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Kossuth Memorial Square 7/11/89 [OA 6266] [2]

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Congressman

TOM LANTOS

11th District, California

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Washington, D.C. 20515
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TELEFAX TRANSMISSION 48-6218

TO: Stephanie Blessy
White House
Speach offi

FROM: Annette Lantos

DATE/TIME: 6/21 6:30

NUMBER OF PAGES (Including this cover): 2

COMMENTS:

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 100th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 134 WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, MARCH 15, 1988 No. 31

MARKING THE 140TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION OF 1848

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 15, 1988

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 140th anniversary of the start of the Hungarian people's struggle for independence. March 15 marks the beginning of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848–49. On March 15, a bloodless revolution broke out in the city of Pest (later to be joined with its sister city Buda to become the capital of Hungary, Budapest). The Hungarian Diet that same day enacted the "March Laws" which established a Hungarian Government responsible to a Hungarian Parliament. The laws also guaranteed key liberties and provided humanitarian reforms for all citizens.

The leader of this democratic national revolution was Hungarian revolutionary statesman Lajos (Louis) Kossuth. While imprisoned for seditious activity, Kossuth learned English and studied extensively the history of the American Revolution. After he was released from prison, he became the editor of an influential newspaper that urged broad liberal reforms. Upon hearing of the French Revolution, which began in Paris in February 1848, Kossuth proposed what became the "March Laws." Kossuth's inspired leadership rallied the masses of Hungarians to rise up, against incredible odds and at great sacrifice, to fight for their freedom.

The democratic revolution in Hungary, however, was tragically short lived. The reactionary Vienna regime deposed the reigning monarch and installed a new Hapsburg on the throne, who promptly rescinded the democratic "March Laws" and invaded Hungary. Despite a major campaign by the Austrian Army and an effort to rally ethnic minority opposition to the democratic Hungarian Government, the Hungarian people fought valiantly and succeeded in holding the Austrians at bay. The struggle for Hungarian freedom continued for over a year.

In the summer of 1849, the Russian Army, at the request of the Austrian Emperor, invaded Hungary. Czar Nicholas I of Russia detested the influx of revolutionary ideas from the West. The Russian Army vastly outnumbered the small Hungarian Army, and the revolution was overthrown on August 13, 1849. A few leaders of the revolution managed to escape by fleeing their country. Lajos Kossuth, who became the first president of an independent Hungary in April 1849, barely managed to escape. Most of the others were executed or incarcerated. The Hapsburg monarchy quickly imposed martial law and crushed the fledging Hungarian democratic state.

Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Government was one of the few countries at that time to recognize the significance of the Hungarian uprising, and we expressed our sympathy with and support for the Hungarian revolution. An American diplomat in Europe was instructed to give Kossuth assurances that the U.S. Government recognized his government, but the revolution was overthrown before he could reach the Hungarian President. The American people and our Government reacted bitterly when the revolution was crushed with the assistance of the Russian Czar.

Hailed as one of the greatest European reformers, Lajos Kossuth received an extraordinary welcome when he visited the United States in December 1851. No European visitor since the Marquis de Lafayette's triumphal tour was given such a welcome. He was received as a head of state in Washington, was warmly received by President Zackary Taylor, and was given the honor of addressing a joint session of the Congress. Counties and streets were named after him, and even in our century Kossuth appeared on an American postage stamp in the series "Champions of Liberty."

Mr. Speaker, 140 years ago, Hungary was inspired by the democratic ideals of the United States, and the United States has continued to show an interest and concern for the people of Hungary. Americans saluted the Hungarian freedom fighters of 1848–49 and the Hungarian freedom fighters of 1956 who gave their lives for freedom and democracy in their native country.

In honor of this anniversary, an outstanding bust of Lajos Kossuth by the American-Hungarian artist Csaba Kur of Warren, OH, is on temporary display in my congressional office in the Longworth building. Mr. Kur is a prominent artist whose bust of Bela Bartok is in the Kennedy Center. Bishop Tibor Domotor of Akron, OH, the bishop of the Hungarian Reformed Church of America and president of the American Hungarian Federation, made this wonderful sculpture available for display on the occasion of this important anniversary.

Mr. Speaker, I am certain that my colleagues in the Congress join me today in extending to the American-Hungarians and to the people of Hungary our best wishes on the 140th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848.

Among those who gave their lives fighting for freedom in Hungary was a young Hungarian poet Sandor (Alexander) Petofi. It was he, who on March 15, 1848, inspired his countrymen to rise up against their oppressors. At the demonstration in Buda, the 25-year-old Petofi, already acknowledged as a youthful leader in the Hungarian desire for freedom, read his poem "National Song," which became the national anthem of the revolution. I ask that this poem be placed in the RECORD.

NATIONAL SONG

(By Sandor Petofi)

Rise, Magyar! for this, thy Land,
Calls to thee—the hour's at hand!
Are we slaves or are we free?
This to ask—the choice to thee!
By the God of the Magyar,
Do we swear,
Do we swear, chains no longer
Will we wear!

Slaves were we, until today,
Cursed are forebears, cursed are they,
Free they lived and free they died,
In servile Earth, restless bide.
By the God of the Magyar,
Do we swear, chains no longer
Will we wear!

Craven, barely breathing dust
Dares not die when die he must,
Holds his ragged life of fear,
Not his country's honor, dear.
By the God of the Magyar,
Do we swear,
Do we swear, chains no longer
Will we wear!

Brighter than the chain, the blade,
Better far by arm displayed,
But we still endure the chain!
Flaunt our ancient sword again!
By the God of the Magyar,
Do we swear,
Do we swear, chains no longer
Will we wear!

Worthy of its ancient fame,
Still will be our Magyar name!
Off we scour, off we glance,
Centuries of vile abuse.
By the God of the Magyar,
Do we swear,
Do we swear, chains no longer
Will we wear!

Where our gravemounds grow one day,
Sons of sons shall kneel to pray,
Blessing us with proud acclaims,
Uttering our sacred names.
By the God of the Magyar,
Do we swear,
Do we swear, chains no longer
Will we wear!

456-6218

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 22, 1989

MEMORANDUM

TO: CURT SMITH

FROM: STEPHANIE BLESSEY

RE: HUNGARIAN NOTABLE PLACES AND PEOPLE

HUNGARIAN HOT SPOTS

Danube River
Little Alfold - lowland expanses
Great Alfold - basinlike structure that covers most of central and southeastern Hungary
Transdanubian and Northern Mountains -- backbone of country that separates the Little and Great Alfolds
Bakony Mountains - in the Transdubian Mountains and consist of dolomite and limestone plateaus and interspersed with volcanic peaks.
Lake Balaton
Tisza River
Trans-Tisza - region east of Tisza
Keckskemet - market center for for Trans -Tiszas
tanyak - isolated farmlands in the region

PEOPLE

Saint Stephen - founder of the Christian Nation, crowned on Christmas Day 1000
Lasdislas I - one of Hungary's greatest kings
Hunyadi - (the bells)
Franz Liszt - composer
Bela Bartok - composer
Janos Arany - poet
Endre Ady - poet
Imre Nadgy
Count Istvan Szechenyi - Founder of Reform Movement in 1800's
LEADERS OF REFORM MOVEMENT
Ferenc Deak
Baron Jozsef Eotvos
Lajos Kossuth

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

FOLK ARTISTRIES

handicrafts of Matyo-land, Sarkoz, and Buszak
lace of Kalocsa
folk murals in the homes of the Tolna and Bacs-Kiskun counties
pottery of Bekes county
glass of Nograd

June 20, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO: Miss. Stephanie Blessey

FROM: Sandor J. Horvath, Deputy Chief / Hungarian Service/ VOA

SUBJECT: President Bush´s Remarks in Budapest / CORRECTED COPY

Sandor Petofi was the „poet of the 1848 Hungarian Revolution". He said in his poem titled „TO GABOR KAZINCZY"

Mint Petőfi Sándor mondta, „ MILLIÓK NEVÉBEN EMELEM SZAVAM", amikor Amerika üdvözletét hozom a magyar népnek.
As Petőfi wrote „ let me address you in the name of millions" as I convey America´s greetings to you, the Hungarian people.

To pronounce it: Mint Petoefi Shandor mondta, Milyoke nevaeben emelem suvum, amikor Amerika uedvoezletate hozom ah magyar napenek.

May we suggest that at the end of the speech President Bush should say in Hungarian „ God Bless The Hungarians" -„ Isten Áld Meg a Magyart".This is the first line of the Hungarian National Anthem written by Ferenc Kölcsey.

If it is helpful to the President we would be happy to voice this statement to make it easier to learn or repeat. Please advise.

NOV 01·Xerox Telecopier 7021 : 6-20-89 ; 4:02PM ; 2027550828→ 4888218;# 1

O- Hungarian Affairs



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[eshtehn ahld mehg • ah mayt~~ort~~ yort]

Ed.

mahdgnhrt –

647-3298

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Background Hungary 5/5

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 04

PRT: HUGHES KELLER STUDDERT
SIT: BLACKWILL RICE VAX

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 011216Z JUN 89

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5899
RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

EXDIS

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 BUDAPEST 05858
EXDIS
EUR/EEY FOR SWIHART
WHITE HOUSE FOR STUDDERT AND KELLER FROM AMB PALMER
WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL
E.O. 12356: OADR
TAGS: ECON, PREL, OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE), HU
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT BUSH'S VISIT TO HUNGARY: HIGH
- EXPECTATIONS

EXDIS

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT
-
2. HUNGARIAN EXPECTATIONS FOR PRESIDENT BUSH'S VISIT TO HUNGARY ARE HIGH - BOTH WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT AND AMONG THE GENERAL POPULATION. WE ARE WORKING TO ENSURE THAT THESE EXPECTATIONS DO NOT BECOME UNREALISTIC. BUT BELIEVE THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD KNOW BEFORE HE COMES OF THE HIGH HOPES THAT AWAIT HIS VISIT - THE FIRST OF AN INCUMBENT PRESIDENT TO HUNGARY.

EXDIS

-
3. THE HUNGARIANS SEE THEMSELVES AT THE FOREFRONT OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE AND BELIEVE THAT THEIR EFFORTS IN THESE FIELDS SHOULD BE REWARDED. AS THEY SEE IT, THEIR GREATEST PROBLEM IS THE HUGE DEBT THAT THEY FACE. PARTICULARLY AMONG THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION AND THE MAN IN THE

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By ___ NARA, Date 05/02/23

STREET THERE IS A VIEW THAT THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP WILL BE A FAILURE IF HE DOES NOT DO SOMETHING DRAMATIC TO HELP EASE THEIR DEBT BURDEN. THERE IS MUCH TALK ABOUT A MARSHALL PLAN. EVEN AMONG REALISTIC HUNGARIAN LEADERS, WHO SAY PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY THAT THEY DON'T WANT A MARSHALL PLAN, WE HEAR NEW IDEAS ALMOST DAILY WHICH AMOUNT TO THE SAME THING IN ANOTHER GUISE. THERE IS CONSTANT TALK ABOUT STRETCHING THE BRADY PLAN TO SOMEHOW APPLY TO HUNGARY. THERE EXDIS IS A REPEATED EMPHASIS ON THE NEED FOR A MASSIVE NEW INFUSION OF CAPITAL. THE ARGUMENT OFTEN HEARD IS THAT WESTERN AID WILL BE MOTIVATED BY THE DESIRE TO AVOID OR MOOT THE ECONOMIC AUSTERITY WHICH COULD ENDANGER HUNGARY'S FRAGILE TRANSITION TO A MULTIPARTY SYSTEM AND A MARKET ECONOMY. THE NEW POLITICAL GROUPS WITH LIMITED PRACTICAL POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC EXPERIENCE ARE COUNTING ON WESTERN ASSISTANCE TO UNDERGIRD THE DEMOCRATIZATION EXDIS PROCESS. THEY ARE PARTICULARLY AWARE THAT POLAND HAS ALREADY RECEIVED A LONG LIST OF NEW BENEFITS FROM PRESIDENT BUSH AND THAT THERE IS SERIOUS CONSIDERATION UNDERWAY FOR A MAJOR DEBT EFFORT VIS-A-VIS POLAND. ALL ELEMENTS OF HUNGARIAN SOCIETY

WILL BE DEEPLY EMBITTERED IF POLAND GETS A MAJOR DEBT PACKAGE AND HUNGARY GETS NOTHING FROM THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT.

4. IN PREPARATION FOR THE VISIT, THE GOH AND USG EXDIS HAVE BEEN WORKING ON A VARIETY OF INITIATIVES IN THE ECONOMIC AREA. PRIME MINISTER NEMETH, FOREIN MINISTER HORN AND GENERAL SECRETARY GROSZ'S CLOSEST ASSISTANT, THURMER, HAVE BEGUN TO REFER TO SOME OF THESE IN THE HUNGARIAN PRESS. (WE HAVE CAUTIONED THEM NOT TO CONTINUE DOING THIS.) OFFICIAL HUNGARIANS KNOW THAT THIS IS ONLY A TARGET LIST. THEY ALSO

HAVE BEEN SAYING TO EACH OTHER AND TO US THAT THE ITEMS WE HAVE UNDER DISCUSSION ARE VERY DESIRABLE, BUT DO NOT ADDRESS IN AN ADEQUATE MANNER THE LARGEST PROBLEM THEY FACE -- THE DEBT. GIVEN THIS LEVEL OF EXPECTATIONS, IT IS CRITICAL THAT WE GET AS MANY OF THE INDIVIDUAL ITEMS WE HAVE UNDER DISCUSSION AS POSSIBLE FOR THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT. ON THE MERITS THEY ADDRESS WHAT REALLY NEEDS TO BE DONE HERE TO MAKE THIS A COMMERCIALLY VIABLE NATION AND NOT TO JUST CONTINUE ON THE DOLE.

-

5. HOWEVER, WE ALSO NEED TO BE PREPARED FOR THE HUNGARIANS TO SPRING SOMETHING ON US IN THE DEBT FIELD ITSELF. A GROSS DEBT OF USG 17 BILLION GIVES HUNGARY THE HIGHEST PER CAPITA DEBT RATIO IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE GOVERNMENT IS FINDING IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO BOTH MAINTAIN THE ACCESS TO COMMERCIAL FINANCING NECESSARY TO SERVICE THIS DEBT AND MEET OTHER COMMITMENTS, WHILE, AT THE SAME TIME, PROMOTING A POLICY OF ECONOMIC REFORM AND RESTRUCTURING. THE HUNGARIANS CONSISTENTLY STATE THEIR DESIRE TO AVOID A RESCHEDULING OF THIS DEBT AND MAY WELL BE EXAMINING PROPOSALS TO DEVELOP A

BRADY PLAN II DESIGNED TO HELP HEAVILY INDEBTED

BT

=5858

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 BUDAPEST 05858

EXDIS

EUR/EEY FOR SWIHART

WHITE HOUSE FOR STUDDERT AND KELLER FROM AMB PALMER

WHITE HOUSE PASS NSC FOR BLACKWILL

E.O. 12356: OADR

TAGS: ECON, PREL, OVIP (BUSH, GEORGE), HU

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT BUSH'S VISIT TO HUNGARY: HIGH

EXDIS

EXDIS

EXDIS

COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE NOT YET RESCHEDULED. POTENTIAL HUNGARIAN PROPOSALS COULD INCLUDE A REQUEST THAT THE USG ENCOURAGE COMMERCIAL BANKS TO CONTINUE TO PROVIDE FINANCING, SOME SORT OF DEBT REDUCTION SCHEME, OR ALTERNATIVELY DEBT-EQUITY SWAP PROPOSALS DESIGNED FOR SPECIAL HUNGARIAN CIRCUMSTANCES (HUNGARIAN DEBT DOES NOT SELL AT A DISCOUNT SO TRADITIONAL DEBT-EQUITY WOULD NOT MEET HUNGARIAN NEEDS).

6. WE ARE SENDING BY SEPTEL A PROPOSAL WHICH TRIES TO ADDRESS THIS DIMENSION WITHIN A REALISTIC CONTEXT -- THAT IS TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE LACK OF US FINANCIAL RESOURCES TO BAIL OUT THIS COUNTRY AND THE FACT

EXDIS

THATZWIT WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO TRY IN THE WAYS THE HUNGARIANS ARE LIKELY TO PROPOSE TO US.

PALMER

BT

#5858

EXDIS

EXDIS

June 21, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO: Miss. Stephanie Blessey, Research

FROM: Sandor J. Horvath, Deputy Chief / Hungarian Service/ VOA

SUBJECT: Famous Hungarian- Americans

Our recommandation concerning the usage of the Petofi poem, titled „ Rise Hungarian " is negative, because it has an igniting, revolutionary impact.

Scientists:

1. John von Neumann (Neumann Janos) - inventor of computers, and he was a participant of the„ Manhattan Project".

2. Theodore von Karman (K▮rm▮n T▮dor) - inventor of jet plane engine.

3. Leo Szilard (Szil▮rd Le▮) - nuclear scientist , „Manhattan Project".

4. Eugene Wiegner (Wiegner Jen▮) - nuclear scientist - „Manhattan Project".

5. Edward Teller - nuclear scientist , H bomb, „Manhattan Project", SDI.

6. Albert Szentgyorgyi - Nobel Prize Winner (Vitamin C).

Conductors:

1. Eugene Ormandy (Orm▮ndy Jen▮)

2. George Szell (Sz▮ll Gy▮rgy)

4. Antal Dorati (Dor▮ti Antal)

5. Fritz Reiner (Reiner Fritz)

6. Zoltan Rozsnyay (Rozsnyay Zolt▮n)

Singers-Metropolitan Opera:

1. Lajos Konya (K▮nya Lajos)

2. Lorinc Alvary (Alv▮ry L▮rinc)

3. Gabor Carelli (Carelli G▮bor)

Composers:

1. Miklos Rozsa (R▮zsa Mikl▮s) - Oscar winner (film) composer (Ben Hur....)

2. Miklos Brodszky (Br▮dszky Mikl▮s) Oscar winner film composer

3. Sygmund Romberg (Romberg Zsigmond) - operette and musical composer

Film Industry:

1. Adolf Cukor (Cukor Adolf) - founder and chairman of Paramount Films

2. Michael Curtis (Kert▮sz Mih▮ly) - Oscar winner filmdirector „Casablanca" etc.

3. Paul Lukacs (Luk▮cs P▮l) - Oscar winner actor

4. Bela Lugosi (Lugosi B▮la) - Frankenstein

5. S. Z. Sakall (Sz▮ke Szak▮l) - Hundreds of Hollywood films.

6. Tony Curtis - actor

7. Joe Pasternak (Pasztern▮k J▮zsef) - film producer

8. Ernie Kovach

9. Vilma Banky (B▮nky Vilma) Star of the American Silent Movies

US Personalities:

1. Colonel Kovach (Kov▮cs ezredes) - founder of the Amercican Cavalry during the US Civil War.

2. Tom Lantos (Lantos Tam▮s) - US Congressman (CA Democrat)

3. Joseph Pulitzer (Pulitzer J▮zsef) - publisher (See Pulitzer Prize)

4. Andre Kertesz (Kert▮sz Andr▮) - World famous photographer.

5. Robert Capa - Died in the Korean War as a war correspondent.

Sports:

1. Joe Namath - football star

2. Larry Csonka - football star

3. Karch Kiraly - current captain of the Olympic and World Champion US Man´s Volley Ball Team.

4. Andy Toro (T▮r▮ Andr▮s) - former secretary of United States Olympic Committee

5. Csaba Elthes (▮lthes Csaba) - Coach of the US Olympic Saber Fancing Team since 1960.

6. Bob Gansler - Coach of the US National Soccer Team

7. Peter Vermes - Member of the US National Soccer Team

W. Europ & U.S. together working for a better economic E. Europe

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

economic mainstream of Europe w/o t destroying Warsaw Pact

June 14, 1989

But can't have economic freedoms w/o political freedoms

MEMORANDUM FOR THE CHIEF OF STAFF
DAVID BATES
RICHARD BREEDEN
ANDREW CARD
JAMES CICCONI
DAVID DEMAREST
MARLIN FITZWATER
BOYDEN GRAY
FRED MCCLURE
BONNIE NEWMAN
ROGER PORTER
BRENT SCOWCROFT
STEPHEN STUDDERT
CHASE UNTERMEYER
SUSAN PORTER ROSE
ED ROGERS
JOE HAGIN
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CHRISS WINSTON
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PATTY PRESOCK
LINDA CASEY
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TIMOTHY MCBRIDE
ROSE ZAMARIA
TONY LOPEZ
DAVID VALDEZ
BILLY DALE
JAY ALLISON
BRUCE ZANCA
LAURIE FIRESTONE
CASEY HEALEY
JEAN LAMB
DEB ANDERSON
USSS/PPD OPS
WHCA AUDIO/VISUAL
WHCA OPERATIONS
MEDICAL UNIT
PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Tie in w/ '92

Historical references to freedoms in E. Europe

1848 } Poland history
1946 }

Polish & French involvement in French Revolution & American Revolution

Visit Emily for itineraries

THRU: STEPHEN M. STUDDERT
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR SPECIAL ACTIVITIES AND INITIATIVES

FROM: JOHN G. KELLER, JR. JGK
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

SUBJECT: **TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT TO EUROPE**
JULY 9 - 18, 1989

For your use and planning purposes, the attached is information for the Trip of the President to Europe. As you will see, departure is Sunday, July 9, 1989 at 7:00 am from Andrews Air Force Base.

Please note that schedules are subject to change.

DRAFT

6/14 11:00 am
Washington, DC

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

TO

WARSAW, POLAND

JULY 9-11, 1989

Sunday, July 9, 1989

7:00 am (B) Depart Andrews Air Force Base en route Warsaw, Poland.

* DEPARTURE STATEMENT
-Open Press

5-7 min *

(Flight Time: 8 Hours 50 Minutes)
(Time Change: Ahead 6 Hours)
(Interchange: Yes)

9:50 pm (B) Arrive Warsaw, Poland.

* ARRIVAL CEREMONY
-Arrival Statement
-Pool Coverage

5 min.

10:10 pm (B) Depart Airport en route Parkowa Guest House.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

10:30 pm (B) Arrive Parkowa Guest House for RON.

Monday, July 10, 1989

8:35 am — Depart Guest House en route Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

8:45 am — Arrive Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

* WREATH LAYING CEREMONY
-Open Press

9:00 am — Depart Tomb of the Unknown Soldier en route Umschlagplatz.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

9:10 am — Arrive Umschlagplatz.

* WREATH LAYING CEREMONY
-Pool Coverage

9:20 am — Depart Umschlagplatz en route Belwedere Palace.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

9:30 am — Arrive Belwedere Palace.

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH GENERAL JARUZELSKI
-Photo Opportunity

* EXPANDED BILATERAL MEETING WITH GENERAL JARUZELSKI
-Photo Opportunity

no statement

11:30 am — Depart Belwedere Palace en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

11:45 am Arrive Ambassador's Residence.

* LUNCHEON WITH SENATE LEADERS (opp., non-govt. leaders)
(12:00 pm - 1:30 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* POLISH LITTLE LEAGUE BASEBALL EVENT
(1:45 pm - 2:00 pm)
-Pool Coverage
Brief remarks

bringing together 10 teams of kids
have had adult teams for a few years

2:00 pm Depart Ambassador's Residence en route The Sejm.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

2:15 pm Arrive The Sejm.
(8:15 (ET))

* ADDRESS JOINT SESSION OF PARLIAMENT
-Expanded Pool Coverage
-Teleprompter

20 min. (+ trans.) (annual)

3:15 pm Depart The Sejm en route Council of Ministers.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

3:20 pm Arrive Council of Ministers.

* MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER
-Photo Opportunity

4:00 pm Depart Council of Ministers en route American Embassy.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

4:05 pm (B) Arrive American Embassy.

* AMERICAN COMMUNITY GREETING
-Pool Coverage
Talking points

4:45 pm (B) Depart American Embassy en route Parkowa Guest House.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

4:50 pm (B) Arrive Parkowa Guest House.

(~~PRIVATE~~ ADMINISTRATIVE TIME: 2 HOURS 55 MINUTES)

7:45 pm (B) Depart Guest House en route Radziwill Palace.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

7:55 pm (B) Arrive Radziwill Palace.

* STATE DINNER HOSTED BY GENERAL JARUZELSKI
-Pool Coverage
-Toasts
-Official Party + (35)
-Business Suit

10:00 pm (B) Depart Radziwill Palace en route Guest House.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

10:10 pm (B) Arrive Guest House for RON.

Tuesday, July 11, 1989

9:40 am (B) Depart Parkowa Guest House en route Warsaw Airport.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

10:00 am (B) Arrive Warsaw Airport.

10:10 am (B) Depart Warsaw, Poland en route Gdansk, Poland.

(Flight Time: 1 Hour 15 Minutes)
(Time Change: None)
(Interchange: Yes)

DRAFT

6/14 11:00 am
Washington, DC

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

FOR

GDANSK, POLAND

TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

8:06 ADMIN. TIME

11:25 am (B) Arrive Gdansk Airport, Gdansk, Poland.

11:35 am (B) Depart Gdansk Airport en route Oliva Cathedral.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

11:45 am (B) Arrive Oliva Cathedral.

* MEETING WITH BISHOP GOCLOWSKI
-Photo Opportunity

12:35 pm (B) Depart Oliva Cathedral en route Walesa Residence.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

12:45 pm (B) Arrive Walesa Residence.

* PRIVATE LUNCH WITH LECH WALESA
-Photo Opportunity

1:45 pm (B) Depart Walesa Residence en route Solidarity Worker's Monument.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

2:00 pm (B) Arrive Solidarity Worker's Monument. (shipyard gates)

* WREATH LAYING CEREMONY
-Photo Opportunity

* ADDRESS
-Open Press

10 min. (10/10) (ref. next stop)

2:35 pm (B) Depart Solidarity Worker's Monument en route Westerplatte.

(Drive Time: 25 Minutes)

3:00 pm (B) Arrive Westerplatte.

* WREATH LAYING CEREMONY
-Pool Coverage

3:30 pm (B) Depart Westerplatte via Boat en route Downtown Dock.

(Cruise Time: 30 Minutes)

4:00 pm (B) Arrive Downtown Dock.

* OFFICIAL GREETING WITH GDANSK CITY OFFICIALS
-Photo Opportunity

4:20 pm (B) Depart Downtown Dock en route Gdansk Airport.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

4:35 pm (B) Arrive Gdansk Airport.

* DEPARTURE CEREMONY
~~-Pool Coverage~~
-Statement ~~TBD~~

Very Brief

4:45 pm (B) Depart Gdansk, Poland en route Budapest, Hungary.

(Flight Time: 2 Hours)
(Time Change: None)
(Interchange: Yes)

DRAFT

6/14 11:00 am
Washington, DC

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

TO

HUNGARY

JULY 11 - 13, 1989

6:45 pm (B) Arrive Budapest, Hungary.

6:55 pm (B) Depart Budapest Airport en route Kossuth Square.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

7:15 pm (B) Arrive Kossuth Square. 1st visit by any Amer. pres. to Hungary

emotional speech

* REMARKS AT KOSSUTH MEMORIAL SQUARE
-Open Press 7-10 min. 100,000 - 150,000 people

* FORMAL ARRIVAL CEREMONY
-Open Press

7:50 pm (B) Depart Kossuth Square en route Parliament via foot.

7:55 pm (B) Arrive Parliament.

* STATE DINNER
~~-Pool Coverage~~
-Brief Remarks/Toast - 5min
-Business Suit
-Official Party

10:00 pm (B) Depart Parliament en route Guest House.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

10:10 pm (B) **Arrive Guest House for RON.**

Wednesday, July 12, 1989

8:45 am Depart Guest House en route Parliament.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

8:55 am Arrive Parliament.

* COURTESY CALL ON PRESIDENT STRAUB (9:00 am - 9:10 am)
  -One on One
  -Photo Opportunity

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH GENERAL SECRETARY GROSZ (9:15 am - 10:05 am)
  -Eight on Eight
  -Photo Opportunity

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER NEMETH (10:10 am - 11:00 am)
  -Eight on Eight
  -Photo Opportunity

11:05 am Depart Parliament en route Guest House.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

11:15 am Arrive Guest House.

(ADMIN ~~PRIVATE~~ TIME: 1 HOUR)

12:15 pm Depart Guest House en route Var, Old Prison on Castle Hill.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

12:25 pm Arrive Old Prison on Castle Hill.

* INFORMAL DISCUSSION WITH STUDENTS
-Photo Opportunity

1:05 pm Depart Old Prison en route Karl Marx University of Economics.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

1:15 pm Arrive Karl Marx University of Economics.

* ADDRESS TO STUDENTS (TELEPROMPTER)
-Open Press
-Simultaneous Translation

20-25 min.

2:00 pm Depart Karl Marx University en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

2:10 pm Arrive Ambassador's Residence.

* MEETING WITH STATE MINISTERS POZSGAY AND NYERS (2:15 pm - 3:00 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

* MEETING WITH LEADERS OF NEW POLITICAL PARTIES (3:15 pm - 4:00 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

4:10 pm Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Guest House.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

4:15 pm Arrive Guest House.

(~~PRIVATE~~ TIME: 2 HOURS 30 MINUTES)

OPTION: Tennis with ~~Prime~~ Foreign Minister and Secretary Baker. ?

6:45 pm Depart Guest House en route Ambassador's Residence.

6:50 pm Arrive Ambassador's Residence.

* RECEPTION HOSTED BY PRESIDENT BUSH (non-governmental
(7:00 pm - 7:45 pm)
-Pool Coverage

8:00 pm Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Guest House.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

8:05 pm Arrive Guest House for RON.

Thursday, July 13, 1989

8:50 am Depart Guest House en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

8:55 am Arrive Ambassador's Residence.

* American community greeting
~~-Pool Coverage~~

* T.P.

9:30 am Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Budapest Airport.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

9:45 am Arrive Budapest Airport.

5-7
brief statement

* BRIEF DEPARTURE CEREMONY
-Open Press



10:00 am Depart Budapest, Hungary en route Paris France.

(Flight Time: 2 Hours 20 Minutes)
(Time Change: None)
(Interchange: Yes)

DRAFT

Revised 6/14/89 11:00 am
Washington, DC

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

FOR

PARIS, FRANCE

JULY 13 - 17, 1989

Thursday, July 13, 1989

12:00 Rights of Non Ceremony

12:35 pm Arrive Orly Airport, Paris, France.

12:45 pm Depart Orly Airport en route Palais de L'Elysee

(Drive Time: 25 Minutes)

1:10 pm Arrive Palais de L'Elysee.

* BICENTENNIAL LUNCHEON HOSTED BY PRESIDENT MITTERRAND
-Photo Opportunity

~~2:45 pm Depart Palais de L'Elysee en route Paris American Hospital.~~

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

~~3:00 pm (B) Arrive Paris American Hospital.~~

* DEDICATION OF NEW HOSPITAL WING
-Pool Coverage
-Brief Remarks

3:45 pm Depart Paris American Hospital en route Palais de L'Elysee.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

4:00 pm Arrive Palais de L'Elysee.

* BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MITTERRAND
-Photo Opportunity
-Brief Arrival Ceremony
-One on One

4:30 pm Depart Palais de L'Elysee en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

4:35 pm Arrive Ambassador's Residence.

(PRIVATE TIME: 2 HOURS 10 MINUTES)

6:45 pm (B) Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Opera House at La Bastille.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

6:55 pm (B) Arrive Opera House at La Bastille.

* OPENING OF THE BASTILLE OPERA
-Photo Opportunity

(T) * KEY TO BASTILLE EXCHANGE CEREMONY
-Photo Opportunity

8:45 pm (B) Depart Opera House at La Bastille en route Musee d'Orsay.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

8:55 pm (B) Arrive Musee d'Orsay

* DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT MITTERRAND
-Photo Opportunity

11:00 pm Depart Musee d'Orsay en route Ambassador's Residence.

11:30 pm Arrive Ambassador's Residence for RON.

Friday, July 14, 1989

9:45 am Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Place de la Concorde.

9:50 am Arrive Place de la Concorde.

* VIEW BASTILLE DAY PARADE
-Open Press

11:45 am Depart Place de la Concorde en route Ambassador's Residence.

11:50 am Arrive Ambassador's Residence for Private Time.

(~~PRIVATE TIME~~ TIME: 1 HOUR)

12:50 pm (B) Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

1:00 pm (B) Arrive Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

* GARDEN PARTY HOSTED BY PRESIDENT MITTERRAND
-Press TBD

1:30 pm (B) Depart Ministry of Foreign Affairs via Foot en route Hotel de Lassay.

1:40 pm (B) Arrive Hotel de Lassay.

* BICENTENNIAL LUNCH HOSTED BY PRESIDENT MITTERRAND
-Photo Opportunity

3:15 pm (B) Depart Hotel de Lassay en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

3:25 pm (B) Arrive Ambassador's Residence.

(PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 15 MINUTES)

4:40 pm Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Pyramide du Louvre.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

4:55 pm Arrive Pyramide du Louvre.

* OPENING SESSION OF THE 25TH SUMMIT OF INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS

6:45 pm Depart Pyramide du Louvre en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

7:00 pm Arrive Ambassador's Residence for Private Time.

(PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 25 MINUTES)

8:25 pm Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Hotel de la Marine, Place de la Concorde.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

8:30 pm Arrive Hotel de la Marine.

* WORKING DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT MITTERRAND
-Photo Opportunity

10:30 pm Depart Hotel de la Marine, Place de la Concorde en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

10:35 pm Arrive Ambassador's Residence for RON.

Saturday, July 15, 1989

9:35 am — Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Arche de la Defense.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

9:50 am — Arrive Arche de la Defense.

* RESTRICTED SESSION
  (10:00 am - 10:15 am)
  -Heads Only
  -Photo Opportunity

* PLENERY SESSION
  (10:15 am - 12:30 pm)
  -Heads/Ministers/Shirpas
  -Photo Opportunity

* WORKING LUNCHEON
  (1:00 pm - 2:30 pm)
  -Heads Only
  -Photo Opportunity

* PLENERY SESSION
  (3:00 pm - 5:00 pm)
  -Heads/Ministers/Shirpas
  -Photo Opportunity

5:05 pm — Depart Arche de la Defense en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

5:25 pm — Arrive Ambassador's Residence for Private Time.

(PRIVATE TIME: 45 MINUTES)

6:10 pm — Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Pyramide du Louvre.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

6:25 pm Arrive Pyramide du Louvre.

* INFORMAL WORKING SESSION
(6:30 pm - 7:30 pm)
-Heads Only
-Press TBD

* DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT MITTERRAND
(8:00 pm - 9:45 pm)
-Heads Only
-Photo Opportunity

9:45 pm Depart Pyramide du Louvre en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

10:00 pm Arrive Ambassador's Residence for RON.

Sunday, July 16, 1989

8:30 am (B) Depart Ambassador's Residence en route American Cathedral of Paris.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

8:45 am (B) Arrive American Cathedral of Paris.

* CHURCH SERVICE
-Press TBD

9:30 am Depart American Cathedral of Paris en route Arche de la Defense.

9:45 am Arrive Arche de la Defense.

* PLENERY SESSION
  (10:00 am - 12:30 pm)
  -Photo Opportunity
  -Heads/Ministers/Shirpas

* WORKING LUNCHEON
  (1:00 pm - 2:30 pm)
  -Heads/Ministers of Foreign Affairs

* PLENERY SESSION
  (3:00 pm - 5:00 pm)
  -Photo Opportunity
  -Heads/Ministers/Shirpas

* READING OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE
  (5:20 pm - 5:45 pm)
  -Pool Coverage

5:55 pm Depart Arche de la Defense en route Meridian Hotel.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

6:05 pm Arrive Meridian Hotel.

