), SOCIAL
- DEMOCRATS
GYORGY SZAKOLCZAI (GEORGE SAH-KOL-TSI-EE -- "TS" LIKE
- TSAR), CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
CSABA VARGA (CHUH-BUH VAHR-GAH), HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S
- PARTY
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 13 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881

WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
ZSOLT ZETENYI (ZSOLT ZAY-TEHN-YEE -- "ZS" LIKE
- ZSAZSA), BAJCSY-ZSILINSZKY FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY
KAROLY EPERJES (KAH-ROO-YEE EH-PEHR-YASHE), ACTOR:
- ELDORADO
LEVENTE JANOSSI (LEH-VEN-TEH JAH-NO-SHEE), WORKERS'
- SOLIDARITY
GEZA BUDA (GAY-ZAH BOO-DAH), FIDESZ WORKERS' GROUP
ISTVAN VASS (EESHT-VAN VAHSH), FREE DEMOCRATS
JUDIT VASARHELYI (YOO-DEET VAH-SHAR-HAY-EE), GREENS
SANDOR CSOORI (SHAHN-DOOR CHOO-REE), POET, HUNGARIAN
- DEMOCRATIC FORUM
GYULA CSABA KISS (DYOO-LAH CHUH-BUH KEESH), HUNGARIAN
- DEMOCRATIC FORUM
RUDOLF JOO (ROO-DOLF YOO), HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC FORUM
JANOS VARGHA (YAH-NOSH VAHRG-AH), DANUBE CIRCLE
MIKLOS HARASZTI (MEEK-LOSH HAH-RAHS-TEE), FREE
- DEMOCRATS
PETER HARDI (PAY-TER HAR-DEE), INDEPENDENT
- SMALLHOLDERS' PARTY
LASZLO ANTAL (LAHS-LO AHN-TAL), SECRETARY, ECONOMIC
- REFORM COMMITTEE
MARTON TARDOS (MAHR-TON TAHR-DOSH), ECONOMIST,
- FINANCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
LASZLO LENGYEL (LAHS-LO LEND-YELL), ECONOMIST,
- FINANCIAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
TAMAS BACSKAI (TAH-MAHSH BAHCH-KAH-EE), SENIOR
- ECONOMIST, KARL MARX UNIVERSITY
TAMAS BAUER (TAH-MAHSH BAH-WER), INSTITUTE OF
- ECONOMICS
CSABA HALMOS (CHUH-BUH HAHL-MOSH), HEAD OF STATE
- OFFICE FOR WAGES AND LABOR
ANDRAS GABOR (AHN-DRAHSH GAH-BOR), PRESIDENT, CHAMBER
OF COMMERCE
PETER LORINCZE (PAY-TER LUH-REENT-SEH), SECRETARY
- GENERAL, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
JANOS PALOTAS (YAH-NOSH PAH-LO-TAHSH), PRESIDENT,
- VOSZ (NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ENTREPRENEURS)
PAL FISCHER (PAUL FEESH-EHR), SECRETARY, KIOSZ
- (ASSOCIATION OF ARTISANS AND SMALL ENTREPRENEURS)
JANOS GYULLAI (YAH-NOSH DYOOL-LAY-EE), KISOSZ
- (ASSOCIATION OF PRIVATE RETAILERS)
MRS. PAL SZAMOSI (MRS. PAUL SAH-MO-SHEE), OKISZ
- (ASSOCIATION OF INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVES)
JANOS BORSAY (YAH-NOSH BOR-SHY-EE), HEAD OF SMALL
- BUSINESS DEPARTMENT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
EDE HORVATH (EH-DEH HOR-VAHT), GENERAL DIRECTOR, RABA
ROBERT BURGERT (ROE-BERT BUR-GERT), GENERAL DIRECTOR,
- BALBONA

)NA TATAI (EE-LO-NAH TAH-TAH-EE), GENERAL DIRECTOR,
TAURUS
IOS DEAK (YAH-NOSH DAY-AHK), MANAGING DIRECTOR,
KOPINT/DATORG
)RAS PINTER (AHN-DRAHSH PEEN-TER), GENERAL
DIRECTOR, LEVI STRAUSS
NO RUBIK (EHR-NUH ROO-BEEK), INVENTOR, ENTREPRENEUR
RE BEKE (EEM-REH BAY-KEH), HEAD OF U.S.-HUNGARIAN
BROKERAGE FIRM
)RAS LASZLO (AHN-DRAHSH LAHS-LO), CHAIRMAN, CO-NEXUS
NDOR DEMJAN (SHAHN-DOOR DEHM-JAHN), GENERAL
DIRECTOR, CREDIT BANK
ZA LENK (GAY-ZAH LEHNK), GENERAL DIRECTOR,
COMMERCIAL AND CREDIT BANK
NES CSERESNYES (AHG-NEHSH CHEH-REHSH-NEHSH),
GENERAL DIRECTOR, UNICBANK
ZSEBET BIRMAN (AIR-ZSEH-BET BEER-MAN -- "ZS" AS IN
ZSAZSA), INNOFINANCE
CAR HEGEDUS (OSH-CAR HEH-GEH-DUSH), GENERAL
DIRECTOR, BUDAPEST BANK
BOR ERDELY (GAH-BOR AIR-DAY-YEE), PRESIDENT,
HUNGARIAN FOREIGN TRADE BANK
UZSANNA BRANYIK (ZSOO-ZSAHN-NAH BRAN-YEEK -- "ZS"
LIKE ZSAZSA), DIRECTOR, IBM
:TER SIMSA (PAY-TER SHEEM-SHAH), MANAGING DIRECTOR,
KONSTRUCT
R. LASZLO NOGRADI (LAHS-LO NO-GRAH-DEE), GENERAL
:RECTOR, SCHWINN
R. LAJOS JAHODA (LI-YOSH YAH-HO-DEE), GENERAL
DIRECTOR, MALEV
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 14 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881
HITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
HITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
EPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
.O. 12356: OADR
AGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
UBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
ABOR VARSZEGI (GAH-BOR VAR-SEHG-EE), DIRECTOR, FOTEX
SUZSA RAJKI (ZSOO-ZSAH RYE-KEE -- "ZS" AS IN
ZSAZSA), DIRECTOR, DOW CHEMICAL REPRESENTATION
OFFICE
'ERENC ARVAY (FEH-RENTS AHR-VAY), DIRECTOR, 3M
REPRESENTATION OFFICE
:STVAN PAPP (EEST-VAN PAP), DIRECTOR GENERAL,
ENERGIAGAZDALKODASI INTEZET
LAJOS KOVESKUTI (LI-YOSH KUH-VESH-KOOT-EE), DIRECTOR
GENERAL, HIRADASTECHNIKA SZOVETKEZET
BELA FELEK (BAY-LAH FEH-LEHK), DIRECTOR, HERENDI
PORCELLANGYAR
ERIKA SZEMENKAR (AIR-EE-KAH SEH-MEN-KAR), PRESIDENT,
IBUSZ

JUDIT GERGELY (YOU-DEET GEHR-GEH-YEE), MANAGER
- DIRECTOR, INVEST CENTER
ANDRAS SEMSEY (AHN-DRAHSH SHEM-SHAY), DIRECTOR
- GENERAL, IKARUS
LAJOS TOLNAY (LAH-YOSH TOL-NAY), DIRECTOR GENERAL,
- LENIN METALLURGICAL WORKS
LAJOS DOZSA (LAH-YOSH DO-ZSAH), MAT -- HUNGARIAN
- ALUMINUM INDUSTRY TRUST
GABOR SZELES (GAH-BOR SAY-LESH), PRESIDENT,
- MUSZERTECHNIKA COOPERATIVE
GABOR RENYI (GAH-BOR RAYN-YEE), PRESIDENT, NOVOTRADE
ANDRAS MESTENY (AHN-DRAHSH MEHS-TAINN), PRIVATE
- ENTREPRENEUR (RUNS CAMPING GROUND/RESTAURANT NEXT
- TO RESIDENCE)
MIKLOS HAVASS (MEE-KLOSH HAH-VAHSH), DIRECTOR
- GENERAL, SZAMALK COMPUTER APPLICATION COMPANY
ISTVAN MATYAS (EESHT-VAN MAHT-YASH), DIRECTOR
- GENERAL, TECHNOIMPEX
LASZLO RANKY (LAHS-LO RANK-EE), DIRECTOR GENERAL,
- TERIMPEX
KATI MELIS (KAH-TEE MEH-LEESH), PAN AM
ZSUZSANNA RANKI (ZSOO-ZSAH-NAH RANK-EE -- "ZS" LIKE
- ZSAZSA), MANAGING DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL
- MANAGEMENT CENTER
PRESS: POOL COVERAGE
SCENARIO: THE RECEPTION WILL BE HELD IN THE LOWER GARDEN AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. IF PRESIDENT BUSH DECIDES TO PLAY TENNIS WITH PRIME MINISTER NEMETH, HE WILL CHANGE CLOTHES AT THE RESIDENCE (THE SITE OF THE TENNIS MATCH) FOR THE RECEPTION; MRS. BUSH WILL TRAVEL SEPARATELY FROM THE GUEST HOUSE. WITHOUT THE TENNIS OPTION, THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH WILL ARRIVE FROM THE GUEST HOUSE (5-MINUTE DRIVE). THE CAR WILL PROCEED UP THE DRIVEWAY AND BE MET BY AMBASSADOR PALMER. PRESIDENT BUSH AND MRS. BUSH WILL STAND WITH AMBASSADOR PALMER AND INTERPRETER ON THE SIDEWALK IN FRONT OF THE RESIDENCE, ABOVE THE LOWER GARDEN. THE GUESTS WILL WALK UP THE DRIVEWAY, THEN CROSS IN FRONT OF THE HOUSE TO WHERE THE PRESIDENT IS STANDING TO SHAKE HIS HAND. THE GUESTS WILL THEN CONTINUE DOWN THE SIDEWALK TO THE STAIRS AND FILE DOWN INTO THE LOWER GARDEN, WHERE THE REST OF THE OFFICIAL PARTY WILL BE STANDING. A BAR WILL BE SITUATED IN THE LOWER GARDEN, AND A JAZZ BAND WILL PLAY ON THE UPPER TERRACE (CLOSED TO GUESTS). AFTER A 15-MINUTE RECEIVING LINE, THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH WILL DESCEND THE STAIRS INTO THE LOWER GARDEN TO MINGLE WITH THEIR GUESTS. AT 7:45 AMBASSADOR PALMER WILL ACCOMPANY PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH BACK TO THEIR CAR FOR DEPARTURE TO THE GUEST HOUSE. ALTERNATIVELY, THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH MAY DECIDE TO STAY AT THE RESIDENCE FOR A PRIVATE DINNER. THE GUESTS WILL BE USHERED OUT THE EXIT THROUGH THE LOWER GARDEN.

. EVENT: PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH EMBASSY STAFF
) AMERICAN COMMUNITY
TE: THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1989
ME: 7:55 A.M. - 8:30 A.M.
CATION: AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE, ZUGLIGETI UT 98

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~~ONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 15 OF 19 BUDAPEST 06881
ITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
ITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
PARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
). 12356: OADR
GS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
BJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
TENDEES: 500
RTICIPANTS:
ITED STATES - EMBASSY AMERICAN STAFF AND FAMILIES
M DON AND CHRISTINE KURSCH, KATRINA
) JAMIE AGNEW, AMELIA
IT COL. RUTH AND ANDY ANDERSON
AO BRUCE AND CHRISTIANE ARMSTRONG, PAULA
L VIENNA BAGANZ
NSUL LIZ BARNETT
CLIFF AND HYUNG JA BRZOZOWSKI
) J.D. AND CHERIE CALL, ALICIA, CHRISSY
ON OFF SANDY DEMBSKI
) JOAO AND JOANA ECSODI, JOANA II
ON JEFF FELTMAN
) DON AND MARY FISCHER
) RICK AND KATHY FRENCH, TIMOTHY, LUKE, DAVID,
NJAMIN
L FRANCISCO GONZALEZ
F SHIRLEY HAUGROSE
) JOHN AND SHARON HARLAK TRACY, JONATHAN
S DAVID AND CATHERINE HUGHES, MORGAN
NSUL MARGARET HIGGINS
JOHN AND DONNA INGERSOLL
M SEC LILLIAN AND AREF IZZET, ALEXA
OFF KEN AND VALERIA KAYATIN, JUSTIN, KIERAN
ON OFF GIL AND LINDEN KINDELAN, MATTHEW, CECILIA,
IN
NSUL JOE AND HIROMI KOZA, JOSEPH, SOPHIA, STEFAN
JOHN KEYS
HILDA KROLL
D KRIS LABARRE
) KAREN LEAYCRAFT
IS CHRISTY LIMPACH, JOHANNA
MIN OFF WAYNE AND MIMI LOGSDON
) MORGAN AND VICTORIA LUOMA
L OFF TOM AND ANNE (HARRINGTON) LYNCH, MEREDITH
MATT LT. COL. SEAN AND GLORIA MAXWELL, MARY, SAM,
HN, GABI, ANGUS
) MAC MCADOO

PERS MIA MCCALL
PAO BOB AND MARJORIE MCCARTHY, BRIAN, MAUREEN
FBO BOB AND ANNE MENTION
AMB SEC CAROL MILLS AND MATTHEW GRAHAM
ACAO KEN MOSKOWITZ
IBM BRIAN O'CONNOR
POL FREDD AND SUSAN SNELL, CHRISTOPHER
GSO GREG SEEFELD
SCI TOM SCHLENKER
CC DAN AND TERRI TILLER, ASHLEIGH
CC FRONTIS WIGGINS
MSG DETACHMENT GUNNY SGT. SULLIVAN AND JUDY CLARK
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CPL. MIKE SWAILS
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CPL. TIM JURGENS
LCPL. DEAN ADAMS
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CSABA AND ANIKO SZAKOLCZAI, CHRISTOPHER
LASZLO AND LINDA LENARD, SANDY, LANCE
PIROSKA SAVANY, ADRIAN
MR. RANDALL PRICE
UNITED STATES: - AMERICAN COMMUNITY
MANAGEMENT CENTER:
DAN AND SUE FOGEL, CHILDREN
SUSAN KUTOR
PETER COLE
MR. AND MRS. J. H. ZOFFER
TOM KELLER
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BT
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WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF BUDAPEST:
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TOM AND BRETT ENGISCH
NANCY FENNESSEY
JOAN AND PATRICK BYRNE, MICHAEL, KATIE
BRUCE SWANK
JOHN AND LISSA LALONDE, ROBBIE, JAMIE
BILLY GRAHAM EVANGELISTIC ASSOC.:
MR. TOM PHILLIPS
MR. MIKE SOUTHWORTH
DR. WALTER AND GENEVA GRIST

TRICIA NICE
SOUTHERN BAPTIST MISSIONARIES:
DR. ERROL AND MARY SIMMONS
FULBRIGHT SCHOLARS:
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MR. AND MRS. CECIL EBY
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MS. ANDREA KAZAL
MS. JULIE KEREKES
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MS. LOUISE SCHULTZ
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MR. AND MRS. IVAN SANDERS AND CHILD
AMERICAN BUSINESS:
MR. AND MRS. LYNN CURTIS - BECHTEL HUNGARIAN ALLIANCE
MR. MARK DUKOW - MCDONNEL DOUGLAS
MR. STEVE BINA - SCHWINN
DR. LAJOS SCHMIDT - BAKER AND MCKENZIE
MR. CHARLES RUDD - INTERCONCEPTS INC.
MR. MIKLOS SZABO PELSACZY - GLOBALCONSULT INC.
HUNGARY - EMBASSY HUNGARIAN STAFF AND FAMILIES
MR. GABOR ABONYI
MR. AND MRS. LASZLO ABRI
MR. AND MRS. ANTAL ALBRECHT
MR. AND MRS. GYORGY ALEX
MR. AND MRS. GYULA ASBOTH
MR. AND MRS. ZOLTAN BAK
MR. LASZLO SZIRMAI AND KATALIN BARAZDA
MRS. MARTA BARSONY
MS. JUDIT BARTL
MR. ZOLTAN BATA
MS. CSILLA BANYAR
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MR. AND MRS. ANDRAS BENYI
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MR. AND MRS. BELA BERCZI
MR. AND MRS. BELA BERES
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MR. AND MRS. MIHALY BUDAI
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MR. AND MRS. TAMAS DECSY
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MR. AND MRS. BELA DENES
MR. AND MRS. BELA DUBOVSZKY
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MR. AND MRS. EID EL KHODARY
MR. AND MRS. JOZSEF FEHER
MR. AND MRS. KALMAN FURJES
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DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
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TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
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MR. AND MRS. TAMAS GERHARD
MR. GABOR GERO
MR. AND MRS. ANDRAS GUNSZT
MR. AND MRS. ISTVAN GYONGY
MRS. KLARA GYORE
MR. AND MRS. BELA HAJDU
MR. AND MRS. MIHALY HORVATH
MR. AND MRS. ZOLTAN HUSVETH
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MR. AND MRS. SANDOR KATONA
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MR. DENES KUTSA
MR. AND MRS. ISTVAN LAKI
MS. EVA LANYI
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MR. AND MRS. JANOS LEVELEKI
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MR. AND MRS. LASZLO MARX
DR. AND MRS. LASZLO MATOS
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MR. AND MRS. ANTAL MIKO
MS. KATI MOLNAR AND HUSBAND

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MS. ZSUZSANNA MUNKACSI
MR. AND MRS. MIKLOS NAGY
MR. MIKLOS NAGY
MR. AND MRS. ZOLTAN NAGY
MR. AND MRS. KALMAN NAGY
MR. AND MRS. LASZLO NAGY
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MR. AND MRS. LAJOS NEMETH
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WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
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TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
MS. AGOTA ZSUPPAN

