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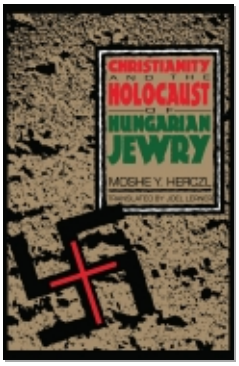
Notes



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Notes

1. The Preparatory Years

1. Jacob Katz, "The Unique Character of Hungarian Jewry," in *Hungarian Jewish Leadership in the Test of the Holocaust,* edited by Israel Gutman, Bela Vago, and Livia Rotkirchen, Jerusalem, 1976, 24. In Hebrew.
2. The spelling of "antisemitism" as a single word is preferable to "anti-semitism." This spelling eliminates the possibility of interpreting the word as indicating the existence of some "semitism" other than the Judaism to which antisemites show hostility. The expression "antisemitism" was coined in the late 1870s to replace "Jew hatred," which certain circles considered uncultured. See Yehuda Bauer, *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective,* Seattle, 1978, 8.
3. The Hungarian expression that was used to describe the legislation against the Jews is "Zsidotorveny." Its literal translation is "Jewish legislation." Since this literal translation lacks the connotation the original Hungarian expression has, I have preferred to use in this book the expression "anti-Jewish legislation," which is closer in significance to the Hungarian original.
4. "The size of the population of Hungary in the seventeenth century may be estimated at three million." *Magyarorszag Torteneti Demografiaja* (The Historical Demography of Hungary), edited by Jozsef Kovacsics, Budapest, 1963, 434.
5. C. A. Macartney, *October Fifteenth: A History of Modern Hungary, 1929–1945,* vol. 1, Edinburgh, 1956–1957, 18.
6. Nathaniel Katzburg, *Antisemitism in Hungary, 1867–1914,* Tel Aviv, 1967, 253. In Hebrew.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., 12.

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10. Ibid., 14–15.
11. Ibid., 16–17.
12. From the introduction compiled by the Hungarian author Mor Jokai to the book by Bela Bernstein, *Az 1848–49i Magyar Szabadsagharc* (The Hungarian War of Liberation of 1848–1849), 1898; quoted in Peter Ujvari, *Magyar Zsido Lexicon* (Hungarian-Jewish Lexicon), 817.
13. Ibid., 987. For the number of Jews that served in the army see also Katzburg, *Antisemitism,* 32, n. 54.
14. Ibid., 33.
15. Ujvari, *Lexicon,* 817.
16. Katzburg, *Antisemitism,* 41.
17. Ibid., 54, 74, 84–86, 171–77.
18. In 1880, there existed throughout Hungary seventy-eight antisemitic organizations. Ibid., 95.
19. Ibid., 55.
20. For the blood libel see Jozsef Bary, *Vizsgalobiro Emlekiratai—A Tiszaeszlari Bunper* (Memoirs of the Investigating Judge—The Criminal Case of Tisza Eszlar), Budapest, 1933; Karoly Eotvos, *A Nagy Per,* n.p., n.d.; Sandor Hegedus, *A Tiszaeszlari Vervad* (The Tisza Eszlar Blood Libel; hereafter Hegedus, *Vervad*), Budapest, 1966; Lajos Marschalko, *Tiszaeszlar: A Magyar Fajvedelem Hoskora* (Tisza Eszlar: The Golden Age of Hungarian Race Defense), Debrecen, 1943.
21. Bary, *Vizsgalobiro,* 48.
22. Ibid., 16.
23. Hegedus, *Vervad,* 67.
24. Ibid., 68.
25. Ibid., 59.
26. Katzburg, *Antisemitism,* 112.
27. Hegedus, *Vervad,* 60.
28. Bary, *Vizsgalobiro,* 114. See also Gyula Verhovay, *Az Orszag Urai* (Lords of the Land), Budapest, 1890, 32–33.
29. Bary, *Vizsgalobiro,* 115.
30. Katzburg, *Antisemitism,* 53. See also Bary, *Vizsgalobiro,* 115–16.
31. Ibid., 116.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., 117.
34. Ibid. See also Katzburg, *Antisemitism,* 115.
35. Ibid., 117.
36. Bary, *Vizsgalobiro,* 570.
37. Ibid. It should be noted that the literal translation of the Hebrew word *shohet* (slaughterer) is *metszo,* but there exists another word, *sakter,* which is merely the Hungarian form of the Hebrew *shohet.* In the Hungarian vernacular use is made of the word *sakter* to ridicule that occupation and, by association, those who have need of it. Both Bary and the antisemitic

periodicals, including the clerical one, made consistent and sole use of the term *sakter* throughout the trial and in its wake.

38. Ibid., 576.
39. Ibid., 583.
40. Marschalko, *Fajvedelem,* 206.
41. Hegedus, *Vervad,* 193.
42. Katzburg, *Antisemitism,* 144.
43. Ibid., 141–51.
44. Hegedus, *Vervad,* 128. The archbishop consistently read the antisemitic periodical *Fuggetlenseg.* Marschalko, *Fajvedelem,* 228.
45. Bary, *Vizsgalobiro,* 434.
46. Katzburg, *Antisemitism,* 160.
47. Ibid.
48. Marschalko, *Fajvedelem,* 246.
49. Ibid., 224.
50. Ibid., 235–36.
51. Bary, *Vizsgalobiro,* 603.
52. Marschalko, *Fajvedelem,* 227.
53. Gyula Verhovay, *Alarcz Nelkul* (Without a Mask), 9–10, 54. Marschalko, *Fajvedelem,* 3–4.
55. See Nathaniel Katzburg, "The Struggle of Hungarian Jewry for Equal Religious Rights in the Nineties of the Nineteenth Century," in *Zion: A Quarterly for the Study of Jewish History* (hereafter Katzburg, *Struggle*), vol. 22, Jerusalem, 1957, 119–21. In Hebrew. For sources see ibid., n. 6. See also Jeno Gergely, *A Puspoki Kar Tanacskozasai: A Magyar Katolikus Puspokok Konferenciainak Jegyzokonyveibol* (Debates of Synod of Bishops: From the Protocols of the Conferences of Catholic Hungarian Bishops, 1919–1944; hereafter Gergely, *PPK*), 20–21.
56. Katzburg, *Antisemitism,* 164.
57. Katzburg, *Struggle,* 124, 133–34. The memoranda are in the Royal Archives in Vienna.
58. Ibid., 136, according to an item appearing in a Jewish newspaper in the German language on June 28, 1895: "The priests read out the pastoral letters in their churches, adding some suitable preaching of their own. This preaching was so impressive that it was not quickly forgotten by the believers, who continued to discuss the subject outside the churches as well." Lajos Venetianer, *A Magyar Zsidosag Tortenete* (The History of Hungarian Jewry; hereafter Venetianer, *Zsidosag*), Budapest, 1986, 443.
59. Katzburg, *Struggle,* 136–45. See ibid., n. 56: "In the Upper House the conservative elements were a strong, solid body including 42 Catholic bishops who were members of the Upper House by virtue of their positions; the Protestant sects had 13 representatives." See also Venetianer, *Zsidosag,* 424.
60. Ibid., 442.

61. Katzburg, *Struggle,* 140–41.
62. Venetianer, *Zsidosag,* 446–47.
63. Ibid., 447.
64. Ibid., 450–52. The list appears in the newspaper *Budapesti Hirlap,* June 21, 1908.
65. Katzburg, *Antisemitism,* 187–88, according to the stenographic records of the sessions of Parliament, on March 16, 1898.
66. Prohaszka (1858–1927) was a lecturer in theology at the beginning of the century. From 1905 until his death he was the bishop of Szekesfehervar. He was a talented, tireless, strongly expressive antisemitic activist who wrote and spoke freely. He was a prolific author and the most prominent speaker on any and all antisemitic topics. He inspired antisemites during the 1930s and 1940s.
67. Katzburg, *Antisemitism,* 191–92.
68. Zoltan Bosnyak, *Prohaszka es a Zsidokerdes* (Prohaszka and the Jewish Question; hereafter Bosnyak, *Prohaszka*), Budapest, 1939, 7–9.
69. Ibid., 24–25.
70. Katzburg, *Antisemitism,* 192.
71. The protocol relating to the session of the Synod of Bishops held at the outset of 1939, in light of the parliamentary debate on the second anti-Jewish bill, reads as follows: "The Cardinal emphasized that he considered it extremely important to remove the Jewish spirit from public and economic spheres, and elsewhere. The church was to be motivated in this struggle by those very same ideals that guided it in its bitter struggle against the spirit of liberalism ever since it spoke up against the adoption of the law granting the Jewish religion equal status" (Gergely, *PPK,* 257).
72. Macartney, *October Fifteenth,* vol. 1, 4.
73. "There was a single racial factor in the kingdom that adhered as strongly as possible to the Hapsburg ideal: the Jews. They well understood that any change would be detrimental to them. In a multiracial and supranational kingdom, where the ethnic entities were guaranteed many means of expression, the situation of the Jews was extremely comfortable." Jacob Talmon, "Document and Testimony—the Meaning of the New Antisemitism," in *The Holocaust of the Jews of Europe,* edited by Israel Gutman and Livia Rotkirchen, 125 (in Hebrew).
74. Macartney, *October Fifteenth,* vol. 1, 21.
75. Ibid., 22. T. Ivan Berend, *Valsagos Evtizedek, Kozep Es Kelet Europa a Ket Vilaghaboru Kozott* (Decades of Crisis: Central and Eastern Europe between the Two World Wars), Budapest, 1983, 127–30; N. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews: Policy and Legislation, 1920–1943* (hereafter Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews*), Ramat Gan, 1981, 33–34; M. Nagy-Talavera, *The Green Shirts and the Others: A History of Fascism in Hungary and*

Rumania (hereafter Nagy-Talavera, *Green Shirts*), Stanford, 1970, 24–25; *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 10, 1290–91.

76. For an elaboration on this idea see Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews*, 35–38.
77. Nagy-Talavera, *Green Shirts*, 25.
78. Macartney, *October Fifteenth*, vol. 1, 23. Horthy (1868–1957) joined the navy at the age of fourteen and worked his way up rapidly. Between 1909 and 1914 he was Franz Josef's military adjutant. In World War I he excelled in a number of naval clashes in the Adriatic Sea, and in 1918 he was given the rank of admiral and made commander of the Austro-Hungarian navy. In 1919 he was appointed head of the counterrevolutionary forces, and on March 1, 1920, he was elected regent of Hungary and granted extremely wide powers. He served as regent until October 15, 1944. He died in Portugal in February 1957.
79. Ibid.
80. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews*, 41.
81. Nagy-Talavera, *Green Shirts*, 57.
82. Ibid., 57–58.
83. Ervin Pamlenyi, *A Hatarban a Halal Kaszal: Pronay Naploja* (Death Reaps at the Border: Pronay's Diary; hereafter Pamlenyi, *Pronay*), Budapest, 1963, vol. 2, 136–40; cited from Pronay's book, 92–96.
84. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews*, 40.
85. Ibid., 39–40.
86. Elek Karsai and Istvan Pinter, *Darutollasok Szegedtol A Kiralyi Varig* (The Crane Feather Owners from Szeged to the Royal Palace; hereafter Karsai, *Darutollasok*), Budapest, 1960, 213–16.
87. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews*, 45.
88. Extracts from the protocols of the sessions of the Synod of Bishops between 1919 and 1944 were collected together in Gergely, *PPK*.
89. Ibid., 74. The Christian Political Organization related to the elections that were supposed to take place on January 25, 1920.
90. Ibid., 320–24.
91. Ibid., 67. This amount supplied the needs of the Catholic church, including all its churches. See table in ibid., 359–60.
92. The leader of the Arrow-Cross party, too, compared the Jews to fleas.
93. Dr. Gyorgy Kis, *Megjelolve Krisztus Keresztjevel Es David Csillagaval* (Sealed in the Cross of Jesus and the Star of David; hereafter Kis, *Megjelolve*), Budapest, 1987, 248–49. The article is quoted in "The Complete Writings of Prohaszka," vol. 23, 354.
94. Macartney, *October Fifteenth*, vol. 1, 30.
95. Before their invasion of Hungary in the ninth century C.E., the Hungarian tribes lived in the region of Etelkoz, in the Don River delta. According to a Hungarian legend, the Hungarian tribes sealed a blood pact among them-

selves. The seven tribal leaders let a little of their blood into a basin, stirred the blood mixture, and each drank of the mixture. The patriotic organization was named after the site and the event.

