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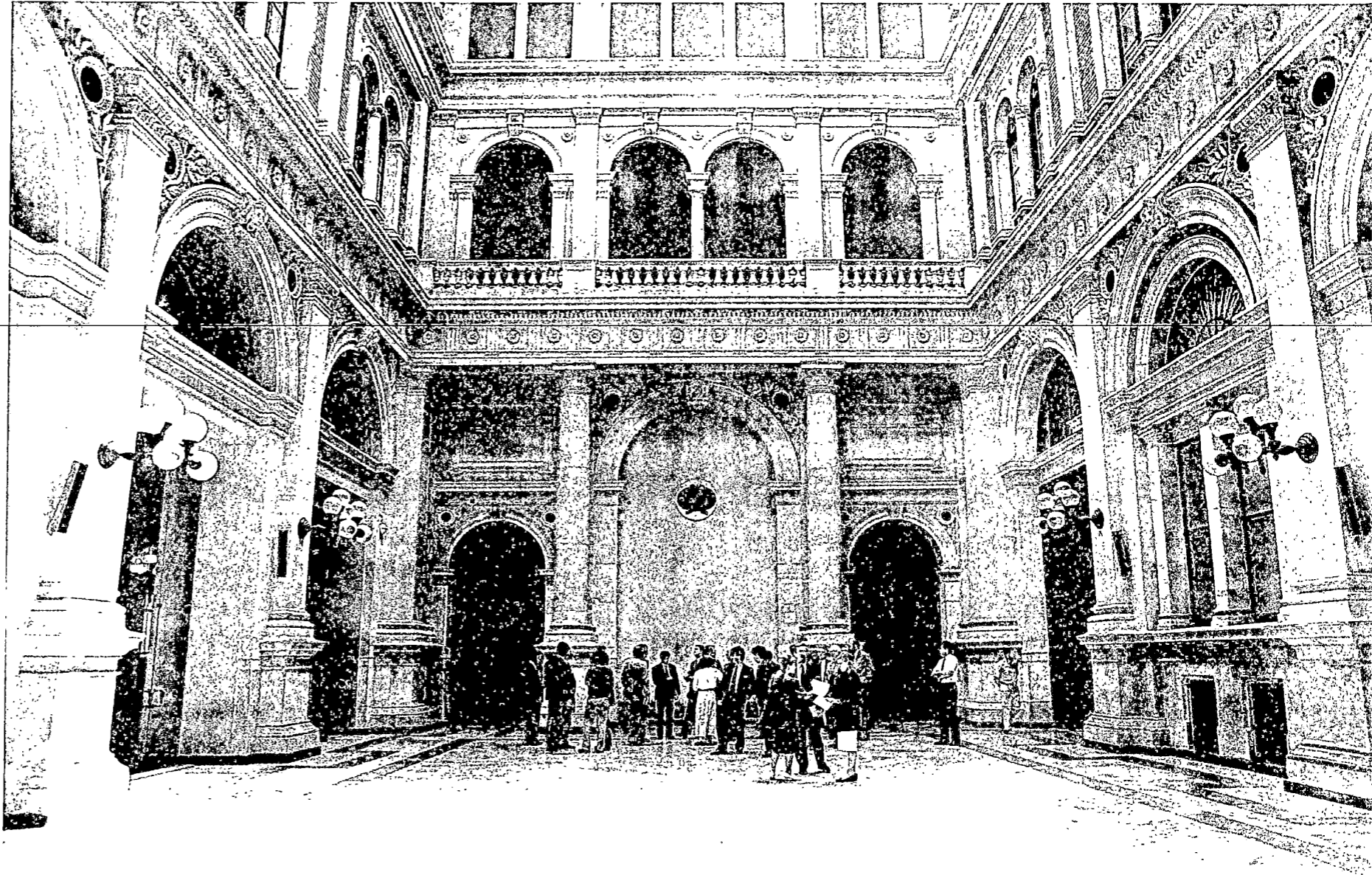
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[[-- Today I call upon the G-7 to join the United States in an International Consortium for Democracy in Eastern Europe. I will seek approval from our allies at the Summit, to move quickly to coordinate Western support and assistance.

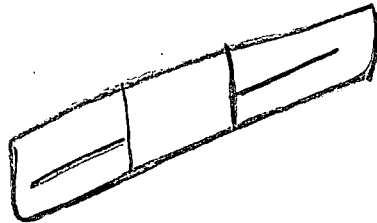
-- Through private sector capitalization grants, the United States will provide \$125 million in new funding -- and we will seek equivalent contributions from the other G-7 members.

-- I am asking the World Bank to free up \$825 million in economically viable loans, to help Polish agriculture and industry reach the production levels they are so clearly capable of. Further, we will recommend de-coupling these loans from the IMF austerity program, provided they are applied in a context of sound financial practice.

-- I have sent a letter to our counterparts, supporting the rescheduling of Polish debt -- and will be discussing these measures with the leadership at the Summit. The U.S. will work within the Paris Club to develop sustainable new schedules. In coordination with an IMF standby, this can contribute to the stabilization of Poland's financial situation.

-- We have opened discussions with Western European governments to expand our environmental activities here. I've proposed a special advisory panel to guide joint ventures for the manufacture of new equipment to control pollution. And we plan to endow a new foundation with \$xxx dollars, to further advance environmental efforts in Eastern Europe.

-- Finally, I will soon invite all 100 members of the newly-elected Polish Senate to the United States, for a series of intensive briefings on legislative procedures and organization. It is our hope that these briefings will further ease your transition toward representative democracy.]]



Davis/Martin
June 29, 1989
Title: Hungary
Draft: One

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: KARL MARX UNIVERSITY
(Date, Time)

Ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Csaki (CHAH-kee). It's a pleasure to be back in Budapest, and I am proud to be the first American President to visit Hungary.

Some might find it ironic that I am speaking at a university named after Karl Marx. ((And I have to admit, from my vantage point, he does seem to be staring right at me . . .)) But those who know this great university know just how fitting this forum is for an American President to address the people of Hungary.

After all, it is said that Tramline Number Two runs the nation, since it originates at Karl Marx and makes stops at the National Center, Parliament and the Central Committee. Many great Hungarian leaders have also moved along this same route, including Miklos Nemeth (Namath) and Zsigmond (Zig-mund) Jarai (JAR-ree). But before any of them, there was a teacher at Karl Marx University, and his name was Imre ((EEMH-ray) Nage (NAZH) . . .

May his funeral be remembered a thousand times longer than it was delayed.

*a generation waited to honor
his courage & may a hundred generations
remember it.*

As ^Wthat slow procession moved through Heroes' Square, the rising voice of Hungary was heard in the singing of the Szozat (SO-zat). And in this simple, somber reburial, the world saw something more than a dignified act of reconciliation. We witnessed an act of truth. It is on this foundation of truth, one more solid than stone, that Hungarians have begun to build a new future . . . ^{Sib}

While Hungary rediscovers its natural role in the affairs of Europe, America is rediscovering you. One of the ((bestselling)) non-fiction books in my country today is entitled Budapest 1900. Dr. John Lukacs lovingly describes the Budapest of memory . . . ((Quote to come))

This was a city that rivaled Paris in splendor, Vienna in ^{JS}music and London in literature. This was a center of learning that enlightened the world, and gave America one kind of genius in Joseph Pulitzer, and another in Bela Bartok. But for decades, this great city, this great nation, so central to the continent in every respect, was torn from Europe and the West. This distance was still apparent to me even six years ago. ~~FA~~

But the city and country I see today is again opening to the West, again becoming a leading light in European culture. I see people in motion. I see color and creativity replacing grey

conformity. I sense an atmosphere that is electric, alive with optimism.

This is happening because your people and your leaders -- government and opposition alike -- have the courage to break with the past, to act in the spirit of truth. And what better example of this could there be than one simple fact: Karl Marx University has dropped Das Kapital from its required reading list . . .

*person
in
video*

~~This 19th Century German philosopher may no longer be relevant to most students, certainly not to students of business . . . Still, historians remember Marx for seeing the past not in the usual terms of great personalities, but in terms of economic forces. Yet there were flaws in Marx's class vision, a vision inadequate to our times.~~

Karl Marx traced only one thread of human existence, and missed the rest of the tapestry -- the colorful and varied tapestry of civilization. When Marx regarded Man, he ~~mostly~~ saw an economic being. But Man is more than that.

*narrowly
framing*

He is artistic Man. He has an innate need to create and enjoy beauty.

He is a loving member of a family, and a loyal patriot to his people.

↑

And Man is something else which cannot be denied . . . he is a creature of God . . .

The creative genius of the Hungarian people, long suppressed, is again flourishing in your schools, your ^{businesses} offices, your churches. This is more than a fleeting season of freedom for Hungary. It is a Renaissance.

Voices long stilled are being heard again. An independent daily newspaper is now sold on the streets. Commercial radio and television stations, financed by American companies, will soon broadcast everything from the news . . . to Huey Lewis and the News. And even Radio Free Europe is opening its first Budapest bureau.

~~Hungary's new openness at home is reflected abroad. Your government has opened relations with South Korea and may recognize Israel before long. More than one hundred thousand Americans visited Hungary last year -- and more than 20,000 Hungarians have come to America. This very university operates exchange programs with 23 U.S. schools. For the first time, the Iron Curtain has begun to part. Hungary is changing the world.~~

The Soviet Union has withdrawn many troops, which I take as a first sign that Moscow truly respects your sovereignty. And as

S.B.
S.B.
The

they leave, let the Soviets know they have everything to gain, and nothing to lose or fear, from peaceful change. Nor should we fear new thinking from Mr. Gorbachev. We can work together to move beyond containment, beyond the Cold War.

But all of these developments, as significant as they are, pale before this -- Hungary is at the threshold of doing what no other Communist power has done in history. You are going to become the first Warsaw Pact nation to ever hold a truly free election.

This is possible because brave men and women have formed opposition parties. And this is possible because Hungarian leaders are showing the ultimate political courage -- the courage to submit their names before the people.

While Hungary moves ^{S/S} toward a greater future, the United States will stand by you. We are ready to help promote lasting change in Hungary in three vital spheres -- economics, cultural exchange and the environment. ^{S. D.}

ECONOMIC EXCHANGE

The United States believes aid should accelerate change, not delay it. ^{We extend our hands} ~~So this our guiding principle -- the United States offers aid~~ not to prop up the status quo, but to propel reform.

Of course, the dead weight of the past still burdens Hungarian enterprise. The remnants of the Stalinist economy, with its huge, inefficient industrial plants; the bewildering price system no one understands; the massive subsidies that cloud economic decisions -- all of this slows what you could otherwise achieve. It's an economic Rubik's Cube that defies solution.

And, ultimately, it's a burden to be discarded. To make the transition to a market economy will test your mettle as a people. The prices of some commodities will rise. Some inefficient factories will close. Many hard choices already await you. But the creative drive of the people, once unleashed, will create a momentum of its own. This will eventually bring you something greater than ^{the} riches -- ~~though riches~~ you will create. It will give you control over your destiny . . . a **Hungarian destiny.**

The Hungarian government has already started to leave the business of running shops to shopkeepers and farms to farmers. As you privatize, so will you integrate into the world economy. Just look to the West of the Danube -- your European neighbors are forming a single market. Soon you will have the chance to trade with this new economic colossus. But the United States will also be your partner in this transformation to a successful competitive economy.

So with trade in mind, once your future Parliament legalizes the free movement of its citizens, I will inform Congress that Hungary is complying with the 1974 Trade Act. This will entitle you to the maximum most-favored nation tariff status possible under U.S. law. *The largest single market in the world...* Simply put, you will have more open access to **the largest single market in the world.**

America is also prepared to include Hungary in the generalized system of preferences, which provides duty-free entry for certain goods. **Hungary can -- and should -- develop the same trade access to the American market that your Western neighbors enjoy.**

market
The United States will offer some government assistance, including an entrepreneurial fund for economically depressed regions of your country. In years past, loans were written and accepted with little thought paid to their utility. We've learned that massive government and institutional loans **hobble whole nations with debt, while private investment liberates creditor and debtor alike.** The U.S. government **can and will** ~~direct~~ ^{American} private-sector investment ^{to} in Hungary -- investment where it counts, in Hungarian **factories, products and jobs.** ((PAUSE))

I am pleased to note the recent U.S.-Hungarian agreement to promote the formation and development of small, private businesses all across your country. Called the Hungarian

Enterprise Group, this center will match venture capital, both foreign and Hungarian, with entrepreneurs -- the small businessmen and ~~women~~ ^{Some of you out there} with the ^{may have a few} grand ideas. ^{and} Perhaps some of you ^{today} ~~here~~ ^{and} ~~today~~ will benefit from such a collaboration.

We will soon authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to encourage American investment in private enterprises in Hungary. So far, however, little encouragement has been needed. Consider the American investment company, Bears-Stearn, which has already established a special "Hungary Fund." This private pool of investment will purchase shares in Hungarian companies, helping to develop a Hungarian stock market.

What does private investment mean for Hungary? Yesterday, at Kossuth Square, I quoted the words of that great Hungarian patriot. But it was another Hungarian patriot, a contemporary of Kossuth, Count Szechenyi (Say-chaney), who coined a phrase in his great work on economics: "Hungary was not, but will be." **And Hungary will be great again.**

CULTURAL EXCHANGE

These are the economic proposals I will discuss with your leaders. But I am also here to meet the Hungarian people. I hope this visit leads to a wider exchange between East and West. Let our scientists, our artists, our environmentalists share the

and statesmen

knowledge that can benefit us all. **Let our soldiers discuss peace and our students discuss the future.**

In fact, our student exchange programs are the most successful. They have grown fast and can still accommodate thousands more. For this reason, I am pleased to announce that the United States Information Agency is going to initiate six new youth exchange programs in Hungary. To the students here today, I want you to know that the doors of America's universities are open to you.

((I am pleased to announce two agreements with your government -- on tourism and civilian air exchange to come))

The United States will also open, within the next two years, an America House in the center of Budapest. The celebrated American architect Robert Stern will design the plans for this center, which will promote bilateral trade by helping Hungarians to learn American culture.

And when it comes to the language of America, the teaching of English is one of our most popular exports. As students you know that English is the lingua franca of world business, the key to clinching deals from Hong Kong to Toronto. So to give Hungarians greater entree into the global marketplace, I am pleased to announce that the Peace Corps will, for the first

time, operate in a European country. And our Peace Corps volunteers will come to Budapest and all 19 counties to teach **English.**

ENVIRONMENT EXCHANGE

To learn a language, to start a business, is to embark on a great adventure. But to fulfill a promising future, we must also protect our basic common possession -- the environment. Six weeks ago, in Mainz, I proposed cooperation between East and West on environmental issues. I said that my generation remembers a Europe ravaged by war. And, of course, you have long since rebuilt your proud cities and restored your majestic cathedrals. But what a tragedy it would be if your continent was again spoiled, this time by a more subtle and insidious danger --that of poisoned rivers and acid rain.

Hungary has led Eastern and Central Europe in addressing the concerns of your citizens for cleaner air and water. And you are leading the way in environmental agreements with the West. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and the Hungarian government have just agreed on new programs for exchanges and joint training of environmental experts.

((Substance to come))

Pollution is no respecter of borders. Let us work together to save our common heritage.

In economics, culture and the environment, we have much to share and learn from each other. The United States is especially determined to stand by Hungary as you meet an enormous challenge. No Communist nation has yet attempted what Hungary is already doing -- to build democracy and a free market.

((Substance on Democracy consortium/help from great parties of the West to come))

I see a great Hungarian future in the bright faces of your students. But not all young people in the East Bloc have as much freedom as you do to plan their future. Certainly not your brothers and sisters in Transylvania.

Your press recently reported that a Romanian girl was lost in the Maros River. ^{Could know} We ~~are not exactly~~ sure how she died. But we know that if she had been traveling from Hungary to Austria, she would have received nothing more than a friendly wave from the border guard. But she attempted to cross the Maros, and paid with her life . . . Her two brothers made it across safely.

~~I do not know this girl's name.~~ ^{WE} I do not know the torments that drove her to risk her life. But we do know her heart. It

is the heart of Anne Frank and Hertelendy (HERT-lindy) Jamos (Yamosh). It is the heart of youth determined to live in freedom

. . .

Throughout the Communist world today, as a younger generation prepares to assume power, a great debate is underway. In this debate, Moscow advocates limited political freedom, but without economic rights. Beijing practices limited economic freedom, but without political liberty. Where are political **and** economic liberty peacefully advancing together? In Hungary.

The people of Hungary know it is not enough to let men and women **purchase** what they want or cast a symbolic vote. They must be allowed to **say** what they believe. They must be allowed to **choose** their government. Limited freedom, whether it is economic or political, **will not provide sufficient room for the restless human spirit.**

I cannot help but wonder what the Hungary of the year 2000 will be like. Your capital will surely reflect the grandeur of a full century before -- the Budapest of 1900. But, beautiful though it may be, Budapest, like all Hungary, will be more than a restored work of art.

Benjamin Franklin, the sage of the American Revolution, said that love of liberty and the rights of man should someday become

so widespread, "that a philosopher may set his foot upon anywhere on the surface (of the earth) and say: 'this is my country.'"

Because of your courage, that is the Hungary we can see before us; a better Hungary, a greater Hungary, a place any countryman of freedom could call home.

Thank you and God bless you all.

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CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

SUMMARY OF MAJOR PROPOSALS

- o Eliminates political action committees (PACs) supported by corporations, unions or trade associations, and prohibits such entities from paying for the overhead or administrative costs of any independent PAC.
- o Strengthens political parties by increasing the amounts they can spend on behalf of congressional candidates. This source of funds would permit legislators to spend less time fund raising, would ensure that challengers have greater resources with which to challenge incumbents, and would further limit the role of special economic interests in elections.
- o Attacks the "permanent Congress" by reforming the incumbency advantage. Specifically, the proposals prohibit the personal use of excess campaign funds, drastically reduce congressional mailings under the Frank, ban the rollover of campaign funds from one election cycle to the next, and legislate fair neutral criteria for the redistricting of congressional and legislative lines that will follow the 1990 census.
- o Requires full disclosure of all soft money spent by the political parties and all labor unions, corporation and trade associations to influence a federal election.

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HUNGARY IN EARLY 1848:
THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE AGAINST
ABSOLUTISM IN CONTEMPORARY EYES

EDSEL WALTER STROUP
University of Akron

Foreword by
STEVEN BÉLA VÁRDY
Duquesne University

HUNGARIAN CULTURAL FOUNDATION

Buffalo, New York — Atlanta, Georgia
1977

roduced in the eighteenth century, existed in great numbers and possessed recognized social and political connotations. Each social group tended to center on a particular coffee house. The most "radical" was the well-known Cafe Pilvax⁷ where the law students, the younger politicians, and many literary figures gathered. Here, Kossuth, in 1843, had nominated Count Lajos Batthyány as President of the *Vedegylet*, an organization for the protection of Hungarian manufacturing industry. Here, in private discussions, it was often decided which candidate the Youth would support as Delegate from Pest county, what position should be taken concerning county affairs or how some matter before the Pest City Council should be decided. Here, the current writers and literary figures (some of non-noble origin) exchanged views and spoke on political, social, and literary topics. In this setting conservative writings and Vienna-inspired articles were religiously burned, and torchlight demonstrations of approval or dissent were organized. One Hungarian observer, after reading a contemporary newspaper description, wrote with a tongue-in-cheek sense of amused selfcriticism that "it is ironic but not too inaccurate that the coffee houses of our law students are a factory of public opinion . . . here are decided the actions of our national and social life."⁸ This was clearly a somewhat sarcastic and intended over-statement of the situation, but it is true that the "Pilvax" by the 1840s had become a concept in the terminology of the Hungarian Liberal politics.⁹ The opinions "manufactured" there and in other coffee houses did exercise some influence on the thinking of the Diet.

The Habsburg Imperial government, however, had never really been known for either its tolerance or its sense of humor in matters of political criticism. The Austrian Secret Police reports despaired of the fact that the public was looking to the coffee houses in order to read the otherwise hard-to-obtain

7 Various sources (e.g. Horváth, *Huszonöt év*, III, 372) refer to it by various names because over the years it had three proprietors, Pächter, Privorsky, and Fierlinger besides Pilvax. Révész, "Das Junge Ungarn 1825-1848," p. 97.

8 Révész, *ibid.*, p. 95 and n. 5.

9 *Ibid.*

newspapers. In the summer of 1846, the King had ordered the Hungarian Chancellor, at that time Count Majláth, to see that the "disturbances" in the Cafe Pilvax should be countered by all means possible. In 1847, the same directive had been extended to the coffee houses "in the provinces."¹⁰

Since the Diet of 1843, the Youth of the Cafe Pilvax had decided to support the opposition Delegates at the Diet in Pozsony.¹¹ By the early days of March, 1848, the "Pilvax," as well as all of Hungary which could do so, was following with tremendous interest the conflict between the Vienna-backed conservatives in the Upper House and the reform-minded Lower House.¹² The city of Pest, as a whole, was kept well informed on the progress of the Dietal discussions taking place in Pozsony by the daily and punctual arrival of steampackets, and probably in no other city in Hungary was greater or louder enthusiasm expressed for the great reform proposals in Kossuth's March 3rd speech and for the resulting Address to the Crown. Conversely, the Dietal opposition found encouragement in the warm support emanating from Pest. During the ten-day period in which the Magnates obstructed the recommended Address, furious political debates continued daily in Pest, their tone becoming more and more impatient as time passed. Nowhere was the impatience more pronounced and sharply expressed than in the Cafe Pilvax.¹³

Just how extreme was radical feeling in Pest at this juncture? It is certain that at least a minority fringe of the legally powerless group at the Cafe Pilvax (such as Petőfi, and his followers)¹⁴ were republican-minded, as were some of ardent spirits among the Youth assisting the Dietal Delegates

10 *Ibid.*

11 A support organized by Pál Vasvári, a history teacher (*Ibid.*, p. 98 and n. 99), among others, such as József Irinyi, a lawyer, who was a member of both the Pilvax group and the so-called Pest "Opposition Circle," which was composed largely of nobles and had contacts with the Diet.