MR. AND MRS. STEVEN HEREIN
MR. AND MRS. KECSKEMETI
MR. AND MRS. KREISZ
MR. AND MRS. ANNA GRECZULA
MR. AND MRS. JOZSEF ACS
MS. ERZSEBET HERDY
MR. AND MRS. FERENC SOMOGYI
MR. AND MRS. GYORGY BEDE
PRESS: POOL COVERAGE
SCENARIO: AT 7:55 THE PRESIDENT'S MOTORCADE WILL ARRIVE AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. THE PRESIDENT WILL EXIT AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE HOUSE WHERE HE WILL BE GREETED BY THE AMBASSADOR. THEY WILL WALK TO THE RIGHT TO THE PATH IN FRONT OF THE HOUSE, PAST THE AMERICAN FLAG AND OVER TO THE SIDE OF THE STAIRS NEXT TO THE HOUSE. THE PRESIDENT WILL STAND HERE TO RECEIVE THE COMMUNITY. AT 8:00 THE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN COMMUNITY AND EMBASSY STAFF WILL WALK QUICKLY THROUGH THE RECEIVING LINE TO GREET THE PRESIDENT. AS THE COMMUNITY MEMBERS PASS THE PRESIDENT THEY WILL TURN TO THE RIGHT AND PROCEED DOWN THE STAIRS INTO THE GARDEN. THERE WILL BE A PHOTOGRAPHER PRESENT TO TAKE PICTURES OF AMERICANS AND STAFF MEMBERS WITH THE PRESIDENT. THE PRESS POOL WILL STAND TO THE FAR RIGHT BEYOND THE STAIRS NEXT TO THE TERRACE. AT APPROXIMATELY 8:15 THE RECEIVING LINE SHOULD HAVE ENDED AND ALL WILL STAND IN THE GARDEN BELOW WAITING FOR THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS. THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH, ACCOMPANIED BY THE AMBASSADOR WILL WALK TO THE TOP OF THE STAIRS AND GREET THE COMMUNITY WITH A FEW REMARKS. THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH, ACCOMPANIED BY THE AMBASSADOR, WILL WALK DOWN THE STAIRS INTO THE GARDEN WHERE THEY WILL MIX AND MINGLE WITH THE COMMUNITY AND EMBASSY MEMBERS FOR APPROXIMATELY 15 MINUTES. AT 8:30 THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH WILL RETURN UP THE STAIRS TO THE ENTRANCE OF THE HOUSE WHERE THEY WILL RETURN TO THEIR LIMOSINE. AT 8:35 THE MOTORCADE WILL DEPART THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE FOR THE AIRPORT.

16. EVENT: DEPARTURE CEREMONY
DATE: THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1989
TIME: 8:45 A.M.
LOCATION: FERIHEGY AIRPORT
ATTENDEES: 30 PLUS HUNGARIAN COLOR GUARD AND BAND
PARTICIPANTS:

| UNITED STATES | HUNGARY |
|---|---|
| PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH | PRESIDENT AND MRS. STRAUB |
| SECRETARY AND MRS. BAKER | PRIME MINISTER MIKLOS NEMETH |
| OTHERS IN PRESIDENTIAL PARTY | PARTY SECRETARY KAROLY GROSZ |
| AMBASSADOR AND MRS. PALMER | CHIEF OF PROTOCOL |
| MR. AND MRS. DON KURSCH | OTHERS TO BE DETERMINED |

MR. AND MRS.THOMAS LYNCH
COL. RUTH ANDERSON
LTC SEAN MAXWELL
CW2 JAMES CALL
SFC KAREN LEAYCRAFT
SSG RICHARD FRENCH
GYSGT SULLIVAN CLARK
FOUR MARINE GUARDS.
PRESS: PRESS PLANE WILL DEPART 20 MINUTES AFTER AIR FORCE ONE. ANTICIPATE FULL MEDIA COVERAGE.
SCENARIO: AT 8:45 A.M. THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR AND MRS. PALMER ARRIVE AT FERIHEGY #1. IMMEDIATELY UPON ARRIVAL ALL REMAINING
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WHITE HOUSE FOR KELLER AND STUDDERT
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DEPARTMENT FOR A/TSS-JEANNIE BULL AND EUR/EEY
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: SCENARIO FOR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT
OFFICIAL PARTY MEMBERS SHOULD BOARD. (NON-OFFICIAL PARTY MEMBERS WILL ARRIVE ONE-HALF HOUR PRIOR TO THE PRESIDENT TO PERMIT BOARDING.)
PRESIDENT BUSH ACCOMPANIED BY PRESIDENT STRAUB WILL PROCEED PAST THE MILITARY BAND AND TAKE UP A POSITION IN FRONT OF THE COLOR GUARD. THE CAPTAIN OF THE MILITARY HONOR GUARD WILL REPORT. THE PRESIDENT SHOULD RECEIVE THE REPORT WITHOUT REPLY. THE NATIONAL ANTHEMS OF BOTH NATIONS ARE THEN PLAYED. UPON CONCLUSION, PRESIDENT BUSH ACCOMPANIED BY PRESIDENT STRAUB AND THE HONOR GUARD CAPTAIN WILL REVIEW THE HUNGARIAN SOLDIERS.
ON CONCLUSION OF THE REVIEW, THE TWO PRESIDENTS WILL PROCEED TO THE LINE OF HUNGARIAN DIGNITARIES WHERE THEY WILL JOIN MRS. BUSH AND THE OFFICIAL PARTY. AFTER BIDDING FAREWELL TO HUNGARIAN DIGNITARIES AND EMBASSY STAFF, THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH SHOULD PROCEED TO THE AIRCRAFT STEPS, BID FAREWELL TO PRESIDENT AND MRS. STRAUB AND AMBASSADOR AND MRS. PALMER AND BOARD AIR FORCE ONE.
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(Smith/Blessey)
June 28, 1989
Draft Six
HUNGARY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOSSUTH SQUARE
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

Mr. President, My Hungarian and American Friends.

That great poet of the 1848 Revolution, Sandor Petofi, once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, let me address you in the name of millions who convey their warmest greetings: The people of the United States.

Six years ago, I became the highest-ranking American official to visit Hungary. Today, I become the first American President to travel here. Now, as then, Barbara and I are moved by your reception. And we thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

I want to say to all of you that I have seen few cities more lovely than Budapest. And add that I have seldom seen a city more alive. Alive with commerce, change, and, above all, hope. Alive with a people who love the lamp of liberty. (flame, fire, light)

In a few moments I will be received in a symbol of that liberty -- the Hungarian Parliament. Parliament a symbol? And as I speak, I will recall how 137 years ago a true Hungarian patriot was received in another house which embodied freedom -- the Congress of the United States.

His name was Lajos Kossuth. His statue rests behind me. And he arrived in America after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. For he believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

"I have a steady faith in principles," he said. "I trust in the future of republicanism." And then he added: "Bayonets may support, but afford no chair to sit upon."

Even now, the memory of Lajos Kossuth lifts us, teaches us. For his life was a celebration of bravery, and of dreams. He knew that no matter how many bayonets struck a courageous people, the lamp of liberty would shine forever.

This great man became the conscience of Hungary. And just two blocks away -- here, too, an eternal flame lights the fire of democracy. Like other Hungarian heroes, Lajos Batthyany and Imre Nagy sought free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. They knew that no matter how much suffering beset this Nation, its lamp of liberty would shine forever.

When the Hungarian playwright Imre Madach observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief -- the belief that free expression would conquer tyranny. And he wrote those words in that great literary work ironically entitled, "The Tragedy of Man."

My friends, our mission is to help liberty proclaim The Victory of Man. Proclaim it peacefully, not violently. Proclaim it through ballots, not bullets. For The Victory of Man can help

Hungary's future be worthy of her past. And help us live for what some have died for: opportunity, human decency, and democratic ideals.

Today, this mission fills the streets of Budapest and Keckshemet. The folk murals of Tolna. And the farmland of Tanyak. It lifts your boats that ride the Danube, and your gentle small towns. For Hungary's love of liberty is political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. Its apostles say: Work where you want, and vote as you choose. And: Freedom will crush those who try to crush it. They believe: All things are possible for a Nation, and for a people. And proclaim: The individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

Over the past few decades, the world has watched this liberty transform the Hungarian Nation. For you have shown how peace, freedom, and prosperity are allied. I applaud Hungary's greater privatization, and economic liberality. I salute Hungary's increased democracy and information. I welcome, too, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the planned cutbacks in the Hungarian military. And we watch with interest as the Soviet Union encourages such change.

Who would have dreamt that your love of liberty would do so much, so quickly, to improve the lot of Hungary? Now, let us use its promise to open boundaries, and minds.

Next year, elections will be held in Hungary. Let them be free, open, and multi-partied. And this week, Radio Free Europe begins broadcasts in Hungary -- the first in a Communist country.

Let its coverage spur an even closer merging of East and West. In trade, as we remove unfair barriers, let us recall that only when economic and political freedom go hand-in-hand can Hungary be true to her heritage, and to her children. Becoming central to a Europe that is whole and free. And to the community of Nations.

Lajos Kossuth came to America after Hungary had, for the moment, disappeared from that community. Yet his reception showed how our two peoples share a common love of liberty. In New York Harbor, an armada of ships sounded horns to celebrate his arrival. And when the City of New York held a parade in his honor, thousands rushed his open carriage. Perhaps no visitor since Lafayette had been greeted so emotionally.

Like Hungarians, the Americans of that time admired those who love what Kossuth called "the principle of self-government." They opposed societies that are closed. And they believed in helping individuals, and Nations, who spur the freedom that makes all progress possible. For they, like you, were bent on ensuring that the lamp of liberty would shine forever.

Today, more than ever, this kinship binds the friendship between the United States and Hungary. We see it in the lives of the __ million Americans of Hungarian descent. Heroes like nuclear scientist Edward Teller. Conductor Eugene Ormandy, proving how music "is the universal language." Or Colonel Kovach ~~[Kov cs ezredes]~~, who ~~founded~~ created & commanded the U.S. Cavalry unit during the ~~Civil War~~ American Revolution.

But our kinship isn't one-way: It touches, too, Hungarians for whom America feels such pride. People like Saint Stephen, and composers Liszt and Bartok. Or Hungary's many winners of Nobel Prizes and Olympic Medals. Or the great patriot by the name of Ganosh Hunyadi [Parosh Hoondundu] who more than five centuries ago stopped a would-be invasion. In his honor, Pope __ ordered each church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, church bells all over the world ring precisely at mid-day.

Heroes, yes -- American, Hungarian. Some greatly-noted. Others, little-noted -- the student in Budapest, the Great Alfold shop-keeper, the artist in Sarkoz. Today, it is they -- you -- who are reducing the chasm between East and West. Enriching, and making possible, a more open, peaceful world. You are proving how liberty can expand Hungary's horizons. And enlarge the possibilities of her people. For liberty reflects the values of individuality, self-reliance, and respect for others. Values which underscore the dignity of man.

Six years from now, Budapest and Vienna will jointly host the World's Fair. That event will celebrate those values. And so did that day, four weeks ago, when thousands filled this very square -- peacefully, movingly -- to honor the hero, and spirit, of the 1956 uprising. Among them was a man, Tibor Kalmar, who took part in that rebellion. And who now had tears in his eyes. "Today," he said of the public ceremony, "this unity is a kind of

Hungarian wonder. For this day, it is worth living and forgiving. It was worth it to go through everything."

My friends, you have endured much. And survived everything. Survived through family, and faith in God. And through the human spirit, oft-abused yet free. In coming years, your heroism can write a new chapter in the history of your Nation. Love democracy -- as Imre Nagy did. Confront oppression -- as Lajos Kossuth did. Show the world that the lamp of liberty will never go out.

The bell resounds. The light expands. The lamp grows brighter by the day. Together, let us raise what Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty." The star that can lead us toward tomorrow. And bless the children of the globe.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, God bless America -- and as your National Anthem proclaims so unforgettably, "God Bless The Hungarians."

# # # #

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Vol. 7

# THE LETTERS OF
# *Theodore Roosevelt*

Pres. U.S.

In Hungary:
p. 365-
371-375.

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1954

Naples, April 3, 191

Dear Dr. Abbott: Through *The Outlook* I wish to make a statement to my fellow-Americans regarding what has occurred in connection with the Vatican. I am sure that the great majority of my fellow-citizens, Catholics quite as much as Protestants, will feel that I acted in the only way possible for an American to act, and because of this very fact I most earnestly hope that the incident will be treated in a matter-of-course way, as merely personal, and, above all, as not warranting the slightest exhibition of rancor or bitterness. Among my best and closest friends are many Catholics. The respect and regard of those of my fellow-Americans who are Catholics are as dear to me as the respect and regard of those who are Protestants. On my journey through Africa I visited many Catholic as well as many Protestant missions, and I look forward to telling the people at home all that has been done by Protestants and Catholics alike, as I saw it, in the field of missionary endeavor. It would cause me a real pang to have anything said or done that would hurt or give pain to my friends, whatever their religious belief, but any merely personal considerations are of no consequence in this matter. The important consideration is the avoidance of harsh and bitter comment such as may excite mistrust and anger between and among good men. The more an American sees of other countries the more profound must be his feelings of gratitude that in his own land there is not merely complete toleration but the heartiest good will and sympathy between sincere and honest men of different faith—good will and sympathy so complete that in the inevitable daily relations of our American life Catholics and Protestants meet together and work together without the thought of difference of creed being even present in their minds. This is a condition so vital to our National well-being that nothing should be permitted to jeopard it. Bitter comment and criticism, acrimonious attack and defense, are not only profitless, but harmful, and to seize upon such an incident as this as an occasion for controversy would be wholly indefensible and should be frowned upon by Catholics and Protestants alike. I very earnestly hope that what I say will appeal to all good Americans.

Faithfully yours,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Lyman Abbott,
Editor of *The Outlook.*

Meanwhile I had seen the three leading representatives of the Methodists, including Ezra Tipple, and had appealed to them not to embarrass me, and had arranged that I should see them and various other members of the American colony at a reception at the Ambassador's. They explicitly agreed, in response to my request, to say nothing that would aggravate the situation or cause any unnecessary heart-burnings. Two of them loyally kept to the agreement; but Tipple, with a sense of morality and fitness not much better than that of Merry del Val himself, violated the agreement, and, merely in order to advertise himself by raising a rumpus, issued a screed violently attacking the Vatican. His two colleagues disapproved of what he had done, but followed the course so common among well-meaning and not very strong men, and for twenty-four hours refused to disavow his action or to say that it did not represent them. I had to act promptly in order to prevent becoming involved in an uncomfortable situation; for if after Tipple's speech I had then seen him, I would have convinced many men

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that the Pope was quite right in having refused to receive me. Accordingly I canceled the reception at the Ambassador's, and did not attend any meeting at which the Methodists were represented. However, certain of the Methodists, and certain Catholic ecclesiastics, including Abbot Janssens of the Benedictines, called to see me to explain their entire sympathy with the position I had taken. Next to having both sides behave well, it was to my interest that both sides should behave ill, so that I could avoid having anything to do with either; and this was precisely what occurred.

I was immensely impressed with my whole visit to Rome. I attended a dinner given me by Mayor Nathan, the Syndic, and his colleagues of the municipal council. Mayor Nathan was a Jew, who spoke excellent English, and was apparently a good public servant. When I dined with him I had already taken lunch with a number of Members of the Administration, sitting beside the Prime Minister, also a Jew, and a man of more intellectual type than Nathan. Think what a contrast this meant! In the Eternal City, in the realm of the Popes, the home of the Ghetto,[7] I lunched sitting beside one Jew who was Prime Minister of Italy, and dined as the guest of another Jew who was the head of the Roman Government itself! The Prime Minister and his colleagues struck me as upright men, sympathizing with liberal and progressive ideas, and anxious to do justice, and also on the whole as cultivated men, well read, and, in short, good fellows; but they did not strike me as possessing very great force. Mayor Nathan was precisely like many an American municipal politician of good type. He would have been quite at home as Reform Mayor of any American city of the second class. Among his colleagues were a number of Socialists, mostly parlor or study Socialists of the Latin type, well-meaning people with lofty aspirations, wild eyes, and a tendency to pay overmuch heed to fine phrases. What I saw of Italy made me feel that there was infinite need for radical action towards the betterment of social and industrial conditions; and this made me feel a very strong sympathy with some of the Socialistic aims, and a very profound distrust of most of the Socialistic methods.

The king and queen[8] were delightful people. I had already seen the king, for when I was on my way to Africa he had come down in a battleship to Messina, and at his request I had gone aboard the battleship and had been presented to him; and I had a very genuine respect for him. Moreover I found him most companionable. There were many things in which both of us were interested, from big game hunting to history and social progress. Some time before he had written asking me to come on a shooting trip with him after ibex, and I was genuinely sorry to refuse; and when I

[7] The principle of a systematic segregation of the Jews was established in 1555 by Paul IV in the bull, *cum nimis absurdum*. In the following year, a formal ghetto was set up in Rome. The name derived from the name of the Jewish quarter of Venice.

