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PROMINENT HUNGARIANS IN UNITED STATES HISTORY

DR. ELEMER BAKO



ALPHA PUBLICATIONS, INC.
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PREFACE

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

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

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

Washington, D.C. - November 14, 1978

Frank Horton
Member of Congress

FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Washington, D.C. - November 15, 1978

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



GENERAL CASIMIR PULASKI
AND OFFICERS OF HIS LEGION
AT BETHLEHEM IN THE SPRING
OF 1778 RECEIVE THE BANNER
MADE FOR THEM HERE BY THE
MORAVIAN SINGLE SISTERS

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

PROMINENT HUNGARIANS IN UNITED STATES HISTORY

Dr. Elemer Bako

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

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

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

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

HUNGARIANS IN THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

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

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

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

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



Colonel Michael de Kováts. Imaginary portrait by Aurel Rasko.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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



One-dollar bond, Hungarian Fund



KOSSUTH'S ENTRANCE ON THE BATTERY FROM CASTLE GARDEN.

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

THE "KOSSUTH EMIGRATION"

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

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

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

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



Ágoston Haraszthy

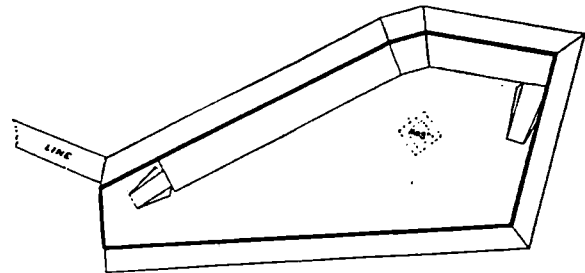
The foundation of the newspaper *Magyar Száműzöttök Lapja* (1853) was connected with an international incident involving one of the former Hungarian officers, Martin Koszta, who, having received his "first papers" for citizenship (establishing him as a resident in the United States with the intent to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



Major Charles Zágonyi

HUNGARIANS IN THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

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



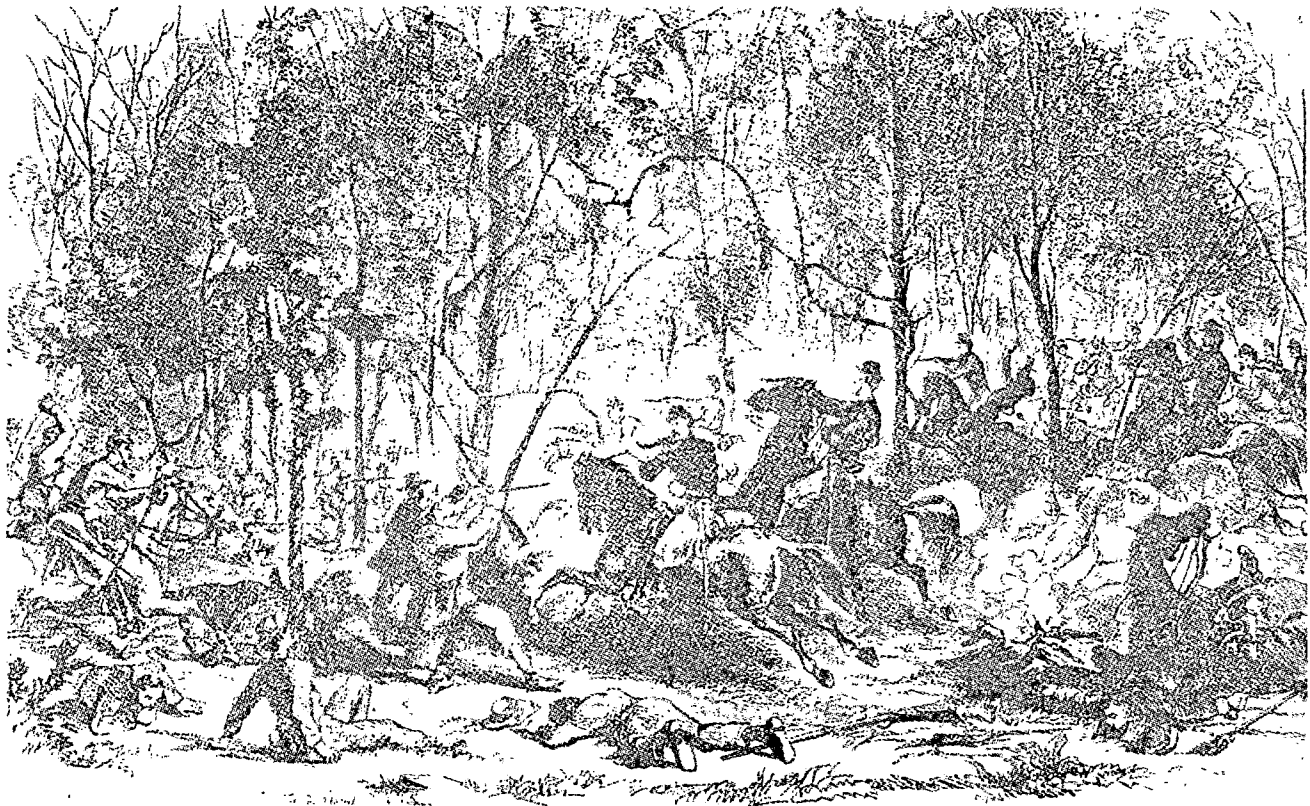
DEFENSES OF CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

FORT MIHALOTZY.

Scale of Feet.



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



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

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

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

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

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

animals (some of them were named for him), and donated most of them to the Smithsonian and some to the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest. He was elected member of three American scientific societies.

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



Major General Julius H. Stahel-Számvald



Major General Alexander Asboth

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

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

Among the Hungarian-born immigrants who received the major part of their education in the United States, Joseph Pulitzer (1847-1911), the founder of modern American journalism, deserves to be mentioned prominently. Having left Hungary as a youngster, Pulitzer was recruited for the Union Army in Hamburg, Germany. After the war, Pulitzer became a journalist, gained control of the St. Louis *Dispatch* and of the *Post*, then merged them into the influential *Post-Dispatch*. Later, in New York City, then he purchased the *World*, and founded its daily counterpart, the *Evening World*. His exceptional career was crowned by an endowment he gave to the Columbia Uni-

versity School of Journalism (which began its work in 1912). The establishment of the Pulitzer Prizes for journalism (1917) and for various branches of literature, scholarship, and the arts (1943) contributed to Pulitzer's fame in American history. Pulitzer was also a friend of Michael Munkácsy (1844-1900), Hungary's greatest painter of the 19th century. Munkácsy's atelier in Paris was visited by many prominent and rich Americans (a total of sixty portraits of them were painted by Munkácsy and hang in various public and private collections in the United States). Munkácsy's great Biblical canvases, entitled "Christ before Pilate" (1881) and "Christ on Calvary" (1884), were purchased by former Postmaster General John Wanamaker, founder of the famous department store in Philadelphia. Munkácsy's enormous popularity in the United States, particularly on the occasion of his visit to this country in 1886, was enhanced by the enthusiastic promotion campaign afforded him by his friend, the publisher Joseph Pulitzer.

MASS IMMIGRATION FROM HUNGARY, 1870-1914

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

Chicago Feb 4th 1861

To the Hon A. Lincoln

Dear Sir

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

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

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

I cheerfully grant the request above
made
A. Lincoln

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

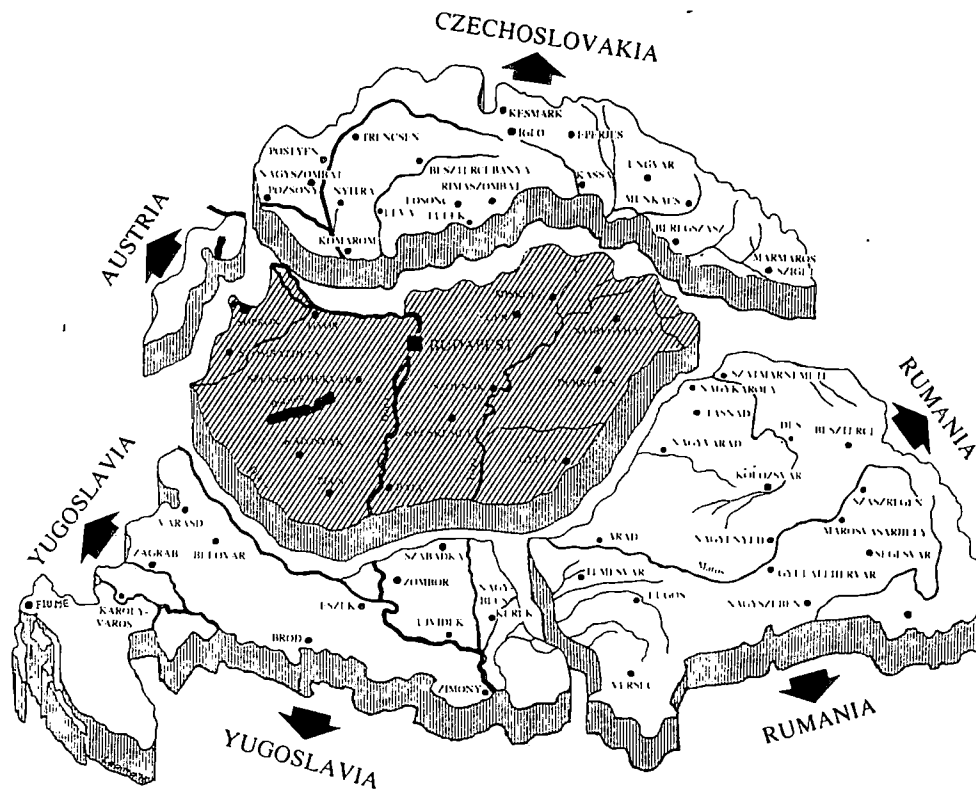
Thus, American Hungarians contributed prominently to the cultural contacts and the development of mutual understanding between the peoples of the United States and Hungary. Owing partly to these activities, many works by Hungary's foremost writers have been translated into English and published in the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

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

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

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

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



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

THE TRAGEDY OF WORLD WAR I

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

The outcome of the war was very hard for Hungary and Hungarians everywhere. The country lost two thirds of its territory and more than half of its population, among them circa four million Hungarians who have been included in the neighboring countries without any possibility to voice their will about their future. Since the majority of American Hungarians originated from the detached regions (and most of the American Hungarians were not willing to "repatriate" in order to become minority citizens in Hungary's neighboring countries), they chose the United

States as the final home for themselves and their descendants. Under the pressure of this situation, however, and the influence of the reports reaching them about the harsh treatment of their relatives as "minority groups" in their own homeland, the interest of American Hungarians greatly increased in the future of those Hungarian groups. Cultural programs, newspaper articles, and public addresses centered around the dangers of losing their national identity and historical heritage. It is no wonder that the official Hungarian government policy which was aimed consequently at the revision of the "peace dictate of Trianon," found the majority of American Hungarians ready supporters of these aims.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

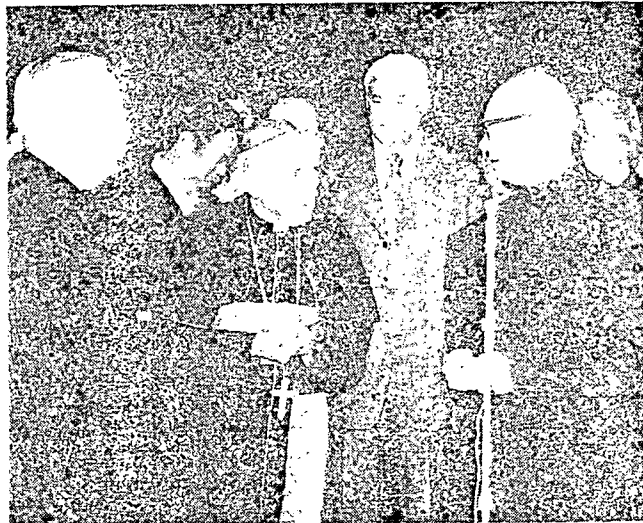
In the "Old Country," a World Federation of Hungarians was set up in Budapest; its annual congresses and other programs, although on a relatively modest scale, offered opportunities for second and third generation American Hungarians to reacquaint themselves with many elements of Hungarian culture.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

greatest musical works by millions of people through their masterful recordings also.

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

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

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

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

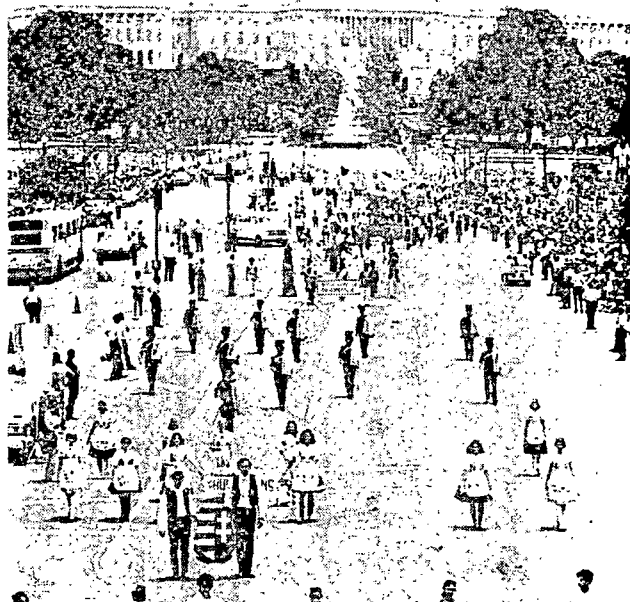
Cultural activities of American Hungarians cover a broad spectrum of intellectual and political interests. According to a Hungarian "Who's Who," first published in 1963 in New York, the number of medical doctors of Hungarian origin is over two thousand, and engineers number about 1,500. There are hundreds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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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KOSSOVO. See Kosovo.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THEODORE SHABAD
Editor, "Soviet Geography" Magazine

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REMARKS: KOSSUTH SQUARE
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
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FINAL

MR. PRESIDENT, MY HUNGARIAN AND AMERICAN FRIENDS.
THAT GREAT POET OF THE 1848 REVOLUTION, SANDOR
PETOFI [SHAHN-DOOR PET-00-FEE], ONCE WROTE, "LET ME
ADDRESS YOU IN THE NAME OF MILLIONS." TODAY, LET ME
ADDRESS YOU IN THE NAME OF MILLIONS WHO CONVEY THEIR
WARMEST GREETINGS: THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

- 2 -

SIX YEARS AGO, I BECAME THE HIGHEST-RANKING
AMERICAN OFFICIAL TO VISIT HUNGARY. TODAY, I BECOME
THE FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO TRAVEL HERE. NOW, AS
THEN, BARBARA AND I ARE MOVED BY YOUR RECEPTION. AND
WE THANK YOU FROM THE BOTTOM OF OUR HEARTS.

I WANT TO SAY TO ALL OF YOU THAT I HAVE SEEN FEW
CITIES LOVELIER THAN BUDAPEST. AND I HAVE SELDOM SEEN
A CITY MORE ALIVE. ALIVE WITH COMMERCE, CHANGE, AND,
ABOVE ALL, HOPE.

ALIVE WITH A PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE THAT LIKE A LAMP
LIGHTING THE DARKEST NIGHT, LIBERTY CAN LIGHT THE
GLOBE.

IN A FEW MOMENTS I WILL BE RECEIVED IN THE
HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT. AND AS I SPEAK, I WILL RECALL
HOW 137 YEARS AGO A TRUE HUNGARIAN PATRIOT WAS RECEIVED
IN ANOTHER HOUSE WHICH EMBODIES FREEDOM -- THE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

HIS NAME WAS LAJOS KOSSUTH [LOY-OSH KO-SHOOTH].
HIS STATUE STANDS BEHIND ME. AND HE ARRIVED IN AMERICA
AFTER HUNGARY'S STRUGGLE HAD, TEMPORARILY, BEEN LOST.
YET IN HIS REMARKS TO CONGRESS, HE WAS HOPEFUL, NOT
EMBITTERED. FOR HE BELIEVED IN THAT DEMOCRACY WHICH
LINKS THE PEOPLE OF HUNGARY WITH THE PEOPLES OF THE
WORLD.

"I HAVE A STEADY FAITH IN PRINCIPLES," HE SAID. "I TRUST TO THE FUTURE OF REPUBLICANISM." AND HE ALSO ADDED: "BAYONETS MAY SUPPORT, BUT AFFORD NO CHAIR TO SIT UPON."

EVEN NOW, THE MEMORY OF LAJOS KOSSUTH LIFTS US, TEACHES US. FOR HIS LIFE WAS A CELEBRATION OF BRAVERY, AND OF DREAMS. HE KNEW THAT A COURAGEOUS PEOPLE WOULD NOT BOW TO BAYONETS AND BARBED WIRE. HE KNEW THAT THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY WOULD SHINE FOREVER.