96. Dezso Nemes, *Az Ellenforradalom Tortenete* (The History of the Counterrevolution; hereafter Nemes, *Ellenforradalom*), Budapest, 1962, 158.
97. Ibid., 156, 157, 159.
98. Pamlenyi, *Pronay,* 301.
99. Gergely, *PPK,* 102.
100. Macartney, *October Fifteenth,* vol. 1, 32.
101. Ibid., 30.
102. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 41–43.
103. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* December 12, 1919, 2.
104. Yad Va-Shem Archives, File 12/015.
105. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 45–46.
106. Pamlenyi, *Pronay,* 93–95.
107. Gergely, *PPK,* 84. At the session of the Synod of Bishops held on October 27, 1920, the archbishop announced that the appointment became possible after he "made a detailed report to the Apostolic Holy See." The archbishop also thanked the bishop of Eger for his generosity, which made the appointment possible, saying that "the Holy Father has expressed his appreciation of this demonstration of generosity." Ibid.
108. Yad Va-Shem Archives, File 12/015.
109. Pamlenyi, *Pronay,* 93, n. 242.
110. Gergely, *PPK,* 74. While the formal founding convention of the party was held only in December 1919, the Synod of Bishops hastily offered the party its support even before the party itself was formally in existence. Thus the bishops can be credited with an important role in the organization and formation of an antisemitic political party.
111. See p. 4.
112. Gergely, *PPK,* 40. See also ibid., 119–20. At the conference held by the leadership of the professional organization set up by the Socialist-Christian party, it was resolved that "in order to protect the moral and material interests of the organization, it will focus on the framework of that Socialist-Christian professional organization that was founded twenty years ago and has gained considerable experience ever since. In the future, too, the organization will use the term 'Socialist-Christian.' " The conference also declared that "only a government based on Christian foundations is able to save Hungary from total destruction.... The professional organization will support the incumbent government as its actions are guided by Socialist-Christian concepts." *Nemzeti Ujsag,* November 13, 1919, 2.
113. Gergely, *PPK,* 40–42. The intraparty changes occasionally took place as a result of the direct intervention and influence of church functionaries. See also Nemes, *Ellenforradalom,* 151–54.

114. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* December 30, 1919, 3. See also Nemes, *Ellenforradalom,* 154.
115. Ibid., 150.
116. Ibid.
117. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* December 30, 1919, 2.
118. Ibid., December 4, 1919, 3.
119. Yad Va-Shem Archives, file 12/015. The poster was undated, but its content indicates that it was quite probably distributed before the elections of January 1920, as part of a propaganda campaign.
120. As above, n. 119.
121. In comparison, in the debate on the first anti-Jewish bill on May 24, 1938, Bishop Ravasz compared the Jews to "parasites climbing on the host plant, entrenching their roots in it in order to be able to subsist at its expense." See Part 2, pp. 86ff.
122. Dr. Miklos Kmosko, *Zsido Kereszteny Kerdes* (A Jewish-Christian Problem), Budapest, 15–16. The pamphlet was published without a date. From its contents it seems to have been published before the 1920 elections.
123. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* December 30, 1919, 2.
124. *Lexicon Magyarorszag Tortenete* (The History of Hungary), vol. 2, Budapest, 1964, 368.
125. Nemes, *Ellenforradalom,* 165.
126. Yad Va-Shem Archives, File 12/015. The poster was undated. Its general contents indicate that it was published soon after the January 1920 elections.
127. Gergely, *PPK,* 76. The date of the protocol is August 22, 1919.
128. Ibid., 123–24, 157–58.
129. Ibid., 27, 132, 144.
130. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* December 12, 1919, 1.
131. Ibid., December 30, 1919, 1, 2.
132. See ibid., n. 68.
133. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* December 6, 1919, 1.
134. Ibid., December 11, 1919, 1.
135. Yad Va-Shem Archives, File 12/015.
136. Gergely, *PPK,* 27.
137. Istvan Haller, *Harc A Numerus Clausus Korul* (The Struggle around the Numerus Clausus; hereafter Haller, *Numerus Clausus*), Budapest, 1926, 41–43. For the Numerus Clausus, see also Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 60–79.
138. Haller, *Numerus Clausus,* 52, 54.
139. Ibid., 58.
140. Ibid., 67–68.
141. Ibid., 83.
142. For Father Zakany's attitude toward the Jews, see part 1, p. 31.

143. Haller, *Numerus Clausus,* 98–106.
144. Ibid., 106–18, 122–23.
145. Ibid., 134.
146. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 63–64.
147. Ibid., 64–79. See also Haller, *Numerus Clausus,* 190–219.
148. See this part, p. 39ff.
149. Nagy-Talavera, *Green Shirts,* 58.
150. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 80.
151. Ibid., 84.
152. Nagy-Talavera, *Green Shirts,* 71–72.
153. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 85.
154. Nagy-Talavera, *Green Shirts,* 71.
155. See this chapter, p. 17ff.
156. Nemes, *Ellenforradalom,* 154–55. It should be noted that Budapest was a separate entity within Hungary. Nearly a fifth of Hungary's residents resided in greater Budapest. It was the center of heavy and light industry, of trade, of administration, of the press, of the arts, etc. The significance of the activities of the Budapest municipality was felt far beyond municipal limits, and served as an example for the activities of the various towns and provinces of the country.
157. See this part, p. 38ff.
158. Gergely, *PPK,* 102.
159. During Horthy's rule, Sandor Ernszt was active in general politics and in Christian party politics as well. He was the link between the archbishop and the Synod of Bishops, on the one hand, and between the Christian party and most of the Catholic-oriented social organizations, on the other. Most financial support given by the Synod of Bishops to these bodies passed through him. He was one of the leading activists in many Catholic organizations and was even a government member: in 1930 he served as minister of welfare and labor, and in 1931 he became minister of religion and education. At Wolf's party rallies, he generally appeared on the platform together with the chairman, Wolf. See ibid., 118, n. 2.
160. Ibid., 129. Protocol date is October 14, 1925.
161. Ibid., 124. Protocol date is March 17, 1926.
162. Ibid., 195–96. Protocol date is October 19, 1932.
163. Ibid., 210. Protocol date is October 11, 1933.
164. Ibid., 266. Protocol date is October 3, 1939. See also ibid., 13, 14.
165. Ibid., 310. Protocol date is October 16, 1943.
166. *Magyarsag,* April 25, 1938, 4. For comparison purposes note that Bishop Ravasz, head of the Reformed church in Hungary, in a speech he delivered in the summer of 1940, classified Hitler's struggle as a "religious struggle," which, in the end, "will lead in its wake to a deep recognition of God the Redeemer and the Liberator." *Fuggetlenseg,* August 13, 1940, 5.
167. *Magyarsag,* May 10, 1933, 4.

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168. Ibid., June 25, 1933, 5.
169. Ibid., July 2, 1933, 4.
170. Ibid., November 4, 1933, 1–2.
171. Ibid., March 5, 1935, 4.
172. Ibid., December 13, 1935, 3.
173. Ibid., January 3, 1936, 3. Cardinal Seredi expressed himself in a similar vein during the debate on the second anti-Jewish bill. See also *Budapesti Hirlap,* April 16, 1939, 3.
174. *Magyarsag,* March 24, 1936, 4.
175. *Uj Magyarsag,* October 7, 1936, 10.
176. The cardinal of Hungary made his residence in the town of Esztergom, and he maintained an office in Budapest. Bishop Meszaros administered the cardinal's Budapest offices between 1919 and 1940.
177. *Magyarsag,* May 13, 1933, 5. For the sake of comparison, note Prime Minister Teleki's speech in Parliament: "Our capital is a beautiful city, but its intellectuals are not. The Jewish spirit that finds its expression at the expense of the Christian public is that which characterizes the intellectuals of our capital." *Pesti Hirlap,* December 4, 1940.
178. *Magyarsag,* November 16, 1933, 5.
179. Ibid., March 5, 1935, 5.
180. The leaflet is quoted in the Jewish weekly *Egyenloseg,* March 24, 1938, 9.
181. *Uj Magyarsag,* November 10, 1938, 5.
182. Ibid.
183. *Magyarsag,* November 19, 1933, 4. Despite the extreme care with which the Numerus Clausus law was applied, and despite the fact that only 5.5 percent of Jewish students were accepted for the first academic year, the percentage of Jews among all the students of the institutions of higher learning rose. This is because the percentage of Jews was lowered, and only the most talented of them were accepted into the university. These students persevered at their studies, with only a few dropping out before completing their degrees. In light of this fact, the Christian students demanded that during the registration for the first academic year the total number of all Jewish students currently registered at all levels of study and in universities throughout Hungary is to be taken into account. *Magyarsag,* January 17, 1934, 4.
184. Ibid., November 29, 1933, 5.
185. Ibid., November 30, 1933, 6; January 14, 1934, 11; January 17, 1934, 4; August 19, 1934, 35.
186. *Zsido Szemle,* October 23, 1936. Quoted from the local paper *Debreceni Fuggetlen Ujsag.*
187. *Magyarsag,* January 14, 1934, 11.
188. Gergely, *PPK,* 187, 210. The Catholic umbrella organization was founded at the recommendation of the pope.
189. *Magyarsag,* November 19, 1933, 4. See also Gergely, *PPK,* 153–54.
190. *Zsido Szemle,* December 1, 1934, 5.

191. *Pesti Hirlap,* May 15, 1934, 8.
192. *Uj Magyarsag,* October 6, 1936, 3.
193. *Korunk Szava* (The Voice of Our Generation), January 1, 1936, 426. The periodical defined itself in its sub-heading as an "active Catholic organ." For the nature of the periodical, its editors, and its links with the Catholic church, leadership, and institutions, see Gergely, *PPK,* 50–51.
194. *Fuggetlenseg,* February 16, 1937, 2.
195. Gergely, *PPK,* 110. The date of the protocol is April 9, 1924.
196. *Magyarsag,* January 17, 1936, 4.
197. *Fuggetlenseg,* February 16, 1937, 2.
198. Ibid.
199. Some 89 percent of the population of Hungary were members of the aforementioned two churches. See Gergely, *PPK,* 347.
200. *Pesti Ujsag,* June 8, 1937.
201. Gergely, *PPK,* 200–203, 332–34. The Synod of Bishops often discussed the Actio Catholica organization and its various activities. The topic appears in the collection of protocols more than twenty times.
202. Ibid., 156–57. The date of the protocol is October 25, 1929. The preparations for the establishment of the organization took several years. The Synod of Bishops held discussions on the organization a long time before it actually began operations.
203. Ibid., 24, 186–87. The date of the protocol is October 14, 1931.
204. *Magyarsag,* March 6, 1934, 2.
205. *Actio Catholica Orszagos Elnoksege* (The National Board of Actio Catholica), Budapest, undated, 7, 15. There is considerable similarity between the proposal included in the official publication of the national board of an official Catholic organization, Actio Catholica, and the ninth article of the flier put out by the Awakening Hungarians on the subject of boycotting the Jewish press.
206. *Pesti Hirlap,* May 20, 1939, 6. For the sake of comparison see the statement made by the national chairman of Actio Catholica, Cardinal Seredi, above in this part, n. 71.
207. For purposes of comparison, note Hitler's statement: "Both as a human being and as a Christian I read lovingly, with no restrictions, the chapters describing how the Lord grasped the whip and drove out the usurers, the leeches and the fleas, from the Temple. Today, too, two thousand years after that event, I observe with the greatest excitement his great struggle against the Jewish poison.... He appreciated the nature of these Jews, and he began to struggle against them." *Virradat,* October 30, 1939, 3 (an extract from Hitler's speech in Munich on April 12, 1922). See also Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle; hereafter Hitler, *Mein Kampf.* The English translation was published by Stackpole, New York, 1939), 298.
208. For purposes of comparison see the debate on the second anti-Jewish bill in the Upper House, during which Bishop Glattfelder spoke admiringly of

former popes and church leaders who enacted numerous anti-Jewish laws. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* April 1, 1939, 2.