[8] Victor Emmanuel III and Queen Helene, daughter of Nicholas I, King of Montenegro.

made my formal call upon him he showed me the heads of all kinds of game animals, including for instance the very rare South Italian chamois; and he showed that he took much more than a pure sportsman's interest in them. As for his general reading, I need only mention that I found on his desk, open, a copy of Mahaffy's Empire of the Ptolemies, in which he was interested. I have always had a liking for the early history of the House of Savoy. Happening to say that I supposed that the fact that the House of Savoy had elected to live under Roman and not under Lombard law indicated that it was probably of native and not of invading Germanic origin, the king at once became interested and he told me many queer incidents of early Savoy history; and showed us his noteworthy collection of Savoyard coins, from the earliest to modern times. While I was President he had sent me, together with a handsome edition of Dante, a score of volumes of the original reports and papers of Eugene of Savoy — one of my favorite heroes.

The king showed that he was deeply and intelligently interested in every movement for social reform, and was not only astonishingly liberal but even radical, sympathizing with many of the purposes and doctrines of the Socialists. He took me in to see his children, who were well-behaved and simple. When I spoke of how well the queen was bringing them up, he laughed and said, yes, he wished his son to be so trained that, if necessary, he would be fit to be the First President of the Italian Republic. Later he called for me at the hotel, causing thereby frightful agitation among the hotel attendants and guests, and spent a morning driving me round the city — I had already made the correct formal call and had left a wreath on Victor Emmanuel's tomb in the Pantheon. He slightly embarrassed me by making me sit on the right-hand in the carriage, as almost all the kings did — I suppose on the theory that I was a kind of ex-sovereign myself; I always wished they wouldn't do it, but after one or two trials I made no further protest, as it always became evident that if I insisted on sitting on the left-hand I should cause a fuss, which was just exactly what I was desirous of not doing. He took me to the cavalry school, where I was greatly impressed by the riding of his officers, and especially by the way in which they took their horses down well-nigh perpendicular banks. Evidently he knew the army and its needs just as he knew the civil and social needs of the country; and in fact I do not see how Italy could have a more intelligent, devoted and sympathetic ruler. I told him I wished we had a few men like him in the Senate! He asked us — Mrs. Roosevelt and I — to drive out with him and the Queen and spend a day and a couple of nights at their country place not far from Rome, saying that they would dig out some badgers — I think it was badgers — but we had so many other engagements and were so pressed for time that, as he asked me to say frankly whether it would be convenient or not, I begged off, stating that we would infinitely rather go with him to his place, but that it would cause us serious incon-

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being as considerate as possible. In a way, I should have liked to see more of him; but after all I am doubtful whether it would have been worth while, for even with the pleasantest and kindliest king there must of necessity be a little that is artificial in association with a civilian foreigner, and especially a civilian foreigner from a huge overseas democracy. To have gone with him on a hunt, where we should have had a real object in common, or to have met him while I was President, when also we would have had interests in common, would of course have been an entirely different thing. I thoroughly liked and respected almost all the various kings and queens I met; they struck me as serious people, with charming manners, devoted to their people and anxious to justify their own positions by the way they did their duty — it is no disparagement to their good intentions and disinterestedness to add that each sovereign was obviously conscious that he was looking a possible republic in the face, which was naturally an incentive to good conduct. I was very glad to have met them; and it was pleasant to see them for a short while; but longer intercourse, or renewed intercourse, would have been unnatural unless there had been, as there was not, some real intellectual interest, or other bond in common, and if there was any such, it happened not to develop itself.

I was much amused, by the way, when I reached Rome, at finding that our ambassador was engaged in an intricate controversy with the puffy-faced, entirely pompous and well-meaning local baron who was Court Marshal or Master of Ceremonies, or something of the sort; the ambassador wishing to have me treated with the courtesies granted a visiting sovereign, and the court marshal taking the entirely proper view that I was simply a private citizen, with no title and no claim to any precedence. I hastily interfered, telling the ambassador that I absolutely shared the views of his opponent, that I wished him himself to act upon, and to notify all our other ambassadors that they were to act upon, the theory that I was purely a private citizen, with no claim to any position of precedence at all, and that at any function, formal or informal, I should be perfectly happy to walk or sit or stand anywhere, and below anyone, just as the local people desired — or not to appear at all, unless they expressly wished it. I added that I was really speaking less in a spirit of humility than of pride. I have a hearty and sincere respect for a king who does his duty and acts decently, and am delighted to show him any kind of formal courtesy which is customary; but I have no patience with a sham and least of all a snobbish sham; and of all snobbish shams there is none more contemptible than that of the democrat who loudly contends that he is such and yet wishes in private or public life to grasp privileges which give the lie to his contention. To me there is something fine in the American theory that a private citizen can be chosen by the people to occupy a position as great as that of the mightiest monarch, and to exercise a power which may for the time being surpass

that of Czar, Kaiser, or Pope, and that then after having filled this position the man shall leave it as an unpensioned private citizen, who goes back into the ranks of his fellow citizens with entire self-respect, claiming nothing save what on his own individual merits he is entitled to receive. But it is not in the least fine, it is vulgar and foolish, for the president or ex-president to make believe, and, of all things in the world, to feel pleased if other people make believe, that he is a kind of second-rate or imitation king. It is as if a Roman ex-dictator wished to be treated like a king of Pergamum or Antioch! The effort to combine incompatibles merely makes a man look foolish. The positions of President and King are totally different in kind not degree; and it is silly, and worse than silly, to forget this. It is not of much consequence whether other people accept the American theory of the Presidency; but it is of very much consequence that the American people, including especially any American who has held the office, shall accept the theory and live up to it.

However, in this case, the Italian king insisted upon treating me upon "the most favored guest" principle. When we dined at the palace, by the way, I struck one bit of etiquette which I did not strike at any other court. I had endeavored to dispose of my hat when I left my coat in the anteroom, but it was returned to me with every symptom of surprise and horror, and as the other male members among the guests retained theirs, I went on with mine. When the royal party came in, and I was brought up to the queen to take her in to dinner, I again thought it was time for me to get rid of the hat. But not a bit of it! I found I was expected to walk in with the queen on my arm, and my hat in my other hand — a piece of etiquette which reminded me of nothing with which I was previously acquainted except a Jewish wedding on the East Side of New York, where the participants and guests of honor wear their hats during the ceremony, and where, on the occasions when I was Police Commissioner, and occasionally attended such weddings, I would march solemnly in to the wedding feast with the bride, or the bride's mother, on one arm, and my hat in my other hand. Both at the Italian Court and at the East Side weddings, however, some attendant took the hat as soon as I sat down at the table.

At dinner I took as great a fancy to the queen as I had already taken to the king. I sat between the queen and her niece — whom she had always treated as an elder daughter or younger sister — the Princess Royal of Serbia.[9] Both spoke French, not English. I am sorry to say that I am too much like Chaucer's Abbess in that my French is more like that of Stratford-at-Bow, than to French of Paris. But still, such as it is, I speak it with daring fluency; and I thoroughly enjoyed myself. The queen is a really fine woman, with a strong touch of the heroic in her, and I greatly liked the princess also.

[9] Princess Helen, daughter of Peter I, King of Serbia and his Queen, Zorka, was a niece of Queen Helene of Italy. Zorka, a Montenegrin, was a sister of Queen Helene.

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interested me because, to an American, it was curious to meet culti-
women, fond of reading, whose acquaintance with books barely
ed the limits of English literature. In other words, they were cultivated
e of the Balkans of Southwestern Europe. They knew French well
some German, but very little English. Both had a passionate love for
Montenegrin land, for its people and its history, and they were delighted
they found that I really did know its history and shared to the full
admiration for it. They were also interested to find that I knew
Queen Sylva's writings,[10] especially her translations of the Roumanian
songs; and the various translations of the poetry of the Balkan Slavs.
princess was in sympathy a thorough Montenegrin and not a Serbian,
found respected the Bulgarians more than she did the Serbians. It
be pretty awful to be connected with the Serbian royal family! and
brother, the crown prince,[11] was a dreadful creature, whom later I
ed to meet as long as possible, until finally I had to be presented to
for just a moment at the king's funeral in London. I was amused to
that the Princess knew all about my family, and put me many questions
my elder daughter, whom she laughingly referred to as "the Prin-
Alice." The Italian queen herself was obviously a fine and noble woman,
she was the real peasant-queen, the Saga queen, the queen of the folk
s and fairy tales — the kind of queen whom the hero meets when he
s out with his valet and staff and travels "far and far and farther than
nd finally comes to a palace up to which he strolls, and sees the king
g in front of the door looking at the sheep or the chickens. To be
or queen in a country like Italy at the present day means unending
n and worry, and both the king and the queen were faithfully and
nscientiously and wisely, and with great self-devotion and self-abnegation,
g everything they could to meet the difficulties of an uncommonly
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re my bourgeois prejudices against domestic immorality, which are
onger directly in proportion as the social position of the offenders is
her — and it was good to see their relations, together and with their
ildren. The queen spoke with horror of war and violence, and mentioned
at she did not think she could ever strike a blow herself, unless in defense
her children, or if her husband was attacked by an assassin; and as she
oke her eyes smouldered and she straightened her tall form. She loves
talk of her life at home in Montenegro, and one anecdote she told me

[10] Carmen Sylva, who was Elisabeth, Queen Consort of Charles I, King of Roumania, collected and translated many Roumanian songs and stories. Among her books are *The Dreamer of Dreams* (London, 1915) and *Edleen Vaughan or Paths of Peril* (New York, 1891).

[11] The Crown Prince of Serbia in 1911 was Alexander Petrovitch, later King of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, in 1921 King of Yugoslavia. He was assassinated at Marseille in October 1934 by a Croat revolutionist. His elder brother, George Petrovitch, was probably the man Roosevelt had in mind. An unstable person, who killed his valet in a fit of passion, he was forced to renounce his rights to the throne.

gave me an insight into the reason why the Montenegrins show a more than medieval devotion to their sovereign. She said that when she was a child a famine came to the people, who were finally reduced to eat only rice; and her father, the then reigning prince and present king, summoned his family together, and told them that their mother had much to do and needed meat and would continue to eat it, but that he and the children would from that time on eat only rice, until the people too had more than rice to eat; and his proposal was carried out to the letter.

After leaving Rome Mrs. Roosevelt and I tried to repeat the drive over the Cornechi which we had taken twenty-three years before on our honeymoon, doing it the reverse direction. We started in an old-style three-horse carriage — *not* a motor — from Spezia, and as we had been able to conceal the fact that we were going to Spezia our first day's drive to Sestri Levante was delightful, and we enjoyed the night at a funny little old-style hotel, the waves washing the wall beneath our balcony. But they found us out even before the end of this afternoon, and the officers of the municipality called upon us that evening, and the band gave us a serenade; and next day both the natives and the tourists all along our route had heard about our coming; and by noon it had become evident that the enjoyment of our trip was at an end, and we abandoned it. After that, throughout my stay in Europe, the visits to Arthur Lee and yourself, and my twenty-four hours with Edward Grey in the valley of the Itchen, and through the New Forest, represented the only occasions when I was able to shake off my semipublic character for more than an hour or two at a time.

We spent a week with Mrs. Roosevelt's sister at her house at Porto Maurizio; then I left Mrs. Roosevelt and Ethel there, for I wished them not to get overtired, while Kermit and I made a flying trip to Vienna and Budapest.

I had originally intended to come straight home to America from Africa; I abandoned this idea on receiving the invitation to deliver the Romanes lecture at Oxford, because this was an invitation I wished to accept; and I appreciated being asked to deliver the lectures. It was the kind of thing I was really glad to do. But immediately afterwards I was asked to speak at the Sorbonne. This again I was glad to do. When I accepted, however, I was certain that the Kaiser would not stand my speaking in England and France and not in Germany; and, sure enough, I soon received from the German Ambassador, by his direction, a request to speak at the University of Berlin; and this again I was glad to do. I then felt that I had entered into all the engagements I could carry through without hurrying myself, and I endeavored to avoid making any others; and I also endeavored to avoid visiting any other countries save France, Germany and England. But I soon found that while the different rulers did not really care a rap about seeing me, they did not like me to see *other* rulers and pass them by; and that the same state of mind obtained among the peoples. At Messina the King of Italy had made

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point of my returning to Italy, and the municipality of Rome had — then a year in advance — made such representations about my coming through Rome as to make it evident that I would give grave offense if I went round it in order to get up into France. Accordingly I had to go. Then the Austrian Ambassador, (a Hungarian) whom I like, raised a perfect clamor against my omitting Austria; and I also found that the Hungarians would really have had their feelings hurt if I did not visit Hungary. Then the Norwegian Minister to Washington, and our own Minister in Norway, both wrote me that the Norwegians would feel permanently aggrieved if after having received the Nobel Prize I failed to come to Christiania and give the Nobel Lecture customary in such cases, inasmuch as I was giving addresses in Berlin, Paris and Oxford. As soon as I accepted this, I found that Sweden and Denmark would in their turn have had their feelings injured to the last point by failure on my part to visit them when I was so near, and that Holland was already making great preparations because, on account of my Dutch descent, they claimed a certain proprietorship in me. As I had to pass through Belgium, and as the Belgians had been very kind to me in Africa, I was glad to stop there also; I had not intended to be presented to any sovereign; for I have the strongest feeling about the attitude of so many Americans in desiring to be presented to the different sovereigns. The latter, poor good people, must be driven nearly mad by such requests; for which there is no warrant whatever, in the great majority of cases. Moreover I believed that the sovereigns could not care to see me; an attitude of mind with which I most cordially sympathized. I can imagine nothing more dreary than being called upon to receive retired politicians, who have no official standing and no right to any official honors, and who nevertheless may be sensitive if they are not given the honors to which they have no claim. (I am sorry to say that Seward, for instance, when he went round the world after leaving public life, showed much sensitiveness). However, the unfortunate sovereigns evidently felt that it would be misunderstood if they did not show me attention, and through the ambassadors or foreign ministers I was requested to visit almost every country in Europe, and to visit the sovereign of every such country. Switzerland was an exception. Here I had been asked to attend the Calvin Quadricentenary which I could not do; and as I was not asked by the Government until my trip was half over, when I was eagerly endeavoring to cut out every possible engagement, I did not go there. The result has been that to this day I am now and then called upon to explain why I did not go there; and to my concern I found that I had hurt the feelings of a great many good people who thought I had slighted them—not that they would ever have dreamed of caring one way or the other if it were not for the fact that they saw a fuss made about me in other countries; whereupon they illustrated Lincoln's view that "there's a deal of human nature in mankind" by promptly proceeding to feel injured. I had precisely the same experience with Russia. I do not for a moment believe that the Russians wished

to see me, and least of all the Czar; they would have been anything but pleased had I come; but inasmuch as I never went near Russia, they all now feel slightly aggrieved; and only the other day I received a warm invitation from the Czar to come to Russia this Summer, together with a complaint about my not having visited it already. I did not deem it necessary to explain in full, as no good would come of it; but I would hate to go to Russia in any way as guest of the ruling authorities, and feel that I was thereby stopped from speaking on behalf of Finland, of the Jews, of the persecuted Russian liberals, and of all the many other people upon whom the iron despotism of the bureaucracy bears with such crushing weight.

I said above that I doubted whether the sovereigns cared to see me. I am now inclined to think that they did, as a relief to the tedium, the dull, narrow routine of their lives. I shall always bear testimony to the courtesy and good manners, and the obvious sense of responsibility and duty, of the various sovereigns I met. But of course, as was to be expected, they were like other human beings in that the average among them was not very high as regards intellect and force. Indeed the kind of driving force and energy needed to make a first-class president or prime minister, a great general or war minister, would be singularly out of place in the ordinary constitutional monarch. Apparently what is needed in a constitutional king is that he shall be a kind of sublimated American vice-president; plus being socially at the head of that part of his people which you have called "the freemasons of fashion." The last function is very important; and the king's lack of political power, and his exalted social position, alike cut him off from all real comradeship with the men who really do the things that count; for comradeship must imply some equality, and from this standpoint the king is doubly barred from all that is most vital and interesting. Politically he can never rise to, and socially he can never descend to, the level of the really able men of the nation. I cannot imagine a more appallingly dreary life for a man of ambition and power. The kings whom I saw were not as a whole very ambitious or very forceful, though fine, honest, good fellows; and the monotony of their lives evidently made them welcome any diversion in the shape of a stranger, who gave them an entirely new point of view, and with whom, because of the nature of the case, they knew they could be intimate without any danger of the intimacy being misconstrued, or leading to unpleasant situations in the future. They had made the advances, not I; they knew that I was not coming back to Europe, that I would never see them again, or try in any way to keep up relations with them; and so they felt free to treat us with an intimacy, and on a footing of equality, which would have been impossible with a European, the subject of some one of them (I think this was why they asked us to stay in the palaces). In a way, although the comparison sounds odd, these sovereigns, in their relations among themselves and with others, reminded me of the officers and their wives in one of our western army posts in the old days, when they were all shut up together and

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away from the rest of the world, were sundered by an impassable gulf from the enlisted men and the few scouts, hunters and settlers around about, and were knit together into one social whole, and nevertheless were riven asunder by bitter jealousies, rivalries and dislikes. Well, the feelings between a given queen and a given dowager-empress, or a small king and the emperor who on some occasion had relished bullying him, were precisely the same as those between the captain's lady and the colonel's spinster daughter, or the sporting lieutenant and the martinet major, in a lonely army post.