* PRESS CONFERENCE

6:50 pm Depart Meridian Hotel en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

7:00 pm Arrive Ambassador's Residence for Private Time.

(PRIVATE TIME: 50 MINUTES)

7:50 pm (B) **Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Palais d'Elysee.**

7:55 pm (B) Arrive Palais d'Elysee.

* DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT MITTERRAND
-Photo Opportunity
-Black Tie

10:00 pm (B) Depart Palais d'Elysee en route Ambassador's Residence.

10:05 pm Arrive Ambassador's Residence for RON.

Monday, July 17, 1989

* AMERICAN COMMUNITY GREETING
~~(8:00 am - 8:15 am)~~
-Pool Coverage



8:15 am (B) Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Orly Airport.

8:40 am (B) Arrive Orly Airport and board Air Force One.

8:50 am (B) Depart Paris, France en route Valkenberg NAS, The Netherlands.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 25 Minutes)
(Interchange: Yes)
(Time Change: None)

DRAFT

6/14/89 11:00 am
Washington, DC

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

TO

THE NETHERLANDS

JULY 17 - 18, 1989

10:15 am (B) Arrive Schipol Airport, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

* ARRIVAL CEREMONY
-Open Press

10:30 am (B) Depart Schipol Airport en route Nordeinde Palace, The Hague.

(Drive Time: 40 Minutes)

11:10 am (B) Arrive Nordeinde Palace.

* OFFICIAL GREETING WITH QUEEN BEATRIX
-Photo Opportunity

11:40 am Depart Nordeinde Palace en route Parliament.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

11:45 am Arrive Parliament.

* EXPANDED BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER LUBBER'S
-Photo Opportunity
-Ten on Ten

12:45 pm Depart Parliament en route Catshuis.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

12:55 pm Arrive Catshuis.

* WORKING LUNCHEON WITH PRIME MINISTER LUBBER'S
-Photo Opportunity
-Ten on Ten

2:35 pm Depart Catshuis en route The Pieterskerk, Leiden.

(Drive Time: 25 Minutes)

3:00 pm (B) Arrive The Pieterskerk, Leiden.

* ADDRESS TO RESIDENTS
-Open Press
-Teleprompter
Queen present (15-20) *

* TOUR PILGRIMFATHERS EXHIBITION
-Pool Coverage

* VIP RECEPTION
-Closed Press

4:30 pm (B) Depart The Pieterskerk, Leiden en route Nordeinde Palace.

(Drive Time: 25 Minutes)

4:55 pm (B) Arrive Nordeinde Palace.

(PRIVATE TIME: 3 HOURS)

7:55 pm (B) Participate in State Dinner.

* RECEIVING LINE
-Pool Coverage

* STATE DINNER
~~-Closed Press~~ must *
-Informal Toasts

10:30 pm Dinner Concludes.

RON

Tuesday, July 18, 1989

7:40 am Depart Nordeinde Palace en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

7:50 am Arrive Ambassador's Residence.

* MEETING WITH OPPOSITION LEADER KOK
(8:00 am - 8:30 am)

* BREAKFAST WITH PARTY LEADERS AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE MEMBERS
(8:35 am - 9:35 am)
-Photo Opportunity

9:45 am Depart Ambassador's Residence en route American Embassy.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

9:55 am (B) Arrive American Embassy.

* AMERICAN COMMUNITY GREETING talking points
~~-Pool Coverage~~
-Brief Remarks

10:30 am (B) Depart American Embassy en route Nordiende Palace.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

10:40 am (B) Arrive Nordeinde Palace.

* DEPARTURE GREETING WITH QUEEN BEATRIX

11:00 am (B) Depart Nordeinde Palace en route Schipol Airport.

(Drive Time: 40 Minutes)

11:40 am (B) Arrive Schipol Airport.

* DEPARTURE CEREMONY
-Pool Coverage

11:55 am (B) Depart Amsterdam, Netherlands en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flight Time: 8 Hours 10 Minutes)
(Time Change: Back 6 Hours)
(Interchange: Yes)

1:40 pm Arrive Andrews Air Force Base.

* ARRIVAL STATEMENT
-Open Press

Steffel

(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 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 shining in the blackness, liberty can light the darkest night.

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~~ to 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 a courageous people would not bow to bayonets and barbed wire. He knew that 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 history. 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 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. You have shown how peace, freedom, and prosperity are allied. I applaud Hungary's greater privatization, and economic liberality. 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. 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, 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. 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 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 lamp of liberty would shine forever.

Today, more than ever, this kinship binds the peoples of 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~~], who founded the U.S. Cavalry during the Civil War.

But this kinship isn't one-way: It also touches Hungarians for whom America feels such admiration. 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 ~~Ganoch~~ 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. But there are other, unknown heroes, too -- 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.

Four weeks ago, thousands filled this city's Heroes 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. Astonished by the turnout, this gentle patriot found pride in Hungary's past -- and hope in her future. "Today," he said, "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 shine forever.

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."

# # # #

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
STATISTICS DIVISION/COSTA
425 I STREET NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20536
ROOM 235 TARIFF BUILDING

Phone: (202) 376-3073 Fax: (202)376-3083

FAX TRANSMITTAL COVER

TO: Stephenie Bleffey White House Speech Writing Office	FROM: James Joslin INS Statistics Division
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U.S. Department of Justice
Immigration and Naturalization Service

1987 Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service

Issued October 1988

TABLE 3. IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED BY REGION AND SELECTED COUNTRY OF BIRTH
FISCAL YEARS 1977-87

Region and country of birth	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
All countries	**462,315**	**601,442**	**460,348**	**530,639**	**596,600**	**594,131**	**559,763**	**543,903**	**570,009**	**601,708**	**601,516**
Europe	**70,010**	**73,196**	**60,846**	**72,121**	**66,895**	**69,174**	**58,867**	**64,076**	**63,043**	**62,512**	**61,174**
Austria	400	467	369	401	367	339	433	442	419	463	483
Belgium	377	439	395	426	467	559	538	537	538	620	636
Czechoslovakia	575	744	763	1,051	793	960	946	1,218	1,222	1,118	1,357
Denmark	433	409	414	504	506	463	513	512	478	554	537
Finland	277	358	327	356	317	346	311	264	290	322	331
France	1,618	1,844	1,705	1,905	1,745	1,994	2,061	2,135	2,187	2,518	2,513
Germany	6,372	6,739	6,314	6,595	6,552	(1)	(1)	(1)	( )	( )	( )
Germany, Fed. Rep.	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	6,467	6,725	6,747	7,109	6,991	7,210
Greece	7,838	7,035	5,090	4,699	4,361	3,472	2,997	2,865	2,579	2,512	2,653
Hungary	853	941	861	819	581	642	632	825	1,009	1,006	994
Ireland	1,238	1,180	962	1,006	902	949	1,101	1,223	1,397	1,839	3,060
Italy	7,510	7,415	6,174	5,467	4,662	3,644	3,225	3,130	3,214	3,089	2,784
Netherlands	1,014	1,153	1,145	1,169	999	1,053	1,152	1,242	1,217	1,261	1,230
Norway	334	423	431	403	331	342	409	375	361	354	326
Poland	[2] 4,010	[2] 5,050	[2] 4,418	4,725	5,014	5,874	6,427	9,466	9,464	8,481	7,519
Portugal	9,657	10,445	7,085	8,408	7,049	3,510	3,231	3,779	3,781	3,766	3,912
Romania	2,015	2,037	1,554	1,913	1,974	3,124	2,543	4,004	5,188	5,198	3,837
Spain	2,487	2,297	1,933	1,879	1,711	1,586	1,507	1,393	1,413	1,591	1,578
Sweden	571	638	750	768	832	874	870	974	1,078	1,098	1,057
Switzerland	610	706	665	713	601	626	680	620	729	677	759
U.S.S.R.	5,742	5,151	2,543	10,543	9,223	15,482	5,214	6,088	3,521	2,588	2,384
United Kingdom	12,477	14,245	13,907	15,485	14,997	14,539	14,830	13,949	13,408	13,657	13,497
Yugoslavia	2,791	2,621	2,171	2,099	2,048	1,418	1,382	1,569	1,662	2,011	1,827
Other Europe	811	951	849	787	663	931	1,140	719	781	798	690
Asia	**157,759**	**249,776**	**169,293**	**236,097**	**264,343**	**313,291**	**277,701**	**256,273**	**264,891**	**268,248**	**257,684**
Afghanistan	136	180	353	722	1,881	1,569	2,566	3,222	2,794	2,831	2,424
Bangladesh	590	716	549	532	756	639	787	823	1,146	1,634	1,649
Burma	1,101	1,188	1,534	1,211	1,083	820	723	719	990	863	941
Cambodia	126	3,677	1,432	2,801	12,749	13,438	18,120	11,856	13,563	13,501	12,460
China	19,765	21,331	24,272	27,651	25,803	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
China, Mainland	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	27,100	25,777	23,363	24,787	25,106	25,841
Cyprus	478	408	323	279	326	276	266	291	294	307	331
Hong Kong	5,632	5,158	4,119	3,860	4,055	4,971	5,948	5,465	5,171	5,021	4,706
India	18,636	20,772	19,717	22,607	21,522	21,738	25,451	24,964	26,028	26,227	27,903
Indonesia	778	694	820	977	1,006	1,194	962	1,113	1,269	1,183	1,254
Iran	4,261	5,861	8,476	10,410	11,105	10,314	11,163	13,807	16,071	16,505	14,426
Iraq	2,811	2,188	2,871	2,656	2,535	3,105	2,343	2,930	1,951	1,323	1,072
Israel	3,006	3,276	3,093	3,517	3,542	3,356	3,239	3,066	3,113	3,790	3,699
Japan	4,192	4,028	4,063	4,225	3,896	3,903	4,092	4,043	4,066	3,959	4,174
Jordan	2,875	3,483	3,360	3,322	3,825	2,923	2,718	2,438	2,998	3,081	3,125
Korea	30,917	29,288	29,248	32,320	32,663	31,724	33,339	33,042	35,253	35,776	35,849
Kuwait	160	168	303	257	317	286	344	437	503	496	507
Laos	237	4,369	3,565	13,970	15,805	36,526	23,662	12,279	9,133	7,842	6,828
Lebanon	5,685	4,556	4,634	4,136	3,965	3,529	2,941	3,203	3,385	3,994	4,367
Malaysia	455	577	623	795	1,033	1,046	852	879	939	886	1,016
Pakistan	3,183	3,876	3,967	4,265	5,296	4,536	4,807	5,509	5,744	5,994	6,319
Philippines	39,111	37,216	41,300	42,316	43,772	45,102	41,546	42,768	47,978	52,558	50,060
Singapore	308	320	321	322	406	390	362	377	460	460	469
Sri Lanka	376	375	397	397	448	505	472	554	553	596	630
Syria	1,676	1,418	1,528	1,658	2,127	2,354	1,683	1,724	1,581	1,604	1,669
Taiwan	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	9,884	16,698	12,478	14,895	13,424	11,931
Thailand	3,945	3,574	3,194	4,115	4,799	5,568	5,875	4,885	5,239	6,204	6,733
Turkey	1,758	1,578	1,764	2,233	2,766	2,964	2,263	1,793	1,691	1,753	1,596
Vietnam	4,629	88,543	22,546	43,483	55,631	72,553	37,560	37,236	31,895	29,993	24,231
Yemen (Sanaa)	376	258	203	160	230	305	268	324	432	420	577
Other Asia	552	702	718	895	1,017	771	885	685	751	897	997
Africa	**10,155**	**11,524**	**12,838**	**13,981**	**15,029**	**14,314**	**15,084**	**16,540**	**17,117**	**17,463**	**17,724**
Cape Verde	964	941	766	788	849	852	594	591	627	760	857
Egypt	2,328	2,836	3,241	2,833	3,366	2,800	2,600	2,642	2,802	2,989	3,377
Ethiopia	354	539	726	977	1,749	1,810	2,643	2,461	3,362	2,737	2,156
Ghana	454	711	828	1,159	951	824	976	1,050	1,041	1,164	1,120
Kenya	493	516	818	592	657	601	710	753	735	719	698
Liberia	215	333	327	426	556	593	518	585	618	618	622
Morocco	401	461	486	485	512	445	479	506	570	645	635
Nigeria	653	1,007	1,054	1,895	1,918	2,257	2,354	2,337	2,848	2,976	3,278

See footnotes at end of table.

IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED BY COUNTRY OR REGION OF BIRTH
FISCAL YEARS 1945-88

Country of birth	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
All countries	643,025	601,516	601,708	570,009	543,903	559,763	594,131	596,600	530,639
Europe	64,797	61,174	62,512	63,043	64,076	58,867	69,174	66,695	72,121
Albania	82	62	53	45	32	22	23	11	30
Andorra	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	3	2
Austria	514	483	463	419	442	433	339	367	401
Belgium	581	636	620	538	537	538	559	467	426
Bulgaria	217	205	221	249	225	201	207	124	188
Czechoslovakia	1,482	1,357	1,118	1,222	1,218	946	960	793	1,051
Danzig 1/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Denmark	558	537	554	478	512	513	463	506	504
Estonia	11	15	6	7	9	16	17	22	20
Finland	390	331	322	290	264	311	346	317	356
France	2,524	2,513	2,518	2,187	2,135	2,061	1,994	1,745	1,905
Germany 2/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,552	6,595
Germany, East 2/	110	108	136	126	128	460	259	-	-
Germany, West 2/	6,645	7,210	6,991	7,109	6,747	6,725	6,467	-	-
Gibraltar	1	4	2	0	4	12	21	33	8
Greece	2,458	2,653	2,512	2,579	2,865	2,997	3,472	4,361	4,699
Hungary	1,227	994	1,006	1,009	825	632	642	581	819
Iceland	92	88	133	117	118	183	126	176	186
Ireland	5,058	3,060	1,839	1,397	1,223	1,101	949	902	1,006
Italy	2,949	2,784	3,089	3,214	3,130	3,225	3,644	4,662	5,467
Latvia	31	23	26	25	37	31	45	39	54
Liechtenstein	1	4	2	1	3	4	3	3	5
Lithuania	47	37	49	39	45	41	50	44	61
Luxembourg	28	26	24	17	19	29	26	18	23
Malta	112	113	135	148	92	131	137	168	192
Monaco	4	4	9	5	2	5	11	15	11
Netherlands	1,187	1,230	1,261	1,217	1,242	1,152	1,053	999	1,169
Norway	397	326	354	361	375	409	342	331	403
Poland 1/	9,507	7,519	8,481	9,464	9,466	6,427	5,874	5,014	4,725
Portugal	3,199	3,912	3,766	3,781	3,779	3,231	3,510	7,049	8,408
Romania	3,875	3,837	5,198	5,188	4,004	2,543	3,124	1,974	1,913
San Marino	2	1	1	2	5	4	4	7	7
Soviet Union	2,949	2,384	2,588	3,521	6,088	5,214	15,462	9,223	10,543
Spain	1,483	1,578	1,591	1,413	1,393	1,507	1,586	1,711	1,879
Sweden	1,156	1,057	1,098	1,076	974	870	874	832	768
Switzerland	751	759	677	729	620	680	626	601	713
United Kingdom	13,228	13,497	13,657	13,408	13,949	14,830	14,539	14,997	15,485
England	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
N. Ireland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Scotland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wales	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yugoslavia	1,941	1,827	2,011	1,662	1,569	1,382	1,418	2,048	2,099
Other Europe 3/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Asia	264,465	257,684	268,248	264,691	256,273	277,701	313,291	264,343	236,097
Afghanistan	2,873	2,424	2,831	2,794	3,222	2,566	1,569	1,881	722
Arabian Peninsula 4/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bahrain 4/	45	46	30	43	29	25	22	28	39
Bangladesh 5/	1,325	1,649	1,634	1,146	823	787	639	756	532
Bhutan	2	0	1	0	0	10	14	8	13
Bonin Is. 6/7/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brunei	12	12	29	16	5	18	13	31	13
Burma	803	941	863	990	719	723	820	1,083	1,211
Cambodia	9,629	12,460	13,501	13,563	11,856	18,120	13,438	12,749	2,801
China 8/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25,803	27,651
China, Mainland 8/	28,717	25,841	25,106	24,787	23,363	25,777	27,100	-	-
Christmas Island (Aus)	0	0	0	0	1	4	19	11	3
Cocos Islands	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	5	7
Cyprus	286	331	307	294	291	265	276	326	279
Hong Kong	8,546	4,706	5,021	5,171	5,465	5,948	4,971	4,055	3,860
India 9/10/	26,268	27,803	26,227	26,026	24,964	25,451	21,738	21,522	22,607

See footnotes at end of table.

FORM BC-1089 (1-28-86)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

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White House

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5. Comments

6. FROM – Name of requester: Regina Burnette

a. Building: 3

b. Room number: 2320

c. Telephone number: 763-7955

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TABLE 1. COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES BY SEX, CITIZENSHIP, AND YEAR OF IMMIGRATION: 1980

(ASSIGNMENT OF COUNTRIES IN CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS IS ACCORDING TO UNITED NATIONS' CLASSIFICATION, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS. TOTALS FOR CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS INCLUDE DATA FOR COUNTRIES NOT SHOWN SEPARATELY)

AREA	TOTAL	SEX			PERCENT NATURALIZED CITIZENS	YEAR OF IMMIGRATION-PERCENT IMMIGRATED			
		MALE	FEMALE	MALES PER 100 FEMALES		1975 TO 1980	1970 TO 1974	1960 TO 1969	1959 OR EARLIER
SOUTH ASIA	1502370	829498	752872	110.2	30.9	52.1	21.9	16.1	10.0
EASTERN SOUTH ASIA	921308	444790	476518	93.3	31.2	54.5	21.2	15.6	8.7
BRUNEI	721	397	324	122.5	13.9	68.0	14.4	5.1	0.4
BURMA	11236	5674	5562	102.0	42.7	42.6	29.4	20.6	7.4
INDONESIA	29920	15634	14286	109.4	46.0	23.5	11.0	41.0	24.5
KAMPUCHEA	20175	10376	9799	117.0	6.4	90.9	5.3	2.5	1.3
LAOS	54081	29368	25613	115.1	5.3	97.2	1.9	0.8	0.2
MALAYSIA	10473	5695	4020	116.9	18.2	68.1	14.5	13.8	4.4
PHILIPPINES	501440	232385	269055	86.4	44.7	34.4	29.2	22.4	13.8
SINGAPORE	5598	2628	2970	88.5	30.2	53.6	17.5	18.3	10.6
THAILAND	54803	21363	33440	63.9	19.7	46.3	38.3	14.1	1.2
VIETNAM	231120	120446	110674	108.8	11.1	90.5	7.1	2.1	0.2
MIDDLE SOUTH ASIA	376550	221864	154686	143.4	20.9	54.1	26.2	15.3	4.4
AFGHANISTAN	3760	2450	1310	187.0	20.6	64.1	21.9	10.9	4.0
BANGLADESH	4989	3263	1726	189.0	23.4	52.9	34.8	10.4	2.5
BHUTAN	2655	1246	1409	88.4	28.6	64.5	21.0	10.7	3.9
INDIA	206087	114418	91677	124.8	24.0	43.7	33.1	19.3	3.9
IRAN	121585	77762	43743	177.8	14.6	71.9	12.7	9.7	5.7
NEPAL	844	475	369	128.7	14.2	61.8	22.0	13.5	2.6
PAKISTAN	30774	19239	11535	166.8	24.8	52.3	32.8	12.2	2.8
SRI LANKA	5576	2864	2712	105.6	21.4	48.1	29.8	17.8	4.3
WESTERN SOUTH ASIA	283592	162381	121211	134.0	43.6	41.6	18.3	18.4	21.6
BAHRAIN	853	480	373	128.7	16.5	71.2	15.1	10.2	3.5
CYPRUS	8806	5048	3758	134.3	61.8	22.9	14.9	20.8	41.4
IRAQ	32121	18159	13962	130.1	30.8	58.5	22.6	16.8	8.1
ISRAEL	66961	37312	29649	125.8	51.8	34.1	18.9	25.8	22.8
JORDAN	21587	14021	7566	185.3	37.3	46.8	23.6	21.5	8.1
KUWAIT	4337	3135	1202	260.8	9.7	81.6	12.1	5.3	1.0
LEBANON	52674	30485	22189	137.4	41.9	48.9	18.1	12.9	20.1
QATAR	971	723	248	291.5	7.1	86.5	10.6	2.9	-
SAUDI ARABIA	17317	12494	4823	259.1	11.3	80.2	10.5	5.4	3.9
SYRIA	22061	12235	9846	124.3	49.7	36.3	19.8	17.6	26.2
TURKEY	51915	25380	26535	95.6	54.6	22.7	19.4	21.1	40.7
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	534	452	82	551.2	9.9	89.9	3.9	4.9	1.3
YEMEN (ADEN)	602	349	253	137.9	40.0	36.8	34.4	21.6	6.8
YEMEN (SANAA)	2491	1893	598	316.6	42.4	36.3	30.4	26.7	6.4
LATIN AMERICA	4372467	2159252	2213235	97.6	29.8	29.2	24.3	30.4	16.1
CARIBBEAN	1258363	580546	677817	85.6	38.9	18.6	24.1	45.5	11.9
ANGUILLA	477	223	254	87.8	48.3	30.4	14.3	34.4	21.0
ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA	3920	1715	2205	77.8	44.9	28.9	24.2	28.5	19.3
BAHAMAS	13993	7034	6959	101.1	50.3	28.7	15.5	15.9	40.0
BARBADOS	26847	12230	14617	83.7	42.4	29.6	24.3	24.3	19.8
BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS	1867	873	994	87.8	46.5	26.8	22.1	26.3	24.7
CAYMAN ISLANDS	1013	416	597	69.7	52.1	23.5	12.8	26.4	37.3
CUBA	607814	284800	323014	88.2	45.1	6.3	20.5	60.4	12.8
DOMINICA	3296	1638	1658	98.8	35.7	39.6	20.6	31.4	8.4
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	169147	75444	93703	80.5	25.5	31.9	25.8	37.2	5.1
GRENADA	7101	3141	3960	79.3	38.5	33.9	29.8	26.8	10.3
GUADELOUPE	1415	652	763	85.5	37.0	15.2	25.6	41.3	18.0
HAITI	92395	44901	47494	94.5	26.1	33.6	31.0	30.8	4.6

06/26/89 16:11 CENS BUR WASH NO.033 002

06/26/89 16:12 CENS BUR WASH NO. 033 003

TABLE 1. COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES BY SEX, CITIZENSHIP, AND YEAR OF IMMIGRATION: 1988

(ASSIGNMENT OF COUNTRIES IN CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS IS ACCORDING TO UNITED NATIONS' CLASSIFICATION, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS. TOTALS FOR CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS INCLUDE DATA FOR COUNTRIES NOT SHOWN SEPARATELY)

AREA	TOTAL	SEX			PERCENT NATURALIZED CITIZENS	YEAR OF IMMIGRATION-PERCENT IMMIGRATED			
		MALE	FEMALE	MALES PER 100 FEMALES		1975 TO 1988	1970 TO 1974	1960 TO 1969	1959 OR EARLIER
JAMAICA	196811	87264	109547	79.7	36.3	30.6	28.8	29.8	11.6
MARTINIQUE	968	422	546	77.4	47.6	6.3	18.2	58.8	24.6
MONTSERRAT	1218	560	632	91.8	49.7	19.3	20.8	39.9	20.9
NETHERLANDS ANTILLES	7728	3549	4178	85.1	44.2	19.9	18.8	40.7	20.6
ST. CHRISTOPHER-NEVIS	1903	944	959	98.4	49.4	38.4	15.4	33.3	20.9
ST. LUCIA	1901	870	1031	84.4	37.4	31.6	26.4	26.1	15.9
ST. VINCENT-GRENADINES	4044	2028	2016	100.6	38.6	34.2	28.3	26.5	10.9
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	65907	29752	36155	82.3	29.3	27.4	34.2	30.7	7.4
MIDDLE AMERICA	2553113	1310822	1242291	105.5	24.2	35.7	24.5	22.5	17.4
BELIZE	14436	6480	7956	81.4	31.1	28.1	27.8	35.2	9.7
COSTA RICA	29639	12606	17033	74.8	29.9	29.8	22.8	38.9	14.3
EL SALVADOR	94447	41338	53109	77.8	14.3	51.3	25.9	16.8	6.1
GUATEMALA	63073	28958	34115	84.9	17.9	40.1	29.2	24.3	6.4
HONDURAS	39154	16416	22738	72.2	35.8	27.7	24.5	32.2	15.6
MEXICO	2199221	1158765	1040456	111.4	23.6	33.8	24.7	21.9	19.3
NICARAGUA	44166	17746	26420	67.2	24.3	45.3	15.4	20.5	18.5
PANAMA	60740	24855	35885	69.3	55.1	23.8	15.8	31.5	29.0
SOUTH AMERICA	560616	267712	292904	91.4	28.9	32.6	23.6	33.8	10.7
SOUTH AMER.-TEMPERATE	117660	59019	58641	100.6	34.3	29.6	21.8	34.9	13.7
ARGENTINA	68887	34870	34017	102.5	38.8	25.3	17.9	40.3	16.5
CHILE	35127	17327	17808	97.3	27.7	35.9	26.0	26.8	11.3
URUGUAY	13278	6634	6644	99.8	28.3	34.9	30.5	28.8	5.7
SOUTH AMER.-TROPICAL	426739	201056	225683	89.1	26.9	33.7	24.2	32.5	9.6
BOLIVIA	14468	7014	7454	94.1	32.4	38.4	24.1	33.7	11.8
BRAZIL	40919	18154	22765	79.7	35.3	32.3	16.8	31.3	28.6
COLOMBIA	143508	66510	76998	86.4	24.9	29.6	25.4	37.3	7.9
ECUADOR	86128	40455	45673	88.6	29.7	25.5	27.7	39.2	7.6
GUYANA	48608	22562	26046	86.6	31.2	46.1	26.3	20.6	7.0
PARAGUAY	2858	1272	1586	80.2	38.6	29.3	21.3	38.3	11.1
PERU	55496	27248	28248	96.5	28.8	31.7	27.7	28.9	9.7
SURINAME	1433	676	757	89.3	46.5	22.8	15.7	38.1	32.2
VENEZUELA	33281	17149	16132	106.3	17.3	62.2	11.0	16.1	10.6
NORTH AMERICA	853427	353008	500419	70.5	60.9	20.0	5.4	20.2	54.4
BERMUDA	8844	3777	5067	74.5	55.3	20.5	10.8	25.1	43.6
CANADA	842859	348490	494369	70.5	61.8	9.8	5.4	20.1	64.7
GREENLAND	853	336	517	65.0	63.1	13.1	6.6	12.9	67.4
EUROPE	4743333	2080271	2663062	78.1	72.3	8.1	7.5	19.1	65.2
EASTERN EUROPE	859843	386937	472906	81.8	89.5	5.7	4.9	13.3	76.2
BULGARIA	8463	4865	3598	135.2	74.1	12.5	12.9	27.3	47.4
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	112787	47627	65088	73.2	87.4	3.3	4.3	15.8	77.4
ESTONIA	12169	5296	6873	77.1	78.9	3.1	1.3	8.1	87.6
HUNGARY	144368	67292	77076	87.3	86.8	3.8	4.5	10.8	81.0
LATVIA	34349	15295	19054	80.3	80.6	1.5	0.9	4.3	93.2
LITHUANIA	48194	20962	27232	77.0	83.9	1.5	1.2	4.8	92.6
POLAND	418128	187414	230714	81.2	77.6	6.0	5.8	14.5	73.5
ROMANIA	66994	32416	34578	93.7	73.4	17.0	10.2	16.8	56.0
NORTHERN EUROPE	1063949	429367	634582	65.6	68.8	10.1	5.6	18.2	66.0
DENMARK	42732	20923	21809	95.9	72.5	8.4	3.9	15.1	72.4
FINLAND	29172	10472	18700	56.0	69.4	10.4	4.7	15.1	69.9
ICELAND	4156	1554	2602	59.7	45.7	25.7	10.2	22.7	41.4

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TABLE 1. COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES BY SEX, CITIZENSHIP, AND YEAR OF IMMIGRATION: 1980

(ASSIGNMENT OF COUNTRIES IN CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS IS ACCORDING TO UNITED NATIONS' CLASSIFICATION, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS. TOTALS FOR CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS INCLUDE DATA FOR COUNTRIES NOT SHOWN SEPARATELY)

AREA	TOTAL	SEX			PERCENT NATURALIZED CITIZENS	YEAR OF IMMIGRATION- PERCENT IMMIGRATED			
		MALE	FEMALE	MALES PER 100 FEMALES		1975 TO 1980	1970 TO 1974	1960 TO 1969	1959 OR EARLIER
IRELAND	197817	73013	124804	58.5	61.2	3.7	3.6	14.5	78.1
NORWAY	63368	29964	33402	89.7	77.8	6.0	2.3	9.5	82.2
SWEDEN	77157	35134	42023	83.6	76.8	7.9	2.8	8.8	80.5
UNITED KINGDOM	669149	258155	410994	62.8	60.8	12.7	7.0	21.5	58.8
CHANNEL ISLANDS	704	284	420	67.6	55.7	20.0	9.4	16.8	53.8
ENGLAND	442499	168258	274241	61.3	58.8	14.3	7.6	22.0	56.1
ISLE OF MAN	411	122	289	42.2	55.8	23.6	8.3	13.4	54.7
NORTHERN IRELAND	19831	7901	11930	66.2	66.0	8.3	7.8	19.7	65.8
SCOTLAND	142001	54663	87338	62.6	71.4	5.9	4.2	17.6	72.2
WALES	13528	5265	8263	63.7	67.4	8.6	5.8	15.4	71.8
SOUTHERN EUROPE	1503003	750153	752850	99.6	67.7	8.8	33.1	23.1	55.0
ALBANIA	7381	4324	3057	141.4	25.5	3.4	7.5	22.7	66.4
ANDORRA	1201	543	658	82.5	54.2	12.9	22.1	22.1	43.0
GIBRALTAR	1608	605	1003	60.3	65.2	17.7	17.8	19.9	44.6
GREECE	210998	112708	98298	114.7	65.8	12.9	19.1	27.7	40.3
ITALY	831922	406570	425352	95.6	77.4	4.8	8.1	18.2	69.8
MALTA	10182	5650	4532	124.7	66.4	10.1	8.8	17.8	64.1
PORTUGAL	211614	106199	105415	100.7	38.4	21.7	23.3	34.0	21.8
SAN MARINO	1020	578	442	130.8	57.5	26.3	14.9	20.6	48.2
SPAIN	73735	36695	37040	99.1	49.2	17.8	17.9	34.4	30.4
YUGOSLAVIA	152967	76144	76823	99.1	67.6	7.6	16.2	23.9	52.5
WESTERN EUROPE	1290836	511449	779387	65.6	75.7	7.2	4.4	19.3	69.1
AUSTRIA	145607	56476	89131	63.4	67.8	2.7	1.8	7.6	87.9
BELGIUM	36487	14888	21599	68.9	72.4	10.6	4.6	14.6	70.2
FRANCE	120215	44702	75513	59.2	64.1	13.9	7.2	23.9	55.0
GERMANY	849384	326933	522451	62.6	78.6	6.2	4.4	20.6	68.8
LUXEMBOURG	3125	1206	1919	62.8	71.7	12.2	4.6	19.8	63.4
MONACO	1050	385	665	57.9	55.9	20.8	8.2	26.7	45.1
NETHERLANDS	103136	50725	52411	96.8	68.2	8.3	4.4	21.2	66.1
SWITZERLAND	42804	20480	22324	91.7	67.8	14.3	5.8	17.5	62.4
SOVIET UNION	406022	181131	224891	80.5	72.4	21.8	5.2	5.3	78.9
OCEANIA	77577	33075	44502	74.3	40.3	36.8	16.7	19.5	27.7
AUSTRALIA-NEW ZEALAND	47533	18098	29525	61.8	39.1	38.4	12.6	18.4	30.6
AUSTRALIA	36120	13400	22720	59.0	40.9	28.7	12.3	18.1	40.9
NEW ZEALAND	11413	4698	6805	67.7	33.5	35.7	15.5	19.2	31.6
MELANESIA	891	383	508	75.4	51.8	34.5	8.1	32.7	24.8
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	425	202	223	90.6	38.4	29.4	8.2	52.5	9.9
MICRONESIA-POLYNESIA	28544	14457	14087	102.6	41.8	45.8	24.8	21.2	8.9
MICRONESIA	1522	908	614	147.9	24.4	78.7	14.5	6.8	8.7
POLYNESIA	27022	13549	13473	100.6	42.8	44.4	24.5	22.1	8.9
FIJI	7538	3677	3861	95.2	29.4	55.4	21.6	19.4	3.7
FRENCH POLYNESIA	1814	407	407	67.1	29.6	41.5	12.8	27.6	18.8
TONGA	5619	2975	2644	112.5	29.5	46.8	39.7	12.6	8.9
WESTERN SAMOA	12582	6376	6206	102.7	58.2	37.1	28.4	27.6	24.9
ALL OTHER AREAS	867560	411594	475966	86.5	68.7	22.0	11.8	21.4	42.8

U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS OCTOBER 1984

Statistical Profile of the Foreign-Born Population: 1980 Census of Population

TABLE 2. SUMMARY OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH: 1980

(ASSIGNMENT OF COUNTRIES INTO CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS IS ACCORDING TO UNITED NATIONS' CLASSIFICATION, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS. TOTALS FOR CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS INCLUDE DATA FOR COUNTRIES NOT SHOWN SEPARATELY)