209. *Magyarsag,* January 25, 1939, 9.
210. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* July 23, 1939, 26.
211. *Magyarsag,* November 27, 1938, 5.
212. *Reggeli Magyarorszag,* February 13, 1943, 5.
213. Gergely, *PPK,* 276. The date of the protocol is October 16, 1940.
214. John Toland, *Adolf Hitler* (hereafter Toland, *Hitler*), New York, 1976, 319–20.
215. See this chapter, p. 30.
216. Eugene (Jeno) Levai, *Horogkereszt, Kaszaskereszt, Nyilaskereszt,* (The Hooked Cross, the Sickle Cross, the Arrow Cross; hereafter Levai, *Horogkereszt*), Budapest, 1945, 50–53. See also *Magyarsag,* December 2, 1934, 8.
217. *Zsido Szemle,* November 27, 1936, 7.
218. See part 2, 90ff.
219. *Egyenloseg,* May 5, 1938, 6.
220. Pinchas E. Lapide, *The Last Three Popes and the Jews* (hereafter Lapide, *Three Popes*), London, 1967, 123.
221. Levai, *Horogkereszt,* 52.
222. Gergely, *PPK,* 48.
223. Levai, *Horogkereszt,* 54.
224. Ibid.
225. Ibid., 40–53. See also Miklos Lacko, *Nyilasok, Nemzeti Szocialistak, 1935–1944* (The Cross Party Men, National Socialists, 1935–1944; hereafter Lacko, *Nyilasok*), Budapest, 1966, 20–41, 333. Also see Karsai Elek, *Szalasi Naploja* (The Szalasi Diary; hereafter Karsai, *Szalasi Naploja*), Budapest, 1978, 16.
226. Yad Va-Shem Archives, File 16/015. The platform is undated, yet it may be assumed that it was written toward the end of 1937 or at the onset of 1938. Selected excerpts from the platform are quoted in the newspapers of the Arrow-Cross party, *Hungarista Ut,* June 9, 1938, 1–2. The newspaper quotes an earlier publication in *Osszetartas,* April 17, 1938.
227. Marton Himler, *Igy Neztek Ki A Magyar Nemzet Sirasoi* (Thus the Gravediggers of the Hungarian Nation Looked; hereafter Himler, *Igy Neztek Ki*), New York, 1958, 34.
228. Rezso Szirmai, *Fasiszta Lelkek: Pszichoanalitikus Beszelgetesek A Haborus Fobunosokkel A Bortonben* (Fascist Souls: The Conversation of a Psychoanalyst with Prominent War Criminals in Prison; hereafter Szirmai, *Fasiszta*), Budapest, 1946, 249–57. A mimeographed book in File No. 015/22a in the Yad Va-Shem Archives.
229. Ferenc Abraham, *A Szalasi Per* (The Szalasi Trial; hereafter Abraham, *Szalasi Per*), Budapest, 1945, 23. For comparison, Pope Innocent III, 1198–1216, said that the Jews "are to us as dangerous as the insect in the apple, as the serpent in the breast.... They have already begun to gnaw like the

rat." James Morton Freeman, *Centuries of Intolerance: The Record of the Roman Catholic Church and Anti-Semitism* (hereafter Freeman, *Intolerance*), New York, 1947, 22.

230. *Magyarsag,* December 2, 1934, 8. See also ibid., July 8, 1934, 5.
231. A photograph of the poster appears in Andras Torok, *Szalasi Alarc Nelkul: a Szalasi Mozgalomban* (Szalasi without a Mask: Five Years in Szalasi's Movement; hereafter Torok, *Szalasi*), Budapest, 1941. The aforementioned convention was held in December 1936.
232. *Pesti Ujsag,* November 29, 1937, 2.
233. Between the world wars Endre occupied various positions in the civil service, and wherever he was, he made life difficult for the Jews. After the German invasion of Hungary in March 1944, Endre was appointed director of the interior ministry, and was directly responsible for organizing the deportation of the Jews. He carried out his task brutally, and after the war was executed as a war criminal.
234. *Nemzeti Figyelo,* February 27, 1938, 1.
235. Levai, *Horogkereszt,* 70.
236. For comparison, in 1932 a German pastor named Julius Kuptsch published a pamphlet called "Christianity in National Socialism," in which he wrote, "National Socialism is a profession of allegiance to the Sign of the Cross; the crooked cross is the token of the German after the flesh, as God desired him to be according to His Creative Order; the Cross of Christ is the token of the German after the spirit, whom Christ had redeemed. Consequently, the National Socialists carry the Swastika on their breasts and the Cross of Christ within their breasts." Richard Gutterridge, *Open Thy Mouth to the Dumb: The German Evangelical Church and the Jews, 1879–1950* (hereafter Gutterridge, *Open Thy Mouth*), Oxford, 1976, 63–64.
237. *Nemzeti Figyelo,* April 10, 1938, 1.
238. The item was quoted in the semiofficial organ of the Catholic church, *Nemzeti Ujsag,* July 22, 1938, 1.
239. Gergely, *PPK,* 15, 307.
240. *Roham,* April 14, 1938, 1.
241. Ibid., 7.
242. Kis, *Megjelolve,* 173–74. Quoted from the Catholic periodical *Vigilia,* 1975, vol. 3, 193–94. Nyisztor was a well-known personality in the Catholic hierarchy and a leading publicist between the two world wars. He was coeditor of the Catholic-scientific periodical *Magyar Kultura* (Hungarian Culture), which was published with the assistance of a fund set up by the Synod of Bishops. With him on the editorial board was also Bishop Gyula Czapik, who was later appointed bishop of Eger. Kis, *Megjelolve,* 224.
243. Gergely, *PPK,* 49.
244. Kis, *Megjelolve,* 173. Quoted in the Catholic periodical *Vigilia,* 1975, vol. 3, 184.
245. Macartney, *October Fifteenth,* vol. 2, 448.

246. *Kurir,* April 15, 1938, 1.
247. Lacko, *Nyilasok,* 126.
248. Ibid., 127.
249. Levai, *Horogkereszt,* 72. This accomplishment was especially notable since the election laws in that period in Hungary denied the right to vote to many of the supporters and potential voters for the party.
250. One of those who made this claim was Bishop Ravasz. He said that he had voted for the second anti-Jewish law, as shown in *Pesti Hirlap,* July 13, 1941, 3. Prime Minister Bardossy spoke out in a similar vein, as shown in Levai, *Horogkereszt,* 73–74, as did another prime minister, Imredi, as shown in Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 102.

2. *Anti-Jewish Legislation*

1. See pp. 191, 192, 196, 200–205, 215.
2. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 96.
3. Ibid., 260.
4. *Fuggetlenseg,* February 16, 1937, 2.
5. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 97. In March 1938 Imredi was appointed minister without portfolio to deal with economic matters in the Daranyi government. His main task was to carry out the idea expressed by the prime minister in his speech at Gyor. On May 14, 1938, Imredi was appointed prime minister and continued with the procedures instituted for the adoption and application of the anti-Jewish bill. The journalist Sandor Torok, a converted Jew who represented the converts before the authorities in the summer of 1944, was on close terms with Imredi. He said of him, "He was known as a Catholic with a deep religious sense, who had good connections with the cardinal and with the bishops." Sandor Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult, Keresztenyek es Zsidok, Sorsok* (The Unfinished Past, Christians and Jews, Fates; hereafter Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult*), Budapest, 1986, 191. Imredi played various key roles in the Hungarian administration in the coming years. In 1946 he was executed as a war criminal.
6. Ibid., 98.
7. Ibid., 258.
8. *Nemzeti Figyelo,* February 27, 1938, 1.
9. See part 1, 36, 38.
10. *Nemzeti Figyelo,* March 20, 1938, 9.
11. See part 1, 21ff.
12. Yad Va-Shem Archives, File 12/015.
13. During the period under consideration the Catholic church was represented in the Upper House by eleven bishops and fourteen priests in various positions. Gergely, *PPK,* 44. According to the numerical relationship among the churches, it may be assumed that the Protestant churches were repre-

sented in the Upper House by about half the number of representatives the Catholics had.

14. Dr. Henrik Fisch, *Kereszteny Egyhazfok Felsohazi Beszedei a Zsidokerdesben* (Speeches by Christian church leaders in the Upper House on the Jewish Question; hereafter Fisch, *Kereszte ny Egyhazfok*), Budapest, 1947, 21–24. Raffay delivered the speech on May 24, 1938.
15. The constitution of the Arrow-Cross party states, "The Jews are not a nation, but a race. They are not able to live within a nation; they are destructive." Yad Va-Shem Archives, File 16/015, 2. Regarding the bishop's claim that "Judaism is not a religion," cf. Hitler's statement: "The Jews have no religion.... As a result of their nature, the Jews are unable to maintain religious institutions for the simple reason that they lack all ideals in any form, and do not recognize life after death." Robert Waite, *The Psychopathic God: Hitler* (hereafter Waite, *Psychopathic*), New York, 1977, 98.
16. Cf. as above.
17. Fisch, *Kereszteny Egyhazfok,* 27–40. Ravasz delivered the speech on May 24, 1938. For purposes of comparison, in his interrogation after the war Imredi was asked if as a pious Catholic and devoted Christian, his conscience did not chastise him for the brutality used in the deportation of hundreds of thousands of human beings, including women, infants, old people, and the infirm. Imredi replied, "I bore the cross of responsibility with Christian devotion and I prayed for those suffering." Himler, *Igy Neztek Ki,* 59: "While we were speaking of our redeeming Cross, we did not bear it ourselves, but rather loaded the Cross onto the shoulders of the Jewish people and we crucified our Messiah by the thousands, to such a degree that even the murder of millions in the Holocaust left us indifferent." Claire Huchet-Bishop in the introduction to the book by Malcolm Hay, *Thy Brother's Blood* (hereafter Hay, *Thy Brother's Blood*), New York, 1960, xvi.
18. Gergely, *PPK,* 251.
19. *Az Est,* May 5, 1938, 7.
20. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* May 28, 1938, 2.
21. Ibid., 7.
22. Ibid., 6.
23. Ibid., May 31, 1938, 4.
24. Ibid., 5–6.
25. Ibid., May 26, 1938, 4. Of the attitude of prominent priests to the Jews and their problems one may learn from their statements throughout the anti-Jewish legislative process. Rank-and-file priests expressed their opinion of the Jewish question in a different manner. A procession of priests that marched along Andrassy Boulevard in Budapest as part of the Eucharistic Convention and reached No. 60, the main headquarters and national center of the Arrow-Cross party, unfurled its banners—church banners—in honor of the building and its occupants. Levai, *Horogkereszt,* 70.

26. See part 1, 75, for the impressive increase in the number of Arrow-Cross party members during the aforesaid period. The leaders of that party declared the year 1938 "Our Year."
27. *Pesti Hirlap,* August 26, 1938, 4.
28. During the debate on the second anti-Jewish bill, the minister of justice, Tasnadi-Nagy, said, "When tabling this bill we stressed that a convert is a Christian, but this does not mean that he is also a good Hungarian. Baptism does not turn a convert into a good Hungarian, just into a Christian." *Nemzeti Ujsag,* March 9, 1939, 8.
29. *Pesti Hirlap,* August 26, 1938, 4.
30. This is quoted in the article "The Jewish Problem before a Forum of Reformed Pastors," which appeared in the Jewish community weekly, *Egyenloseg,* November 1, 1938, 3.
31. *Pesti Hirlap,* August 26, 1938, 4. For purposes of comparison, "The people of the Bible appear in the general public eye as accursed idolators, who crucified Jesus.... Their problem can be solved by baptism." Mihaly Kolozsvary-Borcsa, *A Zsidokerdes Magyarorszagi Irodalma* (The Jewish Problem and Its Literature in Hungary; hereafter Kolozsvary-Borcsa, *Zsidokerdes Irodalma*), 22.
32. For the sake of comparison note the statement made by the minister of justice in the debate on the second anti-Jewish bill: "I do not see where in this proposal there is inhumanity and brutality.... Our heart does not contain even a single spark of hatred." *Budapesti Hirlap,* March 8, 1939, 5.
33. *Pesti Hirlap,* November 8, 1938.
34. Ibid., January 22, 1939, 4.
35. Ibid., January 8, 1939, 8. In a book Bangha had published in 1920 he wrote, "We must clean the villages of the Jews. It would be most desirable if the villagers would not see Jews at all." Bela Bangha, *Magyarorszag Ujjaepitese es A Keresztenyseg* (The Reconstruction of Hungary and Christianity); quoted by Kis, *Megjelolve,* 245. Bishop Bangha enjoyed a prominent position in the Catholic church hierarchy, and every so often he was entrusted with central roles by the Synod of Catholic Bishops. See Gergely, *PPK,* 175, 214–21.
36. *Pesti Hirlap,* January 14, 1939, 2.
37. See part 1, 17.
38. Gergely, *PPK,* 256–59. Protocol date is January 31, 1939. According to the Catholic priest Gyorgy Kis, who spoke some forty years after the war, "From the end of the thirties the unrestrained propaganda strove to have the Jews hated. I am sorry to say that even the Catholic press took part in this. The church newspapers and periodicals, intended for the believing population and for church functionaries, adopted Hitler's well-known slogans of the plutocratic, capitalistic, bolshevistic Jewish poison. The hate-filled articles were often written by church functionaries. One of the writers

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of articles in the Catholic publication, *Magyar Kultura*, which was, incidentally, the periodical read by the high-level Catholic intelligentsia, boasted during the parliamentary debate on the second anti-Jewish bill that many legislators had adopted, word for word, articles which had appeared earlier in his periodical, together with their reasoning and conclusions, and even the minister of justice referred to them many times." Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult*, 274–75.