As we traveled, we found that the royalties at one court were almost sure to have written to their kinsfolk at the next court (for they are all interrelated) things about us, just exactly as people wrote from one army post to another in the old days. They were always sure to wish to hear from me about some of the things that I had done while I was President, especially the building of the Panama Canal, the voyage of the battle fleet, the handling of the coal strike, and various matters concerning the control of the trusts and the control of the mob, and the relations of both with Socialism; and they were at least as anxious to hear about my regiment, and especially about my life in the West, evidently regarding it as an opportunity to acquire knowledge at firsthand and at close range concerning the Buffalo-Bill and Wild-West side of American existence. Most of them had obviously read up my writings for the occasion, and would appeal to me for enlightenment upon points which they could not understand; and then when I illustrated these points by stories and incidents, they would usually need further enlightenment about some of the expressions I used in telling the stories, and they would evidently solemnly write or tell one another just what these expressions were. Accordingly, after the usual formal and perfunctory conversation with the new king or crown prince, or whoever it was, he would, with a little preliminary maneuvering, ask me if I would mind repeating the story I had told some preceding king about this, that, or the other frontier hero who had afterwards become a public servant holding my commission —wishing to know just how and why it was that Benjamin Franklin Daniels, afterwards Marshal of Arizona, had his ear "bit off" in the course of the exercise of his duties as peace officer, or why Hon. Seth Bullock, who was Marshal in South Dakota, and was to meet me in London, had regarded homicide as a regrettable but inevitable incident of a political career in territorial days; or he might (and in two cases actually did) say "I beg your pardon, but I do not quite understand what is a two-gun man," which would necessitate a brief review of the exercise of the right of private war under primitive conditions in the Far West, and the advantages accruing to the cause of virtue if its special champion was able to use a revolver in either hand. All these small kings had vague ambitions, which they knew would never be gratified, for military distinction, and hunting dangerous game, and they always had questions to put about the Spanish War and the African trip. They also all stood distinctly in awe of the German Kaiser, who evi-

dently liked to drill them; and both the big and the small ones felt much jealousy of one another, and at the same time felt joined together and sundered from all other people by their social position. Before I had seen them I had realized in a vague way that a king's life nowadays must be a very limited life; but the realization was brought home to me very closely on this trip. I can understand a woman's liking to be queen fairly well, (that is, if she is not an exceptional woman) for if, as is sometimes the case, as was the case for instance with both the Queen of Norway[12] and the Crown Princess of Sweden,[13] she has made a love match, she has the ordinary happiness that comes to the happy woman with husband and children, and in addition the ceremonial and social part would be apt to appeal to her and to be taken seriously by her. But as for the man: It would be very attractive to be a king with the power of a dictator, and the ability to wield that power, to be a Frederick the Great, for instance, or even a man like the old Kaiser William, who if not exactly a great man yet had the qualities which enabled him to use and be used by Bismarck, Moltke and von Roon. But the ordinary king — and I speak with cordial liking of all the kings I met — has to play a part in which the dress parade is ludicrously out of proportion to the serious effort; there is a quite intolerable quantity of sack to the amount of bread. If he is a decent, straight, honorable fellow, he can set a good example — and yet if he is not, most of his subjects, including almost all the clergymen, feel obliged to be blind and to say that he is; and he can exercise a certain small influence for good on public affairs in an indirect fashion. But he can play no part such as is played by the real leaders in the public life of today, if he is a constitutional monarch. Understand me. I do not mean that he fails to serve a useful purpose, just as the flag serves a useful purpose. Only a very foolish creature will talk of the flag as nothing but a bit of dyed or painted bunting, because it is a symbol of enormous consequence in the life and thought of the people. Similarly, the king may serve a purpose of enormous usefulness as a symbol, and I have no question that for many peoples, it would be a misfortune not to have such a symbol, such a figurehead. I am not speaking of the king from the standpoint of his usefulness to the community, which I fully admit; I am merely saying that from his own standpoint, if he is a man of great energy, force and power, it must be well-nigh intolerable to have to content himself with being simply in the figurehead or symbol fashion.

When I went to Vienna, I met Harry White, an old friend and the best man in our diplomatic service, who had, most unfortunately and improperly, and for reasons of unspeakable triviality, been turned out of the service by President Taft. Without White's help I really do not see how I could have gotten through my Austro-Hungarian experience. The Hengelmüllers, the

[12] Queen Maud, third daughter of Edward VII of England.
[13] Princess Margaret of Connaught, wife of Gustavus Adolphus who in 1950 became Gustaf VI, King of Sweden.

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Austrian representatives in Washington, had crossed the ocean to meet me, I was so flooded with attractive invitations, public and private, both Vienna and Budapest, that I hardly had one moment to myself. I did, however, get an hour to visit certain bookstores, because I wanted to buy some the old German hunting books. The popular reception in Vienna was even greater than the popular reception in Rome; I was received very much as I was received when as President I visited San Francisco, or Seattle, or St. Louis, or New Orleans. The streets and squares around the hotel were packed with crowds, and when I drove to Schönbrunn to dine with the Emperor, the whole route was lined on both sides with onlookers. It was evident to me that the people did not in the least understand my real position, although I had done everything in my power to make it plain; they thought of me as still the great American leader, the man who was to continue to play in the future of American politics something like the part he had played in the past. Moreover this was the view that almost all the statesmen took. No explanations of mine were treated as anything but rather insincere and affected self-depreciation, and my statement of the bald fact that under our system and traditions an ex-President became of little or no importance was always greeted with polite but exasperating incredulity; and I finally gave up any attempt to do more than at each successive capital to state the fact with entire clearness, and then to let them refuse to believe it if they chose. I hated to have them deceive themselves; but they absolutely refused to let me undeceive them, and that was all there was about it.

The Emperor[14] was an interesting man. With him again I had to speak French. He did not strike me as a very able man, but he was a gentleman, he had good instincts, and in his sixty years' reign he had witnessed the most extraordinary changes and vicissitudes. He talked very freely and pleasantly, sometimes about politics, sometimes about hunting; and after my first interview, when he got up to tell me "good-by," he said that he had been particularly interested in seeing me because he was the last representative of the old system, whereas I embodied the new movement, the movement of the present and the future, and that he had wished to see me so as to know for himself how the prominent exponent of that movement felt and thought. He knew that I disliked the old king of the Belgians[15] who was just dead, and suddenly asked me if I would have visited Belgium if he had been alive; and when I said no, he responded that he quite understood why, and added "c'était un homme absolument méchant," explaining that there were very few men who were absolutely and without qualification "méchant," but that Leopold was one.

The dinner at Schönbrunn was interesting, of course, and not as dull, as those functions are apt to be. The Emperor and all the Austrian guests had one horrid habit. The finger bowls were brought on, each with a small

[14] Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary.
[15] Leopold II, King of the Belgians, who had ruthlessly subjugated the Belgian Congo.

tumbler of water in the middle; and the Emperor and all the others pro-
ceeded to rinse their mouths, and then empty them into the finger bowls. It
felt a little as if the days of Kaunitz had been revived—I believe that eminent
servant of Maria Theresa used to take a complete toilet set with him to din-
ner, including a toothbrush, which he used at the close of the feast. How-
ever, all of the guests were delightful; and both the men and the women who
came in after dinner were on the whole charming. I was told that Viennese
society was frivolous, but it happened, I suppose naturally, that those men
whom I saw were most of them interested in real problems of statecraft and
warcraft. However, the world that lives for amusement was much in evidence
at the Jockey Club. This struck me as a typical Viennese institution. Only
the higher nobility belong, and a few outsiders of note. The people were
charming, well-bred, with delightful manners, joining to the love of sport
among corresponding Englishmen a love of gambling and a propensity to
fight duels, which gave them a different touch, and living in a world as re-
mote from mine as if it had been in France before the revolution. They
hailed me with the utmost good comradeship, because they were almost all
big game hunters, and were immensely interested in my African hunt, and
were also much interested in my regiment and my experiences in the Spanish
War. Of course the fact that I had been President, and at the same time
had done the kind of thing in war and sport which it would have gratified
their ambitions to do, also impressed them; and then, to my intense amuse-
ment, I found that they were in cordial sympathy with me because I had
attacked the big financial interests, and because I frankly looked down on
mere monied men, the people of enormous wealth who had nothing but
their wealth behind them, and whose power was simply the power of the
"money touch." There was to me something very humorous in finding what
in America was regarded as a democratic movement against the powerful
and arrogant aristocracy of wealth was among these Viennese looked upon
as a movement fundamentally in the interests of the right kind of aristocracy
because it was teaching the man of mere money bags that his money by itself
simply rendered him vulgar, and entitled him to no consideration. In the
same way I was much amused to find from casual remarks made by my
hosts that what they called the "Kleiner Adel" were not admitted to the club
any more than the financiers were. They had not such feeling against me
and Kermit. We represented men of a totally alien life. I found that they
already knew that I as strongly objected to Americans marrying into these
titled families as they could object themselves. This gave them, on the one
hand, a feeling of understanding and sympathy with me, and, on the other
hand, put our relations just as they ought to be; that is, they felt they could
be absolutely courteous to me, and establish absolutely good relations with
me, just as they could with an Arab Sheik, and ask me to their houses and
visit my house and yet not be afraid of any complications following. One
or two of them had a slight curiosity to find out exactly why I objected

strongly to any closer alliance with them as they did to any closer alliance with Americans; but most of them were too well-bred to think it worth while to make inquiries. To those that did make the inquiries I laughed and told them that they would understand my position if they realized that I wished to keep for myself and all my kinsfolk and all my people an attitude which would make us respect equally and feel equally at home with, Andreas Hofer on one side and Count Andrássy on the other, and that such an attitude could only be kept as long as their people and our people met on a footing of entire equality and good will, but with full recognition of the fact that any attempt at too intimate relations would result in showing utter discordance. In other words we could really enjoy not merely friendship, but a substantial measure of intimacy, if we did not try to make it too close; because if we came too close we should find that our systems of life were fundamentally irreconcilable, altho each might have many good points and might be the best for a given set of surroundings.

I visited the riding school, one of the very few places in Europe where one can still see the manège as it is described in that great book of the Duke of Newcastle's — I think it is his — in the seventeenth century;[16] and I inspected a Hungarian Hussar regiment, which interested me immensely, and where again I was received with the most genuine cordiality as a fellow-soldier, all the officers, who of course had themselves seen no actual fighting, being very anxious to know about my regiment. I was very much impressed by both the officers and the enlisted men, and also by the horses.

We went out to lunch with a perfect old trump, Count Wilczek, who had a castle a few miles out of Vienna which he had restored, so that it looked exactly as it did in the Middle Ages and was similarly arranged within — although he had embellished it with books and pictures of a later period. On this trip — here while visiting this castle, just as at Cairo — I was helped for the first time in my life by the fact that I had always gratified my thirst for useless information. I have never demanded of knowledge anything except that it shall be useless. Now this means that while I know nothing that the average scholar does not know, yet that I know a good deal as to which the average politician or man of affairs is abysmally ignorant; and as naturally my life has been chiefly led among politicians and men of affairs, when it was not led among frontiersmen, there are a great many things I have studied about which I have rarely or never had a chance to speak — largely, my dear sir, because it is only occasionally that I am thrown for a few hours intimately in your company! Until I went abroad this time I doubt if I had ever derived the slightest benefit, however small, from such things as a knowledge of Moslem travels in the thirteenth century, or Magyar history, or the Mongol conquests, or the growth of the races of Middle

[16] William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, *A New Method, and Extraordinary Invention, to Dress Horses, and Work Them According to Nature* . . . . (London, 1667). It was first published in French in Antwerp in 1658.

Europe and the deeds of their great men. On this occasion, however, my knowledge of these things really added to my pleasure, and brought me into touch with people. For instance, Wilczek hugely enjoyed finding that, besides a general interest in sport and in medieval ways and customs, I had taken it for granted that his family, if not Czech, was of Polish origin, and descended from the Piasts and from Boleslav the Glorious; that when he showed me a portrait of Báthory I was familiar with that Hungarian king of Poland and his wars against Ivan the Terrible; that I knew the details of Rudolph's fight with Ottakar of Bohemia; and so on and so on. He took a great fancy to Kermit, whom he called "leetle" Kermit — for although Kermit was nearly six feet, Wilczek towered above him — led him round by the hand through most of the building, and then kissed him good-by. Kermit is an impassive person, and was much less upset by this than an English boy would have been; still he was distinctly embarrassed; and I had fearful apprehensions myself when I came to say good-by, but fortunately the Count merely enfolded me in a bear-like arm clasp.

After leaving Vienna I went to Hungary. On the way to Budapest we stopped for lunch at Count Apponyi's. Apponyi met us at the station (where there was the usual reception) and drove us to his castle. It was interesting to an American to pass successively through various villages each consisting only of Slavs, Magyars or Germans. Apponyi is a really fine fellow. He had been in Washington with the Inter-Parliamentary Peace Congress, and had dined with me at the White House. He represented a type of Liberal much more common in Continental Europe prior to 1848 than at present; but in some ways, purely Hungarian. In Hungary, in striking contrast to what was the case in France, in Italy, and I believe in Spain, and certainly in much of Germany, I found that Liberalism and very strong religious feelings were not regarded as incompatible. In France and Italy devout Catholics were almost always reactionary, not only in matters ecclesiastical but in matters governmental; and Liberals were always anticlerical — probably inevitably so. In Hungary I met many Liberals, most of them Catholics, some of them Calvinists, who were good "church people" in much the same sense that so many of my associates in America are good church people; and in consequence they felt that I understood them and that they were in sympathy with me, as they could not be expected to be in sympathy with men sharing their political views who at the same time ridiculed, or at least were wholly unable to understand their religious views. Apponyi was a devout Catholic, but he was not only an advanced Liberal in matters political but also in matters ecclesiastical; he was a staunch friend of many Protestants, and later took me round to see the younger Kossuth, a Protestant. In this respect he was like an American Liberal of the best type; yet in matters purely political it was half amusing, half melancholy, to realize the doctrinaire limitations of his attitude. He was in theory an almost irrational advocate of immediate international peace; just as the Norwegians also were, in theory; and he and

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the Norwegian delegates whom I had met among the various international peace delegations, were all for universal arbitration and disarmament, and for passing high-sounding resolutions in favor of immediate peace all over the earth (resolutions which always remind me of Tilmon Joy's sneer in one of John Hay's poems,[17] at those who "rezoloot till the cows come home" and cannot and will not give practical effect to their resolutions; and yet he represented the violent and extreme Hungarian party which was practically working for a separation from Austria that would probably bring war; just as the Norwegian peace people were at the very time championing separation from Norway, a separation which certainly told against peace and might well have produced immediate war. In other words, these peace champions of Hungary and Norway, who in word and in resolution, and in proclamation at their conventions, went much further in demanding arbitration and peace than I was willing to go (simply because for a really cool and far-sighted man to act as they were acting would have been base hypocrisy) were, as regards the only practical matters where they could give effect to their theories doing all they could to provoke war. This is not an exceptional attitude among professional peace advocates. I have met it again and again. In my own country I have had labor unions and similar organizations pass resolutions, and send them to me, demanding that we cease building up the Navy and insist on universal international arbitration, at the very same time that they demanded that I adopt the policy of Japanese exclusion in such form as would certainly have brought us war with Japan. War would probably have come if I had either yielded to their wishes as to the form which the policy of exclusion was to take, (in accordance with their wishes), or had failed to keep at the highest point of efficiency the American Navy. It would certainly have come if I had yielded to their wishes in both regards. Apponyi in Hungary was honestly convinced that he was standing up for the oppressed and for the cause of righteousness by insisting that the Magyar should be at least on an equality with the Austrian German; and he was shocked and puzzled by finding that a large number of Hungarian Slavs regarded his attitude, and the attitude of the Magyars, toward them as itself an attitude of pure oppression, and which showed the fundamental hypocrisy of the Magyar attitude toward the German.

One reason why he and the other Hungarian politicians whom I met got on well with me was probably the fact that I knew a good deal of Hungarian history and Hungarian constitutional claims; that I understood, for instance, that the Emperor of Austria was not emperor in Hungary, and always al-

[17] "Banty Tim" in *The Pike County Ballads*. The concluding stanza runs:

> You may rezoloot till the cows come home,
> But ef one of you tetches the boy,
> He'll wrastle his hash to-night in hell,
> Or my name's not Tilmon Joy!

luded to him as the king — to give him his full, and delightful title, "apostolic king" — while I was in Hungary; that I understood that the analogy between England and Ireland was to be found, not in Austria's attitude toward Hungary, but in Hungary's attitude toward Croatia etc. etc. As I have said, any ordinary scholar with a good second-hand knowledge of history, is acquainted with all this as a matter of course; but among politicians the one-eyed is apt to be king — so far as concerns foreign history, or indeed so far as concerns any branch of abstract knowledge not dealing with applied politics, applied economics, or money-making. When I was received in the legislative hall at Budapest, I was at first a little bit puzzled to know why they so immensely appreciated my allusions to Arpád, St. Stephen, Matthew Corvinus and other Hungarian heroes, to the battle of Mohács, to the provisions of the Golden Bull of one King Béla, and to the curious indirect results of the Bogomil heresy, and the double part played by racial and religious considerations in causing the Protestants of Hungary and Transylvania to side with the Turk rather than with the Austrian; ultimately I found that the reason was their sensitiveness to the fact that all these names meant nothing whatever to the public men of other European countries. Evidently they felt as regards the ignorance they encountered concerning their own national history when they went to Berlin, Paris, or London, much as an American felt forty or fifty years ago, when he found that Europe quite simply ignored the men and events that he had believed to be of capital importance. It was the feeling of injured dignity natural to the man who does not like to have his cherished heroes and their deeds treated as provincial, and who is not as yet sufficiently self-confident to realize that such treatment reflects, not on him or them, but on those who really show themselves provincial by failing to appreciate the fundamental importance of what has happened outside their own ken. To a Hungarian the fact that the Golden Bull was analogous to the Great Charter, and was issued about the same time that the latter was signed, seemed of such interest that he could not understand an Englishman never having heard of the said Golden Bull; and in consequence he was much pleased to find that an ex-President from across the ocean had heard about it, and knew for instance that it solemnly reserved to the nobles the right of revolution if the king misbehaved himself — I did not think it necessary to elaborate the comparison between this and the action of certain South American republics in inserting into their constitutions a guarantee of the right of secession.