12 The contemporary historian, Horváth, stated that "the great spiritual movement which since the beginning of March ruled in the Pozsony Diet was followed with acute interest by the whole country." *Huszonöt év*, III, 371.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 372.

14 D. Mervyn Jones, *Five Hungarian Writers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 279-80.

in Pozsony. Their republicanism was derived from abstract concepts and a doctrinaire sort of tradition rooted in the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and the experience of the Hungarian "Jacobin Conspiracy."¹⁵ These somewhat imaginative souls were evidently entirely capable at various junctures of ignoring the realities which surrounded them. Constituting a small and by no means constant group, they appear to have been representative of very few in Hungary except themselves. Given the circumstances it appears fortunate that less impetuous and wiser reformers (Kossuth included) held actual legal power as Delegates in the Lower House in Pozsony. The open adoption of a republican stance at this juncture was unthinkable and would have immediately and irreversibly placed Hungary in an unconstitutional position vis-à-vis the Habsburgs. More than this, it was simply not a serious proposition in the Hungary of 1848. Subsequent events were to prove that Kossuth and many Hungarian reformers possessed the courage and political ability to lead Hungary on an independent course when the Habsburg camarilla drove them to it. But their prudent reluctance and disinclination to do so, quite apart from the nation's moral

¹⁵ József Pruzsinsky, the young Eötvös' tutor, is an example of the origins of the frustration which could lead to a republican stance. He had been sentenced in 1795 to a long prison term as a Jacobin "conspirator" and nursed a resentment against Imperial Vienna, the Hungarian conservatives who supported it, and the whole privileged social order which denied his convictions. With the fierceness of the academic intellectual, he remarked to his young charge upon their walking past the site of the 1795 executions in Buda that someday a gallows would be erected as a monument upon which would be hanged "such men as you are going to be." Paul Bödy, *Joseph Eötvös and the Modernization of Hungary, 1840-1870: A Study of Ideas of Individuality and Social Pluralism in Modern Politics*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new series, Vol. LXII, Pt. 2 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1972), p. 11.

Révész's information-filled study indicates that republican sentiment among the radical Youth in the 1830s and 40s rose and fell according to the strength of the obstruction by the Habsburg Vienna government toward Hungary's national and reform demands. Thus, prior to 1835, a great majority of the Youth were loyal to the dynasty and were attracted toward republicanism only in 1836. During the Diets of 1839-40 and 1843-44 they were less attracted to republican ideas and less anti-monarchical in feeling since the prospects of reform appeared brighter. "Das Junge Ungarn 1825-1848," pp. 80 and 84.

For examples of youthful expressions of republican sentiment in this period by Tormassy, Palóczy, and Majthényi, see pp. 78, 80 in "Das Junge Ungarn 1825-1848."

and legal obligation under the Pragmatic Sanction, was grounded in their sound estimate of their nation's lack of material preparedness for such a policy coupled with the dangerous possibility of threats from foreign powers. Even in extreme circumstances, in September, 1848, during the *de facto* break with the dynasty and in April, 1849, when Hungary declared itself independent, a republican form of government was not, as is sometimes stated, adopted.¹⁶ Hungary remained a monarchy showing that the abolition of this governmental form was not a primary concern or objective of any sizeable number of reformers, the occasional hot-headed exhortations coming from frustrated groups of radical Youth such as gathered at the Pilvax notwithstanding. It is paradoxical in one respect, however, that the agitation of the radical Youth in the early March days was underestimated by the Austrian Secret Police. As Révész notes, these radicals subsequently became some of Hungary's leading political figures.¹⁷

In any event, during the first two weeks of March, 1848, the fury mounted higher and higher among all the Pest Youth as the Magnates in Pozsony continued to obstruct the Address to the Crown after it had been passed by the Lower House. It seems that a majority of the Pest Youth regarded the propositions in the Address as just a beginning. In Horváth's words:

Their hopes far over-flew the reform plans that were prepared at the Pozsony Diet. They were not satisfied that the rights of the country were to be guaranteed, that its developmental abilities were to be freed from the Vienna government's handcuffs, they wished to use the favorable times to change things from the roots. They felt it necessary to assist in the social law changes¹⁸

This impatience on the part of the Pest Youth had been in-

¹⁶ On the September, 1848 break with the dynasty, see the excellent account by István Deák, "The Month of Defiance: Revolutionary Hungary in September, 1848," especially pp. 43-44. On the April 14, 1849 declaration, see Stiles, *Austria in 1848-49*, II, 218-21; Macartney, *Habsburg Empire*, p. 428 and n. 1.

¹⁷ Révész, "Das Junge Ungarn 1824-1848," pp. 74, 118 and 119.

¹⁸ Horváth, *Huszonöt év*, III, 372.

creasing immeasurably ever since February. During the first days of March Kossuth had sent word down to his associates in Pest, the "Opposition Circle" as they were known, to get up a petition in order to apply some pressure upon the Diet.¹⁹ Upon hearing this, the Youth of the Cafe Pilvax, led by Petöfi, József Irinyi, Mór Jókai, Pál Vasvári, Gyula Bulyovszky and others, had thrown themselves into the project with a passion. Consciously following the practice of the Parisian reform banquets, they had nailed up a set of points for signatures at the meeting hall of the Opposition Circle. On Sunday, March 12th, in an open public meeting, Irinyi read them for public approval as a petition to be sent to the Diet in Pozsony. These "Twelve Points" were presented as follows:

What Does the Hungarian Nation Desire?
Peace, Freedom, and Mutual Understanding

1. Abolition of censorship and freedom of the press.
2. A responsible Ministry seated in Buda-Pest.
3. Annual meetings of the Diet held in Pest.
4. Equal civil and religious rights for all.
5. A National Guard of defense.
6. Equitable distribution of the burden of taxation.
7. The termination of the urbarial relationship.
8. Popular representation and jury trial.
9. A national bank.
10. Hungarian troops to take an oath to the Constitution; Hungarian soldiers not to be ordered out of Hungary; foreign troops to be removed from Hungary.
11. Political prisoners to be freed.
12. Union of Transylvania.

Fraternity, Liberty, Equality²⁰

¹⁹ Macartney, *Habsburg Empire*, p. 337. Kossuth's request was, in fact, carried down to the Opposition Circle by Dániel Irányi. The President of the Pest Opposition Circle was the respected statistician, Elek Fényes. Irányi and Chassin, *Histoire politique*, I, 142.

²⁰ Although Horváth does not hyphenate "Budapest," the original printing of the "Points" did so. *Huszonöt év*, III, 372-73. See also, Hugessen, *Political Evolution*, II, 13. Actual authorship of the final version of the "Twelve Points" is not entirely certain. See Irányi and Chassin, *Histoire politique*, II, 142-43, who attribute them principally to József Irinyi as well as, more recently, György Spira.

However, at this time the social and political demands in the petition were already commonplace among the Dietal opposition (since at least June, 1847).²¹ All the "points" excepting the bank, the National Guard, the relocation of the seat of the Ministry and the convocation of *annual Diets in Pest*, were already contained in the Dietal Address to the Crown as previously adopted by the Lower House on March 3rd. Also, as Hugessen observed,²² there is nothing in these "Twelve Points" which was not already well-grounded in the Hungarian Constitution.²³ The "Twelve Points" in this context then can hardly be considered an original nor even an especially divisive document.

Irinyi's reading of the "Twelve Points" in Pest on Sunday, March 12th, did not raise any tremendous upsurge of popular support.²⁴ Some of the older and more cautious patriotic reformers at the Opposition Circle began to argue that it would be bad political tactics to press these points on the Diet

Hungarian Count, p. 50. József Irinyi was then twenty-six years of age and worked on the newspaper *Pesti Hírlap*. He was an ardent Francophile which would explain the choice of phrase and general tone. This agrees with the facts that the never-shy Petöfi did not claim authorship and that Jókai attributed it to Irinyi, though he did state that he helped with some of the language and that *he* supplied the heading. See László Deme, "The Radical Left in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Political Science, Columbia University, 1969), pp. 36-39.

²¹ Macartney, *Habsburg Empire*, p. 316, 337 and n. 1. The only minor differences between the 1847 Dietal "Oppositional Declaration" and the "Twelve Points" are that point seven of the latter ignores the question of compensation to landlords and point twelve makes no mention of the Union being dependent upon a vote of the Transylvanian Diet.

²² *Political Evolution*, II, 13.

²³ For example, in regard to the tenth point, Law XVIII of 1791 required all Hungarian officials to take an oath to the Constitution as a condition of assuming office, while it was extremely old Hungarian constitutional principle that consent was required for military service outside the frontiers of Hungary. See W. Sólyom-Fekete, "The Golden Bull of Hungary 1222-1972," *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, XXIV, no. 4 (October, 1967), 366, 367, 368, 371, explaining Article 7 of the Golden Bull. Law VIII of 1715, which had established a Hungarian armed force to be a part of the Imperial Army was silent on the question of command. d'Eszlary, *Institutions*, III, 166.

²⁴ Professor Macartney observes that the Petition would likely have gone up to Pozsony with only a few signatures on it. *Habsburg Empire*, p. 337. The "points" were first discussed in the Opposition Circle on this date and were still under discussion on Tuesday, March 14th. Deme, "The Radical Left in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848," p. 42.

at this delicate stage of negotiations between the Lower House and the conservative Magnates in the Upper House. In the end, it was decided at a second public meeting on Tuesday, March 14th, as the actual public signing of the petition began, to submit the "Twelve Points" personally to the Dietal opposition Delegates rather than formally to the Diet as a whole.²⁵ As has been shown, on that very afternoon, unknown to Pest, both Houses of the Hungarian Diet had voted final approval of the Address to the Crown with its wording considerably strengthened to include the demands for a free press, jury trials, a guarantee of *annual* national Diets in Pest, and a responsible Ministry. Therefore, as of March 14, 1848, the legally constituted national Diet of nobles in Pozsony was still leading, or at least very much abreast of, the Pest "radicals" in the general and increasingly precipitate movement toward reform.²⁶

²⁵ Horváth, *Huszonöt év*, III, 373.

²⁶ Irányi and Chassin, *Histoire politique*, I, 138.

Chapter VI

MARCH 15TH IN PEST

The morning of Wednesday, March 15, 1848, dawned a pleasant spring day over the adjacent cities of Pest and Buda some 130 English miles down the Danube from the Dietal city of Pozsony. The extraordinary events of this day were to transform a simple political petition to oppositional members of the Diet into a national manifestation. The day itself was to become symbolic in retrospect and it is this date rather than March 3rd or 14th upon which the popular national tradition fixed and established as commemorating the Revolution of 1848.¹ On this day in Pest the privileged and the non-privileged of the various classes and nationalities of the outwardly heterogeneous Hungarian State assimilated the long-standing and long-advocated reform ideas in a manner which was not overly hostile or suspicious. The people as a whole seemed to accept them as their own, and to throw down the gauntlet, as it were, to the immobility and obscurantism of "Vienna."

Word of the Viennese events of Monday (the 13th) including Metternich's dismissal had arrived in Pest via steampacket late Tuesday evening.² On Wednesday morning the inconceivable news was made generally known to an astonished and already restless public via the city newspapers.³

The youthful circle in the Cafe Pilvax had learned of it late in the night and as a result few had slept. When the Youth met at the cafe in the morning, Petöfi carried in his pocket a poem

¹ Zarek, *Kossuth*, p. 151.

² Horváth, *Huszonöt év*, III, 373.

³ Zarek, *Kossuth*, p. 153; Macartney, *Habsburg Empire*, p. 337. Professor Macartney states that the news was brought on the 15th of March but the difference with Horváth is slight since the boat obviously did not arrive until very late. In any case, the news was not public knowledge until March 15th.

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TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT
TO POLAND, HUNGARY, FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS

Report from the White House Pre-Advance
June 2 - June 11

Overview

President and Mrs. Bush will leave Andrews around 7 a.m. EDT on Sunday, July 9, arriving Warsaw around 9:50 p.m. Local, or 3:50 p.m. EDT. (All European times on this trip are EDT + 6 hours.) They will spend two nights in Warsaw, two nights in Budapest, four nights in Paris and one night in the Netherlands, returning to the United States on July 18. A last-minute revision of the schedule during the pre-advance trip eliminated the need for a refueling stop en route back from the Netherlands. Contrary to earlier talk, Bush will return to Andrews from Europe and spend a night or two back in Washington, then fly to Houston. In Poland and Hungary, where the obvious emphasis will be on further political and economic liberalization in Eastern Europe, Bush will follow an official schedule of meetings with government officials and formal dinners, as well as an unofficial schedule put together by the U.S. side that will include meetings with opposition and new political forces in both countries. In Paris, events connected to the bicentennial of the French Revolution have been added to his schedule, as have bilaterals with Mitterrand and possibly other leaders attending the Economic Summit, what now looks like a 25-hour stop in the Netherlands will include appearances with Queen Beatrix, meetings with political figures jockeying for position in advance of elections in September, a state dinner and remarks to the American community. NOTE: All times listed below are tentative and quite subject to change. In many cases, specific coverage arrangements (pool sizes, etc.) have yet to be negotiated with host countries. COVERAGE NOTE: White House is promising to try to integrate travel pools into as many coverage pools as possible to avoid duplication. This looks like it will be more possible in Poland, Hungary and The Netherlands than in Paris, due to the Bicentennial/Summit media crush. FILING NOTE: with the exception of Warsaw, phones with international dialing capability should be installed at all filing centers, event sites and pool holding rooms.

POLAND

In Poland, most of the official schedule will play out in Warsaw, while the unofficial schedule is keyed to a lunch with Lech Walesa and speech at the famous Solidarity monument located just

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outside the gate to the Lenin Shipyard where Walesa worked as an electrician and founded Solidarity in 1970. The official schedule is complicated a bit by the lop-sided outcome of the recent elections, which left Solidarity in a far stronger position than expected and the communist party leadership largely repudiated, even though the rules negotiated by the government and opposition guaranteed the party and its supporters a certain level of representation in the newly constituted Sejm, or parliament. Officials on both sides insist the events planned for the visit will go on as planned, even though no one could be certain the two chambers of the reconstituted parliament -- a new, 100-member Senate and the 460-member Sejm, or lower chamber -- would be legally filled by the time Bush speaks to a joint session on July 10. Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who is scheduled to meet with Bush, was among those party leaders rejected by the voters on June 4 and it was not certain at the time of our visit whether the necessary electoral gears will have turned in time for Wojciech Jaruzelski, who has been head of state since November 1985, to hold the new title of president. In the June 4 elections, Solidarity won 180 of 161 allotted seats in the Sejm and 92 seats in the Senate. Runoff elections are set for June 18.

ACCOMMODATIONS:

The White House Filing Center will be in the main ballroom (Sala Balowa) on the ground floor of the Victoria Intercontinental Hotel, ul. Krolewska 11, telephone 255-051. AT&T will install a satellite system connecting with its operators in the U.S. for clean data and voice transmission. Unfortunately, these phones will be your only hope for getting calls back to the states. The telephone system in Poland is dreadfully inadequate and operator-placed calls to the U.S. can take several hours. The traveling White House press corps will be staying at a hotel other than the Victoria, which has been taken over for members of the official delegation and other staff. During our visit, a Holiday Inn was to have opened slightly more than a half-mile from the Victoria. One other possibility for the press could be the Europejski, which is located near the Victoria but lacks the modern facilities of that hotel or the Holiday Inn. In any case, plan on calling home only from the filing center. In Gdansk, the filing center will be located in the main-floor ballroom of the Heweliusz Hotel, ul. Heweliusza 22, telephone 315-651, where AT&T will have another satellite set-up (on a slightly more limited scale than Warsaw) for communication back to the U.S. The Polish Zloty exchanges at a rate of 4,000 to the U.S. dollar, making shopping and eating real bargains if you find the right places. Recommended among the restaurants in Warsaw (both in the Old Town section) are Bazyliiszek and Swietoszek. Electrical power is 220/240 V, requiring an adapter with twin round plugs.

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THE SITES:

In 1987, Bush became the highest-ranking American official to visit Poland since Jimmy Carter in 1977. This time, as in 1987, his first major event will be a wreath-laying at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in the Saxxon Gardens, just across the street from the Victoria Hotel. Two soldiers wearing the four-cornered military cap known as the "rogatyvka" guard the triple-colonade memorial, an eternal flame honoring Polish military men who died in World War II and a marble slab inscribed with the words "Here lies the Polish soldier who gave his life for the Fatherland." A second wreath-laying is planned at Umschiagplatz, an almost unmarked memorial of marble walls at about the precise point where Jews were loaded onto trains for transport to the Nazi death camps. The memorial is relatively new, dedicated in April 1988 to coincide with the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. In Polish, on the wall: "Along this path of suffering and death over 300,000 Jews were driven in 1942-1943 from the Warsaw Ghetto to the gas chambers of the Nazi extermination camps." The wall also is inscribed with the family names of some of those taken off to the camps. On his last visit, Bush laid a wreath at the granite Monument to the Heroes of the Ghetto.

Official events in Warsaw will be held at: Zelwedera Palace, the home of the last Polish king, where Jaruzelski receives official guests; the residence of U.S. Ambassador Joan Davis, where Bush met Walesa in 1987 and where this time he will have lunch with selected members of the Sejm either in a dining room or under a tent in garden, with an appearance by Jaruzelski possible, depending on his official status at the time; The Sejm, where Bush will speak to a joint session from a wood podium in the upstairs main chamber (now undergoing a modest amount of renovation), press to be seated in the marble-columned gallery; the Council of Ministers, where Bush will meet with the prime minister; the American Embassy, where Bush will have remarks to members of the American community and embassy workers in a small and most likely cramped basement assembly room; and Radziwill Palace, these days a somewhat plain and musty remnant of Polish royalty where Frederick Chopin is said to have played his first concert. Bush will be staying at the Parkowa Guest House. No official events are to be held there.

Events in Gdansk will be held at: the twin-soired Basilica Minor Oliwienes, the "Cathedral Church in Oliva" known for its huge 7,896-pipe organ dating back to 1755, where Bush, to ensure he touches base with all three major political forces in Poland, will meet with Bishop Goclowski, in lieu of earlier plans to meet in Warsaw with Cardinal Glemp, who will be out of the country at the time of this visit (Culinary note: Polish sausage sandwiches with pickles, consumed with surprising digestive impunity by

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several members of the pre-advance delegation, were available from the vendor in the trailer across the road from the basilica for about 5 cents); the Walesa residence, a large house on the outskirts of Gdansk that Walesa recently purchased to accommodate his office and family needs, complete with "Digital" satellite dish and orchard in the back yard; the Solidarity Workers Monument, one of the most famous sites in recent Polish history, a tall metal sculpture rising to three crosses topped with anchors in memory of the 76 shipyard workers killed in the December 1980 riots, located in what is now known as Solidarity Square, right outside the Lenin Shipyards, a huge facility that Polish-born American heiress Barbara Johnson (of the Johnson & Johnson fortune) has offered to rescue from a planned phase-out by the Polish government; the Westerglatte Memorial, a tall monument overlooking the Gdansk shipyards on one side and the Baltic on the other, on land where the first shots of World War II were fired. Unlike the other events in Gdansk, this will be part of the official schedule for Poland and will see Jaruzelski rejoin Bush for a ceremony honoring the defenders of Polish soil who fell during the month-long Nazi offensive of September-October, 1939. The 100-foot-tall stone monument carries the names of places where Polish soldiers fought in World War II.

THE SCHEDULE:

Sunday, July 9:

7:00 a.m.: Bush departs Andrews AFB.
9:50 p.m.: Arrival ceremony, remarks TBD. EXPANDED POOL.
10:10 p.m.: Depart for Parkowa Guest House.
10:30 p.m.: Arrive guest house. RDN.

Monday, July 10:

8:35 a.m.: Depart guest house for Tomb of Unknown Soldier.
8:45 a.m.: Wreath-laying at Tomb of Unknown Soldier. POOL.
9:10 a.m.: Wreath-laying at Umschlagplatz. POOL.
9:30 a.m.: Arrive Belvedere Palace. Inside POOL coverage of welcoming handshake, POOL coverage at the start of a one-on-one meeting in the Pompeian Room with two principals seated on a couch. POOL moves to the Room of the Works of the Council of State for photo of expanded meeting around a long oval table.
11:30 a.m.: Depart for Ambassador's Residence.
11:45 a.m.: Luncheon with Senate leaders. POOL.
2:00 p.m.: Depart for the Sejm.
2:15 p.m.: Speech to joint session of the Sejm. Essentially OPEN coverage, with as many as 100 press seated in gallery.
3:15 p.m.: Depart for Council of Ministers.
3:20 p.m.: Meeting with prime minister. POOL.
4:00 p.m.: Depart for U.S. Embassy.
4:05 p.m.: Greeting to American community and embassy workers. POOL.