39. *Egyenloseg*, November 17, 1938, 1.
40. This was the "Vienna Resolution" of November 2, 1938, adopted by the foreign ministers of Germany and Italy. Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary* (hereafter Braham, *Politics of Genocide*), New York, 1981, vol. 1, 144; C. A. Macartney, *October Fifteenth*, vol. 1, 329–43.
41. At his trial in 1945, Imredi claimed that the Munich agreement, signed by the powers in September 1938, convinced him that Hungary had a chance to liberate itself from the chains of the Trianon Agreement if it adopted pro-German policies in the fields of its foreign and domestic policy. This approach compelled him, he said, to render the situation of the Jews more serious and to enact yet another law against them. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews*, 115, 116.
42. *Magyarsag*, November 19, 1938, 3.
43. Nagy Talavera, *Green Shirts*, 147. There is also a somewhat different version. It was the Arrow-Cross party representatives who cried out happily, "It is the most beautiful Christmas present they could have hoped for." Eugene Levai, *Black Book on the Martyrdom of Hungarian Jewry* (hereafter Levai, *Black Book*), Zurich-Vienna, 1940, 14.
44. Braham, *Politics of Genocide*, vol. 1, 154.
45. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews*, 119. See also Imredi's statement made in the discussions of the united committee, *Magyarsag*, February 4, 1939, 6.
46. *Pesti Hirlap*, January 24, 1939, 3.
47. Ibid., 4.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., February 7, 1939, 4.
51. Ibid., February 15, 1939, 2.
52. Macartney, *October Fifteenth*, vol. 1, 327. Despite the embarrassing revelation of his origins, Imredi remained active in Hungarian political life. After the invasion of Hungary by the Germans in 1944, Imredi was even a member of the Sztojay government. He attempted to neutralize his Jewish origins by claiming that his father's mother—who was married to a Jew—had an affair with an Aryan Christian, his father was born as a consequence of it, and so he had no Jewish blood flowing in his veins. After the war, while conversing with his interrogator, an American army intelligence officer, Imredi claimed that he was "a Hungarian nobleman." The inter-

rogator commented on that: "And as a nobleman, you are not ashamed to be carrying around a collection of documents weighing a kilogram and a half in order to prove that your grandmother was bedded by men other than her husband, and that your father was actually his mother's bastard?" Imredi commented on that: "We must accept the facts as facts, even if they are debasing." Himler, *Igy Neztek Ki,* 56–7.

53. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 133.
54. Ibid., 133–34.
55. Macartney, *October Fifteenth,* vol. 1, 222–23.
56. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* April 1, 1939, 4.
57. Ibid., 4–5.
58. *Budapesti Hirlap,* March 1, 1939, 3.
59. This party was one of the later incarnations of the Christian party that was founded by Karoly Wolf.
60. *Budapesti Hirlap,* March 1, 1939, 3, 4.
61. Ibid., 4.
62. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 131.
63. For purposes of comparison see Bishop Ravasz's speech: "The adoption of this bill will serve well not only the welfare, tranquillity, and security of the state, but will be useful also to those who today protest its adoption so vehemently." Part 2, p. 86.
64. For purposes of comparison see Bishop Raffay's speech: "For the sake of the truth it must be stated that this legislation is not as cruel as it seems to be at first glance," Part 2, p. 96.
65. *Budapesti Hirlap,* March 8, 1939, 5, 6.
66. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* April 1, 1939, 1.
67. Ibid. Seredi's comments in the Upper House reflected the resolutions of the Synod of Bishops on January 13, 1939. Just before the debate in the Upper House there appeared an article in the official periodical of the Catholic church, *Magyar Kultura,* on February 5, 1939. The article was written by one of the editors, Zoltan Nyisztor. Nyisztor writes, "In the field of theater a commercial Jewish spirit has reinforced its positions, and does not allow anyone else to enter into its portals.... In the theater they perceived a field open to free and profitable hunting, whereby they succeed in obtaining both money and women.... It is from their press that the poison has gone out, despoiling the noble Hungarian middle class and damaging not only their tradition, but even their morality. With their deviousness they have introduced nudity into the life of the Hungarian people, and the concept of beauty queens into the imagination of the Hungarians, and the distorted corruption of virtue into Hungarian blood." Kis, *Megjelolve,* 224–25.
68. For the sake of comparison see a speech he delivered in Stuttgart on February 15, 1933, in which Hitler said that it was the desire of the National-Socialist government "to refill all our culture with a Christian spirit—and not only with politics. We want to burn out with fire the corrupting features

of our theater and press." Norman Baynes, *Hitler: Speeches, 1922–1934* (hereafter Baynes, *Hitler: Speeches*), London, 1942, 370. Karoly Huszar, who was premier of Hungary during the White Terror period and national deputy-chairman of Actio Catholica, said at a mass rally of his organization, "We have to base our entire society upon elements of Christian belief. It is not sufficient to remove the Jews from economic positions; we must introduce into each and every area of life Christian spirit and morality." *Pesti Hirlap,* May 20, 1939, 5.

69. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* April 1, 1939, 1, 2.
70. Ibid., 2.
71. Ibid.
72. For comparison purposes see a speech made by Luther, a diplomat in the German foreign service who spoke in October 1942 with the Hungarian ambassador to Germany, Sztojay. His first demand was "progressive legislation aimed at eliminating all Jews from cultural and industrial life." *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes* (hereafter Mendelsohn, *Selected Documents*), edited by John Mendelsohn, New York-London, 1982, vol. 8, 191. Laszlo Endre, state secretary in the Hungarian interior ministry in 1944, who was responsible for the expulsion of Hungarian Jewry, spoke at the opening of "the Hungarian Institute of Jewish Studies" after the deportation of the Jews from the towns and the villages, and told "of achievements in the self-defensive struggle against Jewry and of the purification of public life from the harmful influence of the Jews in social, spiritual, and economic fields." *Harc,* August 26, 1944, 6.
73. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* April 1, 1939, 2, 3. It seems that the approach taken by the speaker was acceptable to the Hungarian regime. One of Horthy's officers tells in his memoirs that Horthy told him in the summer of 1944, "They [the Germans] want to deport the Jews. I don't mind. I hate the Jews and the Communists. Out with them, out of the country! But you must see, Baky, that there are some good Hungarian Jews too, like little Chorin and Vida [wealthy industrialists, Jewish converts. Chorin was chairman of the National Union of Factory Owners in Hungary between 1933 and 1941]. Aren't they good Hungarians? I can't let them go, can I? But take the rest, the sooner the better!" Macartney, *October Fifteenth,* vol. 2, 283, n. 1.
74. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* April 1, 1939, 3–4.
75. Ibid., 4.
76. Ibid., 3, 5.
77. *Budapesti Hirlap,* April 14, 1939, 4.
78. Seredi's position must be examined in light of the declaration he made a few years before, with regard to "legislation violating rights." At a rally of the Actio Catholica he declared, "I have no doubt that those close to the decision making will never legislate a law which does not harmonize fully with the laws of God and the church. They also will not accept the

existence of such a law, and will not act according to its provisions." *Magyarsag,* March 6, 1934, 2.

79. *Budapesti Hirlap,* April 16, 1939, 3.
80. *Budapesti Hirlap,* April 16, 1939, 4.
81. Ibid., 3, 4.
82. As a student of theology at the University of Kolozsvar in 1916–1917, Ravasz became known for his antisemitic publications. Endre Ady, a Hungarian national poet, wrote then of him that "in the Calvinist periodical there appear very wild, antisemitic articles written by someone by the name of Laszlo Ravasz." Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult,* 45.
83. Bishop Ravasz thus viewed the Jewish question as a universal problem with regard to its location. His colleague, Bishop Raffay, viewed it as universal with regard to its time. "Ever since the Jews existed, a Jewish problem has existed as well, and antisemitism is as ancient as the Jews themselves." *Pesti Hirlap,* November 28, 1940, 4.
84. *Pesti Hirlap,* April 18, 1939, 5.
85. *Budapesti Hirlap,* April 18, 1939, 5.
86. Ibid., April 19, 1939.
87. Ibid.
88. *Pesti Hirlap,* April 20, 1939. In July of that year Kolozsvari-Borcsa received from Hitler a very prestigious medal of excellence, the Cross of the German Order of the Eagle, of the highest rank. The certificate that was added to the notification of the award of the medal of excellence was signed by Hitler. It said that he had won this award by virtue of his "many accomplishments in the field of Christian-Hungarian press." *Fuggetlenseg,* July 22, 1939, 5. After the German invasion of Hungary in March 1944, Kolozsvary-Borcsa was appointed commissioner of journalism, literature, and information. In this job he was responsible for the burning of books by Jewish authors as well as books on Judaism from the public libraries. This was accomplished either by their public burning or by sending them to paper factories to serve as raw material for recycling. *Magyarorszag,* June 16, 1944, 5. After the war he was executed as a war criminal. See n. 31.
89. *Pesti Hirlap,* April 22, 1939, 2.
90. Ibid., April 27, 1939, 5.
91. Ibid.
92. *Budapesti Hirlap,* April 27, 1939, 2.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid., April 28, 1939.
95. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 138.
96. *Budapesti Hirlap,* April 28, 1939.
97. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 141–42. The minister of trade and transportation, Jozsef Varga, reported to the parliamentary financial committee about a year and a half after the adoption of the second anti-Jewish law: "The integration of Hungarian Christian elements in mercantile life has

taken giant steps forward during the past year. In the immediate future the reorganization of the marketing of sugar, petroleum, wood for heating, and potatoes will be complete, thereby handing over to Christian tradesmen such commodities as will influence the marketing of other products as well. ... The most important branches of our external trade are already all in Christian hands." *Pesti Hirlap,* October 30, 1940, 7.

98. *Budapesti Hirlap,* April 25, 1939.
99. In the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church in Hungary, only the status of the cardinal archbishop was superior to that of the bishop of Kalocsa. The bishop of Kalocsa headed one of the three provinces of the Catholic church in Hungary. The state authorities themselves recognized the important status of the bishop of Kalocsa. Gergely, *PPK,* 15, n. 12.
100. *Egyedul Vagyunk,* 1939, vol. 1, 13–19. "Incitement in articles appearing in the Catholic press during this period could not have appeared without the consent of the bishops, or at least without their silent acquiescence." Kis, *Megjelolve,* 16.
101. *Uj Magyarsag,* December 21, 1938.
102. Cf. Seredi's speech in the Upper House on April 16, 1939.
103. Cf. Ravasz's opinion of the Jews being a race rather than a religion.
104. Cf. the opinion expressed by Bela Pap in *Pesti Hirlap,* August 26, 1938.
105. Cf. Raffay's speech in *Pesti Hirlap,* November 28, 1940.
106. *Magyarsag,* January 20, 1939, 1.
107. *Pesti Hirlap,* December 22, 1938.
108. Gergely, *PPK,* 257. The session was held on January 13, 1939. For the sake of comparison, note that in the summer of 1944 many Jews wanted to convert. A priest named Gyorgy Balint expressed his opinion on the subject in a newspaper interview. "Question: Do you believe in the honesty of the intentions of the many Jews now applying for baptism? Answer: Every conversion from one religion to another must stem from the depths of the soul. There exists a vast chasm between Judaism and Christianity. ... And so, the church authorities have always promulgated strict rules regarding the conversion of Jews. Yet these rules were useful only on occasion, for over thousands of years Judaism became so materialistic that if it desires to accept the pure morality, the restraining spirituality, and the tolerant and pleasant way of life of Christianity, it will have to give up its features which are dictated to it by its very blood. The Jew is interested only in this life, whereas Christianity puts its emphasis on life after death. ... The Jews are in need of special heavenly mercy to be able to comprehend Christian morality, and to live accordingly." *Harc,* August 12, 1944, 5.
109. *Pesti Hirlap,* October 6, 1939, 4.
110. Ibid., March 25, 1939.
111. *Fuggetlenseg,* May 16, 1939, 5.
112. *Pesti Hirlap,* May 17, 1939, 8.
113. *Fuggetlenseg,* May 20, 1939, 1.