AREA	AGE		PERSONS 5 YEARS AND OVER IN HOUSEHOLDS--	PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER		PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER				MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN 1979 (DOLLARS)
						PERCENT IN CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE		OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS--PERCENT IN:		
	PERCENT UNDER 15 YEARS	PERCENT 65 YEARS AND OVER	PERCENT WHO SPEAK NON-ENGLISH LANGUAGE	PERCENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES	PERCENT COMPLETED 4 YEARS OR MORE OF COLLEGE	MALE	FEMALE	PROFESSIONAL SPECIALTY OCCUPATIONS	SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	
TOTAL	6.0	21.2	70.5	53.1	15.8	68.9	43.3	12.8	16.1	14588
AFRICA	18.4	7.3	72.8	81.9	38.7	68.6	48.4	22.2	14.2	14487
WESTERN AFRICA	8.8	7.5	74.4	78.8	34.8	59.3	46.8	17.3	20.3	10867
CAPE VERDE	10.6	21.6	81.3	34.4	5.8	61.7	54.1	6.2	16.5	13481
GHANA	7.8	0.4	74.5	93.1	39.7	75.8	62.2	17.1	16.8	12862
GUINEA	5.9	24.0	53.4	66.1	27.1	73.0	33.7	28.1	9.8	16346
IVORY COAST	7.4	6.2	65.9	83.8	39.2	62.1	29.5	4.9	18.2	8750
LIBERIA	14.6	1.6	38.7	87.5	25.9	65.4	55.9	12.3	24.9	12817
MAURITANIA	7.1	55.6	48.3	51.6	15.3	61.9	19.7	15.9	7.1	7586
NIGER	2.1	30.9	73.3	51.4	17.8	61.4	36.4	15.6	14.2	17138
NIGERIA	7.8	0.4	61.7	96.7	48.7	50.1	39.3	24.4	26.5	6927
SENEGAL	17.2	1.4	80.9	91.2	45.8	79.5	31.6	21.8	11.2	14338
SIERRA LEONE	8.6	0.3	65.4	95.1	40.8	76.8	60.7	16.2	20.6	14130
TOGO	24.1	15.8	41.3	60.4	28.2	67.1	37.1	15.4	11.6	15227
EASTERN AFRICA	12.3	9.2	70.3	80.8	39.3	72.2	51.4	21.5	15.2	15215
BURUNDI	8.9	13.0	42.8	79.3	34.8	74.1	54.9	12.6	24.6	13744
ETHIOPIA	8.5	2.8	82.6	85.1	41.6	68.4	64.6	13.8	28.5	11095
KENYA	13.4	0.2	77.2	92.3	51.7	72.8	51.9	28.4	11.4	19081
MADAGASCAR	7.2	7.9	59.3	72.1	33.7	79.9	58.0	15.8	7.5	12734
MALAWI	16.3	5.4	55.6	79.9	50.5	66.8	47.1	27.8	14.9	11528
MAURITIUS	4.9	11.4	67.0	89.8	36.1	73.9	35.5	17.5	8.1	13086
MOZAMBIQUE	16.0	5.9	73.2	68.3	38.7	79.7	56.4	21.9	4.3	18438
SOMALIA	1.6	11.4	54.6	67.2	24.3	49.9	24.7	16.8	28.4	14762
TANZANIA	12.9	1.5	60.8	89.7	51.9	75.1	63.8	38.0	6.8	21809
UGANDA	18.9	1.1	61.0	86.3	43.5	79.4	61.8	28.5	18.9	18468
ZAMBIA	15.7	-	67.8	98.1	53.5	58.6	48.7	25.3	9.8	16421
ZIMBABWE	14.8	8.2	40.2	91.5	39.3	71.2	47.5	26.7	9.8	18829
NORTHERN AFRICA	8.5	6.6	84.8	63.8	41.9	74.8	48.7	23.5	11.3	18467
ALGERIA	5.8	8.3	83.6	84.8	33.3	57.4	44.8	23.8	12.5	16238
EGYPT	6.7	6.6	87.4	87.3	58.2	83.8	52.7	27.2	9.8	21115
LIBYA	15.5	0.8	82.9	87.3	38.1	39.5	30.8	17.2	14.2	8138
MOROCCO	4.9	3.5	76.4	77.1	28.8	81.8	50.2	13.8	17.6	17548
SUDAN	17.3	3.1	92.3	83.5	49.9	58.7	34.8	24.4	18.9	19134
TUNISIA	2.5	17.8	80.3	69.1	23.7	76.3	38.6	16.4	16.5	19384
MIDDLE AFRICA	21.6	2.5	80.2	81.5	36.7	65.2	54.9	19.3	19.7	12796
ANGOLA	40.2	1.1	85.8	83.1	30.4	69.2	78.2	10.4	9.5	13171
CAMEROON	14.3	1.8	79.3	93.5	46.8	56.4	49.7	27.5	27.1	9578
ZAIRE	18.9	4.8	76.7	75.8	35.7	68.6	49.1	23.3	15.9	14615
SOUTHERN AFRICA	16.2	9.6	32.7	85.9	43.2	77.5	44.5	36.1	7.1	21415
BOTSWANA	8.1	2.2	69.6	31.9	8.9	71.5	36.9	9.4	17.1	10292
SOUTH AFRICA	17.2	8.8	27.8	89.1	45.7	88.2	45.8	37.6	6.4	21956
SWAZILAND	7.8	25.6	74.1	74.5	28.6	54.6	37.7	33.1	13.8	28625
ASIA	14.0	7.2	88.6	73.0	35.9	79.4	52.8	28.3	16.2	18417
EAST ASIA	13.4	7.8	87.9	78.5	27.8	74.4	52.3	16.6	28.4	17824
CHINA	3.8	14.8	95.6	60.8	29.5	76.7	55.8	16.8	24.4	18544
HONG KONG	15.8	1.4	94.2	89.5	42.7	67.8	61.9	19.1	18.6	18694
JAPAN	18.7	9.8	76.6	78.8	24.4	70.8	44.5	33.6	20.8	16816
KOREA	24.2	2.6	85.3	77.6	34.2	76.5	54.6	14.7	17.8	18985
MACAU	3.4	2.9	92.5	63.8	45.1	83.5	66.4	20.8	15.4	20781
TAIWAN	15.9	1.5	94.2	89.1	59.8	72.3	48.9	38.4	13.7	18271

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TABLE 2. SUMMARY OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH: 1980

(ASSIGNMENT OF COUNTRIES INTO CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS IS ACCORDING TO UNITED NATIONS' CLASSIFICATION, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS. TOTALS FOR CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS INCLUDE DATA FOR COUNTRIES NOT SHOWN SEPARATELY)

AREA	AGE		PERSONS 5 YEARS AND OVER IN HOUSEHOLDS	PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER		PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER				MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN 1979 (DOLLARS)
						PERCENT IN CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE		OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS--PERCENT IN:		
	PERCENT UNDER 15 YEARS	PERCENT 65 YEARS AND OVER	PERCENT WHO SPEAK NON-ENGLISH LANGUAGE	PERCENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES	PERCENT COMPLETED 4 YEARS OR MORE OF COLLEGE	MALE	FEMALE	PROFESSIONAL SPECIALTY OCCUPATIONS	SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	
SOUTH ASIA	15.6	6.9	86.7	73.6	38.2	68.4	53.2	22.5	13.5	18795
EASTERN SOUTH ASIA	18.4	6.5	89.2	78.9	33.8	67.8	68.7	17.3	16.6	19230
BRUNEI	26.5	0.7	92.3	74.6	25.8	52.4	34.4	9.2	18.5	17500
BURMA	11.9	4.1	85.6	76.2	38.3	79.4	68.1	19.4	11.5	23133
INDONESIA	5.8	5.5	83.0	69.3	30.1	79.8	52.8	16.9	11.7	21855
KAMPUCHEA	29.8	1.5	96.7	45.6	9.6	61.2	37.9	6.4	17.4	9892
LAOS	40.1	1.1	98.4	32.2	6.5	58.7	26.9	6.5	21.9	5634
MALAYSIA	15.8	3.6	84.3	67.3	47.8	53.8	48.8	27.8	17.3	13498
PHILIPPINES	11.3	10.4	86.6	79.8	41.8	67.9	68.5	28.1	16.2	22787
SINGAPORE	13.7	5.2	71.9	68.8	34.3	64.4	56.8	23.2	13.9	19602
THAILAND	17.6	8.4	85.1	72.8	32.8	74.6	68.8	17.1	24.5	15990
VIETNAM	30.8	1.7	94.4	61.1	12.9	64.8	67.9	8.4	14.4	12521
MIDDLE SOUTH ASIA	12.5	2.4	87.6	68.1	58.7	73.9	46.1	37.6	8.0	28731
AFGHANISTAN	14.8	2.4	88.8	65.8	39.9	76.7	48.8	38.8	18.5	13167
BANGLADESH	12.2	1.4	92.4	84.3	59.8	85.8	62.1	35.4	18.9	17369
BHUTAN	25.1	2.9	88.2	68.3	48.9	75.1	57.8	27.8	8.7	28772
INDIA	12.9	2.8	85.7	88.9	66.2	89.4	55.4	42.8	5.3	25846
IRAN	10.7	3.3	91.2	87.1	42.8	78.8	24.3	25.9	14.4	11344
NEPAL	23.2	0.8	89.3	95.2	66.5	80.7	47.7	38.9	18.2	17883
PAKISTAN	15.4	1.8	89.8	87.1	58.1	85.7	43.3	29.9	9.5	28867
SRI LANKA	11.8	3.3	72.8	98.3	51.1	82.9	59.8	35.3	10.3	22285
WESTERN SOUTH ASIA	18.8	14.2	88.7	62.7	26.2	64.4	34.3	10.8	18.7	15362
BAHRAIN	27.9	1.4	77.6	86.1	39.1	35.7	34.1	16.2	11.9	11923
CYPRUS	3.9	15.8	90.4	51.7	16.9	70.8	45.6	11.3	23.9	17535
IRAQ	14.1	4.8	93.3	68.1	24.8	78.4	42.8	12.4	8.2	16628
ISRAEL	13.4	5.7	83.3	78.8	34.9	80.7	45.1	24.8	4.8	19063
JORDAN	18.6	1.9	93.9	66.6	28.7	63.1	31.5	18.7	14.2	14567
KUWAIT	22.5	0.1	93.8	94.7	48.5	15.5	18.2	12.1	21.1	4558
LEBANON	12.5	13.4	90.6	59.8	19.1	64.2	32.9	23.9	13.5	14654
QATAR	14.1	0.8	96.8	86.5	25.6	22.6	23.8	3.1	11.8	11875
SAUDI ARABIA	13.2	0.9	95.1	81.3	29.1	21.8	9.8	12.7	14.8	8845
SYRIA	5.7	19.4	98.1	51.8	21.3	70.3	32.7	19.8	10.8	16218
TURKEY	5.1	40.9	85.3	49.3	19.5	56.6	25.7	20.6	16.7	13905
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	13.7	-	93.3	95.8	36.9	11.8	-	-	43.6	4683
YEMEN (ADEN)	7.6	6.8	92.2	64.6	22.1	75.1	39.8	12.9	16.8	14350
YEMEN (SANAA)	7.5	2.4	95.9	48.9	4.1	68.7	18.2	6.6	23.4	16255
LATIN AMERICA	11.6	7.8	86.9	41.8	8.9	68.6	51.8	5.9	18.8	13748
CARIBBEAN	6.7	10.3	70.8	65.3	13.1	77.4	58.2	8.8	18.5	14677
ANGUILLA	11.1	16.6	15.9	56.5	3.5	67.8	37.6	16.8	29.8	11259
ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA	7.7	10.7	9.9	62.5	12.8	74.8	58.6	15.2	23.2	12841
BAHAMAS	17.6	17.5	10.7	52.8	11.2	64.4	46.8	18.2	25.1	12235
BARBADOS	6.8	13.9	3.2	62.8	8.5	74.5	44.3	9.7	31.5	10299
BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS	12.7	10.7	18.4	66.7	10.4	74.5	43.8	13.1	20.8	12537
CAYMAN ISLANDS	12.8	17.7	16.6	71.7	11.7	71.8	45.4	4.1	12.4	17642
CUBA	4.1	13.8	96.9	54.9	16.1	79.2	55.6	9.2	12.2	16326
DOMINICA	9.9	6.6	59.5	52.9	12.7	75.3	68.1	6.2	24.8	11531
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	9.2	4.2	97.7	38.1	4.3	76.5	49.7	3.1	18.5	10139
GRENADA	7.9	5.8	4.8	44.5	12.8	80.3	68.3	12.9	38.7	15706
GUADELOUPE	6.9	15.5	93.4	48.9	15.5	76.3	55.2	10.4	15.6	14239
HAITI	8.3	4.1	95.4	84.4	13.4	78.8	64.8	8.8	27.4	13377

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TABLE 2. SUMMARY OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH: 1980

(ASSIGNMENT OF COUNTRIES INTO CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS IS ACCORDING TO UNITED NATIONS' CLASSIFICATION. WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, TOTALS FOR CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS INCLUDE DATA FOR COUNTRIES NOT SHOWN SEPARATELY)

AREA	AGE		PERSONS 5 YEARS AND OVER IN HOUSEHOLDS--PERCENT WHO SPEAK NON-ENGLISH LANGUAGE	PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER		PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER				MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN 1979 (DOLLARS)
								OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS--PERCENT IN:		
	PERCENT UNDER 15 YEARS	PERCENT 65 YEARS AND OVER		PERCENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES	PERCENT COMPLETED 4 YEARS OR MORE OF COLLEGE	PERCENT IN CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE: MALE	FEMALE	PROFESSIONAL SPECIALTY OCCUPATIONS	SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	
JAMAICA	18.2	7.3	6.8	63.5	11.8	75.9	68.6	18.2	29.9	15290
MARTINIQUE	2.8	15.5	91.7	64.8	15.8	72.1	55.8	5.3	18.9	22078
MONTSERRAT	6.1	15.5	2.8	58.4	6.8	65.5	69.2	7.7	29.4	17185
NETHERLANDS ANTILLES	6.8	10.5	56.2	67.7	19.3	70.9	52.4	11.4	14.7	16958
ST. CHRISTOPHER-NEVIS	8.8	16.8	5.9	54.6	9.2	71.8	48.1	9.1	29.9	14294
ST. LUCIA	8.9	7.0	29.1	69.3	16.2	73.8	69.8	8.6	32.1	14331
ST. VINCENT-GRENADINES	8.1	6.3	5.5	62.8	10.1	79.5	62.5	10.3	31.4	16019
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	9.4	4.4	6.8	70.3	12.4	76.2	65.1	10.3	23.3	14715
MIDDLE AMERICA	14.2	7.2	96.8	26.1	4.1	82.4	45.7	5.8	18.8	12860
BELIZE	10.7	5.2	24.6	68.3	9.2	76.4	64.2	7.8	21.9	14067
COSTA RICA	10.4	5.7	90.8	59.8	12.9	79.8	52.3	8.1	22.2	16397
EL SALVADOR	10.7	2.9	97.3	41.4	6.5	84.4	65.7	2.6	31.7	12261
GUATEMALA	13.3	2.8	95.7	42.7	6.9	86.8	60.2	3.9	27.9	13385
HONDURAS	9.9	5.1	85.4	55.3	9.6	78.9	58.9	5.3	23.5	13435
MEXICO	14.7	7.6	97.6	21.3	3.8	82.7	43.8	2.5	14.6	12747
NICARAGUA	13.6	6.6	94.9	57.9	12.2	77.6	53.7	6.1	28.1	13295
PANAMA	10.2	6.8	66.5	74.8	16.8	72.8	60.8	13.8	18.4	15255
SOUTH AMERICA	10.8	4.9	84.2	68.8	18.4	78.4	54.9	11.1	16.2	16289
SOUTH AMER.-TEMPERATE	10.2	5.8	91.3	71.4	23.4	83.7	54.9	15.5	15.2	16348
ARGENTINA	9.3	6.7	90.9	78.9	24.2	83.6	53.5	16.3	13.1	18892
CHILE	11.7	4.7	91.3	77.8	24.6	83.2	57.1	16.1	19.6	17259
URUGUAY	10.8	3.6	94.1	59.6	16.8	85.2	57.5	9.7	14.2	18755
SOUTH AMER.-TROPICAL	11.1	4.5	82.7	67.8	17.1	76.9	55.8	9.8	16.4	15655
BOLIVIA	9.5	4.0	92.1	85.8	30.7	80.7	56.2	16.8	19.8	18247
BRAZIL	10.8	9.0	83.7	69.2	25.7	66.9	49.1	14.2	16.3	16067
COLOMBIA	10.6	3.6	93.8	62.8	14.6	82.1	50.8	8.1	15.8	15088
ECUADOR	9.1	3.9	96.1	56.8	9.3	88.6	56.7	5.3	14.7	15402
GUYANA	15.4	5.3	6.7	71.5	15.8	78.4	62.9	12.3	28.4	15913
PARAGUAY	7.3	3.4	89.6	74.5	27.8	85.8	49.8	24.2	24.4	17859
PERU	9.6	4.8	92.4	77.3	29.5	84.8	56.8	21.7	16.9	16513
SURINAME	8.8	11.4	73.2	77.5	27.4	69.6	37.5	21.9	13.2	20547
VENEZUELA	15.9	4.4	90.7	81.2	31.4	88.2	28.9	19.5	13.4	18495
NORTH AMERICA	5.8	29.1	20.4	61.8	14.3	64.6	39.6	16.2	11.4	15926
BERMUDA	9.4	12.2	9.5	71.8	14.7	67.2	50.5	13.5	17.8	13538
CANADA	4.9	29.3	20.5	61.8	14.3	64.6	39.5	16.2	11.4	15953
GREENLAND	9.4	22.3	25.8	64.3	16.1	67.7	41.3	22.7	8.8	17935
EUROPE	3.5	37.1	60.4	51.4	12.3	61.1	38.9	12.5	14.7	14768
EASTERN EUROPE	1.0	48.9	74.4	47.7	14.1	58.1	30.3	15.0	12.2	14213
BULGARIA	2.1	31.1	78.4	66.7	27.9	67.8	37.2	24.8	8.8	17829
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1.0	48.4	71.2	47.7	14.7	56.8	28.8	16.8	12.3	13912
ESTONIA	1.0	42.3	79.5	77.3	27.8	61.1	34.8	26.9	9.4	17397
HUNGARY	0.7	48.8	72.1	53.4	16.6	62.5	28.3	17.3	10.3	14483
LATVIA	0.3	46.2	77.7	75.3	27.7	63.4	36.7	24.7	8.5	17211
LITHUANIA	0.3	60.5	74.9	48.8	16.8	48.8	24.4	21.4	10.8	13268
POLAND	0.9	51.1	75.8	40.5	18.0	55.8	30.8	18.8	13.5	13746
ROMANIA	3.4	38.1	74.5	53.2	19.9	65.3	36.2	18.6	12.3	15353
NORTHERN EUROPE	3.9	37.8	15.1	64.6	23.7	56.0	35.6	16.8	14.1	14291
DENMARK	2.0	47.2	51.2	60.1	25.3	48.5	33.0	17.0	12.0	13138
FINLAND	2.4	58.9	72.9	48.2	13.1	45.9	27.4	17.8	17.6	9648
ICELAND	13.4	9.4	57.4	78.7	20.4	67.6	44.2	16.4	21.1	14389

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TABLE 2. SUMMARY OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH: 1980

(ASSIGNMENT OF COUNTRIES INTO CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS IS ACCORDING TO UNITED NATIONS' CLASSIFICATION, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS. TOTALS FOR CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS INCLUDE DATA FOR COUNTRIES NOT SHOWN SEPARATELY)

AREA	AGE		PERSONS 5 YEARS AND OVER IN HOUSEHOLDS--	PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER		PERSONS 16 YEARS AND OVER				MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN 1979 (DOLLARS)
						PERCENT IN CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE		OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS--PERCENT IN:		
	PERCENT UNDER 15 YEARS	PERCENT 65 YEARS AND OVER	PERCENT WHO SPEAK NON-ENGLISH LANGUAGE	PERCENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES	PERCENT COMPLETED 4 YEARS OR MORE OF COLLEGE	MALE	FEMALE	PROFESSIONAL SPECIALTY OCCUPATIONS	SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	
IRELAND	1.1	47.1	6.8	52.1	8.8	58.4	30.5	14.5	21.7	13762
NORWAY	1.4	56.3	53.7	48.6	11.6	42.2	21.3	26.4	11.9	11486
SWEDEN	2.9	63.4	50.7	48.8	11.9	32.8	22.9	19.0	12.6	9983
UNITED KINGDOM	5.3	29.3	5.1	73.6	15.7	64.8	48.5	17.2	12.3	15996
CHANNEL ISLANDS	15.2	27.3	6.6	72.2	10.8	64.8	39.2	22.5	21.8	17904
ENGLAND	6.2	26.8	5.4	74.6	16.4	65.8	41.9	17.4	12.2	16006
ISLE OF MAN	5.1	39.7	3.2	61.8	16.9	55.8	33.7	35.4	-	9862
NORTHERN IRELAND	3.2	31.4	3.1	66.8	14.2	65.8	39.1	18.5	14.6	16162
SCOTLAND	2.5	42.2	3.0	68.8	9.8	56.1	33.6	12.1	14.2	14267
WALES	2.1	39.9	18.5	69.1	16.1	54.3	34.3	20.7	13.6	14130
SOUTHERN EUROPE	4.1	34.5	85.4	31.8	6.5	63.5	35.1	6.4	16.9	15044
ALBANIA	1.2	43.9	85.9	32.7	7.8	58.8	24.9	6.2	27.9	13572
ANDORRA	9.2	30.1	64.6	29.8	4.6	68.1	37.7	2.9	21.2	12258
GIBRALTAR	9.5	24.9	68.6	54.6	12.9	66.5	35.1	11.6	5.1	13602
GREECE	4.3	21.7	92.6	48.4	9.5	73.5	36.9	8.8	25.8	16103
ITALY	2.1	44.5	81.4	28.6	5.3	56.8	28.1	6.1	16.3	13736
MALTA	3.4	17.2	70.2	51.4	7.2	73.8	39.1	6.3	19.7	21423
PORTUGAL	10.1	14.8	96.2	22.3	3.3	78.7	59.5	2.3	10.8	17345
SAN MARINO	9.5	17.6	84.9	50.8	14.1	68.7	37.3	6.7	8.9	19167
SPAIN	8.2	29.3	86.9	46.9	12.7	62.6	38.3	14.1	18.6	14947
YUGOSLAVIA	4.8	28.0	85.1	41.1	10.2	69.9	40.3	8.4	18.1	10321
WESTERN EUROPE	4.1	31.5	59.0	65.6	26.5	62.8	40.2	14.9	14.8	15364
AUSTRIA	0.9	62.7	57.2	50.2	15.1	43.9	23.3	19.8	18.6	11272
BELGIUM	3.9	34.5	59.8	63.6	19.5	61.3	37.8	19.4	12.2	15027
FRANCE	4.7	20.4	67.9	74.3	22.8	71.7	47.3	17.2	17.9	16104
GERMANY	4.7	27.9	57.7	67.3	14.9	64.2	42.6	13.4	14.1	15798
LUXEMBOURG	3.9	33.1	50.1	64.3	14.6	57.8	38.8	13.2	16.8	12688
MONACO	9.7	19.5	71.1	71.4	17.1	69.5	49.8	9.5	18.7	12773
NETHERLANDS	2.3	27.2	59.9	67.6	20.3	59.2	38.8	15.7	11.1	18565
SWITZERLAND	4.6	36.3	65.9	67.8	22.9	58.2	35.3	18.9	13.4	16830
SOVIET UNION	5.7	57.8	64.5	47.2	15.7	44.6	23.8	15.9	11.2	10021
OCEANIA	13.0	8.2	40.8	75.5	22.3	74.9	48.8	18.1	14.6	17815
AUSTRALIA-NEW ZEALAND	10.5	11.2	11.1	82.6	27.9	75.5	47.6	24.5	9.8	19461
AUSTRALIA	10.5	12.2	12.6	81.8	27.6	76.1	46.9	23.7	9.6	18846
NEW ZEALAND	10.5	8.1	6.6	87.7	29.8	79.3	59.1	26.9	10.6	28963
MELANESIA	12.6	4.4	52.4	77.2	18.8	60.4	53.8	16.8	14.8	14623
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	10.4	2.6	56.7	91.9	25.7	65.5	51.0	11.8	16.8	14286
MICRONESIA-POLYNESIA	17.3	2.9	91.1	59.9	18.8	74.6	51.4	7.8	22.9	15680
MICRONESIA	7.8	3.8	79.7	77.3	16.8	63.5	34.7	6.3	37.8	7511
POLYNESIA	17.8	2.8	91.7	59.2	9.7	75.4	52.1	7.8	22.1	15895
FIJI	16.7	2.0	91.2	49.6	12.7	84.6	62.8	5.7	25.8	18732
FRENCH POLYNESIA	6.9	6.9	81.5	73.8	7.7	56.2	50.2	13.4	26.4	14359
TONGA	22.4	2.3	94.4	64.7	12.8	85.8	53.7	5.9	24.2	16368
WESTERN SAMOA	17.3	3.1	91.9	68.3	6.4	66.5	45.6	7.9	17.8	13985
ALL OTHER AREAS	11.1	22.8	43.5	58.8	11.8	61.9	41.6	9.9	17.8	11283

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TABLE 3. FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH FOR SELECTED STATES: 1980

[ASSIGNMENT OF COUNTRIES INTO CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS IS ACCORDING TO UNITED NATIONS' CLASSIFICATION, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS. TOTALS FOR CONTINENTS, REGIONS AND SUBREGIONS INCLUDE DATA FOR COUNTRIES NOT SHOWN SEPARATELY.]

	CALI-FORNIA	NEW YORK	FLORIDA	TEXAS	ILLI-NOIS	NEW JERSEY	MASSA-CHU-SETTS	MICH-IGAN	PENN-SYL-VANIA	OHIO
TOTAL	3,580,033	2,388,938	1,058,732	856,213	823,696	757,822	500,982	417,152	401,016	302,185
AFRICA	34,551	32,621	8,470	10,464	9,027	10,823	11,162	5,344	6,344	5,600
WESTERN AFRICA	4,990	8,581	1,708	3,662	3,184	1,726	6,518	1,681	1,494	1,984
CAPE VERDE	568	218	268	88	174	117	5,154	119	77	132
GHANA	401	2,519	92	293	693	393	251	121	195	139
GUINEA	86	194	163	26	–	63	44	7	11	49
IVORY COAST	93	48	11	19	61	9	77	11	–	18
LIBERIA	269	866	42	131	169	233	121	162	229	259
MAURITANIA	175	52	50	–	49	–	6	8	28	6
NIGER	429	218	150	40	314	49	–	152	98	309
NIGERIA	2,263	3,201	645	2,890	1,400	680	651	917	699	877
SENEGAL	103	98	46	46	–	39	71	23	–	29
SIERRA LEONE	194	426	24	32	47	73	60	36	101	53
TOGO	141	265	49	–	12	8	–	–	–	–
EASTERN AFRICA	6,283	4,001	1,712	1,766	1,541	1,580	1,244	790	1,492	888
BURUNDI	42	28	33	–	47	–	8	2	106	11
ETHIOPIA	1,585	705	200	380	278	148	366	186	169	185
KENYA	1,254	703	273	382	393	551	174	178	246	157
MADAGASCAR	52	114	11	31	7	–	–	–	–	14
MALAWI	50	108	5	95	6	4	5	49	4	–
MAURITIUS	107	85	25	17	–	25	32	6	37	10
MOZAMBIQUE	162	60	20	75	31	88	56	–	17	12
SOMALIA	43	103	65	–	–	–	20	19	–	22
TANZANIA	855	555	187	180	196	107	113	73	166	95
UGANDA	498	446	113	262	157	194	157	134	367	130
ZAMBIA	309	112	89	137	102	56	14	42	33	55
ZIMBABWE	497	302	160	158	72	210	272	54	71	114
NORTHERN AFRICA	16,606	14,757	3,109	2,901	2,386	5,971	1,946	1,938	2,134	1,901
ALGERIA	824	653	239	345	51	144	81	122	90	92
EGYPT	11,148	9,314	1,314	1,685	1,547	4,875	1,340	1,196	1,261	1,116
LIBYA	827	455	297	324	141	157	142	212	208	396
MOROCCO	2,283	2,444	736	398	258	413	206	148	213	134
SUDAN	595	433	90	43	61	161	47	48	249	77
TUNISIA	599	1,173	274	79	289	150	109	108	83	35
MIDDLE AFRICA	654	708	140	188	115	234	300	136	193	36
ANGOLA	188	83	31	22	7	103	226	–	57	2
CAMEROON	188	158	10	124	7	7	6	97	68	23
ZAIRE	206	326	45	30	48	66	68	39	48	9

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TABLE 3. FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH FOR SELECTED STATES: 1980

(ASSIGNMENT OF COUNTRIES INTO CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS IS ACCORDING TO UNITED NATIONS' CLASSIFICATION, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS. TOTALS FOR CONTINENTS, REGIONS AND SUBREGIONS INCLUDE DATA FOR COUNTRIES NOT SHOWN SEPARATELY.)

	CALI-FORNIA	NEW YORK	FLORIDA	TEXAS	ILLI-NOIS	NEW JERSEY	MASSA-CHU-SETTS	MICH-IGAN	PENN-SYL-VANIA	OHIO
SOUTHERN AFRICA.....	4,152	2,599	1,196	1,473	1,291	907	735	410	636	518
BOTSWANA.....	30	5	125	-	359	3	-	7	4	-
SOUTH AFRICA.....	3,370	2,184	853	1,446	579	823	621	340	580	438
SWAZILAND.....	220	88	57	-	94	36	6	2	2	10
ASIA.....	876,878	290,456	55,891	117,516	146,649	96,052	49,456	77,476	60,360	47,322
EAST ASIA.....	338,866	141,515	15,152	37,548	43,975	31,559	22,296	27,064	21,678	16,201
CHINA.....	116,331	68,839	4,003	8,466	10,283	8,211	9,868	3,615	4,681	3,269
HONG KONG.....	33,300	19,114	836	2,189	3,022	1,454	3,612	901	1,121	726
JAPAN.....	79,593	17,885	4,724	9,451	7,760	7,171	2,930	3,643	3,168	3,824
KOREA.....	83,189	27,104	4,322	11,562	19,383	10,679	4,648	7,363	10,497	6,011
MACAU.....	1,620	360	12	63	38	92	68	11	54	23
TAIWAN.....	24,790	8,182	1,244	5,851	3,467	3,916	1,370	1,529	2,137	2,346
SOUTH ASIA.....	537,914	148,803	40,722	79,935	102,614	64,357	27,160	50,394	38,676	31,087
EASTERN SOUTH ASIA	382,883	45,624	21,460	45,972	51,236	23,691	8,092	15,787	17,887	11,550
BRUNEI.....	296	45	-	12	-	31	19	5	-	12
BURMA.....	5,873	1,250	164	184	818	115	415	48	173	77
INDONESIA.....	14,866	2,265	691	1,055	792	800	817	790	493	439
KAMPUCHEA.....	7,083	624	558	1,169	990	57	261	349	909	138
LAOS.....	12,867	1,370	882	2,994	3,438	253	684	1,271	1,270	1,117
MALAYSIA.....	2,604	1,147	184	393	921	253	272	394	257	302
PHILIPPINES.....	237,713	27,493	10,258	11,553	34,299	18,207	2,051	7,922	5,987	5,687
SINGAPORE.....	2,265	766	176	241	186	188	71	75	103	73
THAILAND.....	15,462	4,234	2,381	3,587	3,704	1,029	647	942	1,134	1,059
VIETNAM.....	83,277	6,402	6,347	26,793	5,978	2,751	2,844	3,909	7,561	2,646
MIDDLE SOUTH ASIA.	88,117	52,786	9,018	24,053	32,404	24,367	8,339	13,232	13,002	10,618
AFGHANISTAN.....	799	933	25	138	89	120	39	7	111	31
BANGLADESH.....	341	1,460	56	227	368	364	229	288	95	121
BHUTAN.....	420	278	143	276	159	132	31	44	132	87
INDIA.....	30,010	33,434	4,278	13,905	23,373	19,477	4,645	8,879	9,635	7,506
IRAN.....	49,083	9,835	3,231	7,075	4,358	2,413	2,657	2,895	2,021	2,138
NEPAL.....	104	78	25	54	41	19	29	8	10	-
PAKISTAN.....	5,510	6,001	1,112	2,099	3,808	1,583	530	994	814	574
SRI LANKA.....	1,788	779	148	279	195	259	179	187	179	146
WESTERN SOUTH ASIA	66,692	50,247	10,216	9,879	18,936	16,226	10,723	31,296	7,776	8,907
BAHRAIN.....	153	124	39	154	20	43	16	7	13	8
CYPRUS.....	870	3,956	213	124	302	893	184	266	300	227
IRAQ.....	7,027	2,108	385	421	5,294	438	343	12,260	276	370

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TABLE 3. FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH FOR SELECTED STATES: 1980

(ASSIGNMENT OF COUNTRIES INTO CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS IS ACCORDING TO UNITED NATIONS' CLASSIFICATION, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS. TOTALS FOR CONTINENTS, REGIONS AND SUBREGIONS INCLUDE DATA FOR COUNTRIES NOT SHOWN SEPARATELY.)

	CALI-FORNIA	NEW YORK	FLORIDA	TEXAS	ILLI-NOIS	NEW JERSEY	MASSA-CHU-SETTS	MICH-IGAN	PENN-SYL-VANIA	OHIO
ISRAEL	15,746	20,068	2,760	2,157	4,128	4,206	1,548	2,944	1,610	1,795
JORDAN	5,244	2,061	452	1,409	3,108	1,678	358	2,191	249	974
KUWAIT	916	172	290	238	226	48	113	284	57	289
LEBANON	14,192	5,123	1,925	2,172	1,859	2,184	3,295	7,183	1,573	2,700
QATAR	152	28	-	114	14	8	6	68	17	6
SAUDI ARABIA	3,774	616	816	1,283	609	272	220	1,227	171	561
SYRIA	6,176	2,780	707	714	1,977	2,395	1,323	1,101	1,462	584
TURKEY	11,793	12,332	2,572	1,054	2,208	4,174	3,280	2,558	1,402	1,270
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	84	71	8	-	18	-	13	-	20	14
YEMEN (ADEN)	38	152	31	6	46	22	11	191	8	17
YEMEN (SANAA)	637	657	-	5	12	53	7	988	-	61
LATIN AMERICA	1,589,758	723,134	537,082	565,499	226,260	181,925	48,351	23,918	26,473	16,076
CARIBBEAN	62,931	463,759	436,240	17,346	25,345	107,217	29,417	5,908	12,960	5,101
ANGUILLA	55	207	47	16	8	49	-	-	39	-
ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA	218	2,594	260	63	18	257	54	28	20	48
BAHAMAS	397	2,055	8,511	177	208	356	142	251	187	124
BARBADOS	458	19,557	806	151	199	913	2,383	109	504	48
BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS	281	879	205	29	20	71	47	29	30	9
CAYMAN ISLANDS	68	342	398	112	4	33	-	12	67	-
CUBA	46,258	56,895	366,057	10,103	14,539	68,096	5,227	2,147	3,522	1,710
DOMINICA	142	1,586	266	75	64	212	82	38	52	13
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	1,742	131,313	7,139	674	1,059	14,269	5,233	285	756	241
GRENADA	192	5,628	184	51	32	250	45	47	68	10
GUADELOUPE	101	411	526	109	64	57	5	27	33	-
HAITI	1,339	55,363	17,280	346	2,700	5,172	4,995	287	726	836
JAMAICA	6,680	107,130	25,387	2,012	4,710	11,016	5,526	1,655	4,398	1,778
MARTINIQUE	109	445	191	18	32	-	33	6	42	-
MONTSERRAT	42	629	66	-	-	65	293	-	-	6
NETHERLANDS ANTILLES	347	3,073	1,952	268	133	550	238	53	137	142
ST. CHRISTOPHER-NEVIS	24	1,175	226	93	7	110	39	18	12	52
ST. LUCIA	47	1,250	158	81	-	103	20	13	17	26

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TABLE 3. FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH FOR SELECTED STATES: 1980

[ASSIGNMENT OF COUNTRIES INTO CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS IS ACCORDING TO UNITED NATIONS' CLASSIFICATION, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS. TOTALS FOR CONTINENTS, REGIONS AND SUBREGIONS INCLUDE DATA FOR COUNTRIES NOT SHOWN SEPARATELY.]