THIS GREAT MAN BECAME THE CONSCIENCE OF HUNGARY. AND JUST TWO BLOCKS AWAY -- HERE, TOO, AN ETERNAL FLAME OF HOPE LIGHTS THE NIGHT. LIKE OTHER HUNGARIAN HEROES, LAJOS BATTHYANY [LOY-OSH BAHT-ON-EE] SOUGHT FREE ASSEMBLY, PRESS, SPEECH, AND RELIGION. THEY KNEW THAT NO MATTER HOW MUCH SUFFERING BESET THIS NATION, ITS LIGHT OF LIBERTY WOULD SHINE FOREVER.

WHEN THE HUNGARIAN PLAYWRIGHT IMRE MADACH [IM-REH MAW-DAWCH] OBSERVED, "IT IS SO GREAT FREELY TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE GOOD AND SINFUL WAYS," HE WAS DESCRIBING THAT BELIEF -- THE BELIEF THAT OPEN EXPRESSION WOULD CONQUER TYRANNY. AND HE WROTE THOSE WORDS IN THAT TIMELESS LITERARY WORK IRONICALLY ENTITLED, "THE TRAGEDY OF MAN."

MY FRIENDS, OUR MISSION IS TO HELP YOU PROCLAIM THE VICTORY OF MAN. PROCLAIM IT PEACEFULLY, NOT VIOLENTLY.

FOR THE VICTORY OF MAN CAN HELP HUNGARY'S FUTURE BE WORTHY OF HER PAST. AND HELP HUNGARY LIVE FOR WHAT SO MANY IN THE WORLD HAVE DIED FOR: OPPORTUNITY, HUMAN DECENCY, AND SHARED IDEALS.

TODAY, FROM THE STREETS OF BUDAPEST, TO THE GREAT PLAINS, TO THE CURRENTS OF THE DANUBE, AND THE GENTLE TOWNS THAT GRACE ITS BANKS, HUNGARY'S QUEST IS POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC; RELIGIOUS, AND INTELLECTUAL. ITS APOSTLES SAY, WORK WHERE YOU WANT.

AND VOTE AS YOU CHOOSE. THEY BELIEVE THAT ALL THINGS ARE POSSIBLE FOR A NATION, AND FOR A PEOPLE. AND PROCLAIM THE INDIVIDUAL, NOT THE STATE, AS THE VOICE OF TOMORROW.

OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS, THE WORLD HAS WATCHED THIS NEW OPENESS TRANSFORM THE HUNGARIAN NATION. YOU HAVE SHOWN HOW PEACE, FREEDOM, AND PROSPERITY ARE ALLIED. I APPLAUD HUNGARY'S GREATER PRIVATIZATION, AND ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION.

I SALUTE HUNGARY'S MOVEMENT TOWARD REFORM AND INCREASED FLOW OF INFORMATION. I WELCOME, TOO, THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS, AND THE PLANNED CUTBACKS IN THE HUNGARIAN MILITARY. [PAUSE]

WE WATCH WITH INTEREST AS THE SOVIET UNION ENCOURAGES SUCH CHANGE. INDEED, WE SALUTE GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV AS HE ENCOURAGES CHANGE THROUGH REFORM. LET US BE CLEAR: WE WANT PERESTROIKA TO SUCCEED.

AND IN BRUSSELS JUST SIX WEEKS AGO, I PROPOSED MUTUAL REDUCTIONS IN ARMS THAT WOULD FURTHER REDUCE -- SIGNIFICANTLY -- CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE.

WHO WOULD HAVE DREAMT THAT YOU WOULD HAVE DONE SO MUCH, SO QUICKLY, TO IMPROVE THE LOT OF HUNGARY? NOW, LET US USE ITS PROMISE TO OPEN BOUNDARIES, AND MINDS.

WE SALUTE YOUR DECISION FOR ELECTIONS TO BE HELD IN HUNGARY. WE SALUTE YOUR DECISION TO ENCOURAGE MORE PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCESS OF GOVERNING.

AND THIS WEEK, RADIO FREE EUROPE BEGINS BROADCASTS ORIGINATING FROM HUNGARY -- THE FIRST IN A COMMUNIST COUNTRY. LET ITS COVERAGE SPUR EVEN CLOSER TIES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. IN TRADE, AS WE REMOVE UNFAIR BARRIERS, WE MUST REMEMBER THAT ONLY WHEN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION GO HAND-IN-HAND CAN HUNGARY BE TRUE TO HER HERITAGE, AND TO HER CHILDREN. BECOMING CENTRAL TO A EUROPE THAT IS WHOLE AND FREE.

WHEN LAJOS KOSSUTH CAME TO AMERICA, HIS RECEPTION SHOWED HOW OUR TWO PEOPLES SHARE A COMMON LOVE OF LIBERTY. IN NEW YORK HARBOR, AN ARMADA OF SHIPS SOUNDED HORNS TO CELEBRATE HIS ARRIVAL. AND WHEN THE CITY OF NEW YORK HELD A PARADE IN HIS HONOR, THOUSANDS RUSHED HIS OPEN CARRIAGE. PERHAPS NO VISITOR SINCE LAFAYETTE HAD BEEN GREETED SO EMOTIONALLY.

LIKE HUNGARIANS, THE AMERICANS OF THAT TIME ADMIRERD THOSE WHO LOVE WHAT KOSSUTH CALLED "THE PRINCIPLE OF . . . SELF-GOVERNMENT." THEY OPPOSED CLOSED SOCIETIES. AND THEY BELIEVED IN HELPING INDIVIDUALS, AND NATIONS, WHO UNDERSTOOD THAT REAL FREEDOM MAKES ALL PROGRESS POSSIBLE. FOR THEY, LIKE YOU, WERE DETERMINED TO ENSURE THAT THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY WOULD SHINE FOREVER.

TODAY, MORE THAN EVER, THIS KINSHIP BINDS THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED STATES AND HUNGARY. FOR YOUR GALLANTRY EVOKES OUR ADMIRATION. YOUR EXAMPLE IS OUR INSPIRATION. OUR NATIONS ARE LINKED BY MANY THINGS -- HARD WORK, THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY, AND A DEEP RELIGIOUS DEVOTION. AND WE WILL BE WITH YOU ALWAYS. AS PARTNERS. AND AS FRIENDS.

WE SEE THIS KINSHIP IN THE NEARLY TWO MILLION AMERICANS OF HUNGARIAN DESCENT.

IN GIANTS LIKE NUCLEAR SCIENTIST EDWARD TELLER. OR CONDUCTOR EUGENE ORMANDY, WHO PROVED THAT MUSIC "IS THE UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE." OR COLONEL KOVATS [KO-VACH], WHO GAVE HIS LIFE FOR AMERICA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM DURING OUR REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

BUT THIS KINSHIP ISN'T ONE-WAY: AMERICANS ADMIRE HUNGARIANS WHOSE DEEDS SO INSPIRE US.

HEROES LIKE THE GREAT FOUNDER OF THE HUNGARIAN STATE, SAINT STEPHEN, AND GREAT COMPOSERS LIKE LISZT AND BARTOK. OR HUNGARY'S MANY WINNERS OF NOBEL PRIZES AND OLYMPIC MEDALS. OR THAT GREAT PATRIOT JANOS HUNYADI [YAHN-OSH HOON-YAH-DEE] WHO MORE THAN FIVE CENTURIES AGO STOPPED A WOULD-BE TURKISH INVASION. IN HIS HONOR, THE POPE ORDERED EACH CATHOLIC CHURCH TO RING A BELL AT THE TIME OF DAY THE BATTLE ENDED.

AND SINCE THEN, CATHOLIC CHURCH BELLS ALL OVER THE WORLD RING PRECISELY AT MID-DAY.

HEROES, YES -- AMERICAN, HUNGARIAN. BUT THERE ARE OTHER, UNKNOWN HEROES, TOO -- THE STUDENT IN BUDAPEST, THE VINTNER NEAR LAKE BALATON [BAHL-AH-TON], THE ARTIST IN SARKOZ [SHAHR-KOOZ]. TODAY, IT IS THEY -- YOU -- WHO ARE REDUCING THE CHASM BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. ENRICHING, AND MAKING POSSIBLE, A MORE OPEN, PEACEFUL WORLD.

YOU ARE PROVING HOW PROGRESS AND REFORM CAN EXPAND HUNGARY'S HORIZONS. AND ENLARGE THE POSSIBILITIES OF HER PEOPLE. YOUR EFFORTS REFLECT THE VALUES OF INDIVIDUALITY, SELF-RELIANCE, AND RESPECT FOR OTHERS. VALUES WHICH UNDERScore THE DIGNITY OF MAN.

FOUR WEEKS AGO, THOUSANDS FILLED THIS CITY'S HEROES SQUARE -- PEACEFULLY, MOVINGLY -- TO HONOR THE HEROES, AND SPIRIT, OF 1956. AMONG THEM WAS A PATRIOT WHO, WITH MANY OTHERS, TOOK PART IN THAT REVOLUTION.

ASTONISHED BY THE TURNOUT, HE FOUND PRIDE IN HUNGARY'S PAST -- AND HOPE IN HER FUTURE. "FOR THIS DAY," HE SAID, "IT IS WORTH LIVING AND FORGIVING. TODAY, THIS UNITY IS A KIND OF HUNGARIAN WONDER."

MY FRIENDS, YOU HAVE ENDURED MUCH. AND SURVIVED EVERYTHING. SURVIVED THROUGH FAMILY, AND FAITH IN GOD. AND THROUGH THE HUMAN SPIRIT, OFT-ABUSED YET FREE. IN COMING YEARS, YOUR HEROISM CAN WRITE A NEW CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF YOUR NATION.

LOVE HUNGARY -- AS IMRE NAGY [IM-REH NUDGE] DID -- AS LAJOS KOSSUTH DID. SHOW THE WORLD THAT THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY WILL SHINE FOREVER.

THE DARKNESS LIFTS. THE BELL RESOUNDS. THE LIGHT GROWS BRIGHTER BY THE DAY. TOGETHER, LET US RAISE WHAT KOSSUTH CALLED "THE MORNING STAR OF LIBERTY." THE STAR THAT CAN LEAD US TOWARD TOMORROW. AND BLESS THE CHILDREN OF THE GLOBE.

THANK YOU FOR THIS WONDERFUL OCCASION. I WILL NEVER FORGET IT. GOD BLESS YOU, GOD BLESS AMERICA -- AND AS YOUR NATIONAL ANTHEM PROCLAIMS SO UNFORGETTABLY, "GOD BLESS THE HUNGARIANS."

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June 20, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO: Miss. Stephanie Blessey
FROM: Sandor J. Horvath, Deputy Chief / Hungarian Service/ VOA
SUBJECT: President Bush's Remarks in Budapest / CORRECTED COPY

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

Mint Petőfi Sándor mondta, „ MILLIÓK NEVÉBEN EMELEM SZAVAM”, amikor Amerika üdvözlését hozom a magyar népnek.

As Petőfi wrote „ let me address you in the name of millions” as I convey America's greetings to you, the Hungarian people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

by Lajos Kossuth.

SPEECH IN WASHINGTON.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The truth of this doctrine becomes yet more illustrated by a quite contrary historical fact in France. Whatever have been the changes of government in that great country—and many they have been, to be sure; we have seen a Convention, a Directorate of Consuls, and one Consul, and an Emperor, and the restoration—the fundamental tone of the Constitution of France was power always centralized, Omnipotence always vested somewhere; and remarkably, indeed, France has never yet raised the single man to the seat of power who has not sacrificed his country's freedom to his personal ambition. It is sorrowful, indeed; but it is natural. It is in the garden of centralization where the venomous plant of ambition thrives. I dare confidently affirm, that in your great country there exists not a single man through whose brains has ever passed the thought that he will raise the seat of his ambition upon the ruins of your country's liberty. It is no wonder, such a wise impression in the United States. Institutions react upon the character of nations. He who sows the wind will reap the storm. History is the revelation of Providence. The Almighty rules by eternal laws, not only the material but the moral world; and every law is a principle, and every principle is a law. Men, as well as nations, are endowed with free will to choose a principle, but that once chosen, the consequences must be abided. With self-government is freedom, and with freedom is justice and patriotism. With centralization is ambition, and with ambition dwells despotism. Happy your great country, Sir, for being so warmly addicted to that great principle of self-government. Upon this foundation your fathers raised a home to freedom more glorious than the world has ever seen. Upon this foundation you have developed it to a living wonder of the world. Happy your great country, Sir, that it was selected by the blessing of the Lord, to prove the glorious practicability of a federative Union of many sovereign States, all conserving their State rights and their self-government, and yet united in one. Every star beaming with its own lustre, but all together one constellation on mankind's canopy.

Upon this foundation your country has grown to a prodigious power in a surprisingly brief period. You have attracted power in that. Your fundamental principles have conquered more in seventy-five years than Rome by arms in centuries. Your principles will conquer the world. By the glorious example of your freedom, welfare, and security, mankind is about to become conscious of its aim. The lesson you give to humanity will not be lost, and the respect of the State rights in the Federal Government of America and in its several States, will become an instructive example for universal toleration, forbearance, and justice, to the future States and Repub-

lies of Europe. Upon this basis will be got rid of the mysterious question of language, and nationalities raised by the cunning despotisms in Europe to murder Liberty, and the smaller States will find security in the principles of federative union, while they will conserve their national freedom by the principles of sovereign self-government; and while larger States abdicating the principles of centralization, will cease to be a blood-field to sanguinary usurpation, and a tool to the ambition of wicked men, municipal institutions will insure the development of local particular elements—Freedom, formerly an abstract political theory, will become the household benefit to municipalities, and out of the welfare and contentment of all parts will flow happiness, peace, and security for the whole. That is my confident hope. There will at once subside the fluctuations of Germany's fate. It will become the heart of Europe, not by melting North Germany into a Southern frame, or the South into a Northern; not by absorbing historical peculiarities, by centralized omnipotence; not by mixing in one State, but by federating several sovereign States into a Union like yours, upon a similar basis, will take place the national regeneration of the Slavonic States, and not upon the sacrilegious idea of Panslavism, equivalent to the omnipotence of the Czar.

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

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

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

Gentlemen, I know where I stand. No honor, no encouraging generosity, will make me ever forget where I stand and what is due from me to you. Here my duty is silently to await what you in your wisdom will be pleased to pronounce about that which public opinion knows to be my prayer and my aim, and be it your will to pronounce, or be it your will not to take notice of it, I will understand your will, and bow before it with devotion, love, and gratitude to your generous people, to your glorious land. But one single word, even here, I may be permitted to say, only such a word as may secure me from being misunderstood. I came to the noble-minded, people of the United States to claim its generous operative sympathy for the impending struggle of oppressed freedom on the European Continent, and I freely interpreted the hopes and wishes which these oppressed nations entertain, but as to your great Republic, as a State, as a power on earth, I stand before the Statesmen, Senators and Legisla-

tors of that Republic, only to ascertain from their wisdom and experience what is their judgment upon a question of national law and international right. I hoped, and now hope, that they will by the foreboding events on the other great continent, feel induced to pronounce in time their vote about that law and those rights, and I hoped and hope that in pronouncing their vote, it will be in the broad principles of international justice, and consonant with their republican institutions and their democratic life.

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

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

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

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

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

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

group homes, as one of the primary reasons mentally ill people end up homeless.

Housing Today The average wait for assisted housing in the mayors' survey cities was 21 months. During 1988 the request for emergency shelter increased by an average of 13% across the survey cities. A 1989 HUD survey found that the private sector has shouldered a great deal of the burden in providing shelter. In 1988 the HUD survey found that 9 out of 10 shelters for the homeless were operated by community groups and churches, and that nearly 80,000 volunteers worked in shelters.

Federal Funding The various federal government programs to assist the homeless are grouped under the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act, which became law in July 1987. The act includes nearly 20 different provisions for emergency shelter, food, health care, mental health care, housing, educational programs, job training, and other community services. Federal agencies providing services include HUD, Health and Human Resources, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and the Labor, Education, and Veterans' departments. Although the bill authorized \$634 million in payments in fiscal 1989, Congress appropriated only \$388 million. President George Bush's proposed 1990 budget included full funding for the McKinney program at \$676 million. However, states and cities still pick up the major part of the bill for caring for the homeless. New York City, for example, budgeted \$475 million to help the homeless in fiscal 1989.