114. Hungary joined the three-way alliance, Germany-Italy-Japan, about two weeks after the Teleki speech. It may be assumed that he hinted at this imminent development.
115. The agrarian reform meant mainly the expropriation of Jewish estates. The Expropriation of Jewish Estates Law was adopted in September 1942.
116. *Pesti Hirlap,* November 16, 1940, 3.
117. From a pastoral letter in *Pesti Ujsag,* August 24, 1940, 5. For the fighting church see also the Pacelli speech in *Nemzeti Ujsag,* May 31, 1938, 4.
118. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 158–59.
119. *Virradat,* July 3, 1939, 2.
120. Ibid.
121. The Synod of Bishops decided to hold a summer university at its session on March 22, 1933. Except for 1938, the year of the International Eucharistic Convention, ever since its founding the university was held every year up until 1939. Gergely, *PPK,* 204, 268.
122. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* July 13, 1939, 23.
123. For the sake of comparison, Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich, in speaking of the Old Testament, said, "This wealth of thought is so unique among the civilized nations of antiquity that we are bound to say: 'People of Israel, this did not grow in your garden of your own planting.' " Cardinal Faulhaber, *Judaism, Christianity, and Germany* (hereafter Faulhaber, *Judaism*), London, 1934, 68.
124. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* July 23, 1939, 24.
125. *Magyarsag,* January 25, 1939, 1.
126. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 161. The memorandum was handed to the regent in June 1940.
127. Ibid., 162. Imredi delivered his speech on July 3, 1940.
128. *Pesti Hirlap,* November 10, 1940, 3.
129. Ibid., 4.
130. Ibid., 3, 4.
131. Ibid., November 16, 1940, 3.
132. Ibid.
133. Ibid., November 23, 1940, 3.
134. Ibid.
135. See *Pesti Hirlap,* December 4, 1940, 4; ibid., December 12, 1940, 4; ibid., December 17, 1940, 3; ibid., January 14, 1941, 3–4. See also Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 158 ff.; Levai, *Black Book,* 24; Nagy-Talavera, *Green Shirts,* 152 ff.
136. *Reggeli Magyarorszag,* October 5, 1939.
137. *Fuggetlenseg,* August 13, 1940, 5.
138. *Pesti Hirlap,* March 30, 1941, 4.
139. Ibid., November 18, 1941, 4. For the sake of comparison, note Laszlo Endre's lecture on Hungarian radio: "This struggle did not begin with this war. It has been going on since Judaism appeared on the stage of history,

and ever since, we and the Jews have been living in two different worlds." *Uj Nemzedek,* June 26, 1944, 5. A central figure in the Roman Catholic church, the director of the College of St. Imre Baboda, expressed himself in a similar vein. In an article he had published in the book *A New Guide to Catholic Writers,* which appeared in 1941, he wrote, "The redeeming blood of Jesus serves as ransom for all and atones for all. The exceptions to this rule are those who do not long for the blood of Jesus as redeeming blood, but rather accept the responsibility and the curse for his crucifixion. . . . Every one of the Jews is to be punished and to suffer for those injuries Jewry caused the Christian nations." Kis, *Megjelolve,* 219–20.

140. *A Nep,* December 19, 1940, 5.
141. Gergely, *PPK,* 276–77. The protocol is dated October 16, 1940.
142. Ibid., 279. The protocol is dated March 12, 1941.
143. Hungary signed a pact of eternal friendship with Yugoslavia on February 26, 1941. When Yugoslavia refused to join the alliance of Axis powers, Hitler informed Hungary that he recognized the justification for the territorial claims Hungary had to the northern provinces of Yugoslavia—in return for the participation of Hungary in the assault of Yugoslavia. Teleki was opposed. Bardossy, who was foreign minister at the time, and the leaders of the army responded to Hitler's call, and the Crown Council, in its session of April 2, 1941, agreed unanimously to take part in the attack on Yugoslavia. Teleki committed suicide the following day, and Bardossi took his place as prime minister.
144. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 172.
145. *Pesti Hirlap,* June 10, 1941, 5.
146. Braham, *Politics of Genocide,* vol. 1, 194.
147. See Hegedus, *Vervad,* 60–67.
148. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 175. For the law, the way it was adopted, and its effects, see ibid., 158–83.
149. *Pesti Hirlap,* July 13, 1941, 3.
150. Ibid.
151. Ibid.
152. Ibid.
153. Ibid., July 15, 1941, 3, 4.
154. Ibid., July 19, 1941, 3, 4.
155. Ibid., 4, 5. For purposes of comparison, "The prime aim of the Jewish religion is the protection of the purity of the race." Hitler, *Mein Kampf,* 298.
156. *Pesti Hirlap,* July 19, 1941, 5.
157. Ibid., 5, 6.
158. Quoted in Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 181.
159. The deputy-governor of the province of Pest, Laszlo Endre, sent a memorandum on November 5, 1940, to Prime Minister Teleki, in which he complained that Jews drafted into the work units were making advances

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to innocent Hungarian girls who were living under difficult economic conditions, and were persuading them to "take part in immoral activities. There were also features that confirmed the assumption that they did these acts not only because of their natural carnal characteristics, but also because they have deliberately evil thoughts of avenging in this way their forced participation in the labor units." Endre went on to propose the enacting of a law or a regulation to facilitate the castration of recidivist wrongdoers. The prime minister's office sent the memorandum to the ministry of justice with the added comment that the proposal should be included in the third anti-Jewish bill. Karsai Elek, *Fegyvertelenul Alltak Az Aknamezokon* (They Stood Disarmed in the Mine Fields; hereafter Karsai, *Fegyvertelenul*), Budapest, 1962, vol. 2, 237–39.

160. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 181–82.
161. Hungary broke off diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia on June 23, 1941, on the day the third anti-Jewish law was adopted. Four days later, on the 27th of the month, Bardossy announced in Parliament the existence of a state of war between the two countries.
162. Braham, *Politics of Genocide,* vol. 1, 195.
163. For the legislation see Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 201–11.
164. Nagy-Talavera, *Green Shirts,* 182; Oszkar Zsadanyi, *Te Vagy A Tanu* (You Are the Witness; hereafter Zsadanyi, *Te Vagy A Tanu*), 66 ff. Regarding the way they were drafted, Prime Minister Kallay said, "Every Jew of draft age must be drafted into the labor units, regardless of how suited he is to service in this framework." Ibid., 83.
165. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* July 15, 1942, 5.
166. Ibid.
167. Ibid.
168. Gergely, *PPK,* 277.
169. Katzburg, *Antisemitism,* 112.
170. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* December 19, 1941, 5.
171. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 187. For this legislation see ibid., 184–90.
172. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* December 19, 1941, 5.
173. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 188.
174. *Pesti Hirlap,* April 27, 1939, 5. For another statement by Glattfelder see *Nemzeti Ujsag,* April 1, 1939, 1. The then justice minister, Tasnadi-Nagy, expressed himself similarly in the debate on that bill, quoting at length from a declaration prepared by a parliamentary faction in 1894, demanding the removal of the Jews from all walks of life. "The political aim of the Jews is the undermining of the foundations of Christian society and the economic and moral destruction of Christian nations. The pinnacle of their hopes is the collapse of Christian royal dynasties and houses." The minister added, "We have before us a stunning prophecy which foresaw the Jews joining the destructive and revolutionary extremist movements, and the

prophecy of the destruction of the royal houses is taking place right now before us." *Nemzeti Ujsag,* March 8, 1939, 7. See also Hitler's statement: "The aim of Bolshevism is the destruction of the leadership heading the nation by virtue of its blood ties, and replacing the present leadership with Jewish elements." *Uj Magyarsag,* November 10, 1936, 3.

175. Kallay was a personal friend of the regent, Horthy. At the onset of his public career he was active in local government and, among other things, filled the post of governor in his home province of Szabolcs. He specialized in agriculture and economics, and served as minister of agriculture in the Gombos government from October 1, 1932, to January 9, 1935. In 1937 Horthy appointed him commissioner of irrigation and flooding, and granted him membership in the Upper House. Braham, *Politics of Genocide,* vol. 1, 222.

176. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* March 14, 1942, 1, 2.

177. Ibid., 2–3. In 1954 Kallay published an autobiography in English. From reading the book one gets the impression that Kallay tried to fool the Germans and to make life easier for the Jews. He quotes parts of his speech, adduced herein, and explains to his readers that in referring to the war against communism he actually meant his strong opposition to Nazism. "I really meant by it that because we were Christians we could not be National Socialists, and still less Communists, since both of those ideologies were opposed to religion.... Neither could we accept racial discrimination. The reference to Christianity implied all that." Nicholas Kallay, *Hungarian Premier* (hereafter Kallay, *Hungarian Premier*), London, 1954, 73. Kallay's claim presupposes the ignorance or lack of intelligence of his readers. Even if his secret thoughts are perhaps open to speculation, there is no doubt about the energy he expended to further the adoption of the legislative initiatives he presented to Parliament. The facts were clear at the time both to the general Hungarian public and to the Jews. It is true that in 1943 there were doubts as to the political wisdom of Hungary's blind adherence to the Axis powers. But this awakening came about after a series of events that clarified the developing course of the war—most prominent among them, the destruction of the Hungarian Second Army on January 12–14, 1943, on the Ukrainian plains. Kallay was forced to seek a way out of the war he had supported at the time of his appointment as prime minister, when Hitler and his forces were at the pinnacle of their achievements. When Kallay began to seek routes of communication with the Allies in the west, it was convenient for him that Jews were in Hungary. They could serve as an alibi for him, as he himself describes matters in his book. However, there is no reason to doubt the honesty of his intentions and opinions as stated throughout 1942 (see below, n. 222). As for Kallay's interpretation of his earlier speech, one has need of an overly developed imagination to assume that his audience in March 1942 figured that "the eastern barbarism," which Kallay attacked vehemently and against which Hungary

went to war, was nothing but "Nazi heresy." In his numerous speeches Kallay repeats again and again the principle of Hungary's loyalty to her allies and the importance of the struggle being waged against the common foe. In his speeches there were unambiguous undertakings to persevere in the war effort against Communist Russia for the sake of a European victory over the common enemy in the east. In his aforesaid self-interpretation Kallay goes on to boast, "I do not wish to appear immodest, but I wonder where else among the suffering nations a premier answered a German ultimatum by such a declaration, made under the most public circumstances, at that moment when the German troops were on the Caucusus." As already noted, Kallay explained his pro-German utterances by claiming that he was forced to act in that way so as not to stir up German doubts as to the nature of his true outlook. This approach was common after the war. In his book *A Year without End,* Moshe Zandberg describes his vulgar treatment of the history teacher, who had tormented him after the German invasion of Hungary. About a year after the end of the war, the teacher came to him to apologize, claiming "that he was aware that he had insulted me badly two years ago, but I must believe him that he had no alternative, for the fascists were following him around, thinking he was against them, and so he was forced to behave in such a way in order to deceive them." Moshe Zandberg, *A Year without End,* 10 (in Hebrew). It should be noted that Kallay was not the only Hungarian leader whose opinions were changed by the vicissitudes of war. On June 22 Bishop Ravasz spoke in the Calvin Square church in Budapest, and his talk was even broadcast on the state radio. In his speech he said, "This morning, when the radio announced the outbreak of war between Germany and Russia, many Hungarians breathed a sigh of relief: the problem, which was open and demanded a solution, was finally going to be solved. The Russian threat enveloped Europe like a nightmare. We are finally going to be rid of it!" When the Hungarian Second Army was poised to leave for the Russian front in May 1942, Ravasz addressed the soldiers "fighting for the justice of God's land, for the Kingdom of Jesus, and thus for survival on earth" in an open letter. Yet in November 1943 Ravasz wrote, "The decisive factor which has always guided Hungarian public opinion is a true desire for peace, for the survival and the welfare of Europe.... The moment occasionally comes, when one has to jump from the flaming aircraft, for that is the only way to survive." Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult,* 44.

178. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 198. For the Jewish Estate Expropriation law, see ibid., 191–200.
179. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* March 20, 1942, 1–4.
180. Ibid., 4.
181. Ibid., March 21, 1942, 5, 6.
182. The report appeared in a paper distributed nationally, *Reggeli Magyarorszag,* March 31, 1942, 5.

183. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* April 21, 1942, 1–3. In his book, mentioned above in n. 177, Kallay devoted a single short sentence to explain his public announcement of the deportation of eight hundred thousand Jews: "It also meant that the 800,000 Jews would be there [remain in Hungary] until after the war and that until then they would not be harmed." Kallay, *Hungarian Premier,* 99. There is, however, no doubt at all that Kallay's audience, which included simple people as well as members of Parliament, did not understand this literal interpretation of his announcement. This can be understood from the comments made by those referring to this section of his speech, which are adduced below. The German foreign office also understood Kallay's announcement as it was worded. In a memorandum presented to the German foreign minister, Ribbentrop, by the deputy-secretary of the foreign ministry, regarding his meeting with the Hungarian ambassador in Berlin on October 2, 1942, the deputy-secretary wrote, "I reminded Mr. Sztojay of the statements regarding the Jewish question made by Prime Minister Kallay in his first speech before the Parliament. These statements had proved that Prime Minister Kallay showed a special understanding of the solution of the Jewish question in our sense, and apparently was willing to solve this problem for Hungary as soon as possible." Mendelsohn, *Selected Documents,* vol. 8, 203–4.
184. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* May 30, 1942, 3.
185. Ibid., June 6, 1942, 7. The idea of deporting the Jews appears again and again from the early 1920s, having been raised both by various intellectuals and by politicians. See Cohen, *Illuminations,* 333 (in Hebrew).
186. Miklos Gardos, *Nemzetvesztok a Nepbirosag Elott* (The Destroyers of the Nation before a People's Court; hereafter Gardos, *Nemzetvesztok*), Budapest, 1971, 135.
187. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* June 6, 1942, 7.
188. Ibid., June 11, 1942, 3.
189. Ibid.
190. Ibid., June 10, 1942, 5. In the issue that carried the newspaper report of the speech delivered by the minister of agriculture, there also appeared Kallay's announcement as given to the parliamentary correspondents: "I am satisfied with the debate in Parliament, for I am convinced that even those who criticized this bill are aware of its importance."
191. Ibid., May 30, 1942, 3.
192. Ibid.
193. Ibid., June 11, 1942, 3.
194. Ibid.
195. Ibid., June 16, 1942, 2.
196. Ibid.
197. Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews,* 200.
198. In 1935 the churches owned over a million *hold* of land. Nearly 90 percent of this was owned by the Catholic church. Gergely, *PPK,* 373. It should

be noted that the Reformed church—which at the time was in possession of some one hundred thousand *hold* of land—took a different approach to the so-called agrarian reform. In the summer of 1939 the Association of Spiritual Shepherds of the Reformed church held a national convention in the town of Cegled. The convention considered the importance of a just distribution of agricultural land. The main speaker at the convention was Bishop Ravasz: "We are well aware that if we want to guarantee a fairer income to those who suffer deprivation, we must take it from those who have too much." The newspaper reporting on the convention explains, "Laszlo Ravasz undoubtedly expressed not only the view of the Reformed church, but also the feelings and views of the vast majority of Hungarian public opinion.... His deeply rooted Hungarian audience well understands that which the Bishop merely hinted at." *Magyar Nemzet,* August 29, 1939, 8. If we take into account the fact that Ravasz's speech was delivered one short week after the promulgation of the second anti-Jewish law, we, too, shall succeed in understanding just what the speaker was getting at, and we will realize to whom the bishop was referring when he spoke of "those who have too much."

199. Ibid., 104. The session was held on May 16, 1923.
200. See ibid., 229, 232, 239, 243, 304.
201. Ibid., 251. The session was held on October 4, 1938.
202. Ibid., 260. The protocol is dated January 13, 1939.
203. Ibid., 275. The protocol is dated October 16, 1940.
204. *Reggeli Magyarorszag,* October 5, 1943, 5.
205. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* March 20, 1942, 3, 4.
206. Ibid., 4.
207. Ibid., June 10, 1942, 5.
208. Ibid., March 14, 1942, 3.
209. Ibid., May 5, 1942, 3.
210. Ibid.
211. Ibid., March 20, 1942, 1.
212. Venetianer, *Zsidosag,* 20–21. The existence should be noted of common ground shared by the leaders of the Catholic and Evangelical churches based on the antisemitism shown by the early Christian king.
213. Ibid., 21–22.
214. *Reggeli Magyarorszag,* May 7, 1942, 5. Another resolution taken at the convention: "Jewish students studying at the high schools of the Reformed church will henceforth be released from their obligations in writing, drawing, and handcrafts on Sabbaths and Jewish festive days."
215. Ibid., June 8, 1943, 7.
216. Ibid., October 6, 1942.
217. Ibid., March 25, 1943, 5. For the sake of comparison, note an extract from one of Hitler's speeches in the Reichstag: "The Jews have maneuvered the British Empire into a most hazardous crisis. The Jews have been the carriers

of the bacteria of the Bolshevik plague which threatens Europe with oblivion." *Nemzeti Ujsag,* April 28, 1942, 5. See also Laszlo Endre's views in *Ujnemzedek,* June 26, 1944. At the session of the Synod of Catholic Bishops held on January 13, 1939, the anti-Jewish legislation was discussed. Shvoy said, "The Synod of Bishops agrees fully with the intention to put an end to Jewish destructiveness.... Its comments are intended to serve in defense of Christian justice." Gergely, *PPK,* 259.

218. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* March 20, 1942, 2. The present writer clearly recalls that in the summer of 1942, in the region in which he lived (Jaras), the regional authorities ruled against the sidelocks and beards of Jewish males. The official regional medical officer expressed his professional opinion before the regional authorities that the beards and sidelocks were liable to serve as breeding grounds for lice, which, in their turn, might facilitate the spread of typhus (anyone familiar with the subject of lice knows that typhus is spread by a louse completely different from the kind that infests hair). In light of this medical opinion, the regional authorities ordered all the men and boys in about half a dozen towns and villages under regional jurisdiction to cut off their sidelocks and their beards. In the village in which the present writer lived, the village authorities added a further regulation. The local gendarmes hunted down Jewish girls with long hair, arrested them in the street, and brought them to the village council buildings, where the village barber cut off all their hair—to the applause of the village mob that had gathered to observe the event. The case described above was not exceptional, and local initiatives that exaggerated in carrying out steps against the Jews were a common occurrence in those days. The Synod of Roman Catholic Bishops appointed a committee to deal with problems involving Catholics of Jewish origin because of the implementation of the anti-Jewish legislation. The committee chairman, the bishop of Kalocsa, reported to the Synod of Bishops the numerous complaints received by his office—fifteen or twenty per week—most of which referred to various groups that did more than the law required, dismissing workers whose dismissal was not required by the law. Gergely, *PPK,* 271. The date of the protocol is March 3, 1940.

219. *Uj Elet—Katolikus Szocialis es Vilagnezeti Szemle,* the first issue of 1943, 50–51. The semiofficial organ of the Catholic church reported the cancellation of the permits held by Jewish tradesmen and craftsmen in the region of Sub-Carpathia, about a year before the appearance of the list quoted herein. In cases, too, where the permits of Jews were not canceled "Jews were not permitted to practice their businesses in the main streets of the large towns.... Those Jews whose continued activity might endanger that of Christian businessmen were not permitted to continue with their businesses as before." *Nemzeti Ujsag,* January 9, 1942.

220. *Reggeli Magyarorszag,* July 17, 1942, 3. Even the Organization of Christian

Merchants, "Baross," encouraged its members to exhibit a crucifix in their shops.

221. Ibid., October 20, 1942, 5.

222. Ibid., October 23, 1942, 5. Kallay went even further in his book in the way he treated the last section of his speech quoted below. He adjusted the excerpt to the theory he had developed concerning his positive approach to the Jews: "I tried to win over to my side the better elements of the Hungarian nation and tried to offer some comfort to the Jews." We, of course, have already read Kallay's words of "comfort" in the relevant newspaper report. However, in an excerpt from his book, Kallay made a slight change in the text of his speech. He omitted the word "Jews" when he spoke of "disseminators of poison" and replaced it by "certain individuals." Here is the corrected excerpt: "I wish to establish one point here: on the Jewish question, I am prepared to take all steps which will support, satisfy, and promote the political, economic, and ethical aims of the nation. But I am not willing to promote the base, private interests of certain individuals; nor to allow the [Jewish] question, in these, its last phases, to poison and corrupt the atmosphere more than it did in its heyday." Kallay goes on to explain that he was referring to those elements "who can see no other problem in this country except the Jewish problem." Kallay, *Hungarian Premier,* 123. Reading Kallay's book leads one to believe that not only did he offer the Jews comfort, but he even defended them by attacking the "certain individuals" who were hostile to the Jews. We are thus faced by two versions of the passage: one an innocent newspaper report, published the day after the speech was delivered, and the other Kallay's version as composed after the war in an attempt to describe in a positive fashion his period as prime minister. From the generally hostile context of the speech and its antisemitic tones, it is most likely that the early version is the correct one. One must not wonder at Kallay for not expecting anyone to compare the two versions at any time in the future. Yet, unfortunately, even respected historians make use of Kallay's book as a source for their research, and not only quote excerpts from it but even accept his interpretation of his own statements and deeds.

223. *Reggeli Magyarorszag,* October 23, 1942.

224. Ibid., May 13, 1943.

225. Ibid., August 27, 1943. Mihalovics served in several high-ranking positions in the Catholic church. From time to time the Synod of Bishops entrusted him with special assignments. Among other things, he served as national director of Actio Catholica. See Gergely, *PPK,* 24, 179, 252, 277, 280, 294.

226. *Reggeli Magyarorszag,* August 27, 1943.

227. Ibid., October 5, 1943, 5. Bishop Ravasz spoke up in a similar vein: "In the western democracies people are being unrestrainedly incited against the

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states which enacted laws against the Jews, including Hungary.... Local Jewry must vehemently reject such allegations, for they are an integral part of the war campaign of incitement." *Budapesti Hirlap,* April 18, 1939, 5. The Protestants and Methodists in Nazi Germany spoke similarly. See Gutterridge, *Open Thy Mouth,* 75, 78–79.

228. When Kallay reported the event to Parliament, he spoke of 2,550 Serbian casualties. He made no mention of Jewish casualties. *Nemzeti Ujsag,* June 16, 1942, 2.

229. At a murder trial where the accused were members of the Arrow-Cross party, held in Budapest in 1956, one of the accused described the sounds of Christmas Eve in 1944: "It was the eve of Holy Christmas and we had arranged a magnificent dinner.... After dinner the girls of our families were sent home, while we continued drinking, and when everyone's mood was already high, Szelepcsenyi [one of the officers in the group] said: 'The front is drawing very near and we must destroy our enemies, and we must clean out the basement.' " Afterwards there is a description of the terrible torments inflicted upon the basement dwellers, Jews and Jewesses who had been collected up by Arrow-Cross men in the city streets, a gang rape of the Jewish girls, and finally the brutal murder of all the unfortunates—representatives of "the enemy whose battle front was approaching the center of Budapest." Jozsef Solyom, *Szabo Laszlo, A Zugloi Nyilas Per* (The Trial of the Zuglo Arrow-Cross Men), Budapest, 1967, 134. The present writer had been drafted into the forced labor battalion that was annexed by the civil defense forces in the city of Szeged. The job of the battalion was to deal with the damage caused by the bombing of the Allied air forces. On June 2, 1944, a heavy bombing took place on the Szeged train station, and all railway lines were destroyed. To repair a few lines, partially but immediately, we worked nonstop for over twenty-four hours. In addition to our team of guards, an anti-Communist Russian engineer who had left Russia at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution supervised our labors. This person did not stop urging us on incessantly, while commenting on our being Communists, Bolsheviks, G.P.U. agents, and saying that "all Jews are accursed Communists."

230. *Reggeli Magyarorszag,* February 24, 1944.

231. Ibid., February 27, 1944.

3. 1944

1. Jozsef Darvas, *Varos az ingovanyon* (City on a Dung Heap), Budapest, 1945, 92–93.

2. Quoted in Ilona Beneschofsky and Elek Karsai, *Vadirat a nacizmus ellen: Dokumentumok a Magyarorszagi Zsidouldozeshez* (An Indictment against Nazism: Documents of the Persecution of the Jews in Hungary; hereafter Karsai, *Vadirat*), vol. 1, Budapest, 1958, 38.