In Vienna they had been very much pleased when, while President, I had cordially approved the action of Austria in changing the title, although not really the substance, of the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ultimately I hope that the Balkan States will be able to stand by themselves, perhaps in some sort of confederacy; but as yet the example of Serbia is not sufficiently encouraging to make me believe that Bosnia and Herzegovina

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could make more progress alone than under Austria; for Austrian rule bears no resemblance to Austrian rule half a century ago, and in any event is infinitely preferable to the rule of the Turk. In Hungary they knew that I had approved of this action, and were on the whole glad — the Austrian Governor of the two provinces (Kallay) did a really remarkable work in developing them — but the Magyars were a little uneasy at anything that tended to increase the Slav populations of the Dual Empire. In Budapest the Austrian archduke who represented the empire and who was a very good fellow, but whose name I cannot now remember, gave me a lunch, and the Prime Minister a dinner, and the head of the Opposition another dinner, and I was taken out to see a stock farm where I took lunch. The really interesting part, however, was meeting the people themselves. They were delightful. Of course I became hopelessly mixed as to their names; it was impossible to meet a couple of hundred men and women, even very intimately, for forty-eight hours, and disentangle them completely from the couple of hundred different men and women I had met in the previous forty-eight hours, or the couple of hundred whom I met in the preceding forty-eight hours. However, the general impression was very vivid. I was struck in Hungary, as later in Holland and the Scandinavian countries, by the fact that I was really more in sympathy with the people whom I met than with the corresponding people of the larger continental nations. Their ways of looking at life were more like mine, and their attitude toward the great social and economic questions more like those of my friends in America. The Hungarian women, for instance, were almost the only women of Continental Europe with whom I could talk in the same intimate way that I could with various American and English women whom I have known — Mrs. Lodge, Mrs. La Farge, Mrs. Selmes, and other friends, of my own country, and Lady Delamere and Mrs. Sanderson of your country, whom I met at Nairobi, and Lady Spring Rice and others. The Hungarian women were charming. They seemed to have the solid qualities of the North Germans, and yet the French charm, which the North Germans so totally lacked. I was genuinely sorry to think that I should never see them again. I greatly liked the Hungarian men. Whether it was simply an accident, or whether those I met were typical, I cannot say, but I certainly met an unusual number who were both interesting, and interested in things that were worth while; and who were keenly alert about political and economic matters, and yet were enthusiastic sportsmen or were well-read or had other interests that were not merely stodgy. Teleki, the African explorer, was one; either his wife or his sister-in-law had written a novel worth reading.[18] By the way, a Hungarian novelist whose books I had always liked, the author of

[18] Count Samuel Teleki, discoverer of Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie in East Africa. His relative, Countess Sandor Teleki, well-known in Hungarian literary circles, produced, under the pen name Spark, a great many novels and plays.

*St. Peter's Umbrella*,[19] also called on me, and later caused me no slight embarrassment by giving an interview in which he contrasted my attitude of appreciation of his novels with the lack of such appreciation on the part of the Austrian imperial family!

At the different dinners and in the houses I visited I found almost everybody able to speak English, and well acquainted with whatever of note was written in either French, English, or German. Of course there is not much written in Magyar, and in order to hold communion with the rest of the world cultivated people in Hungary have to know foreign languages in a way that it is not necessary for Englishmen, Frenchmen, or Germans, and so they are pleasanter for foreigners to get on with. One of the leading public men I met — I think an ex-Prime Minister — was a Calvinist, and I was interested to see the strong impress that Calvinism had stamped upon the Magyar character. Evidently the Calvinistic theology was much more of a force with him than with most even of the descendants of the Puritans with whom I am intimate in America; and while the liberalizing spirit of the age and of his political party and the needs of Hungary had greatly broadened him, he still retained to a curious degree traits which reminded me all the time of those of men with whom I was familiar in my own country. His ancestors and mine had been at the Synod of Dort together three centuries before, and though he was very much broader and more tolerant than they were, he was not able to look at their work from quite the detached standpoint that to me seemed the only possible standpoint. But he was a fine fellow, and I was in thorough sympathy with him; and his wife was a brilliant and charming woman. Altogether I could not overstate how thoroughly at home I felt in Hungary, and how I enjoyed myself in spite of the rush in which I was kept.

There was a sequel to my visit to Vienna which was rather amusing. By appointment I called on the Prime Minister — confound it! I have forgotten his name[20] also for the moment, but I will remember it before I get through this letter. He was a statesman and diplomat of the old school, very polished and cultivated, with real power, and entirely cynical. Down at bottom he had no more sympathy with me than Merry del Val, but unlike Merry del Val he recognized the fact that the world had moved; and went out of his way, as did the Emperor, to thank me for what I had done at Rome, saying that it made their task a little easier; and I think he was instrumental in having the Papal Nuncio call on me when our Ambassador, who is himself a Catholic, gave me a reception at the Embassy — a fact which drove the ultras of the Vatican nearly crazy. He speedily brought the subject round to the

[19] Kálmán Mikszáth, *St. Peter's Umbrella*, translated from the Hungarian by B. W. Worswick (New York, 1900). Based on an intricate plot concerning a ragged red umbrella, a misplaced treasure, and a sly old misanthrope, *St. Peter's Umbrella* is a restful narrative of life in out-of-the-way Slovak villages.

[20] Richard von Bienerth.

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question of universal peace and disarmament, and cautiously tried to draw me out as to what my attitude would be on these subjects when I saw the Kaiser in Berlin. Carnegie, personally and through Root, my onetime Secretary of State, had been asking me to try to get the Emperor committed to universal arbitration and disarmament, and had been unwary enough to let something leak into the papers about what he had proposed. Root was under obligations to Carnegie for the way that Carnegie had helped him in connection with the Pan-American movement, and he had also helped the Smithsonian in fitting out the scientific people who went with me on my African trip; and Carnegie's purposes as regards international peace are good, although his methods are often a little absurd; and so I told him that I would see whether I could speak to the Emperor or not, but that I did not believe any good would come of it.

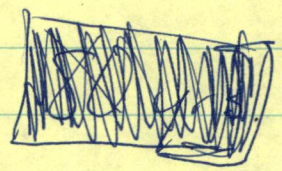
From America, I suppose through some inadvertence on Mr. Carnegie's part, it got into the newspapers that I was to speak to the Emperor about peace; whereupon all the well-meaning and unspeakably foolish busybodies who, partly from sincere interest and partly from fussiness and vanity, like to identify themselves with large reforms, and whose identification therewith always does damage to the said reforms, began to write to me and to the papers. Evidently this had much alarmed the German foreign office people, and probably the German Kaiser himself. Those responsible for Germany's policies at the present day are most ardent disciples of, and believers in, Frederick the Great and Bismarck, and not unnaturally have an intense contempt for the mock altruism of so many worthy people who will not face facts — a contempt which Bismarck showed for Motley when Motley very foolishly thrust upon him advice about how to deal with conquered France. Having been trained to believe only in loyalty to the national welfare, and in the kind of international morality characteristic of one pirate among his fellow pirates, they are unable to understand or appreciate the standards of international morality which men like Washington and Lincoln genuinely believed in, which have been practiced on a very large scale for two or three generations by your people in India, and latterly in Egypt and which are now being applied by our own people on a smaller scale in the Philippines and the West Indies. Evidently the German foreign office availed themselves of the very close relations between Austria and Germany, and got the Austrian Prime Minister to sound me as to my intentions. He took advantage of a question I put to him anent a remark to me by the Duke of Abruzzi,[21] who had told me that in Europe they firmly believed that two wars were certain, one between Japan and ourselves, one between you and Germany. After repeating this remark, I said that I did not believe war would ever come between Japan and ourselves, certainly not if we kept up a sufficiently efficient navy, and fortified Hawaii and the Canal; and I asked the Prime Minis-

[21] Prince Luigi of Savoy-Aosta, Duke of the Abruzzi; cousin of Victor Emmanuel III; brother of Prince Emmanuel, Duke of Aosta.

Dr. Bob
345-1837

Kovats

founded 1st ~~unit~~ U.S. Calvary Unit during Revolutionary War



Mihaly Kovacs
MEE high

Veled sirok, hogy korcsok fiaid,
S hivom le rájok isten átkait,
S veled szégyenlem, hogy a nagyvilág
Téged, szegény hazám te, meg se' lát,
Hogy, aki rajta egykor úr valál,
És reszketett parancsod hanginál,
Most rája nézve nem is létezel...
S érted teszek majd, hogyha tenni kell!

*Koltó, 1847. október*

## KAZINCZY GÁBORHOZ

Miljók nevében emelem szavam,
Miljók nevében mondom el neked
A köszönet, a hála szavait,
Hős pályatársam, lelkem rokona:
A nép nevében! melynek híve vagy,
Melyért csatázol bátran és vitézül.
Szentebb, mint a keresztesháborúk,
Szentebb a harc, amelyet vív e század,
Melynek te, mint én, katonája vagy.
Ott fekszik, mint egy új Prometheus,
Évezred óta a bilincsre vert nép,
És rágja máját a saskeselyű,
És vérzi lábát és kezét a lánc.
Le fogjuk rázni róla a vasat,
S elűzzük tőle a saskeselyűt!
Mienk, mienk lesz majd a győzelem,
Mert jó az ügy, mely fölfegyverze minket,
Mert a jó ügynek végre győzni kell.
Az ellenségé még a hatalom,
Kicsiny, kicsiny még a mi seregünk, de
Akik vagyunk, mind elszánt férfiak,
S ha ott a többség, itten az erő,
Mert a mi fegyverünk az élesebb,
Mert az igazság a mi fegyverünk.
S nem volna messze már a diadal,
Ha minden harcos olyan volna, mint te,



Szavával olyan fél-mindenható!
Föl, föl barátom, hangoztasd szavad,
Áraszd ki lelked e lángözönét,
Hogy föllobbantsd a rokon szíveket,
S hogy szétégesd az ellenség hadát!
Dörögd a gőgnek és a butaságnak
A rá jövendő végítéletet.
Föl, föl barátom, csüggedetlenül
S nem tántorogva egy pillanatig sem!
A díj, amelyet egykor aratunk,
Küzdelmeinkhez méltó díj leszen...
De mit beszélek? mért említem ezt?
Nem fáradunk mi jutalom-reménnyel,
Mint a hazugság aljas zsoldosi,
De önzés nélkül, isten-ihletésből,
Mint hajdanában az apostolok!

*Koltó, 1847. október*

## AZ UTÓSÓ VIRÁGOK

Őszi idő a javából,
A természet homlokáról
Minden szépet leragad.
Nincsen a mezőkön semmi,
Még a kertben is keresni
Kell már a virágokat.

Kis Juliskám összeszedte
És bokrétává kötötte
A maradék szálakat.
Jól tevéd, kis feleségem,
Kedvet szerzesz evvel nékem
S tán velök sem tész roszat.

*Date: 6/13/89*

**MEMORANDUM TO:** **Miss Stephanie Blessey, Research, White House**

**FROM:** **Veronika B. Ludmer, editor, Hungarian Service, VOA**

**SUBJECT:** **Transcript of attached tape for useful Hungarian phrases**

1. Great, Fabulous, Excellent - REMEK

2. Thank you - KÖSZÖNÖM

3. My Friend / My Friends - BARÁTOM / BARÁTAIM

4. Hungarian/ Hungarians - MAGYAR / MAGYAROK

5. Good-bye, See you, See you again - very appropriate in all situations, public or private, at the end of a speech or at leaving a place - VISZONTLÁTÁSRA

King Alfonso XIII of Spain. The British Battenbergs changed their name to Mountbatten in 1917.

**Battenberg, Louis Alexander, prince of:** *see* Milford Haven, Louis Alexander Mountbatten, 1st Marquess of.

**Battenberg, Louis Francis, prince of:** *see* Mountbatten of Burma, Louis Mountbatten.

**batter:** *see* dough and batter.

**batteries and fuel cells** 2:764, devices for producing electric current by chemical means. In a battery the chemicals are self-contained in the fuel cell. The chemicals are stored separately and supplied to the electrodes on demand.

The text article covers history, basic battery principles, primary and secondary batteries, standard cells, fuel cells, nuclear batteries, and oxidation-reduction (redox) cells.

REFERENCES in other text articles:
dry cell production **19**:1149f
electrochemical applications **6**:643e
electroplating development **6**:691g
energy conversion device development **6**:856e
Galvani's influence and voltaic pile **7**:860f
gasoline engine construction **7**:935d
lead-acid battery production and uses **10**:729b
light clock photoelectric charge **4**:747a
magnesium dry cell efficiency and uses **11**:304a
mercury cell types and uses **11**:922g
satellite solar cell **16**:264b
silver in industrial use **16**:777g
spacecraft power supplies **17**:358h
thermionic device comparison **18**:289b

**battering ram,** medieval weapon consisting of a heavy timber with a metal knob or point at the front; such devices were used to batter down the gates of a besieged city.
ancient fortifications and sieges **7**:549c
Roman army engineering **6**:863d
siege weaponry development **19**:682b

**batter's box,** in baseball, rectangular areas on either side of home plate in which a batter stands during his turn at bat.
baseball field layout **2**:739e; illus.

**Battersea,** district of London, on low-lying ground on the south bank of the River Thames, in the borough of Wandsworth. The riverside is lined with factories and is dominated by an electric power station, a well-known London landmark. Battersea Park (200 ac [80 ha]), bordering on the river between Albert and Chelsea bridges, was laid out (1858) as a municipal park and adapted as pleasure gardens with rides and other amusement devices for the Festival of Britain (1951). The home (founded 1860) in Battersea Park Road for stray and unwanted dogs and cats is also famous.

**Battersea enamelware,** considered the first painted enamelware produced in England during the mid-18th century. It is especially noted for the high quality of its transfer painting. Battersea ware was made at York House in Battersea, a district in London, by Stephen Theodore Janssen between 1753 and 1756. This ware is variably composed of soft white enamel completely covering a copper ground. A design is applied to the white enamel either by painting by hand or by transfer printing (*q.v.*), a process by which an impression from an engraved metal plate brushed with enamel colours is transfered to paper and then to the surface to be decorated. Transfer painting was used on a large scale for the first time at Battersea. Most of the articles produced there, etuis such as snuff boxes and watchcases, were small and decorated in the Rococo style with mottos, portraits, landscapes, or flowers. The shapes of the objects and the decorative motifs are often imitative of Meissen porcelain ware (*q.v.*).
·characteristics and colour use **6**:777d



Battersea enamelware plaque, 1750–56; in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London
By courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, photograph, A.C. Cooper Ltd.

**battery** (law): *see* assault and battery.

**battery,** in baseball, the pitcher and the catcher.
·function and required skills **2**:745c

**battery, isotope,** source of electrical energy in which a thermionic or thermoelectric device is provided with energy by a radioactive isotope. In one type, electrons emitted by a radioactive source, such as strontium-90, transfer from a collector circuit.
·thermionic device power output and lifetime **18**:289f

**battery, mercury,** source of electrical energy that depends on the chemical reaction between a potassium hydroxide electrolyte, an anode of amalgamated zinc, and a cathode of mercuric oxide mixed with about 5 percent graphite. It provides a more constant output voltage during its lifetime than the common zinc dry cell, but it is also more expensive.
·dry cell types and designs **2**:766a
·electrolysis of brine in mercury cell **11**:922g

**battery, nuclear,** device in which nuclear energy is converted directly to electrical energy. In one type, electrons emitted by a radioactive source are caught on a collector and discharged to the external circuit. Nuclear batteries are characterized by high output voltage (more than 10,000 volts), very low current (around 50 micromicroamperes, or 50 x $10^{-12}$ amperes), and their high cost.
·voltage generation and efficiency **2**:769c; table

**Batthyány, Lajos, Count** (b. Feb. 14, 1806, Pozsony, Hung., now Bratislava, Czech.—d. Oct. 6, 1849, Pest, now Budapest, Hung.), statesman, who during the revolution of 1848 was premier of the first Hungarian parliamentary government and a martyr for Magyar independence.

The son of wealthy liberal landowners whose nobility dated to 1398, Batthyány entered the military, but left it in 1827 to manage his estates and to take a law degree at the University of Zagreb. Travel in Western Europe acquainted him with advanced liberal ideas and capitalist business practices, which he applied successfully to his interests.

He became a member of Hungary's upper house in 1830, and in 1845 led the forces seeking independence from the Habsburg monarchy. At the same time, he continued his business activity and in 1843 headed the sugar industry trust. He went to Vienna in March 1848, as a member of the committee that presented Hungarian demands for parliamentary reform to the imperial court. The following month the emperor Ferdinand V appointed Batthyány prime minister of the new parliamentary government, which took office on April 7. Despite his able leadership and the passing of important social legislation, his government found itself caught between the forces of the monarchy and the extreme separatist Hungarian elements.