ESTIMATED TOTAL NUMBER OF U.S. IMMIGRANTS, BY REGION AND SELECTED COUNTRY OF LAST RESIDENCE 1820-1988

Region/country	Total 1820-1988 ¹	1988
EUROPE	36,882,696	71,854
Austria-Hungary	4,334,463	3,200
Austria	1,822,327 ²	2,493
Hungary	1,666,060 ²	707
Belgium	209,024	706
Czechoslovakia ³	144,697	744
Denmark	369,121	581
France	779,221	3,637
Germany	7,060,894	9,748
Greece	695,429	4,690
Ireland ⁴	4,708,410	5,121
Italy	5,345,773	5,332
Netherlands	371,464	1,152
Norway-Sweden	2,142,215	1,669
Norway	752,611 ⁵	446
Sweden	1,244,177 ⁵	1,223
Poland	574,693	7,298
Portugal	493,334	3,290
Romania ⁶	197,810	2,915
Spain	280,225	1,972
Switzerland	357,079	920
USSR	3,424,357	1,408
United Kingdom ⁷	5,083,135	14,667
Yugoslavia ⁸	131,029	2,039
Other Europe	180,323	785

Region/country	Total 1820-1988 ¹	1988
ASIA	5,400,881	254,745
China ⁹	834,453	34,300
Hong Kong	272,606	11,817
India	398,308	25,312
Iran	148,919	9,846
Israel	126,140	4,444
Japan	450,359	5,085
Korea	578,268	34,151
Philippines	889,255	61,017
Turkey	406,584	2,200
Vietnam	430,348	12,856
Other Asia	865,641	66,993
AMERICA	11,344,382	294,906
Canada	4,252,649	15,821
Mexico	2,802,883	95,170
CARIBBEAN	2,502,945	110,949
Cuba	729,751	16,610
Dominican Republic	441,256	27,195
Haiti	201,547	34,858
Jamaica	382,261 ¹⁰	20,474
Other Caribbean	748,130	11,812
CENTRAL AMERICA	572,112	31,311
El Salvador	137,438	12,043
SOUTH AMERICA	1,103,670	41,646
Argentina	121,399	2,556
Colombia	256,652	10,153
Ecuador	135,706	4,736
Other South America	589,913	24,201
Other America	110,123	9
AFRICA	278,863	17,124
OCEANIA	192,862	4,324
Not specified	266,923	72
TOTAL ALL COUNTRIES	54,566,007	643,025

1. Because of changes in boundaries, changes in lists of countries, and lack of data for specified countries for various periods, data for certain countries are not comparable throughout. Data for specified countries are included with countries to which they belonged prior to World War I. 2. Data for Austria and Hungary not reported until 1861 and are not reported separately for all years. 3. Data begin in 1920. 4. Prior to 1926, data for Northern Ireland included in Ireland. 5. Data for Norway and Sweden not reported separately until 1871. 6. Data begin in 1880. 7. Since 1925, data for UK refer to England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. 8. Since 1922 the Serb, Croat, and Slovene Kingdom recorded as Yugoslavia. 9. Beginning in 1957 China includes Taiwan. 10. Data not collected until 1953; in prior years, consolidated under British West Indies (included in "Other Caribbean"). Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1988 Statistical Yearbook (forthcoming).

IMMIGRATION

Over the last two centuries, the mingling of peoples from all parts of the world has been a vital element in the formation of the United States, both as a land of opportunity and in its emergence as a world power. In one relatively brief period, between 1880 and 1920, the massive influx of more than 20 million European immigrants provided the inexhaustible and indefatigable labor supply necessary to transform the nation from an agricultural society to an industrialized one with unparalleled rapidity.

NATIONS SENDING LARGEST PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL U.S. IMMIGRANTS, 1820-1987

Germany	13.0%
Italy	10.0
United Kingdom	9.4
Ireland	8.8
Canada	7.9
USSR	6.3
Austria-Hungary ¹	6.0
Mexico	5.0

1. All between 1860 and 1910. Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1987 Statistical Yearbook, (1988).

Over the next 40 years, however, the flow of immigration was reduced dramatically by a governmental decision to close the doors to most foreign groups. Motivated at first by a disconcerting kind of nativism, the anti-immigration sentiments were later bolstered by the Great Depression and the need to provide work for those already living here. World War II and the subsequent national readjustment limited immigration for several decades.

Since 1960 a steadily increasing number of immigrants—both legal and illegal—has had a very noticeable impact on both the size and ethnic composition of the American population. The startling upsurge in the number of Asians and Hispanic immigrants during the 1970s and 1980s has been caused by a variety of factors, from wars and political upheaval to the mundane fact of geographical proximity in the case of Mexico. Currently, over half a million new legal immigrants are arriving annually, and well over half are from those two ethnic backgrounds.

While immigration is higher today than in the recent past, it is hard to predict what the future holds. Many demographers argue that if the

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY

The Statue of Liberty was conceived and designed by Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi (with Gustave Eiffel's help) and given to the United States by the French government in honor of the centennial of American independence in 1876. Funded by subscriptions from the French people, it was dedicated by President Grover Cleveland in 1886 and became a national monument in 1924.

Measuring 151 feet (46 m) to the top of her torch, Miss Liberty still stands guard over the entrance to New York harbor, the inscription on her base a poignant reminder of the vision Americans once had of their country:

Give me your tired, your poor
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

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Smith/McNally/Simon
October 11, 1990
Draft Two (E:HUNGARY.AR)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR P.M. ANTALL
THE SOUTH LAWN, THE WHITE HOUSE
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1990

Mr. Prime Minister: It is a tremendous pleasure to welcome you and your wife Clara to the White House today.

Seven years ago, I became the highest-ranking American official to visit Hungary. And last year, I became the first American President to journey there. Even though it was pouring rain when we arrived in Kossuth [KÖ-shoot] Square, the people of Hungary gave Barbara and me a marvelously warm welcome. I was so moved by the crowd's enthusiasm that I tore up my speech. (And I have to admit, there were some in this country who were disappointed. \\ Disappointed it wasn't the start of a trend.)

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

The arrival at the White House of the first democratically elected Prime Minister of Hungary in over 40 years is a historic event. And it brings to mind the arrival -- 138 years ago -- of another Hungarian patriot, at another house which embodies freedom -- the Congress of the United States.

The man was Lajos Kossuth [LOY-ōsh KÖ-shoot]. His statue stood behind us that day in the rain in Budapest, in the Square that bears his name. And in today's historic meeting, the memory

Joseph
Buday
VOA
619-1205

see NSC
draft

see
speech in
Washington
Jan. 7, 1852

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

Today in your homeland, from the streets of Budapest, to the great plains, to the waters of the Danube, and the gentle towns that grace its banks, Hungary's new patriots believe that all things are possible for a Nation -- and for a people. And they proclaim the individual, not the state, as the voice of tomorrow.

Today, in Hungary, that voice is being heard. **Hungary is no longer an emerging democracy -- Hungary is a democracy.** The government you head is a sovereign, pluralistic, democratic European state. The dream of Hungarians has been fulfilled, and carried beyond their own borders to others in Central Europe. **And now, in 1990, Hungary has taken its natural place as a valued member of the new partnership of nations.**

The United States welcomes Hungary's return to a free and open society. And we have recognized Hungary's new status with agreements to establish a Consulate General in Los Angeles, to remove travel controls on Hungary's diplomats at the U.N., and to liberalize visa regulations. And beginning November 1st, Hungary will become the first central European country that longer requires visas for American visitors. ^{no} _^

During our visit to Budapest, we saw the Hungarian love of excellence in careful craftsmanship, in bountiful harvests from family farms, in the pride of scientists in their work. And

American companies have already demonstrated their faith in Hungary's economic potential. General Electric is making lightbulbs in a joint venture with a Hungarian firm. General Motors ^{and Ford are} ~~is~~ producing auto parts there. And I encourage more American businesses to find out what Hungary has to offer.

Prime Minister Antall's government has demonstrated its determination to integrate Hungary into the West by developing an ambitious economic reform program. We are confident that the benefits of a truly free market economy will far outweigh any temporary pain. And we offer our support. The Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund has announced its first investment in a joint venture to market high-tech equipment. And for the new fiscal year, our Administration has asked Congress for a \$300 million economic aid package for Eastern Europe.

We also recognize the tremendous difficulties which Hungary and others in the region face due to the U.N. action in the Persian Gulf and other developments. And the United States is working with the World Bank, the IMF, and other international organizations -- as well as with our European and Japanese friends -- to try to ease the pain of this burden.

The United States has been a partner of Europe for most of this century, and will remain so. We will not retreat across the Atlantic. Indeed, we welcome Hungary and the other new democracies into the new partnership of nations. [And we support affiliate status for Hungary in the O.E.C.D., the Common Market, and the European Free Trade Association.]

Mr. Prime Minister, we welcome you amid dramatic times. We welcome you amid a feeling of hope and promise. And we welcome you amid a spirit of cooperation, looking forward to our conversations as old friends -- and as new partners.

When Lajos Kossuth came to America, his reception showed how our two peoples share a common love of liberty. In New York Harbor, an armada of ships sounded horns to celebrate his arrival. Thousands rushed his open carriage. Perhaps no visitor since Lafayette had been greeted so emotionally.

Like Hungarians, the Americans of that time believed in helping individuals, and nations, who understood that real freedom makes all progress possible. For they, like Hungarians and Americans today, were determined to ensure that the light of liberty will shine forever. \\\

Welcome to America, Mr. Prime Minister. And God bless the friendship between our two nations. Thank you.

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abroad
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America
see
file

ALSO BY C. A. MACARTNEY

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN AUSTRIA
CAMBRIDGE, 1926

THE MAGYARS IN THE NINTH CENTURY
CAMBRIDGE 1930

NATIONAL STATES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES
OXFORD, 1934

HUNGARY (MODERN WORLD SERIES)
BENN, 1934

HUNGARY AND HER SUCCESSORS
OXFORD, 1937

STUDIES IN THE EARLIEST HUNGARIAN
HISTORICAL SOURCES, I-VIII
BUDAPEST, 1938-52/BLACKWELL

PROBLEMS OF THE DANUBE BASIN
CAMBRIDGE, 1942

THE MEDIEVAL HUNGARIAN HISTORIANS
CAMBRIDGE, 1953

OCTOBER FIFTEENTH
EDINBURGH, 1957
SECOND EDITION, 1962

(with A. W. Palmer)
INDEPENDENT EASTERN EUROPE
MACMILLAN, 1962
etc.

HUNGARY

A Short History

*Carliig
ymer*
C. A. MACARTNEY D.LITT.

*Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford
Sometime Professor of International Relations
University of Edinburgh
and formerly Corresponding Member of the
Hungarian Academy of Sciences*



EDINBURGH
At the University Press

to wait for the birth of a child who might not even be a boy, and in any case to endure a long regency under a woman. They elected the young king of Poland as Wladislav V. Immediately after, Elizabeth was delivered of a boy, whom she succeeded in getting crowned, calling in to support her the Czech war-lord, Giskra, who occupied north-western Hungary. The position of the young Ulászló (as the Hungarians called him) was thus threatened from the rear at the moment when he most needed security.

In this most critical hour Hungary was saved principally by the genius of a single man, János (John) Hunyadi, one of the most interesting and attractive figures in the national history. He had risen from small beginnings; son of a lesser noble of Vlach origin (it is true that his ascent to position and wealth had been so meteoric as to give rise to rumours that he was Sigismund's own natural son), he had begun life as a professional condottiere, but had shown such extraordinary talent in that capacity that Sigismund had given him high command, and Albrecht even higher, appointing him Ban of Szörény. Ulászló, whose cause he had supported, promoted him to Captain-General of Belgrade and Voivode of Transylvania. He was now the most important man in Hungary, after the young king himself, and also in a fair way to becoming the richest, for he was as great a money-maker as he was soldier; by not long after this, his private estates were estimated to have covered nearly six million acres. In Transylvania, in 1442, Hunyadi brilliantly defeated a Turkish army, then in 1443 persuaded Ulászló to undertake a campaign in the Balkans, this being the first time for many years that the Turks had had the offensive taken against them on that front. This was so signally successful that the Sultan agreed to a peace which liberated all Serbia from his rule. Unhappily, the Papal Legate, who had been organising a crusade which was frustrated by Hunyadi's action in concluding the peace, persuaded Ulászló that a word given to an infidel need not

be kept. The next year he and Hunyadi accordingly led a new army into the Balkans, where the enraged Sultan, meeting them outside Varna on 10 November, defeated them disastrously. The young king himself perished, with the flower of his army, while Hunyadi barely escaped with his life.

He managed, however, to get back to Hungary, where he performed a service hardly less valuable than his feats in the field, in mediating a solution of the dynastic question. For Elizabeth had meanwhile died, leaving her little boy, Ladislav (known as Ladislav Postumus), with the Holy Crown, in the charge of his uncle, the Emperor Frederick, and the easy-going Frederick was content to leave Hunyadi in charge of Hungary as 'governor' or 'regent' until the child should have grown up.

During the next years Hunyadi was by no means always successful; Giskra defeated him in 1447 and had to be left master of north-western Hungary, and in the same year he suffered another heavy defeat at the hands of the Turks in Serbia. He did, however, succeed in holding them back as no European had done before him. His crowning achievement came in 1456, when he so heavily routed a Turkish army which was besieging Belgrade that it was seventy years before the danger recurred in so acute a form.

The relief of Belgrade, for which the Pope ordered all the church-bells of catholic Europe to ring daily at noon, that the faithful might pray in unison for it, was also Hunyadi's last victory, for he died a few weeks later of a fever contracted in the camp. And at first it seemed as though he was to be ill repayed. In 1452 the Austrian and Bohemian Estates had forced Frederick to release Ladislav from tutelage, and the next year he was solemnly reinstated as King of Hungary. The boy-king allowed Hunyadi to remain *de facto* regent, but himself fell under the influence of his maternal uncle, the Count of Cilli, who distrusted the Hun-

+ Callistus III

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 16, 1990

Dr. Elmer Bako
(301) 593-1332
ret'd. Library of
Congress scholar

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *CW/*

FROM: EDWARD E. McNALLY *EM*

SUBJECT: ARRIVAL CEREMONY AND DINNER TOAST FOR
HUNGARIAN PRIME MINISTER ANTALL

I. SUMMARY

On Thursday, October 18, at 10:00 a.m., you will welcome Hungarian Prime Minister Antall on the South Lawn for a state visit. That evening, you will exchange toasts at a state dinner.

II. DISCUSSION

Both the arrival statement (9 minutes, on cards) and the toast (4 minutes, on cards) were drawn from two sources: the substantive guidance provided by N.S.C. and State, and the superb draft Curt Smith wrote last year for your speech at Kossuth Square. (Although the text of that speech had cleared the approval process -- you'll recall that, ultimately, it was condensed to ad lib remarks due to the drenching rain that greeted you in Budapest.)

Smith/McNally/Simon
October 16, 1990
Draft Three (E:HUNGARY.AR)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR P.M. ANTALL
THE SOUTH LAWN, THE WHITE HOUSE
THURSDAY, OCT. 18, 1990, 10:00 A.M.

Mr. Prime Minister: It is a tremendous pleasure to welcome you and your wife Klara to the White House today.

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

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The man was Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shoot]. His statue stood behind us that day in the rain in Budapest, in the Square that bears his name. And in today's historic meeting, the memory

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

Today in your homeland, from the streets of Budapest, to the great plains, to the waters of the Danube, and the gentle towns that grace its banks, Hungary's new patriots believe that all things are possible for a Nation -- and for a people. And they proclaim the individual, not the state, as the voice of tomorrow.

Today, in Hungary, that voice is being heard. Hungary is no longer an emerging democracy -- Hungary is a democracy. The government you head is a sovereign, pluralistic, democratic European state. The dream of Hungarians has been fulfilled, and carried beyond their own borders to others in Central Europe. And now, in 1990, Hungary has taken its natural place as a valued member of the commonwealth of free nations.

During our visit to Budapest, we saw the Hungarian love of excellence in careful craftsmanship, in bountiful harvests from family farms, in the pride of scientists in their work. And American companies have already demonstrated their faith in Hungary's economic potential by committing well over half a billion dollars in new investments. General Electric is making lightbulbs in a joint venture with the Hungarian firm Tungfram. General Motors is producing auto parts there. And I encourage more American businesses to find out what Hungary has to offer.

Prime Minister Antall's government has demonstrated its

determination to integrate Hungary into the global market by developing an ambitious economic reform program. We offer our continuing support for your courageous efforts. The Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund has announced its first investment in a joint venture to market high-tech equipment. For the new fiscal year, our Administration has asked Congress for a \$300 million economic aid package for Eastern Europe. And we are offering \$40 million in guaranteed, long-term credits for the purchase of over 400,000 tons of feed grains, to compensate for the effects of the severe drought Hungary has experienced this year.