3. Moshe Zandberg, *Year without End,* Jerusalem, 1966, 9 (in Hebrew). See also *The Diary of Eva Heiman,* Jerusalem, 1964, 84 (in Hebrew).
4. Levai, *Black Book,* 99.
5. I. Bibo, *Harmadik ut* (The Third Way), 237. Quoted by Asher Cohen, "Illustrations to the Background of the Holocaust of Hungarian Jewry," in Milleth, *Open University Studies in Jewish History and Culture* (hereafter Cohen, "Illustrations"), Tel-Aviv, 1983, 327 (in Hebrew).
6. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 1, 88–89.
7. Cohen, "Illustrations," 326.
8. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 1, 50–51. In his memoirs Horthy blames his policy of nonintervention in Jewish matters on German pressure. "On April 2nd Dr. Veesenmayer had been instructed by the German Foreign Office that I should be excluded from all political activity." Nicholas Horthy, *Memoirs* (hereafter Horthy, *Memoirs*), London, 1956, 218. It should be noted that the premier's announcement preceded by a number of days the date Horthy mentioned as that of his meeting with Veesenmayer, and so one may reasonably doubt the exactness of his memoirs.
9. Levai, *Black Book,* 102–5.
10. The formal ruling forbidding traveling appeared only on April 7, 1944. See Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 1, 127–28. Nevertheless, on the day after the German invasion the authorities arrested many Jews who had arrived at Budapest railway stations without prior knowledge of the German invasion, of the prohibition against traveling, or of the siege of the railway stations.
11. Levai, *Black Book,* 228–31. See also *Uj Magyarsag,* April 23, 1944, 5.
12. *Uj Nemzedek,* May 2, 1944, 5. For the sake of comparison, note that at the Fourth Lateran Council, which gathered under the leadership of Pope Innocent III in 1215, the following was stated: "Thus it sometimes happens that by mistake Christians have intercourse with Jewish or Saracen women. . . . Therefore, lest these people, under cover of an error, find an excuse for the grave sin of such intercourse, we decree that these people (Jews and Saracens) of either sex . . . shall easily be distinguishable from the rest of the populations by the quality of their clothes; especially since such legislation is imposed upon them also by Moses." Freeman, *Intolerance,* 23.
13. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 1, 50–51.
14. Ibid., vol. 1, 92–93.
15. Ibid., vol. 1, 94–95.
16. Ibid., vol. 1, 124–27.
17. Ibid., vol. 2, 44. One of the witnesses at the Eichmann trial, Dr. Martin Paldi, who was a member of the Judenrat of one of the ghettos, described in his testimony the intolerable living conditions in the ghetto before they were sent to Auschwitz. He related that a German officer said to him, "Here you live like pigs; you will be transferred to Germany, where you will live normal lives with your families. There you will work." *The Attorney-General against Adolf Eichmann, Testimony* (hereafter *Attorney-General*), vol. 2, Jerusalem,

1963, 795. Considerable cynicism was thus necessary to describe the appearance of the ghetto after its inhabitants had left as was done by a local Catholic newspaper in a Hungarian town on June 21, 1944. The newspaper was called *Veszpremi Hirlap,* with a prominent sub-heading: "A Political Christian Newspaper." The owner and publisher of the paper was the Provincial Church Press. It wrote as follows: "They removed the Jews and took them to concentration camps. All Monday they were accompanied in groups to the train station, so that all, from all over the country, would be gathered together in a single place. After the evacuation of the ghetto we went to see the condition in which they left the place." The reporter describes what he saw in the empty ghetto: a large number of eggs, much flour and jam; women's purses with delicate, fragrant perfumes; vast piles of clothing and suitcases and plenty of the fat of the land scattered everywhere. The reporter concludes, "As long as the Jews were in the ghetto, they had no reason to complain about their livelihoods, for various kitchens took care of their needs. There was a kosher kitchen, a dietetic kitchen, and even a nonkosher kitchen there." Kis, *Megjelolve,* 230–31.

18. Levai, *Black Book,* 139.
19. Ibid., 146. The writer relies on testimony given after the war by Marton Zoldi, who was a liaison officer in the gendarmerie between the Hungarian and German executors of the deportations. Obstinate rumors claimed that the Hungarian government paid the government of the German Reich a considerable sum in return for the evacuation of the Jewish residents of Hungary. From Endre's statements after the war it would seem that two and a half billion *reichsmarken* was the sum paid. Ibid., 147.
20. Levai, Jeno, *Endre Laszlo: A Magyar Haborus Bunosok Listavezetoje* (Laszlo Endre: At the Head of the List of Hungarian War Criminals; hereafter Levai, *Endre Laszlo*), Budapest, 1945, 70.
21. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 38–39. For purposes of comparison, note that on July 6, 1944, Angelo Rotta, the apostolic representative in Budapest, visited Sztojay. Summarizing the meeting, Sztojay wrote, "The nuncio admitted the fact that there exists a certain Jewish danger and that it is necessary to eliminate that danger, but he stressed that this must be carried out while taking into consideration Christian morality." Ibid., vol. 3, 96.
22. Levai, *Black Book,* 235–40.
23. *Uj Magyarsag,* May 14, 1944, 6.
24. *Pesti Hirlap,* June 7, 1944, 3.
25. For the sake of comparison, note that during the debate on the second anti-Jewish law in the Upper House, Cardinal Seredi said, "It is not sufficient to make use of the law to block those Jews who should be blocked. It is also important to eliminate the phenomena which they have introduced into our public life in economics and society and to eliminate that Jewish spirit because of which the government has deemed it fitting to table this bill." *Nemzeti Ujsag,* April 1, 1939, 1.

26. *Uj Nemzedek,* May 18, 1944, 5.
27. *Uj Nemzetor,* April 7, 1944; quoted by Karsai, *Itel A Nep* (The People Judge), Budapest, 1967, 114.
28. *Uj Magyarsag,* May 12, 1944, 5.
29. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 1, 95.
30. *Uj Nemzedek,* June 26, 1944, 5. In comparison, Bishop Ravasz stated during the debate about the second anti-Jewish law in the Upper House on April 17, "We may not alter the fact that Judaism differs from Hungarianism, as a race, as a religion, in its fate, and in its historical situation. The foreign quality of the Jewish spirit is the consequence of all these. Christian culture and national life must take this fact into account." *Pesti Hirlap,* April 18, 1939, 5.
31. Levai, *Black Book,* 151.
32. Ibid., 139.
33. Ibid., 139–40.
34. Ibid., 140.
35. Ibid., 238.
36. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 2, 27. See also ibid., vol. 1, 123. Karsai relies on a memorandum prepared on May 27, 1944, by Dr. Halasz, an advisor to the interior ministry. In this memorandum he sums up succinctly the content of discussions held with Endre and Baky in the small meeting room of the ministry on April 7, 1944. This date also appears on the Baky document.
37. Ranki Gyorgy, *1944 Marcius 19,* Budapest, 1968, 159–60, 255 256. Quoted by Cohen, "Illustrations," 326.
38. Cohen, "Illustrations," 326–27.
39. Mendelsohn, *The Holocaust,* vol. 8, 221.
40. Ibid.
41. Himler, *Igy Neztek Ki,* 116.
42. For the cessation of the deportations, see this part, n. 109.
43. Munkacsi Erno, *Hogyan Tortent?: Adatok es Okmanyok a Magyar Zsidosag Tragediajahoz* (How Did It Happen?: Details and Documents of the Tragedy of Hungarian Jewry; hereafter Munkacsi, *Hogyan Tortent?*), Budapest, 1947, 213–14. According to another source, Veesenmayer added, "This was so vast a police action that its execution was made possible within three months only because of the complete cooperation and enthusiasm showed by the Hungarian authorities and their executive branches." Gardos, *Nemzetvesztok,* 133.
44. Munkacsi, *Hogyan Tortent?,* 213.
45. Livia Rotkirchen, "Hungarian Jewry in the Holocaust Period: A General Survey." *Symposium on the Hungarian Jewish Leadership under the Test of the Holocaust,* pamphlet published by Yad Va-Shem, Jerusalem, 1976, 51.
46. Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (hereafter Reitlinger, *Final Solution*), New York, 1953, 431.

47. R. Major, *The Churches and the Jews in Hungary,* Chicago, 1966, 378–79.
48. Father Jozsef Elias made this statement in an interview held in the mid-1980s. The interview is included in Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult,* 73. See also ibid., 56, 69.
49. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 2, 75–76.
50. Reported in *Pesti Hirlap,* January 14, 1939.
51. Reported in *Nemzeti Ujsag,* April 1, 1939, 1.
52. Reported in *Budapesti Hirlap,* April 16, 1939, 3. Bishop Glattfelder expressed a similar opinion in the debate on the same subject. See *Nemzeti Ujsag,* April 1, 1939, 2.
53. *Harc,* August 12, 1944, 5.
54. Cohen, "Illustrations," 340.
55. Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult,* 55–56.
56. Ibid., 140.
57. Rudolf Vrba and Alan Bestic, *Factory of Death* (hereafter Vrba, *Factory of Death*), London, 1964, 213 ff., 226–28.
58. Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult,* 54, 60–61, 95–96, 111–14, 138–39. For the date of the arrival of the Vrba Report in Budapest and its distribution, see also the testimony of Pinhas Freudiger, then chairman of the orthodox community and member of the Jewish Central Committee in 1944, at the Eichmann trial. *Attorney-General, Testimony,* vol. 2, 756. See also Braham, *Politics of Genocide,* vol. 2, 710–11.
59. Levai, *Black Book,* 91.
60. Ibid., 92.
61. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 1, 108–9.
62. Levai, *Black Book,* 92.
63. Ibid., 118.
64. Seredi based his standpoint upon the church's ancient approach, believing in the superiority of Christianity to other religions, especially Judaism. Thus, it is not fitting for the Jews to enjoy any superiority relative to Catholic believers. Here are a number of examples: Pope Gregory VII wrote in 1081 to Alfonso IV of Castille, "We admonish Your Highness that you must cease to suffer the Jews to rule over Christians and exercise authority over them. For to allow Christians to be subordinate to Jews, and to be subject to their judgment, is the same as to oppress God's church and to exalt the synagogue of Satan." Malcolm Hay, *Thy Brother's Blood,* 35. The Third Lateran Council, which convened under the leadership of Pope Alexander III in 1179, strengthened the earlier church prohibition of the employment of Christians by Jews. Freeman, *Intolerance,* 23. At the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, under the leadership of Pope Innocent III, the employment of Christians by Jews and the employment of Jews in public office were prohibited, "since it is quite absurd that any who blaspheme against Christ

should have power over Christians.... We forbid that Jews be given preferment in public office since this offers them the pretext to vent their wrath against Christians." Ibid. St. Thomas Aquinas, a thirteenth-century Christian theologian, ruled, "It would be unreasonable to permit the Jews, in a Christian state, to exercise the functions of government, thereby subjecting Catholics to their authority." Ibid., 4. Pope Eugene IV ruled in 1442, "Christians shall not allow Jews to hold civil honor over Christians." Ibid., 27. Cardinal Seredi was also able to rely on the doctrine postulated by a known extreme antisemite of his own generation, Karoly Wolf, the leader of the antisemitic Christian party, who had declared, "We must guarantee the economic supremacy of Hungarian Christians.... We do not desire to see our Christian colleagues in an inferior position." *Magyarsag,* July 2, 1933, 4. The Evangelical church took a stand identical with that of the Catholic church. In a circular the church distributed among its pastors on July 10, 1944, it reported its appeal to the government with regard to the converts. One of its demands was "to remove Jewish converts from the influence of the Jewish Council.... As long as they are under the influence of the Jewish Council, they are liable to be persecuted, mocked, ridiculed, and oppressed." Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 130–31.

65. Ibid., vol. 1, 78.
66. Levai, *Black Book,* 119–20.
67. Ibid., 120–21.
68. Ibid., 120.
69. Ibid., 121–22.
70. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 2, 59–60.
71. Ibid., vol. 2, 53.
72. Ibid., vol. 3, 310–12. See also Levai, *Black Book,* 92. Similarly, see Albert Bereczky, *Hungarian Protestantism and the Persecution of the Jews* (hereafter Bereczky, *Protestantism*), Budapest, 1945, 14.
73. Levai, *Black Book,* 93.
74. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 311.
75. Ibid.
76. Levai, *Black Book,* 218.
77. Ibid., 217. It was undoubtedly the ancient tradition of the church that the Protestant bishops, and even the cardinal, faced: "Practically all papal letters commanding princes and prelates to refrain from maltreating Jews described the latter as 'perfidious,' 'ungrateful,' or 'insolent' people. The recipients of these recommendations might well be excused for not heeding instructions to protect 'the Synagogue of Satan' or 'Jewish reprobates' or 'arrogant unbelievers.' Lapide, *The Three Last Popes,* 70. See also Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 7.
78. Levai, *Black Book,* 197. The nuncio stressed that the struggle against the

Jews not be waged "beyond the borders dictated by the laws of nature," i.e., that as long as the struggle is waged within "the laws of nature," it is not to be condemned. The nuncio could have relied upon the ancient church approach expressed in the words of Pope Innocent III, who ruled in 1199: "Although the Jewish perfidy is in every way worthy of condemnation, nevertheless, because through them the truth of our own faith is proved, they are not to be severely oppressed by the faithful." Freeman, *Intolerance,* 21. "Christian tradition . . . asserts that the Jews may live among the Christians as a degraded and inferior class so that the faithful Christian may observe the fate of those who are guilty of deicide and who stubbornly refuse to accept the true religion." Y. Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction* (hereafter Katz, *Prejudice*), Cambridge, Mass., 1980, 20. A similar approach is revealed by a comment made by Bishop Ravasz. After his speeches in the Upper House favoring the adoption of the second anti-Jewish law, he added an appeal to the government "to show delicacy and goodwill, together with the strong arm it applies in executing the law." *Pesti Hirlap,* April 18, 1939, 3.