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4:45 p.m.: Depart for guest house.
4:50 p.m.: Arrive guest house.
7:45 p.m.: Depart for Radziwill Palace.
7:55 p.m.: State dinner hosted by Jaruzelski. Guests seated at horseshoe-shaped table. POOL coverage of toasts at top of dinner, delivered with consecutive translation.
10:00 p.m.: Depart for guest house.
10:10 p.m.: Arrive guest house.

Tuesday, July 11:

10:00 a.m.: Airport departure ceremony.
10:10 a.m.: Depart for Gdansk.
11:25 a.m.: Arrive Gdansk.
11:45 a.m.: Arrive cathedral by motorcade for meeting with bishop in upstairs residence adjacent to basilica (POOL), to be followed by walk into cathedral for brief organ concert. POOL.
12:35 p.m.: Depart for Walesa residence.
12:45 p.m.: Arrive Walesa residence for lunch. POOL will be brought in for photo of Bushes and Walesas sitting at wooden dining table (bench seating) in small dining room. Could be followed by walk through garden.
1:55 p.m.: Depart for Solidarity Workers Monument.
2:10 p.m.: Wreath-laying and remarks (with Walesa) against backdrop of monument base, Solidarity banner and shipyard gate. OPEN.
2:45 p.m.: Depart for Westerplatte.
3:10 p.m.: Arrive Westerplatte, greeted by Jaruzelski (POOL) for walk up hill (possible pre-set POOL) for wreath-laying (separate pre-set POOL) with remarks TBD.
3:40 p.m.: Depart Westerplatte by boat, down canal past shipyards into the center "Old Town" section of the city. POOL to follow. NOTE: The drive to Westerplatte, the ceremony there and the boat trip back are intended to free up about one hour after the speech at the Solidarity Workers Monument. This could be tight for some people, who should bear in mind the next opportunity come only once at the hotel in Budapest.
4:10 p.m.: Arrive downtown dock.
4:20 p.m.: Depart by motorcade for airport.
4:45 p.m.: Depart Gdansk for Budapest.

HUNGARY

Bush was the highest-ranking American official ever to visit Hungary in 1983 and will reclaim that title as the first president to travel there. As in Poland, the schedule will include government-to-government as well as other meetings. With political reform further along in Hungary, the visit may lack some of the drama of the moment that Poland holds. At the same time, the contrast to Poland may come as a start -- the streets.

shops and sidewalk cafes bustling, the parliament a marvel of ornate architecture and the hotels equipped with the latest in modern conveniences. For the record, most of the events and the hotels for press and staff will be on the Pest side of the Danube. The guest house, Ambassador's Residence and Old Prison are on the Buda side.

ACCOMMODATIONS:

The White House Filling Center will be in the first-floor (one up from ground) ballroom of the Duna Intercontinental Hotel, Apaczai Csere János utca 4, telephone 175-122, overlooking the Danube. The hotel, where the traveling press corps also will be housed, has color television with English channels in the rooms, indoor pool, several bars or restaurants and direct-dial telephone. Room rates were not known, though the nearby Atrium Hyatt, where the pre-advance party stayed, went for about £100 a night. Although USA Direct is available in Hungary (dial local number 171-499 to connect, the quality of the service during our visit was awful. As a result, AT&T satellite service will be available from the filling center. If the bugs in USA Direct have not been straightened out, direct-dial overseas service from the rooms should be good (at least for voice) but extremely expensive. AC power, again, is 220/240V requiring a two-prong adapter. The Duna has hard-currency shops in the hotel and an active shopping district nearby. The local currency, the forint, goes for about 60 to the U.S. dollar. For the record, staff hotel is the Atrium-Hyatt, minutes away from the Duna.

THE SITES:

The schedule begins with a formal arrival ceremony in Kossuth squares, named for freedom fighter Lajos Kossuth, leader of a national government born of an explosion of unrest in the mid-19th century. The square is remembered for the tanks positioned and shots fired there during the uprising of 1956. There will be remarks under the statue of Kossuth, then a walk to the other end of the plaza (near the entrance to parliament) for troop review and anthems. Bush will then proceed inside parliament, up a red-carpeted stairway, to a state dinner in the Hunt Room with heavy wood panel and stained glass windows on one side. Guests will be seated at a long table down the center, with Bush and President Bruno Ferenc Straub seated across from one another near the midpoint. The next day, Bush will return for three meetings at the parliament: 15 minutes with Straub in the Munkacsay Room, named for the artist whose huge painting spans almost the full length of one wall; an 8-on-8 meeting with Straub, party leader Karolyi Gross (replaced as head of government last fall) and other government officials in the Nandorfeherlyar Room, with a view of the Danube; and a 6-on-6 meeting with Prime Minister Miklos

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Nemeth and other officials in the Delegation Room. Bush will be staying in a large, modern guest house facility on the Buda side of the river. One of the main attractions of Budapest is Castle Hill, site of the former royal palace. The palace, an impressive structure that overlooks the Danube from a hill on the Buda side, was all but destroyed during the seven-week siege of 1944-45 and since has been rebuilt. Not far away is the Old Prison on Castle Hill. The stone prison where Kossuth was held for three years is still there, but the grounds belong to the U.S. government as the result of a swap for debt after World War II and the compound now serves as home for the 10 Marines attached to the U.S. Embassy. The grounds have a panoramic view of the Danube and the Budapest cityscape. Against that background, Bush will meet with about 15 students, some vigorous opponents of the government. Afterward, he will motorcade back across the river to Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences, described by U.S. Ambassador Mark Palmer as "the most radical university in the city, despite the name." The university has exchanges with some 23 American schools and the opposition movement in Hungary has drawn from its Law School faculty. Bush will speak in the main hall on street level, with his remarks piped to overflow crowds. Marx will not, however, be looking over Bush's shoulder as Lenin did with Reagan at Moscow State. Instead, Bush will speak at the opposite end of the hall from the statue of Marx. At the Ambassador's Residence, Bush will meet first in the Piano Room with state ministers and a short time later in the adjacent living room with members of new political parties. That evening, he will return to host an outside reception for a cross-section of the Hungarian community, then will remain for a private dinner. The ambassador's residence, by the way, was snatched up in the same post-war real estate deal as the Old Prison. For those in the pool, the bulldog's name is Fredrica.

THE POSSIBLE SCHEDULE:

Tuesday, July 11:

6:45 p.m.: Arrive Budapest; depart for Kossuth Square.
7:05 p.m.: Arrival ceremony in Kossuth Square. OPEN.
7:35 p.m.: Proceed into parliament. PRE-SET POOL FOR WALK.
8:00 p.m.: State dinner. POOL coverage of toasts at start.
10:00 p.m.: Depart parliament for guest house.
10:10 p.m.: Arrive guest house.

Wednesday, July 12:

8:50 a.m.: Depart guest house for parliament.
9:00 a.m.: Arrive parliament for three meetings (Straub, Nemeth 6-on-8 and final expanded 8-on-8.) POOL.
11:00 a.m.: Depart for guest house.
11:10 a.m.: Arrive guest house for private time.
12:15 p.m.: Depart guest house for Old Prison on Castle Hill

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12:25 p.m.: Informal discussion with students at Old Prison. POOL coverage of view of Budapest and start of discussion. No coverage of actual discussion.

1:15 p.m.: Arrive Karl Marx University for speech. OPEN.

2:00 p.m.: Depart for Ambassador's Residence.

2:15 p.m.: 45-minute with state ministers. POOL photo opp.

3:15 p.m.: 45-minute meeting with leaders of new political parties. POOL photo opp.

4:10 p.m.: Depart for guest house.

4:15 p.m.: Arrive for 2 hours, 30 minutes private time. NOTE: One option considered for this period was to have Bush and Baker play tennis with the prime minister and foreign minister.

6:45 p.m.: Depart for Ambassador's Residence.

6:50 p.m.: Arrive for 45-minute reception (POOL) and private dinner (CLOSED PRESS).

9:35 p.m.: Depart for guest house.

9:40 p.m.: Arrive guest house.

Thursday, July 13:

8:50 a.m.: Depart guest house for Ambassador's Residence.

8:55 a.m.: Arrive for greeting to American community (POOL).

9:30 a.m.: Depart for airport

9:45 a.m.: Arrive for brief departure ceremony (OPEN).

10:00 a.m.: Depart for Paris.

FRANCE

What might have been a simple trip to the annual Economic Summit is complicated in Paris by the fact that Mitterrand decided to schedule this small gathering of Western leaders at the same time as celebrations of: (a) the bicentennial of the French Revolution and (b) the centennial of the Statue of Liberty. Although Bush was not to have formally attended the Bicentennial, lines of distinction have become blurred. In addition to the summit, he is now slated to attend several Bicentennial-related events. He also will hold a bilateral with Mitterrand and could schedule similar meetings with one or more other summit leaders. It might be of interest to some that the only substantive OPEN event now on the schedule is a post-summit news conference on Sunday, July 16.

ACCOMMODATIONS:

The White House Filing Center will be in the downstairs (one floor below lobby level) Renoir Room at the Meridien Hotel, 91 bd Gouvion St-Cyr, telephone 4758-1230. This also will be the press hotel, with overflow at the Concorde just across the street. Both are modern hotels with shops, 24-hour room service, etc., located past the Arche de Triomphe as one moves from the center city out to La Defense, the site of the summit talks. Needless to say, no

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one with time on his or her hands should go hungry in this neighborhood. Rooms at the Meridien have been going for 1,550 francs (about \$235 at recent exchange rates) a night, though that certainly could go higher around Bastille Day. Telephone service in the filing center will be through USA Direct. Although the pre-advance party stayed at a different hotel, Ellis Kitchen of AT&T advises that data transmission should be possible from sleeping rooms (with the suitable coupling device) through USA Direct, which is accessed locally by calling 19, waiting for a second dial tone, then dialing 0011. Power is 220V requiring dual-prong adapter. In addition to the filing center at the hotel, work space for the U.S. press has been reserved at Arche de La Defense, where the formal summit sessions will be held and where the international filing center will be located. However, we have been assured that facility will be considered only as a back-up and that any official briefings by the U.S. delegation will take place at the hotel, eliminating the need to be in two places at once.

THE SITES:

Appropriately enough, Bush begins at the historic Palais de L'Elysee with a Bicentennial luncheon hosted by Mitterrand. From the ceremonial surroundings of the palace, he goes to the American Hospital of Paris, founded in 1910, for the dedication of a new wing that, like most everything else on the schedule in Paris, was still very much under construction at the time of our visit. Bush will stress cooperation in medical treatment in remarks to almost 200 people (construction schedules permitting) in the new amphitheater of the wing, which will contain a library, equipment to communicate with hospitals in the U.S. and elsewhere and parking. That night (Thursday), Bush will attend a 90-minute performance at the new Bastille Opera House, a piece of architectural avant-garde located on Bastille Square near the site where the Bastille prison was pulled down on July 14, 1789. Before the performance, the heads of delegation (the seven heads of government and the president of the EC) will gather for dedication of a plaque. Immediately afterward, Bush will present Mitterrand the key to the Bastille, which has been in U.S. hands since Lafayette gave it to George Washington. In reality, the hand-off will be only a loan. The Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union loaned the key to the government for the occasion. From the opera, the summit leaders will head to the Musee d'Orsay (Orsay Museum) for a black-tie dinner. Located on the left bank of the Seine, the museum was once an imposing railway station and hotel, abandoned in 1939 and declared a national monument in 1973 by President Georges Pompidou, who ordered it turned into a display of the art from Napoleon III's Second Empire to the beginnings of Cubism, in effect a link between the older art of the Louvre and the modernism of the Centre Georges Pompidou. More

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than 4,000 works are displayed there. There will be a reception in the main hall, then dinner upstairs for about 80 (including heads of delegations and spouses) in La Salle des Fetes.

The bicentennial events continue Friday, July 14, with the Bastille Day Parade, which Bush and other foreign leaders will watch from a viewing stand on the Place de la Concorde, which was designed before the revolution and dedicated to Louis XV, a statue of whom graced the center of the area. The statue was torn down during the revolution and in its place a guillotine erected, which took care of Louis XVI, Marie-Antoinette and others. The viewing stand will be erected under the Egyptian Obelisk from the temple of Luxor, given to France in 1931. A press stand was being built across the street. After the parade, Bush will attend a garden party and lunch hosted by Mitterrand at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and adjacent Hotel de Lassay, the residence of the chairman of the National Assembly. So ends the Bicentennial portion of the schedule.

The 25th Summit of Industrialized Nations gets under way late that afternoon (Friday) with ceremonial arrivals and an opening session at the Pyramide du Louvre, the I.M. Pei-designed (and controversial) glass pyramid -- its base a 125-foot x 125-foot square -- now used as the main entrance to the displays and walkways that provided new and badly needed space for the 196-year-old museum in the only place available: under the Cour Napoleon, or Napoleon Courtyard. The summit leaders will pose for a group photo outside the large main pyramid, which along with two smaller pyramids covers a large underground area where the leaders will then proceed down a spiral staircase to the Napoleon Lobby and on to a room known as the rotunda to sit down to business at a circular table. That night, the summit leaders gather for dinner at Hotel de la Marine, the Ministry of the Navy, for dinner. They will dine in a second-floor room that with a balcony that looks out onto Place de la Concorde. And at some point, the leaders are expected to walk out onto the balcony and view the final Bicentennial gala from behind bulletproof glass.

On Saturday, the formal summit talks open in a 35th-floor conference room in Arche de La Defense, an arch-shaped office building at the center of a huge new development about 4 kilometers from the Place de la Concorde. The leaders will meet on the top floor, between the two sides of the arch, in a room that was nothing but concrete, steel and ductwork when last visited but was supposed to be decorated with artwork and made to lead out to steps that would take the leaders to a spot offering an expansive view of Paris. That night, back to the Louvre for dinner in a foyer known as Pyramidon, located under one of the two smaller pyramids on the mezzanine level of the Pyramide du Louvre. The dinner is expected to be followed by a tour of the

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ancient walls of Paris, the 12th-century stone walls uncovered during excavation for construction of the pyramid complex.

On Sunday, the Bushes will attend services at the American Cathedral of Paris, headquarters of the Convocation of American Episcopal (Anglican) Churches in Europe, at 23 Av. George V. The Rev. James R. Leo is dean of the church. The Bushes are expected to arrive through a side entrance and will sit in a front pew for the 30- to 45-minute service. After that: more summit talks at Arche de la Defense, reading of the joint communique at the arch by Mitterrand, Bush news conference at the Meridien and a final black-tie dinner of summit leaders at Elysee Palace.

THE SCHEDULE:

Thursday, July 13:

- 12:35 p.m.: Arrive Orly Airport.
- 12:45 p.m.: Depart for Elysee Palace.
- 1:10 p.m.: Bicentennial luncheon. POOL.
- 3:00 p.m.: Arrive American Hospital of Paris for remarks at dedication of new wing (OPEN) and possible visit with patient(s) (POOL).
- 4:00 p.m.: Arrive Elysee Palace for meeting with Mitterrand. Arrival and POOL photo opp.
- 4:30 p.m.: Depart for Ambassador's Residence for 2 hours, 10 minutes private time.
- 6:45 p.m.: Depart for Bastille Opera House.
- 6:55 p.m.: Arrive to be met by minister of culture; escorted upstairs to dedication/plaque ceremony (POOL) and key to Bastille exchange ceremony (POOL) before proceeding to performance.
- 8:45 p.m.: Depart for Musee d'Orsay.
- 9:55 p.m.: Arrive for black-tie dinner. PRE-SET POOL on platform for outdoor arrival. Inside POOL photo opp. Remarks only by Mitterrand.
- 11:00 p.m.: Depart for Ambassador's Residence.
- 11:30 p.m.: Arrive Ambassador's Residence.

Friday, July 14:

- 9:45 a.m.: Depart residence for Place de la Concorde.
- 9:50 a.m.: Arrive for Bastille Day Parade. Possible POOL near reviewing stand.
- 11:45 a.m.: Depart for Ambassador's Residence for 60 minutes private time.
- 1:00 p.m.: Arrive Ministry of Foreign Affairs for garden party/reception. Coverage TBD.
- 1:30 p.m.: Walk with Mitterrand to Hotel de Lassay.
- 1:40 p.m.: Arrive Hotel de Lassay (through tented walkway) for luncheon. POOL of arrival walk-up.
- 3:15 p.m.: Depart for Ambassador's Residence for 75 minutes private time.

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4:40 p.m.: Depart for Pyramide du Louvre.
4:55 p.m.: Arrive to honors, group photo. PRE-SET POOL from camera platform lining arrival path after. Bush arrives last. Inside PRE-SET POOL for walk down into main hallway. POOL in three waves at top of meeting in the rotunda for opening session.
6:45 p.m.: Depart for Ambassador's Residence for 85 minutes private time.
8:25 p.m.: Depart for Hotel de la Marine.
8:30 p.m.: Arrive for reception in Diplomatie room and dinner in Des Amiraux. POOL photo opp at top of dinner.
10:35 p.m.: Arrive back Ambassador's Residence.

Saturday, July 15:

9:35 a.m.: Depart residence for Arche de la Defense.
9:50 a.m.: Arrive for restricted session, plenary session, working luncheon and plenary session. No coverage.
5:05 p.m.: Depart for Ambassador's Residence for 45 minutes private time.
6:10 p.m.: Depart for Pyramide du Louvre.
6:25 p.m.: Arrive (PRE-SET POOL) for dinner. POOL coverage of walk upstairs from informal working session. POOL coverage of top of dinner.
9:45 p.m.: Depart Louvre for Ambassador's Residence.
10:00 p.m.: Arrive residence.

Sunday, July 16:

8:30 a.m.: Depart residence for American Cathedral.
8:45 a.m.: Arrive for Sunday services. Possible no coverage.
9:30 a.m.: Depart for Arche de la Defense.
10:00 a.m.: Meeting with heads/ministers/sherpas. POOL.
1:00 p.m.: Working luncheon. No coverage.
3:00 p.m.: Plenary session. POOL.
5:20 p.m.: Reading of communique by Mitterrand. POOL.
5:55 p.m.: Depart for Meridien Hotel.
6:05 p.m.: Arrive for news conference. OPEN.
6:50 p.m.: Depart for Ambassador's Residence for 50 minutes private time.
7:50 p.m.: Depart residence for Elysee Palace.
7:55 p.m.: Arrive for black-tie dinner. POOL.
10:00 p.m.: Depart for Ambassador's Residence.
10:05 p.m.: Arrive residence.

Monday, July 17:

8:35 a.m.: Depart residence for Orly Airport.
9:05 a.m.: Depart for The Netherlands.

THE NETHERLANDS

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As now configured, this will be a mere 25-hour stop, taking place slightly more than two months after the collapse of the center-right coalition government headed by Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, who will be under challenge in September elections. The schedule has been compressed some from its original form and could be revised even further as the trip approaches.

ACCOMMODATIONS:

The White House Filing Center will be in the Europa Hotel at Zwolsestraat 2, 2587 VJ in The Hague/Scheveningen, telephone 070-512651, telex 33138, fax 070-506473. Scheveningen is a resort town on the North Sea coast that blends into The Hague at the edges. The hotel is 100 meters from a shop- and cafe-lined boardwalk and beach and across the street from a large indoor shopping complex. Overflow press not accommodated in the 174-room Europa will be housed nearby at the Carlton Beach. The Europa went for about \$75 a night during the pre-advance, though at a special embassy rate. The Kurhuis, a complex that includes a hotel, restaurants and a casino, is next door and is where the official delegation and staff will stay. There is an excellent Indonesian restaurant, the Ramed Mas, in this area, as well as a number of grill rooms along the boardwalk. For those who crave something closer to home (in spirit if not actual taste), there is a Tex-Mex place next door to the Indonesian place, for which not a single member of the pre-advance team could vouch. The Europa also boasts "real American" dishes at its own New Orleans Ribhouse, though a Louisiana-born foreign service officer who has dined there seemed to believe New Orleans had had its name taken in vain. AT&T service at the filing center will be through USA Direct. Standard USA Direct service is available over hotel phones (dial 06, wait for second dial tone and then key in 222-9111) and offered clear and quick voice communication during our stay, but balked at data transmission. Ellis Kitchen of AT&T said this technical matter would be pursued and hopefully corrected. Again, that should affect only filing from the room and not from the filing center. AC is 220/240 V requiring standard two-prong adapter. The currency is the guilder, convertible at just more than 2-to-1 for U.S. dollars.