	CALI-FORNIA	NEW YORK	FLORIDA	TEXAS	ILLI-NOIS	NEW JERSEY	MASSA-CHU-SETTS	MICH-IGAN	PENN-SYL-VANIA	OHIO
ST. VINCENT-GRENADINES	113	3,202	139	33	15	101	47	34	58	15
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	2,219	41,524	2,932	1,771	756	3,074	2,809	430	1,269	454
MIDDLE AMERICA	1,440,098	76,557	39,502	512,097	180,847	13,507	6,573	11,857	4,610	5,938
BELIZE	5,473	4,536	803	249	1,370	249	139	241	59	69
COSTA RICA	10,011	6,683	2,639	1,188	534	1,893	1,053	132	217	192
EL SALVADOR	67,656	9,293	2,103	2,507	1,132	2,260	617	195	162	239
GUATEMALA	35,046	7,049	2,519	1,795	6,045	1,402	1,191	180	337	326
HONDURAS	7,914	9,944	5,190	1,484	1,471	2,223	1,240	218	247	220
MEXICO	1,277,969	10,676	13,704	498,181	167,924	2,785	1,064	9,903	2,371	3,910
NICARAGUA	22,989	4,146	7,400	1,454	555	780	224	164	253	199
PANAMA	9,253	22,878	4,817	3,323	1,330	1,733	955	584	910	769
SOUTH AMERICA	96,679	182,779	61,328	16,964	20,060	61,294	12,355	5,549	8,888	5,031
SOUTH AMERICA-TEMPERATE	32,232	25,468	11,547	3,608	3,634	13,041	2,576	1,492	2,414	1,201
ARGENTINA	20,789	15,785	6,399	1,864	2,330	6,780	1,408	854	1,625	763
CHILE	9,713	6,305	4,019	1,293	920	2,852	878	327	553	359
URUGUAY	1,710	3,276	1,084	437	360	3,392	278	230	222	73
SOUTH AMERICA-TROPICAL	62,397	152,561	47,633	12,865	15,814	46,265	9,380	3,913	6,268	3,670
BOLIVIA	4,187	1,794	1,028	949	675	487	161	163	158	120
BRAZIL	7,357	7,771	2,834	1,345	1,868	3,979	2,417	543	1,626	859
COLOMBIA	16,256	48,486	23,577	4,458	5,493	19,870	3,102	909	2,089	842
ECUADOR	13,130	42,426	5,116	1,421	4,860	10,333	911	348	650	213
GUYANA	2,102	33,398	1,416	499	541	3,756	465	279	423	410
PARAGUAY	540	473	116	184	96	193	41	79	149	73
PERU	15,068	12,956	5,322	1,921	2,107	6,379	631	410	534	507
SURINAME	301	471	181	18	32	67	8	26	67	7
VENEZUELA	3,456	4,736	7,993	2,077	842	1,201	1,644	756	817	639
NORTH AMERICA	164,261	74,987	71,713	17,767	20,776	17,452	78,867	76,790	13,921	17,847
BERMUDA	655	1,542	988	308	215	700	614	141	270	237
CANADA	163,300	73,162	70,603	17,409	20,482	16,715	78,211	76,612	13,626	17,481
GREENLAND	146	118	96	15	23	12	25	31	9	30
EUROPE	633,531	1,002,452	269,503	96,193	340,501	388,150	268,592	198,205	263,423	182,993
EASTERN EUROPE	82,972	209,196	54,969	9,824	105,947	75,117	27,465	48,050	50,019	48,456
BULGARIA	1,747	1,909	463	163	781	535	220	369	300	474

TABLE 3. FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH FOR SELECTED STATES: 1980

(ASSIGNMENT OF COUNTRIES INTO CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS IS ACCORDING TO UNITED NATIONS' CLASSIFICATION, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS. TOTALS FOR CONTINENTS, REGIONS AND SUBREGIONS INCLUDE DATA FOR COUNTRIES NOT SHOWN SEPARATELY.)

	CALI-FORNIA	NEW YORK	FLORIDA	TEXAS	ILLI-NOIS	NEW JERSEY	MASSA-CHU-SETTS	MICHI-GAN	PENN-SYL-VANIA	OHIO
CZECHOSLOVAKIA....	11,372	24,041	6,665	2,677	11,395	8,662	3,338	4,368	10,433	9,519
ESTONIA.....	2,245	2,590	680	148	760	1,559	208	316	381	390
HUNGARY.....	20,822	31,732	11,048	1,787	7,796	14,326	1,768	6,592	9,392	14,389
LATVIA.....	3,724	5,237	1,309	319	2,996	2,024	1,512	2,592	1,670	1,964
LITHUANIA.....	3,968	6,685	2,968	290	11,328	2,364	4,167	2,690	2,974	1,956
POLAND.....	27,380	113,262	26,730	3,304	64,293	40,768	16,923	26,968	21,214	14,260
ROMANIA.....	9,856	21,827	4,173	782	5,617	3,800	989	3,553	2,949	4,891
NORTHERN EUROPE.....	191,037	176,387	74,024	27,727	56,306	64,923	62,521	44,354	45,587	29,578
DENMARK.....	11,237	3,681	2,709	668	2,619	1,656	874	1,381	758	659
FINLAND.....	4,539	3,541	3,409	391	928	974	2,314	2,292	446	814
ICELAND.....	564	446	373	139	166	168	97	207	375	84
IRELAND.....	19,297	66,639	7,338	2,182	15,449	15,873	23,155	3,715	11,867	3,856
NORWAY.....	8,433	10,548	3,058	833	3,698	3,315	1,553	1,081	1,028	548
SWEDEN.....	13,214	7,741	6,054	1,125	8,589	2,815	3,918	2,416	1,382	1,173
UNITED KINGDOM....	133,690	83,736	51,073	22,389	25,001	40,105	30,610	33,216	30,648	22,438
CHANNEL ISLANDS.	210	37	38	13	106	34	29	12	9	9
ENGLAND.....	94,427	52,105	34,214	16,123	15,985	20,984	19,138	19,682	18,218	14,048
ISLE OF MAN.....	80	44	14	-	41	-	25	20	21	12
NORTHERN IRELAND.....	3,350	3,418	1,348	547	857	1,788	1,007	852	1,393	526
SCOTLAND.....	22,987	19,861	11,551	2,941	5,550	13,630	7,885	10,350	7,585	5,566
WALES.....	2,262	1,495	935	440	501	746	480	850	1,256	705
SOUTHERN EUROPE.....	161,960	401,839	56,639	12,238	99,906	162,849	152,162	51,599	90,055	58,151
ALBANIA.....	232	1,878	226	48	434	351	1,426	765	277	175
ANDORRA.....	385	16	11	84	99	47	-	16	-	13
GIBRALTAR.....	365	450	835	67	144	94	19	47	16	29
GREECE.....	17,886	54,738	7,719	3,283	24,867	14,732	17,801	7,808	10,277	8,498
ITALY.....	67,248	283,990	29,185	4,480	48,866	99,903	55,461	26,238	67,829	28,478
MALTA.....	1,829	3,345	366	128	49	255	36	3,048	124	37
PORTUGAL.....	41,281	13,953	2,008	502	705	28,532	75,077	204	3,842	447
SAN MARINO.....	100	280	31	22	25	44	8	241	5	72
SPAIN.....	12,761	13,899	13,146	2,625	1,256	9,650	1,458	976	1,603	1,170
YUGOSLAVIA.....	19,804	29,225	3,819	985	23,435	9,241	830	12,206	6,782	19,223
WESTERN EUROPE.....	196,805	213,989	83,357	46,282	77,953	84,924	26,291	53,792	57,321	46,499
AUSTRIA.....	16,703	38,779	11,576	2,481	9,894	10,381	2,564	5,046	11,597	7,831
BELGIUM.....	6,021	5,059	2,495	981	2,797	2,040	1,317	4,155	1,872	982
FRANCE.....	23,764	20,852	8,495	4,941	4,757	6,517	4,348	3,051	3,643	2,955
GERMANY.....	112,673	134,991	53,376	34,419	54,715	57,164	15,158	30,544	38,071	32,449

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TABLE 3. FOREIGN-BORN PERSONS BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH FOR SELECTED STATES: 1960

(ASSIGNMENT OF COUNTRIES INTO CONTINENTS, REGIONS, AND SUBREGIONS IS ACCORDING TO UNITED NATIONS' CLASSIFICATION, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS. TOTALS FOR CONTINENTS, REGIONS AND SUBREGIONS INCLUDE DATA FOR COUNTRIES NOT SHOWN SEPARATELY.)

	CALIFORNIA	NEW YORK	FLORIDA	TEXAS	ILLINOIS	NEW JERSEY	MASSACHUSETTS	MICHIGAN	PENNSYLVANIA	OHIO
LUXEMBOURG	453	413	188	142	453	149	112	86	86	75
MONACO	316	138	104	19	119	4	6	8	8	-
NETHERLANDS	27,323	8,462	5,667	2,623	4,391	6,532	2,038	10,663	2,077	1,731
SWITZERLAND	10,706	6,731	2,311	951	1,567	3,061	1,031	780	1,422	903
SOVIET UNION	58,642	122,725	34,859	4,253	25,685	25,036	16,170	13,142	26,599	12,610
OCEANIA	29,665	4,153	2,552	2,497	2,024	1,430	1,613	1,329	1,407	1,283
AUSTRALIA-NEW ZEALAND	13,929	3,925	2,186	2,083	1,838	1,322	1,310	1,157	1,282	1,178
AUSTRALIA	10,186	3,290	1,790	1,610	1,490	1,036	1,002	909	1,043	1,044
NEW ZEALAND	3,743	635	396	473	348	286	308	248	239	135
MELANESIA	288	20	53	64	31	7	15	-	26	30
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	159	14	-	22	19	-	15	-	9	30
MICRONESIA-POLYNESIA	15,271	263	273	326	139	90	60	165	89	50
MICRONESIA	356	9	46	35	23	7	19	108	29	11
POLYNESIA	14,915	154	227	291	116	83	41	57	60	39
FIJI	5,907	72	19	102	40	32	18	18	21	10
FRENCH POLYNESIA	446	21	55	8	2	-	-	-	5	-
TONGA	2,095	26	60	36	-	14	-	6	15	2
WESTERN SAMOA	6,413	22	93	138	30	37	23	33	19	27
ALL OTHER AREAS	182,747	148,480	78,662	61,824	52,774	36,954	26,971	21,648	22,489	18,456

NOTE: THE STATES SHOWN IN TABLE 3 ARE THE TEN WITH THE LARGEST FOREIGN-BORN POPULATIONS IN 1980. THE FIGURES FOR "ALL OTHER AREAS" IN TABLES 1, 2, AND 3 INCLUDE COUNTRY NOT REPORTED. "COUNTRY NOT REPORTED" WAS 886,024 FOR THE UNITED STATES.

- REPRESENTS ZERO OR ROUNDS TO ZERO.

06/26/89 16:17 CENS BUR WASH NO. 033 014

PROMINENT HUNGARIANS IN UNITED STATES HISTORY

DR. ELEMER BAKO



ALPHA PUBLICATIONS, INC.
Route 202, Center Square, Pa. 19422 U.S.A.

PREFACE

Since the tragic days of the Hungarian Uprising in 1956, Hungarians have immigrated to the United States seeking a life free of repression and government interference in their daily lives. This historically recent immigration continues a trend that began before the establishment of the United States as a free and sovereign nation.

For many years now, particularly those since 1963 when I was first elected to Congress, I have been involved in the struggle for a free Hungary. Much of this effort has been devoted to increasing and expanding on our country's awareness of the plight of Hungarians under the regime of Janos Kadar. Of equal importance is this country's understanding of the significant contributions made to the development of the United States by Hungarian-Americans. Dr. Elemer Bako, Finno-Ugrian Area Specialist at the Library of Congress, has completed work on a major paper that brings together many of the contributions and achievements of Hungarian-Americans.

For all those who have the opportunity to read this work and those cited in the paper, let me say that you will come away with a sense of what it has been and what it is to be a Hungarian-American.

Washington, D.C. - November 14, 1978

Frank Horton
Member of Congress

FOREWORD

The contributions of Hungarians to the development of the United States are scarcely known by Americans. Hungarians turned with great interest to the newly discovered continent as early as the 16th century. Hungarian intellectuals and missionaries visited the New World. Their written reports and correspondence became treasured and valuable information about colonial America. We know that Hungarians fought in the Revolutionary War, establishing the United States which was looked upon by Hungarians as the example during their own struggles fighting for national independence in 1848-49.

Louis Kossuth's visit to the United States in 1851-52 strengthened the bond between the two nations.

The Civil War had many Hungarian heroes. Hungarians immigrated to America in large numbers during the period of the industrial revolution and worked the mines, factories, farms and steel mills; by doing so, they also participated in the building of a free, strong, America. Hungarian scientists coming to the United States between the two World Wars became integral and essential factors of the establishment of American supremacy in science and technology. Their contributions were so significant that it has been referred to as "The Hungarian Phenomenon".

Hungarian immigrants of the Post World War II era—who left their native country mostly for political reasons—followed the traditions of their predecessors. American business, industry, science, and arts are enriched by them. Since they are dispersed over the whole spectrum of American society, it is necessary to focus our attention upon the main features of Hungarian ingenuity, dedication and success.

The Coordinating Committee of Hungarian Organizations—the consultative body of major Hungarian organizations in the United States and Canada—realizing the need for access to basic knowledge of Hungary and Hungarians by interested Americans and Canadians, embarked on the development of an "Information Kit on Hungary and Hungarians". We plan for the kit to be practical, fundamental, expansive and up to date. The users are required to evaluate each section of this kit. Constructive criticism, suggestions and contributions of material for consideration by the editors are welcome.

One chapter of this "Information Kit on Hungary and Hungarians" addresses the subject of "Prominent Hungarians in United States History". This chapter was prepared by Dr. Elemer Bako of the Library of Congress at the request of Congressman Frank Horton, one of the most knowledgeable Congressmen on the subject of Hungary and Hungarians. Mr. Horton was instrumental in initiating the development of the "Information Kit on Hungary and Hungarians". His support, advice and cooperation are highly valued and appreciated.

We hope that this short treatise will be informative, educational and useful for those who have an interest in the affairs of American-Hungarians motivated either by their profession or by their private curiosity.

Washington, D.C. - November 15, 1978

Istvan B. Gereben
Executive Secretary
Coordinating Committee of Hungarian
Organizations in North America



Presenting the Banner of General Pulaski and officers of his Legion. Among them is Colonel Michael de Kováts, Commander of the Pulaski Legion. The Banner is now owned by the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. The mural, by George Gray, is in the Hotel Bethlehem, Bethlehem, Pa.

PROMINENT HUNGARIANS IN UNITED STATES HISTORY

Dr. Elemer Bako

Well before the establishment of the United States of America, Hungarian interests in the New World resulted in various intellectual endeavors which deserve the attention of posterity.

The first Hungarian scholar who wrote about the great prospects of the new continent, Stephen Parmenius of Buda (who died in 1583 in a shipwreck near Newfoundland), participated in an expedition led by Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Parmenius, a fine scholar and a friend of Richard Hakluyt, wrote a poem in classic Latin about this expedition; the poem, the correspondence and reports are regarded as valuable source material.

In the colonial period of the present United States, missionaries of the Roman Catholic church as well as groups of Pietist and Mennonite Protestants included both Hungarians and non-Hungarian citizens of Hungary. Father John Rátkay, a Jesuit priest who worked for years as a missionary among the Indians in what is now New Mexico, was killed by the Indians in 1684. Another Jesuit from Hungary, Father Ferdinand Konság (died in 1759), a former professor at Buda, Hungary, was appointed by his Order as head of the St. Ignatius Mission in California. His map of California is a valuable pioneering effort. In the eastern parts of the continent, a group of German Pietists from Hungary found refuge from the religious persecution in the German Holy Roman Empire. This group, mostly from Hungarian Transylvania, was granted a settlement permit by William Penn in 1683. Their leader, Daniel Francis Pastorius, settled with a number of families near Philadelphia, naming their place Germanopolis, or Germantown. Another of their leaders, also from Transylvania, Johannes Kelpius (Kelp) arrived with his group in 1694 and settled in the same region, on the shores of the Wissahickon river and ended his life as a hermit.

There are also indications that there were Hungarians among the Polish immigrants who moved to the Raritan river valley area in 1712, and, among the first immigrants from Bohemia and Moravia to Virginia somewhat later. The existence of a "Hungarian Club" in New York City was also reported in 1745. The church registers of the 18th century, mostly of the German Reformed churches, also contain quite a number of Hungarian names.

HUNGARIANS IN THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The population of the British colonies had ample opportunity to follow the events of the Hungarian war of independence led by the legendary Prince Francis Rákóczi II (in 1703-1711) because the weekly press in America, which had its beginnings in 1704, reported about it very often. Simultaneously, Hungarian interests in the New World intensified year by year. These mutual interests became still stronger during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) when England, with her colonies, joined forces with the Prussia of Frederick the Great. Frederick had more than seventy Hungarian Protestant officers, among them several Hussar generals and colonels, serving him in the hope that their efforts might bring about the liberation of Hungary and Transylvania from the rule of the House of Habsburg.

By the outbreak of the American War of Independence, there had been a "pro-Congress" party in Hungarian society, mostly among the progressive intellectuals, politicians, and the Protestant ministers. However, it was a Roman-Catholic professor of history and statistics, Johann Zinner, of Buda, who published one of the best books on the American Revolution, entitled *Merkwürdige Briefe und Schriften der berühmtesten Generaele in Amerika, nebst derselben beygefügten Lebensbeschreibungen* (Augsburg, 1782). This is a collection of letters and other documents related to the lives and deeds of the most famous generals of both sides involved in the war in America. Zinner was aided in his selection and in the preparation of his very imformative comments and notes by Benjamin Franklin himself, following a personal visit

which he paid to the great American in Paris. In Hungary, a chain of secret clubs was formed, consisting of democratically minded intellectuals and public figures; they were nicknamed the "Americans." However, their activities were disclosed, and, after the trial, several of them were executed and others were imprisoned.

From this general background in Hungary came Colonel Michael Kováts de Fabricy (1724-1779), Commandant of the Pulaski Legion. For sixteen years, Kováts served in the army of the King of Prussia, was decorated with the highest Prussian order, the 'Pour le mérite', and was regarded as one of the best "Free Corps" commanders of Frederick the Great. After his return to Hungary, he was readmitted to the Austro-Hungarian service as a Major of the Hussars, retired; however, the general political climate did not fit his personality. By the time of the Declaration of Independence, he was ready to resume his military career hoping that, by contributing to the freedom and independence of the United States of America, he would also contribute to a similar development in Hungary. (He expressed this in a letter to Benjamin Franklin which he wrote en route to America from the port of Bordeaux, France, in January, 1777). After an initial study of the military situation in the United States, Kováts joined forces with General Casimir Pulaski, the Polish patriot, and by the end of the same year they were ready to propose the formation of an independent unit constituted of light cavalry, light infantry, and some field pieces (in strength and composition very similar to the organization of a "Free Corps" in the Prussian army). They named it the "American Legion" or "Independent Legion," which was later named "Pulaski's Legion" as opposed to some other, lesser units like "Armand's Legion," "Lee's Legion," etc. Kováts' experience in Europe paid off: while the training of such units (the cavalrymen resembling the Hungarian Hussars) required several years of hard, professional work, the "Pulaski Legion" became the best unit of its kind, and the only one which could be sent to the aid of Charleston, South Carolina, the key city of the South, when its occupation by the British forces appeared to be almost inevitable. Although



Colonel Michael de Kováts. Imaginary portrait by Aurel Rasko.

Kováts sacrificed his life in the defense of Charleston, on May 11, 1779, the city was saved and the South was secured for another year for the Congress and General Washington.

Later, at the siege of Yorktown, in 1781, there were three hundred hussars (most of them Hungarians) who contributed valuably to the successful siege; some of them remained in America and became citizens of the new country.



Sándor Bölöni Farkas. (Engraving by an unidentified artist.) Called by his biographer, Alfred A. Reisch, the "Columbus of Democracy". Farkas came to America in 1831.

HUNGARIAN VISITORS AND IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES, 1785-1848

The long decades of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars intensified travel restrictions, censorship, and other autocratic decrees by the Imperial Court in Vienna. Hungarians, in general, were prevented from visiting the United States or emigrating to this country. The first memorable visitor from Hungary, however, Sándor Bölöni Farkas, who traveled in 1831, in the company of a progressive-minded Hungarian aristocrat from Transylvania, wrote an excellent work entitled *Utazás Észak-Amerikában* (Travels in North-America), which was received so enthusiastically in Hungary that it was awarded the Grand Prize of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. Prior to Tocqueville's famous work on the American democracy, Farkas' profound observations about this country and his enthusiastic support of the principles and institutions of the United States influenced many prominent Hungarians to study the American system of government. Count Stephen Széchenyi, founder and vice-president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, established contacts with the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia in 1832. Louis Kossuth,



Louis Kossuth, Hungary's leader in the struggle for independence in 1848-1849.

Hungary's leader in the struggle for independence in 1848/49, was moved to refer repeatedly to the American example, and, when he was imprisoned for defying censorship regulations, learned to read and speak English in his jail cell from the English version of the Bible and the works of Shakespeare—the only books in English he was permitted to have. (Later, in 1851/52, when Kossuth visited this country as the "Nation's Guest", after he was exiled from his own country, Americans admired his "marvelous knowledge of Shakespeare's language.")

Under the influence of Farkas' work, Ágoston Haraszthy (1812-1869), the first political immigrant of stature from 19th century Hungary, who later became known as "Father of modern California viticulture," decided to become an American citizen. His activities as one of the "commissioners on viticulture of the State of California" resulted in the importation of more than one-hundred-thousand cuts of the best European grape vines, and in the publication of his "Grape Culture, Wines and Wine Making" (New York, Harpers, 1862), which is still regarded as one of the fundamental works in the history of American viticulture.



One-dollar bond, Hungarian Fund

FIRST CONTACTS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND INDEPENDENT HUNGARY, 1848/1849

When, in the wake of "Europe's Spring" in 1848, Hungarian patriotic youth successfully threw off the yoke of censorship and other unconstitutional regulations of the Austrian Imperial Court, and, later, in his capacity as Hungarian king, the Habsburg ruler, Ferdinand V, was forced to appoint a constitutional government for Hungary with responsibility to the Hungarian Diet (Kossuth became one of the members of the new cabinet), the government of the United States decided to take a closer look at the "developments in Hungary." Despite the critical international situation, a confidential representative was dispatched to Europe with the instruction that, at the proper time, he would establish formal contacts with the government of Hungary. Although the American representative, Ambrose Dudley Mann could never enter Hungary (because, by the summer of 1849, Hungary's military situation had taken a turn for the worse, being forced to fight the armies of the Emperors of Austria and Russia), this mission became the starting point of the later development of America's official policy toward Hungary. First of all, the United States Government tacitly permitted the organization of "Committees for Hungary", in the summer of 1849, as requested by a representative of Kossuth's government, Count Samuel Wass, who managed to get to this country. (At a meeting of such an organization in Springfield, Illinois, Abraham Lincoln submitted proposals for military support to the fighting Hungarians.) After the Hungarian cause was lost and Kossuth and many thousands of patriotic Hungarians departed for Turkey (where the Sultan granted protection to Kossuth and his followers) and several other countries, the efforts of the Austrian and Russian governments to force the Sultan to extradite the Hungarian refugees mobilized the American public. Under this pressure, the American Government cooperated with the governments of France and Great Britain, and liberated Kossuth and a group of his emigré companions from Turkey.



Kossuth's Entrance on the Battery from Castle Garden, December 27, 1851.

THE "KOSSUTH EMIGRATION"

Kossuth's visit to the United States in 1851 and 1852, which was highlighted by his presentation to both Houses of the Congress as well as by many other expressions of sympathy and admiration in more than hundred public meetings in which he addressed hundreds of thousands of Americans, belongs to the shining pages of American

history. As emphasized by Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State, at a so-called 'Congressional Banquet' (given by the Congress in Kossuth's honor in Washington), the attempt by Kossuth and his followers to establish "the American model at the Lower Danube" will be remembered by Americans forever.

Prior to the arrival of Kossuth and his entourage in New York in December, 1851, a smaller group of Hungarians, led by László Újházy, a former county administrator of Kossuth's government, arrived in December, 1849. By 1850, the Congress issued a land grant to this group in Iowa, where they started a settlement named New Buda in Decatur County. However, this isolated settlement did not flourish.

The departure of Kossuth and his family for Europe in July, 1852, left the first larger group of Hungarian immigrants without a single prominent leader but not without a cause. Being mostly intellectuals, they soon organized the first Hungarian aid association, the first men's choir, the first newspaper in the Hungarian language, and initiated the first Protestant church services, by the Reverend Gedeon Ács, of the Reformed (Calvinist) faith, who had ministered to Louis Kossuth and his exiled group in Turkey.



Ágoston Haraszthy

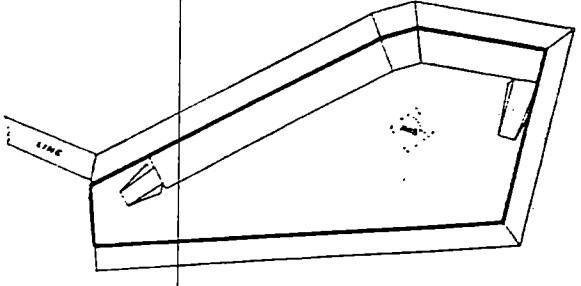
The foundation of the newspaper *Magyar Számüzöttek Lapja* (1853) was connected with an international incident involving one of the former Hungarian officers, Martin Koszta, who, having received his "first papers" for citizenship (establishing him as a resident in the United States with the intent to apply for citizenship at a later date), returned to Turkey in order to assist his former comrades to liberate Hungary. Koszta was captured by Austrian agents in the port of Smyrna and brought to an Austrian warship lying at anchor there. Koszta's friends managed to mobilize American support and Commodore D. N. Ingraham, captain of the U.S. sloop of war "St. Louis," sent an ultimatum to the Austrian captain for the return of Koszta. Secretary of State William Marcy argued that Koszta, a resident of the United States, was entitled to the protection of this country; in addition, President Pierce declared that "the United States would adhere to the same principle in the future." By setting a precedent, the "Koszta Affair" became part of American diplomatic history and procedure.



Major Charles Zágonyi

HUNGARIANS IN THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

While not excluding the possibility of a return to Hungary, most of the Hungarian immigrants gradually became integrated into American society. The domestic crisis in the United States affected their politically oriented minds, and, by the time of the outbreak of the Civil War, many among them felt obliged to serve the cause of the Union. About 800 Hungarians volunteered for the various units of Lincoln's army, while only eight Hungarians served on the Southern side. Two of the Hungarians in the North became major generals: Maj. Gen. Alexander Asboth (1811-1868), Kossuth's former aid-de-camp, and Maj. Gen. Julius Stahel-Számvald (1825-1912) who was decorated with the Congressional Medal of Honor. There were also five Brigadier Generals, fifteen Colonels, two Lieutenant Colonels, fourteen Majors, fifteen Captains, and many officers and medical officers in the lower ranks. The most memorable single victory of a Hungarian officer was achieved by Major Charles Zágonyi (1825-1871),



DEFENSES OF CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
PORT MIHALOTZY.
Scale of Feet
0 25 50 75 100

The only fort named after a Hungarian officer, on Cameron Hill, Chattanooga, Tenn.



The second charge of Frémont's Body Gard, under Major Charles Zágonyi, at Springfield, Mo., October 25, 1861.

commander of a Hussar-type unit called "Frémont's Body Guard," which consisted of a few officers and about 150 young recruits who had only a few weeks of cavalry training behind them. On October 25, 1861, Zágonyi and his men executed an irresistible cavalry charge against the town of Springfield, Missouri, which was held by more than 2,000 Confederate soldiers. With only a small number of his men lost, Zágonyi thus achieved the first impressive victory for the Union Army. The inscription of a monument at Springfield characterizes it as "one of the most daring and brilliant cavalry charges of the Civil War."

Following the Civil War, a number of these Hungarian officers entered the American diplomatic service, the Federal administration, or the economic life of the United States.

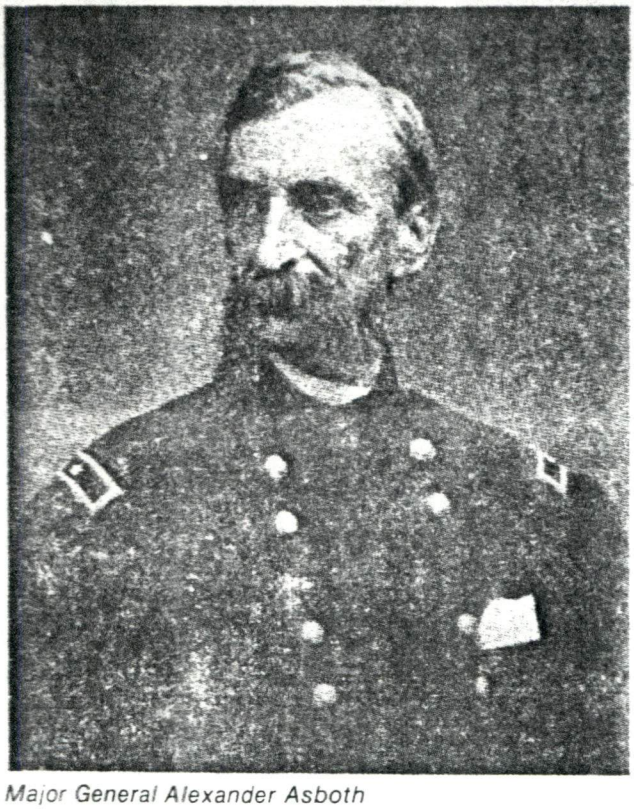
HUNGARIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE CULTURAL AND PUBLIC LIFE OF THE UNITED STATES

Among those Hungarians who gained recognition in the cultural life of the United States, János (John) Xántus (1825-1894), a natural scientist, deserves special attention. Xántus, a former lieutenant in Kossuth's army, arrived in the United States in 1851, worked as a topographer in the Pacific Railroad Expedition in 1851, as a professor at New Orleans in 1853, was appointed a member of the official expedition to investigate the Kansas Territory (1855-1857), then was appointed to the U.S. Coast Survey in Southern California in 1857. As a U.S. consul in Manzanillo, Mexico, from 1862, he led scientific expeditions in the Sierra Madre. His impaired health forced him to return to Hungary in 1864 where he later became the founder and first director of the Zoological Park in Budapest. In 1869, Xántus participated, as official representative of the Hungarian government, in an expedition to East Asia. While in the United States, Xántus collected many unknown species of plants, birds and animals (some of them were named for him), and donated most of them to the Smithsonian and some to the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest. He was elected member of three American scientific societies.

Another interesting member of this generation was Louis Charles Sólyom (1836-1913), a very talented librarian who organized several of the great collections at the Library of Congress and cataloged in 22 languages. Hungarian-born, but educated in the eastern Slavic regions of the Austrian Empire (where his father worked



Major General Julius H. Stahel-Számvald



Major General Alexander Asboth

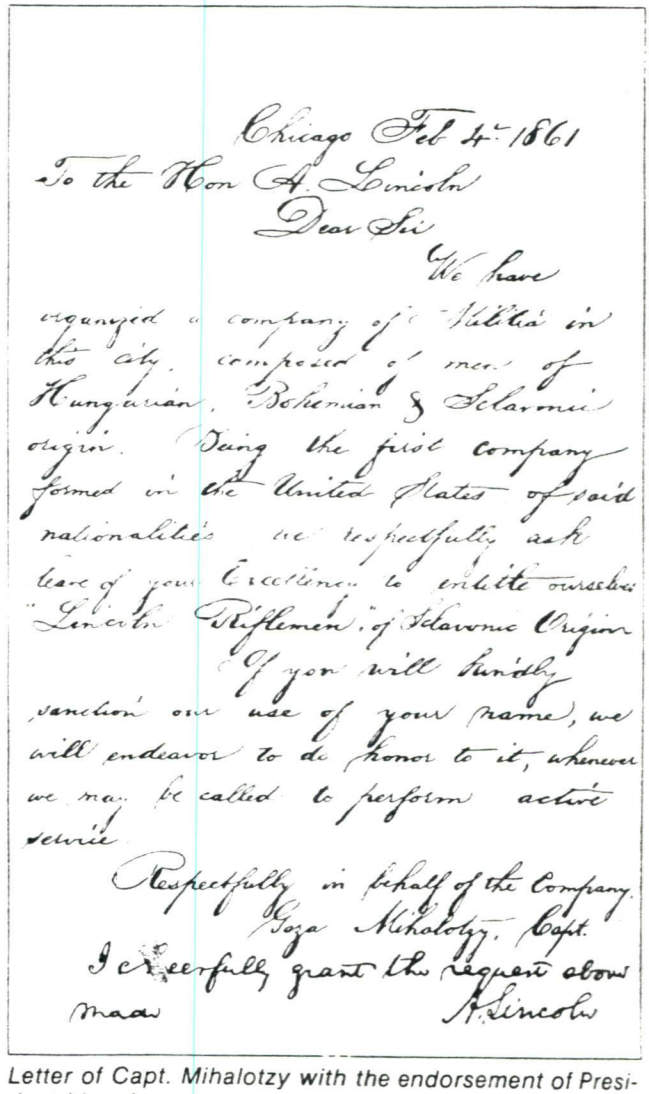
as an official) he was raised in a multi-language environment. Then he served as a young Hussar in the Austrian army from 1852 to 1860. After his discharge, Sólyom emigrated to the United States in 1861, volunteered in New York and served till June, 1863. He engaged in 11 battles and left the service as a first lieutenant. He began his service at the Library as America's first "Slavic Reference Librarian" (cataloging the Russian books which were acquired at the purchase of Alaska). Later he was elevated to chief of the Library's Catalog Department. He was decorated by the Sultan of Turkey for being the first American to catalog Turkish books. His likeness, carved in stone, is on the Main Library Building, among the so-called "Ethnic Heads", representing "the Hungarian race."

The violin virtuoso Edouard Reményi (1828-1898) has been a source of lasting influence both in Europe and in the United States. As a close friend of Brahms, he assisted the great German composer in creating his "Hungarian Dances." Reményi's friendship with Liszt helped him to become solo violinist at the court of Queen Victoria of England. Reményi first came to the United States in 1855, and stayed here till 1860. After several years in Europe, including Hungary, he became a permanent resident of the United States in 1878. He died while performing at a concert in San Francisco. Reményi's influence upon Americans is manifold, particularly by the firm expression of his views about freedom and independence for Hungary. He also gave concerts before various Hungarian groups in the United States, the first great performer of international stature to do so.

Among the Hungarian-born immigrants who received the major part of their education in the United States, Joseph Pulitzer (1847-1911), the founder of modern American journalism, deserves to be mentioned prominently. Having left Hungary as a youngster, Pulitzer was recruited for the Union Army in Hamburg, Germany. After the war, Pulitzer became a journalist, gained control of the St. Louis *Dispatch* and of the *Post*, then merged them into the influential *Post-Dispatch*. Later, in New York City, then he purchased the *World*, and founded its daily counterpart, the *Evening World*. His exceptional career was crowned by an endowment he gave to the Columbia University School of Journalism (which began its work in 1912). The establishment of the Pulitzer Prizes for journalism (1917) and for various branches of literature, scholarship, and the arts (1943) contributed to Pulitzer's fame in American history. Pulitzer was also a friend of Michael Munkácsy (1844-1900), Hungary's greatest painter of the 19th century. Munkácsy's atelier in Paris was visited by many prominent and rich Americans (a total of sixty portraits of them were painted by Munkácsy and hang in various public and private collections in the United States). Munkácsy's great Biblical canvases, entitled "Christ before Pilate" (1881) and "Christ on Calvary" (1884), were purchased by former Postmaster General John Wanamaker, founder of the famous department store in Philadelphia. Munkácsy's enormous popularity in the United States, particularly on the occasion of his visit to this country in 1886, was enhanced by the enthusiastic promotion campaign afforded him by his friend, the publisher Joseph Pulitzer.

MASS IMMIGRATION FROM HUNGARY, 1870-1914

Beginning with the 1870's, the profile of the Hungarian immigrant to the United States changed: unlike the politically motivated intellectuals of the "Kossuth emigration," those who came in the 1870's and later were poor peasants, agricultural workers, farmhands, and some industrial workers. They came to earn some money and to return to Hungary to a modest farm of their own earned by hard work in America. The relative freedom of movement



Chicago Feb 4th 1861

To the Hon A. Lincoln

Dear Sir

We have organized a company of "Hussars" in this city, composed of men of Hungarian, Bohemian & Sclavonic origin. Being the first company formed in the United States of said nationalities we respectfully ask leave of your Excellency to entitle ourselves "Lincoln Riflemen" of Sclavonic Origin

If you will kindly sanction our use of your name, we will endeavor to do honor to it, whenever we may be called to perform active service

Respectfully in behalf of the Company.
Goza Mihalotzy, Capt.