We also know that, like all of us, Hungary and the other new democracies of Central Europe are paying a high price for resolutely supporting the U.N. sanctions against Iraq. We understand that the loss of export markets and rising energy costs complicate your historic effort to transform a centrally planned economic system to a free market economy.

To help ease this burden, I am announcing today that the United States is asking the International Monetary Fund to increase its lending to the countries of the region by as much as \$5 billion, modifying its lending policies as appropriate. We will also ask the World Bank to accelerate its assistance in the energy field, drawing on the \$9 billion now committed to Central and Eastern Europe.

The United States has been a partner of Europe for most of this century, and will remain so. We welcome Hungary and the other new democracies into new partnership in a Europe whole and

free. The United States is committed to helping you find a secure place in the new Europe, and is building with you a new era in U.S.-Hungarian relations. In that regard, I am pleased to announce the lifting of travel restrictions for Hungarian diplomats, and our agreement to your request to establish an Hungarian Consulate General in Los Angeles.

Mr. Prime Minister, we welcome you amid dramatic times. We welcome you amid a feeling of hope and promise. And -- as old friends, and as new partners -- we welcome you amid a spirit of cooperation, looking forward to our conversations.

When Lajos Kossuth came to America, his reception showed how our two peoples share a common love of liberty. In New York Harbor, an armada of ships sounded horns to celebrate his arrival. Thousands rushed his open carriage. Perhaps no visitor since Lafayette had been greeted so emotionally.

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Welcome to America, Mr. Prime Minister. And God bless the friendship between our two nations. Thank you.

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Smith/McNally/Simon
October 16, 1990
Draft Three (B:HUNGARY.TST)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST FOR PRIME MINISTER ANTALL
THE STATE DINING ROOM
THURSDAY, OCT. 18, 1990

Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Antall, my Hungarian and American friends: It's a great pleasure and an honor for Barbara and me to welcome you to the White House tonight.

That great poet of Hungary's 1848 Revolution, Sandor Petofi [SHAHN-door PET-toe-fee], once wrote: "Let me address you in the name of millions." And so tonight, Mr. Prime Minister, let me greet you in the name of millions who convey their warmest welcome: The people of the United States.

As I look around this room, I see why Americans feel so enriched by our long friendship with the Hungarian people. We see this kinship in the nearly two million Americans of Hungarian descent. In giants like nuclear scientist Edward Teller. Or conductor Eugene Ormandy, who proved that music is "the universal language." Or Colonel Kovats [KO-vach], who gave his life for America's struggle for freedom during our own Revolutionary War.

But this kinship isn't one-way: Americans admire Hungarians whose deeds so inspire us. Heroes like the great founder of the Hungarian state, St. Stephen, and great composers like Liszt and Bartok. Or Hungary's many winners of Nobel prizes and Olympic medals. Or that great patriot Janos Hunyadi [YAHN-osh HOON-yah-dee], who more than five centuries ago stopped a foreign invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each Catholic church in Europe to ring its bell at mid-day. And since then, Catholic

church bells all over the world ring precisely at noon.

Heroes, yes -- American, Hungarian. Today, more than ever, this kinship binds the peoples of the United States and Hungary. Our nations are linked by many things: Hard work, the role of community, religious devotion, a fierce love of freedom. And especially during the past two years, your gallantry has evoked our admiration. Your example has been our inspiration.

When we were in Budapest last year, I was given a piece of the Iron Curtain. I keep it as a stark symbol of Hungary's courageous decision to open its borders, unleashing a force that helped transform Europe and eventually brought down the Berlin Wall.

If Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shoot] could be with us here tonight, he would see that his dream of a free and democratic Hungary has been fulfilled. And he would see that this new day in Hungary's history is the result of the Hungarian people's determination to live in freedom. Your presence here tonight, Mr. Prime Minister, bears testimony to Hungary's new role as a sovereign member of the new, and growing, partnership of nations.

The darkness lifts. The bell resounds. The light grows brighter by the day. And so, Mr. Prime Minister, let us raise our glasses, and let us raise what Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty." God bless you -- and as your National Anthem proclaims so unforgettably, "God Bless The Hungarians."

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

10/12

TO: BOB SIMON

BOB HUTCHINGS SAID THAT HE WOULD
TALK TO YOU LATER TODAY ABOUT
THE ATTACHED.

LENA Steinhoff
x5732 =



9021860

United States Department of State

7791

Washington, D.C. 20520

October 11, 1990

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Draft Remarks for the President's Use During the
Visit of Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall

Attached are suggested draft remarks and a toast which we
have prepared for the President's use at functions during the
visit to Washington of Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall,
October 17 - 19, 1990.

J. Stapleton Roy
for J. Stapleton Roy
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

- Tab 1) Remarks for White House Welcoming Ceremony
- Tab 2) Toast for State Dinner

DECLASSIFIED
Department of State Guidelines
E.O. 12958, SEC 3.4 (B), July 21, 1997
By Paul NARA, Date 10/22/04

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECL:OADR

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SUGGESTED REMARKS

WHITE HOUSE ARRIVAL CEREMONY
FOR PRIME MINISTER ANTALL
PRESIDENT'S REMARKS

It is a tremendous pleasure to welcome Prime Minister Antall and his wife Clara to the White House today. I am honored to greet the leader of a country that has played such a vital role in the dramatic transformation of Europe over the past year.

As you know, Mr. Prime Minister, I was in Budapest a little over a year ago, in July of 1989. The people of Hungary gave me an extremely warm welcome then, and I am now proud to welcome you here. [I recall that I was so moved by the crowd's enthusiasm that I tore up my speech. But I'm not going to tear up this one, which should make my speechwriters happy.]

The arrival of the first democratically elected Prime Minister of Hungary in over 40 years is an historic event. The reestablishment of free institutions there means that Hungary is no longer becoming a democracy -- Hungary is a democracy. Prime Minister Antall heads the government of a sovereign, pluralistic, democratic European state. The dream of Hungarians to form a Western system of government has been fulfilled and, indeed, carried beyond their own borders to other countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

But democracy is not new to Hungarians. Hungary developed parliamentary practices several centuries before these emerged in other European countries. Hungarians have steadfastly retained their love of freedom, as demonstrated by their heroic struggle in 1956 under the leadership of the great Hungarian patriot Imre Nagy. Now, in 1990, Hungary has returned to its natural place as a valued partner in the western world.

The United States welcomes Hungary's return to a free and open society. We have recently taken several actions to recognize Hungary's new status. For example, we have removed travel controls on Hungary's diplomats at the United Nations and we have agreed to the establishment of a Hungarian Consulate General in Los Angeles. In addition, as further recognition of the development of closer ties between our two countries, both we and the Hungarians have liberalized our visa regulations. As of November 1st, the United States will not charge visa fees for Hungarian tourists and Hungary will no longer require visas for American tourists.

When I visited Budapest, I saw that despite over 40 years of communist rule, Hungarians had never lost their love of freedom, their individuality, their entrepreneurial spirit. I saw this in the careful craftsmanship of their small industries, in the bountiful harvests from family farms, in the pride of scientists in their work.

American businessmen can learn from this Hungarian commitment to excellence. A number of American companies already have demonstrated their faith in Hungary's economic potential. General Electric is making lightbulbs in a joint venture with a Hungarian firm. And General Motors and Ford are producing auto parts in Hungary. Such partnerships with Hungarian businessmen and investment in Hungary are in the best interest of the United States. I encourage more American businessmen to find out what Hungary has to offer. You will not be disappointed.

Prime Minister Antall's government has demonstrated its determination to integrate Hungary into the West by moving steadfastly toward a market economy. I am confident that Hungary will succeed. It will succeed because Hungarians understand the importance of competing in the international marketplace on a par with other developed nations. Hungarians have no desire to hide behind price supports and protected markets.

This is not to say that the price of economic reform is cheap. But the benefits of a truly free market economy far outweigh the temporary pain. The United States stands firmly behind Hungary's reform efforts and has offered material and technological support. The Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund has announced its first investment in a joint venture to market office automation equipment. And to demonstrate further our

commitment, my Administration has asked the Congress for a \$300 million economic aid package for Eastern Europe in fiscal year 1991, which would include substantial assistance for Hungary.

We recognize the tremendous difficulties which Hungary and other countries in the region face due to the U.N. sanctions against Iraq, the recent rise in energy prices and the impending switch to hard currency trade with the Soviet Union. The United States is working with our European and Japanese friends to try to ease the pain of this burden on the Central and East European people.

We are urging the International Monetary Fund to make more resources available, perhaps through the Compensatory and Contingency Financing Facility. We have taken the lead in seeking a more active role in Eastern Europe by the World Bank, the International Energy Agency and the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development. And we are working with the G-24 to provide new, emergency assistance to the region.

We are witnessing in Europe today dramatic developments which no one would have thought possible a year ago. The bloc system which divided East and West has broken down. Traditional rivalries upon which we built security systems for the past 40 years have died as the United States and the Soviet Union forge relations based on new found common interests.

The United States would like to see Hungary and other democracies of Central and Eastern Europe integrated into the West. In this regard, we support eventual membership for Hungary in the European Community and its affiliation with the OECD.

Rapid change always brings with it some uncertainty about the future. But let me say that the United States remains firmly committed to building partnerships with all the countries of Europe. We are not prepared to see the development of a new system of buffer zones or "little ententes." And the United States will not retreat to the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. We have been a partner of Europe for most of this century, and we intend to remain so.

I look forward to the opportunity for extensive talks with Prime Minister Antall about these and other issues. I believe we will find that our views have a great deal in common.

Thank you all very much for coming here today.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SUGGESTED REMARKS

PRESIDENT'S TOAST
FOR PRIME MINISTER ANTALL

Mr. Prime Minister and members of the Hungarian delegation, it is a tremendous pleasure to welcome you to the White House this evening. As I look around this room, I see why Americans feel so enriched by our long friendship with the Hungarian people. Hungarian-Americans have made an extraordinary contribution to the political, scientific and cultural life of the United States.

When I was in Budapest last year, I was given a piece of the Iron Curtain. I keep it on my desk as a constant reminder of the momentous changes which have taken place in Europe over the past year. And Hungary has been at the forefront of these changes. Hungary's decision to open its borders started the process which led to tearing down the Berlin Wall.

Mr. Prime Minister, I am reminded tonight of how many similarities there are between Hungarians and Americans. We share, above all, a steadfast commitment to a free and open society. A free press flourishes in both countries -- testimony to our shared belief in free speech. Members of the Hungarian Parliament engage in intense, sometimes heated debate, just as their colleagues in the U.S. Congress do.

Hungary, like America, is a pluralistic society. We share a common commitment to the value of diversity. We believe that a symphony with many different themes is richer than one in which every instrument plays the same tune.

Another important similarity between Hungarians and Americans is the entrepreneurial spirit of the people. For more than 40 years of communist rule, Hungarians never let their pride in their work die. Hungarians and Americans are bound together by a pride of craftsmanship and a sense of accomplishment in one's own achievement.

No one better personifies the ties between Hungarians and Americans than the great Hungarian-American patriot Lajos (Lawosh) Kossuth (Ko'soot), who came to New York City in 1851. Americans affectionately called Kossuth the "Hungarian Washington." His vision of an independent Hungary based on individual freedom struck a chord with Americans who had fought for their own freedom only seventy five years earlier.

If Lajos Kossuth could be here with us tonight, he would see that his dream of a free and democratic Hungary has been fulfilled. And he would know that this new day in Hungary's history is the result of the Hungarian people's determination to live in freedom. Your presence here tonight, Mr. Prime Minister, bears testimony to Hungary's new role as a sovereign member of the growing community of free nations.

Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to propose a toast to freedom and democracy in Hungary and to the enduring bonds of friendship between the Hungarian and American people.

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND
CANADIAN AFFAIRS

FACSIMILE NUMBER (202) 647-0555

DELIVER TO: 456-6218 White House Speech Office Bob Simon
(FAX NUMBER) (AGENCY) (NAME) OFF EX.

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION President's Remarks

FROM: 5219 C. Thompson
(FAX NUMBER) (ROOM NUMBER) (NAME) (OFFICE EXT.)

REMARKS: _____

PAGE 1 OF 9 PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE)

WHITE HOUSE ARRIVAL CEREMONY
FOR PRIME MINISTER ANTALL
PRESIDENT'S REMARKS

It is a tremendous pleasure to welcome Prime Minister Antall and his wife Clara to the White House today. I am honored to greet the leader of a country which has played such a vital role in the dramatic transformation of Europe over the past year.

As you know, Mr. Prime Minister, I was in Budapest a little over a year ago, in July of 1989. The people of Hungary gave me a marvelously warm welcome, even though it was pouring rain when we arrived. I was so moved by the crowd's enthusiasm that I tore up my speech. But I'm not going to tear up this one, which should make the White House speechwriters happy.

The arrival of the first democratically elected Prime Minister of Hungary in over 40 years is an historic event. The

reestablishment of democratic institutions there means that Hungary is no longer an emerging democracy -- Hungary is a democracy. Prime Minister Antall heads the government of a sovereign, pluralistic, democratic European state. The dream of Hungarians to form a western system of government has been fulfilled and indeed, carried beyond their own borders to other countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

But democracy is not new to Hungarians. Hungary developed parliamentary practices several centuries before these emerged in other European countries. Hungarians have steadfastly retained their love of freedom, as demonstrated by their heroic struggle in 1956 under the leadership of the great Hungarian patriot Imre Nagy. Now, in 1990, Hungary has returned to its natural place as a valued partner in the western world.

The United States welcomes Hungary's return to a free and open society. My Administration has taken several actions to recognize Hungary's new status. We have removed travel controls on Hungary's diplomats at the United Nations and agreed to the establishment of a Consulate General in Los Angeles. In addition, as further recognition of the development of closer ties between our two countries, the United States and Hungary have liberalized our visa regulations. As of November 1st, Hungary will no longer require visas for American tourists. In return, the United States will not charge visa fees for Hungarian tourists.

When I visited Budapest, I saw that despite over 40 years of communist rule, Hungarians had never forgotten their love of freedom, their individuality, their entrepreneurial spirit. I saw this in the careful craftsmanship of their small industries, in the bountiful harvests from family farms, in the pride of scientists in their work.

American businessmen can learn from this Hungarian commitment to excellence. A number of American companies already have demonstrated their faith in Hungary's economic potential. General Electric is making lightbulbs in a joint venture with a Hungarian firm. General Motors is producing auto parts in Hungary. Partnerships with Hungarian businessmen and investment in Hungary are in the United

States' best interest. I encourage more American businessmen to find out what Hungary has to offer. You will not be disappointed.

Prime Minister Antall's government has demonstrated its determination to integrate Hungary into the West by developing an ambitious economic reform program. I am confident that this program will succeed. It will succeed because Hungarians understand the importance of competing in the international marketplace on a par with developed nations. Hungarians have no desire to hide behind price supports and protected markets.

This is not to say that the price of economic reform is cheap. But the benefits of a truly free market economy far outweigh the temporary pain. The United States stands firmly behind Hungary's reform efforts and has offered material and technological support. The Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund has announced its first investment in a joint venture to market office automation equipment. To further demonstrate our commitment, my Administration has asked the Congress for a \$300 million economic aid package for Eastern Europe in fiscal year 1991.

We recognize the tremendous difficulties which Hungary and other countries in the region face due to the Iraqi Embargo and recent rise in energy prices and to the switch to hard currency trade with the Soviet Union. The United States is working with our European and Japanese friends to try to ease the pain of this burden on the Central and East European people.

We are urging the other states of the G-7 to make more resources available through the International Monetary Fund and its Contingency and Contingency Fund Facility. We have taken the lead in seeking a more active role by the World Bank, the International Energy Agency and the Organization of Developed Countries.

We are witnessing in Europe today dramatic developments

which no one would have thought possible a year ago. The bloc system which divided East and West Europe has broken down. Traditional rivalries upon which we built security systems for the past 40 years have died as the United States and the Soviet Union forge relations based on new found common interests.

Rapid change always brings with it some uncertainty about the future. But let me say that the United States remains firmly committed to building partnerships with all the countries of Europe. We are not prepared to see the development of a new system of buffer zones or "little ententes." And the United States will not retreat to the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. We have been a partner of Europe for most of this century, and we intend to remain so.

The United States believes that Hungary and the other new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe should be integrated into the West. We support affiliate status for Hungary in the OECD, the Common Market and the European Free Trade Association, or EFTA.

I look forward to the opportunity for extensive talks with Prime Minister Antall about these and other issues. I believe we will find that our views have a great deal in common.

Thank you all very much for coming here today.