THE SITES:

Bush will arrive at **Schiphol Airport, the main airport serving Amsterdam**, where he will be met by Queen Beatrix and Prince Claus. Beatrix is the titular head of state and succeeded to the throne in April 1980 on abdication of her mother, Queen Juliana. She delivers an annual statement of government policy from a raised throne in Ridderzaal, a high-ceilinged room in the parliament building where the counts of Holland once met. The motto on the throne: "Je Mainiendri" -- "I

will maintain." After a 20-minute drive through the Dutch countryside, along the main highway between The Hague and Amsterdam, Bush will go into a round of official meetings with Lubbers and other government leaders. On arrival at parliament, which comprises the first and second chambers, Bush will proceed to the second-floor Travesaal, or Truce Room, the site of talks that led to a temporary halt to hostilities in the 80-year war (1568-1648) for independence from Spain and the room the Cabinet now meets every Friday, for a 10-on-10 meeting. His next stop is Catshuis, the official residence of the prime minister, a large white country house with dark green trim, fronted by a pond with ducks and swans, for a working lunch at a long table in the garden Room, which is used for Cabinet meetings in the summer and opens out to a patio and large garden/backyard. The house, by the way, is named for Jacob Cats, a Dutch lawyer, poet and writer who built the original house on that site in the 17th century. Weather permitting, Bush and Lubbers will step out to the garden before the lunch for a photo. After lunch, Bush will motorcade 25-30 minutes to the town of Leiden for the only OPEN event of his stay in The Netherlands: a speech on shared values and American-European ties at The Pieterkerk, the Church of St. Peter, a huge cathedral built around 1500 that rises some 95 feet in the main vault. Leiden was chosen for its historical value: the Pilgrims, driven from England by religious dissent, resided there for 11 years before their voyage to America in 1620. A Pilgrim Fathers Documents Center remains in Leiden and Bush is expected to be taken on a private tour of Pilgrim records and other artifacts after delivering his speech from a podium at the west wall, under the huge pipe organ first built around 1550 and reconstructed 90 years later. Alternate sites: the opposite side, with his back to the choirscreen and east window, Beatrix, Lubbers, members of the American community and Council of Ministers and other official guests are expected to be on hand in an audience that could number as many as 1,500. That night, Bush will attend a state dinner at Noordeinde Palace, the pale yellow, recently renovated "working palace" used for government offices and official functions. Up a white marble staircase (CNN's Wendy Walker, immortalized in the last pre-advance report and still pleasant after all these years, notes the ceiling is done in the same artistic fashion as the one in her bedroom), the Bushes will pose with Beatrix and Claus in the balcony Room for a photo; then will move into the ballroom for dinner at one long main table and five connecting tables. The queen is expected to have a toast at the top, though there was some question as to whether coverage would be permitted. The final events in The Hague will occur at the ambassador's residence, along diplomatic row, where the artwork on the walls includes a collection of four Andy Warhol prints of none other than Queen Beatrix. Portraits of John Adams and John Quincy Adams hang there as well, noting the fact that both served as ambassadors to The Netherlands (John Adams

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assignment there in 1782 was the first of a U.S. ambassador anywhere in the world) and presidents. There will be back-to-back meetings, first in the Blue Room and then in the Green Room, with members of Lubbers' opposition and other members of the First and Second chambers. If the logistics can be worked out, Bush will address members of the American community and embassy staff in the backyard. If not, that event (the last one before heading to the airport) will be held in a small courtyard at the embassy.

THE SCHEDULE:

Monday, July 17:

10:30 a.m.: Arrive Schiphol . POOL of arrival ceremony.
10:45 a.m.: Depart for The Hague
11:55 a.m.: Arrive parliament for Treaty Room meeting. POOL.
12:50 p.m.: Depart for Catshuis
12:55 p.m.: Arrive for working lunch. EXPANDED POOL.
2:35 p.m.: Depart for The Pieterskerk, Leiden.
3:00 p.m.: Arrive for speech. OPEN.
4:00 p.m.: Depart for Nordeinde Palace.
4:25 p.m.: Arrive for 3 hours, 30 minutes private time.
7:55 p.m.: State dinner. POOL photo.

Tuesday, July 18:

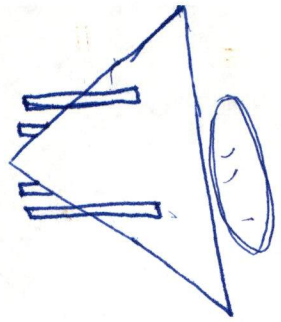
7:35 a.m.: Depart palace for Ambassador's Residence.
7:45 a.m.: Arrive for one-on-one (POOL) and breakfast with political leaders and parliament members (POOL).
?:?? a.m.: American community greeting. POOL.
Bush should arrive at Schiphol Airport (outside Amsterdam) in time for a brief departure ceremony (with Beatrix present) and an 11:30 a.m. departure, which would place him back at Andrews around 2 p.m. EDT.

Norm Sandler/LPI

JULY 5



845-7510
7pm



NADA until Wed 5

Rm 450
VOTE AMERICA



Monday - play by ear / 1/2 Day
Sunday a / crack of dawn

AFTER TRIP - ARRIV. of MOONLANDING
19th - Possible Captive Nations Day

5/19 1:00 pm

PROPOSED SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

TO

HUNGARY

JULY 11 - 13, 1989

5:20 pm Arrive Budapest, Hungary.

5:30 pm Depart Budapest Airport en route Kossuth Square.
(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

5:50 pm Arrive Kossuth Square.

* ~~Remarks at Kossuth Memorial Square~~
-OPEN PRESS

* Formal Arrival Ceremony
-OPEN PRESS

6:20 pm Depart Kossuth Square en route Guest House.
(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

6:30 pm Arrive Guest House.

(PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 20 MINUTES)

7:50 pm Depart Guest House en route Parliament.
(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

8:00 pm Arrive Parliament.

* State Dinner/Toasts
-POOL COVERAGE



10:00 pm Depart Parliament en route Guest House.
(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

10:10 pm Arrive Guest House for RON.

Wednesday, July 12, 1989

8:50 am Depart Guest House en route Parliament.
(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

9:00 am Arrive Parliament.

* Bilateral Meetings with Hungarian
Leadership (Straub, Grosz, Nemeth,
Horn), Separate or Together TBD
-PHOTO OPPORTUNITY



11:00 am Depart Parliament en route Guest House.
(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

11:10 am Arrive Guest House.

(PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 5 MINUTES)

12:15 pm Depart Guest House en route Old Prison on
Castle Hill. *mtg with students*
(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

Jacking Paints -

OPTION: Tennis with Prime Minister, 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
(7:00 pm - 7:45 pm)
-POOL COVERAGE
 - * Private Dinner (8:00 pm - 9:30 pm)
-CLOSED PRESS
- 9:35 pm Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Guest House.
(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)
- 9:40 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.
- T.P.* * ~~American Community Greeting~~
-POOL COVERAGE
- 9:30 am Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Budapest Airport.
(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

9:45 am

Arrive Budapest Airport.

* 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)

6/7 6:00 PM
Poland

PROPOSED SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

TO

WARSAW, POLAND

JULY 9-11, 1989

Sunday, July 9, 1989

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

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

9:50 pm Arrive Warsaw, Poland.

* ARRIVAL CEREMONY
-Statements TBD
-Pool Coverage

10:10 pm Depart Airport en route Guest House.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

10:30 pm Arrive 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
-Pool Coverage

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 Belvedere Palace.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

9:30 am Arrive Belvedere Palace.

- * BILATERAL MEETING WITH GENERAL JARUZELSKI
-Photo Opportunity
- * EXPANDED BILATERAL MEETING WITH GENERAL JARUZELSKI

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

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

11:45 am Arrive Ambassador's Residence.

B.R. ?

- * LUNCHEON WITH SENATE LEADERS
(12:00 pm - 1:30 pm)
-Photo Opportunity

Solidarity

(PRIVATE TIME: 30 MINUTES)

2:00 pm Depart Ambassador's Residence en route The Sejm.
(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

2:15 pm Arrive The Sejm.

* ADDRESS JOINT SESSION OF PARLIAMENT
-Expanded Pool Coverage

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 Arrive American Embassy.

T. P. * AMERICAN COMMUNITY GREETING
-Pool Coverage

4:45 pm Depart American Embassy en route Parkowa Guest
House.
(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

4:50 pm Arrive Parkowa Guest House.
(PRIVATE TIME: 2 HOURS 55 MINUTES)

7:45 pm Depart Guest House en route Radziwill Palace.
(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

7:55 pm Arrive Radziwill Palace.
* STATE DINNER HOSTED BY GENERAL
JARUZELSKI
-Pool Coverage
-Toasts
-Official Party + (35)
-Business Suit

10:00 pm Depart Radziwill Palace en route Guest House.
(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

10:10 pm Arrive Guest House for RON.

Tuesday, July 11, 1989

TBD am Depart Parkowa Guest House en route Warsaw
Airport.
(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

TBD am Arrive Warsaw Airport.
* BRIEF DEPARTURE CEREMONY
-Open Press

TBD am Depart Warsaw, Poland en route Gdansk, Poland.
(Flight Time: 1 Hour 15 Minutes)
(Time Change: None)
(Interchange: Yes)

GDANSK

AM Vespplatte Memorial -
wreath laying ceremony

AM Boatride Vespplatte to Old Gdansk
meet city leaders (?)

Solidarity Workers Monument - address

lunch - back Walewski home

Meeting with Ojiva (cardinal)

5/14 2:00 pm

PROPOSED SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

TO

THE NETHERLANDS

JULY 17 - 18, 1989

10:30 am Arrive Valkenberg NAS, The Hague, Netherlands.

* Arrival Ceremony

10:45 am Depart Valkenberg Airport en route Nordeinde Palace.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

11:05 am Arrive Nordeinde Palace.

* Official Greeting with Queen Beatrix
-PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

11:50 am Depart Nordeinde Palace en route Parliament.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

11:55 am Arrive Parliament.

* Private and Expanded Meetings with
Prime Minister
-PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

12:55 pm

Arrive Catshuis.

- * Working Luncheon with Prime Minister
-PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

2:35 pm

Depart Catshuis en route The Pieterskerk, Leiden.

(Drive Time: 25 Minutes)

3:00 pm

Arrive The Pieterskerk, Leiden.

- * ~~Address to Residents~~
~~-OPEN PRESS~~

4:00 pm

Depart The Pieterskerk, Leiden en route Nordeinde Palace.

(Drive Time: 25 Minutes)

4:25 pm

Arrive Nordeinde Palace.

(PRIVATE TIME: 3 HOURS 30 MINUTES)

7:55 pm

Participate in State Dinner.

- * Receiving Line
-POOL COVERAGE
- * State Dinner
-CLOSED PRESS

[Handwritten mark]

toast

RON

Tuesday, July 18, 1989

7:35 am. Depart Nordeinde Palace en route Ambassador's Residence.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

7:45 am Arrive Ambassador's Residence.

* Breakfast with Party Leaders and Foreign Affairs Committee Members
-PHOTO OPPORTUNITY

 * American Community Greeting
~~-PRESS TBD~~

10:00 am Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Nordeinde Palace.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

10:10 am Arrive Nordeinde Palace.

* Private Time

* Official Departure Greeting with Queen Beatrix

11:00 am Depart Nordeinde Palace en route Valkenberg NAS.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

11:30 am

Depart The Hague, Netherlands en route Andrews
Air Force Base.

(Flight Time:
(Time Change: Back 6 Hours)
(Interchange: Yes)

TBD

Arrive Andrews Air Force Base.

PROPOSED SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

FOR

PARIS, FRANCE

JULY 13 - 17, 1989

Thursday, July 13, 1989

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 Arrive Paris American Hospital.

- * DEDICATION OF NEW HOSPITAL WING -
-Open Press
-Brief Remarks



(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
- * KEY TO BASTILLE EXCHANGE CEREMONY
 - Photo Opportunity



(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

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)

3

(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)

5:00

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.

Defense.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

3:50 am

Arrive Arche de la Defense.

- * RESTRICTED SESSION
(10:00 am - 10:15 am)
-Heads Only
-Closed Press
- * PLENERY SESSION
(10:15 am - 12:30 pm)
-Heads/Ministers/Shirpas
-Closed Press
- * WORKING LUNCHEON
(1:00 pm - 2:30 pm)
-Heads Only
-Closed Press
- * PLENERY SESSION
(3:00 pm - 5:00 pm)

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

- 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 RCN.

Sunday, July 16, 1989

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

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

8:45 am Arrive American Cathedral of Paris.

- PRIVATE CHURCH SERVICE
-Press TBD

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

7

- * 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)

4

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

8:35 am Depart Ambassador's Residence en route Orly Airport.

9:00 am Arrive Orly Airport and board Air Force One.

9:05 am Depart Paris, France en route Valkenberg NAS, The Netherlands.

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



Davis/Martin
June 27, 1989
Title: Hungary
Draft: One

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: KARL MARX UNIVERSITY
(Date, Time)

Ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Csaki (CHAH-kee). It's a pleasure to be back in Budapest, as the first American President to visit Hungary.

Some might find it ironic that I am speaking at a university named after Karl Marx. ((And I have to admit, from my vantage point, he does seem to be staring right at me . . .)) But those who know this great university know just how fitting ^{this} a forum ~~this~~ ~~university~~ is for an American President to address the people of Hungary.

After all, it is said that Tramline Number Two runs the ^{NATION} ~~country~~, since it originates at Karl Marx and makes stops at the National Center, Parliament and the Central Committee. Many great Hungarian leaders have also moved along this same route, including Miklos Nemeth (Namath) and Zsigmond (Zig-mund) Jarai (JAR-ree). But before any of them, there was a teacher at Karl Marx University, and his name was Imre ((EEMH-ray) Nage (NAZH) . . .

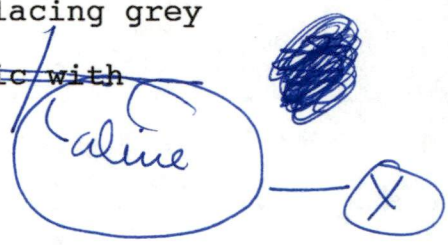
May his funeral be remembered a thousand times longer than it was deferred.

As that slow procession moved through Heroes' Square, the rising voice of Hungary was heard in the singing of the Szozat (SO-zat). And in this simple, somber reburial, the world saw something more than a dignified act of reconciliation. We witnessed an act of truth. It is on this foundation of truth, one more solid than stone, that Hungarians have begun to build a new future . . .

While Hungary rediscovers its natural role in the affairs of Europe, America is rediscovering you. One of the ((bestselling)) non-fiction books in my country today is entitled Budapest 1900. Dr. John Lukacs lovingly describes the Budapest of memory, the golden age when the broad tree-lined boulevards of this city were alive with color, when . . . ((Quote))

This was a city that rivaled Paris in splendor, Vienna in music and London in literature. This was a center of learning that enlightened the world, and gave America one kind of genius in Joseph Pulitzer, and another in Bela Bartok. But for decades, this great city, this great nation, so central to the continent in every respect, was torn from Europe and the West. This distance was ^{still} ^(to me) apparent even six years ago.

But the city and country I see today is again opening to the West, again ^{STEP} becoming a leading light in European culture. I see people in motion. I see color and creativity replacing grey conformity. ~~I sense an atmosphere that is electric with optimism.~~ ~~The Atmos is elec. That's not right.~~ ~~Humanism~~ ~~That's not right.~~



This is happening because your people and your leaders -- government and opposition alike -- have the courage to break with the past, to act in the spirit of truth. And what better example of this could there be than one simple fact: Karl Marx University has dropped Das Kapital from its required reading list . . .

This 19th Century German philosopher may no longer be relevant to most students, certainly not to students of business . . . Still, Marx deserves to be remembered as the first scholar to see the past not in the usual terms of great personalities, Caesar or Charlemagne, but in terms of economics and class -- ~~slave and master, serf and lord, laborer and guild.~~ Yet Marx's ~~offerred neither a complete image of Man, nor an accurate prediction for our century.~~ ^{CLASS VISION WAS FLAWED; IT FAILED TO OFFER} ^{purception} ^{Why is this?}



Karl Marx traced only one thread of human existence, and missed the rest of the tapestry -- the rich and varied tapestry of civilization. Marx saw Man as only homo economius. But Man is more than an economic being.

He is artistic Man. He has an innate need to create and enjoy beauty.

He is a loving member of a family, and a loyal patriot to his people.

And Man is something else which cannot be denied . . . **he is a creature of God . . .**

The creative genius of the Hungarian people, long suppressed, is again flourishing in your schools, your offices, your ~~great~~ churches. This is more than a fleeting season of freedom for Hungary. It is a Renaissance.

Voices long stilled are being heard again. An independent daily newspaper is now sold on the streets. Commercial radio and television stations, financed by American companies, will soon broadcast everything from the news . . . to Huey Lewis and the News. And even Radio Free Europe is opening its first Budapest bureau.

Hungary's new openness at home is reflected abroad. Your government has opened relations with South Korea and may recognize Israel before long. More than one hundred thousand Americans visited Hungary last year -- and more than 20,000 Hungarians have come to America. This very university operates

exchange programs with 23 U.S. schools. For the first time, the Iron Curtain has begun to part. ~~What is happening in Hungary~~ ^{is changing} will change the world.

The Soviet Union has withdrawn many troops, which I ~~hope is~~ ^{TAKE AS} a first sign that Moscow truly respects your sovereignty. And as they leave, let the Soviets know they have everything to gain, and nothing to fear, ~~from the West.~~

But all of this, as significant as it is, pales before one ~~stark fact.~~ ^{stark} stark fact. Hungary is at the threshold of doing what no other Communist power has done in history. You are going to become the first Warsaw Pact nation to ever hold a truly free election. *stark*

This is possible because brave men and women have formed opposition parties. And this is possible because Hungarian leaders are showing the ultimate political courage -- the courage to submit their names before the people.

While Hungary moves toward a greater future, the United States will stand by you. We are ready to do what we can to promote lasting change in Hungary in three spheres -- economics, cultural exchange and the environment.

ECONOMIC EXCHANGE

The United States believes aid should accelerate change, not delay it. So this our guiding principle -- the United States offers aid not to prop up the status quo, **but to propel reform.**

Of course, the dead weight of the past still burdens Hungarian enterprise. The remnants of the Stalinist economy, with its huge, inefficient industrial plants; the bewildering price system no one understands; the massive subsidies that cloud economic decisions -- all of this slows what you could otherwise achieve. It's an economic Rubik's Cube that defies solution.

And, ultimately, it's a burden to be discarded. To make the transition to a market economy will test your mettle as a people. The prices of some commodities will rise. Some inefficient factories will close. Many hard choices already await you. But the creative drive of the people, once unleashed, will create a momentum of its own. This will eventually bring you something greater than riches -- though riches you will create. It will give you control over your destiny . . . **a Hungarian destiny.**

The Hungarian government has already started to leave the business of running shops to shopkeepers and farms to farmers.

BUT The United States ~~can~~ *will also* be your partner in this transformation to a successful, competitive economy. *And* help will come from ~~other~~ *many* sources. Just look to the West of the Danube -- your European

neighbors are integrating into a single market. Soon you will have the chance to trade with this new economic colossus.

50 With trade in mind, once your future Parliament legalizes the free movement of its citizens, I will inform Congress that Hungary is complying with the 1974 Trade Act. This will entitle you to the maximum most-favored nation tariff status possible under U.S. law. Simply put, you will have more open access to **the largest single market in the world.**

America is also prepared to include Hungary in the generalized system of preferences, which provides duty-free entry for certain goods. **Hungary can -- and should -- develop the same trade access to the American market that your Western neighbors enjoy.**

The United States will offer some government assistance, including an entrepreneurial fund for economically depressed regions of your country. In years past, loans were written and accepted with little thought paid to their utility. Massive government and institutional loans **hobble whole nations with debt, while private investment liberates creditor and debtor alike.**

The U.S. government **can** and **will** direct private-sector investment in Hungary -- investment where it counts, in Hungarian **products, factories and jobs.** ((PAUSE))

I am pleased to note the recent U.S.-Hungarian agreement to promote the formation and development of small, private businesses all across your country. Called the Hungarian Enterprise Group, this center will match venture capital, both foreign and Hungarian, with entrepreneurs -- the small businessmen and -women with the grand ideas.

I have also asked the U.S. Congress to authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to encourage American investment in private enterprises in Hungary. So far, little encouragement has been needed. Consider the American investment company, Bears-Stearn, which has already established a special "Hungary Fund." This private pool of investment will purchase shares in Hungarian companies, helping to develop a Hungarian stock market.

What does private investment mean for Hungary? Yesterday, at Kossuth Square, I quoted the words of that great Hungarian patriot. But it was another Hungarian patriot, a contemporary of Kossuth, Count Szechenyi (Say-chaney), who coined a phrase in his great work on economics: "Magyarország Nem Volt, Hanem Lesz."

MAHDJ-a-orsog/ Nem/ Volt/ Hah-nem/ less

((Hungary was not, but will be)).

CULTURAL EXCHANGE

These are the economic proposals I will discuss with your leaders. But I am also here to meet the Hungarian people. I hope this visit leads to a wider exchange between East and West. Let our scientists, our artists, our environmentalists share the knowledge that can benefit us all. **Let our soldiers discuss peace and our students discuss the future.**

In fact
~~Most successful~~ is our student exchange programs, which have grown fast and can still accommodate thousands more. For this reason, I am pleased to announce that the United States Information Agency is going to initiate six new youth exchange programs in Hungary. I hope that some of you here today will soon have the opportunity to visit the United States.

as the most successful

I am ~~also~~ pleased to announce two agreements with your government -- on tourism and civilian air exchange.