I cheerfully grant the request above
made A. Lincoln

Letter of Capt. Mihalotzy with the endorsement of President Lincoln.



Captain Ernest M. Rózsafy, a founder of the American Hungarian press.

granted to Hungarians after the 1867 "Balance of Power" agreement which was concluded between Austria and Hungary (following several military defeats suffered by the generals of Francis Joseph I), inspired a mass exodus of poor peasants from a country which was under Austrian military occupation for more than a decade and where the political reforms of 1848/49 became tainted with a rigid conservatism aimed at the preservation of the prerogatives of a largely non-Hungarian upper class. By the time of the outbreak of World War I, the number of persons in the United States who were born in Hungary (counting also their descendents born in America) was estimated between one million and one million, two-hundred thousand, half of them having Hungarian as their mother tongue.

The cultural and spiritual needs of these masses, whose knowledge of the English language was very limited if any, had to be served in their own language. The first Hungarian language newspaper of this period which managed to maintain continuous publication was the *"Amerikai Magyar Nemzetőr"* (Guardian of the Hungarian Nation in America), first issued in New York in 1884. The news network of American Hungarians became a powerful factor through the efforts of Tihamér Kohányi, editor of *"Szabadság"* (Liberty) in Cleveland, after the paper's inception in 1891. Kohányi became the first American newspaper publisher to gain real influence in the domestic politics of Hungary. He was visited by important politicians, artists and ministers, and initiated events and movements of lasting consequence.

Attempts at the organization of workers' aid societies among Hungarians resulted finally in the creation of the "Verhovay Egylet" (Verhovay Association, so named after a patriotic member of the Hungarian Parliament who enjoyed great respect among American Hungarians) in 1886. The "Verhovay," based in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, (its name was changed to "William Penn Fraternal Association" after World War II) was soon followed by a group of fraternal associations backed by various church denominations: the "Hungarian Reformed Federation of America," established in Cleveland in 1897, now in Washington, D.C., is still the most active and influential among them.

The first church organization, the Hungarian Reformed Church, was created in Cleveland, in 1890. It was followed by the first Roman Catholic Church organized in 1892, also in Cleveland. Other denominations (Greek Catholic, Lutheran, Baptist, and others) followed suit. In 1894, the weekly *"Catholic Hungarians' Sunday,"* a Hungarian-language newspaper which is the most influential among Hungarian Catholics in these times also, began its publication in Cleveland, Ohio.

GREAT EVENTS IN 'MAGYAR' AMERICA: CONTACTS WITH THE 'OLD COUNTRY'.

Beginning with the 1890's, American Hungarians witnessed the emergence of a new leadership among them constituted mostly of middle-class professionals: priests and ministers, lawyers, medical doctors, university and college professors, architects and engineers, and, last but not least, newspapermen. Hungarian "University Clubs" were formed in New York, Chicago, and Detroit. Political and cultural contacts were established between them and institutions of higher learning in Hungary. Prominent church leaders, artists and politicians, newspaper editors and publishers were invited to address the Hungarian settlements all over the United States.

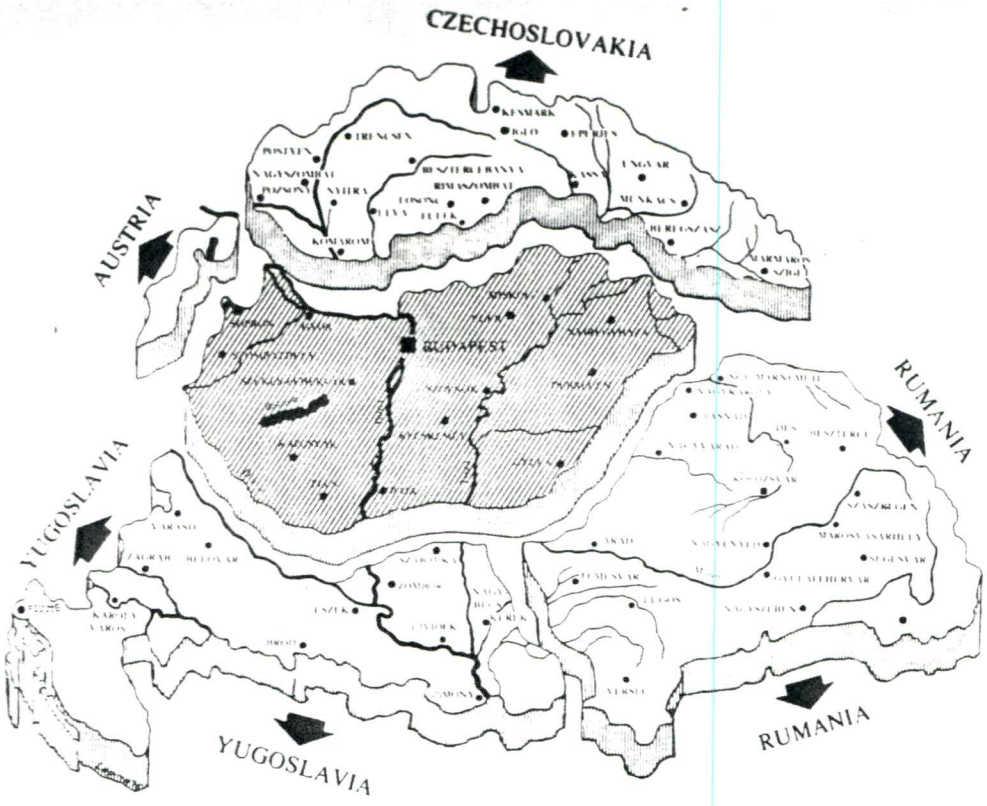
Thus, American Hungarians contributed prominently to the cultural contacts and the development of mutual understanding between the peoples of the United States and Hungary. Owing partly to these activities, many works by Hungary's foremost writers have been translated into English and published in the United States. Simultaneously, in Budapest, where one of the leading publishing houses was named after Benjamin Franklin, almost every prominent or interesting American writer or representative of classic English literature has found a translator and publisher for his works.

Among the great events which continued to revitalize the contacts with the "Old Country" were: the foundation of a "Kossuth Statue Society" in New York City (in 1893) which was an outgrowth of the programs celebrating the 90th anniversary of the birth of Louis Kossuth. Another movement, in Cleveland, was launched in 1895, a year after the death of Kossuth: this one resulted in the unveiling of Kossuth's statue in that city in 1902. Another memorable event was the trip of a delegation of American Hungarians to the millennial celebration of the founding of the state of Hungary held in Budapest in 1896. It was followed in turn, by visits of numerous Hungarian leaders to the American Hungarians.

The relentless efforts by Emperor Francis Joseph I to reduce the powers of the Hungarian Parliament and the municipal authorities all over Hungary culminated in the dictatorial dissolution of the Parliament, and in the appointment of a "Royal" cabinet and corresponding local officials. While the nation-wide resistance in Hungary finally brought down the representatives of this unconstitutional effort by the king, American-Hungarians commissioned a Hungarian artist to model a statue of George Washington for the City Park in Budapest to stand there as a symbol of freedom and democracy. The Washington statue was unveiled in 1906. That Washington monument is still the only one to stand in a public park in the eastern half of Europe.

In the same year of 1906, American Hungarian organizations (including the churches) created a central "umbrella" organization named the American Hungarian Federation, which still exists.

These political activities tightened the contacts between American Hungarians and the democratic forces in Hungary. Politicians who had been working for a separation of Hungary from Austria and the House of Habsburg found ready supporters among American



Hungarians. In addition, the Hungarians in the United States supported their own kinfolk by sending more than a hundred million Hungarian crowns (as the Hungarian currency was named in those times) to their relatives annually. In some peak years it reached even higher amounts: in 1907, for example, these sums totaled 208 million crowns, and, in 1913, 198 million crowns.

THE TRAGEDY OF WORLD WAR I

After the conclusion of World War I, Hungary was victimized by various revolutionary movements which swept over several countries in Europe. In the case of Hungary, the revolutionary developments reached the most radical phase: a Soviet-style "dictatorship of the proletariat" brought the entire state administration to a complete stop and destroyed any possibility for Hungary to secure the necessary representation at the peace negotiations in Paris. In view of Hungary's paralyzed condition, American Hungarians requested a public hearing from the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. In the course of these hearings, representatives of the American Hungarian Federation requested Congress to abstain from the ratification of any peace treaty involving territorial changes which were not preceded by a plebiscite conducted under international surveillance. On the basis of the arguments presented both orally and in the form of printed documents, the Senate consented to the Hungarian request, and the Peace Treaty of Trianon (the Hungarian part of the Versailles treaties) was not ratified by the United States Congress.

The outcome of the war was very hard for Hungary and Hungarians everywhere. The country lost two thirds of its territory and more than half of its population, among them circa four million Hungarians who have been included in the neighboring countries without any possibility to voice their will about their future. Since the majority of American Hungarians originated from the detached regions (and most of the American Hungarians were not willing to "repatriate" in order to become minority citizens in Hungary's neighboring countries), they chose the United States as the final home for themselves and their descendents. Under the pressure of this situation, however, and the influence of the reports reaching them about the harsh treatment of their relatives as "minority groups" in their own homeland, the interest of American Hungarians greatly increased in the future of those Hungarian groups. Cultural programs, newspaper articles, and public addresses centered around the dangers of losing their national identity and historical heritage. It is no wonder that the official Hungarian government policy which was aimed consequently at the revision of the "peace dictate of Trianon," found the majority of American Hungarians ready supporters of these aims.

One of the most impressive events exemplifying this publicity effort (which as an achievement has also left its mark on aviation history) was the transatlantic flight of two Hungarian pilots, György Endresz and Sándor Magyar, in an American-made plane named "Justice for Hungary" on July 31, 1931. The undertaking, financed by American Hungarians, was crowned by success: its flight time and distance (twenty five hours and forty minutes non-stop from Harbour Grace to the vicinity of Budapest) was recognized as a new world record in distance flying. Sándor Magyar, who later returned to the United States, was given a festive reception by New York City.

EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL, AND CHURCH CONTACTS WITH HUNGARY AFTER WORLD WAR I

Among the important American institutions and foundations which offered assistance and sympathy to Hungary in her plight were the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundation which channeled their financial assistance through the Institute of International Education in New York to Hungary. Among the individual supporters, mention should be made of the fine gesture by Jeremiah Smith, a Boston lawyer, who was appointed as an expert by the League of Nations to supervise the financial reconstruction of Hungary. Having concluded his mission, Mr.

Smith returned his salary (which was set by the League of Nations at one hundred thousand dollars) to the Hungarian government, with the expressed intent that the sum should be used for some cultural purpose. Accordingly, a foundation bearing the name of Jeremiah Smith was set up by Hungary's council of ministers, to finance study tours for Hungarian engineers and other technical experts to the United States.

In 1925, when the valuable services of Colonel Michael Kováts de Fabricy, Commandant and organizer of the Pulaski Legion, were discovered by a Hungarian researcher, American Hungarians turned with increasing interest to the past of Hungarians in America. A "Colonel Commandant Michael Kováts de Fabricy Historical Society" was organized in New York City, with chapters in several cities of the eastern United States; and, in Hungary the research on Hungarian "Americana" was accepted as a recognized field of study at several universities.

An original cultural achievement perpetuated the memory of Charles Feleky, a Hungarian-born theatre conductor in New York City, whose passion for collecting "Hungarica Americana" resulted in the accumulation of 13,000 books, rare prints, and pamphlets, as well as other materials relating mostly to the history of Hungarians and of historical contacts between the United States and Hungary. After the death of the collector, the Hungarian government purchased the collection from his widow and developed it into a Hungarian Reference Library under the supervision of Columbia University in New York. Following World War II, this collection was purchased by the Library of Congress.

The post-World War I period increased the integration of Hungarian church units of all denominations into American church life. Some parishes, however, remained independent and, owing to the insistence of their members, continued their traditional services in the Hungarian language. These church centers also served as cultural activities centers: Hungarian youngsters learned the language and other heritage elements of their parents and grandparents in summer schools, theatre groups, and choirs set up within these independent churches. The Hungarian language church journals and newsletters of this period set their aims increasingly higher from the point of view of literary style and scholarly quality.

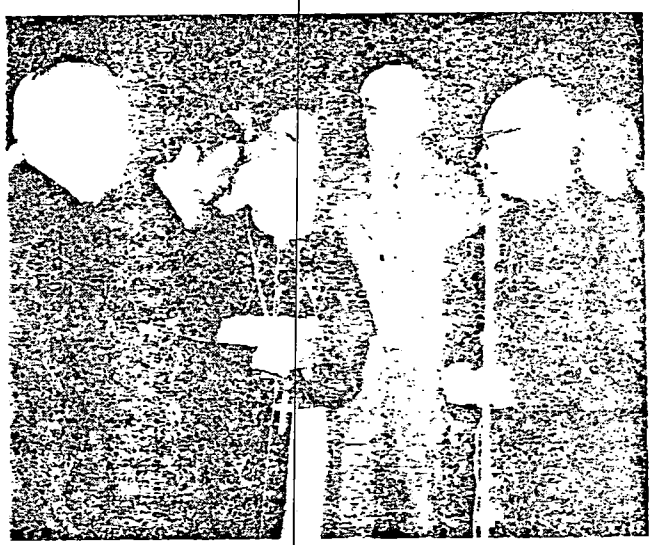
In the "Old Country," a World Federation of Hungarians was set up in Budapest; its annual congresses and other programs, although on a relatively modest scale, offered opportunities for second and third generation American Hungarians to reacquaint themselves with many elements of Hungarian culture.

All these activities, however, had to come to a stop as the situation in Europe degenerated. Hungary's geopolitical situation, dominated by the encroaching presence of Nazi Germany on all sides, made the country a pawn in Hitler's power manipulations. The fact that some of the Hungarian-populated regions which had been lost after World War I, were returned to Hungary with the assistance of Germany, destroyed Hungary's respected position in American public opinion. The entry of the United States into the Second World War found Hungary a reluctant but helpless ally on the German side.

For the Hungarians in the United States, this situation meant a new test of their loyalty to the land of George Washington. But they passed the test: millions of dollars were collected for the U.S. war effort, and tens of thousands of young American Hungarians served loyally under the flag. The American Hungarian Federation, while submitting a number of memoranda on behalf of isolated Hungary, could proudly point to the respectable attitude of the American Hungarians.

AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR: A NEW, LONG PERIOD OF CRISIS

In the later period of the war, some prominent Hungarian personalities managed to leave Hungary (with the assistance of the Hungarian government) and to arrive in the United States. Béla Bartók, one of the foremost composers of the twentieth century spent his last years in New York. Tibor Eckhardt, a leader of the parliamentary opposition whose Smallholders Party represented the peasantry of Hungary, tried to coordinate the anti-Nazi Hungarian groups in this country; his attempt, however, failed to bring any immediate results because of the resistance of some radical leftist groups whose influence grew enormously as the importance of Stalin's cooperation in the American and British war efforts against Germany and Japan became indisputable. Hungary's attempts to get out of the war came to the attention of Hitler's agents in Turkey. Subsequently, a Nazi putsch in Budapest, aided by SS forces and local collaborators, grabbed power for a pro-Nazi government, increased Hungary's contribution to the German war effort and, as demanded by Hitler, started to deliver hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews into Hitler's extinction camps.



Cardinal Mindszenty is greeted by the representatives of the U.S. Congress and the Roman Catholic Church after his arrival to Washington's Union Station in May, 1974. From left to right: Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle, Senator Vance Hartke, Cardinal Mindszenty, Representative Bill Scherle, Archbishop William Baum.

The Hungarian people, while the struggle between the pro- and anti-German forces continued in the domestic political arena, tried to find ways to adjust to a bleak future; however, communism was not generally accepted among them. State-supported atheism, persecution of religion, class warfare, and expropriation of all private property were not welcome to the millions of the Hungarian nation. This attitude moved the Hungarians, in spite of their rejection of Hitler's imperialistic and racist policies, to resist the intruding Soviet armies to the very last. Unfortunately, this Hungarian attitude was misinterpreted in the West, and Hungary, again, became a loser after World War II: the Peace Treaty of Paris (1947) detached all Hungarian-populated territories which had been returned to Hungary during the war years, and gave them again to the neighboring countries. Hungary was left under Soviet military occupation which has continued to the present time, and this brought with it numerous political trials against practically all church leaders, against political leaders of any persuasion, against union organizers although some of them were pioneers of Marxism in Hungary, and against

peasants who, at first, received small farms from distributed estates of the landowners and later were persecuted and punished for trying to hold on to their meager possessions.

American Hungarians have tried to assist their destroyed homeland and their suffering people in the "Old Country" by setting up charity organizations and agencies for the resettlement of tens of thousands of political refugees, and a system of information services reporting the true nature of developments in Hungary.

These problems were magnified after the events of 1956 when poor, embittered Hungary raised her head against the Soviet colossus, and her poets, writers, students, and workers wrote a new page in the history of Europe. The cruel lot of the Hungarian "Freedom Fighters", and the brutality of the Soviet backlash, filled the world with admiration of the tens of thousands in the new wave of Hungarian refugees and with bitterness against the impotence of the Free World and the United Nations.

More than fifty-thousand Hungarian refugees found asylum in this country alone and a still larger number of them were admitted as immigrants to other countries in the West, including Europe. Some of the refugee assistance programs deserve special mention, for example, the American "Hungarian Refugee Scientist Placement Program," directed by the National Academy of Science, which provided for 3,500 jobs and study grants for qualifying refugee scientists. The National Catholic Welfare Conference, the World Council of Churches, and other charitable agencies sponsored by church organizations assisted tens of thousands of families and young couples in their efforts to build a new life for themselves in the United States.

Characteristically, the post-World War II era brought many of these Hungarian talents to public attention. In what follows, some of the most prominent intellectuals and their contributions to American civilization or to the development of the cultural and organizational life of the American Hungarian community are mentioned.

The prominence of Hungarians (many among them Hungarian Jews) in the American film industry is proverbial. Although some Hungarian actors and actresses began their career in the silent-film days (like Lia de Putti, Vilma Bánky, Paul Lukas, and Peter Lorre), others became famous in the more recent period like Michael Curtiz, the music composer Miklós Rózsa, the Hollywood producer Alexander Korda (in the years of 1927 to 1948, prior to his transfer to England). The most spectacular career was made by Adolph Zukor, founder of the Famous Players Film Company in 1913, and, then, of Paramount Pictures (in 1917), thus becoming one of the movie tycoons in Hollywood who wielded a large influence up to his death in 1976.

Another field marked by the presence of Hungarians is music. Among the composers and virtuoso performers, the names of Béla Bartók, Ernest von Dohnányi, John Starker, and Joseph Szigeti are household words in the musical world of this country. Zoltán Kodály who visited the United States, and then returned to Hungary to participate in his country's cautious reconstruction after the recent war, inspired here a new movement and method in musical education and choir singing known as the "Kodály School." The ethno-musicological teachings of Bartók and Kodály have also had lasting influence upon American researchers. Among the famous conductors of our times, Antal Doráti, Eugene Ormándy, George Solti, and George Széll represent the highest qualities of personal performance and a relentless demand for excellence on the part of their orchestras which have contributed greatly to the quality improvement of the musical life in such American cities as Dallas, Detroit, Minneapolis, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. They have increased the enjoyment of the world's greatest musical works by millions of people through their masterful recordings also.

A most original artist of Hungarian origin is the painter Joseph Domján who arrived in the United States in the wake of the revolution of 1956. He is an internationally recognized master of multi-color woodcuts. Among contemporary architects, Hungarian-born Marcel Breuer is a leading figure on the international scene as well as in the United States.

In the fields of the humanities and social sciences, John Lotz, a former professor of linguistics at Columbia University, New York, and director of the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C., as well as Thomas A. Sebeok, of Indiana University (Bloomington, Indiana) deserve particular mention, the later mainly for his organizational and editorial talents. Joseph Reményi, a former professor of comparative literature at Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, is one of the pioneers in that discipline. Archaeologist Stephen Borhegyi has been one of the pioneers in underwater archaeology. Thomas Stephen Szasz, a professor of psychiatry at the State University of New York at Syracuse, is one of the most original researchers in the areas of pain, pleasure, mental illness, as well as of the ethical and legal aspects of psychiatry and psychology. Ladislas Farago, an expert criptographer, is also a successful movie-script writer. Ladislas Astrik Gabriel, a Roman Catholic prelate and professor of medieval history, and John Lukács, of Philadelphia, who was elected president of the American Catholic Historical Association, are prominent historians. William John Fellner, Theo Surányi-Unger and Bela Balassa, of Johns Hopkins University, are respected economists whose experiences and publications cover both the economies of the United States and Europe.

The impressive group of American scientists of Hungarian origin includes several great researchers whose theoretical research works and laboratory experiments contributed essentially to the American war effort. Theodor von Kármán was a pioneering scientist in aerodynamics. Kármán, as a top adviser to the United States Air Force, helped develop the B-36, B-47, and B-52 bombers and the Atlas, Titan, and Minuteman rockets. Supersonic aviation is indebted deeply to Kármán's theoretical research. John von Neumann, a former director of the Electronic Computer Project at Princeton's Institute of Advanced Study, was one of the founders of "Game Theory," a novelty in the area of applied mathematics. As one of the developers of the atomic bomb, he was named a member of the United States Energy Commission. Leo Szilard worked together with Enrico Fermi's group on the nuclear chain reaction: the group included Edward Teller, later known as the "father of the hydrogen bomb." Teller is also Hungarian-born, as is Eugene P. Wigner, a winner of the Nobel Prize in physics (1963) whose theory of neutron absorption, which he developed in 1936, was utilized in the construction of nuclear reactors.

Among those Hungarian scientists who immigrated to the United States after World War II were Noble Prize winners Albert Szent-Györgyi (physiology and medicine, 1937) and Georg von Békésy (physiology and medicine, 1961) as well as Zoltán Bay, a former professor of theoretical physics at the University of Szeged, Hungary, whose theoretical research and inventions were highly successful in radar astronomy. Hungarian-born John G. Kemeny, president of Dartmouth College and a prominent scholar in mathematical analysis, was also active in top-level committees that analyzed educational problems in the United States.

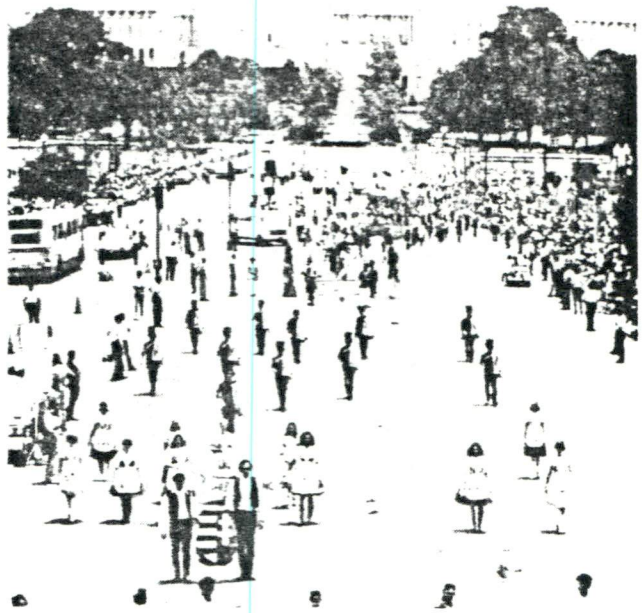
Cultural activities of American Hungarians cover a broad spectrum of intellectual and political interests. According to a Hungarian "Who's Who," first published in 1963 in New York, the number of medical doctors of Hungarian origin is over two thousand, and engineers number about 1,500. There are hundreds of university and college

professors, librarians, and others of Hungarian background active in the various branches of the professions. The spiritual needs of American Hungarians are served by more than three-hundred priests and ministers; the group of artists, actors, and musicians also numbers several hundreds. Consequently, there is an increasing number of publications in American professional journals about a wide range of topics, many of them related to Hungary and its people.

The confrontation between Hungarians in the United States and the communist system in Hungary is a continuous source of many political activities. Organizations like the American Hungarian Federation, the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation, the Hungarian Society in Cleveland, and the Cardinal Mindszenty Society keep a relentless watch over the affairs and developments in Hungary and present their observations to the public and to the agencies of the United States government.

Most recently, the situation of Hungarians in Romania, particularly in Transylvania (which was separated from Hungary in 1920) became a matter of concern for American Hungarians. A Hungarian group named the Committee for Human Rights in Romania was established which was invited to hearings conducted by various Congressional committees and had the opportunity to make known its findings about the situation of the Hungarian ethnic minority in that country.

Participation of American Hungarians has resulted in increased representation in the American political system, and in the publication of numerous Congressional publications on various political and cultural matters originating with Hungary (most recently in connection with the decision of the United States Government to return to Hungary the Holy Crown of St. Stephen and other coronation jewels and items which had been in American custody since the end of World War II), indicating that the activities of the various groups of American Hungarians are regarded as valuable contributions to the American political process and to the cultural and social development in general.



Hungarian groups marching in the Bicentennial parade on Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue, held on July 4, 1976.

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6/26/89 Hungarian - Americans

Census 763-5002

Intern'tl. Statistics 763-2832

Centr. for Intern'tl. Research 763-2870

Art Crosse 763-5219

1980 — 144,368 Hungarian born Americans

→ 86% are Naturalized citizens

Regina Burnette

Karen Woodrow 763-5590

Immigration Naturalization

633-3053

World Bank 477-1234

473-2550

Ralph Horbison

473-2848

144,368
7,735
152,103

CD 4 47 37036

144,368
6508
150,876

→ James Joslin

376-3069

Hungarians who have come since '80 including '80 7,735

obtained resident status

permanent

Hungarian

Dr. Boko - 593 - 1332

1st Hungarian who left mark
Col. Michael Kovats ~~Sobo~~ de Fabricy

Comm. of Pulaski region
trained 1st modern calvary unit for
George Washington served Charleston, S.C.
5/11/1779

He wrote to B. Franklin
" He will serve cause of the
U.S. " most faithful until death "
(fidelissimus ad mortem)
← motto of Amer. - Hungarian federation

G.B. sent letter for publication

Hungarian from Trans

Alexander Farkas
[forkosh]
travelled in U.S. in 1830's published descr.
of Amer. Dem.
1st ~~revie~~ European review of American
democrizotion

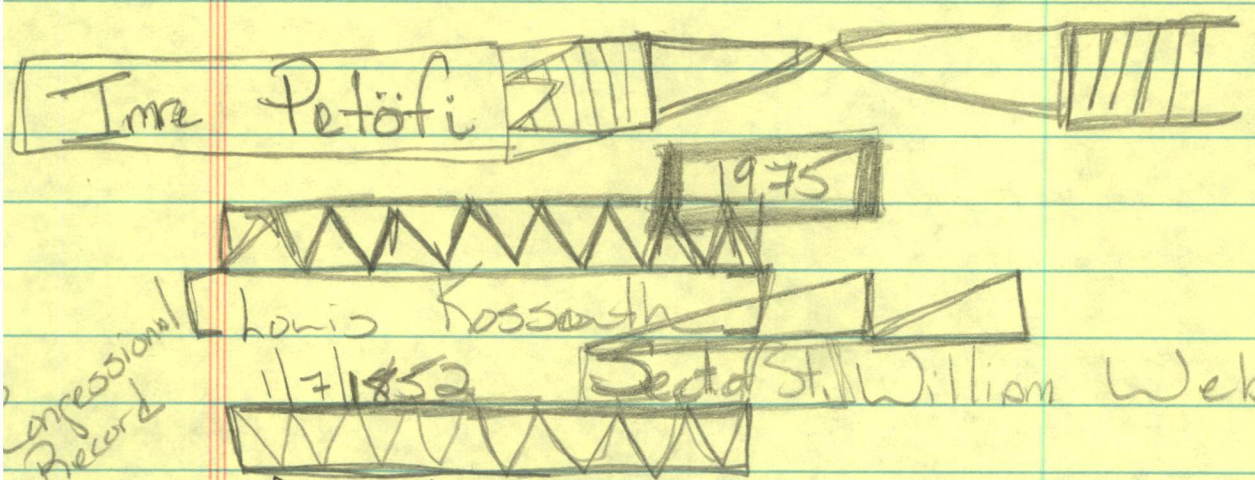
2

Hungarian Academy of Sciences
gave grand prize

Great educator of "new democratic elite

Pro-democratic atmosphere started

Mrs. Lantos ⇒ Magyar - hungarians
[modjor]



Congressional Record

We shall rejoice



Rise

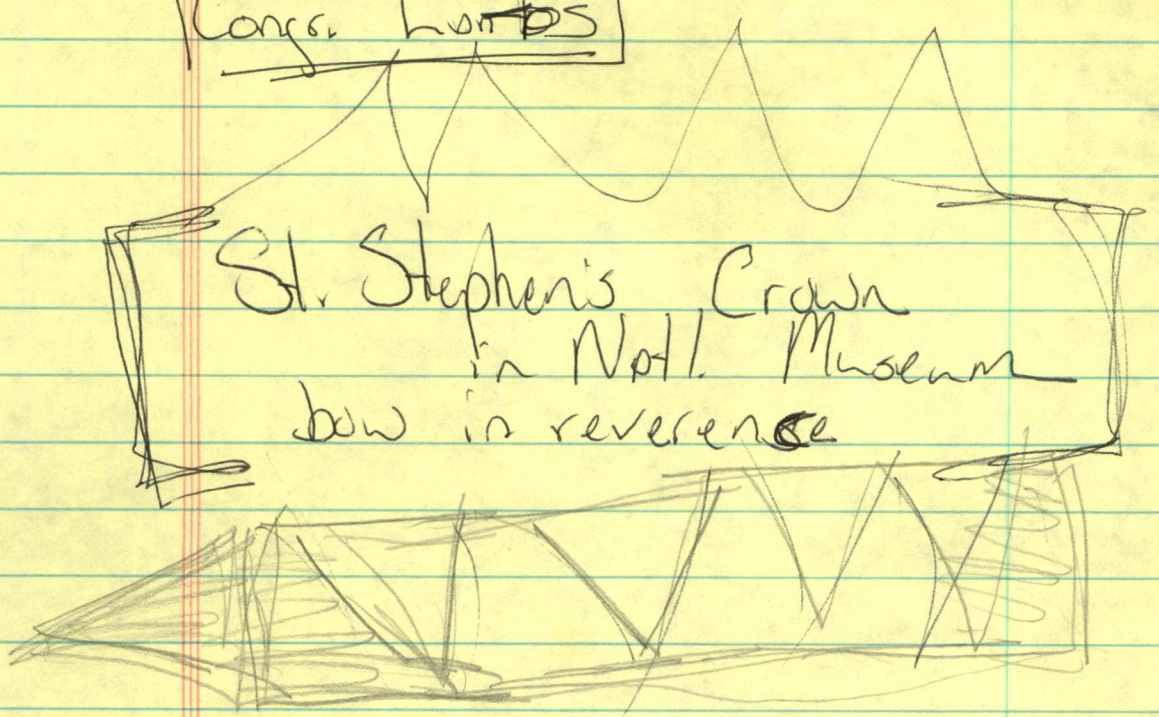
Mr. Krase - LOC Hungarian
707-8486

Viszont látásra
~~Viszont látásra~~ Isten hozz[illegible]
See you again

Kedves Magyarok
~~My~~ Ked vesh ~~dear~~ mah. yar ok
~~Sincere~~ Hungarian people!

Once you ~~not~~ visit Hungary once,
you will always go again as friend.

Congrs. hun~~gs~~



~~Christian~~
Kristian Horvath
15 yrs. old

XXX

Edward Teller - H-bomb
Imre Nodge

Illyes - writer

Ernő Rubik
[Erneh]

Szent Györgyi - discovered vitamin C

Szechen
Contd Szecsenyi - built libraries

St. Stephen - founded nation

Pepper is national food

Pepper is strong

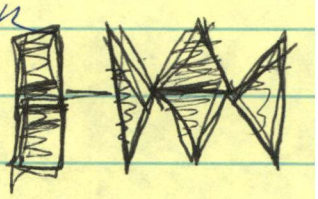
Kicsi a bors de erős

[kee chee ah borsch deh ehrush]

Hungary

Molnar - Liberation, of Mon
people went wild
Molgross





about Dixon

Ko [Ko Sthoff]

Louis Kossuth - 1st Hungarian
pres. to travel to U.S.
Spoke to U.S. Congress

John Horvath - VoA quotes
475-2318

- Dr. Edward Teller - father hydrogen bomb
  & S.D.I
- Tony Curtis
- Shirley McLain
- Congressman Lantos (CA) -D
- George Soltij
- Bourse → Albert architect built buildings
  on rt. side of mall
-

Ode to Youth p. 23
Selected Poetry & Prose Adam Mickiewicz

Youth, give me wings that I may rise

Above these plains, youth must fly -
As far above as doth the sun -
And with its vast all-seeing eye
View all humanity as one!

O youth, to me life's ruddy, sparkling wine
Is sweet but when I share its ecstacy:
For joy gives drink to souls inspired & freed
When golden threads bind them w/ love divine.

Young friends together heed my call!
The aims of all are in the joy of all.
Strong in our unity, mad yet discreet
On. on. young friends, nor fear to fall!

Hungary

6/21/89

N/A

Ps

~~Suzanne Redding will be sitting next to volunteers~~ Mrs. Bush

Stephanie Glossen

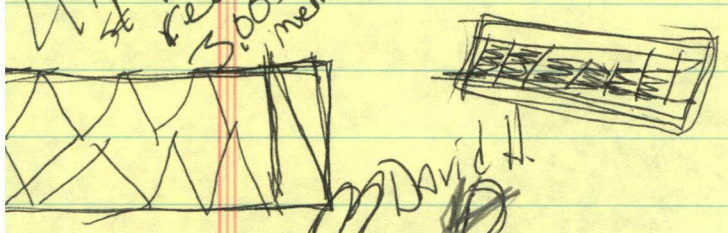
Petofi
(Vernon Walders)

Hungarians should stand up & be free.

To Gabor Kozinicy

let me address you in the name of

members of Parliament
recollections
3,000 members



David H.

Mr. Rouse
707-8486

Collapse to survive

5/15 Hungarian Natl. Holiday
Congr. Lantos - Congressional Record
Mrs. Lantos

Burning

George Faludy
Gonosh Hunyadi
Battle of Belgrade

100,000 come to see Kossuth

Hungary is not lost!
Banner across Broadway

Emotional lift
Political vision

If elections next yr. are free

Hungarians want to be part of Europe

Saying

state ownership should cease
but don't attack Soviets

not we - they

applaud & encourage not incite

East - Central Europe
Lin '63 called it Central Europe

specific & tangible

1900 was boom town

Very smart people

City can make it - can become leading country in Central Europe

- Emotion

'56 Imre Nagy is a hero
- no more

long way to go

Shock
Vnika (drink)
7/10 → signing deal to return co. to family

~~Radi~~ Comm. Amer. Radio Station will begin playing shortly before Pres. arrives.

Radio Free Europe - 1st country to broadcast

Kossuth - taught himself English in a prison in Hungary

Hungarians & Poles at the forefront of a movement

Drama –
Could be economic tiger of East-Central Europe.
Leri Strauss
Schwinn

Who does the military owe their allegiance? – The communists, any other party, any party at all?

We want to be Hungarians again!!
Europeans!
Modern!

(highest suicide rate, shortest longevity)

Rubik's Cube – Rubik lives in Budapest – helping opposition w/ money; role model.

Stress prosperity is good.

World's fair in Vienna & Budapest

iron curtain moving to Hungarian-Romanian border

"I'm here to visit you!"