June 21, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO: Miss. Stephanie Blessey, Research
FROM: Sandor J. Horvath, Deputy Chief / Hungarian Service/ VOA
SUBJECT: Famous Hungarian- Americans

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

Scientists:

1. John von Neumann (Neumann Janos) - inventor of computers, and he was a participant of the „ Manhattan Project”.
2. Theodore von Karman (Kármán Tódor) - inventor of jet plane engine.
3. Leo Szilard (Szilárd Leó) - nuclear scientist , „Manhattan Project”.
4. Eugene Wigner (Wigner Jenő) - nuclear scientist - „Manhattan Project”.
5. Edward Teller - nuclear scientist , H bomb , „Manhattan Project”, SDI.
6. Albert Szentgyorgyi - Nobel Prize Winner (Vitamin C).

Conductors:

1. Eugene Ormandy (Ormandy Jenő)
2. George Szell (Szell György)

4. Antal Dorati (Dorati Antal)
5. Fritz Reiner (Reiner Fritz)
6. Zoltan Rozsnyay (Rozsnyay Zoltan)

Singers-Metropolitan Opera:

1. Lajos Konya (Konya Lajos)
2. Lorinc Alvary (Alvary Lorinc)
3. Gabor Carelli (Carelli Gabor)

Composers:

1. Miklos Rozsa (Rozsa Miklos) - Oscar winner (film) composer (Ben Hur....)
2. Miklos Brodsky (Brodsky Miklos) Oscar winner film composer
3. Sigmund Romberg (Romberg Zsigmond) - operette and musical composer

Film Industry:

1. Adolf Cukor (Cukor Adolf) - founder and chairman of Paramount Films
2. Michael Curtis (Kertesz Mihaly) - Oscar winner filmdirector „Casablanca” etc.
3. Paul Lukacs (Lukacs Paul) - Oscar winner actor
4. Bela Lugosi (Lugosi Bela) - Frankenstein
5. S. Z. Sakall (Szoke Szakal) - Hundreds of Hollywood films.
6. Tony Curtis - actor
7. Joe Pasternak (Paszternak Jozsef) - film producer
8. Ernie Kovach
9. Vilma Banky (Binky Vilma) Star of the American Silent Movies

US Personalities:

1. Colonel Kovach (Kovács ezredes) - founder of the American Cavalry during the US Civil War.
2. Tom Lantos (Lantos Tamás) - US Congressman (CA Democrat)
3. Joseph Pulitzer (Pulitzer József) - publisher (See Pulitzer Prize)
4. Andre Kertesz (Kertész András) - World famous photographer.
5. Robert Capa - Died in the Korean War as a war correspondent.

Sports:

1. Joe Namath - football star
2. Larry Csonka - football star
3. Karch Kiraly - current captain of the Olympic and World Champion US Men's Volley Ball Team.
4. Andy Toro (Törő András) - former secretary of United States Olympic Committee
5. Csaba Elthes (Elthes Csaba) - Coach of the US Olympic Saber Fencing Team since 1960.
6. Bob Gansler - Coach of the US National Soccer Team
7. Peter Vermes - Member of the US National Soccer Team

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July 11 / Administration of George Bush, 1989

eight priority areas. The cost of the initiative is approximately \$4 million.

such a nation, fully engaged in such an enterprise, need only summon the will of her people to succeed. The world watches, confident that they will triumph.

Advance Text of Remarks at the Departure Ceremony in Gdansk, Poland
July 11, 1989

Note: The President spoke at approximately 4:50 p.m. on the tarmac at Gdansk Airport. The Office of the Press Secretary has issued this advance text, but a transcript of the actual address has not been released.

This has been the first visit of an American President to Poland in almost 12 years. That, in itself, is something of a milestone. And it has been a great honor to be here. But what has made this visit most noteworthy, in my mind, are the extraordinary opportunities and challenges now faced by Poland and her people. In my 2 days here, I met with leaders of a government that is both responsive and responsible, and determined that Poland shall find her own road to recovery.

Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony in Budapest, Hungary
July 11, 1989

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you very, very much. Thank you, Mr. President. Is somebody going to translate this? I'm going to take this speech, and I'm going to tear it up. You've been out here too long.

I met with the chairman of the Free Solidarity Trade Union, Lech Walesa, whose courage and moral guidance have carried Poland's people from the dark of night to the threshold of a brilliant future. I met with Senators and Parliamentary leaders of a democratic opposition, now legalized. We discussed their new and weighty responsibilities as Poland enters a new era. And I met with Polish citizens, from all walks of life, including the citizens of the great city of Gdansk, at a monument to courage and freedom.

Let me just speak to you from the heart, and I'll be brief. Tear that thing up. [Applause] Thank you. You've been standing here long enough. But Barbara and I feel the warmth of this welcome, and the rain doesn't make a darn bit of difference. We feel at home right here in this great capital.

Poland is blazing her own path to a better life for all of her people. With every meeting, with every conversation, we have had meaningful discussions about the possibilities and challenges of Poland's unique experiment in reform. I have explained that the United States will respond with specific, appropriate measures designed to encourage future economic and political reform, reform that is crucial to Poland's long term economic health. But the real work begins now, as Poland joins the community of nations committed to open elections and open markets and the open exchange of ideas.

And I salute the leaders of Hungary; I salute the reforms and change that is taking place in this wonderful country. And I want you to know that I am here as President of the United States because we have in our country a special affection and feeling for the people of Hungary. We are delighted to be here. We're only here for 2 nights and 1 day, but I am looking forward to my consultations and my discussions with the leaders of this great country. And I will be bringing them the warm greetings from the American people and the conviction of the people of the United States that we must work with Hungary. We want to work with Hungary to continue the changes and the reforms that are going forward in your great country as of today.

I add my voice to those of so many around the world who are impressed with Poland's courage and committed to help a great nation fulfill its destiny. Poland's wisdom and strength will be tested. But

So, thank you very much for this welcome. You'll have to listen to me tomorrow, I'm sure, at some drier time and drier place. But once again, once again, long after this rain is gone, I'm going to remember the warmth of the welcome from the people of Hungary.

Thank you. God bless you, and God bless your great country. Thank you very much. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 7:45 p.m. in Kossuth Square. In his remarks, he referred to Bruno Straub, President of Hungary's Presidential Council.

Toast at the State Dinner in Budapest, Hungary
July 11, 1989

Well, thank you, sir, for those very warm words of welcome. And I'm delighted to have this opportunity to visit Hungary once again, to see firsthand the remarkable changes taking place here.

We live at a great moment in human affairs, an era when change is shaking the existing order. From Beijing to Budapest, from Tiananmen Square to the long-delayed day of healing in Heroes Square less than a month ago, we're witnessing the expression of democratic idea whose appeal is universal, whose impact is worldwide. And here in the heart of central Europe, Hungary is at the center of change. Your nation is involved in an unprecedented experiment: a Communist system seeking to evolve towards a more open economy, towards a more open and pluralistic political system.

No one now denies that reform is the path of the future. In nation after nation, decades of experience have proven beyond any doubt the poverty of an idea: the idea that progress is the product of the state. On the contrary, progress is the product of the people. And state control simply cannot provide sustained economic growth, nor can it provide a regime the political legitimacy it needs to govern. Most of all, the state is in constant conflict with human liberty.

In Hungary today, there is a deepening consensus on the direction that reform must take—on a new model for state and society—in economics, the competitive market; in politics, pluralism and human rights.

The key to economic success is letting the market do its work, and that means an end to inefficient government intervention in

the marketplace, an end to the dead weight that drags down overall economic growth. It means factories and enterprises of all kinds playing by the rules of the marketplace, according to the laws of supply and demand: in other words, rules that work for the individual and the common good.

And economic competition has a parallel in the political sphere. Pluralism is nothing more than an open and honest competition between parties, a competition between points of view. Pluralism is what we in the West call the marketplace of ideas. The open elections that Hungary has promised will mark a great advance and allow your great nation to enjoy the benefits of pluralism.

The hopeful process of Helsinki points the way to the enhancement of freedom in central Europe, to a new basis for security and cooperation in all of Europe.

All Hungarians should look to the future with confidence in what Hungary can be. This is only the beginning. I see in Hungary's future a country of hundreds of thousands of small enterprises—sources of innovation, productivity, and prosperity. And I see in Hungary's future new voices speaking out, shaping the course of national affairs. I see a Hungary at peace with itself, a Hungary assuming its rightful place as a vital part of an emerging Europe—a Europe whole and free.

The road ahead will be difficult. There's no denying that. But I believe in Hungary. I believe in her ability to meet and master the challenge: to make reform succeed. The key is Hungary's most precious resource: her people. Each individual is an infinity of possibilities, and in the capacity of those individual talents lies the future of your nation.

So, now let us raise our glasses: To the future of Hungarian reform; to the friendship, the genuine friendship, between the American and the Hungarian people. And thank you for this warm welcome.

Note: The President spoke at 8:50 p.m. in Hunters' Hall at the National Parliament Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to Rezső Nyers, Chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The President also referred to Heroes Square, the

July 11 / Administration of George Bush, 1989

site where former Hungarian Prime Minister Imre Nagy, leader of the 1956 uprising against Soviet domination, was posthumously honored.

**Remarks to Students and Faculty at
Karl Marx University of Economics in
Budapest, Hungary**
July 12, 1989

Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Németh, ladies and gentlemen, Dr. and Mrs. Csaki, it is a great pleasure for Barbara and me to be back in Budapest. And I am very 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. [Laughter] If you don't find it ironic in Hungary, try it on for size in the United States. But the fact that I am here today is less a cause for surprise than proof that America welcomes the unfettered competition of ideas. And I understand that 50 or so of the faculty from this great university have been as either students or teachers in the United States of America. And that is a very good thing for my country, and I'm glad you came our way.

The University's principal task is to promote a competition—an unfettered competition of ideas. And that is the spirit that brings us together: a spirit that guided a great teacher at Karl Marx University, whose name was Imre Nagy. As his funeral proceeded in Heroes Square a few weeks ago, the rising voice of Hungary was heard reciting the "Szozat" [patriotic poem]. And in this simple, somber ceremony, the world saw something more than a dignified act, an act of reconciliation: We witnessed an act of truth. It is on this foundation of truth, more solid than stone, that Hungarians have begun to build a new future. A generation waited to honor Imre Nagy's courage; may a hundred generations remember it.

While Hungary rediscovers its natural role in the affairs of Europe, the world again looks to you for inspiration. A popular nonfiction book in my country today is entitled "Budapest 1900." Dr. John Lukacs lovingly describes the Budapest of memory,

with its proud stock exchange and great opera, a time when Europe's first electric subway ran underneath the handsome shops of Andrassy Avenue. A city that rivaled Paris in its splendor, Vienna in its music, London in its literature, a center of learning that enlightened the world and gave America one kind of genius in Joseph Pulitzer, another in Béla Bartók. But for four decades, this great city, this great nation, so central to the continent in every respect, has been separated from Europe and the West.

And today Hungary is opening again to the West, becoming a beacon of light in European culture. And I see people in motion—color, creativity, experimentation. I see a new beginning for Hungary. The very atmosphere of this city, the very atmosphere of Budapest, is electric and alive with optimism.

Your people and your leaders—government and opposition alike—are not afraid 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. Some historians argue that Marxism arose out of a humane impulse. But Karl Marx traced only one thread of human existence and missed the rest of the tapestry—the colorful and varied tapestry of humanity. He regarded man as hapless, unable to shape his environment or destiny. But man is not driven by impersonal economic forces. He's not simply an object acted upon by mechanical laws of history. Rather, man is imaginative and inventive. He is artistic, with an innate need to create and enjoy beauty. He is a loving member of a family and a loyal patriot to his people. Man is dynamic, determined to shape his own future.

The creative genius of the Hungarian people, long suppressed, is again flourishing in your schools, your businesses, your churches. And this is more than a fleeting season of freedom. It is Hungary returning to its normal, traditional values. It is Hungary returning home. Voices long stilled are being heard again. An independent daily newspaper is now sold on the streets. Commercial radio and television stations will broadcast everything from the news to the

↓ This year, they dropped the name Karl Marx U.

music of Stevie Wonder. And Radio Free Europe is opening its first Eastern European Bureau right here in Budapest.

Along your border with Austria, the ugly symbol of Europe's division and Hungary's isolation is coming down, as the barbed wire fences are rolled and stacked into bales. For the first time, the Iron Curtain has begun to part. And Hungary, your great country, is leading the way.

The Soviet Union has withdrawn troops, which I also take as a step in overcoming Europe's division. And as those forces leave, let the Soviet leaders know they have everything to gain and nothing to lose or fear from peaceful change. We can—and I am determined that we will—work together to move beyond containment, beyond the Cold War.

One of the key steps in moving beyond containment is easing the military confrontation in Europe. To this end, the NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] allies joined, at the May summit meeting, in my proposal of a comprehensive conventional arms control initiative, an initiative that would cut the number of tanks, armored troop carriers, artillery, combat aircraft, attack helicopters, as well as United States and Soviet troops stationed on foreign soil in Europe—all to lower, equal levels. The issues may be complex, but we're working, day and night, to get a solid, historic agreement to strengthen stability in Europe and reduce the risk of war. And we are determined to get it soon.

No, there is no mistaking the fact that we are on the threshold of a new era. And there's also no mistaking the fact that Hungary is at the threshold of great and historic change. You're writing a real constitution, and you're moving toward democratic, multiparty elections. And this is partly possible because brave men and women have formed opposition parties. And this is possible because Hungarian leaders are going to show the ultimate political courage: the courage to submit to the choice of the people in free elections.

But to succeed in reform, you'll need partners—partners to help promote lasting change in Hungary. And I am here today to offer Hungary the partnership of the United States of America. Three vital spheres stand out in our partnerships: eco-

nomics, the environment, and democratic and cultural exchange.

The United States believes in the acceleration of productive change, not in its delay. So, this is our guiding principle: The United States will offer assistance not to prop up the status quo but to propel reform.

Of course, the weight of the past still burdens Hungarian enterprise. There are remnants of the Stalinist economy—huge, inefficient industrial plants and a bewildering price system that is hard for anyone to understand, and 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.

To make the transition to a productive economy will test your mettle as a people. The prices of some commodities may rise. Some inefficient businesses and factories will close. But the Hungarian Government is increasingly leaving the business of running the shops to the shopkeepers, the farms to the farmers. And the creative drive of the people, once unleashed, will create momentum of its own. And this will bring you a greater treasure than simply the riches you create. It'll give each of you control over your own destiny—a Hungarian destiny. And as I said, the United States will be your partner in this transformation to a successful economy.

Last Thursday at the White House, I invited leaders from business, education, labor, and other fields to come to the White House and discuss the new private sector opportunities opening up in Hungary. And their response was enthusiastic. This was especially true of Hungarian-Americans, so proud to be building a bridge between their new country and their motherland. As long as our two governments ease the way, the people of America and Hungary can do the rest—the people can do the rest.

And it is in this spirit that I want to announce the following measures. First, as I said in Warsaw, I will propose at the Paris economic summit concerted Western action, for Poland and Hungary, to back your reforms with economic and technical assistance from the summit partners. Of course, our efforts for Hungary will be targeted to your needs.

And second, I will ask the United States Congress to authorize a \$25 million fund as a source of new capital to invigorate the Hungarian private sector. I'll also encourage parallel efforts from the other nations of the economic summit.

And third, once your Parliament passes the new emigration legislation proposed by your Council of Ministers, I will inform our Congress that Hungary is in full compliance with the Jackson-Vanik amendments to our 1974 trade law. No country has yet been released from the restrictions of this amendment. So, I am pleased to tell you that Hungary will be the first. And this action will give Hungary the most liberal access to the American market for the longest terms possible under our laws.

Fourth, America is prepared to provide your country with access to our Generalized System of Preferences, which offers selective tariff relief. Simply put, these last two measures will allow you to take advantage of the largest single market in the entire world.

And fifth, we've concluded a draft agreement to authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporation—OPIC we call it—to operate in Hungary. And once our Senate passes the enabling legislation, OPIC will be able to provide insurance to encourage American investment in private enterprises in Hungary. Through OPIC, American business executives will see firsthand the great opportunity of Hungary. Private investment is critical for Hungary. It means jobs, innovation, progress. But most of all, private investment means a brighter future for your children, a brighter future for Hungary.

And yet economic progress cannot be at the expense of the air we breathe and the water we drink. Six weeks ago, in Mainz, I proposed cooperation between East and West on environmental issues. And that is why I will ask the United States Congress to appropriate \$5 million to establish an International Environmental Center for central and eastern Europe, to be based right here in Budapest, which will bring together private and government experts and organizations to address the ecological crisis. After all, our shared heritage is the Earth. And the fate of the Earth transcends borders; it isn't just an East-West issue. Hungary has

led eastern and central Europe in addressing the concerns of your citizens for cleaner air and water. And now you can do even more, working with the West to build a bridge of technical and scientific cooperation.