The United States will also open, within the next two years, an America House in the center of Budapest. The celebrated American architect Robert Stern will design the plans for this center, which will promote bilateral trade by helping Hungarians to learn ~~the~~ American culture.

And when it comes to the language of America, the teaching of English is one of our most popular exports. As students you know that English is the lingua franca of world business, the key to clinching deals from Hong Kong to Toronto. So to give Hungarians greater entree into the global marketplace, I am pleased to announce that the Peace Corps will, for the first time, operate in a European country. And our Peace Corps volunteers will come to Budapest and all 19 counties **to teach English.**

ENVIRONMENT EXCHANGE

Six weeks ago, in Mainz, I proposed cooperation between East and West on environmental issues. I said that my generation remembers a Europe ravaged by war. And, of course, you have long since rebuilt your proud cities and restored your majestic cathedrals. But what a tragedy it would be if your continent was again spoiled, this time by a more subtle and insidious danger -- that of poisoned rivers and acid rain.

Hungary has led Eastern and Central Europe in addressing the concerns of your citizens for cleaner air and more pristine water. And you are leading the way in environmental agreements with the West. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and the Hungarian government have agreed on new programs for exchanges and joint training of environmental experts.

((Substance))

Pollution is no respecter of borders. Let us work together to save our common heritage.

In economics, culture and the environment, we have much to share and learn from each other. The United States is especially determined to stand by Hungary as you meet an enormous challenge. No Communist nation has yet attempted what Hungary is already doing -- to build democracy and a free market.

((Substance on Democracy consortium/help from great parties of the West))

I see a great Hungarian future in the bright faces of your students. But not all young people in the East Bloc have as much freedom as you do to plan their future. Certainly not your brothers in Transylvania. Certainly not anywhere in Romania.

Your press recently reported that a Hungarian fisherman plying the waters of the Maros River discovered the body of Romanian girl. We are not exactly sure how she died. But we know that if she had been traveling from Hungary to Austria, she would have received nothing more than a friendly wave from the

border guard. But she attempted to cross the Maros, and paid with her life . . . Her two brothers made it across safely.

I do not know this girl's name. I do not know the torments that drove her to risk her life. But we do know her heart. It is the heart of Anne Frank and Hertelendy (HERT-lindy) Jamos (Yamosh). It is the heart of youth determined to live in freedom . . .

Throughout the Communist world today, as ^a ~~the~~ younger generation prepares to assume power, a great debate is underway. In this debate, Moscow advocates limited political freedom, but without economic rights. Beijing practices limited economic freedom, but without political liberty. Where are political **and** economic liberty advancing together? Only in Hungary.

The people of Hungary know it is not enough to let a man **purchase** what he wants, or to cast a symbolic vote. He must be allowed to **say** what he believes. He must be allowed to **choose** his government. Limited freedom, whether it is economic or political, will not provide sufficient room for the restless human spirit.

I cannot help but wonder what the Hungary of the year 2000 will be like. Your capital will surely reflect the grandeur of a full century before -- the Budapest of 1900. But, beautiful

though it may be, Budapest, like all Hungary, will be more than a restored work of art.

Benjamin Franklin, the sage of the American Revolution, said that love of liberty and the rights of man should someday become so widespread, "that a philosopher may set his foot upon anywhere on the surface (of the earth) and say: 'this is my country.'"

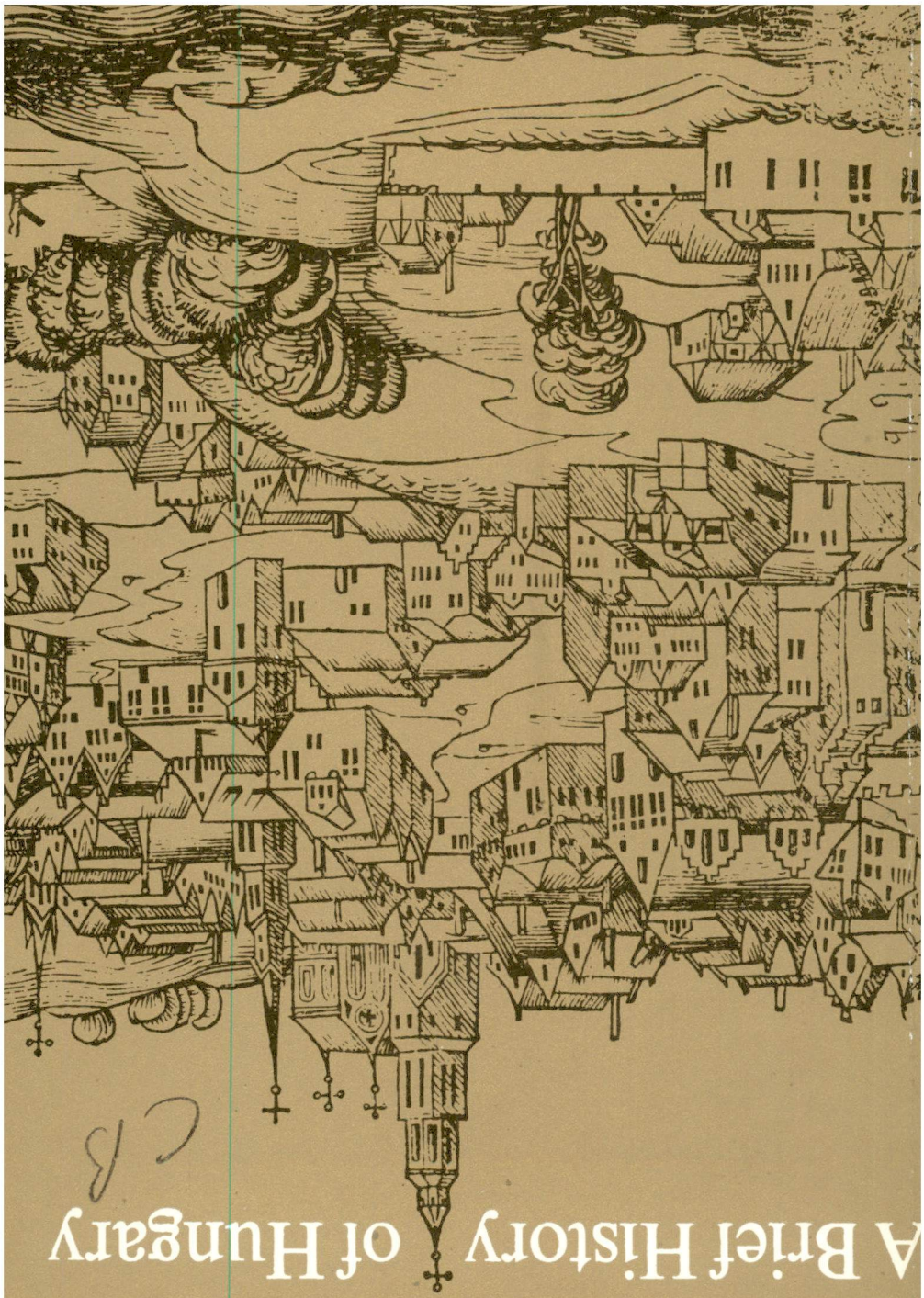
Because of your courage, that is the Hungary we can see before us; a better Hungary, a greater Hungary, a place any countryman of freedom could call home.

Thank you and God bless you all.

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A Brief History of Hungary

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A Brief History of Hungary

Corvina Kiadó

*Text and selection
of illustrations by
András Székely*

*Translated by
Elek Helvey*

*Revised by
Miriam F. Levy*

*Design by
István Faragó*

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The Magyars first appeared in the basin surrounded by the Carpathians at the end of the ninth century A.D. Yet this forest and meadow-clad land of gentle climate, crossed by the ancient waterway, the Danube, had never been uninhabited. The skull of a prehistoric man, nicknamed "Samuel" by his finders, is comparable to similar finds in Central Africa, which are 500,000 years old. Primitive man of a later period also left his mark in the mountain caves of northern Hungary. However, this region really came to life in the period of the Great Migrations: the Celts settled along the Danube early in the first millennium B.C.; the Scythians grazed their horses on the eastern lowland pastures of the Great Plain at about 500 B.C.; they were followed by Germanic and Turkic peoples such as Goths, Gepids and Huns, while the Dacians of Thracian origin moved into the Transylvanian basin. West of the Danube, in the province of Pannonia, towns were founded by Romans. The remains of marble-floored villas and military amphitheatres reveal that here these people must have lived in moderate luxury, while east of the Danube, relics of magnificent treasures show the wealth of the heads of clans in the Barbaricum. In the fifth century A.D., the seat of Attila, king of the Huns, was also here, in the Carpathian basin, that is, on the territory of historic Hungary. Bayan, the famous "khagan" of the Avars, who subjugated the industrious agrarian Slavs, also lived there. Charlemagne crushed the Avars and sent missionaries into the area. Small Slav states developed and their inhabitants embraced Christianity. At the end of the ninth century, when the Pechenegs attacked them, about 200,000–250,000 Magyars and their kin fled to the Carpathian basin. At this time Slavs, Avars and a few descendants of Roman colonials lived along the Danube and the Tisza rivers. Before the Magyars conquered the country they sacrificed their old chieftain—as far as one can believe a medieval chronicle—and proclaimed his son, Árpád, ruler.

Where did the Magyars come from? It is not at all easy to find an answer to this question. Their language belongs to the Finno-Ugric family of languages. However, on the basis of their social system, the conquering Magyars are to be classified, in a wider sense, as a Turkic people. The ancient homeland of the Magyars was probably in the region of the Ural mountains. This area is still inhabited by the



*Vase from the treasures
of Nagyszentmiklós*

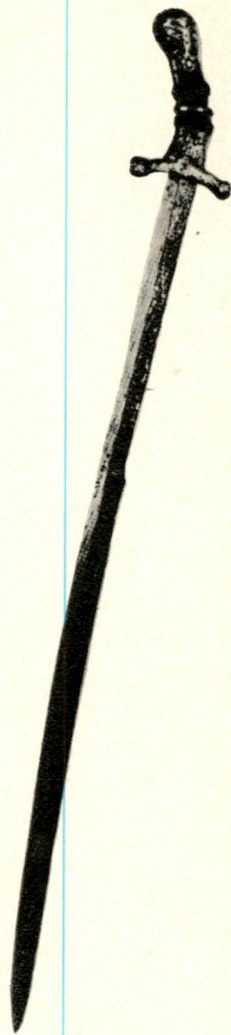
closest linguistic relatives of the Magyars. These Uralian cousins are small in number and mainly exist by fishing and hunting. From the Urals, the Magyars migrated to the vast plains of today's Bashkiria (called Magna Hungaria or Great Hungary as late as the thirteenth century), to the Caucasus and to the shores of the Black Sea. Turkish, Caucasian and Persian loan-words became a part of their language and, to the original Ugrian people, Turkish and Mongolian ethnic elements were added. When they reached the Carpathians the Magyars were good horse-breeders and fast-moving martial people as well. In battle, one of their favourite military tactics was to imitate retreat, and then, whilst the pursuing enemy enjoyed its momentary success, they would suddenly turn back and unloose a shower of arrows on the surprised and disarrayed ranks of the pursuers. Iranian silversmiths and goldsmiths lived among these warriors and adorned their arms and jewellery with a profusion of foliated scrolls, typical of Oriental art, or with the clan animals symbolic of the tribal chieftains — for totemism prevailed among the Magyars, as in the pre-history of almost all peoples. The Nagyszentmiklós "treasure of Attila", which is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, may be a surviving example of their art. Of course, not all of the Magyars were warriors. Many of them were huntsmen, fishermen, or tillers of the soil and some may have even known how to cultivate grapes. They had learned previously unknown skills from the Slavs and Avars, as well as from the descendants of Roman settlers who were shepherds and craftsmen.

It is thought that the Magyar conquest of Hungary probably occurred in 895 A.D. For 70 years from that date Hungarian armies launched campaigns into the west and south-east of Europe. They made both small and large raids from the Pyrenees to Byzantium. It is small wonder that West European chroniclers thought the Magyars to be descendants of those accursed Huns. And it is also understandable that this identification flattered the vanity of later Hungarian chroniclers. This is how the legend of the Hun-Magyar kinship took root and was strengthened by the fact that the name of the Magyars — "onogur" — was also known as "venger", "ungur", "ungar" or "hungarus", "Hungarian" and "hongrois". For decades the inhabitants of towns in Western Europe tried to defend themselves by

praying for protection against “the arrows of the Hungarians”; then they learned that armoured cavalry was more effective. Following serious defeats in 933 and 955, the descendants of Árpád realized that if they wanted to go on living in Europe they had to adapt themselves to the European ways, that is, they had to become Christians. Thus, at the end of the tenth century the Hungarians slowly began to convert—at about the same time that the Czechs, Poles, Scandinavians and Russians adopted Christianity—and joined the Western, or Roman Church.

Although missionary work had already begun under Prince Géza (972–997), it was his son Stephen, later to be canonized, who accomplished the actual conversion of his people to Christianity. In return, the Pope sent a royal crown to Hungary and gave its ruler the title of Apostolic King. The Hungarians still cherish Stephen’s memory: it is true that Árpád conquered the land, but King Stephen was the real founder of the state. During the four decades of his reign (997–1038), King Stephen organized the separate territories, hitherto held by individual tribes, into royal counties and appointed sheriffs who administered these counties. He invited learned men or priests skilled in a craft and artisans from Western Europe to come to Hungary. Since he had received his crown from the Pope, King Stephen did not become dependent on the emperors, but was obligated to raise a modern army able to counter the attacks of any enemy. He also had to defend himself against internal uprisings which aimed at restoring the heathen ways and the former clan system. With fire and sword, he suppressed the rebellions, even blinding or sending into exile his own relatives. Because King Stephen had no offspring (his only son died at an early age), struggles for the throne broke out after his death. Although these conflicts lasting for years weakened the recently established state, feudal Hungary continued to develop from the second half of the eleventh century to the middle of the thirteenth.

Development occurred in a cultural sphere as well as in the field of politics. Not many towns were founded at that time, but one parish church was built for every ten villages, and Romanesque palaces and chapels were erected at the royal seats. At first, monks from abroad were in charge of the building operations, and many priests who



Hungarian sword dating from the time of the conquest of Hungary, now in the Vienna Schatzkammer



*Ruins of a 12th century
church at Zsámbék*

were employed by the royal chancery had studied in Paris. But also, the decorative elements of the art of the Hungarian conquerors, and their goldsmiths' art which embodied an even older tradition, was fused with the French Romanesque style. In Latin documents more and more Hungarian words began to appear, and the most ancient text of considerable length in Hungarian was recorded at about 1200: it is a funeral oration, the style of which reveals that Hungarian was a refined language which lent itself well to the translation of literary works.

Hungarian historiography started in the eleventh century. One of the first historians was Master P., the "anonymous chronicler", who studied in Paris and recorded the age of the Hungarian conquest thus creating the Hungarian variant of the French-style "gesta", which was fashionable at about 1200. Although these chronicles are by no means precise, they are still valuable historical sources. From the concepts of different authors, one can trace the development of the political mentality. The descendants of former chieftains were not ready to resign themselves to the rule of the Árpád dynasty. The ruler had to be a resolute individual. Such monarchs were Ladislas I (1077-95), the second Hungarian king to be canonized, Coloman (1095-1116), known for his great erudition, and Béla III (1172-96), a shrewd politician. In the absence of such leaders struggles for the throne and savage heathen revolts kept the country in a state of uncertainty; Byzantium, the neighbouring state to the south-east, or the western neighbour, the Holy Roman Empire, tried to take advantage of the competition for the throne. King Stephen's admonitions to his son who died young are, perhaps, attributable to this state of affairs: a unilingual country—wrote the king—is weak and it is therefore better to enlist the help of foreigners who owe their land to the king. In fact, foreigners were settled *en masse*, for example, Germans and Cumans originating from Central Asia, at about 1150-1200. In the words of a chronicler of the end of the thirteenth century, "there came Czechs, Poles, Greeks, Spaniards, Ishmaelites, that is, Saracens, Pechenegs, Armenians, Saxons, Thuringians, people from Meissen and the Rhineland, Cumans and Latins who, since they stayed for a longer time in the country and intermarried with Hungarians, acquired noble titles and property



View of the town of Esztergom on a 13th century seal



Miniature from the
Illuminated Chronicle:
“*hospites*”,
foreign settlers

although their nationality was unknown.” (The chronicler made no mention of the Slavs who by this time lived in the northern part of the country.) Thus, many different nationalities but mostly Hungarians constituted the Hungarian *natio*, which meant the feudal nobility. The nobility relied on the protection of the king against despotic lords, or great barons, who subjected large territories to their rule. The lesser nobles generally owned medium-sized estates with a few serf villages, and, above all, had their own arms. They were strong enough to insist upon their own “Magna Carta”. This was known as the Golden Bull granted by King Andrew II in 1222 to safeguard the rights of the lesser nobility; the monopolizing of offices by the great lords was restricted; the various strata of the nobility were exempt from paying taxes; the only duty of the nobles was to defend the country in case of foreign attacks. The Golden Bull did not, however, integrate the privileged classes: the struggle for power between the king, the clergy, the powerful lords (*nobiles*) and the lesser nobles who did military service (*servientes*) characterized political life for many years to come. In about 1230, the *servientes* began to establish their own political organization, the so-called “noble county”, which functioned alongside the “royal county”. However, internal rivalry was soon thrust

into the background by a new, hitherto unknown enemy: the Mongol empire, which was expanding towards the west.

Julianus, a Hungarian Dominican friar, set out in 1235 (the year King Béla IV ascended the throne) to search for the Magyars who had remained in the east and to find *Magna Hungaria*. In fact, he met the nomadic heathen Magyars on the territory of today's Bashkiria. When he returned there a second time, he could find no trace of them; they had been swept away by the Mongol expansion started by Genghis Khan. The Turkish-speaking Cumanian tribes, trying to escape the oncoming Mongols, fled into Hungary. They were received into the country but did not strengthen its defences, for newer tensions arose between the agrarian Christian Hungarians and the nomadic heathen Cumans.

The Mongol armies appeared at the eastern border of the country in the spring of 1241. The Hungarian king could not deploy the total force of the country against the army of Batu Khan; the great nobles who were jealous of the king's power held themselves apart; moreover, they had the leader of the Cumans assassinated and the king could therefore not count upon the Cumans either. Nor was outside help available and even the Pope only sent comforting messages. The Mongols wiped out the Hungarian army on 11 April 1241, then in February 1242 crossed the frozen Danube and ravaged the western territories as well. The king fled to an island in the Adriatic, while the troops of the Austrian duke pillaged the western borderland of the country. Only a few towns surrounded by walls and some rock-fortresses withstood the Mongol invasion; this pointed to the tasks which lay in future for the king who reigned till 1270.

"Hungary which existed for 350 years was annihilated by the Tartars in one year", recorded a Bavarian monk in 1241. We might add that it was only by pure luck that he was proved wrong, for the death of the Great Khan meant that Batu Khan had to return urgently and unexpectedly to Central Asia. This forced the Mongols to withdraw from some of their western conquests, leaving behind a devastated country and carrying off thousands of prisoners. Contemporary records mention bread baked of oak-bark flour, hungry people eating dogs, cats and

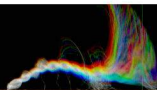


berries, epidemics and nobles who looted the few valuables which still remained.

The life-work of Béla IV—the reconstruction of the country—was compared to that of Árpád and St. Stephen. Towns really started to develop after the Mongol invasion and retreat. The king invited outstanding architects from abroad to restore the churches and to build new ones. (Villard de Honnecourt, the great master of Gothic art, was also active in Hungary.) In addition to the ancient coronation town of Székesfehérvár, a new fortified royal town was established on the hill of Buda. Trade, viniculture and mining made considerable headway. The reign of Ladislas IV “the Cuman” (1270–90) represents a peculiar episode in the history of the country: the king wanted to put the clock back and tried to destroy the power of the nobility and the clergy with the help of the heathen Cumans. His efforts ended, of course, in failure: he had to give his Cuman wife a divorce, break with his Cuman mistresses and remarry a woman chosen for him by the court and the church.

Certain place-names of the Great Hungarian Plain recall the memory of Cumans, and the Mongoloid cheekbones of its girls with black eyes point to Turkish ancestors. Jazygians, that is, people of Iranian origin also settled on the Great Plain as a homogeneous block. Rumanian-speaking shepherds and peasants lived in Transylvania, the south-eastern part of the country; “Latins”, that is, Italians and French, or, for example, the Buda Jews, played an increasingly important role in the life of the towns. Many townspeople or, more precisely, burghers carrying on a handicraft were Germans, particularly in Transylvania and in the northern part of the country inhabited by the Slovaks. Medieval Hungary was a multi-lingual country. However the common man of the Middle Ages had a different view of his fatherland than the common man of today: irrespective of the language spoken, everybody who lived here was a subject of the Hungarian king, and hence was a *hungerus*. (The common language of educated people continued for centuries to be Latin.) The importance of the Hungarian language increased at the same time. The first piece of poetry in Hungarian, the Old Hungarian Lament of the Virgin, a free translation of a Latin hymn, dates back to about 1300 and it is known

◀
*Salomon
Tower at Visegrád in
the Danube Bend region*



that the Hungarian version of the story of the siege of Troy—favourite reading in the Middle Ages—was also written.