In the ensuing civil war, Batthyány tried to mediate, but finally took the side of the revolutionaries. On October 11 he was wounded in battle, fell from his horse, and broke an arm. In attempting to negotiate with the Austrian forces, he was captured on Jan. 3, 1849, and sentenced to death by hanging. The night before the execution Batthyány tried, unsuccessfully, to kill himself with a knife. The next morning, badly wounded, he was shot for the crime of sedition. His death caused deep mourning across the nation and aligned European public opinion against Austria.
·Hungary's post-revolutionary government **2**:464f
·independent Hungarian Ministry **9**:36h
·Kossuth finance ministry appointment **10**:536d

**Batticaloa,** district and capital of Eastern Province, Sri Lanka (Ceylon), on an island off the eastern coast. It is linked to the mainland by causeway, bridge, and ferry and by road and railway connections. Batticaloa is the trading centre for rice and coconuts from nearby plantations and for other agricultural products. It was captured by the Portuguese in 1622 and by the Dutch in 1638, and it was surrendered by them to the British in 1796. Ruined Portuguese and Dutch forts remain from the colonial period. Pop. (1971) 36,761.
·area and population table **17**:522
·Ceylon history to independence **4**:6c
·map, Sri Lanka **17**:520

**batting,** in baseball, taking one's turn at bat, or hitting a ball with a bat.
·strategy, style, and player order **2**:741b

**Battipaglia,** town, in Salerno province, Campania region, southern Italy. Food processing and the manufacture of soap and paper products are among the main industries. The town was the scene of heavy fighting after the Allied landing at Salerno in 1943. Pop. (1971 prelim.) mun. 31,807.
40°37′ N, 14°58′ E

**Battishill, Jonathan** (b. May 1738, London —d. Dec. 10, 1801, Islington), composer of church music and popular songs. He was a chorister at St. Paul's Cathedral (1747) and later a harpsichordist at Covent Garden. He composed songs and choruses for plays, notably, *Almena* (1764), an opera produced at Drury Lane as the work of Battishill and Michael Arne. In 1764 he became organist at St. Clement Danes and St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and wrote psalms settings and hymns, catches, glees, and madrigals. He ceased composing after his wife's elopement in 1777, devoting himself to his book collection.

**Battle,** town, county of East Sussex, England, just inland from Hastings. A ridge to the southeast, called Senlac was the site, where William I the Conqueror defeated the English in 1066. Before the battle (known as the Battle of Hastings) William vowed to build an abbey on the spot if victorious, and in 1094 its church was consecrated, with an altar standing where the English king Harold II fell. The great gateway of the abbey, built in 1338, survives, but after the Reformation the church was pulled down and the abbey (now a girls' school) was converted into a mansion. Pop. (1971 prelim.) 33,563.
50°55′ N, 0°29′ E

**battle, trial by:** *see* duel.

**Battle-Ax** (culture): *see* Beaker folk.

**Battle Creek,** city, Calhoun County, central Michigan, U.S., at the juncture of Battle Creek (stream) with the Kalamazoo River. Settled in 1831, it became a flour and woollen mill centre and the site of a Seventh-day Adventist colony. In 1866 the colony founded the Western Health Reform Institute (renamed Battle Creek Sanitarium, 1876, and Battle Creek Health Center, 1959). Under the direc-

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# THE Facts On File® DICTIONARY OF 20th CENTURY HISTORY

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1969, becoming a member of the ruling politburo in 1973 and deputy premier in 1975. Although little known outside China he was appointed successor to Chou En-lai as Prime Minister in February 1976. When Mao died seven months later Hua Kuo-feng won the ensuing struggle for control of the party. and he was recognized as Chairman of the Central Committee on 8 October 1976. Almost immediately he denounced a radical group – the so-called 'Gang of Four' – on the Politburo: Wang Hung-wen, Chang Cun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan, who were influential communists from Shanghai; and Chiang Ching, the widow of Mao Tse-tung. All were subsequently arrested. By August 1978 Chairman Hua felt sufficiently sure of his position to undertake visits to Romania, Yugoslavia and Iran: there were no precedents for such visits during the Mao years.

**Huai-Hai, Battle of** (November 1948 to January 1949). Decisive engagement of the Chinese Civil War. The battle takes its name from the two principal defensive positions of the Nationalists, the Huai river and the Lung Hai railway. Communist forces from Shensi and Honan in central China supported by a massive communist army coming down from the north successfully enveloped the nationalists whose commander, General Tu Yu-ming, had been ordered to hold the key railway junction of Suchow. Static defensive tactics led to the isolation of successive units of his army, Suchow itself falling on 1 December. The Chinese communist victory destroyed the will of the Nationalists to resist as well as much of their equipment and opened the traditional invasion route to Nanking and Shanghai, which fell to the communists in the following spring.

**Hughes,** William Morris (1864–1952), Australian Prime Minister. Born in London, educated in Llandudno, emigrated to Australia at the age of twenty, entered the state parliament of New South Wales as a Labour representative in 1894 and moved into the first Federal parliament in 1901, remaining a member all his life. He held minor office in the short-lived Labour Government of 1904, was Attorney-General in 1910 and succeeded Andrew Fisher as Prime Minister on 27 October 1915, heading a Labour Government until February 1917 and thereafter a National Coalition until February 1923. In 1931 he played the leading role in founding the United Australia Party, holding minor office again in 1934–5, serving as Minister for External Affairs, 1937–9, and Attorney-General, 1939–41, as well as being Minister for the Navy, 1940–41. Hughes was a controversial figure, respected and feared rather than liked. His demagogic skill and vituperative pen too often ran away with him so that he seemed a petty-minded antipodean Lloyd George, mercurially active but excessively emotional. He regarded hostility to his conscription proposals of 1916 as a personal insult and his reaction widened rather than healed the rift in the Australian Labour Party (q.v.). Outside Australia, and notably in London during the First World War, he was accepted as a great imperial statesman preaching a hatred of the 'Hun' worthy of the newspapers of Northcliffe (q.v.). He regarded the principles of Woodrow Wilson (q.v.) with suspicion, fearing that if the equality of nations was recognized in the League Covenant Australia would not be able to keep out Asian immigrants; and his attitude at the Paris Peace Conference caused particular resentment to non-white delegates, especially the Japanese. At times he seemed to favour transforming the British Empire into a closely federated white man's association: few agreed with him.





**Hukbalahap Movement.** Abortive left-wing movement in the Philippines (q.v.), showing many of the characteristics of the Viet-Minh in Indo-China. The 'Huks' originated as the Anti-Japanese People's Liberation Army and carried out successful operations against the Japanese in the jungle in 1943–5. Their commander was Luis Taruc, and in the period 1946–50 the movement secured virtual control of Luzon, governing more than half a million people. The outbreak of the Korean War and the American need for bases in the Philippines led the United States to encourage the Filipinos to stamp out this left-wing revolutionary force, a task virtually achieved by the summer of 1954. The Huk failure emphasized the debt which successful communist movements on the Asian mainland owed to their interior lines of communication with Mao's China.

**Hull,** Cordell (1871–1955), American Secretary of State. Born at Olympus, Tennessee, sitting for six years in the state legislature before becoming a Democrat congressman from 1907 to 1921 and from 1923 to 1931. After two years as a Senator, he resigned in order to become Franklin Roosevelt's Secretary of State, an office he held until his health gave way in November 1944. During the pre-war period he concentrated on securing reciprocal trade agreements so as to reduce tariff barriers. He also improved U.S. relations with Latin America, notably with Cuba and Haiti (qq.v.). From 1939 onwards he favoured as much assistance as possible to the western allies. Once America became a belligerent, he gave his mind to the problems of peace, helping to create the organization which became the United Nations. For this work he received a Nobel Peace Prize in 1945.

**Hungarian National Rising** (23 October to 4 November 1956). The posthumous denunciation of Stalin at the Twentieth Soviet Party Congress (q.v.) in February 1956 excited dissidents within the East European Communist Parties. In Hungary the ferment was swollen by a patriotic pride in the nation's history: left-wing intellectuals evoked the memory of Sándor Petöfi, the young poet and rebel martyr of 1849. Soviet attempts to appease the Hungarians by encouraging the hated Stalinist party leader Rákosi (q.v.) to resign (18 July) merely intensified demands for 'democratization'. A bad harvest and a fuel shortage in a wet and cold autumn led to increased unrest and demands for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. On 23 October students and workers in Budapest demonstrated, pulling down the massive statue of Stalin as a symbol of their protest. At first the Soviet authorities believed they could collaborate with a new government and a new party administration: Russian troops began to pull out of the country, and two former victims of Rákosi, Imre Nagy and János Kádár (qq.v.) were appointed respectively Prime Minister and First Secretary of the party. Nagy brought into his government former leaders of the Smallholders' Party and a courageous social democrat, Anna Kethly. He also lifted many restrictions, allowing the re-forming of the political parties of 1945 and the release of the Hungarian primate, Cardinal Mindszenty (q.v.), who broadcast to the nation on 31 October. Nagy announced that Hungary would withdraw from the Warsaw Pact (q.v.) and seek a neutral status, similar to Austria and Switzerland. These changes were too rapid and drastic for the Russians or for Kádár, who left Budapest and established a new government in eastern Hungary to save the republic from 'Horthyite fascist counter-revolutionaries'. Soviet tanks supporting Kádár

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the persons using these descriptions were mere tools of the Communists. In August a new constitution was enacted—a copy of that of the Soviet Union. Hungary, a republic since February 1, 1946, now became a "people's republic," and, although its president (Zoltán Tildy) and for a while its prime ministers (Ferenc Nagy, then Lajos Dinnyés) were Smallholders, all real power rested with the Workers' Party, which was controlled by its first secretary, Mátyás Rákosi, by then the real power in the country. Finally, the party's "Muscovite wing" turned on its "national wing." The leader of this latter group, László Rajk, was executed on questionable charges in October 1949, and his chief adherents were similarly executed or imprisoned. Meanwhile, hundreds of persons had been executed or imprisoned as war criminals, many of them for no other offense than loyalty to the Horthy regime. Many thousands more were interned. The State Security Department (AVO) was omnipotent. The judiciary, civil service, and army were purged, and party orthodoxy became the criterion for positions in them. The trade unions were made into mere executants of party orders. After the dissolution of the parties, the chief ideological opposition to the Communist regime came from the churches; but their estates were expropriated, making it impossible for them to maintain their schools, and in July 1948 the entire educational system was nationalized. The Calvinist and Lutheran churches accepted arrangements under which the state made good their remaining expenditure. The head of the Roman Catholic Church, József Mindszenty, who refused to follow their example, was arrested on transparent charges in December 1948 and condemned to life imprisonment. The monastic orders were dissolved. After this the Roman Catholic Church accepted financial terms similar to those of the other churches; and eventually the bishops, with visible repugnance, took the oath of loyalty to the state.

The Communists' economic program, like their political program, could not be realized immediately, because in 1945 the country was in a state of economic chaos worse even than that of 1918. This time the country had been a theatre of war. Many cities, notably Buda, were in ruins, and communications were wrecked; the retreating Germans had destroyed the bridges between Buda and Pest and had taken with them all they could of the country's portable wealth. The Soviet armies lived off the land, and the Soviet Union took its share of reparations in kind, placing its own values on the objects seized.

Economic programs

A three-year plan introduced in August 1947 was devoted chiefly to the repair of immediate damage. This was declared completed, ahead of schedule, on December 31, 1949. By then the Communists were in full political control, and measures nationalizing banking, most industry, and most internal and all foreign trade had been enacted. The land, outside the big estates, was not touched at first, but in 1948 Rákosi announced a policy of collectivization of agriculture. Three forms were envisaged: state farms and two types of cooperative. Peasants were forced by various pressures into the cooperatives, the character of which approached ever more closely that of the state farms.

The three-year plan was succeeded by a five-year plan, the aim of which was to turn Hungary into a predominantly industrial country, with heavy industry taking first place. Huge sums were devoted to the construction of foundries and factories, many of them planned with little regard for Hungary's real resources and less still for its needs. In fact, the plan was concerned with the needs of the Soviet Union, for which Hungary was to serve as a workshop. Hungary's newly discovered deposits of uranium went straight out of the country. Industrial production rose steeply, but the standard of living did not; the production of consumer goods was throttled, and that of agriculture stagnated.

## THE REVOLUTION OF 1956

Rákosi—who in 1952 came to preside over the government as well as the party—was, under Moscow, all-powerful until the death of Stalin in 1953, when a period of fluctuations set in. In July 1953 Rákosi was deposed from the prime ministership in favour of Imre Nagy—a "Muscovite" but a Hungarian in his attitudes and not unpopular in the country. Nagy promised a new course—end of the forced development of heavy industry, more consumer goods, no more forcing of peasants into the collectives, release of political prisoners, and closing of internment camps. He introduced some of these reforms, but Moscow hesitated to support him. In the spring of 1955 Nagy was dismissed from office and expelled from the party. Rákosi, reinstated, put the country back on its previous course but was dismissed again in July 1956, this time from all his offices and in disgrace. The new Soviet leader, Nikita S. Khrushchev, had sacrificed Rákosi as a gesture to President Tito of Yugoslavia, whom he wished to placate and whom Rákosi had offended personally. The new man in charge was Ernő Gerő, Rákosi's deputy and almost as detested as Rákosi himself. Gerő promptly announced that there would be no concessions on matters of principle to Nagy and his group.

The relaxation of pressure under Nagy, however (though transitory), Khrushchev's "secret speech" denouncing Stalin's cult of personality delivered at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (February 1956), and the Polish challenge to the Soviet Union in the spring and summer of 1956 emboldened Hungarians. On October 23, students in Budapest staged a great procession, which was to end with the presentation of a petition asking for redress of the nation's grievances. People flocked into the streets to join them. Gerő answered with an unwise and truculent speech, and police fired into the crowds. The shots turned a peaceful demonstration into a revolutionary one. The army joined the revolutionaries, and army depots and munitions factories handed out arms. Outside Budapest local councils sprang up in every centre; the peasants reoccupied their confiscated fields. The Communist bureaucracy melted away. Prison doors were opened. The members of the AVO fled if they could. A cheering crowd escorted Cardinal Mindszenty back to the palace.

Revolution and change

In kaleidoscopic political changes, Nagy resumed power but was driven from one concession to the next, until he found himself at the head of a genuine coalition government composed of Smallholders, the Social Democrats, and the National Peasant parties, which, with a "Catholic Association," had reconstituted themselves.

The Soviet troops had withdrawn and Nagy was negotiating for the complete evacuation of Hungary. On November 1 he announced Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact (to which it had adhered since 1955) and asked the United Nations to recognize Hungary as a neutral state, under the joint protection of the Great Powers. High officials from Moscow flew to Budapest and were in two minds whether to let matters take their course. But Nagy's denunciation of the Warsaw Pact seemed too dangerous to them, and their tanks, which had halted just across the frontier, began to return, reinforced by other units. By November 3, the tanks were in position around the main centres of Hungary; at 4 AM on the 4th they entered Budapest. Nagy took refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy, Cardinal Mindszenty in the U.S. Legation. Gen. Pál Maléter, head of the Hungarian national forces, who had been invited by the Soviet commanders to negotiate, was imprisoned.

A Communist leader, Ferencz Münnich, speaking from a radio station behind the Soviet lines, announced the formation of a new "revolutionary peasant-worker government." János Kádár, a "National Communist" who had been imprisoned under Rákosi and had actually joined the revolutionaries on October 24, formed a new government, consisting entirely of Communists, with himself as prime minister. Kádár promised that when the "counter-revolution" had been suppressed and order restored he would negotiate on the withdrawal of the Soviet garrison (although the denunciation of the Warsaw Pact was retracted); he dissociated himself from the "Rákosi-Gerő clique" and promised internal reforms.

The country was not convinced, and fighting broke out. But the odds were too heavy, and the major hostilities were over within a fortnight. The workers, however, pro-

claimed a general strike, and it was many weeks before they were brought to heel.

End of the revolution

Meanwhile, Nagy, who had left his place of refuge under safe conduct, had been abducted to Romania. After a secret trial, he, Maléter, and a few close associates were executed in 1958. Many lesser figures were seized and transported to the Soviet Union, some never to return. More than 150,000 refugees escaped to the West. Thus, a substantial proportion of Hungary's educated classes was lost to the country. Material damage was also heavy.

THE KADAR REGIME

In the first uncertain weeks of his regime Kádár made many promises. Workers' councils were to be given a large amount of control in the factories and mines. Compulsory deliveries of farm produce were to be abolished, and no compulsion, direct or indirect, was to be put on the peasants to enter the collectives. The five-year plan was to be revised to permit more production of consumer goods. The exchange rate of the ruble and forint was to be adjusted and the uranium contract revised. For a time there was even talk of a coalition government.

The larger hopes were dashed after representatives of the Soviet Union, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria conferred with those of Hungary in Budapest in January 1957. A new program was soon issued stating that Hungary was a dictatorship of the proletariat, which in foreign policy relied on the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc. Further, it was asserted that the Soviet garrison was in Hungary to protect the nation from imperialist aggression. Internal reforms were again promised, however, and foreign trade agreements were to be based on complete equality and mutual advantage.

Subsequently, Kádár was at great pains to give the Soviet Union no cause for uneasiness over Hungary's loyalty. Whenever any international issue arose, he invariably supported Moscow's policy with meticulous orthodoxy, even sending a contingent into Czechoslovakia in 1968. At home he ignored some of his promises and honoured others only superficially. The peasants were put under such pressure to enter cooperatives that within a few years practically no private farms survived. The workers' councils were dissolved, but trade unions were later granted rights to query decisions by management. Parliament remained a rubber stamp, and a "Patriotic People's Front," on which non-Communists were represented, was a mere facade.

Improvements under Kádár

Nevertheless, conditions changed very much for the better. Kádár enunciated the principle that "he who is not against us is with us," which for the ordinary people meant that they could go about their business without fear of molestation or even much surveillance and could speak, read, and even write with reasonable freedom. Technical competence replaced party orthodoxy as a criterion for posts of responsibility. More scope was allowed to private small-scale enterprise in trade and industry, and the New Economic Mechanism (NEM), initiated in 1968, even introduced the profit motive into state-directed enterprises. Agricultural cooperatives were allowed to produce industrial goods for their own use or to sell on demand, while the private plots of their members supplied a large proportion of fruits and vegetables for the rest of the population. Contacts with the West were encouraged. A *modus vivendi* was found with the Vatican and with Protestant churches. The standard of living began to rise substantially. In 1978 almost 10,000,000 tourists, 1,100,000 of them from western Europe, the U.S., and Canada, visited Hungary. Hungarians travelling abroad surpassed 5,000,000, including 350,000 visitors to the West.