Along these lines, I am also pleased to announce that the United States has proposed an agreement between our two countries to establish scientific and technical cooperation in the basic sciences and in specific areas, including the environment, medicine, and nuclear safety.

It is my hope that this visit will also lead to a wider exchange between East and West so our scientists, our artists, and our environmentalists can learn from one another; so that our soldiers and statesmen can discuss peace; and our students—God bless them—can discuss the future.

But to discuss anything requires a common language. The teaching of the English language is one of the most popular American exports. And 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 open the global market to more Hungarians, I am pleased to announce that the Peace Corps will, for the first time, operate in a European country. And our Peace Corps instructors will come to Budapest and all 19 counties to teach English.

And in such exchanges, we want to help you in your quest for a new beginning as a democratic Hungary. So, the United States is also committing more than \$6 million to cultural and educational opportunities in eastern Europe. We will make available funds for a series of major new U.S.-Hungarian exchange programs—among Congressmen and legislative experts; among labor business leaders; among legal experts; among community leaders, educators, and young people. We are creating dozens of fellowships to enable Hungarians to study at American universities. And we will fund endowed chairs in American studies at your universities, and books—many thousands of them—to fill the shelves of your new International Management Center and the libraries of schools and universities across Hungary.

And the United States will also open, within the next several years, an American House in the center of Budapest. Today the celebrated American architect Robert Stern is releasing his design for this center, which will be an open house of books, magazines, and video cassettes—an open house of ideas.

And so, in conclusion, in economic reform and democratic change, in cultural and environmental cooperation, there are great opportunities and great challenges. Hungary has a lot of work ahead, and so do the United States and Hungary, working together to build this better future—dynamic future.

Your challenge is enormous and historic: to build a structure of political change and decentralized economic enterprise on the ruins of a failed Stalinist system. And given the opportunity to show your characteristic initiative, creativity, and resourcefulness, I believe that the Hungarian people will meet the challenge. You stand on the threshold of a new era of economic development and, yes, political change.

And I believe with all my heart that you are ready to meet the future. I see a country well on the way. I see a country rich in human resources—rich in the moral courage of its people. I see a nation transcending its past and reaching out to its destiny. I congratulate you for having come so far.

And let us be equal to the opportunity that lies before us. Let us have history write of us that we were the generation that made Europe whole and free.

Thank you all. God bless each and every one of you. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:35 p.m. in Aula Hall at the university. In his remarks, he referred to Bruno Straub, President of Hungary's Presidential Council; Prime Minister Miklós Németh; Csaba Csaki, rector of the university; and Imre Nagy, former Hungarian Prime Minister and leader of the 1956 uprising against Soviet domination of Hungary. Prior to his remarks, the President participated in a discussion with students at the Old Prison on Castle Hill.

White House Fact Sheet on the United States Program in Support of Hungarian Reforms

July 12, 1989

Hungary has entered a period of dynamic political and economic change. President Bush announced several measures to support Hungary's already considerable efforts to develop private enterprise and a freer political system.

CONCERTED WESTERN ACTION FOR HUNGARY AND POLAND

Proposal

The President is proposing that nations of the Summit Seven intensify their concerted action to support economic reforms based on political pluralism in Hungary and Poland. Complementary efforts by leading industrial democracies will provide a powerful impetus to economic recovery and progress in these nations as they face a turning point. Other interested countries could contribute to this process as well.

Scope

Efforts will involve work with the Hungarian and Polish Governments and with other official and independent organizations in those countries to gather information and provide feedback on issues of mutual concern. Involved governments will also work as appropriate with representatives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, European Communities Commission, and other multilateral and private sector institutions.

Specific issues addressed could include:

- Needed economic reforms;
- Timing and conditions for new credits; and
- Concrete support for privatization and private business, environmental projects, management and training initiatives, social safety nets to accompany restructuring, housing, etc.

These efforts would not undercut or replace existing institutions such as the World Bank, Paris Club or IMF.

Next Steps

The President will discuss this proposal in Paris with the leaders of the other Summit

spond formally when the negotiations resume in Vienna in September.

At the May 29-30 NATO summit meeting, the alliance agreed on a far-reaching conventional arms control proposal which has now been incorporated into the NATO CFE proposal. It has the following elements:

- To lock in Eastern acceptance of the proposed Western limits on tanks (20,000 for each side) and armored troop carriers (28,000 for each side) and artillery pieces (from 16,500 to 24,000 for each side, depending on the resolution of questions about definitions). Equipment reduced would be destroyed. This provision would oblige the East to destroy tens of thousands of weapon systems and eliminate its preponderance in these important components of military strength.
- That the West expand its current proposal to extend, for the first time, the concept of conventional arms control to all land-based combat aircraft and helicopters in the Atlantic-to-the-Urals (ATTU) area to a level 15 percent below the current NATO total.
- To establish a manpower ceiling of 275,000 each on U.S. and Soviet ground and air forces stationed outside of their respective national territory in the ATTU zone. The United States would take a 20-percent cut in combat manpower in U.S. stationed forces, with a resulting ceiling in U.S. and Soviet ground and air forces stationed outside of national territory in the Atlantic-to-the-Urals zone of approximately 275,000 each. This manpower ceiling will require the Soviets to reduce their forces in Eastern Europe by about 325,000. The soldiers and air personnel withdrawn on both sides would be demobilized.

The updated NATO proposal to be tabled on July 13 will in addition state that in the case of combat aircraft, each side would have no more than 5,700 aircraft. In the case of combat helicopters, each side would have no more than 1,900 helicopters.

NATO is proposing an accelerated timetable for reaching and implementing a CFE agreement along the above lines. The allies

would like to reach an agreement within 6 to 12 months and accomplish the reductions by 1992 or 1993. By tabling details of the Western proposal now, the allies demonstrate their commitment to giving greater momentum to the CFE negotiations.

Remarks at the Departure Ceremony in Budapest, Hungary

July 13, 1989

Thank you, Mr. President. To distinguished leaders, Mr. Nyers, Mr. Grósz, Mr. Németh, and others that came to see us off, my profound thanks for the warmth of the hospitality to Barbara and me.

I was the first Vice President of the United States to visit your country 6 years ago, but now I'm especially honored to be the first American President to come to this beautiful land. During the past 2 days, we've met with Hungarians from every walk of life. I saw many thousand wet Hungarians turning out there at Kossuth Square, that Square a reminder of the sacrifices of Hungary's past. And at Parliament, I met with the political leaders of the present: leaders who have the courage to call for an historic election. And at Karl Marx University, I saw the hopeful face of Hungary's future and announced a series of American actions to engage my country more deeply in the future. But throughout, at every single event, I felt a deepening of the friendship between the American and Hungarian people.

In just a moment we're going to leave for Paris for an economic summit with Western leaders. And this will be an historic moment for Europe, for the nations of the economic community are moving steadily toward economic integration in 1992. And this should mean more than just a vast trade opportunity for Hungary. As your economy modernizes, you will play an even greater role in the evolution of a new Europe, a Europe that is whole and free.

While in Paris, we shall also celebrate the independence of that nation and the declaration of the rights of man. But these rights are not French, nor are they American. You are proving here in the heartland of Europe

July 13 / Administration of George Bush, 1989

that the rights of man are the proper birth-right of us all.

Thank you for a wonderful visit, for an unforgettably warm welcome. God bless you, and God bless Hungary.

Note: The President spoke at 8:45 a.m. at Budapest Airport. In his opening remarks, he referred to Bruno Straub, President of Hungary's Presidential Council; Rezső Nyers and Károly Grósz, Chairman and General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, respectively; and Prime Minister Miklós Németh.

Interview With Members of the White House Press Corps July 13, 1989

The President's Trip to Poland and Hungary

Q. You had a whole complement of jogging—

The President. I know it. They told me that one of—the girl on my right that—pretty looking—she claims to be the 250th in the world in tennis. And she's struggling and trying to—it's so wonderful—practices 8 hours every day. And she's a pretty—

Q. —on red clay?

The President. Yes, on that—on red clay over there, yes. And then the kids are in a—they train for what they call their national games or something there. The one that spoke the English, her dad was a coach in Kuwait. And she learned her English over there, and she's a high jumper. But anyway, it was fun. It was—

Q. —a good mood?

The President. Good mood. This visit to Hungary—well, Poland also—but both of them were very, very moving. And I just come away with this real acute sense now of the change that's taking place in Eastern Europe and a determination to play a constructive role in that change. The meetings with these Hungarian leaders—the most recent visit—were very good, very frank.

I've been to, what, 77, 79 countries, or something, as Vice President. And these talks were more than just diplomatic. I

mean, you didn't rely on the printed card, and they didn't. I mean, they spoke right from the heart. They said what they thought. They made clear the difficulties that they were facing. And I tried to do the same thing. There was something very special and warm and personal about the meetings in both Poland and Hungary.

Q. Do you think you made a difference?

Q. I realize it wouldn't have been diplomatic for any of those leaders to say so, but did you hear any complaints in either place about the sufficiency of the packages you brought?

The President. No, and I think you're right: There may be a reason that they wouldn't say so. But I heard none at all, not one. And in fact, Walesa [Solidarity leader], who had been reported to be asking for \$10 billion, moved off of that and said that what they wanted were more banks to come in that would loan those kinds of money.

There was a paper written by a *Solidarność* economist that had the figure of \$10 billion and had broken it down into X-number of dollars from the World Bank, X from the IMF [International Monetary Fund], X—and it added up to \$10 billion. But there was no pressure of that nature. And then I see that subsequently Walesa was in the paper today or yesterday saying that there had not been a disappointment.

But I think they understand that we are restricted in what we can do in terms of aid, or dollars of support, for some very worthy project. The thing that's impressive is the determination on the part of all these leaders to move towards economic freedom and political freedom.

It was so clear in Poland. General Jaruzelski [Chairman of the Polish Council of State], who has had an image in the States earlier on that was not a very favorable one, is really out front in the reforms. And conversations were very warm and very frank with him. We'd talk about differences, but we'd also talk about common objectives. And he went out of his way to be hospitable. And then the same thing on the—what you'd call the private sector side—Lech Welesa down there.


So—and the same was true here. We met with the leaders and, then again, the opposition. And then they were all together at a

WHITE HOUSE ARRIVAL CEREMONY
FOR PRIME MINISTER ANTALL
PRESIDENT'S REMARKS

It is a tremendous pleasure to welcome Prime Minister Antall and his wife Clara to the White House today. I am honored to greet the leader of a country which has played such a vital role in the dramatic transformation of Europe over the past year.

As you know, Mr. Prime Minister, I was in Budapest a little over a year ago, in July of 1989. The people of Hungary gave me a marvelously warm welcome, even though it was pouring rain when we arrived. I was so moved by the crowd's enthusiasm that I tore up my speech. But I'm not going to tear up this one, which should make the White House speechwriters happy.

The arrival of the first democratically elected Prime Minister of Hungary in over 40 years is an historic event. The


reestablishment of democratic institutions there means that Hungary is no longer an emerging democracy -- Hungary is a democracy. Prime Minister Antall heads the government of a sovereign, pluralistic, democratic European state. The dream of Hungarians to form a western system of government has been fulfilled and indeed, carried beyond their own borders to other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. 

But democracy is not new to Hungarians. Hungary developed parliamentary practices several centuries before these emerged in other European countries. Hungarians have steadfastly retained their love of freedom, as demonstrated by their heroic struggle in 1956 under the leadership of the great Hungarian patriot Imre Nagy. Now, in 1990, Hungary has returned to its natural place as a valued partner in the western world.

The United States welcomes Hungary's return to a free and open society. My Administration has taken several actions to recognize Hungary's new status. We have removed travel controls on Hungary's diplomats at the United Nations and agreed to the establishment of a Consulate General in Los Angeles. In addition, as further recognition of the development of closer ties between our two countries, the United States and Hungary have liberalized our visa regulations. As of November 1st, Hungary will no longer require visas for American tourists. In return, the United States will not charge visa fees for Hungarian tourists.

When I visited Budapest, I saw that despite over 40 years of communist rule, Hungarians had never forgotten their love of freedom, their individuality, their entrepreneurial spirit. I saw this in the careful craftsmanship of their small industries, in the bountiful harvests from family farms, in the pride of scientists in their work.

American businessmen can learn from this Hungarian commitment to excellence. A number of American companies already have demonstrated their faith in Hungary's economic potential. General Electric is making lightbulbs in a joint venture with a Hungarian firm. General Motors is producing auto parts in Hungary. Partnerships with Hungarian businessmen and investment in Hungary are in the United



States' best interest. I encourage more American businessmen to find out what Hungary has to offer. You will not be disappointed.

Prime Minister Antall's government has demonstrated its determination to integrate Hungary into the West by developing an ambitious economic reform program. I am confident that this program will succeed. It will succeed because Hungarians understand the importance of competing in the international marketplace on a par with developed nations. Hungarians have no desire to hide behind price supports and protected markets.

This is not to say that the price of economic reform is cheap. But the benefits of a truly free market economy far outweigh the temporary pain. The United States stands firmly behind Hungary's reform efforts and has offered material and technological support. The Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund has announced its first investment in a joint venture to market office automation equipment. To further demonstrate our commitment, my Administration has asked the Congress for a \$300 million economic aid package for Eastern Europe in fiscal year 1991.

We recognize the tremendous difficulties which Hungary and other countries in the region face due to the Iraqi Embargo and recent rise in energy prices and to the switch to hard currency trade with the Soviet Union. The United States is working with our European and Japanese friends to try to ease the pain of this burden on the Central and East European people.

We are urging the other states of the G-7 to make more resources available through the International Monetary Fund and its Contingency and Contingency Fund Facility. We have taken the lead in seeking a more active role by the World Bank, the International Energy Agency and the Organization of Developed Countries.

We are witnessing in Europe today dramatic developments

which no one would have thought possible a year ago. The bloc system which divided East and West Europe has broken down. Traditional rivalries upon which we built security systems for the past 40 years have died as the United States and the Soviet Union forge relations based on new found common interests.

Rapid change always brings with it some uncertainty about the future. But let me say that the United States remains firmly committed to building partnerships with all the countries of Europe. We are not prepared to see the development of a new system of buffer zones or "little ententes." And the United States will not retreat to the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. We have been a partner of Europe for most of this century, and we intend to remain so.

The United States believes that Hungary and the other new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe should be integrated into the West. We support affiliate status for Hungary in the OECD, the Common Market and the European Free Trade Association, or EFTA.

I look forward to the opportunity for extensive talks with Prime Minister Antall about these and other issues. I believe we will find that our views have a great deal in common.

Thank you all very much for coming here today.

PRESIDENT'S TOAST
FOR PRIME MINISTER ANTALL

Mr. Prime Minister and members of the Hungarian delegation, it is a tremendous pleasure to welcome you to the White House this evening. As I look around this room, I see why Americans feel so enriched by our long friendship with the Hungarian people. Hungarian-Americans have made an extraordinary contribution to the political, scientific and cultural life of the United States.

When I was in Budapest last year, I was given a piece of the Iron Curtain. I keep it on my desk as a constant reminder of the momentous changes which have taken place in Europe over the past year. And Hungary has been at the forefront of these changes. Hungary's decision to open its borders started the process which led to tearing down the Berlin Wall.

Mr. Prime Minister, I am reminded tonight of how many similarities there are between Hungarians and Americans. We share, above all, a steadfast commitment to a free and open society. A free press flourishes in both countries -- testimony to our shared belief in free speech. Members of the Hungarian Parliament engage in intense, sometimes heated debate, just as their colleagues in the U.S. Congress do.

Hungary, like America, is a pluralistic society. We share a common commitment to the value of diversity. We believe that a symphony with many different themes is richer than one in which every instrument plays the same tune.

Another important similarity between Hungarians and Americans is the entrepreneurial spirit of the people. For more than 40 years of communist rule, Hungarians never let their pride in their work die. Hungarians and Americans are bound together by a pride of craftsmanship and a sense of accomplishment in one's own achievement.

No one better personifies the ties between Hungarians and Americans than the great Hungarian-American patriot Lajos (Lawosh) Kossuth (Ko'soot), who came to New York City in 1851. Americans affectionately called Kossuth the "Hungarian Washington." His vision of an independent Hungary based on individual freedom struck a chord with Americans who had fought for their own freedom only seventy five years earlier.

If Lajos Kossuth could be here with us tonight, he would see that his dream of a free and democratic Hungary has been fulfilled. And he would know that this new day in Hungary's history is the result of the Hungarian people's determination to live in freedom. Your presence here tonight, Mr. Prime Minister, bears testimony to Hungary's new role as a sovereign member of the growing community of free nations.

Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to propose a toast to freedom and democracy in Hungary and to the enduring bonds of friendship between the Hungarian and American people.