This rich and large country endowed with many natural resources became masterless when the male branch of the Árpád dynasty became extinct in 1301. Contention for the vacant throne began between members of the royal family descended through the female line. Naturally, the powerful barons also took part in the rivalry; whenever royal power declined, the oligarchs held sway over large sections of the provinces.

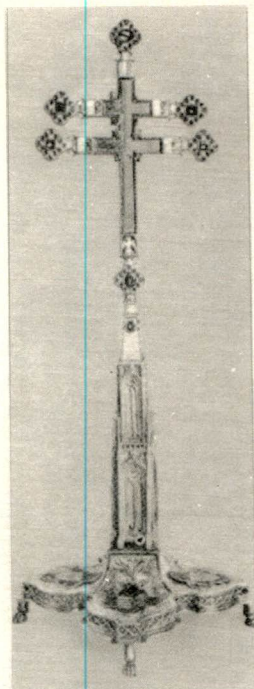
The Angevin King Charles I (1308–42) was the victor in this struggle for power. His reign and that of his son Louis the Great (1342–82) feature among the glorious periods of Hungarian history. Although their Italian campaigns—launched for family interests—were abortive, they restored royal power within the country and established—at least temporarily—a kind of East European economic co-operation. (Because of their efficient Polish—Hungarian economic policy, the Hungarian gold florin, modelled on the Florentine florin, was one of the strongest currencies in Europe.) The Angevin period was the Hungarian “age of chivalry” with all its picturesque tournaments, flagellant processions, etc.; one of the first, though short-lived, European universities was established in Hungary in 1367. Castles and Gothic churches were built, illuminated chronicles and prayer books designed. The “Viennese” Illuminated Chronicle (which is now kept in Budapest) or the collection of the lives of Hungarian saints in the Vatican are clear evidence of this relatively short but brilliant period which, however, could not solve the real problems of the country.

After the short reign of the daughter of Louis the Great, Sigismund of Luxembourg ascended the Hungarian throne and ruled for half a century. He was proclaimed emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1410 and presided over the Council of Constance which sentenced John Huss to be burned as a heretic. Sigismund pronounced the famous saying: the emperor is above grammarians. But in his capacity as Hungarian king he was less able to assert himself against the oligarchs who had gathered strength once more. During his reign, Hungarian towns assisted by royal power developed at a fast rate and joined in the commercial life of Europe to an even greater extent. But

because of his imperial position and wars in Bohemia, King Sigismund had little time to spare for matters east of Vienna.

The burning of John Hus at the stake and the Bohemian wars following in its wake also had an impact on Hungary. Two Hussite priests translated parts of the Scriptures into Hungarian in the 1430s. The revolutionary doctrines quickly spread among the peasants, poor priests and the lesser nobility doing military service. And the doctrines spread in spite of the inquisitor appointed by the Pope to control the southern and south-eastern parts of the country, which were the centres of heresy. When a Transylvanian Bishop greedily drew profit from the depreciation of money, the Hungarian and Rumanian peasants in Transylvania revolted (1437) "against their natural masters and landlords"—as the greedy Bishop later wrote. At first the rebels were successful, but they were finally defeated by the royal forces and the troops of landlords. Their leader, Antal Budai Nagy, was killed in action, the prisoners were impaled, and Kolozsvár, the capital of Transylvania and centre of the resistance, was deprived of its municipal privileges. (Above the beautiful Gothic gate of St. Michael's Church in Kolozsvár, the coat of arms of the House of Luxembourg can still be seen, only its lower half has been carved—out of revenge.)

One of the powerful lords—whose family was of noble Rumanian origin—seized more and more power. He was János Hunyadi who had already shown great military talent under King Sigismund, and is regarded as a hero not only by the Hungarians but also by the peoples of the northern Balkan states. He held several high positions: first he was appointed voivode of Transylvania, and later, during the years in which the nobility could not agree upon a king, he was made Governor of Hungary (1446–52). The barons had every reason to put the country's fate in the hands of an outstanding military leader: the Osmanli Turks had recovered from the battle of Ankara where the Mongols led by Tamerlane had destroyed their army in 1402. The Turks now began to advance from Anatolia towards Europe, first under Murad II and later under Mohammed II, the Conqueror, splitting off increasingly large areas from the Byzantine Empire. They besieged Byzantium in 1422 and defeated Sigismund, King of



The reliquary cross of Louis the Great

Hungary, in 1428. (The wife of a Hungarian nobleman allegedly saved the life of the emperor and king.) The Hungarian King Wladislas I fell in the battle of Varna in 1444, and even Hunyadi succumbed in 1448 at Kossovo Field, where the best of the Christian army of Hungarians and of the northern Balkan states perished. The cannons of Mohammed II battered down the walls of Byzantium in 1453, so there was nothing to prevent the Osmanlis from penetrating into Europe. The Turkish army then continued its advance along the lower reaches of the Danube, but Western Europe was unaware of the impending danger from the east. At that time, the Holy Roman Empire was on the brink of anarchy, the King of France was only interested in regaining the territories held by the English, in Britain the War of the Roses broke out. The only help Hunyadi received when he defended Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade), the key to Central Europe, came from an enthusiastic Italian friar, János Kapisztrán (Giovanni Capistrano). Nándorfehérvár was completely encircled by the Turks in 1456.

Hunyadi, an experienced commander, would have preferred to fight at the head of his ten thousand well-trained and well-armed men and was not at all happy that the rank and file of his army included, among a few noblemen, all kinds of "crusaders" and militiamen: peasants who left the land, journeymen who left the workshop and students who left the schools in answer to the call of Kapisztrán. Their faith and enthusiasm, however, were apparently worth more than the fine weapons and numerical superiority of the enemy. As a result of Hunyadi's strategy and finesse—by a ruse he destroyed the Turkish fleet and his soldiers who sallied forth from the besieged fortress silenced the Turkish artillery—the invading army which had counted on an early and easy victory had to withdraw from the fortress which was almost in ruins. The defeat was so disastrous for the Turks that they did not attack Hungary for the next seventy years. In commemoration of this victory, the Pope ordered the chiming of church bells at noon.

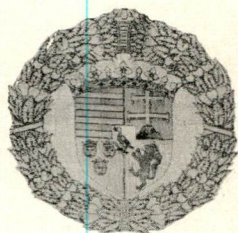
Hunyadi could not celebrate his victory for a long time: he fell victim to the plague. The court of King Ladislas V, a minor, was a hotbed of intrigue and in the struggle for the throne one of the most powerful barons, Ulrik Cillei,

lord of seventy castles, was killed by the followers of Hunyadi's elder son. László Hunyadi, in turn, perished on the block by order of Ladislas V, who also had Hunyadi's younger son imprisoned. Ladislas V died young and the Hungarian nobles elected Mátyás Hunyadi as king. First, however, the royal insignia had to be retrieved from the Holy Roman Emperor. During the decades of King Matthias's reign (1458–90) Hungary enjoyed a time of flourishing prosperity.

King Matthias, also known as Matthias Corvinus for the raven (*corvus*) in his coat of arms, was a typical Renaissance ruler who aimed at a strong central system of government. He broke the power of the barons who behaved themselves like petty monarchs and in fact ruined the country. Matthias ruled—in the spirit of the Medici—relying on the “common man”, the lesser nobility and the burghers. This is why his iron-fisted rule was a success and why the memory of “Matthias, the Just” is found in folk-tales and is still cherished by the Hungarian people today. His foreign policy aimed at acquiring wealthier territories which contained a more developed bourgeoisie; at the same time he wanted to establish an empire in order to neutralize the Turkish threat.

By present-day standards Matthias was a cosmopolitan; he looked with respect at Italy, the most flourishing social system of the period, and aimed at making a kind of Tuscany out of Hungary, or at least out of a few Hungarian towns. The marble remains of his palaces at Buda and Visegrád and his library of famous codices, the illuminated Corvinas, enshrine the memory of this imposing though deceptive splendour. Unlike that of Florence Matthias's Renaissance lacked a strong intellectual bourgeois-artisan stratum. The fate of the royal library is symbolic: he commissioned scholars to write superb manuscripts at a time when Gutenberg's press was already functioning at Mainz and the Medici had founded a lending library in Florence. The first printing press at Buda (1473) published the Chronicle of the Hungarians without the support of the king and soon became bankrupt.

As matters stood, the disintegration of Matthias's life-work was to be expected after his death. His natural son was not recognized as heir apparent, his mercenary “Black Army” deteriorated into a band of brigands, and the



*The coat of arms
of King Matthias*



VENI AD TVAM PRAE
STANTISSIMAM MA
IESTATEM MATHIA
HVI LABORVM POTETIS
SIMEREX ATQVE AD TE
BEATIX OMNI VIRTVTVM
GENERE ORNATIS IAREGINA



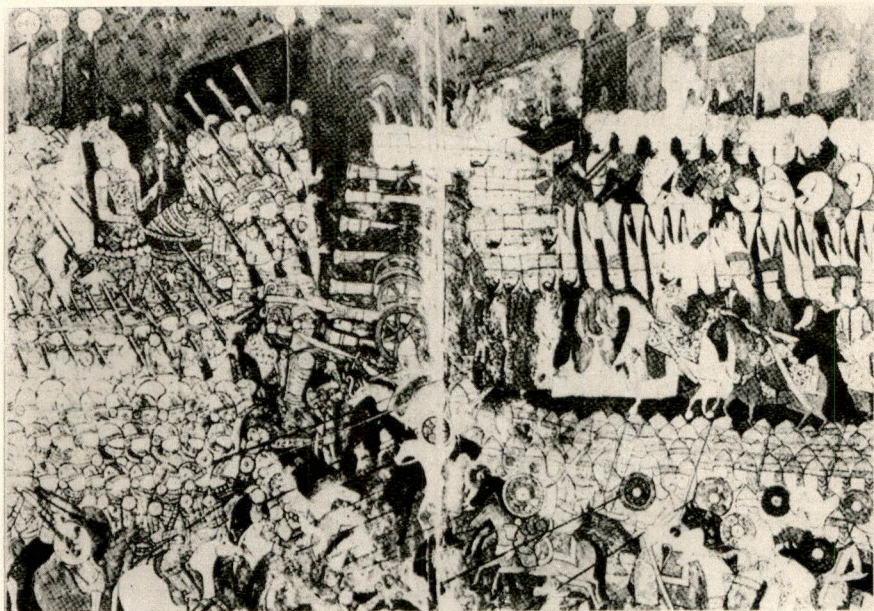
barons preferred to offer the Hungarian throne to the King of Bohemia. In Hungarian history Wladislas II (1490–1516) is the symbol of laxity and the story according to which the royal household expenses were paid for by selling the library of Corvinas is characteristic of the general decadence. In the south-east, battles were fought against the Turks. These battles, however, did not worry the feudal lords: for lack of an energetic king they themselves collected the taxes imposed by Matthias. The lesser nobility wanted to put their own candidate on the throne. The theory of the nation of nobility, references to “Scythian” forbears and the demand for a king of Hungarian origin were voiced more emphatically at that time. The jurist Werbőczy expounded this ideology which received its final form as a result of lessons drawn from a fearful peasant revolt.

In 1514 a new crusade was proclaimed against the advancing Turkish army. Peasants, burghers and students once again came in great numbers: this time landowners not only discouraged but outright prevented the organization of a peasant army. György Dózsa, the appointed commander, was a poor but talented soldier of Transylvanian Székely origin, that is, he came from a people which cherished ancient privileges and was respectful of martial tradition. Finally, Dózsa’s army turned against the nobles instead of the Turks. The peasant army fought victoriously for a few months in the summer of 1514; however, the nobility put aside their differences and united against the peasants. Dózsa’s army was defeated, its leader captured and put to death with great cruelty. Dózsa was burned on a throne of fire and the prisoners were impaled. But the nobility’s thirst for vengeance was not yet satisfied. It seemed a good opportunity to bind the peasants to the soil, that is, to deprive them of their right to move freely from one place to another. “Peasants are only entitled to wages and rewards for work done and have no right to claim produce of the land of the landlord; the proprietary right as a whole is due to the landlord”—proclaimed Werbőczy’s code of 1517; it was valid in the main till 1848. According to this code only a nobleman had full rights. All this took place scarcely ten years before the Turkish army invaded Hungary in 1526 after having previously subdued the Balkans.



*Death of Dózsa:
illustration to the verse
chronicle on the peasant
war*

◁
*A page of an
illuminated manuscript:
King Matthias in the
circle of his scholars*



Miniature of a Turkish chronicle depicting the battle of Mohács

King Louis II was defeated by Suleiman II at Mohács on 29 August 1526. The king and the greater part of the army lost their lives in the battle. The Turkish army retreated after its victory over the Hungarians. But fifteen years after the battle of Mohács, the biggest church of Buda, known today as Matthias Church, was converted into a mosque.

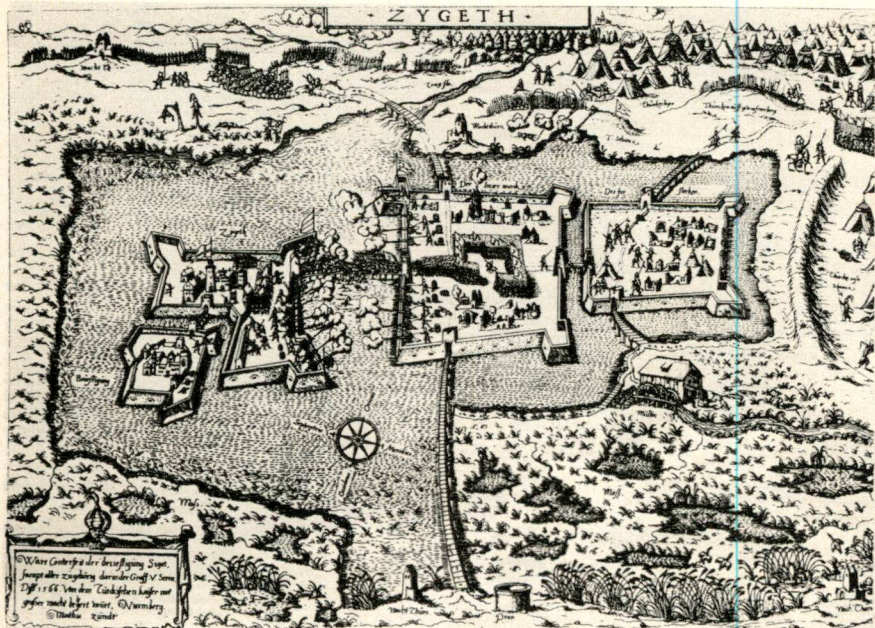
Hungary was divided into three parts in 1541. "Royal Hungary", that is, the northern and western borderland, was under the rule of the Habsburgs who also reigned over Austria and Bohemia. The southern and central area of Hungary became part of the Turkish empire for 150 years. The eastern and south-eastern part, i.e. Transylvania, became a principality under Turkish tutelage.

For decades to come war was rife in this divided country. The border fortresses were heroically defended against Turkish attacks in bloody battles. (Fighting against heavy odds, István Dobó defended Eger in northern Hungary in 1552 and Miklós Zrínyi held on to Szigetvár in Transdanubia in 1566 until his death in action.) At the same time, two bitterly contested questions split the ranks of the nobility: first, should a king of Hungarian nationality be

ected, as was János Szapolyai (1526–40), or should the House of Habsburg be the acknowledged ruler of the country; secondly, should they remain faithful to the Pope or become converts to the new faith which was spreading from Germany and Switzerland. The era of valiant border wars was at the same time a period of unscrupulous treason and breach of faith, and yet a time of enrichment. For joining the Reformation, which was spreading rapidly, meant a reward from expropriated church lands, whilst loyalty to the Habsburgs also led to the granting of estates. Transylvania developed independently, and by the second half of the sixteenth century included three recognized nationalities: the Hungarians, the Székelys who spoke Hungarian but considered themselves a separate nation, and the German-speaking Transylvanian Saxons. The number of Rumanians in the population was continually increasing and their talented leader, Mihail Viteazul, voivode of Wallachia, occupied temporarily the greater part of Transylvania in 1594, aiming at an anti-Turkish federation.

In addition to the skirmishes along the borders and the feuds resulting from differences in political and religious

The 1566 Szigetvár battle in which the garrison perished to a man in the final sally



views (Reformation), the struggle between the rich and the poor continued relentlessly and became entwined with the other conflicts. The commoners rose in arms within the earlier homogeneous bloc of the Székelys. In 1570, György Karácsony, a Rumanian peasant called the "black man", in a sense repeated the exploits of Dózsa: he turned the peasants—who rallied in order to fight a holy war against the Turks—against the wealthy noblemen. When they did not get their money on time, the soldiers from the border fortresses extorted money from peasants in the same way as Turkish tax collectors. Free soldiers tramped the country from castle to castle and died either a hero or a brigand. Since the land of Turkish landowners belonged, theoretically, to the sultan, it is understandable that they made every effort to squeeze out as much as possible from both land and peasants. As a result of these troubles the population of Hungary, which amounted to four millions under King Matthias (there lived about as many people in Britain at that time!), decreased to about the half by the beginning of the eighteenth century. And of these, half were Serbs and Rumanians or Germans settled by the Vienna government in desolate Hungarian villages in the region stretching from as far north as Buda and Esztergom to the country's southern border. It is a marvel that Hungarian culture survived the chaos of the Turkish occupation and even that works of art were created in music, poetry and in the simpler genres of the fine arts such as the Sárospatak Castle, Bálint Balassi's poems and Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos's songs. This was mainly the result of the efforts of the princes of Transylvania who desired an independent kingdom, and, manœuvring between Vienna (or Prague) and Istanbul, tried to establish a kind of independent Hungarian principality. However, they felt more drawn to the Turks from the beginning of the seventeenth century, after mercenary troops—as is well-known through descriptions of the Thirty Years' War—devastated Transylvania. István Bocskai, Prince of Transylvania, defeated the Habsburg army with his troops of soldier-herdsmen (known as heyducks) and peasants in 1604–06; at the same time, he had enough political sense to refuse the royal crown offered him by the Turks. Gábor Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania (1613–29), managed to unite and control this mountainous country of almost a hundred

▷
*The Late
Renaissance-style
"sub rosa" hall of
Sárospatak Castle,
where an
anti-Habsburg
conspiracy was plotted*





Coin bearing the portrait of Gábor Bethlen, one of the greatest princes of Transylvania

thousand square kilometres by carrying on an astute policy and artfully avoiding envious Turkish notables, the intriguing imperial court and pitfalls of Rumanian voivodes; Bethlen was considered an important political factor at the time of the Thirty Years' War. Certain periods of seventeenth-century Transylvanian history may be taken as historical models: in the century of religious wars, the princes of Transylvania established economic development, equality of religions and the potential for intellectual freedom in a multilingual country harassed from all sides, in which different creeds were preached. These rulers had wider European horizons passing far beyond the mountains of their own country; anyone of prestige in a Calvinist school in Transylvania had studied at a university in Britain or in the Netherlands. The art of the Renaissance blossomed there for the last time in the "heyday of Transylvania" which ended because of a rash political act: an attempt was



István Bocskai who, assisted by his heyducks, defeated the Austrian army several times

made to conquer Poland in spite of Turkey's veto. As a result, a Turkish-Tartar invasion followed, spreading desolation (1657).

At the south-eastern borders of "royal" Hungary, a Catholic aristocrat, the eminent military leader and poet Miklós Zrínyi (great-grandson of the valiant defender of Szigetvár), aimed at an alliance of the Habsburgs with an independent Hungary, free from the Turks. His epic poems and book on military subjects were written with this end in view. However, at the end of his life he became aware that it was not in the interest of the court of Vienna to have a powerful eastern neighbour and it preferred to have Hungary as a buffer-state, kind of frontier zone between the Turkish empire and Christian countries. The question of whether Zrínyi, aged 44, died in a hunting accident in 1664 or was murdered by paid assassins from the Vienna court was repeatedly raised in the form of rumours; the court rightly feared that Zrínyi might follow in the wake of Bocskai.

At the end of the seventeenth century people increasingly felt that Hungary was struggling "between two heathens": in Transylvania and in the eastern territories Protestant doctrines had spread, whereas Austria—as a result of the victorious Counter-Reformation—continued to be Catholic. Antagonism, however, was due not only to religious but also to national differences: *Pro patria et libertate!*—thus read the inscription on the flags of the Protestant soldiers of the Catholic aristocrat Ferenc Rákóczi II, who took up the fight against the Catholic emperor early in the eighteenth century.