The decade of the NEM, which went beyond the liberalization that took place in the Soviet Union itself, was only partially successful. Productivity failed to rise according to expectations. Government regulations persisted in many areas, and the economy remained geared to the Soviet-led Comecon. A burdensome system of subventions aimed at keeping down the price of basic necessities and services and at promoting the production of state-preferred goods made realistic cost accounting impossible. The price rise of oil and other industrial raw materials on the world market also aggravated the situation of a country that was dependent on the Soviet Union for oil, produced about 80 percent of its needed coal and lignite and negligible hydroelectric power, and imported 70 percent of the nonferrous metals for its rapidly developing industries. The gap between the price of energy, sophisticated industrial hardware, and raw materials on the one hand, and the price of agricultural products, a main item in Hungary's foreign trade, on the other, grew.

To prevent the deterioration of a stagnating economy, the government in the summer of 1979 increased rather considerably the price of consumer goods, including food and fuel as well as basic services in many walks of life, as a first step in the direction of adjusting the price of commodities to the cost of their production. Hungarians, who had hardly recovered from the monstrosities of the first Five-Year Plan, were again adjured not to live beyond their means and to tighten the belt. The question was whether this could be done without forfeiting that relative measure of sunshine in which this talented and hardworking people had for some time been basking.

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(C.A.M./G.Ba.)

## Hung Hsiu-ch'üan

Inspired by Christianity and believing himself to be the second son of God, Hung Hsiu-ch'üan (in Pinyin romanization Hong Xiuquan) led the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64). This great upheaval, in which more than 20,000,000 people are said to have been killed, drastically altered the course of modern Chinese history.

Hung was born January 1, 1814, in the small village of Fu-yüan-shui in the South China province of Kwangtung. He was the youngest son of four children in a poor but proud Hakka family. The Hakkas were an industrious people who had migrated into South China from the

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# AMERICANA

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**NAGURSKI,** nə-gûr′skē, **Bronco** (1908– ), American football player, who has been called the finest all-around performer in the history of the game. Bronislaw Nagurski was born in the Rainy River district of Ontario, Canada, on Nov. 3, 1908, and grew up in International Falls, Minn. He starred for the University of Minnesota team in 1927–1929, playing both tackle and fullback, and winning All-American honors.

Nagurski played both positions for the professional Chicago Bears (1930–1937; 1943). One of football's most powerful runners, he gained more than 4,000 yards (3,660 meters) with the Bears and also was an excellent passer. Forced to retire in 1937 because of arthritis, he returned for one year in 1943. A poll of leading coaches in 1944 named him "the greatest all-around football player of all time." He also performed as a professional wrestler. Nagurski is a charter member of the Pro Football Hall of Fame.

**NAGY,** nôj, **Imre** (1896?–1958), Hungarian Communist politician, who served as minister president during the Hungarian uprising against Moscow in 1956. Born of poor peasant parents, Nagy became a Communist at an early age, and after the failure of the short-lived Communist regime of Béla Kun in 1919 he emigrated to Soviet Russia. Chiefly concerned with agriculture and economics, he returned to Hungary in the wake of the Russian occupation in 1945 and served as minister of agriculture in the first postwar cabinet. Soon there were signs that Nagy was disconcerted by the ruthless exploitation of his native country and by the complete subservience of his fellow Communist rulers to dictation from Moscow.

After the death of Joseph Stalin on March 5, 1953, Nagy was appointed minister president of Hungary in June 1953. He soon won a measure of popularity through his liberalizing policies, especially in agriculture. In 1955 he was removed by his enemy Mátyás Rákosi, who replaced him at the head of the government.

During the night that followed the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution on Oct. 23, 1956, Nagy was called from retirement to serve again as minister president. After some hesitation, he sided with the Hungarian revolutionaries and opposed Russian efforts to reestablish communism in Hungary by force. On November 4, when reinforced Soviet forces attacked Budapest, Nagy made a dramatic radio appeal to the non-Communist world. He then found asylum at the Yugoslav embassy, from which he was guaranteed by Soviet authorities safe passage to his home. This promise was broken on November 22 when he was forcibly abducted by Russian troops. He was first detained in Rumania, then brought to secret trial. His execution was announced on June 17, 1958.

**NAHA,** nä-hä, is a seaport city in Japan, on the southwest coast of Okinawa, largest of the Ryukyu Islands. The city is the administrative and commercial center of Okinawa prefecture.

During World War II, Naha was the scene of bitter fighting between Japanese and U. S. forces. Completely destroyed, it was rebuilt on modern lines after the war and was headquarters of the U. S. administration in the Ryukyu Islands until 1972. The city's economy is largely tied to U. S. military bases in Okinawa. Population: (1974) 306,446.

**NAHUATL,** nä′wät-əl, the language of the ancient Toltecs and Aztecs, is still spoken by more than a million people in Mexico. Also called Aztec, the language belongs to the Uto-Aztecan family. Three groups of modern dialects are distinguished by the retention of the classical consonant *tl* (pronounced as a single sound) or its change to *t* or *l*.

After the Spanish conquest of Mexico in the early 16th century, Aztecs acting as servants and escorts for the Spaniards carried Nahuatl far beyond its home territory. Today, many place-names in Mexico and Guatemala outside the limits of the former Aztec Empire are Nahuatl in origin. The name "Mexico" itself is Nahuatl. Among the English words derived from Nahuatl, by way of Spanish, are tomato (*tomatl*), chocolate (*xocoatl*), chili (*chilli*), avocado (*ahuacatl*), and coyote (*coyotl*).

**NAHUM, Book of,** nā′əm, in the Old Testament, a collection of prophecies of the destruction of Nineveh, capital of Assyria, in the 7th century B. C. Its message is that God will punish nations that disregard his laws. The author, Nahum, is one of the 12 "minor (shorter) prophets." He is called the Elkoshite, probably meaning that he came from the village of Elkosh, whose location is a matter of speculation. Most likely connected with the Temple in Jerusalem, he prophesied between the death of the great Assyrian emperor Ashurbanipal in 626 B. C. and the fall of Nineveh in 612. His oral pronouncements were later collected and edited to make the book.

The Book of Nahum opens with an acrostic psalm that superbly envisions the coming of an avenging God to judge all nations (1:2–8). It then describes the overthrow of the Assyrian Empire, which had previously conquered Israel and now threatened Judah (1:9–11, 14). Because its form differs from that of the rest of the book and because it does not specifically mention Nineveh, some scholars have considered this section not to be by Nahum but to be earlier or later material added by the editor.

Chapter 2 depicts the impending siege and capture of Nineveh by the Medes and the Chaldeans (Neo-Babylonians). Chapter 3 describes the ruin of the mighty walled city as God's punishment for its sins of lies, robbery, and the harlotry of buying and selling nations for its own advancement. Nineveh's fall is compared with Ashurbanipal's conquest of No-Amon (Thebes) in Egypt about 50 years earlier. The chapter ends with references to nations that, like Israel and Judah, had been tyrannized by Assyria and could now rejoice over its downfall.

The book's style is animated, fanciful, and original, the language forceful and vivid. With a wide view of the working of divine providence, and an avoidance of any moralistic utterances relating to Judah's conduct, the book is a unified prophecy of majesty and power.

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**NAIAD,** nā′ad, in classical mythology, one of a group of beautiful water nymphs who inhabited fountains, wells, springs, rivers, and lakes. The Naiads (or Naiades) were benevolent and, in certain localities, were patronesses of poetry and song. The waters of their domains were supposed to possess curative or prophetic powers.

(Smith/Blessey)
June 28, 1989
Draft Six
HUNGARY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOSSUTH SQUARE
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

Mr. President, My Hungarian and American Friends.

That great poet of the 1848 Revolution, Sandor Petofi, once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, let me address you in the name of millions who convey their warmest greetings: The people of the United States.

Six years ago, I became the highest-ranking American official to visit Hungary. Today, I become the first American President to travel here. Now, as then, Barbara and I are moved by your reception. And we thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

I want to say to all of you that I have seen few cities more lovely than Budapest. And add that I have seldom seen a city more alive. Alive with commerce, change, and, above all, hope. Alive with a people who love the lamp of liberty.

In a few moments I will be received in a symbol of that liberty -- the Hungarian Parliament. And as I speak, I will recall how 137 years ago a true Hungarian patriot was received in another house which embodied freedom -- the Congress of the United States.

His name was Lajos Kossuth. His statue rests behind me. And he arrived in America after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. For he believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

"I have a steady faith in principles," he said. "I trust in the future of republicanism." And then he added: "Bayonets may support, but afford no chair to sit upon."

Even now, the memory of Lajos Kossuth lifts us, teaches us. For his life was a celebration of bravery, and of dreams. He knew that no matter how many bayonets struck a courageous people, the lamp of liberty would shine forever.

This great man became the conscience of Hungary. And just two blocks away -- here, too, an eternal flame lights the fire of democracy. Like other Hungarian heroes, Lajos Batthyany and Imre Nagy sought free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. They knew that no matter how much suffering beset this Nation, its lamp of liberty would shine forever.

When the Hungarian playwright Imre Madach observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief -- the belief that free expression would conquer tyranny. And he wrote those words in that great literary work ironically entitled, "The Tragedy of Man."

My friends, our mission today is to help liberty proclaim The Victory of Man. Proclaim it peacefully, not violently. Proclaim it through ballots, not bullets. For The Victory of Man can help

Hungary's future be worthy of her past. And help us live for what some have died for: opportunity, human decency, and democratic ideals.

Today, this mission fills the streets of Budapest and Kecskemet. The folk murals of Tolna. And the farmland of Tanyak. It lifts your boats that ride the Danube, and your gentle small towns. ~~For~~ Hungary's love ~~of liberty~~ is all forms of freedom in all its forms political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. Its apostles say: Work where you want, and vote as you choose. And: Freedom will crush those who try to crush it. They believe: All things are possible for a Nation, and for a people. And proclaim: The individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

Over the past few decades, the world has watched this liberty transform the Hungarian Nation. For you have shown how peace, freedom, and prosperity are inseparable. I applaud Hungary's greater privatization, and economic liberality. I salute Hungary's increased democracy and information. I welcome, too, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the planned cutbacks in the Hungarian military. And we watch with interest as the Soviet Union encourages such change.

Who would have dreamt that your love of liberty would do so much, so quickly, to improve the lot of Hungary? Now, let us use its promise to open boundaries, and minds.

Next year, elections will be held in Hungary. Let them be free, open, and multi-partied. And this week, Radio Free Europe begins broadcasts in Hungary -- the first in a Communist country.

Hitler merged w/ Poland

Let its coverage spur an even ~~closer~~ merging (create opening) of East and West. In trade, as we remove unfair barriers, let us recall that only when economic and political freedom go hand-in-hand can Hungary be true to her heritage, and to her children. Becoming ~~central~~ vital part to a Europe that is whole and free. And to the community of Nations.

Lajos Kossuth came to America after Hungary had, for the moment, disappeared from that community. Yet his reception showed how our two peoples share a common love of liberty. In New York Harbor, an armada of ships sounded horns to celebrate his arrival. And when the City of New York held a parade in his honor, thousands rushed his open carriage. Perhaps no visitor since Lafayette had been greeted so emotionally.

Like Hungarians, the Americans of that time admired those who love what Kossuth called "the principle of self-government." They opposed societies that ~~are~~ closed. And they believed in helping individuals, and Nations, who spur the freedom that makes all progress possible. For they, like you, were bent on ensuring that the lamp of liberty would shine forever.

Today, more than ever, this kinship binds the friendship between the United States and Hungary. We see it in the lives of the __ million Americans of Hungarian descent. Heroes like nuclear scientist Edward Teller. Conductor Eugene Ormandy, proving how music "is the universal language." Or Colonel Kovach [Kov cs ezredes], who founded the U.S. Cavalry during the Civil War.

But our kinship isn't one-way: It touches, too, Hungarians for whom America feels such pride. People like Saint Stephen, and composers Liszt and Bartok. Or Hungary's many winners of Nobel Prizes and Olympic Medals. Or the great patriot by the name of Ganosh Hunyadi [Parosh Hoondundu] who more than five centuries ago stopped a would-be invasion. In his honor, Pope ordered each church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, church bells all over the world ring precisely at mid-day.

Heroes, yes -- American, Hungarian. Some greatly-noted. Others, little-noted -- the student in Budapest, the Great Alfold shop-keeper, the artist in Sarkoz. Today, it is they -- you -- who are ~~reducing the chasm~~ between East and West. Enriching, and making possible, a more open, peaceful world. You are proving how liberty can expand Hungary's horizons. And enlarge the possibilities of her people. For liberty reflects the values of individuality, self-reliance, and respect for others. Values which underscore the dignity of man.

Six years from now, Budapest and Vienna will jointly host the World's Fair. That event will celebrate those values. And so did that day, four weeks ago, when thousands filled this very square -- peacefully, movingly -- to honor the hero, and spirit, of the 1956 uprising. Among them was a man, Tibor Kalmar, who took part in that rebellion. And who now had tears in his eyes. "Today," he said of the public ceremony, "this unity is a kind of

Hungarian wonder. For this day, it is worth living and forgiving. It was worth it to go through everything."

My friends, you have endured much. And survived everything. Survived through family, and faith in God. And through the human spirit, oft-abused yet free. In coming years, your heroism can write a new chapter in the history of your Nation. Love ~~democracy~~ your country -- as Imre Nagy did. Confront oppression -- as Lajos Kossuth did. Show the world that the lamp of liberty will never go out.

The bell resounds. The light expands. The lamp grows brighter by the day. Together, let us raise what Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty." The star that can lead us toward tomorrow. And bless the children of the globe.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, God bless America -- and as your National Anthem proclaims so unforgettably, "God Bless The Hungarians."

# # # #

Steve Benko

(Smith/Blessey)
June 23, 1989
Draft Four
HUNGARY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOSSUTH SQUARE
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

Mr. President, My Hungarian and American Friends.

Six years ago, I became the highest-ranking American official to visit Hungary. Today, I become the first American President to travel here. Now, as then, Barbara and I are moved by your reception. And we thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

That great poet of the 1848 Revolution, Sandor Petofi, once wrote, "Milliok Neveben Emelem Szavam." [Milyoke nevaeben emelem suvum: "Let me address you in the name of millions"]. Today, let me address you in the name of millions who convey their warmest greetings: The people of the United States.

I want to say to all of you that I have seen few cities more lovely than Budapest. And add that I have seldom seen a city more alight. Alight with commerce, change, and, above all, hope. Alight with the lamp of liberty. ← Sound byte if full sentence

In a few moments I will be received in a symbol of that liberty -- the Hungarian Parliament. I will speak one hundred and forty years after a true Hungarian patriot was received in another house that set its torch aflame -- the Congress of the United States.

His name was Lajos Kossuth, and his statue rests behind me. And in his remarks to the Congressmen who welcomed him, he spoke eloquently about the quest for freedom which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

"We are very fond of the principle of . . . self-government," he said. And then he added, prophetically: "Bayonets may support, but afford no chair to sit upon."

My friends, the memory of Lajos Kossuth lifts us, teaches us. For he believed, as a Hungarian playwright said, that "Struggle and trust be always confident." He knew that no matter how many bayonets oppose the human spirit, the lamp of liberty would not go out.

This great man became the conscience of a people. And just two blocks away -- here, too, an eternal flame lights the fire of democracy. Like other Hungarian heroes, Lajos Batthyany and Imre Nagy sought free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. They knew -- as Hungarians have always known -- that the lamp of liberty would not go out.

In 1848, its light led Hungarians to oppose the forces of tryanny. And, in a war of revolution, to demand the free expression so central to humanity. And forty-three years ago, in another violent uprising, the lamp of liberty moved Hungary to seek the same right "to [choose] freely . . . between the good and sinful ways," and so "realize that we are still shielded by God's eternal grace."

Imre Madach wrote those words in that great literary work perhaps closest to the heart of Hungary: "The Tragedy of Man." Our mission is to proclaim The Victory of Man. For we can light the lamp of liberty peacefully, not violently -- the liberty which is larger than any country, and as soaring as the heart. Our revolution must be one of democracy, not brutality. And we can win it with speeches and ballots, not bullets and tanks.

Today, this revolution illuminates the streets of Budapest and ~~Kecskemet~~. The folk murals of Tolna. And the farmland of Tanyak. Its flame lights your boats that ride the Danube, and your gentle small towns. For the lamp of liberty is political, and economic. It is religious, and intellectual. Its apostles say: "Work where you want, and vote as you choose." And: "Freedom will crush those who try to crush it." They believe: "All things are possible for a Nation, and for a people." And proclaim: "The individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow."

Over the past few decades, the world has watched this lamp transform the Hungarian Nation. For you have shown how peace, freedom, and prosperity are allied. I applaud Hungary's greater privatization, and economic liberality. For free and open markets lead to greater affluence. I salute Hungary's revolution of more democracy and information. For politically, like commercially, liberty can open boundaries, and minds. I welcome, too, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the planned cutbacks in

the Hungarian military. And we watch with interest as the Soviet Union encourages such change.

Who would have dreamt that the lamp of liberty would do so much, so quickly, to improve the lot of Hungary? Now, let us use its light to go still further.