WASHFAX RECEIPT
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

19 OCT 1990

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MESSAGE NO. 057050 CLASSIFICATION Confidential No. Pages 28
 FROM: Carol Thompson EUR/EEY 5219
 (Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)
 MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Josef Antall Bio

TO: (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	Extension	Room No.
<u>White House</u>	<u>Bob Simon - Speechwriter's Office</u>	<u>456-7750</u>	

FOR: CLEARANCE INFORMATION PER REQUEST COMMENT

REMARKS: _____

S/S Officer: SM

Jozsef ANTALL
(Phonetic: AWNtall)

HUNGARY

Prime Minister (since 23 May 1990)

Addressed as: Mr. Prime Minister

Jozsef Antall, the President of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), sees himself as a bridge between Hungary's pre-Communist traditions and post-Communist political future. A historian and son of a postwar government minister, he wrested control of the party from its nationalist/populist wing at a congress in October 1989. He has since described the MDF as a Christian Democratic party with strong liberal elements. By all accounts, Antall is sharp, serious, and well-informed; he has never held elective office, however, and his ability to hold together the governing coalition—which consists of the MDF, the Independent Smallholders' Party, and the Christian Democratic People's Party—will be a true test of his leadership. (C NF)



The depth of Antall's political skills—the subject of some debate in the months since he took command of the MDF—was revealed in negotiations that preceded the inaugural session of the National Assembly on 2 May 1990. He has made no secret of his dislike for the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), the Budapest-based group of Western-leaning intellectuals and former dissidents who make up the second-largest party in the Assembly. Nonetheless, Antall engineered an agreement with his rivals that ensured the election of an SZDSZ member, writer Arpad Goncz, as state president, in exchange for concessions that will facilitate the government's ability to pass important legislation. The SZDSZ will also have a voice in important government appointments. (C NF)

Economic Policy

Although Antall is not an economist, he does have some sensible ideas about the economy, according to US Embassy officials. He has called for extensive privatization in agriculture, industry, and trade and has said that Hungary cannot solve its economic problems without Western aid and investment. He has also promised to avoid a rescheduling of Hungary's massive foreign debt, thereby maintaining the country's creditworthiness. Antall reportedly favors, but has not yet defined, a welfare program to help the unemployed and other victims of restructuring. He has predicted that it will take five to eight years for the economic reforms that are currently being enacted to yield positive results. (C NF)

Relations with the United States

Antall is reported to be well-versed in European affairs. He lacks knowledge of US interests and attitudes but has gone out of his way recently to express his desire for a warm relationship with the United States. At an election rally in April 1990 he spoke of an "organic interconnection of a united Europe and North America that has been proven by two world wars." He skipped a summit of Hungarian, Czechoslovak, and Polish officials in Bratislava in April to meet with a delegation of US senators. (C NF)

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Career Data

Antall was born in Budapest on 8 April 1932. He earned a doctorate in history from Lorand Eotvos University in the late 1940s and went to work as a secondary school teacher and librarian. In October 1956, during the Hungarian people's uprising against Communist rule, he participated in the reorganization of the previously outlawed Independent Smallholders' Party. After Soviet troops intervened, he was arrested and imprisoned. Released under a general amnesty in 1963, Antall embarked on the study of medical history, a field that he decided was "less prone to the Communists' distortions." He eventually became director of the Semmelweiss Medical Museum and Library in Budapest. (U)

Personal Data

Antall is a member of several national and international scientific organizations and has published more than 300 political and historical studies. He is nearly fluent in German and does not speak English. Antall's courtly, gentlemanly manner reportedly masks a biting, sarcastic wit. He is married and has at least one son, a lawyer. (C NF)

24 May 1990

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HUNGARY

213

Words by
FERENC KÖLCSEY (1790-1838)

Music by
FERENC ERKEL (1810-1893)
Arr. by HENRY COLEMAN

Andante maestoso

mf *dim.* *poco rit.*

Red. *

p

Is - ten áldd meg a ma - gyart Jó kedv - vel bő -
God bless the Hun - gar - i - ans, Give them joy and

a tempo

C. al Fine

- ség - gel. Nyújts fe - lè - je vé - dő" kart,
plen - ty, Pro - tect their bat - tal - i - ons

Ferenc Erkel was the creator of the Hungarian romantic Grand Opera. From 1875-1886 he was Director of the National Academy of Music, and he founded in 1867 the National Association of Hungarian Choirs. This was awarded first prize in a national competition in 1844 when it was officially adopted.

mf

Ha küzd el - len - ség - - - - - gel. Bal - sors a - kit
 When they fight the en - e - my. Lift their sor - rows

cresc.

ré - gen tég, Hozz re - a vig esz - ten - döt.
 and their tears, Bring them hap - py prosperous years.

cresc.

f

Meg - bün - hód - te már e nép A múl - tat sjö - ven -
 All its past and fut - ure sins This peo - ple has a -

döt.
-toned.

mf *p*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 18, 1990

FACT SHEET

U.S. ASSISTANCE TO HUNGARY

1. Food aid

- In order to help meet Hungary's grain needs during this drought period, the U.S. has offered \$47.5 million in new credits and loan guarantees for Hungary. \$40 million consists of official U.S. guarantees for 7-year commercial credits for U.S. commodities, and \$7.5 million are long-term credits on highly concessional items. These credits, taken together, should meet more than half of Hungary's estimated grain shortfall of 800,000 tons.
- We will also be working closely with our G-24 colleagues to meet Hungary's food assistance needs.

2. Energy Assistance

- The U.S. is asking the International Monetary Fund to increase its lending to the countries of the region by as much as \$5 billion, modifying its lending policies as appropriate. We will also ask the World Bank to accelerate its assistance in the energy field, drawing on the \$9 billion now committed, or planned for, Central and Eastern Europe.
- We are providing direct bilateral aid for "quick fix" energy efficiency projects, and cooperation with the IBRD, IEA, and EC in a regional energy efficiency project. These are designed to help Hungary overcome the short and medium term energy crises.
- We are also providing longer-term assistance on energy conservation, energy efficiency, clean coal technology, and nuclear safety; all crucial to Hungary if it is to overcome the effects of the energy crisis caused by reduced Soviet shipments, high world market prices, and the unavailability of promised supplies from Iraq.

- more -

3. Major Continuing U.S. Initiatives

- Enterprise Fund: The Hungarian-U.S. Enterprise Fund, launched on March 30, is fully operational and had \$5 million available in FY'90 for loans and grants to stimulate private business formation. We plan a substantial funding increase for FY'91. The Fund's total lending authority should ultimately reach \$60 million.
- Environment: The U.S.-sponsored Regional Environmental Center in Budapest was formally inaugurated September 6. The original \$1.6 million of U.S. funding was leveraged to attract substantial contributions from other G-24 members, increasing its activities many fold. Numerous environmental programs are already underway.

4. Technical and Educational Assistance

- The U.S. is sponsoring business and management training to prepare a new generation of Hungarians to run a market economy.
- U.S. programs which would help telecommunications systems, which are vitally needed for international business, have also begun.
- A full time U.S. advisor, and \$250,000 in computer equipment provided to the State Property Agency, have been provided to help in privatizing large segments of the Hungarian economy.
- The U.S. is funding technical advice in financial services and banking by the SEC and the Financial Services Volunteer Corps.
- 58 Peace Corps volunteers are already training English teachers, and supporting small business development.
- Technical assistance is being given by AID for privatizing public housing.
- The U.S. is also providing technical assistance to design and fund major infrastructure projects, possibly to include energy, transportation, and communication.

5. Democracy Initiatives

- Several groups of new Hungarian parliamentarians have been brought to U.S. for training, and technical advice being provided to establish a parliamentary research service and for legislative staff services.
- We have provided computers and other high-tech equipment to the Hungarian Parliament. This will give all parliamentarians equal access to a large data base and will assist them in drafting new legislation.
- Rule of law programs designed to assist in drafting new criminal and civil codes, and administrative procedures. Help in setting up an independent judiciary and a more civil rights oriented police authority.
- Over one million dollars have been provided for other democratic initiatives, including election training, support for opposition parties and for building democratic institutions.

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DOUG GAMBLE

Oct. 11/90

90 OCT 11 424 - 36th Place
Malibu Beach, CA 90266
(213) 546-6409

TO: STEPHANIE LAUDNER

PRIME MINISTER OF HUNGARY (Ed McNally)

YOU MAY RECALL, MR. PRIME MINISTER, THAT WHEN I WAS IN BUDAPEST LAST JULY, RAINY WEATHER CAUSED ME TO RIP UP MY SPEECH. I HAVE TO ADMIT THERE WERE SOME IN THIS COUNTRY WHO WERE DISAPPOINTED IT WASN'T THE START OF A TREND.

(BAD WEATHER) YOU MAY RECALL, MR. PRIME MINISTER, THAT WHEN I WAS IN HUNGARY LAST JULY, POURING RAIN CAUSED ME TO RIP UP MY SPEECH. JUDGING BY THE WEATHER THAT HAS GREETED YOU TODAY, I'M AFRAID THE WASHINGTON WEATHERMAN ISN'T ANY MORE OF A SPEECH FAN THAN THE BUDAPEST WEATHERMAN WAS.

(GOOD WEATHER) YOU MAY RECALL, ETC.

SINCE WE HAVE BEAUTIFUL WEATHER TODAY, I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THIS DOESN'T MEAN MY SPEECH WILL BE TWICE AS LONG, TO MAKE UP FOR BUDAPEST.

593-1352

To: Stephane
Blessey
fr: Dr.

Dr. Elmer Bako
810 Loxford Terrace
Silver Spring, Md. 20901

Abroad in America:

Visitors to the New Nation

1776-1914

Edited and with an Introduction by

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13

Louis Kossuth

1802-1894

by *Elemer Bako*

Yes, Gentlemen, either America will regenerate the condition of the old world, or it will be degenerated by the condition of the old world.

—*Speech delivered in
Concord, Massachusetts, May 11, 1852*

ELEMER BAKO, born in Hungary, is the Finno-Ugrian Area Specialist at the Library of Congress. A linguist, bibliographer, and cultural historian, Dr. Bako has taught at the universities of Debrecen (Hungary), Munich, and at Columbia University.

IN A SERMON preached on Thanksgiving Day, November 27, 1851, the Reverend Joseph P. Thompson, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church in New York, issued this greeting:

Thou Noble Magyar!

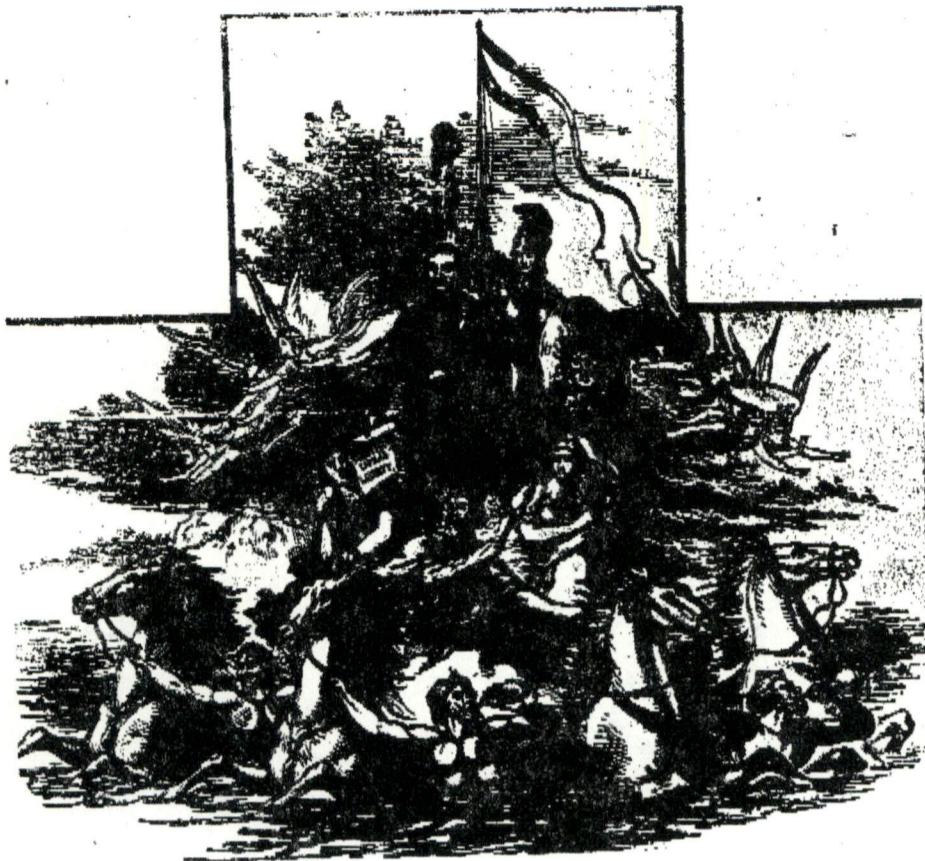
We welcome thee for thine own sake and thy country's. . . . We know the heroism that for years bore up in thy far banishment, the cause of Hungary before the world and God. We welcome thee to a dominion over free hearts that honor virtue, truth and liberty. . . . In thy own tongue we bid thee welcome. Éljen! Isten Hozta! Kossuth!

The person thus addressed was not present; owing to stormy weather, his ship was still out on the ocean. But his fame had preceded him: the newspapers were already filled with accounts of his heroic efforts to preserve Hungary's first constitutional government against the overwhelming military power of the Austrian and Russian Empires. The bloodbath that had followed the imperial victory earned worldwide contempt for the two emperors. Concerted efforts were made by the United States, England, and France, directed by Secretary of State Daniel Webster and his British counterpart Lord Palmerston, to rescue Louis Kossuth and his compatriots who had taken refuge in Turkey. Deeply grateful, Kossuth, throughout his life, urged the "two Anglo-Saxon nations" to liquidate their historical differences and to join forces against despotism everywhere in the world.

Louis Kossuth (in Hungarian, Kossuth Lajos), a Protestant, was born in 1802 in the northern part of Hungary, to a prominent family. The generation of young reformers who emerged in Hungary in the beginning of the nineteenth century, under the influence of Count István Széchenyi, founder of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1825, soon accepted Louis Kossuth as their leader. After the gross betrayal of Hungary on the part of Metternich's Austria, he rose to national prominence. When others began to hesitate, Kossuth did not, and was soon elected by the embattled representatives of the nation as a "Governor-President" after the House of Hapsburg was dethroned on April 14, 1849.

Kossuth tried to direct the government of his nation toward the American model. His love for America had its roots in his youth. Among his most important guides to American life, history, and institutions were two works: the Hungarian translation of Alexis de Tocqueville's *La démocratie en Amérique*, which followed the publication of the original by just a few years, and an enthusiastic account of a journey to the United States in 1831 and 1832 by Sándor Bölöni Farkas. After Kossuth became President, the United States Government, and particularly Secretary of State Daniel Webster, enthusiastically took up the cause of the "American model at the Lower Danube." A young Transylvanian, Count Samuel Wass, Kossuth's personal emissary, was tacitly permitted to set up "Committees for Hungary" in the summer of 1849 throughout the United States; at one of these meetings, in Springfield, Illinois, a resolution was passed, upon Abraham Lincoln's recommendation, to recognize Hungarian independence.

After the struggle had been lost, Kossuth was finally able to visit the country which had fostered his ideal and then had rescued him from his exile in Turkey. Upon disembarking at Staten Island from the Mississippi frigate which the American government had dispatched to Istanbul, Kossuth expressed his gratitude to his hosts:



Kossuth Attended by the Spirits of Freedom and History and the Guardian Genius of Hungary, with his Own Good Angel Calmly Bearing him through Space to America, by an unidentified artist, wood engraving, from Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion, December 27, 1851. The Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.

In December 1851, Kossuth sailed into the New York harbor a hero. Americans, feeling a kinship with the Hungarians in their effort to win freedom and constitutional liberty, hoped to see, in the words of Daniel Webster, an "American model at the Lower Danube."

The United States of America . . . declared by this unparalleled act their resolve to become the protectors of human rights. . . . Others spoke, you acted, and I was free! . . . At this act of yours tyrants trembled, humanity shouted with joy, the Magyar nation, crushed but not broken, raised its head with resolution and with hope, and the brilliancy of your stars was greeted by Europe's oppressed millions as the morning star of liberty.

Kossuth had his official welcome two days later when he was escorted by a deputation of prominent New Yorkers aboard the steamer *Vanderbilt*, amidst the salvos of the nearby forts and the cheers of the throngs on nearby ships. Castle Garden was filled with thousands of people, waiting for the procession which formed at the Battery. As the procession moved up Broadway, Kossuth, standing up in an open carriage, his feathered Hungarian hat (soon very fashionable wear for many thousands of liberal Americans, and called a "Kossuth hat") in his right hand, escorted by some of his Hun-



KOSSUTH'S ENTRANCE ON THE BATTERY FROM CASTLE GARDEN.