In 1683, the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa led the Turkish army to Vienna and almost occupied it. The siege prompted the Habsburgs, who were in a favourable position from the point of view of foreign policy, to act resolutely; with the help of several European countries and with the participation of Hungarian troops the Turks were driven out of the territory of Hungary in 1699. However, the war caused immense suffering: the farms of smallholders were devastated, their animals driven off by soldiers who ransacked the homes of burghers and nobles. Noblemen were brought to the scaffold by the dozen, accused of actual or trumped-up conspiracy, and their estates were confiscated; Hungarian noblemen who could not prove ownership of their land



*Miklós Zrínyi, strategist
and poet*



*Székesfehérvár in the
17th century*

reconquered from the Turks lost their rights, and the land was given to imperial officers. This colonizing policy compelled peasants and noblemen to act unanimously; the rebels were headed by a great landowner, Ferenc Rákóczi II, who was proclaimed reigning prince and fought valiantly for an independent Hungary for eight years (1703–11). The struggle for freedom—which as a struggle against his enemy, Austria, was supported by Louis XIV—failed and Rákóczi had to go into exile. He lived for a few years in France, where he wrote the history of the Hungarian war of independence in French and his Confessions in Latin, and then he died in exile in Turkey.

The eighteenth century was not only the age of the abortive struggle for freedom but also that of the virtuous Queen Maria Theresa who reigned for forty years (1740–80), and of Joseph II (1780–90) who made efforts to introduce reforms. At this time capitalism was developing at a fast rate in Britain and France. Even Austria expanded slowly but agrarian Hungary lagged far behind. In addition, there was discontent in Hungary because it was felt that its traditional liberties were being eroded in the cause of progress. Hungary which was a big country in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries deteriorated into a colonial province



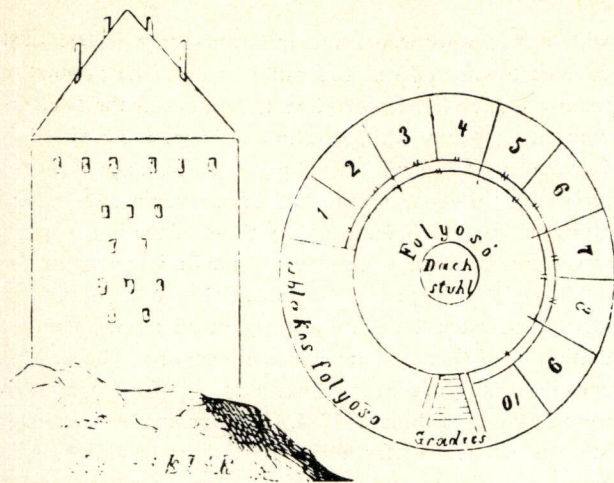
*Ferenc Rákóczi II,
as depicted by the court
painter during his first
years in exile*

with a backward economy, impoverished villages, dust-covered towns and dubious public order. The population mainly spoke German or Slovak, deputies at the Diet discoursed in Latin while wealthy noblemen conversed in German and French. The Hungarian language was preserved by the lesser nobility of Transylvania and eastern Hungary, by the villagers and by those of the intelligentsia who were adherents to the ideas of the Enlightenment.

Ideas of the Enlightenment and later French revolutionary ideas penetrated Hungary—partly through German mediation—at the end of the eighteenth century. The Jacobin conspirators, Ignác Martinovics and six of his comrades, were executed at Buda in 1795. However, the revolutionary ideas which spread from France and professed the sovereignty of the people and the freedom of nations could no longer be silenced. One of the Jacobin conspirators had been Ferenc Kazinczy, writer, translator, critic and reformer of the Hungarian literary language. Travelling companies toured the provinces performing classical works in Hungarian (one of the first plays performed was *Hamlet*).

Battle in the War of Independence, 1703–11





A drawing of the Kufstein prison by Ferenc Kazinczy, reformer of the Hungarian language, who was imprisoned there for having taken part in the Jacobin conspiracy

In Pest, real literary life started to take root: Hungarian bourgeois audiences developed and asked for literary works treating national subjects in Hungarian. For the time being, secession from the Habsburg empire was not yet demanded but poets increasingly focused attention on heroes of the Hungarian Middle Ages, and national consciousness awakened and grew. This trend spread amongst the nobility, the bourgeoisie and even the peasantry in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In line with this, the non-Hungarian nationalities of the country also awoke to national consciousness in the first half of the nineteenth century, resulting in serious conflicts in the middle of the century. There is no doubt that the reign of the Habsburgs was made easier to a considerable extent because of the dissension between the peoples of the empire.

The ideal of liberty came to the fore not only in cultural but also in open political life in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The differing ideas of the Reform Era clashed at the Diets of the nobles in the period between 1825 and 1848. Sophisticated members of the nobility and the intelligentsia wanted to end the backwardness of Hungary's economic and political life and to bring about the possibilities of bourgeois development but did not see clearly the extent to which they might go in introducing radical measures. In this backward country—strange as it may sound—even the organizing of horse-races, not to mention the establishment of steamboats and railroads,



Buda and Pest at the beginning of the 19th century, i.e. at about the time the two towns became the centre of the country

was considered revolutionary. The building of the Chain Bridge (1848) over the Danube was due to Count István Széchenyi, one of the great organizers and an outstanding personality of the Reform Era. The Chain Bridge was not only an improvement of communication but is to be considered an important political step too, for the “bridge-toll”, a petty sum which had to be paid by everybody, was the first breakthrough made in the exemption of taxes of the nobility. Lajos Kossuth, a far more radical apostle of industrialization, followed other paths and was a determined adversary of Széchenyi. In spite of differences of opinion it was due to their common effort that after Palermo, Prague and Vienna, the revolution also broke out in Pest on 15 March 1848.

At the time, however, the revolution did not yet mean a complete break with the feudal order and the dynasty; only Sándor Petőfi, the young poet, hailed the republic and suggested the hanging of all kings—in the spirit of the French revolution. Even after the spring events of 1848, Hungary remained within the framework of the Habsburg empire for another year. In fact, responsible ministers governed the country, serfdom was abolished and laws

hindering the modernization of industry and agriculture (guild system and so on) were repealed.

The road to modern industrial development would have opened to Hungary had it carried out the revolution in unison with the other nationalities living within the borders of the country. However, the leaders of the Croats, Slovaks and Rumanians feared that they would be suppressed by the Hungarians if the Habsburgs were overthrown. These nationalities therefore sided with the Austrian emperor. Naturally, court intrigues also played a role in this. Jellačić, the governor of Croatia, invaded Hungary in the autumn of 1848 with the covert support or at least assent of the Vienna court. In Transylvania a savage civil war broke out between Hungarians and Rumanians. Of the non-Hungarian leaders only the ones with foresight (e.g. the Rumanian Bălcescu) took sides with Kossuth, seeing clearly that the struggle between the Hungarian government and the court of Vienna was not merely a fight between two nations but also between reaction and progress. From the end of 1848 onwards, hostilities between Pest and Vienna turned into an open war in which the quickly assembled Hungarian army achieved considerable success; eventually, however, the young Emperor Francis Joseph I (1848–1916) was victorious, but only with the help of the Russian czar who clearly saw the revolutionary character of the Hungarian War of Independence. Only after the dethronement of the House of Habsburg and the proclamation of independent Hungary in the spring of 1849 did Kossuth become aware of the truth which was expressed by Engels: "A people which oppresses other peoples cannot be free." Alas, the accuracy of this statement revealed itself too late. That Kossuth had a presentiment of this appears from his plan for the confederation of free Danube states enjoying equal rights. He worked out this concept in 1862 in exile showing that the man of genius had a notion that small nations need political equality and economic integration.

The Hungarian army surrendered to the troops of the czar on 13 August 1849, and severe reprisals followed. Petőfi fell in battle, Széchenyi was hospitalized in a lunatic asylum. Kossuth emigrated and the leaders of the revolution and of the War of Independence were either executed or imprisoned; the government tried to extinguish the



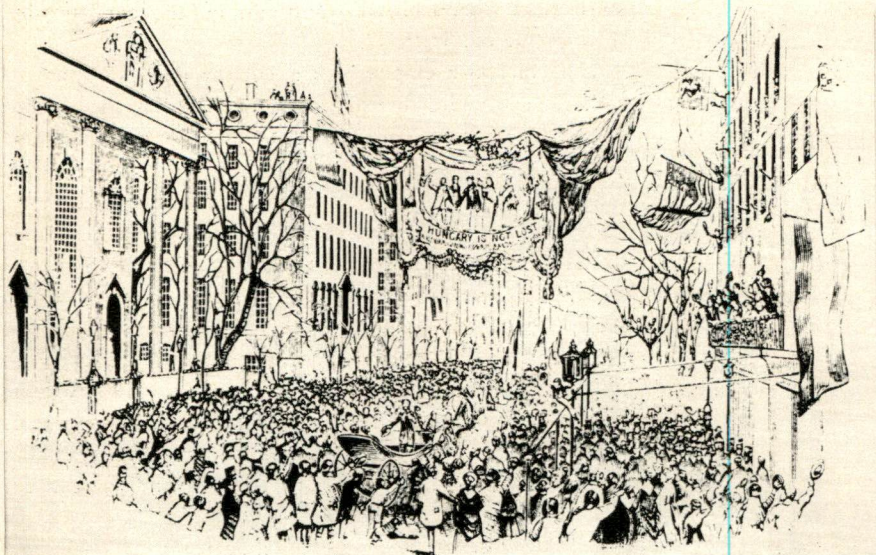
Sándor Petőfi, poet and revolutionary

spirit of bourgeois progress and national independence by drastic "Germanization".

The Habsburg empire was a jail for many peoples at that time—for Italians and Czechs too—but the prison walls were cracking. The victories of 1848–49, the liberation of the serfs, the abolition of guilds and the abrogation of outdated laws hindering the granting of credits could not be repealed. Embers were glowing under the ashes, ready to flare up in the large eastern province of the Habsburgs. Some twenty years later, and following two wars in which Austria was defeated (1859, 1866), the Habsburgs acquiesced and granted partial independence to Hungary. For its part, Hungary became resigned to the fact that it would be only partly independent. This was the Compromise of 1867. This agreement was the result of compelling economic necessity rather than of a mutual understanding reached



*Lajos Kossuth, leader
of the 1848–49 War of
Independence*



between the dynasty and the Hungarian nation. The Compromise was based on the awareness of the interdependence between Hungarian agriculture and Austrian industry. After 1867 the railway network developed rapidly, Hungarian agriculture changed and improved, the yield increased, complementary industrial branches developed (the milling industry, sugar and textile manufacturing) and Austrian capital in search of cheap labour and a less competitive market was ready to invest in Hungary. The fight, including spectacular party struggles and fiery parliamentary speeches, for changing the status of the Monarchy went on for a long time, nevertheless, the country made rapid headway. The speeches at the great millennial celebrations in 1896, which commemorated the thousandth anniversary of the Magyar conquest of Hungary, were right in voicing satisfaction with Hungary's achievements since the Compromise.

Yet, this complacency was not quite justified. By the end of the century, fast industrial development brought about overcrowding in the workers' districts and poverty for unemployed peasants who could not sell their produce, at a time when Britain and America had already begun to overcome these difficulties. The emigration of millions of Hungarians to America, or even to Rumania started at about this time. Naturally,

Lajos Kossuth delivers a speech at a demonstration of sympathy for Hungary in America (1851)

socialist ideas also began to spread. Misunderstanding the situation, the commander of the Austrian army which occupied Buda referred to the revolutionaries of 1848 as "communists"; although Petőfi, and his followers called the "March Youth", adopted certain utopian socialist tenets, Marxism spread in Hungary after 1870 only. (One of the leaders of the Commune of Paris, the Hungarian-born Leó Frankel who after the failure of the Commune returned to Hungary, played a considerable role in propagating Marxism.) The first workers' party was founded in 1880 and the Hungarian Social Democratic Party in 1890; a year later gendarmes fired a volley of bullets at workers taking part in the May Day parade. By then the main differences of opinion manifested themselves between socialists, disparagingly called "rascals without a fatherland", and the political parties which eventually accepted the Compromise, and not between the parties of the nobility and the bourgeoisie which previously debated the legal aspects of foreign affairs, finance and the army which — under the Compromise — were matters of common concern of Hungary and Austria.

The official speakers of the millennial festivities failed to mention Kossuth's famous but gloomy "Cassandra letter" of 1865. In this open letter written whilst abroad, Kossuth prophesied the outbreak of the First World War almost to the year and the disintegration of the Austrian empire as a result of the war. If Hungary takes sides with Austria, wrote Kossuth, all other nationalities of the empire will also blame Hungary for the oppression of centuries. Kossuth's prediction came true, as shown by the events of 1914 and the Trianon Peace Treaty of 1920. Unfortunately, the leaders of the Hungarian state challenged fate by their unjust, naïve, inefficiently organized and carried out, ineffective and generally detrimental "Magyarization" policy.

The "balmy days of peace"—this was how the inhabitants of Budapest termed the *belle époque* at the turn of the century. In the first decade of the century, burghers took a sunny view of things although there was misery below the shining surface. Budapest became a metropolis, a sort of "small Paris", a city of coffeehouses and cabarets. Writers translated French symbolic poetry into Hungarian and gave accounts of Impressionist and post-

Impressionist paintings on show in Paris. But the coffee-house poets also discussed with their debating partners of the intelligentsia problems such as ecclesiastical latifundia, the emigration of peasants for lack of employment, the destitution of industrial workers, and so on. In 1848, Petöfi and the "March Youth", devotees of French utopian socialist ideas, represented the most radical trend; in the pre-war years "leftists" gathered around another poet, Endre Ady.

At the beginning of the century, the acceptance or disavowal of Ady's poetry polarized Hungarian intellectual life into a left and right camp. Béla Bartók, the composer, György Lukács, the philosopher, and Zsigmond Móricz, the prose-writer of peasant origin, were adherents of Ady. The liberal-minded Jewish intelligentsia also played an important role in spreading progressive ideas, but unfortunately, their leftist tendency was one of the arguments the right-wing made use of in its anti-semitic propaganda a few years later.

The importance of the Social Democrats and of the trade union movement increased along with industrial growth. There was a bloody clash between workers and state power in 1912, and the warning signals of a revolution became stronger and stronger as the events of world policy thrust social struggles in the background. The war between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Serbia broke out in 1914—seemingly because Serb nationalists assassinated Francis Ferdinand, heir to the crown. The real cause, however, was that the Vienna government seized the opportunity to subdue the Balkans. Since there was a common Austro-Hungarian army, Hungary, whose own soldiers were integrated with the Austrian army, had no other choice but to go to war in alliance with the German empire. Hungarian troops fought in the Balkans as well as on the Italian and Russian fronts. "By the time the trees shed their leaves, the soldiers will return"—the Kaiser, William II, predicted. However, his Blitzkrieg tactics failed and the four years' war brought frightful suffering to Hungary, although only a small part of the country was actually involved in the fighting.

After a reign of almost seventy years, Francis Joseph died in 1916. Charles IV, a mediocre king, ascended the throne and did everything—from introducing liberal



Endre Ady, poet



Béla Bartók, composer

reforms to launching various peace plans—to save the Monarchy. When the United States entered the war in 1917, it became clear to all that the “Central Powers”—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey—were doomed to defeat. Rumania joined forces with the Entente, and in Bohemia the influence of a section of the bourgeoisie which called for an independent Czechoslovakia grew increasingly stronger. The collapse and defeat of the Monarchy was inevitable in spite of lessening tension on the Russian front after November 1917.

Bulgaria was the first to surrender in September 1918. Backed by the Entente and the United States, the temporary Czech government published a Declaration of Independence in Paris on 18 October. The Rumanians of Transylvania, who formed the majority of the population in that land reunited with Hungary in 1848, opted for the Rumanian kingdom. István Tisza, Hungarian Prime Minister during the war years, conceded in Parliament on 17 October: “We have lost the war.”

For the Social Democratic Party, the more left-wing bourgeoisie and radicals, the Russian revolution was a call to arms. Many prisoners of war returning home brought with them the books and ideas of Lenin. In October 1918 the Monarchy collapsed; by the time the Supreme Command asked for an armistice (31 October) the Habsburg empire was a purely nominal state. The “Michaelmas daisy” revolution (so-called because the soldiers threw away the insignia of rank and decorated their caps with flowers) broke out in Budapest on the 30th. Count Mihály Károlyi (who was to be Hungarian Minister in Paris after 1945) was the leader of the revolution; Count Károlyi had carried on a “pro-Entente” policy during the war (and had lived for a time in France); his support came mainly from certain strata of the bourgeoisie, and even workers and peasants.

Hungary was a republic for one year after 1918. Mihály Károlyi was the President, and the decrees of the new government included certain democratic rights. However, the Károlyi government did not achieve socialist economic order in spite of the many welfare measures; it endeavoured to establish modern capitalism free from the remnants of feudalism but was not even able to carry out the repartition of land—a problem which had to wait much longer to be solved. But the masses which carried out the revolution



expected more than that: when the republic was proclaimed, not only the national but also red flags were unfurled. *May Day parade in 1919*

The Károlyi government was unable to solve the problems it faced: the people of a country defeated in war were now suffering from hunger; factories were idle; capital was not available for internal production; and returning unemployed soldiers roamed the streets. In addition, the governments of the Entente powers did not see eye to eye with Károlyi's democratic views but when it came to establishing the new frontiers met the territorial demands of the greedy bourgeoisie of the so-called "successor states". The Liberal-Social Democratic republic was doomed to failure.

Although certain initiatives were taken at the beginning of the century, the Hungarian Communist Party was finally established in November 1918, by left-wing Social Democrats, the internal opposition of the Social Democratic Party and "Bolsheviks" returning from Russia. Lenin's telegram in which he called upon the Hungarian proletariat to persist with the revolution was mimeographed and distributed. Many returning prisoners of war were experienced Bolsheviks by the time they came home, well qualified to direct the revolution; their leader was Béla Kun. The Communist daily newspaper *Vörös Újság* (Red Journal) and the propaganda of the Bolsheviks greatly



*A poster of the
Hungarian Soviet
Republic*

impressed the embittered, starving workers. However, the right wing also reorganized; and the leaders of the Social Democratic Party took care not to overstep certain limits, taking into account that at the peace conference the Entente would disapprove of a second Soviet state. Therefore, instead of taking a strong line against the right wing, the young republic took energetic measures against the Communist Party. In February 1919, the Communist and Socialist leadership (and the police which sided with the Socialists) clashed openly and Béla Kun and other leaders of the Communist Party were arrested. This, however, did not hinder the party nor did solve the problems of impoverished industry and of the disintegrating administration. In the middle of March, workers' demonstrations demanded the release of the Communist leaders. In addition the French army requested the surrender of further Hungarian territories to Rumania. (It appeared that Hungary would shrink to one-third of its previous size and that at least 3,000,000 Hungarians—partly living in compact ethnic groups—would come under alien rule. There was only an insignificant minority of Rumanians in the territory demanded previously.) The so-called "Vyx note", containing the new territorial demands, was the last straw. The government resigned and wanted to hand over power to the Social Democrats; however, the workers refused to accept this solution. The Social Democrats came to an understanding with the Communist leaders in the unification of the two parties and on the establishment of a Soviet-type dictatorship of the proletariat—oddly enough—in the transit prison. Béla Kun, who was a prisoner on the morning of 21 March, was the commissar for foreign affairs by the evening. Mention should be made of another member of the new government, György Lukács, the Communist philosopher.

The Communist-Socialist Hungarian Soviet Republic took over an onerous heritage: one might say that the torch the former regime passed on was of red-hot iron. The serious economic problems caused by the disastrous war and the territorial demands of the Little Entente could not easily be solved. In addition, the Communist leaders made the same mistake the Soviet government committed at the beginning, with the difference that the Hungarian Communist regime had no time to make good its error:

they did not distribute land but at the outset started to establish co-operatives. As a result, the peasants became alienated from the workers' cause and the food supply of towns became uncertain. The 133 glorious days of the Hungarian Soviet Republic were fraught with innumerable external and internal difficulties. But in spite of the many mistakes and errors, this period is one of the finest chapters of Hungarian history. The efforts of the Hungarian Soviet Republic were heroic and democratic in every sense. Attempts were made for the first time to put an end to the housing shortage which had grown worse since the turn of the century, to liquidate unemployment, to make culture public property and to relieve the physical and intellectual backwardness of workers. The heroic and victorious battles of the hastily organized Hungarian Red Army show that even in war-weary Hungary there was sufficient vitality remaining for the protection of the regime. Eventually, however, superior force, treachery, French-Czech-Rumanian intervention and the defection of the Red Army's chief of staff led to the collapse of the Hungarian Soviet Republic on 1 August.

Béla Kun and many of his comrades emigrated. The period of the White Terror started, and Hungary was overtaken by semi and total fascism for a quarter of a century.

At first the counter-revolution manifested itself in a disorderly lynching mob with a thirst for revenge. Detachments of discharged officers, landowners and members of the lumpenproletariat tortured to death hundreds of people accused of being Communists, or if not Communists then Jews. Supported by such armed detachments, Miklós Horthy, the former ADC of Francis Joseph, the last admiral of the Monarchy, was proclaimed regent of the country which once again was declared a kingdom. The regent entered the capital of the landlocked country wearing an admiral's gala dress and paraded in "sinful" Budapest which was declared responsible for the proletarian revolution because it had a European horizon, revolutionary workers and a progressive-minded intelligentsia.