P.M. Nemeth (went to Harvard)

future of Hungary is w/ 100s of 1000's small medium enterprises

Enterprise Group

Launching Peace Corps in Hungary

Hungarian

Kerisőth

Sandy Denoky

~~Emre~~ Imre Madach
~~Bokéso~~ The Tragedy of Man

At the end of Parliament draft

innocent people killed in square

When pepper is small but strong.

AF5
.E5
1982
W#

Kossuth

The New Encyclopædia Britannica

in 30 Volumes

MACROPÆDIA
Volume 10

Knowledge in Depth

FOUNDED 1768
15 TH EDITION

Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.
William Benton, Publisher, 1943–1973
Helen Hemingway Benton, Publisher, 1973–1974
Chicago/Geneva/London/Manila/Paris/Rome
Seoul/Sydney/Tokyo/Toronto

(July 18). For this he was raised to the rank of general lieutenant by the king Stanisław II Augustus Poniatowski, and the new Revolutionary government in Paris granted him honorary French citizenship. But, when the Polish king, fearing defeat, defected from the liberal cause, Kościuszko prepared to resume fighting. In Russian-occupied Poland, however, the reactionary party assumed power, forcing liberal statesmen into exile in Saxony. Kościuszko, against the King's wishes, gave up his commission and joined the exiles.

From Saxony, in January 1793, he was delegated to Paris to seek support for the Polish cause, first from the Girondists and then the Jacobins, pledging in return radical internal reforms in Poland and military diversion against Prussia and Austria, then at war with Revolutionary France. When he returned to Saxony in August, he faced new demands for starting an uprising in Poland in view of favourable indications there. Kościuszko agreed to command the national forces and went secretly to a place near Cracow (Kraków); but, finding preparations inadequate, he delayed the uprising and then went abroad again. His decision proved unwise because time allowed the enemy to undermine the conspiracy through widespread arrests and reduction of the army. Those left in the underground started the uprising on March 12, 1794. On their request Kościuszko arrived in Cracow on March 24 and, amid an enormous assembly of people, solemnly swore an act of national uprising against all three occupying powers—Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Undertaking all political responsibility and military leadership, he set up an insurgent administration and military force. To do so he had to compensate for the quality of the enemy army with the quantity of his own. Therefore, he introduced conscription to military service, enlarged existing units by incorporating recruits into them, and developed new formations. Having no war industry, his forces could not be equipped with conventional firearms; hence, he armed his peasant recruits with pikes and traditional war scythes.

After a smashing victory at Racławice (April 4), won by the scythe-bearing formations under his personal command, special new battle tactics were developed based on columns of men attacking on the run and backed by artillery fire. To win more army volunteers from the peasant masses, he issued the Manifesto of Połaniec, on May 7, suspending serfdom and reducing in half the existing villein service. This met with some resistance of the nobility. Defeats forced Kościuszko to retreat to his last stronghold, Warsaw. The defense of this city, besieged by Prussian and Russian armies for about two months, remains Kościuszko's greatest military success, both as strategist and engineer. He managed to use the city population to build earthworks and to defend the city alongside the regular army. In critical moments he himself led the charge with fixed bayonets. Next, he stirred up an uprising in the occupied province of Wielkopolska, at the rear of the besieging armies, forcing the Prussian king Frederick William II to retreat. But Russian reinforcements retaliated quickly. Kościuszko was unable to concentrate adequate forces in time, and he suffered his greatest defeat at Maciejowice, where he was wounded and taken prisoner. Without its leader, the uprising collapsed, and the Third Partition of Poland ended the existence of the country.

Kościuszko, imprisoned in the Peter-Paul Fortress in St. Petersburg, was slowly returning to health when, upon the death of Empress Catherine II, her son, the emperor Paul I, granted him freedom in 1796. Despite a crippling illness, Kościuszko returned to the United States. On August 18, 1797, he arrived in Philadelphia, greeted enthusiastically by the people but held in suspicion by the incumbent Federalists. In the United States he led an active life in social circles and entered into a long-lasting friendship with Thomas Jefferson, who was then vice president; but, after receiving news of fresh possibilities to promote Poland's cause in France, he secretly left the United States on May 5, 1798. Before that he had appropriated some of his estate for setting free his Negro slaves and for educating them.

His return to France was a disappointment. A true republican, he distrusted Napoleon, and he refused to command Polish legions in a fight only for France, promising cooperation only if the liberation of his country would also be involved in the plans.

Hence, Kościuszko retired from public life and took up residence in Berville, near Fontainebleau. In 1806 Napoleon tried to gain Kościuszko's aid in the event of war with Russia. But Kościuszko again demanded political commitments, and Napoleon secured other, more agreeable Polish supporters for his plans. Kościuszko remained in exile when his country was rebuilt as the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (1807). Consequently, after Napoleon's fall in 1814, the Russian emperor Alexander I sought Kościuszko's help in bargaining for Poland's territories. After the Congress of Vienna and the formation of a new Polish realm under Russian rule in 1815, the emperor Alexander was anxious to be on good terms with Kościuszko and to have him return home. Kościuszko, however, again proposed unrealistic conditions, demanding social reforms and boundaries of the country reaching the Dvina and Dnepr rivers. When no answer came, he went to Solothurn, Switzerland, and freed all his serfs in Poland from villein service.

Kościuszko died at Solothurn on October 15, 1817. His remains were carried to Kraków and were buried in 1819 among the kings' tombs in the cathedral. The people, reviving an ancient custom, raised a huge mound to his memory near the city.

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(S.He.)

Kossuth, Lajos

Kossuth was the mid-19th-century leader who inspired Hungary's struggle for independence from Austria. Though his brief period of power in the revolutionary years of 1848 and 1849 was ended by Russian armies, he remained a world-famous symbol of revolutionary nationalism.

By courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum; photograph, J.R. Freeman & Co. Ltd.



Kossuth, lithograph, 1856.

Kossuth was born at Monok, in northeastern Hungary, on September 19, 1802. His father came of Slovak, his mother of local German stock. The family was noble and of ancient creation but not wealthy, and Kossuth's father earned his living as an attorney for local landowning families. The Kossuths were Lutherans, and young Lajos studied at the Protestant academy of Sárospatak. After applying unsuccessfully for a post in government service, he found employment in his native county of Zemplén as

agent to one of his father's clients, Countess Etelka Andrássy, with whom he formed an attachment. He did notable work during the great cholera epidemic of 1831 but found his life narrow and frustrating; he was also suffering, as he would all his life, from financial embarrassment. In 1832 his employer had him sent to the national Diet in Pozsony (now Bratislava) as "substitute delegate" for one of her relatives.

Political journalism

At this "long Diet" the new generation of Hungary's reformers was mounting its first full-scale offensive against the absolutist and obscurantist system under which Hungary was then ruled from Vienna, and in its excited atmosphere Kossuth developed his political and social philosophy. This was one of advanced radicalism. There was no postulate of the European liberalism of the day that he did not burn to see realized in Hungary—no abuse or injustice there left unremedied. But liberty meant for him, above all else, national liberty; and he felt passionately that until Hungary enjoyed de facto the internal freedom to which its laws entitled it, no social or economic progress was possible. The first battle, therefore, must be the political one. Sanguine and impulsive, he was blind to the dangers involved in too strong a challenge to Vienna.

Kossuth's mandate did not entitle him to participate in the Diet's debates, but he found a way of voicing his views. At that time the Diet's proceedings were not published, and Kossuth hit on the idea of issuing letters describing them. These reports, which were not verbatim records but colourful impressions barely distinguishable from political pamphlets, were copied by hand by enthusiastic young helpers and circulated throughout Hungary. Brilliantly written, they were widely and avidly read; and when the Diet ended in 1836, the county assembly of Pest invited him to write a similar series on its proceedings. Now, however, he was no longer protected by parliamentary immunity, and on May 4, 1837, he was arrested and, after 18 months' detention, sentenced to three years' imprisonment for subversion.

Released under an amnesty in 1840, Kossuth found himself a popular hero. The proprietor of a biweekly journal, the *Pesti Hirlap*, made him its editor. His articles were written in a fluent and beguiling style and gained him innumerable devotees at the same time that they alarmed the Austrian authorities, the Hungarian conservatives, and even Hungary's moderate reformers. He also antagonized the Croats and non-Magyars of Hungary by his chauvinistic insistence on the supremacy of its Magyar element. In 1844 his publisher dismissed him and he was refused permission to start a journal of his own. Metternich offered him journalistic employment in the service of the government, but this he refused. His next enterprise, inspired by the writings of the German economist and industrial promoter Friedrich List, was to found a society for promoting Hungarian industry, with the ultimate objective of achieving greater economic independence. This program proved a fiasco but afforded him a platform for continued agitation.

In 1847 the county of Pest elected Kossuth to represent it in the next Diet, in which he assumed leadership of the "national opposition," which had agreed on an extensive program of political and social reform. The reformers made a little progress in subsidiary fields, but deadlock had been reached on the central issue of political control when the news of the revolution in Paris (February 1848) gave Kossuth his opportunity. On March 3, in a speech of extraordinary power—for his tongue was as magical as his pen—he demanded the removal of the dead hand of Viennese absolutism as the only way to safeguard the liberties of Hungary and of all the peoples of the monarchy. He practically dictated to the Diet an address to the crown, embodying the reformers' program. When news of the revolution in Vienna reached the Diet on March 14, Kossuth expanded the address, and, as a member of the deputation that carried it to Vienna the next day, saw it accepted by the panic-stricken court.

Role in the revolution of 1848

Count Lajos Batthyány, the new Hungarian prime minister, allotted Kossuth the portfolio of finance in his government, a choice that proved dangerous, for the ultimate control of finance proved, with that of the defense services, to be precisely the chief bone of contention between Hungary and Vienna. Kossuth was soon at loggerheads with the new Ministry of Finance in Vienna—meanwhile, he had made himself the life and soul of the more extreme nationalist movement in Hungary, often to the embarrassment of his fellow ministers, who were striving to prevent a breach with Vienna. Kossuth often acted without consulting them or even in defiance of agreed decisions, appealing over their heads to the public in a journal edited and mainly written by himself. Yet they dared not dismiss him and could not even dispense with his services, for his nationwide popularity was their greatest asset.

It was Kossuth who, so far as any Hungarian did so, precipitated the final clash by persuading the Diet, in July, to tie the dispatch of Hungarian troops to Italy to political conditions obviously unacceptable to Vienna, at the same time calling for a big national force to defend Hungary against the danger he declared, not without reason, to be threatening it from the Croats and Serbs. When, in September, the Austrian-inspired Croat army invaded Hungary and Batthyány resigned, Kossuth became head of the committee of national defense appointed by the Diet as provisional authority. He was now virtual dictator of Hungary. The next months brought out all of his greatness and his weaknesses: his magnetism and his courage, his intolerance and his lack of realism, his wanton provocation of insuperable difficulties and his genius at overcoming them. No one but Kossuth could have given his people the heart to face the overwhelming odds against them; but he increased those odds by his intransigence and aggravated difficulties by his jealousy and suspicion of his best general, Artúr Görgey, and by his meddling in military affairs. The refusal of the Diet to recognize the abdication of the Austrian emperor Ferdinand I (December 2) was his work, as was the Diet's declaration of April 14, 1849, proclaiming the dethronement of "the perjured House of Habsburg-Lorraine." The Diet then elected Kossuth himself "governor" of Hungary, but when, after the arrival of the Russian armies, even he had to recognize the hopelessness of the situation, he resigned this post to Görgey (August 11) and took refuge in Turkey.

Kossuth in exile

The Western powers put pressure on the Sultan to refuse Austria's and Russia's demand for his extradition, and Kossuth spent two years interned in Kütahya in Anatolia. The United States government invited him to visit America and sent a frigate. He stopped in England on the way, where he addressed a series of mass meetings, speaking in English, which he had learned from the Bible and Shakespeare during his confinement. He was received with unprecedented popular ovations, and his reception in the U.S. was equally favourable, but in neither country could he obtain official support for Hungary's cause. He then settled in London. In correspondence with his followers at home, he endeavoured to keep alive in them the spirit of resistance. At the persuasion of the Italian patriot Mazzini, with whom he became intimate, he joined his revolutionary committee. Having moderated his views on the question of nationalities, he discussed with various circles, including the Moldavian and Serbian courts, plans —never to be realized and perhaps never quite realistic —for uniting Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, and Romania in a Danubian federation.

In 1859, when war between Austria and France was imminent, the French emperor Napolen III invited him in a personal interview to organize revolt in Hungary on the outbreak of war. Kossuth agreed, subject to certain safeguards and conditions. Military preparations were concerted with France and Piedmont, and Kossuth's own eloquence helped to deter Britain from intervening against France; but the plans collapsed when, in July, Napoleon concluded an armistice with Francis Joseph I, leaving the Hungarians to their fate.

The promising international conjuncture never recurred; and in the following years Kossuth, living abroad in Turin, had to watch Hungary, guided by Ferenc Deák, move toward reconciliation with the monarch. He did so

with bitterness in his heart and on the eve of the conclusion of the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich, or Compromise of 1867, published an open letter calling down woe upon the measure and its author. This "Cassandra letter" stirred the opponents of the Compromise but could not prevent its adoption and subsequent maintenance. He spent his last years in loneliness, near-poverty, and increasing infirmity, sadly aware that Hungary's new leaders rejected the tenets to which he remained unalterably attached. He died in Turin on March 20, 1894. His body was brought back to Hungary and interred there amid nationwide mourning.

In 1841 Kossuth had married Terézia Meszlényi, who died in 1863. Their son, Ferenc Kossuth (1841–1914), was for a time president of the Hungarian Party of Independence.

After his death, Kossuth remained a popular idol in Hungary, his name a symbol of the aspiration for independence. His legend grew with the years and was further cultivated after 1945, when Hungary had lost much of the independence for which Kossuth struggled.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. There is no adequate full-length biography of Kossuth in any language. He himself produced one volume in book form, published in English in 1880 as *Memories of My Exile*. It mainly concerns his activities in 1859–61, and contains valuable material on his interviews with Napoleon III, his dealings with the Italian statesman Cavour, and his correspondence with the Balkan courts in connection with his plans for a Danubian federation. There are several collections of Kossuth's articles and speeches, the most recent and most complete being *Összes Munkai*, 15 vol. (1948–61). Many articles have been written about Kossuth, including the two-volume *Emlékkönyv* (1952) and the articles listed in the bibliography of *Magyarország Története*, 2 vol. (1967).

(C.A.M.)

Kropotkin, Peter

Russian revolutionary and geographer, Peter Kropotkin was, from the late 1870s until his death in 1921, the foremost leader and theorist of the anarchist movement. Although he achieved renown in a number of different fields, ranging from geography and zoology to sociology and history, he shunned material success for the life of a revolutionist. Addressing meetings, founding periodicals, writing books and articles, and spreading the doctrines of his creed, he did more than any other figure to further the libertarian cause in Europe and around the world.

Brown Brothers



Kropotkin.

Kropotkin was born in Moscow on December 9, 1842, the son of Prince Aleksey Petrovich Kropotkin, and was educated in the exclusive Corps of Pages in St. Petersburg (Leningrad). For a year he served as an aide to Tsar Alexander II and, from 1862 to 1867, as an army officer in Siberia, where, apart from his military duties, he studied animal life and engaged in geographical exploration. On the basis of his observations he elaborated a theory of the structural lines of mountain ranges that revised the cartography of eastern Asia. He also contributed to knowledge of the glaciation of Asia and Europe during the Ice Age.

Kropotkin's findings won him immediate recognition and opened the way to a distinguished scientific career. But in 1871 he refused the secretaryship of the Russian Geographical Society and, renouncing his aristocratic heritage, dedicated his life to the cause of social justice. During his Siberian service he had already begun his conversion to anarchism—the theory that all forms of government should be abolished—and in 1872 a visit to the Swiss watchmakers of the Jura Mountains, whose voluntary associations of mutual support won his admiration, confirmed him in his libertarian beliefs. On his return to Russia he joined a revolutionary group that disseminated propaganda among the workers and peasants of St. Petersburg and Moscow. Caught in a police dragnet, he was imprisoned in 1874 but made a sensational escape two years later, fleeing to western Europe, where his name soon became revered in radical circles. The next few years he spent mostly in Switzerland until he was expelled at the demand of the Russian government after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II by revolutionaries in 1881. He moved to France but was arrested and locked up for three years on trumped-up charges of sedition. Released in 1886, he settled in England, where he remained for the next 30 years, until the Revolution of 1917 allowed him to return to his native country.

Conversion to anarchism

During his long exile Kropotkin wrote a series of influential books—the most important were *Paroles d'un révolté* ("Words of a Rebel," 1885), *In Russian and French Prisons* (1887), *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1899), *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (1899), *Mutual Aid* (1902), *Russian Literature* (1905), and *The Great French Revolution 1789–1793* (1909)—in which he set forth his libertarian philosophy. His aim, as he often remarked, was to put anarchism on a scientific basis. In *Mutual Aid*, which is widely regarded as his masterpiece, he argued that, despite the Darwinist concept of the survival of the fittest, cooperation rather than conflict is the chief factor in the evolution of species. Providing abundant examples, he showed that sociability is a dominant feature at every level of the animal world. Among humans, too, he found that mutual aid has been the rule rather than the exception. He traced the evolution of voluntary cooperation from the primitive tribe, peasant village, and medieval commune to a variety of modern associations—trade unions, learned societies, the Red Cross—that have continued to practice mutual support despite the rise of the coercive bureaucratic state. The trend of modern history, he believed, was pointing back toward decentralized, nonpolitical, cooperative societies in which men could develop their creative faculties without interference from rulers, priests, or soldiers.

Kropotkin's "anarchist communism"

In his theory of "anarchist communism," according to which private property and unequal incomes would give place to the free distribution of goods and services, Kropotkin took a major step in the evolution of anarchist economic thought. For the principle of wages he substituted the principle of needs. Each person would be the judge of his own requirements, taking from the common storehouse whatever he deemed necessary, whether or not he contributed a share of the labor. Kropotkin envisioned a society in which men would do both manual and mental work, both in industry and in agriculture. Members of each cooperative community would work from their 20s to their 40s, four or five hours a day sufficing for a comfortable life, and the division of labour would yield to a variety of pleasant jobs, resulting in the sort of integrated, organic existence that had prevailed in the medieval city.

To prepare men for this happier life, Kropotkin pinned his hopes on the education of the young. To achieve an integrated society he called for an "integral education" that would cultivate both mental and manual skills. Due

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THE LANDSCAPE

Relief. Dominating the relief are the great lowland expanses that make up the core of Hungary. The Little Alföld (Kis Alföld, or Little Plain) lies in the northwest, fringed on the west by the easternmost extension of the sub-Alps along the border with Austria and bounded on the north by the Danube. The Little Alföld is separated from the Great Alföld (Nagy Magyar Alföld, or Great Hungarian Plain) by a low mountain system extending across the country from southwest to northeast for a distance of 250 miles (400 kilometres). This system, which forms the backbone of the country, is made up of the Transdanubian (Dunántúl) and Northern mountains. The former lie to the southwest of the gorge of the Danube at Visegrád and are dominated by the Bakony Mountains, which consist of dolomite and limestone plateaus at heights of between 1,300 and 2,300 feet (400 and 700 metres) above sea level interspersed with volcanic peaks. Regions of hills reaching altitudes of 800 to 1,000 feet lie on either side of the mountain backbone, while to the south and west of Lake Balaton is an independent upland region of more subdued, loess-covered topography. The Great Alföld covers most of central and southeastern Hungary. Like its northern counterpart, it is a basinlike structure filled with fluvial and windblown deposits. Four types of surface may be distinguished: floodplains, composed of river alluvium; alluvial fans, wedge-shaped features deposited at the breaks of slopes where the rivers emerge from the mountain rim; alluvial fans overlain by sand dunes; and plains buried under loess, a windblown deposit derived from the continental interior. These lowlands range in height from 260 to 660 feet (80 to 200 metres) above sea level.

The Great and Little Alfölds

Climate. Because of its situation within the Carpathian Basin, Hungary has a moderately dry continental climate. The mean annual temperature is around 50° F (10° C), ranging from a chilly 32°–25° F (0° to −4° C) in January to July temperatures of 64°–73° F (18°–23° C). A summer temperature as high as 106° F (41° C) has been recorded, while the absolute winter minimum is −29° F (−34° C). In the lowlands, precipitation generally ranges from 20 to 24 inches (500 to 600 millimetres), rising to 24 to 31 inches (800 millimetres) over higher areas. The Great Alföld is the driest and the southwest uplands the wettest part of the country. Up to two-thirds of annual precipitation falls during the growing season.

Temperatures

Drainage. Hungary lies within the drainage basin of the Danube. The Danube and its two most important Hungarian tributaries, the Rába and the Drava, are of Alpine origin, while the Tisza and its tributaries, which drain much of eastern Hungary, rise in the Carpathians.

The Danube floods regularly twice a year, the first occurring in early spring and the second in early summer. During these phases, discharge is up to 10 times greater (212,000 to 282,000 cubic feet [6,000 to 8,000 cubic metres] per second) than that recorded during the low-water periods of autumn and winter. Where it flows through Hungary, the Tisza is of floodplain character, and large meanders and oxbow lakes marking former channels are typical features. At Szolnok, peak discharges 50 times greater than average have been recorded. Approximately once a decade, floods of catastrophic dimensions occur on the Danube, the Tisza, and their tributaries; a system of dams has diminished the risk for 15,000 square miles (39,000 square kilometres) of the Great and Little Alfölds.

Surface water covers about 1 percent of the area of Hungary, and there are only three natural lakes: Lake Balaton, the largest, and Velence Lake (Velencei-tó) and Lake Fertő (Austrian Neusiedlersee), on the Austrian border.

Natural vegetation, soils, and animal life. The activities of man over the ages have largely destroyed the natural vegetation of Hungary. Nearly two-thirds of the land is regularly cultivated, the remainder comprising meadows and rough pasture (14 percent of the total area) and forest and woodland (16 percent), while about 10 percent is in nonagricultural uses. No part of the country is of sufficient altitude to support natural coniferous forest, beech being the climax species at the highest elevations and oak woodland alternating with scrubby grassland being the climax at lower altitudes in the upland regions.

In the forest zones, gray-brown podzolic (leached) and brown forest soils predominate, while under the forest–steppe has evolved rich black-earth, or chernozem, soil, although sand dunes and dispersed alkali soils are also characteristic.

Soils

Deer and wild pig are abundant in the higher forested areas, while the lowlands have an animal population of rodents, hares, partridges, and pheasants. The once numerous varieties of marsh waterfowl survive only in nature reserves. Significant water and air pollution occurs in some of the industrial regions of the country, but the state has instituted strict measures of environmental control.

Traditional regions. The Great Alföld is the largest region of the country. Traditionally it is divided into two parts: the area lying between the Danube and Tisza rivers, and Trans-Tisza (Tiszántúl), the region east of the Tisza. The former consists primarily of a mosaic of small landscape elements—sand dunes, loess plains, and floodplains—in the Kiskunság. Kecskemét is the market centre for the region, which is also noted for its isolated farmsteads, known as *tanyák*. Several interesting ethnographic groups live here, including the people of the Kalocsa-Sárköz, who are noted for their hand-embroidered costumes and folklore. The Matyó, who live in the northern part of the plain around the town of Mezőkövesd, are also noted for hand embroidery and multicoloured costumes. In the generally homogeneous flat plain of the Trans-Tisza region, only the Nyírség presents any form of topographical contrast. Closely connected with this latter

area are the Hajdúság and the Hortobágy, and all three areas look to Debrecen, the largest city of the plain. The Hortobágy presents an interesting survival of the steppe life of earlier times, since the original Hungarian cattle (and cowboys), horse, and sheep breeds have been preserved there as part of the national heritage.

The Little Alföld, the second major natural region, is situated in the northwest and is traversed by the Danube and Rába rivers and their tributaries. It is more favourably endowed naturally than the Great Alföld; the settlement hierarchy is better developed, and both agriculture and industry are more advanced.

Transdanubia

The third major region is Transdanubia (Dunántúl), which embraces all of the country west of the Danube except the Little Alföld. It includes the Transdanubian Mountains and, strictly speaking, the Little Alföld also. To the south of Lake Balaton are the hills of Somogy, Tolna, and Baranya, where the people view Pécs, a mining and industrial city, as the economic and cultural centre. The Transdanubian Mountains include the Bakony mountains, whose isolation, densely forested ridges, small closed basins, and medieval fortresses and monasteries have afforded protection to the local inhabitants over the course of many stormy centuries. Although modern industrial towns, drawing on the bauxite, manganese, and brown coal resources of the area, have recently sprung up, the cultural centre of the area is the historic city of Veszprém. Along the southern boundary of the Transdanubian Mountains are ranged a number of health resorts and centres of wine production, notably Keszthely, Hévíz, Badacsony, and Balatonfüred.

The Northern Mountains, the fourth major geographical region of the country, contain two important industrial areas, the Nógrád and Borsod basins. Miskolc, the second largest city of the country and a major industrial centre, is situated in the latter. Budapest is located where all four regions meet, to the south of the gorge of the Danube.

Patterns of settlement. There are 83 towns and cities in Hungary and another 60 or so settlements that provide urban-type functions. Since the town is a legal-administrative concept rather than one based on function, the proportion of the population living in towns and cities (50.2 percent of the total in 1976) is an underestimate of the actual percentage of the population living in urban-like surroundings.

Urban Hungary is dominated by Budapest (an estimated 2,065,000 inhabitants in 1976), which is more than 10 times the size of the second city, Miskolc. Within its bounds live some two-fifths of all urban residents and almost half of the industrial working force of the country. The major provincial centres are Miskolc, Debrecen, Szeged, Pécs, and Győr, each of which has a population exceeding 100,000, an economic, cultural, and administrative hinterland that reaches deep into the surrounding countryside, and a rapidly expanding industrial capacity. Below the provincial centres in the hierarchy are the traditional market towns, such as Kecskemét, Székesfehérvár, Nyíregyháza, Szombathely, and Szolnok, with new suburbs added to medieval or Baroque town centres and having populations in the range of 50,000 to 90,000. Also worthy of note are the predominantly industrial towns located close to the mineral resources of the Northern Mountains, which, from small beginnings in the early 20th century, have developed into major industrial centres since 1950. They include Ajka, Tatabánya, Salgótarján, and Ózd. In addition, a number of entirely new industrial towns (new Socialist towns) have been created on green-field sites as part of deliberate planning policy.

The vast majority of towns in Hungary have populations of less than 40,000. Thus the range of services they offer is limited and indeed is below that normally expected of places of similar size in western Europe and North America, because they were functionally, until very recently, vastly overgrown villages rather than towns. An important aspect of regional policy is to remedy this deficiency and thus improve the services available to the rural population. A hierarchical structure of settlements is being deliberately created, and the range of services that each settlement offers is strictly planned.

Rural population distribution

The distribution of rural population varies widely from one part of the country to another. For historical reasons connected with resettlement following the Turkish occupation in the 16th century, the compact villages of the Great Alföld are comparatively small in number but large in size. By comparison, rural settlement in Transdanubia and in the Northern Mountains takes the form of many small nucleated and linear villages. The isolated farmsteads known as *tanyák* tend to be concentrated in the Great Alföld. This form of agrarian settlement is regarded as incompatible with large-scale cooperative and state farming, and attempts are being made to concentrate the *tanya* population in new, compact *tanya* villages.

THE PEOPLE

Nationality and language. According to the estimate of January 1, 1976, the population of Hungary was 10,572,000, giving an overall density of 295 persons per square mile (114 per square kilometre), which is around the median value for the continent of Europe. The mother tongue of 98.5 percent of the population is Hungarian, which belongs to the Finno-Ugric linguistic group of the Uralic family and is related only to Finnish and Estonian among the major languages of Europe.

The Hungarian people, known ethnically as Magyars, migrated from the steppes of eastern Europe and settled in the Carpathian Basin during the 9th century AD. They are a homogeneous people, and subgroups within them are difficult to distinguish. Germans make up the largest ethnic minority, some 0.5 percent of the population, followed by small numbers of Southern Slavs (mainly Croatians and Serbians), Slovaks, and Romanians. The Gypsy population forms a distinctive group, numbering in the early 1970s some 180,000 to 185,000, of whom about 35,000 speak Romany as their mother tongue.

After World War I some two-thirds of the former territory of Hungary was annexed by neighbouring states, and as a consequence upwards of 3,000,000 Hungarians now live in Romania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. In addition, the possibility of improved living standards abroad led to the emigration up to 1939 of 1,500,000 Hungarians, the majority of whom went to North America. Since 1945 emigration has been insignificant because of restrictions placed on freedom of movement, except during the aftermath of the uprising of 1956 (the Hungarian Revolution), when 200,000 sought homes in other countries; of these, approximately 20,000 later returned to Hungary. Though the religious affiliation of the population has not been enumerated since the census of 1949, it is estimated that 90 percent of the people have some kind of religious affiliation at the present time. Of these, approximately 60 percent are Roman Catholics and 25 percent Lutherans and Calvinists; Unitarians, Baptists, and a small Jewish community (much reduced in size following the deportations toward the end of World War II) represent the most significant of the minor religious groups.

Emigration

Demographic trends. Paralleling the trends exhibited by most countries of western and central Europe, the rate of population growth in Hungary during the 20th century has been comparatively low. During the interwar period the annual rate of increase fluctuated between 0.7 and 0.8 percent, and, ignoring the period of the war, it remained at that general level until the mid-1950s. During the subsequent 10 years a marked deceleration in the pace of growth set in, but since the mid-1960s the rate has stabilized at around 0.35 percent per year, although a slight upswing has been observed in the 1970s.

The low rate of increase can be ascribed to the declining birth rate, in 1962 to what was until then the lowest figure observed for any country in Europe, only 12.9 per 1,000 population. In 1974 and 1975, however, a strong upsurge was observed in the birth rate, to around 20 per 1,000, and, although caution must be exercised over interpretation, it is reasonably clear that this development is a consequence of the new population policy that makes abortion more difficult to obtain, gives preference in housing allocation and house-building grants to families with

children, safeguards the employment rights of mothers, and provides generous child allowances.

The crude death rate of the population is around 11.5 per 1,000 and, because of the aging of the population, has shown a tendency to rise. Life tables suggest that male life expectancy at birth is now virtually static at 66.9 years, while female longevity continues to increase (at an increasingly lower rate), life expectancy at birth being 72.6 years. The long-term implications of the birth and death rates of the 1960s and early '70s are for eventual population decline, but the upsurge in births in the mid-1970s meant that the net reproduction ratio rose above unity for the first time since 1957.

The proportion of the population over the age of 60 years has been rising steadily, from 11.6 percent in 1949 to almost 19 percent in 1976, primarily because of the falling birth rate. In addition, the migration of young people from the countryside to the towns has meant that population aging has been more accentuated in rural than in urban areas. Every Hungarian census since 1869 has recorded a female surplus. The heavy male mortality during World War II strengthened the imbalance, and in 1949 a sex ratio of 1,081 females per 1,000 males was recorded; this has since fallen to 1,062 females per 1,000 males. An overall female surplus is to be expected within a country such as Hungary because of the strong sex differential in mortality. It should, however, be mentioned that among the younger population males outnumber females and that the female preponderance becomes evident only among people over the age of 40. Migration again produces geographical disparities in the sex ratio; although the female surplus is greater in rural than in urban areas because more men than women migrate to the towns, it is most pronounced among the resident population of Budapest, females outnumbering males by four to three among permanent migrants to the capital.

A surplus of women

Active wage earners constitute about half the total population. Of these, industry and the tertiary sector each employ some 35 percent, agriculture around one quarter of the total. Since the 1950s there has been an enormous restructuring of occupations in the country, the agricultural sector suffering great depletion because of the rapid growth of industry and the associated process of urbanization. The consequence has been a marked shift in population distribution through the process of internal migration. Between 1960 and 1973 Budapest experienced a net influx of approximately 280,000 migrants, and almost as many people moved into the neighbouring settlements that go to make up the Budapest metropolitan area.

Some 28 percent of the total population of the country lives within the Budapest metropolitan area, and sizable concentrations of population also occur within the industrial and mining regions of the Northern Mountains. Rural population density is greatest in the northeastern part of the Great Alföld, where the rate of natural increase has remained comparatively high. Nevertheless, the major part of the plain is sparsely settled because of large-scale out-migration, low natural increase, and a lack of urban centres. It is expected that the number of rural inhabitants will continue to decline, but increasingly it will be local urban centres rather than the large cities that are the recipients of population through this process.

Great Alföld population

Hungary, Area and Population

	area		population	
	sq mi	sq km	1970 census	1974 estimate
Regions				
Alföld (lowland region)				
Megyék (counties)				
Bács-Kiskun	3,229	8,362	574,000	564,000
Békés	2,175	5,632	447,000	431,000
Csongrád	1,517	3,928	323,000	288,000
Hajdú-Bihar	2,226	5,765	375,000	354,000
Pest	2,468	6,393	875,000	921,000
Szabolcs-Szatmár	2,292	5,937	590,000	562,000
Szolnok	2,165	5,608	449,000	437,000
Megyei jogú városok (county-ranked cities)				
Debrecen	172	446	157,000	177,000
Szeged	129	335	119,000	165,000
Dunántúl (Danube region)				
Megyék (counties)				
Baranya	1,694	4,388	280,000	271,000
Fejér	1,689	4,374	391,000	402,000
Győr-Sopron	1,482	3,837	304,000	302,000
Komárom	869	2,250	302,000	310,000
Somogy	2,348	6,082	363,000	360,000
Tolna	1,393	3,609	259,000	251,000
Vas	1,288	3,337	280,000	278,000
Veszprém	2,003	5,187	412,000	419,000
Zala	1,270	3,288	267,000	261,000
Megyei jogú város (county-ranked city)				
Győr	67	175	100,000	113,000
Pécs	57	145	145,000	159,000
Észak (northern region)				
Főváros (capital city)				
Budapest	203	525	1,945,000	2,047,000
Megyék (counties)				
Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	2,712	7,024	607,000	588,000
Heves	1,404	3,638	347,000	340,000
Nógrád	982	2,544	240,000	233,000
Megyei jogú város (county-ranked city)				
Miskolc	86	224	172,000	193,000
Total Hungary	35,920*	93,032*	10,322,000	10,428,000*

*Figures do not add to total because of rounding.
Source: Official government figures.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

In terms of per capita gross national income, Hungary has achieved a medium level of development. In overall economic performance it ranks immediately after Italy and Austria but ahead of Spain, the Balkan countries, and Poland. Since approximately 15 percent of the Gross National Product is derived from agriculture, Hungary can be classed as an industrial–agrarian country.

Natural resources. The major natural endowments of Hungary are fertile soils and a climate favourable for agriculture. The power resources are modest, and the only significant mineral wealth is bauxite and the manganese deposits associated with it in the Bakony mountains. The one iron mine, at Rudabánya near Miskolc, produces low-grade ore of 24 to 27 percent metal content and can satisfy only one-tenth of national demand. The basic materials for the construction industry are mostly found within the country. Coal output is mainly of low-grade brown coal from mines in the Northern Mountains; black coal of good quality is mined only at Komló near Pécs, and most coal mining is slowly being phased out. Uranium-containing sands are found at Kővágószőllős, also close to Pécs. Electricity is generated by thermal power stations burning coal and to a lesser extent oil, but they will be supplemented by a nuclear station under construction on the Danube south of Budapest. The lowland nature of the country and the consequent absence of fast rivers rules out the generation of hydroelectricity.

Sources of national income. Before World War II the economy of Hungary was based primarily on agriculture, but the industrialization drive since 1950 has fundamentally altered the balance. Whereas agriculture accounted for almost half the national income in 1938, this proportion had fallen to about one-seventh by the mid-1970s. The contribution of industry, construction, and mining rose correspondingly.