Next year, elections will be held in Hungary. Let them be free, open, and multi-partied. And this week, Radio Free Europe begins broadcasts in Hungary -- the first ~~such~~ Communist country. Let its coverage spur an even closer merging of East and West. In trade, as we remove unfair barriers, let us recall that only when economic and political freedom is not divisible can Hungary be true to her heritage, and to her promise. Becoming central to a Europe that is whole and free. And a light unto the world.

Lajos Kossuth came to America after the struggle for that ~~light had, temporarily~~ flickering, been lost. Yet his reception showed how the United States and Hungary revere the lamp of liberty. In New York Harbor, an armada of ships sounded horns to celebrate his arrival. And when the City of New York held a parade in his honor, thousands rushed his open carriage. Perhaps no visitor since Lafayette had been greeted so emotionally.

Like you, those Americans admired those who defend the peace, not break it. And who opposed societies that are closed -- and foreign policies that are belligerent. And they believed in helping individuals, and Nations, who spur the freedom that makes all progress possible. For they, like you, were intent on seeing that the lamp of liberty would not go out.

Now, as then, this light illumines the friendship between the United States and Hungary. We see it in the lives of the __ million Americans of Hungarian descent. Heroes like nuclear scientist Edward Teller. Conductor Eugene Ormandy, proving how music "is the universal language." Or Colonel Kovach [~~Kov es ezredes~~ KO-vach], who founded the U.S. Cavalry during the Civil War.

And we see it, too, in the Hungarian deeds, and people, for whom America feels such pride. People like Saint Stephen, and composers Liszt and Bartok. Deeds like Hungary's many Nobel Prizes and Olympic Medals. Or a deed which happened more than five centuries ago, when a great patriot by the name of Ganosh Hunyadi [Parosh Hoondundu] stopped a would-be invasion. In his honor, Pope __ ordered each ~~person~~ church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, church bells all over the world ring precisely at mid-day.

Deeds, yes, by famous heroes. And by little-noted heroes -- the Budapest student, the Great Alfold shop-keeper, the artist in Sarkoz. For today, it is their deeds -- your deeds -- which are reducing the chasm between East and West. Enriching, and making possible, a more open, peaceful world. They are deeds which reflect the values of work, freedom, and opportunity. Values which span the oceans, and centuries. And that we must resolve to carry to the world.

Six years from now, Budapest and Vienna will jointly host the World's Fair. That event will celebrate those values. And so did that day, four weeks ago, when thousands filled this very

square -- peacefully, movingly -- to honor the hero, and spirit, of the 1956 uprising. Among them was a man, Tibor Kalmar, who took part in that rebellion. And who now had tears in his eyes. "Today," he said of the public ceremony, "this unity is a kind of Hungarian wonder. For this day, it is worth living and forgiving. It was worth it to go through everything."

~~"Kedves mag-yarok"~~ [Kedvesh mah djar oh: "My dear Hungarian friends], you have endured much. And survived everything. Survived through family, and faith in God. And through the arching human spirit, oft-abused yet free. In coming years, your heroism can write a new chapter in the history of your Nation. Love democracy -- as Kossuth did. Confront oppression -- as Imre Nagy did. Show Hungary -- show the world -- that the lamp of liberty will never go out.

The bell resounds. The light endures. The lamp grows brighter by the day. Together, let us join hopes, link hearts, and raise what Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty." The star that can light tomorrow. And bless the children of the globe.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, God bless America, and "Isten Al Meg a Magyart" [eshtehn ahld mehg ah moyyart] -- ~~yes, "God Bless The Hungarians."~~

# # # #

IMMEDIATE ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

9/5
Smith

PAGE 01 OF 04

PRT: HUGHES KELLER STUDDERT
SIT: PRES MSGS BLACKWILL RICE VAX

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<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 011030Z JUN 89

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUDAPEST 05834
DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/EEY
PARIS FOR PEGGY DOOLEY, WHITE HOUSE ADVANCE TEAM
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE) R HU
SUBJECT: DRAFT TEXT OF ARRIVAL REMARKS AT THE
- KOSSUTH STATUE
-
REF: BUDAPEST 5635
1. (~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.)
-
2. BELOW IS A REVISED DRAFT TEXT OF ARRIVAL REMARKS BY PRESIDENT BUSH AT THE KOSSUTH STATUE. THE PRESIDENT SHOULD, AT SOME POINT DURING HIS VISIT, ADDRESS THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM HUNGARY AND THE PLANNED CUTBACKS IN THE HUNGARIAN MILITARY. WE BELIEVE THAT THE MOST APPROPRIATE PLACE TO DO THIS WOULD BE DURING HIS ARRIVAL REMARKS.
-
3. BEGIN TEXT.
MR. PRESIDENT, MY HUNGARIAN AND AMERICAN FRIENDS:
THANK YOU FOR THIS VERY WARM WELCOME ON MY RETURN TO HUNGARY. MAY I SAY HOW VERY HAPPY I AM TO BE BACK HERE IN YOUR EXTRAORDINARY COUNTRY.
AS I LOOK AROUND THIS SQUARE THIS EVENING, I CAN SEE WHY BUDAPEST IS FAMOUS AS ONE OF THE MOST

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By rt NARA, Date 06/03/23

BEAUTIFUL CAPITALS OF THE WORLD. AND I AM REMINDED THAT IT IS A CITY FULL OF HISTORY. NOWHERE PERHAPS MORE SO THAN IN THIS SQUARE NAMED AFTER YOUR GREAT PATRIOT, LAJOS KOSSUTH.

IN A FEW MINUTES I WILL BE RECEIVED IN YOUR PARLIAMENT BUILDING: ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY YEARS AGO MR. KOSSUTH WAS RECEIVED IN OUR CONGRESS. IN HIS REMARKS TO THE CONGRESSMEN WHO WELCOMED HIM, MR. KOSSUTH SPOKE ELOQUENTLY ABOUT THE STRIVING OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE FOR FREEDOM. HE NOTED "WE HUNGARIANS ARE VERY FOND OF THE PRINCIPLE OF MUNICIPAL SELF-GOVERNMENT; AND WE HAVE A NATURAL HORROR AGAINST THE PRINCIPLE OF CYTRALIZATION." HE STRESSED THAT "BAYONETS MAY SUPPORT, BUT AFFORD NO CHAIR TO SIT UPON." KOSSUTH SPOKE ABOUT "THE IMMENSE POWER OF THE IDEA TO BE RIGHT." THE POWER OF THE IDEA, OF THE RIGHT IS BEING DEMONSTRATED NOWHERE BETTER THAN TODAY IN THIS CITY ON THE DANUBE, WHERE WE ARE SEEING SO MANY CHANGES. THE WORLD WATCHES WITH US AS HUNGARY IS TRANSFORMED, AS DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM ARE AT LAST COMING INTO THEIR OWN.

AT THIS TIME WHEN WE EAGERLY LOOK FORWARD TO A BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE, IT IS APPROPRIATE

ALSO TO LOOK BACK AT THE BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE FOUGHT SO VALIANTLY IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM. WE KNOW THE NAME OF KOSSUTH AND OF THE TWO PRIME MINISTERS WHO STROVE FOR DEMOCRACY -- LAJOS BATTHYANY IN 1848 AND IMRE NAGY IN 1956, AND WHO ARE COMMEMORATED WITH AN ETERNAL FLAME JUST TWO BLOCKS FROM HERE. BUT THERE WERE MANY OTHERS WHOSE NAMES WE DO NOT KNOW, WHO STRUGGLED TO MAKE HUNGARY FREE.

-

WE SALUTE THOSE BRAVE PATRIOTS.

PEACE, FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY GO HAND-IN-HAND.

HUNGARIANS WHO THROUGHOUT THE CENTURIES HAVE

SUFFERED SO MUCH FROM THE RAVAGES OF WAR RECOGNIZE THIS. TODAY, AS EAST-WEST TENSIONS SUBSIDE, YOU SEE THAT YOU ARE NOW LIVING IN A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD. HUNGARY FACES NO MILITARY THREAT FROM ACROSS ITS WESTERN BORDERS AND YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS ACTED ON ITS RECOGNITION OF THIS FACT. WE WELCOME THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE AND THE PLANNED CUT BACKS IN THE HUNGARIAN MILITARY, AND WE HOPE THAT PROGRESS WILL CONTINUE ON THIS FRONT. WE APPRECIATE THE POSITIVE HUNGARIAN CONTRIBUTIONS IN SUCH FORA AS THE CONVENTIONAL ARMS REDUCTION AND CONFIDENCE BUILDING TALKS NOW UNDERWAY IN VIENNA.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AS THE FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO VISIT HUNGARY WHILE STILL IN OFFICE, I BRING YOU THE WARM WISHES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY YEARS AGO, THE WHOLE WORLD LOOKED IN ADMIRATION AS THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE ROSE UP IN REVOLUTION, AND I AM CONSCIOUS, AS I LOOK OUT ON

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BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUDAPEST 05834

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/EEY

PARIS FOR PEGGY DOOLEY, WHITE HOUSE ADVANCE TEAM

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE) R HU

SUBJECT: DRAFT TEXT OF ARRIVAL REMARKS AT THE

THIS SQUARE, THAT 43 YEARS AGO, PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATORS WERE SHOT DOWN HERE. TODAY WE WATCH IN RESPECT AS ANOTHER REVOLUTION IS GOING ON IN HUNGARY. TODAY A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION IS BRINGING THOSE THINGS TO HUNGARY FOR WHICH THE GREAT KOSSUTH STRUGGLED SO HARD. THE REFORM PROCESS THAT IS MAKING THIS COUNTRY FAMOUS ONCE AGAIN CAN BRING WHAT WE ALL OF US, WHEREVER WE LIVE, WANT FOR OURSELVES AND OUR

CHILDREN -- DEMOCRACY, PEACE, A DECENT STANDARD
OF LIVING, AND FREEDOM TO DETERMINE OUR OWN FATES.
I BRING YOU TONIGHT THE HOPES OF MY PEOPLE THAT THIS
PROCESS WILL GO FORWARD IN PEACE.
GOOD EVENING.
ALMER
BT
#5834

# PRESIDENT'S ARRIVAL REMARKS AT KOSSUTH STATUE

July 11, 1989

MR. PRESIDENT, MY HUNGARIAN AND AMERICAN FRIENDS:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR WARM WELCOME TO HUNGARY. MAY I SAY HOW DELIGHTED I AM TO BE WITH YOU IN THESE EXCITING TIMES.

AS I LOOK AROUND ME, I CAN SEE WHY BUDAPEST IS RENOWNED AS ONE OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL CAPITALS OF THE WORLD. AND I AM REMINDED OF BUDAPEST'S RICH HISTORY, NOWHERE PERHAPS MORE SO THAN IN THIS SQUARE NAMED AFTER YOUR GREAT PATRIOT, LAJOS KOSSUTH (LAH-yosh KO-shute).

IN A FEW MINUTES, I WILL BE RECEIVED IN YOUR PARLIAMENT BUILDING. ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY YEARS AGO, LAJOS KOSSUTH WAS RECEIVED IN OUR CONGRESS. IN HIS REMARKS TO CONGRESS, KOSSUTH SPOKE ELOQUENTLY OF THE STRIVING OF THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE FOR FREEDOM. HE OBSERVED THAT "HUNGARIANS ARE VERY FOND OF THE PRINCIPLE OF MUNICIPAL SELF-GOVERNMENT; AND WE HAVE A NATURAL HORROR AGAINST THE PRINCIPLE OF CENTRALIZATION." HE ALSO REMARKED THAT "BAYONETS MAY SUPPORT, BUT AFFORD NO CHAIR TO SIT UPON." KOSSUTH SPOKE ABOUT "THE IMMENSE POWER OF THE IDEA TO BE RIGHT." THE POWER OF THE IDEA TO BE RIGHT IS BEING DEMONSTRATED HERE TODAY IN YOUR CITY ON THE DANUBE. THE WORLD WATCHES WITH US AS HUNGARY IS TRANSFORMED, AS DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM ARE AT LAST COMING INTO THEIR OWN.

AT THIS TIME WHEN WE LOOK TOWARD A BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE, IT IS APPROPRIATE ALSO TO LOOK BACK AT THE BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE FOUGHT SO VALIANTLY IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM. WE KNOW THE NAME OF KOSSUTH AND NAMES OF THE TWO PRIME MINISTERS WHO STROVE FOR DEMOCRACY, LAJOS BATTHYANY (LAH-yosh BUH-tyee-AH-nyee) IN 1848 AND IMRE NAGY (EEM-ruh NOD-jyuh) IN 1956, WHO ARE COMMEMORATED WITH AN ETERNAL FLAME JUST TWO BLOCKS FROM HERE. BUT THERE WERE MANY OTHERS WHOSE NAMES WE DO NOT KNOW, WHO STRUGGLED TO MAKE HUNGARY FREE.

WE SALUTE THOSE BRAVE PATRIOTS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AS THE FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO VISIT HUNGARY, I BRING YOU THE WARM WISHES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY YEARS AGO, THE WHOLE WORLD LOOKED IN ADMIRATION AS THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE ROSE UP IN REVOLUTION. IN 1945 WE WITNESSED DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS THAT WERE LATER CRUSHED. AND TODAY, WE WATCH IN RESPECT AS ANOTHER, PEACEFUL REVOLUTION IS TAKING PLACE IN HUNGARY. THAT REVOLUTION IS FULFILLING THE PROMISES FOR WHICH KOSSUTH STRUGGLED SO VALIANTLY. I CARRY THE SINCERE HOPES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT HUNGARY WILL GO FORWARD WITH PRIDE AND HONOR.

SMITH

**PRESIDENT'S ARRIVAL REMARKS AT KOSSUTH STATUE**

**July 11, 1989**

MR. PRESIDENT, MY HUNGARIAN AND AMERICAN FRIENDS:

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DIPLOMACY

# "Gorbi! Gorbi! Gorbi!"

*In Bonn, the Soviet leader envisions "a common European home"*

Not since John F. Kennedy arrived to denounce the Berlin Wall in 1963 have West Germans lavished such adulation on a foreign visitor as they did last week on Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. But the messages left by the two travelers, their visits separated by 26 years of history, were nearly as disparate as the directions from which they arrived. Whereas Kennedy's aim was to spread a message of resolve at the very height of the cold war, the Soviet leader proclaimed a new era in which East and West could peacefully share their common continent.



SIMON/ARMAND—AFP

**The Gorbachevs lift a greeter during a reception**

Everywhere he went, Gorbachev and his wife Raisa were besieged by cheering and excited crowds chanting, "Gorbi! Gorbi! Gorbi!" Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who faces a tough campaign for reelection in 1990, made seven appearances with his visitor, hoping, perhaps, to absorb some of the generous warmth. Gorbachev's popularity rating among West German voters is considerably higher than Kohl's; a poll taken for the weekly *Der Spiegel* in early June gave Gorbachev a score of +2.2 on a scale of +5 to −5, compared with −0.6 for Kohl.

The most concrete accomplishment of the four-day visit was a joint declaration committing both countries to "overcoming the division of Europe" and sharing "a common European home." The wording of the first point was crucial to the West Germans, who hope that someday one of the divisions to give way will be the separation of the two Germanys. The second is Gorbachev's formulation for placing the Soviet Union in the European mainstream.

In addition, both countries endorsed "the right of peoples to self-determination." For the Soviets that code phrase amounted to a virtual renunciation of the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine, the justification for the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Joked Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov: "Now we have the Frank Sinatra doctrine—let them do it their way."

The two sides also signed eleven other agreements, all involving trade. Commerce between the two countries, which fell 36% from its peak in 1984 to a total of $8 billion last year, has lately begun to pick up again. Gorbachev was especially taken with demonstrations of the high-tech wizardry that abounds in West German industry. In one factory a robot poured glasses of a local wine for a toast with Baden-Württemberg Minister President Lother Späth. Gorbachev repeatedly encouraged West German industrialists to participate in joint ventures in the Soviet Union. Said he: "Those who look ahead and take calculated risks are doing the right thing."

At a news conference shortly before he left, Gorbachev responded somewhat evasively to a question about the Berlin Wall, calling it "no great problem." He repeated the standard East German position that the Wall could be torn down when the conditions that created it have disappeared. But even if Gorbachev were open to discussion on that matter, he would face certain resistance from East Germany, which opposes most of his liberal reforms. One measure of Gorbachev's standing in East Berlin: press coverage of his trip was consistently minimal.

*—By William R. Doerner. Reported by James O. Jackson/Bonn and John Kohan with Gorbachev*

# Catharsis in Hungary

A pyramid of funeral wreaths lay beside the wooden coffins in Heroes' Square. There, last week, more than 200,000 mourners gathered in downtown Budapest to bury the Stalinist ghost in Hungarian history. Church bells tolled, and the people sang the *Szozat,* the emotionally charged hymn of the nation's repeated triumphs over foreign domination.

It was a proper tribute for Imre Nagy. He was Hungary's Prime Minister in 1956, when Soviet tanks stormed into Budapest to crush the tumultuous uprising that for a moment seemed to promise freedom and democracy in one of Moscow's East European satellites. Nagy and four of his top aides were executed in 1958 after a secret trial and buried in an unmarked grave. Earlier this year, their bodies were exhumed for a formal, cathartic reburial. "Never again should such a terror occur," Miklos Vasarhelyi, Nagy's former press secretary, told the crowd. "We hereby close once and for all a tragic, painful epoch to be able to open a new page in the history of our nation."

After the speeches, the coffins were reinterred in the Rákoskeresztúr cemetery in the same plot from which they had been exhumed. A sixth coffin was lowered empty into the ground in symbolic memory of more than 200 other Hungarians who were executed in the terror that followed the uprising. ■



PETER JORDAN

**Stalinist ghost: Nagy's flower-covered coffin in Heroes' Square**

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