The Horthy era lasted from 1920 to 1944. King Charles IV attempted to re-establish power in 1921 but was driven out of the country. Yet Hungary continued to be a mon-



Attila József, poet

archy. Although elected regent with the help of the army, Horthy, under the pressure of international condemnation, was later compelled to turn against his followers: the most brutal were even brought to trial, although the courts pardoned manslaughter committed for "patriotic" reasons. Unrestrained terror was followed by "legal" terror which instituted flogging, limited the number of Jews admitted to universities, confined left-wing sympathizers in internment camps and sentenced to death or imprisoned for many years the leaders of the former republic. It was characteristic of the leading personalities of the early regime that they forged French banknotes in the State Cartographic Institute in order to depreciate the currency of France which was responsible for the Peace Treaty of Trianon.

In 1941, that is, in a year of war prosperity, industrial production surpassed the output of 1913 by 28 per cent only. Agricultural production also slackened or developed only slightly. A comparison with West European countries presents depressing figures and even a comparison with Czechoslovakia and Rumania, which were developing far more dynamically, also shows how the country was mismanaged by the extremely reactionary, narrow-minded

Two photographs from the Horthy era: evicted families . . .





leading stratum whose aim was to maintain feudal conditions. They dreamed about the revision of the Trianon Peace Treaty which, in their view, was the root of all evil. They first expected help from the British government, then from the Italian fascists and, finally, turned to Hitler.

At that time a number of books were published about Hungary in foreign languages. These books, willingly or not, distorted the truth because the real trouble was not the loss of the "territorial integrity of the lands of the Holy Crown" but rather, that in many rural families children had no shoes. Tuberculosis was known far and wide as *morbus hungaricus*. There were three million peasants who practically had nothing besides their capacity to work; this is why the leftist press referred to Hungary as the country of three million beggars.

A few post-war years were somewhat better due to an international loan granted in 1924 and to an upswing resulting from pre-war measures in 1938. But this did not mean that the country had really climbed out of the economic trough caused by post-war inflation or the Great Depression early in the 1930s. Resistance to the prevailing system was held in check by two methods: first, Communists and Social Democrats who demanded more than the usual upward adjustment of wages were submitted to

... and Gyula Gömbös's pro-fascist government in "Hungarian gala dress"

brutal treatment (including beating to death during interrogation and execution); and secondly, by inciting the prejudices of the Hungarian people against the neighbouring countries. In the thirties, the "Jewish question" became the topic of the day: following the pogroms in the early 1920s and the *numerus clausus* decree, new anti-Jewish laws were introduced, and the Jews were held responsible in the right-wing press both for capitalism and anticapitalism.

After 1938 the Hungarian leadership increasingly followed in Hitler's footsteps. In 1940, German foreign policy restored to Hungary a part of the territories severed by the Trianon Peace Treaty; the Hungarian government celebrated this as a great victory although bloody atrocities were committed on both sides of the border. And what was still worse, from that time onwards both the Hungarian and the Rumanian governments competed for the goodwill of the Third Reich. Eventually, Hungary entered the Second World War as a comrade-in-arms of the Germans, yet again. As a first step, it attacked Yugoslavia in April 1941, just a few months after it had concluded a friendship treaty with that country. Prime Minister Pál Teleki—also realizing the possible outcome of the policy he too had supported—committed suicide; in his suicide note he referred to Hungary as a plunderer of corpses, prophesying that this policy would come to a bad end.

Not content with the attack on Yugoslavia, the Germanophile Hungarian army soon joined the war against the Soviet Union. During the Second World War Hungary was a source of military supplies for the Germans. It provided bauxite (an important raw material in German aircraft production), sold agricultural produce at ludicrously low prices, and "exported" its excess labour force to Germany. The Second Hungarian Army came to a miserable end near the River Don when it covered the German retreat. Hungarians were considered a kind of "auxiliary people" in the Second World War and Hungary was the last of the German satellite states, for Horthy's attempt to break away on 15 October 1944 ended in complete failure; and the Hungarian Nazis, the so-called Arrow-Cross Party, took over.

Supported by the Germans, Ferenc Szálasi became the "leader" of the nation and began the liquidation of the remaining Jews, deserters, resistance fighters and left-wing



sympathizers. The Arrow-Cross Party's reign of terror, which lasted a few months, was one of the bloodiest chapters of twentieth-century Hungarian history. Mob-rule governed the capital and then western Hungary until the beginning of April. The suffering did not stop with the battle on the Don, or with the retreat and the death of hundreds of thousands of deportees: the German army command and its henchmen carried on the war on Hungarian soil from the autumn of 1944 to April 1945.

Pest was liberated in January 1945 and Buda, the western part of the city, a few weeks later. The country was in complete ruin: bridges were blown up, vehicles of transport, machines, cattle stock, a great part of the food stocks and the gold reserve of the National Bank were carried off by orders of the Nazi Reich. A considerable part of the country's able-bodied population was either killed, wounded, or missing; and economic life was paralysed by unprecedented sweeping inflation. The new government included, in addition to anti-fascist bourgeois politicians, Communists and members of the Social Democratic Party.

*Winter of 1945:
Soviet soldiers
escorting prisoners of war*



*Distribution of land.
The sign reads: "The
land belongs to those
who till it"*

This government started to function under difficult conditions, first in Debrecen and then, in Budapest.

The Communist Party and the left wing of the Social Democratic Party wanted to go beyond the bourgeois form of government which developed in the first year after the war. The first step taken along this road was the radical repartition of land, a measure which was long overdue. From 1947 onwards factories, mines and banks gradually came under state ownership.

Although the extreme right wing was not represented in Parliament, the forces which did not support the socialist transformation of the economy and of political life aligned behind the Smallholders Party among others and took a stand against the land reform, and against the nationalization of industry and trade in particular. However, after the elections of 1946 and 1947 and certain political achievements of the Communist Party—for example, stabilization of the currency—there was no going back to pre-war conditions. A considerable number of right-wing politicians emigrated to the West. (Some take an active part in anti-Hungarian activities even today, for example, as collaborators of the Radio Free Europe or similar organizations.)

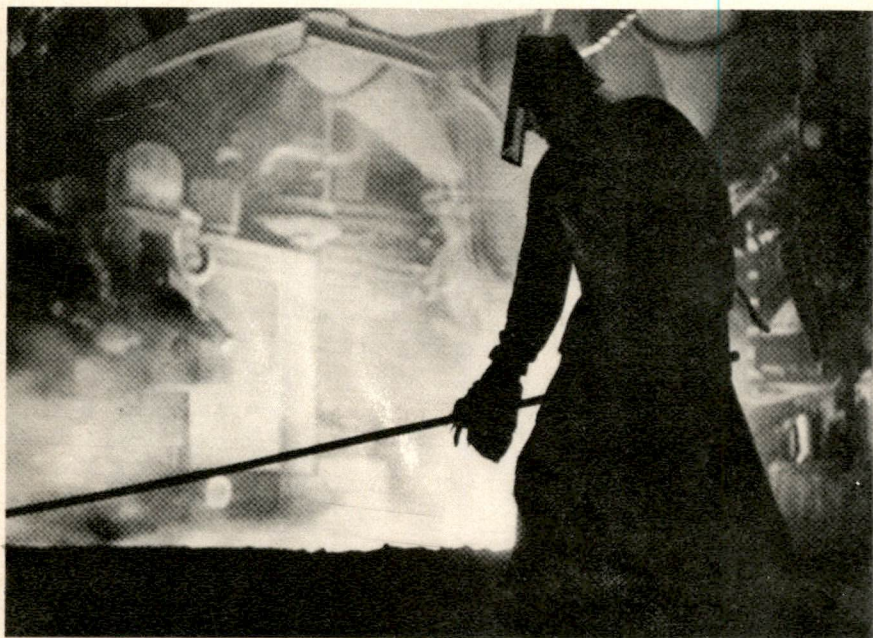
In August 1947 the left-wing parties gained a decisive majority in Parliament, and in the summer of 1948 the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party united under the name of the Hungarian Working People's Party. The nationalization of factories and plants continued and the organization of agricultural co-operatives started. The new Constitution, proclaimed on 20 August 1949, was framed in accordance with socialist ideas.

The supreme leadership of the united workers' party fell into the hands of a group headed by Mátyás Rákosi. On the basis of the theory of "continually increasing class war", this group surmised that the "enemy" was to be found among the members and leaders of the earlier underground party and veterans of the Spanish Civil War. Although this process occurred in every socialist country between 1949 and 1952, its most serious consequences were probably in Hungary. László Rajk, the minister of foreign affairs, and a number of his capable companions were executed and many lesser known old Communists were sentenced to several years of imprison-



*Zoltán Kodály,
composer*

*The efforts made
in the 1950s formed the
basis of modern
industrial development*



ment. Illegal arrests, trials with prejudged sentences, stringent measures in the state purchase of agricultural produce, and disregard for the principle of voluntary formation of collective farms frightened the average person, and this was one of the reasons why so many people misjudged the true character of the events of 1956.

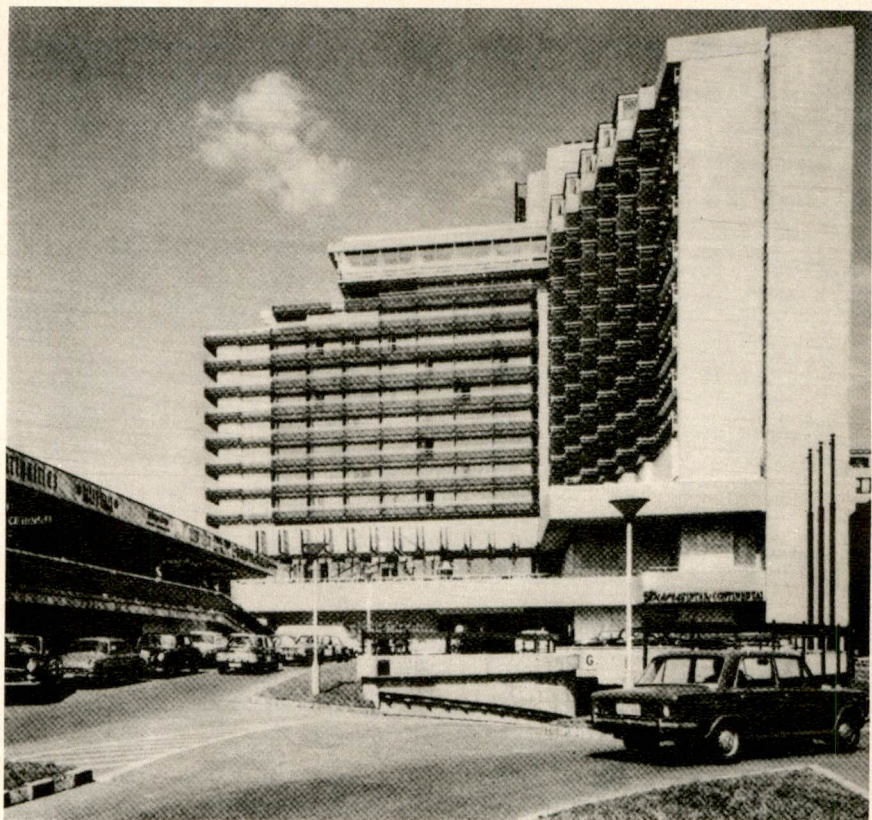
The nineteen-fifties, the cold-war years, witnessed far more than political trials. These were also the years of fundamental economic transformation. This was the period in which Hungary—like the Soviet Union in the twenties—tried to build up its lagging industry and agriculture, a problem dating back to the eighteenth century. Such an endeavour would have brought about hardship anyway, even if there had been a more expertly guided economic policy which would have given more weight to the everyday needs of the people.

From 1954 to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, internal struggles within the leadership of the Hungarian Working People's Party determined the *volte-face* of politics. By this time, however, the economy had already undergone a socialist transformation and had begun to function under realistic conditions. This manifested itself in the rising standard of living. In addition to resounding slogans such as "purification of socialism" and creation of "genuine" socialism, this period also brought about the reorganization of various right-wing factions. On 23 October 1956, following the demonstration of a youth organization, a "spontaneous" uprising took place. It was "spontaneous" according to Western historians and Hungarian writers in exile. In fact, the leaders of the uprising very expertly directed attacks on strategic points such as the main radio station and military barracks in the capital and in the provinces. At the end of October many lynchings occurred, a number of Communists were killed or arrested and right-wing armed groups held the towns under control, while fascist parties were organizing openly. In view of this, the Communist members of the government asked for the intervention of Soviet troops, stationed in Hungary in accordance with the terms of the peace treaty, and the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government was formed under János Kádár on 4 November. The government took as its watchword: "Whoever is not against us, is with us";



*János Kádár addresses
a meeting*

and this continues to be the main point of its policy today. The new government was confronted with considerable economic and political difficulties in the first few months. The leaders of the country fought on two fronts against those who attacked, both from the right and from the left, the government's rational and humane policy which realistically weighed economic and political problems. The new leaders were also determined, from the outset, to prevent a recurrence of the violation of the law as had occurred in the fifties. The policy carried on by the Hungarian government over the past one and a half decades has been described by some Western journalists as a moderate, middle-of-the-road policy. In fact, however, it is a very resolute policy, true to the ideas of Marxism, interlinked with the world Communist movement and attached to the Soviet Union by bonds of friendship.

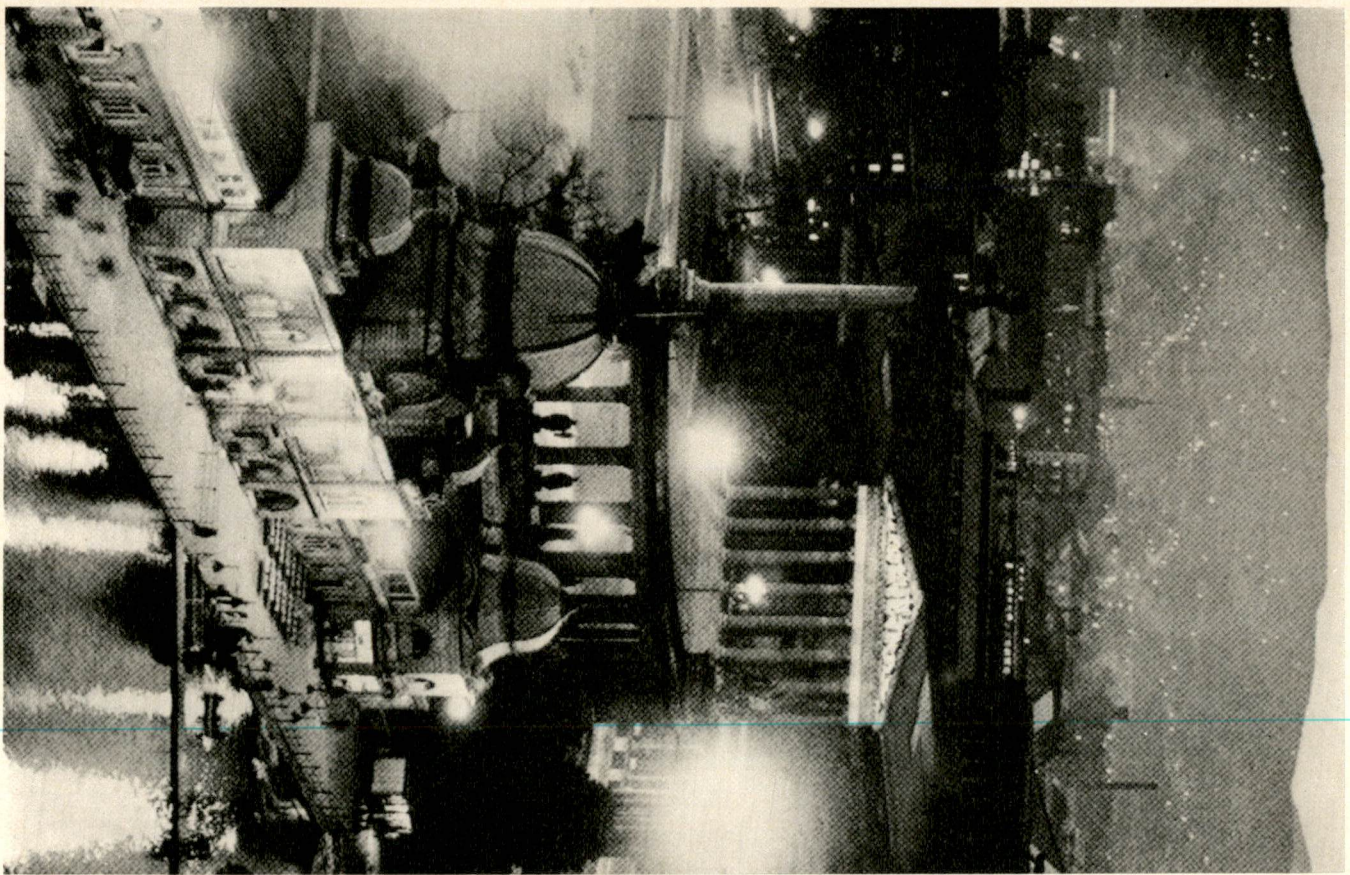


*Budapest in the 1970s—
the Hotel Duna
Intercontinental*

Hungary proceeds towards socialism as laid down in the Constitution of 1949 (which was modified in 1972), although it does not yet claim to have achieved full socialism.

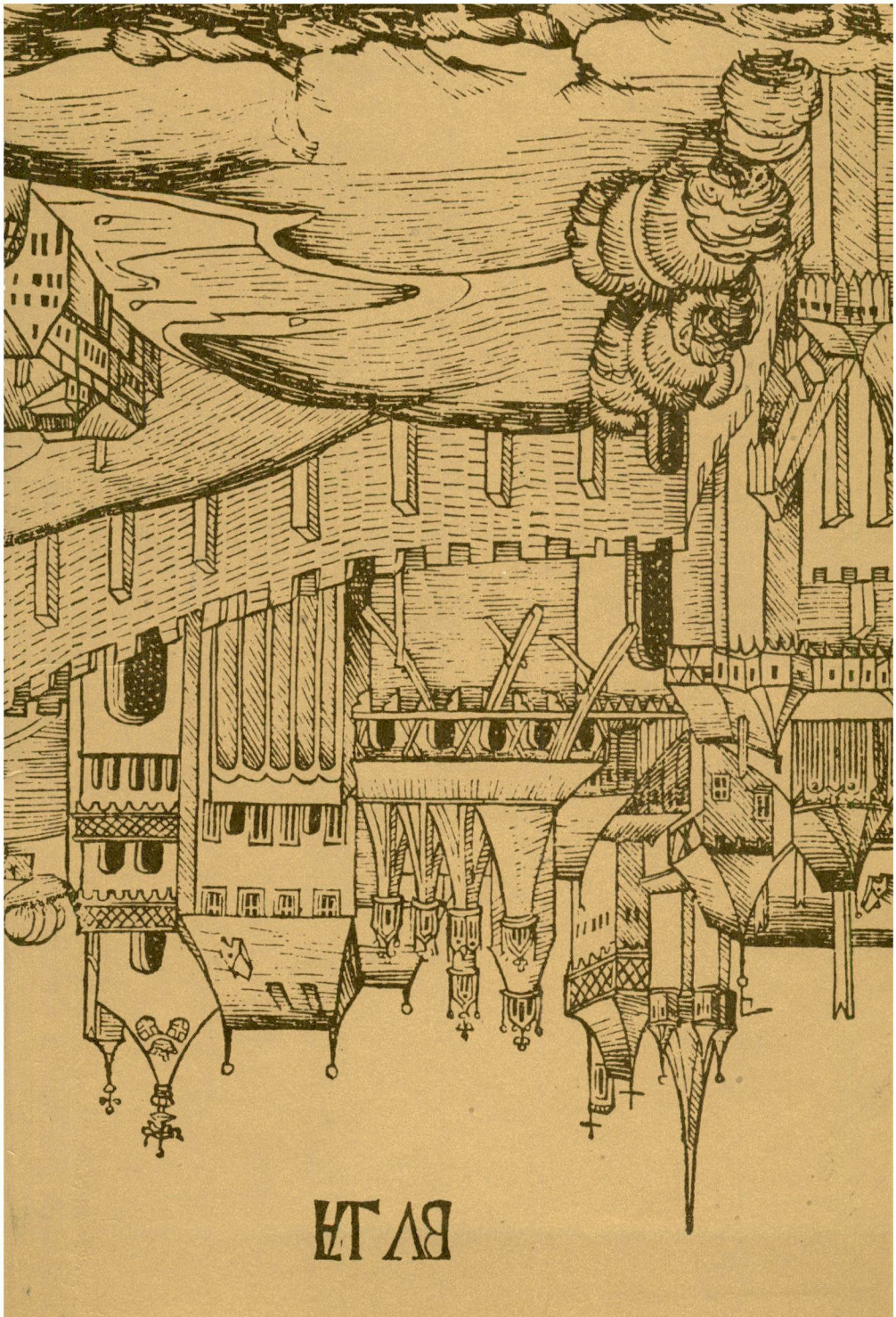
On its path to socialism, Hungary has already achieved two important goals: first, the reorganization of agriculture, which took place around 1959. Since then, Hungarian agriculture has developed into a modern, large-scale industry capable of satisfying domestic needs and of producing for export. The second goal attained was the introduction of the new system of economic management. This new system was introduced in 1968 after thorough and exhaustive studies. This system is a more efficient means for stepping up economic growth, keeping the economy under control and improving the productive capacity of man, a system which is to lead to uninterrupted growth and development in Hungary.

—and a view of
the illuminated city



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