Hungary is virtually self-sufficient in food production, and agriculture also provides valuable commodities for export. Maize (corn), wheat, sugar beets, and potatoes are the principal crops, but beef, pork, and poultry production are also important. Slightly more than half the total area of the country is under arable cultivation, and a further 6 percent is planted to orchards, vegetables, and vineyards.

Agriculture is organized into cooperative and state farms. Initially collectivization was forced, and many units disbanded spontaneously in 1956. The cooperative sector was subsequently expanded again along largely voluntary lines, and by the mid-1970s more than 94 percent of agricultural land was farmed within the Socialist sector (cooperative and state farms combined). The private plots of cooperative labourers, however, also make a significant contribution to total output. Paralleling reorganization has been the modernization and mechanization of agriculture.

Cooperative and state farms

Between 50 and 55 percent of all imports consist of raw materials and semifinished products. The only sizable export of this type is bauxite, which is sent to Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet Union. In the past, Hungary depended very heavily on coal as a source of energy, but production has been decreasing rapidly as use of oil and natural gas has expanded. Much of the crude oil supply comes by pipeline from the Soviet Union, although an increasing quantity is being imported from the Middle East. Natural gas is produced in Hungary in the vicinity of Szeged, and more is imported from Romania. A small quantity of crude oil is also produced at home. Gas is being increasingly utilized in the chemical industry as well as for heating and household purposes, while the consumption of electricity is also rising rapidly.

By the mid-1970s approximately 1,816,000 persons were employed in industry, and production was some six times higher than in 1950. During the early 1950s industry concentrated on the production of capital goods, but from the late 1950s greater emphasis has been placed on consumer goods. Engineering accounts for just under half the total industrial output; textiles, clothing, and paper products combined contribute a further third, and food and chemicals are other significant sectors.

Financial services and foreign trade. The financial system is centralized and owned by the state. The Hungarian National Bank (Magyar Nemzeti Bank) is concerned with money supply and the granting of credits to companies, cooperative farms, state farms, and similar bodies. The State Development Bank (Allami Fejlesztési Bank) finances major investment projects and oversees national investment trends, while the Hungarian Foreign Trade Bank (Magyar Külkereskedelmi Bank) is concerned with foreign currency transactions.

Foreign trade

Before World War II, food products were the main exports. Postwar industrialization, however, has meant a restructuring of foreign trade, and the import of capital equipment and raw materials and the export of industrial articles have become dominant.The orientation of foreign trade has also undergone change, and the countries of the Communist bloc now account for some 60–65 percent of the total. The Soviet Union remains by far the largest trading partner; among the capitalist countries, West Germany is the most important trading partner, ranking, indeed, ahead of Bulgaria and Romania.

Management of the economy. The national economy of Hungary is based on public ownership of the fundamental means of production. The economy is divided into three sectors: state, cooperative, and private. Large industrial and agricultural enterprises and the banks are owned by the state and supervised by ministries or local authorities. The cooperative sector is made up of farming cooperatives (cultivating some 80 percent of agricultural land), manufacturing and artisans' cooperatives, and a number of marketing and consumption cooperatives. The insignificant private sector of the economy comprises artisans, retail tradesmen, and small farmers. Some three quarters of national income is generated by the state sector, one-fifth by cooperatives, and only 2–3 percent by private initiative.

Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans. The aims and implementation of economic policy are set out in the five-year plans of the national economy. The goals of the 1971–75 plan, for example, called for a 30 to 32 percent increase in national income; a similar increase in industrial production; a 15 to 16 percent increase in agricultural output; and growth of 25 to 27 percent in the real income of the population. The targets seem generally to have been fulfilled, but domestic consumption and investment rose in line with the original target but at the expense of the balance of trade. Under the Fifth Five-Year Plan, covering 1976 to 1980, similar increases are again projected for national income and industrial and agricultural production. Since the Hungarian economy faces severe manpower constraints, the achievement of output targets is contingent upon substantial improvements in labour productivity. The effect of imported inflation from the West and a further worsening of the terms of trade could adversely affect the plan targets.

The New Economic Mechanism. At the beginning of 1968 a reformed system of economic management (the New Economic Mechanism, or Új Gazdasági Mechanizmus) was introduced, replacing the previous rigid system of central planning—the direction of the economy by means of centrally determined, obligatory targets for individual enterprises. The basic aim of the New Economic Mechanism is to improve economic efficiency, both in domestic production and in foreign trade activities. Achieving this has involved the abolition of directive planning and an increase in the importance of prices in determining decisions about enterprises. Producers' prices have been reformed to bring them more into line with production costs, and a system of taxation has been devised to allow the payment of bonuses to workers and management in accordance with profits achieved rather than plan norms. Economic regulators—prices, taxation, credits, export and import licenses, and income regulators—are now the main elements of plan fulfillment. Enterprises are allowed a wide degree of autonomy about future investment. They can also handle their own foreign trade relations, set up companies abroad, and participate in foreign companies. Joint ventures with Western companies holding up to 49 percent of the equity have been permitted since 1972, although by mid-1974 only two Western concerns had forged such links.

Improving economic efficiency

The reform is generally considered to have been successful. More balanced growth has been maintained than in the earlier period, although controls on prices and profits had to be tightened to prevent the development of excessive income disparities and to maintain a low rate of inflation. Problems have also arisen regarding the profitability of some enterprise investment programs, and after January 1976 enterprises were required to repay state investment credits in full (previously 80 percent) over 10 years. In addition, unscheduled increases in costs now have to be covered by the enterprises themselves.

Taxation. The main sources of state finance are the taxes and other payments collected from nationalized and cooperative enterprises. Since the bulk of consumer prices are fixed by the state, it can be argued that a hidden tax is also levied on many articles and services, although others are heavily subsidized. Taxes paid directly by the population include an annual property tax, a progressive income tax (although only the higher wage earners and those in the private sector are seriously affected), a gift tax, and death duties.

Organizations. A number of organizations represent the interests of industrial enterprises, cooperatives, and employees. The common interests of state-owned companies are safeguarded by the appropriate ministry. The specialist companies and other enterprises participating in foreign trade can voice their common view through the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce (Magyar Kereskedelmi Kamara). Nonagricultural cooperatives also have their joint organizations, as does the private sector. Agrarian cooperatives are organized territorially and are coordinated by the National Council of Producer Cooperatives (Termelőszövetkezetek Országos Tanácsa).

Nineteen trade unions, all affiliated to the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (Magyar Szakszervezetek Országos Tanácsa), represent the interests of the working population. Trade union membership is voluntary, the closed shop is illegal, and some 4,000,000 persons possess union membership. Each union represents the interests of workers in a given branch of the economy or profession, and in most instances one union only is active at a particular workplace. Union officials are elected once every four years.

Trade unions

The functions of trade unions in Hungary differ considerably from those in the West. On the one hand, they are concerned with such economic matters as wage levels and job protection. This role has been increased within the framework of the New Economic Mechanism and the introduction of a modified labour code in which many of the restrictions on termination of employment and the obligation of the state to fix wages were abolished. Collective agreements between the enterprise management and the union have thus taken on greater significance. By con-

trast with usual practice in the West, unions are obliged to further agreed government policy. Disputes with management over collective agreements are settled through the courts, and the strike is not used. Additionally, enterprise managements are compelled by law to consult the unions about the living and working conditions of employees. Hungarian unions also serve an important social and cultural role. Union holiday homes are to be found in the principal resort areas of the country, providing inexpensive vacations for members. Unions also control the social and cultural funds accumulated by enterprises.

TRANSPORTATION

The industrialization and urbanization of Hungary have increased the importance of transport. The population is more mobile than previously, while the demands of industry for the movement of raw materials and finished articles have significantly risen. The growing tourist traffic between East and West also places greater burdens on the transport system.

Transport in Hungary is strongly centralized, and every main rail link and principal road converges on Budapest. Roads have already overtaken railways in terms of volume of freight transported, although when expressed in ton-kilometres rail still has the edge by virtue of the considerable movement of raw materials from the Soviet Union. More people also now use roads for personal transport since the upsurge in car ownership. In addition, transport by pipeline is rapidly developing.

Railways. The main elements of the Hungarian railway system were constructed in the second half of the 19th century to connect the principal provincial cities with Budapest, and, taking frontier changes into account, traffic is still concentrated in these few important lines. Domestically, the most important links are between Budapest and northern industrial areas; internationally, the main lines to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, and Poland carry the most traffic.

Modernization of railways

The railways are undergoing extensive modernization. Steam has virtually been eliminated in favour of diesel traction, and the main east–west link from the Austrian to the Soviet frontier is electrified. Improvements to track and rolling stock and the automation of signalling equipment will increase capacity by allowing higher speeds. Unimportant branch lines (a total of 1,300 miles, or 2,100 kilometres, will eventually be dismantled) are being closed and traffic transferred to the roads. It is also planned to eliminate some 1,000 little used stations on the lines that will be retained and to reorganize the network around modernized district stations.

Roads. Approximately half the 18,600 miles (30,000 kilometres) of roads in the country have modern asphalt or concrete surfaces. The main roads, all of which radiate from Budapest, have been modernized since the 1950s but are still inadequate for the rapidly rising volume of traffic. Although the bulk of road passenger transport is still by bus, car ownership is expanding dramatically; the growth of domestic and international road haulage is also placing severe pressure on parts of the system. The London–Damascus and Hamburg–Bucharest international highways cross the country. A four-lane expressway, from Budapest to Lake Balaton, is largely complete, and the next phase of the program is the linkup with the European international road network.

Water transport. The Danube is the only waterway in the country transporting a significant amount of freight, much of it international and in transit. The principal port is Csepel free port in Budapest. Tourism provides the bulk of a highly seasonal traffic on other waterways, Lake Balaton deserving special mention in this connection.

Air transport. The small size of the country means that operation of domestic air services is not economically feasible, and the last internal route was discontinued in 1969. International air traffic centred on Ferihegy Airport, Budapest, is rapidly expanding. Malév, the national airline, operates to almost every country of Europe as well as to the Middle East. Ferihegy is also used by a number of major Western airlines.

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Government structure. Hungary is a people's republic whose structure of government and laws are set out in the constitution of 1949 as revised in 1972. The supreme organ of state is Parliament which possesses "all the rights emanating from popular sovereignty." Parliament elects the members of the collective sovereign body, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, as well as the members of the Council of Ministers, the president of the Supreme Court, and the chief public prosecutor.

When Parliament is not in session its functions are executed by the Presidential Council. The council calls Parliament into session according to need, generally several times a year, and promulgates legal decrees that must be presented for approval at the next parliamentary session. It also supervises state administration and appoints the more important state officials.

The main organ of state administration is the Council of Ministers, whose president and individual ministers have the authority to issue orders. To ensure the effective management of the economy, the Council of Ministers delegates authority to an economic commission, which promulgates compulsory decrees. In addition, commissions concerned with specialist spheres, such as scientific policy and international economic relations, operate within the framework of the Council of Ministers.

Local government. Local administration is based on a hierarchical structure of local councils. At the base of the hierarchy are village councils, which are directly responsible to rural district authorities. Fulfilling the same administrative role as the latter are the urban district councils. Both rural and urban district authorities are subordinate to the county council within whose geographical sphere they lie, there being 19 such authorities. Of equal rank to the latter are the five municipal councils (subdivided into subordinate municipal district councils) of Debrecen, Győr, Miskolc, Pécs, and Szeged. The administration of the capital is the responsibility of the Metropolitan Council of Budapest and the 22 subordinate metropolitan district authorities. At the head of the hierarchy is the City Council of Budapest, which transmits its authority through the Office of Councils. As a reform measure, village councils of villages with small populations have been amalgamated into joint village councils, which makes possible the extension of services (such as health centres, libraries, and primary schools) to rural communities where previously there was no economic justification. The county and municipal authorities together with the Budapest metropolitan and metropolitan district councils represent the most important tier of local government. Their specialist executive committees deal with fiscal matters, economic administration (including the running of some industry and many retail functions), planning and control of education, and the supervision of public health. Since 1971 the rural and municipal district councils have not been elected and are in effect executive committees of the corresponding county or municipal authorities.

County and municipal councils

Elections and political organizations. Parliamentary and council elections are held every four years on a franchise extended to all Hungarian citizens over the age of 18. Members of Parliament and of village, urban district, municipal, and metropolitan district councils are elected directly by secret ballot. Because the county and Budapest metropolitan councillors represent the interests of a whole city or county, they are elected by the members of the subordinate village, urban, and metropolitan district councils rather than by direct franchise. Candidates are chosen at nomination meetings, and more than one candidate can stand for election in a given constituency. Independents have the right to stand, but candidates are usually proposed by the Patriotic People's Front (Hazafias Népfront) or the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt; *i.e.*, the Communist Party). When several candidates contest a constituency, the winner is the one who obtains an absolute majority of the votes cast. Elected members of Parliament and of councils are accountable to their constituents, who have

the right to remove them in the case of incapacity or lack of confidence. In such a case, and when a member dies, a special election is held.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (the only political party), whose members number some 760,000, plays the leading political and ideological role in the Hungarian People's Republic, and many members of its Political Committee are or have in the past been members of the government. The directives of the party are implemented through the educational and organizational work of its members and its support groups. The latter include the Hungarian Communist Youth Association (Magyar Kommunista Ifjúsági Szövetség; with some 800,000 members), the trade unions (with some 4,000,000 members), the National Council of Hungarian Women (Magyar Nők Országos Tanácsa), and the Patriotic People's Front, a mass organization based on collective, in contrast to individual, membership.

Through these organizations the citizen has the opportunity to voice opinions on public affairs and to submit comments, complaints, and suggestions to the administrative authorities of the state. The citizen also has the right to be heard in local or central political organs and has freedom of expression through the mass media, provided the social, economic, and political order of the country, as defined by the constitution, is respected. This freedom does not, therefore, extend to the expression of views that are contrary to the ideology and fundamental aims of the state.

Justice. The administration of justice is the responsibility of the chief public prosecutor, who is elected for a six-year term by Parliament. Civil and criminal proceedings come under the jurisdiction of district and county courts and of the Supreme Court. District courts deal with first instances, county courts with more serious crimes, civil actions of first instance, and cases on appeal, and the Supreme Court normally with appeals, although first instances may be referred by the chief public prosecutor. The Supreme Court also passes judgment on matters of principle, which are then binding on the other courts. Although special courts are possible under the constitution, military courts are the only such courts presently in existence. In addition, local government executive committees may try petty offenses, and the police have power to deal summarily with minor traffic infringements and other misdemeanours. District and county court judges and lay assessors are elected by the respective district and county councils and members of the Supreme Court by Parliament, on the recommendation of the Presidential Council.

Armed forces and the police. The armed forces of the Hungarian People's Republic consist of the People's Army, which includes the air force, the frontier guards, the police, the workers' militia (a voluntary paramilitary group), and the customs police. All males over the age of 18 are liable for compulsory military training, the length of which varies according to the branch of the services entered. The police safeguard social property, public order, and the personal and material security of citizens and are responsible for traffic control. The police force, which is also supported by voluntary groups, comes under the jurisdiction of the National Police Board. The Internal Security Forces (Belső Karhatalom, or BKH) are under the Ministry of the Interior. Four Soviet divisions are stationed in the country.

Education. In Hungary schooling is free (financed out of general exchequer funds, with parental contribution toward cost of books and stationery) and compulsory between the ages of six and 16, although many children attend crèches and kindergartens before reaching the age of six. Elementary education extends over eight years and embraces the six to 14 age group. At the age of 14 children embark upon their secondary education in grammar schools, technical schools, or schools specializing in the fine arts or music. Entrance into secondary school is based upon elementary school reports and parental choice, and most pupils stay on until the age of 18. The curricula followed in the various types of school are laid down by the Ministry of Education and are standardized throughout the country. Technical schools have become increasingly popular because in addition to teaching traditional subjects they also provide pupils with a vocational background. All schools, with the exception of a handful of secondary establishments run by religious denominations, are controlled by the state.

Higher education

Institutions of higher education, of which there are more than 80, range from the traditional university to the very specialized college, such as the College of Chemical Engineering at Kazincbarcika. Acceptance into university is dependent upon the results of an entrance examination, although social background is also taken into account and, as elsewhere in eastern Communist Europe, children of workers and peasants may be given preference. While higher education is not free, the number of students paying fees is small, and most can also expect to receive a maintenance grant.

Health and welfare services. In 1972 the national health plan was extended to the entire population of the country. Under the plan, medical treatment is available free of charge (except nontherapeutic abortions and hospitalization because of drunkenness). Also free of charge are drugs provided in hospitals, vaccine serums and life-saving drugs, and drugs prescribed for minors. Otherwise a charge amounting to 15 percent of the cost is made for medicaments and medical appliances. The health service is administered by local councils under the supervision of the Ministry of Health. Medical care is generally of a high standard, and the number of doctors and hospital beds per capita is well up to international levels. Care is provided not only by hospitals but also by the district general practitioner, by medical centres at places of work, and by outpatient clinics containing departments of general medicine, pediatrics, surgery, gynecology, etc. Great attention is paid to disease prevention through the screening of the population for tuberculosis and cancer and through mass immunization against smallpox, infantile paralysis, and tuberculosis.

Social insurance, which is paid for by the contributions of employers, provides for sickness, maternity, and death benefits. Sick pay is usually fixed at 75 percent of wages and is available for one year without restriction. In addition to 20 weeks of paid maternity leave, mothers can receive a monthly child-nursing grant for a period of three years after birth. Both employers and employees contribute to the pension fund, from which are drawn retirement (at 60 years of age for men and 55 for women) and disability pensions. The social and pension funds are administered by the Trade Union Social Insurance Centre (Szakszervezeti Társadalombiztosítási Központ), under the supervision of the Council of Ministers. Retired persons who are not entitled to a pension, together with those whose pensions are too low, receive social care from the appropriate council. Councils also provide homes for the aged who have no immediate family and, in conjunction with employers, maintain nurseries and kindergartens as well as day homes for children of school age. Family allowances are paid on a progressive scale to married couples with two or more children and to single-parent families with one or more children. Children in need of care are looked after in homes maintained by the state.

Housing shortage

Housing. Housing remains a severe problem despite the completion in 1975 of a 15-year building program that went a long way toward ameliorating the housing shortage. The basic premise of housing policy is that every family is entitled to its own home at reasonable cost and each family member to a separate room. Overcrowding, shared tenancies, sublettings, and the involuntary sharing of accommodation with parents are nevertheless common. While the state is very active in the housing field, some 72 percent of dwellings are privately owned. Public sector housing is controlled by local authorities and is generally allocated according to need. There is a multiplicity of home types. The state in the form of the local authority is the largest landlord, yet it builds homes for sale (*öröklakás*) as well as for rent. The state and private sectors are bridged by the cooperative housing sector (*szövetkezeti lakás*), although the cooperative

scene also includes groups of individuals who voluntarily form themselves into a "private" cooperative to build a modest apartment house of not more than 10 flats (*társasház*). The privately owned single-family dwelling is commonest in small towns and villages.

Deficiencies in housing policy regarding availability, upkeep, and social distribution of homes led to a major reform of the system in 1971. While committing more funds from the central exchequer, the reform has also increased the financial involvement of individual households in home construction and maintenance. Rents, which contain a capital cost as well as an upkeep element, were raised, and a uniform structure was introduced. Rents are still low by most Western standards, however. To reduce the burden on the state, private ownership is encouraged through the provision of subsidies and 30–35-year mortgages at low rates of interest. Housing policy and population policy are interconnected in that housing subsidies go to families with young children or to married couples who agree to have children within five years.

Wages and the cost of living. Since 1950 unemployment in Hungary has been rare, and indeed there exists an overall shortage of manpower. The work week has been progressively reduced over the years and by the mid-1970s was 44 hours or less.

The extremes of income disparity among the various groups in society have been reduced, and the average incomes of rural and urban dwellers are very similar. Between 1970 and 1975, consumer prices rose at an annual average of around 2.5 to 3 percent, showing a tendency to increase at a faster rate toward the end of the period as the country adjusted itself to higher energy and food prices, while real per capita income grew at 4 to 5 percent per year.

CULTURAL LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS

The cultural milieu. A large number of Hungarians have made substantial contributions to the arts and sciences. The achievements of the Hungarian-born scientists Albert Szent-Györgyi, Georg von Békésy, Eugene Wigner, Edward Teller, Leo Szilard, and John von Neumann have gained world recognition and many Nobel prizes. The music of Franz (Ferenc) Liszt, Béla Bartók, and Zoltán Kodály is also known throughout the world, and many contemporary Hungarian musical artists and conductors have become eminent internationally. In addition, the works of the poets János Arany, Sándor Petőfi, and Endre Ady as well as those of the writers Kálmán Mikszáth, Zsigmond Móricz, and Ferenc Molnár have been translated into many languages.

Mass culture

Before World War II Hungary had a well-developed cultural life, but one largely confined to the upper classes. The working class was regarded as uncultured, and illiteracy was widespread. Since 1945 the government has made great efforts to promote mass culture, and large sums have been and continue to be spent by the state in this respect. Cultural opportunities have been greatly expanded, and prices are kept low through state support of literature, music, the visual arts, and the popular arts.

Hungary in general and Budapest in particular are noted for their vigorous cultural life. Hungarian performers often appear abroad and have achieved many successes in international competitions, while in the capital and other cities celebrated foreign artists often perform. Foreign exhibitions are also frequently put on for the benefit of the Hungarian public. The Hungarian cinema has received numerous awards at international film festivals, and films produced in some 20 countries are regularly shown to Hungarian audiences.

Amateur groups—numbering more than 10,000 and with about 200,000 members—are also active, and some preserve the Hungarian traditions of pottery making, carving, weaving, and embroidery. These crafts are also supported by the activities of art cooperatives, whose embroidery and lace are appreciated both inside and outside the country. Also well known are the handicrafts of Matyó-land, Sárköz, and Buszák, the lace of Kalocsa, and the folk murals decorating peasant homes in Tolna and Bács-Kiskun counties. Other folk products include the pottery of Békés county, and the glass of Nógrád.

Cultural institutions. Free public libraries are found in almost every town and village of Hungary, comprising some 8,300 general and 1,700 specialized technical libraries. An important role in the spread of culture in the village is also played by the cultural centre (*kultúrház*) and in the population at large by the 207 national museums. A dozen or so scientific societies exist, and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences maintains 38 research institutes. The country has 3,600 or so motion-picture houses. Travelling theatres perform in the villages, and the theatre companies of the large cities also go on tour. The price of both cinema and theatre tickets is kept low by government subsidy. As in other countries, the spread of television has caused a drop in theatre and cinema audiences and in attendance at cultural programs in general. This has generated a wide-ranging debate regarding the relative claims for state help of the different cultural forms.

A large range of daily and weekly newspapers and periodicals is published. Radio remains popular but since the mid-1960s has been displaced from its former prominent position by television. There are some 4,200 sports clubs in the country. Football (soccer) remains the most popular sport, but the country is also strong in swimming, rowing, boxing, pentathlon, wrestling, and weight lifting. Tennis has been gaining in popularity.

Sports

PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS

Hungary now stands on the threshold of becoming a fully fledged industrial nation. Most industry has been established since 1950, and according to long-range plans the country should reach the current industrial level of western Europe by the late 1980s. Despite industrial expansion, agriculture still plays an important role in the national economy. Economic cooperation and integration within the Communist bloc continue to be important factors in economic development. Just over two-thirds of foreign trade is conducted with the member countries of Comecon, which provide an important outlet for Hungarian engineering exports and remain a valuable source of raw material imports.

Economic trends indicate that future industrial growth will be capital intensive, drawing on a body of increasingly skilled manpower. Major emphasis will be placed on the engineering, electronic, telecommunications, and pharmaceutical industries. The decline in agricultural population is expected to continue, although agriculture is likely to retain its importance in domestic and export markets. The rate of natural increase has climbed above the low levels of the 1960s and early '70s, and it is no longer certain that Hungary is heading for a stationary population in the medium term. Despite these impending changes, Hungarian traditions, especially the cultural traditions, are firmly grounded, and future stability seems fairly well assured.

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(Ed.)

Hungary, History of

Hungary came into existence when the Magyars occupied the middle basin of the Danube in the late 9th century. Parts of its territory had formed the ancient Roman provinces of Pannonia and Dacia. When Rome lost control of Pannonia at the end of the 4th century, it was occupied, first by Germanic tribes, then by Slavs. The subsequent history of Dacia is unrecorded. The central plains had formed the bases of nomadic immigrant peoples from the steppes north of the Black Sea—Huns, Bulgars, Avars—some of whom extended their domination further afield. The Avars, who dominated the basin in the 7th and 8th centuries, were crushed *c.* 800 by Charlemagne, whose successors organized the western half of the area in a chain of Slavonic vassal "dukedoms." One of these, Croatia, which extended as far north as the Sava, made itself fully independent in 869, while another, Moravia, which then extended as far as the Gran, had openly defied its Carolingian overlord for as long. The Byzantine Empire and Bulgaria exercised loose authority over the south and east of the area.

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I. The kingdom to 1526

THE ARPADS

History of the Magyars

In 892 the Carolingian emperor Arnulf, attempting to assert his authority over the Moravian duke Sviatopluk, called in the help of the Magyars, a Finno-Ugric people, whose early homes had been on the upper waters of the Volga and Kama rivers in the present Soviet Union; unrecorded causes had driven them, at an uncertain date, southward into the steppes, where they had adopted the life, appropriate to their environment, of peripatetic herdsmen. In the 9th century they were based on the lower Don, ranging over the steppes to the west of that river. They then comprised a federation of hordes, or tribes, each under a hereditary chieftain, and each composed of a varying number of clans, the members of which owned a real or imagined blood kinship. The clansmen were all free men, but the community included slaves taken in battle or in raids. There were seven "Magyar" hordes, but other elements were included in the federation, including three hordes of Turki Khazars (the "Kavars"). Either from this fact, or perhaps from a memory of earlier conditions, this federation was known to its neighbours as the On-Ogur (*i.e.*, literally, the "Ten Arrows"), from the Slavonic pronunciation of which the name "Hungarian" is derived.

In 889 attacks by the newly arrived Pechenegs had driven the Magyars and their confederates to the western extremities of the steppes, where they were living when Arnulf's invitation arrived. The band sent to Arnulf reported back that the plains across the Carpathians would form a suitable new homeland that could be easily conquered and defended from the rear. Having elected as their chief Árpád, the leader of their most powerful tribe, the Magyars crossed the Carpathians en masse, probably in 896, and easily subjugated the peoples of the sparsely inhabited central plain, their first place of settlement. They destroyed the Moravian Empire in 906 and in the next year occupied Pannonia, having defeated a German force sent against them. They were then firmly established in the whole centre of the basin, over which their tribes and their associates distributed themselves, Árpád taking the central area west of the Danube for his own tribe. The periphery was guarded by outposts, which were gradually pushed forward, chiefly to the north.

The Christian kingdom. During the next half-century the Magyars were chiefly known to Europe for the forays they made across it, either as mercenaries in the service of warring princes, or in search of booty for themselves—treasure or slaves for domestic use or sale. But terrifying to others, their mode of life was not always profitable to themselves. Their raiding forces suffered several severe reverses, culminating in a disastrous defeat at the hands of the emperor Otto I, in 955, on the Lechfeld, outside Augsburg. By this time the wild blood of the first invaders was thinning out and new influences, in particular that of Christianity, were beginning to operate. Both the Eastern and the Western churches strove to draw them, with the other peoples of east central Europe, into their orbits. They had established pacific, almost friendly relations with Bavaria. The decisive step was taken by Árpád's great-grandson, Géza, who succeeded to the hereditary chief leadership in 972 and re-established its authority over the tribal chiefs. In 973 he sent an embassy to Otto II at Quedlinburg, and in 975 he and his family were received into the Western Church. In 996 his son, Stephen (István), married Gisella, a Bavarian princess.

Magyar defeat at Lechfeld

Stephen I (997–1038) carried on his father's work. With the help of heavily armed Bavarian knights, he crushed his rivals for the headship. Applying to the Holy See, he received the insignia of royalty from it and, according to tradition, was crowned king on Christmas Day, 1000. The event was of immeasurable importance, for not only did Hungary now enter the spiritual community of the Western world but Pope Sylvester's personal relationship with his former pupil, Otto III, enabled it to do so without admitting the political suzerainty of the empire. Stephen then carried through the conversion of his people to Christianity, establishing a network of archiepiscopal and episcopal sees, which he reinforced with lavishly endowed monastic foundations. Later, he crushed the surviving disputants of his authority—notably the Kavars—and, carrying on his father's work, organized his state on a system which was to remain for many centuries the essentially unaltered basis of Hungary's political and social structure. The tribes, as units, disappeared, but the fundamental social stratification was not altered. The descendants in the male line of the old conquerors, and elements later equated with them, remained a privileged class, personally free, answerable in judgment only to the king or his representative, and entitled to appear in general assemblage. Their lands—which at this time, since the economy was mainly pastoral, were held by clans or subclans, in semicommunal ownership—were inalienable, except for proved delinquency, and free of any obligation. The only duty required by the state of members of this class was that of military service, on call. They were allowed to retain their slaves, although Stephen freed his own. All land outside that held by this class—then more than half the whole, for it included the areas in the interior not settled by the original invaders, all land lying beyond the original frontiers, and also any confiscated for rebellion—belonged to the crown, which could, indeed, donate at will. The nonservile inhabitants of these lands—descendants of the pre-Magyar population, manumitted slaves, invited colonists, etc.—were subjects of the crown or of the local landholder.

Conversion to Christianity

The whole of this land was divided into counties (*megyék*) each under a royal official, an *ispán* (later *fő* [head] *ispán*) who represented the king's authority in it, administered its unfree population, and collected the taxes that formed the national revenue, central and local. Each *ispán* maintained at his headquarters, or *vár* (fortress), an armed force composed of freemen who took service under him, or of persons freed by the king. In Stephen's day there were about 45 such counties.

The early kings. Once St. Stephen (he was canonized in 1083) established his rule, his authority was rarely

questioned. He fought few foreign wars and made his long reign a period of peaceful consolidation. But his death in 1038 was followed by many years of discord, for his only son, Imre (Emeric), had predeceased him, and the nation rebelled against his designated successor, Peter, and expelled him in 1041. Peter returned in 1044, with the help of Emperor Henry III. The "national" king, Samuel Aba, who had taken his place, was murdered, but Peter himself was killed in another rebellion in 1046. Andrew (András) I, of a collateral branch of the House of Árpád, was killed in 1060 fleeing from his brother, Béla I, and after Béla's death there was a further conflict between his sons, Géza and Ladislas (László), and Andrew's son, Salamon. Peace returned only when, after Géza's short rule (1074–77), the throne passed to Ladislas I, who occupied it until 1095; and even then, the curse of dynastic jealousy proved to have been exorcised only temporarily. Ladislas' successor, Coloman (Kálmán; 1095–1116), who was Géza I's elder son, had his own brother, Álmos, and Álmos' infant son, Béla, blinded to secure the throne for his own son Stephen II (1116–31), perhaps Hungary's worst king. Béla II (1131–41; the blinded boy, whom his father's friends had brought up in secrecy) and Béla's eldest son, Géza II (1141–61), ruled thereafter unchallenged, but the succession of Géza's son, Stephen III (1161–73) was disputed by two of his uncles, Ladislas II (1162–63) and Stephen IV (1163–65). Happily, the death of Stephen IV exhausted the supply of uncles, and Stephen III's brother, Béla III (1173–96), had no domestic rivals to the throne, but the short reign of Béla's elder son, Emeric (Imre) (1196–1204), was spent largely in disputes with his younger brother, Andrew II, who on Emeric's death expelled his infant son, Ladislas III (who died the next year), before beginning his own long reign (1205–35).

Period of disputed succession

Consolidation and expansion. These royal disputes caused Hungary much harm. Claimants to the throne often invoked foreign help, for which they paid in political degradation or temporary or permanent loss of territory: both Peter and Salamon did homage to the Holy Roman emperor for their thrones; and Aba's war against Peter's protectors cost Hungary its previous territories west of the Leitha, while the wars of the 12th century cost it areas in the south. The uncertainty delayed political consolidation, and even Christianity did not take root easily: there was a widespread pagan revolt in 1047, and another in 1063.

Yet the political unity of the country and the new faith somehow survived the earlier troubles, and both were firmly established by Ladislas I, one of Hungary's greatest kings, and by Coloman, who, in spite of his atrocious crime, was a competent and enlightened ruler.

Meanwhile, many factors worked for Hungary. The international situation was favourable. After Austria had grown big at the expense of the imperial authority, most of Hungary's neighbours were states of approximately the same size and strength as itself, and the Hungarians lived with them on terms of mutual tolerance and even friendship. The steppes were quiet: the Kuman (Latin Cumani; Hungarian Kunok), after destroying the Pechenegs there, did not try to go further, and after two big raids had been successfully repelled by Ladislas, they left Hungary in peace. The breathing space thus provided allowed Hungary to extend its effective frontiers to the Carpathian crest in the north, and over Transylvania. Magyar advance guards pushed up the valleys of both areas, and these were reinforced in the Szepes area and central Transylvania by imported colonies of Germans (usually called "Saxons"), while colonies of Szekels, a people akin to the Magyars who had preceded the latter into the central plains, were settled behind its eastern passes. The county system was extended to both areas, although with modifications in Transylvania, where the "Saxons" and Szekels constituted free communities and the whole was placed under a voivode, or governor. In the south, Ladislas occupied (or reoccupied after an interval) the area between the Sava and Drava rivers; Coloman assumed the crown of Croatia, which then included Bosnia and Northern Dalmatia, although this remained a separate "Land of the Hungarian Crown," over which a governor (ban) acted as deputy for the king.

Imported colonists

In the interior, too, natural growth and continued immigration swelled the population, which by 1200 had risen to the large figure, for the age, of some 2,000,000. The rulers of this big and populous state were now important men. After Ladislas' day, nothing more was heard of German claims to suzerainty over it. In the 12th century Hungary was intervening in its neighbours' affairs as often as they in Hungary's. Béla III, who married a French princess, had the largest revenues of any European monarch, after the two emperors.

Social and political developments. Meanwhile, the pattern of Hungarian society had been changing. The numbers of the free class, or "nobles" as they were coming to be called, although frequently reinforced by new admissions to its ranks, probably hardly increased in absolute terms, and certainly far less than those of the unfree population: from perhaps half the total in 896, they had been reduced by 1200 to about one-eighth. Further, as the economy became agricultural, the old clan lands dwindled until only pockets remained. Where the rest had been, and in large parts of the old crown lands, which improvident donations had greatly reduced, the land was held in the form of individual estates, the owner of each of which was master of the unfree population on it: the "nobles" had, to a large extent, become a landed oligarchy. Some individual estates were very large, and their owners had come to constitute a "magnate" class, not yet institutionalized or legally differentiated from their poorer co-nobles but far above them in wealth and influence. The nonnobles, although slavery had practically disappeared, were still a "subject" class; and although many of them, including the burghers of the towns (most of which were German foundations) and such communities as the Saxons and Szekels, were protected by special charters and personally free, even they stood, politically, outside the magic ring of the "natio Hungarica."

Throughout these developments, the political form of the country had remained that of the absolutist patrimonial kingship. The king maintained a council of *optimates*, but his prerogatives were not restricted and his authority on matters falling within it remained absolute. A strong king, such as Béla III, could always curb a recalcitrant magnate by simply confiscating his estate. Only the follies and extravagances of the feckless Andrew II evoked a revolt culminating, in 1222, in the issue of the famous "Golden Bull," to which every Hungarian king thereafter had to swear, as the basic charter of national liberties. Its purpose was twofold: to reaffirm the rights of the smaller nobles, old and new (*servientes regis*), against both the crown and the magnates, and to defend those of the whole nation against the crown by restricting the powers of the latter in certain fields, and legalizing refusal to obey its unlawful commands. But Andrew had done much harm, by dissipating the royal revenues through his extravagances and by huge grants of land to his partisans.