Kossuth's Entrance on the Battery from Castle Garden, by Edward B. Purcell, wood engraving, in *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, December 27, 1851. The Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.

Kossuth was welcomed by a group of prominent New Yorkers on the steamboat *Vanderbilt*, to the salute of cannon and the cheers of thousands aboard ships filling the harbor. Later, accompanied by his Hungarian Hussar officers on horseback, he led a procession up Broadway, standing in an open carriage and waving his befeathered hat. It was a military spectacle reputed to be "the finest ever seen in the city."

garian Hussar officers on horseback, created a lasting impression. "The military display," it was later reported, "was undoubtedly the finest ever seen in our city. . . . Taken all in all, New York never before gave such a generous ovation to either fellow-countryman or stranger."

Kossuth's response to this generous welcome was given in several major addresses, beginning with the one delivered at the "Corporation Dinner" at Irving House on December 11, in which he pleaded for American intervention in European affairs: "People of the United States, humanity expects that your glorious republic will prove to the world, that republics are founded on virtue,—it expects to see you the guardians of the laws of humanity."

In a country whose independence had been secured by the intervention of another country (France), Kossuth's plea was irresistible. "There is," he insisted, "a striking resemblance between your course and that of my country." Kossuth's request for American support stemmed from his belief in the universal applicability of the American principle:

that all races are capable of a noble development under noble institutions. Give freedom to the Celt, the Slavon, or the Italian, or whatever other people, give them freedom and independence, establish among them the great principle of local self-government and . . . they will in due time ripen into all the excellence and all the dignity of humanity.

After making a number of other speeches and receiving some thirty delegations over several weeks, he left New York on December 23, and went on to Philadelphia and Baltimore, where he reiterated his plea for American help in the restoration of Hungarian liberty in preparation for his bid for official support in Washington. There he would face the powerful lobbies of the embassies of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, who formed a veritable alliance against him.

Arriving in Washington on the 30th, Kossuth was first greeted by President Fillmore at a state dinner on January 3. He was received by both the Senate and by the House of Representatives, an honor which had been previously granted only to Lafayette. After a dinner given for him by Congress on January 7, Kossuth addressed the company; and contrary to custom, "a large number of ladies, anxious to hear the speech of the distinguished Magyar . . . were admitted" (as reported by the Recording Officer of the House). Kossuth emphasized, again, the importance of recent United States actions on behalf of his person and his country. Secretary of State Webster underscored Kossuth's message:

We shall rejoice to see our American model upon the Lower Danube, and on the mountains of Hungary. But that is not the first step. . . . I do not profess to understand the social relations and connections of races, and twenty other things that may affect the political institutions of Hungary. All I say is, that Hungary can regulate these matters for herself infinitely better than they can be regulated for her by Austria, [applause] and therefore I limit my aspirations for Hungary, for the present, to that single and simple point—Hungarian independence. [Mr. Seward: Hungarian independence!—Applause.] Hungarian self-government; Hungarian control of Hungarian destinies. [Renewed applause.] These are the aspirations which I entertain, and I give them to you, therefore, Gentlemen, as a toast.

The evening was also significant for some who had not been invited. Opponents of Hungary's cause moved into action. The most zealous among them was a very unhappy diplomat, Mr. Hülsemann, the Austrian chargé d'affaires who—as reported by the British ambassador—regarded Mr. Webster's toast and sentiment "a distinct manifestation of hostility and disrespect to the Austrian government." In an informal communication, undated, President Fillmore tried to smooth the feelings of Hülsemann by stating his own "sincere desire to maintain cordial and friendly relations with the government of Austria." As he put it, he understood that "Mr. Webster's speech is to be revised," and therefore he, the President, had not "read it" and could "express no opinion upon it." But he did want to say that "Mr. Webster's speech . . . must be regarded as his individual, unofficial opinion, and not as the sentiments of my administration." When Prince Schwarzenberg, the Austrian Foreign Minister, continued to press Hülsemann for the removal of Webster as the only "acceptable satisfaction," the unhappy diplomat took off to the Southern states for some exploration of the American domestic situation on his own.

Kossuth's further itinerary covered the Northeast and the Midwest, where he met with continuing success. According to the January 14 issue of the *New York Herald*, Kossuth's proposal for "intervention for non-intervention" had been, by that time, submitted for consideration in the assemblies of the states of New York, Massachusetts, Maine, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Tennessee, and Alabama. Notes on this tour were taken by the talented, Viennese-educated wife of Francis Pulszky, Kossuth's indefatigable right hand in the organization of his American visit. Therese Pulszky's entry for February 6 was typical:

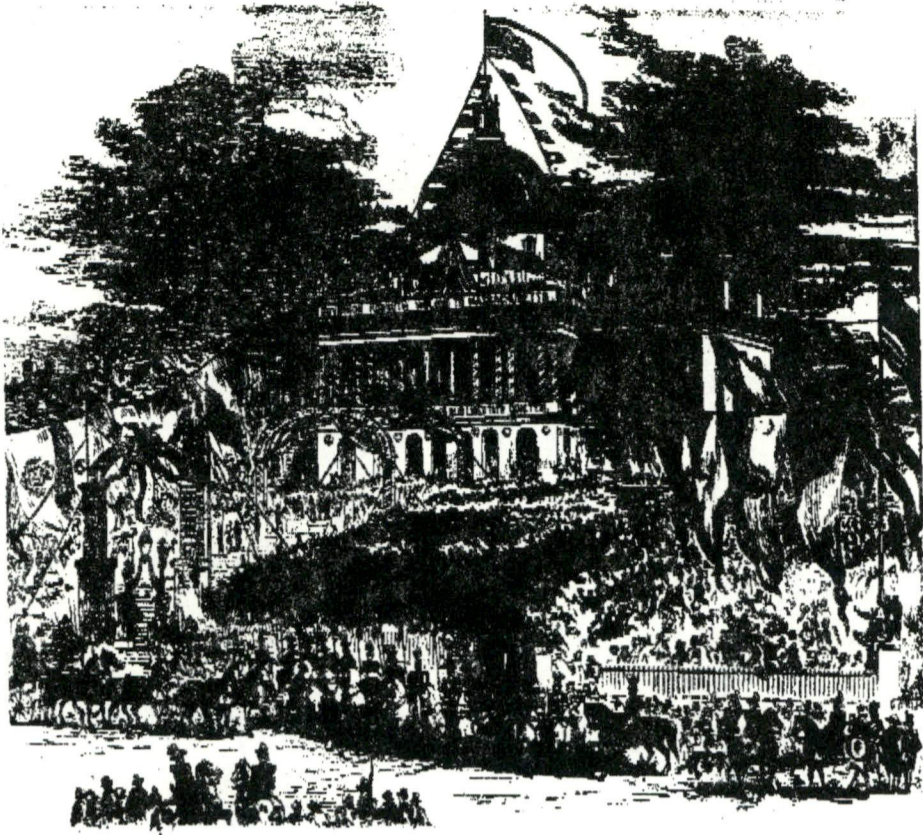
Feb. 6th—On the 4th, we set out from Cleveland in a railway-car gaily adorned, as usually, on our journey. It was fully crowded, so much that I was surprised to read in the paper that it was a special car for us. But the committees that accompanied us were numerous; their wives, children, and relatives liked to participate in the festive trip. . . . We stopped at Beria, Grafton, Lagrange (so called in honour of the country seat of Lafayette in France), at Wellington and New-London. All these embryos of future towns consist of scattered plank-houses, and sketches of streets, paved as yet only with mud. The scenery offered no attraction; the woods around are all young. A tree two centuries old is very rare; they were burnt in the Indian border-warfare, to frighten away the deer, and with them the hunters. . . .

I had an interesting conversation with a German resident of Cleveland, who . . . remarked that sooner or later all the Germans coming to the United



One-dollar bond, Hungarian Fund.
The Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.

As Kossuth swept across the Middle West, the South, and up the East Coast, financial support appeared in the form of "Kossuth Fund dollars." That his American visit had turned into a triumphal procession was reflected in the popularity of the bonds, which were issued for the procurement of ships, armaments, and ammunition in 1, 5, 10, 20, and 100-dollar denominations.



"Governor Kossuth Welcome to Massachusetts," by an unidentified artist, wood engraving, from Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion, May 15, 1852. The Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.

The enthusiasm which greeted Louis Kossuth during his three-week New England tour was dazzling. "Wherever we go," wrote Therese Pulszky, "bells are ringing, guns roar their salvos, the streets are decked in festive colors, banners flutter, and the population throngs in the streets."

States lose their nationality. I told him that I thought that it was because their language and turn of mind are too metaphysical, that they must yield to a practical people. Power has always rested with force and action, not with thought and reasoning.

We dined at Shelby. It was one of those public meals where hundreds of curious eyes devour every one of our glances and our movements, and our appetites into the bargain. The dishes on the table were choice,—a mixture of English, French and German fare; but, as generally in America, they were not cleanly prepared, and therefore not savory. Our party had hardly left the seats, when the public rushed to the table, seized upon the dainties, and made them disappear in an instant.

That same evening, they arrived at Columbus, and there Kossuth delivered his great address, "Democracy, the Spirit of Our Age," to the Ohio Legislature. In it he said:

Almost every century has had one predominant idea which imparted a common direction to the activity of nations. This predominant idea is the spirit of the age, invisible yet omnipresent, impregnable, all-pervading, scorned, abused, opposed and yet omnipotent. The spirit of our age is Democracy. All for the people and all by the people. Nothing about the people without the people.

As Governor Wood requested, the manuscript of this address was left in the care of the State Archives of Ohio.

Kossuth went on to Cincinnati and addressed a banquet honoring Washington's birthday. During his stay there, he was received as a member of the Free and Accepted Masons. His application gives the following description of his residence and profession:

Being an exile for liberty's sake, he has no place of fixed residence; is now staying at Cincinnati; his age is 49 and a half years, his occupation is to restore his native land, Hungary to its national independence and to achieve by community of action with other nations civil and religious liberty in Europe.

[signed] Louis Kossuth.

From February 26 through March 2, the party of the Hungarian leader went to Indianapolis, Indiana, and to Madison, Ohio. At the State House in Indianapolis, Kossuth spoke on the differences between the political systems in Europe and America:

How different the condition of America! It is not men who rule, but the law. And the law is obeyed, because people are respecting the general will by respecting the law. Public office is a place of honor, because it is the field of patriotic devotion. Governments have not the arrogant pretention to be the masters of the people, but have the proud glory to be its faithful servants. A public officer does not cease to be a citizen.

He then traveled South—to St. Louis, where he delivered a splendid address on the fourth anniversary of the bloodless revolution of the Hungarian youth on March 15, 1848 and then on to Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and back to Washington, D. C., on April 13. Visiting Washington's grave at Mount Vernon, Kossuth remarked on the neglected state of "these hallowed grounds" and moved some Protestant clergymen to make it their duty to maintain it.

In late April, Kossuth went to New Jersey and then to New England, the climax of his stay in America. The enthusiasm in Massachusetts, Therese Pulszky wrote, was beyond anything they had yet experienced: "Kossuth's tour resembles a triumphal march. Wherever we go, bells are ringing, guns roar their salvos, the streets are decked in festive colors, banners flutter, and the population throngs in the streets." He delivered three addresses in Boston, and said to an overflowing audience at Faneuil Hall: "It is . . . in the question of foreign policy, that the heart of the immediate future throbs. Security and danger, prosperity and stagnation, peace and war, tranquility and embarrassment, yes, life and death will be weighed in the scale of foreign policy."

In Cambridge, Kossuth met some of the greatest men of America,

among them the dean of the local clergy, Charles Lowell, whose son, the poet James Russell Lowell, wrote in a poem honoring him:

*Thou hast succeeded, thou hast won
the deathly travail's amplest worth,
A nation's duty thou has done,
Giving a hero to our earth.*

Leaving Massachusetts, Kossuth then toured New York state and then, on July 14, he sailed back to England on the steamer *Europe*, in the company of his wife and a few friends.

Many regarded him as defeated in his purpose to secure military and financial assistance for his troops at the Lower Danube, who were waiting to launch an attack for the liberation of Hungary. Washington Irving, for one, foresaw inevitable failure in Kossuth's attempt to move the politicians in their "smoke-filled rooms" to a grand act on behalf of his tortured fatherland. Nevertheless, Kossuth had an impressive number of distinguished supporters, and was given more than mere encouragement. Prominent citizens gave him detailed advice and pledges regarding the procurement of ships, armaments, and ammunition, and financial support in the form of "Kossuth Fund dollars" in denominations of 1, 5, 10, 20, and 100. While traveling through New Haven, on his way to New England, Kossuth had been invited to inspect the plant of the Whitney Arms Manufacturing Company, where he was shown a long row of stands stacked with firearms bearing the inscription "Material Aid for Hungary." Others joined forces with Hungarian officers to set up a munitions plant in New Jersey. In 1860, when there was again hope of Hungarian independence, Colonel Alexander Asboth, Kossuth's former aide-de-camp, and soon a Major General in Abraham Lincoln's army, was able to report "with humble regard for His Excellency, the Governor of Hungary," Louis Kossuth, that he had rifles and ammunition for the leader's planned military actions.

Kossuth, however, was destined to remain in exile for the rest of his life. While he may have become bitter toward some European heads of state, who betrayed him, after having used the Hungarian issue for their own advantage, his sentiments towards the United States, and especially towards the American people never changed. In the preface of his multi-volume recollections, entitled *Emlékeim az emigrációból* (1882; translated "Memories of my Exile"), he recalled his American sojourn as the most cherished, most warmly felt period of his *émigrée* life. Future generations, in both America and Hungary, have regarded Kossuth as the most powerful link between the two nations, a link so powerful and so shining that it has survived every adverse act and turn in history.

Klara

Joseph Buday
619-1205
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on all pronunciations

Smith/McNally/Simon
October 12, 1990
Draft Two (B:HUNGARY.TST)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST FOR PRIME MINISTER ANTALL
THE STATE DINING ROOM
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1990

Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Antall, my Hungarian and American friends: It's a great pleasure and an honor for Barbara and me to welcome you to the White House tonight.

That great poet of Hungary's 1848 Revolution, Sandor Petofi [SHAHN-door PET-too-fee], once wrote: "Let me address you in the name of millions." **And so tonight, Mr. Prime Minister, let me greet you in the name of millions who convey their warmest welcome: The people of the United States.**

As I look around this room, I see why Americans feel so enriched by our long friendship with the Hungarian people. We see this kinship in the nearly two million Americans of Hungarian descent. In giants like nuclear scientist Edward Teller. Or conductor Eugene Ormandy, who proved that music is "the universal language." Or Colonel Kovats [KO-vach], who gave his life for America's struggle for freedom during our own Revolutionary War.

But this kinship isn't one-way: Americans admire Hungarians whose deeds so inspire us. Heroes like the great founder of the Hungarian state, St. Stephen, and great composers like Liszt and Bartok. Or Hungary's many winners of Nobel prizes and Olympic medals. Or that great patriot Janos Hunyadi [YAHN-osh HOON-yah-dee], who more than five centuries ago stopped a foreign invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each Catholic church to ring ~~a~~ ^{its} bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then,

Sandor Horvath
NoA
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Universal
Almanac p. 247
Encyclopedia
Americana
Prominent
Hungarians
see file

Encyclopedia
Americana
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43 in Chem.
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Hungary:
a short history

at noon

in Europe

Catholic church bells all over the world ring at precisely noon.

Heroes, yes -- American, Hungarian. Today, more than ever, this kinship binds the peoples of the United States and Hungary. Our nations are linked by many things: Hard work, the role of community, religious devotion, a fierce love of freedom. And especially during the past two years, your gallantry has evoked our admiration. Your example has been our inspiration.

Patty Presock

When we were in Budapest last year, I was given a piece of the Iron Curtain. I keep it on my desk. Because when Hungary decided to open its borders, it unleashed a force that helped transform Europe and eventually brought down the Berlin Wall.

(a piece of which I keep on my desk.)

If Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shoot] could be with us here tonight, he would see that his dream of a free and democratic Hungary has been fulfilled. And he would see that this new day in Hungary's history is the result of the Hungarian people's determination to live in freedom. Your presence here tonight, Mr. Prime Minister, bears testimony to Hungary's new role as a sovereign member of the new, and growing, partnership of nations.

The darkness lifts. The bell resounds. The light grows brighter by the day. And so, Mr. Prime Minister, let us raise our glasses, and let us raise what Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty." God bless you -- and as your National Anthem proclaims so unforgettably, "God Bless The Hungarians."

Abroad in America
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