Issuance of the "Golden Bull"

The Mongol invasion: the last Árpád kings. Andrew's successor, Béla IV (1235–70), began his reign with a series of measures designed to re-establish the royal authority, but his work was soon interrupted by the frightful disaster of the Mongol invasion. In the spring of 1241 the Mongols quickly overran the country and before they left it, a year later, had inflicted ghastly devastation. Only a few (but not all) fortified places and the impenetrable swamps and forests escaped their ravages. The country lost about half its population, the incidence ranging from 60 percent in the Alföld or central plain (100 percent in parts of it) to 20 percent in Transdanubia; only parts of Transylvania and of the northwest came off fairly lightly. Returned from Dalmatia, where he had taken somewhat inglorious refuge, Béla, whom his country not unjustly dubbed its second founder, reorganized the army, built a chain of fortresses, and called in new settlers to repopulate the country. He paid special attention to the towns. But he was forced to give some of the magnates practically a free hand on their own estates, and a few families rose to near-sovereign local status. Further, one group of

Rebuilding under Béla IV

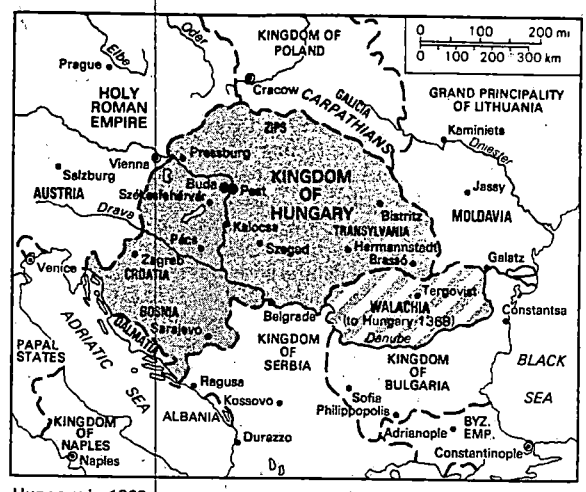
immigrants, a body of Kumans who had fled into Hungary before the Mongols, proved so powerful and so turbulent that to ensure their loyalty Béla had to marry his son, Stephen V, to a Kuman princess. Stephen survived his father only two years, after which the country passed under the regency of his widow, the "Kumanian woman," whom the Hungarians detested. Her son Ladislas IV "the Kumanian" (1272–90) grew up into a wild, undisciplined youth, who took pleasure only in Kuman mistresses, and who came so near to paganism that Pope Nicholas IV preached a crusade against him. He was assassinated (by a Kuman) and left no legitimate heir. Such of Hungary's neighbours as could pretend to the succession by descent from an Árpád through the female line prepared to put in their claims. One male of the Árpád line was, however, discovered in Italy. His legitimacy was impugned, but his supporters got him into the country, and the young man, Andrew III, proved a wise and capable king. Unhappily, he died in 1301, without male issue, and with him the national dynasty became extinct.

HUNGARY UNDER FOREIGN KINGS

The extinction of the old dynasty created a new situation for Hungary. The nation was now entitled to choose its successor; but the principle of the blood tie was still generally regarded as determinant, and all of the candidates for the throne—Wenceslaus of Bohemia, Otto of Bavaria, and Charles Robert of the Angevin House of Naples—based their claims on descent from an Árpád in the female line. But the old Árpáds had always regarded themselves, and had been regarded by their subjects, as essentially embodiments of their nation's aspirations and defenders of its interests. All the three claimants now were foreigners; one of them and the father of another were actually seated on a foreign throne. From that time until its extinction, the kingship of Hungary was in fact invariably—with two exceptions, one of them disputed—held by a foreigner, nearly always by one occupying simultaneously at least one foreign throne. This could be to the advantage of Hungary if he used the resources of those thrones in its service; and he could also fructify its life with beneficial imported innovations. But he could, alternatively, neglect and exploit Hungary in his other interests and use his power to crush its national freedoms and institutions. Securing the advantages of foreign rule while escaping its dangers was the abiding dilemma—seldom successfully resolved—of Hungarian history.

The Angevin kings. The problem did not pose itself at first, for Charles Robert of Anjou (1308–42), still a child when his supporters won out, had no foreign throne and grew up a true Hungarian. He was also a capable man. After growing to manhood, he crushed the most rebellious of the "kinglets" and won over the rest; after this his rule was unquestioned and peaceful at home. The international situation, with Germany distraught by the power struggle between empire and papacy, the Mongolian Tatars grown passive, and the power of Byzantium in full decay, was again favourable to the states of the "middle zone" of eastern Europe and the Balkans; it is no accident that Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Serbia all look on the 14th century as their golden age. As this situation favoured Hungary's neighbours, as well as itself, Charles Robert's attempts at expansion were only moderately successful. In the Balkans, he made Bosnia his friend and client but lost Dalmatia to Venice and other territories to Serbia and the newly emerged "Voivody" of Walachia. But he drove Czech and Austrian marauders out of the land and on the whole preserved friendly relations with Austria, Bohemia, and Poland.

Charles' son, Louis (Lajos) I (1342–82), the only Hungarian king on whom his country has bestowed the name "Great"—a name given in love as well as fear—built on his father's foundations. Keeping peace with the West, he repaired his father's losses in the south, and surrounded his kingdom with a ring of dependencies over which Hungary presided as *archiregnum* in the Balkans, on the lower Danube, and in Galicia. The climax of his dynastic glory came when, in 1370, he also ascended the throne of Poland, in virtue of an earlier family compact.



Hungary in 1360.

Adapted from R. Treharne and H. Fullard (eds.), *Muir's Historical Atlas: Ancient, Medieval and Modern*, 9th ed. (1962); George Philip & Son Ltd., London

Angevin prosperity

Both Angevin kings owed much to the wealth they derived from the gold mines of Transylvania and north Hungary, the yield of which eventually reached the remarkable figure of 3,000 lb. annually—five times that of any other European state. Some 35 to 40 percent of this went to the king, enabling him to maintain a splendid court. Spared for two generations from serious invasion or civil war, the rest of the country blossomed materially as never before. The population rose to 3,000,000 and the country contained 49 Royal Free Boroughs, over 500 smaller towns, and some 26,000 villages. The economy was still mainly rural, but the crafts prospered, trade expanded, and the arts flourished: a university, one of the oldest in Europe, was founded at Pécs in 1367 (it is true that it proved short-lived).

The rule of the two Angevin kings was essentially despotic, although enlightened. Themselves no bureaucrats, they introduced elements of feudalism into the political, and especially the military, system: each lord was responsible for maintaining his own armed contingent (*banderium*). But the magnates were held firmly in check, and Louis reaffirmed the rights and privileges of the common nobles and carried further a process, begun in the previous century, under which the counties were developing from "royal" into "noble" institutions, each still under a royal official but administered with a wide measure of autonomy by elected representatives of the local nobility. He also standardized the obligations of the peasants at the figure of one-ninth of their produce to the lord, a tithe to the church, and a house tax (*porta*) that went direct to the state.

Sigismund of Luxembourg. The benefits of Louis' rule would have been far greater still had he not wasted enormous sums of money and many lives on endeavours to secure the throne of Naples for his nephew; and it is also true that his foreign acquisitions served his personal glory more than they did the real interests of his country; much of the imposing edifice collapsed when he died, leaving as issue only two daughters. Louis had destined the elder, Maria, to succeed him on both his thrones, but the Poles refused to continue the union. They accepted the younger daughter Hedwig (Jadwiga) as queen but married her to Jagiełło of Lithuania, and the ways of Poland and Hungary for a time parted. The Hungarians crowned Maria, whose husband, Sigismund of Luxembourg, had himself crowned as her consort in 1387 and after her death eight years later ruled alone until his own death in 1437. Under him, matters took a sharp turn for the worse. Sigismund was no fool. He did much for arts, commerce, and, above all, for the towns. Also, like Andrew II, he promoted Hungarian political institutions by creating the need for them. The principle that the consent of representatives of the privileged classes, assembled in Diet, was necessary for the grant of any subsidy or additional taxation, and even, later, for any legislation, dates from his reign, being made necessary by his extrav-

agance and arbitrariness. His frequent and prolonged absences called into being the peculiar Hungarian institution of the Palatine, an officer elected jointly by the king and the nation, who represented the king during his absences and also acted as intermediary between him and the nation. But these were only palliatives against abuses that were bitterly felt. The nation, besides hating him for the cruelty he showed at the outset of his reign against the supporters of a rival, resented bitterly the absenteeism of his later years, when he occupied himself chiefly with imperial and Bohemian affairs (he was elected German king in 1411 and became titular king of Bohemia in 1419), neglecting—it felt—the numerous problems of Hungary. There was much discontent among the peasants, who were subjected to heavy exactions both by the crown and by their masters, the unrest being aggravated by the spread of radical Hussite religious doctrines from Bohemia; there were serious revolts in north Hungary and Transylvania. Above all, there was the growing danger from the Ottoman Turks, who, though they had already taken Bosnia from Louis, could not threaten Hungary proper while Serbia still stood. But in 1389 the power of Serbia was broken at the Battle of Kossovo, and the danger became urgent. Sigismund recognized the threat and organized a crusade, but this was disastrously defeated at Nicopolis in 1396. Timur gave Europe a respite by his attack on the Turkish rear, but the advance was resumed in 1415. Walachia submitted in 1417; thereafter Transylvania and south Hungary suffered repeated raids.

The growing Ottoman threat

János Hunyadi and Matthias Corvinus. The Ottoman sultan Murad II was preparing a grand assault on Hungary, when Sigismund died in 1437, leaving as issue a daughter, married to Albrecht V of Austria. The country accepted Albrecht as Sigismund's successor, but only on condition that he should not become Holy Roman emperor and should not reside outside the country without permission of the estates. Albrecht set about organizing the country's defenses but, disastrously, died in 1439, leaving his widow big with child. To avoid an interregnum and a minority, perhaps with a girl queen, the country elected Wladyslaw III Jagiełło of Poland as king; when he fell in battle against the Turks in 1444, they accepted Albrecht's son, Ladislas V ("Posthumus"), appointing as his guardian and governor of Hungary the great general János Hunyadi (*q.v.*), who had been successfully repelling the renewed Turkish attacks. Hunyadi kept up the defense under increasing difficulties, constantly thwarted by jealous magnates and harassed by the Czech condottiere Jan Jiskra, while the emperor Frederick III encroached on the western provinces.

Hunyadi died in 1456 of a fever contracted during his crowning achievement, long celebrated throughout Christendom, the recapture of Belgrade from the Turks. Ladislas' maternal uncle, Ulrich of Cilli, aware of the country's devotion to Hunyadi, had the latter's elder son assassinated and his younger son Matthias (Mátyás) Corvinus (*q.v.*) imprisoned in Prague. Ladislas Posthumus himself died suddenly, still unmarried, a year later. The country was tired of foreign rule and its agents, and on January 24, 1458, a great concourse of nobles acclaimed Matthias king. Extracted from Prague with some difficulty, he was brought to Buda and crowned amid nationwide rejoicing.

The only national king to reign over all Hungary after the Árpáds, Matthias Corvinus (so called from his crest of a raven) has been seen through something of a golden haze by his country's historians. He was, indeed, a remarkable figure. A true Renaissance prince, he was a fine natural soldier, a first-class administrator, an outstanding linguist, a learned astrologer, an enlightened patron of the arts and learning. His collections of illuminated manuscripts, pictures, statues, and jewels were famous throughout Europe. Artists and scholars of European repute were welcomed at his court, which could vie in magnificence with any on the continent. Sumptuous buildings sprang up in his capital and other centres.

Politically, too, he represented the ideas of the Renaissance. He listened to his council, convoked the Diet regularly and actually enlarged the autonomous powers of the counties. But at heart he was a despot; his real instruments of government were his secretaries, men picked by himself, usually young and often of humble origin. His rule was in practice a despotism, and in the main an efficient and, on balance, a benevolent one. He simplified and improved the administration, and, above all, the laws, enforcing justice with an even hand. The debit side of his rule was the increased taxation imposed by him for his administrative innovations, his collections (which cost his subjects vast sums), and above all, the mercenary standing army, 30,000 strong (largely composed of the defeated Hussites and known after its commander, "Black John" Haugwitz, as the "Black army"), which he kept as part of the royal *banderium* for use against enemies, at home and abroad.

Matthias' despotism

At first he had much need for such a force, for although the Turks were quiescent for a decade, there were discontented magnates, and both the Czechs and the Austrians were unquiet neighbours. But after Matthias had crushed, expelled, or bought off these enemies, had built a chain of fortresses along the southern frontier, and had even reestablished a nominal and, in practice, worthless suzerainty over Bosnia, Serbia, Walachia, and Moldavia, he let himself be drawn into an everwidening circle of campaigns against Bohemia and Austria. In 1469 he made himself master of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, with the title (although this was also borne simultaneously by Podiebrad) of king of Bohemia, and in 1478 he forced Frederick to cede him Lower Austria and Styria. He argued to his subjects that his neighbours were untrustworthy and that he could not organize the great crusade against the Turks without the resources of the imperial and Bohemian crowns. But they were unconvinced, and in 1470 a party actually conspired to depose him in favour of a Polish prince. This enterprise collapsed, and Matthias next entered on a complex transaction with the new emperor, Maximilian I, under which his illegitimate son John (he had no legitimate issue) was to marry Maximilian's daughter in return for re-cession of the Austrian provinces and Maximilian's recognition of John. But on May 6, 1490, when on his way to the meeting that should have sealed the bargain, Matthias died suddenly, and the whole enterprise collapsed.

The Jagiellonian kings: national decay. The magnates, who did not want another heavy-handed king, procured the accession of Vladislav Jagiełło of Bohemia (Ulászló II in Hungarian history) precisely because of his notorious weakness—he was known as King "Dobre" ("OK") from his habit of accepting with that word every paper laid before him. The Emperor Maximilian contented himself with reoccupying his lost provinces and establishing a sort of paternal patronage over Hungary. This was consolidated in 1515 by an agreement under which Vladislav's son, Louis, married Maximilian's granddaughter, Mary, while Louis' sister, Anne, married Maximilian's grandson, Ferdinand, who was to succeed to Louis' thrones if Louis died without issue. The agreement was made over the heads of the Hungarians, and the Diet in 1505 passed a resolution never again to accept a foreign king. The candidate of the "national party" was János Zápolya, voivode of Transylvania.

Meanwhile the magnates had disbanded the Black army (without replacing it) and allowed the country's fortresses to fall into disrepair. Vladislav was their helpless prisoner; he could take no decision without their consent and his revenues were looted so ruthlessly that for very subsistence he was reduced to selling Matthias' collections. Nearly all of Matthias' reforms were cancelled, and the peasants were oppressed grievously (as they were, indeed, throughout central Europe). In 1514 a great mass of peasants, led by a Szekel soldier, György Dózsa, rose against their lords. The revolt was put down with ghastly barbarity. The Diet of 1514 sentenced the peasants to "real and perpetual servitude" and bound them irrevocably to the soil (it is true, and not so well known, that this sentence was repealed only a few years later), and increased their dues and obligations.

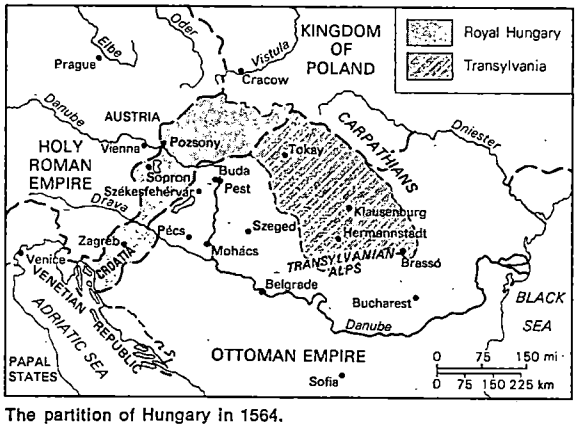
When Vladislav died in 1516, his nine-year-old son was

Renewed Ottoman threat

proclaimed king as Louis II. The defenses of the kingdom went from bad to worse, and in 1521 the new Ottoman sultan, Süleyman the Magnificent, sent Louis a demand for tribute; when this was rejected, Süleyman marched on Belgrade and took it. Suddenly alive to the Turkish danger, the magnates voted the re-establishment of a standing army, but nothing was done to raise it, since each rival faction tried to put the burden of its upkeep on the others. Appeals for help from abroad met with little response. In the summer of 1526 the Sultan advanced into Hungary. The general call to arms was proclaimed, but the most important forces—those from Transylvania and Croatia—were late in obeying it. Louis, with a force of 16,000 men, moved down the Danube, made contact with the Turks at Mohács on August 28, and attacked the next day. The Hungarian Army, heavily outnumbered, was almost annihilated. Louis himself was drowned in his flight. Unable to believe that the pitiful array that had met him was Hungary's national army, the Sultan advanced with extreme caution. He occupied Buda on September 10, but returned across the Danube by the end of October, taking with him over 100,000 captives.

II. The period of partition

Since the Sultan had not meant to remain in Hungary, the disaster of Mohács would not have been irreparable had the king not perished; but as it was, both Zápolya and Ferdinand of Habsburg (later Holy Roman emperor as Ferdinand I) claimed the throne, and each had his supporters in the country. After each had failed to drive his rival out, Zápolya appealed to the Sultan, who installed him in Buda, confining Ferdinand's effective rule to the western third of the country. A secret agreement was mediated in 1538 by Zápolya's adviser, György Martinuzzi ("Friar George"), that Ferdinand should succeed to the whole heritage when Zápolya, the older man, died. The agreement was upset when, just before Zápolya died, his wife bore him a son whom the national party recognized as king. The Sultan then decided to act for himself. He recognized the infant as king, but as his own vassal, and further occupied Buda himself and incorporated a great wedge of central and southern Hungary in his own dominions. Ferdinand had to conclude a truce and to pay a tribute in return for recognition of his de facto rule over the territory then held by him. The transaction was completed when, in 1566, the Sultan formally declared Transylvania an autonomous principality under his own suzerainty; two years later Ferdinand's successor, Maximilian II, was forced to recognize this arrangement and to accept the reduction of "Royal Hungary" (that part of Hungary under Habsburg rule) to the western fringe of the country, the northwestern mountains, and Croatia.



The partition of Hungary in 1564.
Adapted from C.A. Macartney, *Hungary: A Short History* (1962); Aldine Publishing Company

The "age of trisection" was the blackest in all Hungarian history. The advances of the Turkish army in each campaign were marked by swaths of smoking hamlets and ruined towns; its withdrawals were followed by long trains of captives destined for the slave markets of Anatolia, unless they were slaughtered on the way as too much trouble to transport. The fighting and slave raiding, which went on even in times of nominal peace, reduced the whole south of the country to a wasteland occupied by only a few seminomadic Vlach herdsmen; villages disappeared and fields reverted to swamp and forest. Behind the new frontier the population was partially preserved to supply the garrisons, but the old landholders were replaced by Turkish officials and soldiers who, since their fiefs were not hereditable nor even always long-term, exploited the wretched cultivators to the maximum. Conditions were relatively tolerable only in those *kazalar* (districts) managed directly by the Ottoman government. In these districts, most of which lay along the two banks of the Tisza, the people flocked into the great "village towns" that are still a feature of the area. Here they enjoyed a measure of protection; but the country between these towns was left empty except for scattered huts (*tanyas*) in which the men-folk spent the summer scratching a precarious living from the soil.

Religious toleration

The Turks left Transylvania relatively unmolested. Martinuzzi devised a constitution based on earlier institutions, and consisting, under the Prince, of representatives of the three "nations," the Hungarian nobles of the counties, the Saxons, and the Szekels. Transylvania was also spared internecine religious strife, when the representatives of the Roman Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran, and Unitarian churches agreed on a regime under which these four confessions ranked as "established" on a basis of equal freedom and mutual toleration. The Greek Orthodox faith of the Romanians, who constituted the rest of the population, was only "tolerated," since the Romanians as such, or even their nobles, did not constitute a "nation."

ROYAL HUNGARY AND THE RISE OF TRANSYLVANIA

In the first years after his accession, when he was still hoping to bring the whole kingdom under his rule (when it would have been by far his largest possession), Ferdinand I handled Royal Hungary with kid gloves. He respected its constitution and its institutions and convoked the Diet regularly. But his hopes faded, and after his succession to the imperial crown in 1558, Royal Hungary became no more than a small outlying annex of his mighty dominions. As it was also an exposed one, without the resources to defend itself, Ferdinand and his successor, Maximilian II, organized a chain of fortresses, mostly garrisoned by German troops, and a defensive "military frontier," inhabited by Serb and Walach refugees from the Balkans and administered from Vienna. The Hungarians were soon complaining that they were being ruled and exploited as a subject people, by foreigners, while Vienna looked on them as truculent rebels. Matters grew worse when Maximilian was succeeded by the unbalanced Rudolph, whose advisers hated Hungary and its traditions; and now a religious conflict supervened on the constitutional dispute, for in the preceding half-century the Reformation had swept over Hungary, its Magyars adopting the Calvinist form of faith and its Germans, the Lutheran, and the attempts of Vienna to reintroduce Catholicism were fiercely resented and resisted.

Religious antagonism played an important part when war between the empire and the Turks broke out again in 1591. In the so-called Fifteen Years' War imperial troops entered Transylvania and their commander, George Basta, behaved there (and in north Hungary) with such insane cruelty toward the Hungarian Protestants that one of the Transylvanian generals, István Bocskay, formerly a Habsburg supporter, revolted. He improvised an army out of the wild herdsmen (*hajduks*), drove out Basta, and on June 23, 1606, concluded with Rudolph the Peace of Vienna, which left him prince of an enlarged Transylvania and also guaranteed the rights of the Protestants of Royal Hungary. He then mediated the Peace of Zsitvatorok (November 11, 1606) between the Emperor and the Sultan, which kept the territorial status quo, but relieved the Emperor of his tribute to the Sultan.

These two treaties ushered in a new era. The power of the Turks had begun to wane and in central Hungary their rule became almost benevolent, or at any rate, slack.

Their place in the power-equation was taken by Transylvania, which entered a half century of prosperity. Bocskay died suddenly, in 1606, and the usual scramble for power followed; but in 1613 the Porte imposed the election of the man who proved the most famous of all the princes of Transylvania, Gabriel (Gábor) Bethlen (1613–29). At home, Bethlen's rule was thoroughly despotic: through his monopoly of foreign trade and through his development of the principality's internal resources, he almost doubled his revenues, devoting the proceeds partly to the upkeep of a sumptuous court, partly to the maintenance of a standing army. But he was also an enlightened patron of the arts and a strong defender of Calvinism in central Europe. Keeping peace with the Porte, he often intervened against the emperor in the Thirty Years' War (*q.v.*) and safeguarded the rights of the Protestants in Royal Hungary. Under the Treaty of Nikolsburg (December 31, 1621) he retained the title of Prince of Transylvania and Hungary (the Porte vetoed his acceptance of the Hungarian crown), and a big extension of the principality, and a duchy in Silesia, besides further guarantees for the Protestants of Royal Hungary. When he died suddenly in 1629 his subjects abolished most of his internal reforms, but his successor, György Rákóczi I, maintained the international position of Transylvania, which figured as a sovereign state in the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 ending the Thirty Years' War. This support from Transylvania and also the divisions prevailing between their own members prevented the Habsburgs from enforcing the Counter-Reformation in Hungary as early and as fully as they did in Austria and Bohemia, and up to the middle of the 17th century Royal Hungary retained a considerable measure of political and religious liberty and was spared the ravages of the Thirty Years' War. Nevertheless, the genius of the cardinal-primate Péter Pázmány won over for Catholicism the majority of the local magnates, who came to form a party attached to the Habsburg cause, which was the more influential because they now formed a separate "Table" of the Diet. The nation was thus divided, not only vertically (Transylvania versus the West) but also horizontally, between the Catholic magnates and their subjects, and the smaller landowners, most of whom remained Protestants. In religious matters, the Hungarian Catholic nobles were no more tolerant toward their Protestant fellow countrymen than were the Emperor's own German and Czech advisers, although they were not willing to acquiesce in the political centralization championed by the latter.

Reign of Gabriel Bethlen

WAR AND LIBERATION

The running sore remained the Turkish occupation of central Hungary, for every Hungarian resented the policy of the dynasty of leaving the Turks unmolested while promising ambitious policies in the west. It erupted in 1657 when György Rákóczi II of Transylvania, who had succeeded his father in 1648, allowed the prospect of obtaining the crown of Poland to seduce him into sending across the Carpathians an expeditionary force which was annihilated by Tatars. The great Grand Vizier Mehmed Köprülü, the architect of the Porte's renaissance, led a force against Transylvania, detached it from the western adjuncts that had been its strength, and installed a new puppet prince. Emperor Leopold sent a force against the Turks; but although the Austrian general Raimondo Montecuccoli defeated the Turks at Szentgotthárd on August 1, 1664, the subsequent Peace of Vasvár recognized all the Sultan's gains.

Reassertion of Turkish power

Now even the highest magnates of Royal Hungary plotted to expel the Habsburgs with Turkish and French help, but the conspiracy was betrayed and Vienna took its revenge. Nobles were executed or lost their estates, Protestant pastors were sentenced to be galley slaves. In 1673 the constitution was suspended and Hungary placed under a "Directorate." But the wheel had been set in motion. A young Transylvanian, Imre Thököly, led a revolt that forced Leopold, in 1681, to restore the constitution and revoke many of his harshest measures. The Porte, encouraged by Thököly's successes against the empire, now sent into Hungary a vast army that in 1683 reached the walls of Vienna itself. Then the tide ebbed as swiftly as it had advanced. Vienna was relieved, the Turks routed, and the great imperial general Prince Eugene of Savoy led a series of campaigns in which all western and central Hungary, with Buda, were cleared of the Turks in 1686. Transylvania was liberated in the years following. By the Peace of Karlowitz (Karlovci; January 26, 1699), the Sultan relinquished all of Hungary except the corner between the Maros and the Tisza rivers. (This was ceded in 1718 but kept until 1779 under Austrian administration as the Bánát of Temesvár.) The military frontier (progressively extended) was kept under a similar regime, and Transylvania organized as a separate "principality."

III. Habsburg rule, 1699–1918

HABSBURG RULE TO 1867

The emperor, not Hungary, was the victor, for the retreating Turks and the advancing armies of the "liberators" ravaged the country as cruelly as had the Turks in the previous century, and although in 1687 Leopold reconfirmed the constitution subject to Hungary's acceptance of his dynasty in the male line and to the abolition of the *jus resistendi* conceded under Andrew's Golden Bull of 1222, what followed was in fact another cruel centralist dictatorship. In 1703 this provoked another rebellion, led by the young Ferenc (Francis) Rákóczi II; it took eight years of indecisive and fruitless fighting, until peace was established by the Treaty of Szatmár (April 30, 1711). On paper, this did little more than confirm what had been agreed in 1687, but the new king Charles III (Emperor Charles VI) genuinely wanted peace with Hungary, and the worst abuses were now ended.

Charles III and Maria Theresa. Charles' chief concern was simply to secure the acceptance in Hungary of the Pragmatic Sanction, the imperial decree by which his daughter Maria Theresa should inherit his dominions. After the Diet accepted the Pragmatic Sanction in 1723, Charles convoked it only once again, and Maria Theresa, after her coronation in 1740, only twice more—each time to ask for money. Her rule, like her father's, was essentially autocratic and gave Hungary just cause for complaint in several fields. She was severe toward the Protestants, and she allowed her advisers to exclude Hungary, by discriminatory devices, from the subsidized industrialization that was bringing wealth to other parts of her dominions. But her rule was not more than severe, even toward the Protestants. Toward the magnates, on whom she lavished many favours, it was positively benign, and she respected the most cherished liberty of the lesser nobles, their exemption from taxation. Exhausted by so many wars and rebellions, the country during her reign asked for nothing more, contenting itself with the supreme blessing that her rule brought it an uninterrupted peace that enabled the population to grow once again and the material ravages to be repaired. These were blessings indeed: the reverse side of the picture was the lethargy that descended on the country. Political life sank to the parish-pump level, and the towns stagnated. The peasants, into whose conditions the Queen introduced some improvements without touching the root evil of their subject condition, followed their masters in aspiring to nothing more than as much material comfort as could be obtained with a minimum of effort. The national language itself was becoming little more than a peasant dialect, since the language of public administration and the Diet was Latin, and of business life, German: and with the language, the national spirit seemed near moribund.

The Pragmatic Sanction

Joseph II and Leopold II. The nation was shocked out of its lethargy by the accession of Maria Theresa's son, Joseph, on her death in 1780. Evading the obligation of a king on coronation to swear to the constitution by not submitting himself to coronation at all (he had the Holy Crown conveyed to Vienna), Joseph pressed Hungary into his great machine. The counties were transformed into local branches of the State service, taking all their orders from above, and were required to conduct their business in German, which was also made the language of all education above the elementary level. The land was sur-

veyed in preparation for taxing all estates in it equally. That the position of the peasants was improved pleased them, but not their lords. When Joseph fell mortally sick in the course of conducting an ill-conceived, expensive, and mismanaged campaign against the Porte, the country was on the brink of open revolt; and although on his deathbed he retracted his administrative reforms, his successor, Leopold II (1790–92) was obliged to restore the ancient constitution and to swear to treat Hungary as a wholly independent kingdom, to be ruled only in accordance with its own laws and customs.

Francis I: the "Reform Generation." When Leopold died with tragic suddenness in 1792, his young son, Francis, at first made the motions of conforming with his coronation oath, but he soon slipped back into the old ways. The Diet was convoked simply to extort its consent to supply men and money for Francis' wars and, after 1811, was left unconvoked for 13 years. Social reaction accompanied the political absolutism, and the stranglehold on the country's economic development was not relaxed.

For many years the Diet, composed either of magnates who identified their interests with those of the court, or of lesser but still substantial landowners who had prospered during the Napoleonic Wars, was as nonprogressive as Francis himself; but in wider circles the spirit of the age, stimulated by Joseph's over haste, had given birth to a great cultural revival that was now bringing forth its first literary fruits, and the new national pride that it at once embodied and enhanced was demanding fulfillment of Leopold's promises and an end to the veiled but oppressive dictatorship of Vienna. And now it was going further than this. A great reform movement was set on foot by Count István Széchenyi, himself a great magnate, who boldly proclaimed that the ancient privileges of the nobility, the defense of which against Vienna had preoccupied earlier generations, were no bastion, but a prison. He argued that the servile state of the peasants was humanly degrading and a source of weakness to the nation, and also that the system of forced field labour, grudgingly and inefficiently rendered as it was, as well as the nobles' exemption from taxation, was economically harmful even to its supposed beneficiaries. After financial stringency had forced Francis to reconvoke the Diet in 1825, and thereafter to convoke it regularly, these doctrines were taken up, with variations, by a whole "reform generation," the most prominent figures of which were the legal expert Ferenc Deák, Baron József Eötvös, leader of a little group of "Centralists," and above all, Lajos Kossuth, who largely changed the current of the reform movement by his insistence that social and economic reform could be fully realized only after the achievement of the political independence promised by Leopold. After Francis had been followed on the throne in 1835 by the luckless Ferdinand—in practice by the government of Metternich and Kolowrat—"Vienna" was driven increasingly onto the defensive and forced to make repeated concessions, especially in respect of the replacement of Latin and German by Magyar as the language of the Diet, administration, and education—a demand pressed with especial insistence by many of the reformers.

Leaders of the reform movement

The nationalities. This raised a new and painful issue. The population of Hungary, even excluding Croatia, had never from the first been purely Magyar, but the pre-Magyar inhabitants of the plains and the newcomers to them (outside the towns) had quite quickly become magyarized; and while this was not true of the peripheral areas, their populations were relatively sparse. By the end of the 15th century, the Slovaks and Ruthenes of the north; the Germans of the free boroughs, the Szepes, and Transylvania; and the Romanians numbered hardly more than 20 to 25 percent of the total; the rest were Magyar in speech and sentiment. This majority included almost the entire politically active "noble" class, the non-Magyar recruits to which assimilated most readily. The surviving non-Magyar peasants had neither the wish nor the ability to question the "Magyar" character of the state, which for its part was uninterested in what languages were spoken by the politically disregarded, unfree men.

But between 1500 and 1800 the ethnic composition of the country changed. It was the most purely Magyar areas that were most heavily depopulated during the Turkish wars and their sequels, and these losses were accompanied, or followed, by mass immigrations of Serbs, Croats, and Romanians from the Balkans, and then by the introduction by the Austrian government of large numbers of German and other colonists to fill the open spaces. By 1720 the Magyars numbered only some 35 percent of the total population of the Hungarian lands. By 1780 the figure had risen to nearly 40 percent, but the periphery, although it contained islands of Magyar population, was still preponderantly non-Magyar.

Further, ethnic conditions were no longer politically irrelevant. The Serb immigrants, who enjoyed cultural self-government under their patriarch, were from the moment of their arrival bitterly anti-Magyar and anti-Hungarian. The resentment of the Romanians against their social grievances expressed itself in national terms. The other nationalities were slower to awaken, but among some of them, too, especially the Slovaks, there were nationalist stirrings similar to those among the Magyars. The nationally minded among them (by no means all were so minded) regarded the campaign to substitute Magyar for the neutral Latin as a threat to their national existence, while their resistance was interpreted by Magyar chauvinists as a threat to the security of Hungary, which, in their view, had to be politically unitary and Magyar in its superstructure. Some extremists felt that the safety of the state lay in eliminating the aspirations of the nationalities by actually magyarizing them. They pressed these demands with an intemperate impatience that at once justified and fed the very disaffection that it hoped to stifle in the womb.

Resentment of magyarization

From 1790 the Croats, too, were in conflict with Hungary. The first issue was a constitutional one: was Croatia in any way subordinate to Hungary, or was it Hungary's full equal? Then, when the linguistic campaign gained ground, the Croats consistently denounced as intolerable the suggestion that their representatives in the central services or in parliament should be required to use Magyar instead of Latin. Around 1830 a Croat national movement of the modern type emerged, fully as intemperate as the Magyar, and with a political program that in its more extreme form demanded the reconstitution of Croatia, enlarged with other southern Slav areas, as an entirely separate unit within the Habsburg monarchy.

Revolution, reaction, and "Compromise." The Hungarian reformers' opportunity came in the spring of 1848, when revolution, caused by breakdown of central authority in Vienna, enabled them to rush through a body of laws (the "April Laws"), which—besides enacting important internal reforms such as the generalizing of taxes, the abolition of villein status and the transfer of villein holdings to their cultivators, and the reorganizing of the lower "Table" of Parliament on a representative basis—provided for the restoration of the territorial integrity of the lands of the Hungarian crown (subject, in the case of Transylvania, to the agreement of its Diet), and the appointment of a "responsible independent Hungarian Ministry." This was to include ministries of defense, finance, and external relations. A ministry of all the talents, headed by a progressive magnate, Count Lajos Batthyány, and including Kossuth (finance), Széchenyi (communications), Deák (justice), and Eötvös (education) took office. But the new government had enemies: the conservatives resented the land reform, and the Centralists in Vienna regarded the independent ministry, particularly its three "common" portfolios, as dangerous to the integrity of the monarchy. They found allies among the disaffected "nationalities," notably the Serbs and Romanians, and in the Croats, whose ban or governor, Josip Jelačić, a nominee of Vienna's, refused to recognize the authority of Buda-Pest. Tension between Vienna and Pest mounted steadily, and in September, when the rest of the monarchy had been reduced, Jelačić, on Vienna's orders and with its support, invaded Hungary. Batthyány and other ministers resigned, leaving

Revolution of 1848