79. Levai, *Black Book,* 197–98.
80. Ibid., 199–200.
81. Ibid., 200–201. Krumey, then one of the heads of the German mission to Hungary, told a member of the Jewish Council, "It is a German system, to send people together with their families, for then they work better and do not long for their families." *Attorney-General, Testimony,* vol. 2, 755.
82. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 93.
83. Ibid., vol. 3, 93–99.
84. Ibid., vol. 3, 170–71. The idea of showing mercy to the converts in order to facilitate the deportation of the Jews seems to have been accepted in government circles. In its session of August 22, 1944, the government discussed practical ways of deporting a quarter of a million Budapest Jews and sought a way to do so without making unnecessary noise. The interior minister said, "The number of converts in the Budapest area is about 20,000. The idea is that by refraining from deporting the converts, the deportation of the other Jews will be made possible." Ibid., vol. 3, 329.
85. Ibid., vol. 3, 19–22.
86. Ibid., vol. 3, 206–7.
87. Ibid., vol. 3, 104–5. Karsai, the editor of the book, comments on Winckelman's statement: "As scholars know today, Seredi did not intervene with Horthy against the brutal approach to the Jews."
88. Himler, *Igy Neztek Ki,* 117. See also Y. Z. Moor, *The Catholic Church and the Extermination of the Jews in Hungary* (hereafter Moor, *Catholic Church*), Quadrant, Sydney, Australia, May-June 1966, 69.
89. The writer's conversation with Rabbi Professor Meir Weiss in his home in

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Jerusalem on April 23, 1985. The bishops quoted expressed an opinion acceptable in Christian theology, and here are a number of examples: "The statement by Dietrich Bonhoeffer [a German theologian, anti-Nazi fighter, and victim of the Nazi regime] proves how deep the roots of anti-Jewish prejudice are, even among the best Christian theologians. The following excerpt is taken from a lecture he delivered in April 1933: 'The steps taken by the state against the Jews—on April 1st a boycott was declared against Jewry—are linked with the church in a special way. In the church of Jesus the concept never faded of "the chosen people" who crucified the Savior of the world, having to bear the curse resulting from its actions by means of a long history of suffering.' " Charlotte Klein, *Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology* (hereafter Klein, *Anti-Judaism*), Philadelphia, 1957, 118. The German Archbishop Groeber distributed a Shepherds' Epistle in March of 1941. In his letter he made use of numerous antisemitic expressions, accused the Jews of crucifying Jesus, and added, "the self-imposed curse of the Jews, 'His blood be upon us and upon our children,' has come true terribly until the present time." Gunter Lewy, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (hereafter Lewy, *Church and Germany*), New York, 1964, 294. See also Gutterridge, *Open Thy Mouth*, 71.

90. Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult*, 139.
91. Ibid., 145, and see also Levai, *Black Book*, 207.
92. Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult*, 176–78.
93. Levai, *Black Book*, 192–93.
94. Ibid., 207–10. See above, n. 77.
95. *Budapesti Hirlap*, April 16, 1939. See also above, part 2, n. 79. Of the many expressions voiced in Hungary over the long years in the spirit of Seredi's statement, we will note here only one. An antisemitic member of Parliament proposed in 1939, "If negative economic features appear, it will be desirable to declare the collective responsibility of the Jews." *Magyarsag*, February 4, 1939, 6.
96. A Hungarian historian, Istvan Bibo, wrote in the fall of 1948, "Even during the period between March 19 and October 15 the churches saw no reason to change their stand relative to the government and government officials whom they knew well . . . they included the Hungarian government together with those who stood behind them, the mad, idolatrous, criminal Hitlerite regime." Bibo's study appeared in the October-November 1948 issue of the Hungarian periodical *Valasz* (Response) under the heading "The Jewish Question in Hungary after 1944." Quoted in Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult*, 86.
97. Ibid., 67. See also ibid., 26, 148–49, 154. With regard to Raffay's appeal to Seredi, see Karsai, *Vadirat*, vol. 3, 9–10. Raffay's appeal is dated June 27, 1944. For Seredi's negative reply, see ibid., 111–12. In his reply rejecting the proposal of cooperation, Seredi writes that even without this intrachurch cooperation, "we are succeeding in achieving our aim."

98. Levai, *Black Book,* 221–22.
99. The rules of censorship did not apply to church publications, and the churches did not have to request advance authorization for their publications. In contrast, printing houses were obligated to present the authorities with one copy of whatever they printed. And so, the manager of the printing house presented a copy of the letter to the attorney-general's office in Esztergom, where the cardinal had his residence. The attorney-general passed the letter along to his superiors. Ibid., 211. There is another version that claims that the manager of the local post office, out of curiosity, examined the contents of one of the envelopes given him by the cardinal's office for posting. When he discovered the nature of the contents of the envelope he reported this to his superiors. The minister of trade and transport awarded the diligent post office manager a monetary prize of a thousand *pengo.* Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult,* 154.
100. Ibid., 155 ff. See also Levai, *Black Book,* 211–13.
101. See Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 93–99.
102. Levai, *Black Book,* 214.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid., 222–23. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 154–55.
105. Moor, *Catholic Church,* 72. The writer relies on documents 5435/1944 and 5882/1944 in the cardinal's archives in Esztergom.
106. Kis, *Megjelolve,* 234.
107. Braham, *Destruction of Hungarian Jewry,* vol. 2, 625. The bishop—named Mindszenty—who became cardinal after the death of Seredi, wrote a book called *My Memoirs* after the war. In his book he claims that neither he nor the Franciscan friar was aware of the aim of the prayer session organized by the Arrow-Cross party. It is difficult to imagine that the leader of the Arrow-Cross party neglected to inform the Franciscan friar of the aim of the thanksgiving service, and he clearly had no reason to hide it from him, especially since they announced both the service and its aim in fliers distributed in advance throughout the town of Veszprem. Moreover, the organization of public prayer sessions in cathedrals was not an everyday affair, nor was it the job of the leaders of the Arrow-Cross party. It is not reasonable that the priest in charge made no inquiries of the organizers of the service as to just what they wanted to give thanks for. The bishop also claims that in the end the thanksgiving prayer was not held at all. This claim is disproved both by Veesenmayer's report and by the testimony of Veszprem residents who remember the holding of the thanksgiving prayer session clearly. Kis, *Megjelolve,* 234–36.
108. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 63.
109. In his telegram to Berlin of July 6, Veesenmayer himself raises the possibility that the deterioration of the military situation was one of the reasons why the Hungarian government decided to put an end to the deportations. Ibid., vol. 3, 81–82.

110. Ibid., vol. 3, 4–5.
111. Ibid., vol. 3, 81–82. It is a reasonable assumption that the decoded telegrams were present in the background of Imredi's speech, delivered a few days after he had heard of them. In his speech he attempted to evade both the responsibility of the Hungarians in general and his own personal responsibility in particular for the treatment the Hungarians gave the Jews. "Contrary to the pernicious rumors being spread outside our borders, it may be stated certainly that not a drop of Jewish blood has been spilt—neither by the authorities nor by any Hungarian individual." *Nemzetor,* July 14, 1944, 2.
112. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 80. With regard to the reasons for the cessation of the deportations many theories have been raised since the war. The accepted assumption is that they were stopped as a result of the intervention of neutral countries maintaining diplomatic relations with Hungary. In this context the activities of the Holy See and its emissaries have particularly been stressed. In light of the material in this book, it is more likely that the Hungarian leaders were alarmed—simply alarmed—by the contents of the decoded telegrams. Support for this assumption can be found in the fact that the Hungarian leaders completely ignored all the warnings and appeals made to them from the time of the German invasion until these telegrams arrived and indicated that they were in the future to be tried for their deeds.
113. Levai, *Black Book,* 161, 182–84. Later on the authorities put off the target date until June 24. See also Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 2, 113–18, 162–66, 187–94, 203–22, 279–83, 290–308, 344–48. The Hungarian authorities treated the BBC threats seriously. In a document prepared by the Commission for Housing Affairs in the Capital, which deals with the location of the ghetto, there appear the considerations regarding the concentration of the Jewish residences. "It is not desirable for broad residential areas to be cleared of Jews, for in case of a terrorist attack from the air the Christian residents of these areas will be subjected to bombing from the air, whereas the residents of the ghetto will be spared them." Ibid., vol. 1, 302. Another consideration in determining "the Jewish buildings" appears in a newspaper article proposing "that it be taken into consideration that modern, favorably located, low-rental buildings be included in the list of Christian buildings. 'Jewish buildings' should be those which are located on side streets, old, neglected buildings or, on the other hand, modern residential buildings where rents are highest." Ibid., vol. 2, 191.
114. Ibid., vol. 2, 238. The homes of Jews now evacuated were placed at the disposal of those Christians who were compelled to evacuate their apartments as a result of their being designated Jewish buildings, or at the disposal of those Christian families whose apartments had been destroyed in Allied bombings from the air. The Jewish evacuees were to prepare inventories of the contents of their apartments, and were permitted to take with them only a minimal amount of vital clothing. Ibid., vol. 2, 164.

115. Ibid., vol. 2, 316–17.
116. Ibid., vol. 3, 114.
117. Ibid., vol. 3, 329. Separating the converts from the Jews takes on fateful significance in light of Jaross's statement quoted here. He would seem to have been inspired by the approach adopted by the priesthood, which consistently demanded that in every case the Jews and the converts were to be separated. The following episode, which might be considered comic were it not for the tragic element it contains, can serve to illustrate the rigid stance taken by the priests with regard to the separation of converts from Jews. Representatives of the organization of converts were brought urgently to the interior ministry on July 31 at 4 P.M. A prominent official of the ministry and a gendarmerie officer in charge of dealing with the Jews told them that all the converts were to move to special buildings intended for converts only, thus carrying out to the full their separation from the Jews. While the homes of the converts were also to be marked by a yellow Star of David, a distinction was to be made between them and those of the other Jews by means of a cross to be affixed over the yellow Star of David. The transfer of the thousands of converts—who had just crowded into their new apartments—was to be carried out in six days, by 8 P.M. on August 6. When the representatives of the converts tried to protest, pointing out the physical difficulty in carrying out this decree, the government representatives expressed their astonishment at the converts' representatives' reservation, claiming that the very separation of their residential quarters resulted from the request made by the priests and the pressure they brought to bear on the authorities to carry out that separation. The representatives of the converts were to be satisfied and grateful for the government's acquiescing with the request of the priesthood and agreeing to carry out this separation. Ibid., vol. 3, 305–8.
118. Ibid., vol. 3, 76.
119. Ibid., vol. 3, 152–53. A study of the protocol of that meeting shows that the number of Jews included in paragraph b was between fifty and sixty thousand as well. This means that the Hungarian government offered between 100,000 and 120,000 Jews in return for the removal of the Gestapo from Hungary. Ibid., vol. 3, 374–75, 379.
120. Katzburg, *Antisemitism*, 177.
121. Macartney, *October Fifteenth*, vol. 2, 283, n. 1. Horthy's consistency should be noted. In a letter to Prime Minister Teleki he wrote on October 14, 1940, "As regards the Jewish problem, I have been an anti-Semite throughout all my life, I have never had contact with Jews." Miklos Szinai and Laszlo Szucs, *The Confidential Papers of Admiral Horthy* (hereafter Szinai, *Confidential Papers*), Budapest, 1965, 150. To Hitler he wrote on May 7, 1943, "I hope that I may without any conceit refer to the fact that in my time I was the first to raise my voice against the destructive attitude

of the Jews and since then appropriate measures were taken by me to force back their influence." Ibid., 249. In a talk with Veesenmayer on July 4, 1944, Horthy said, "Back after the World War my name was involved in the struggle against Judaism and against Bolshevism. Such an image was created, and now we have not done more than to realize that image created a long time ago." Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 77.

122. Nagy-Talavera, *Green Shirts,* 212.
123. Nicholas Horthy, *Memoirs,* 161.
124. Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult,* 198, 212–15. In the memoirs he published in 1953 Horthy claims that only in August 1944 did he learn of the fate of those deported. This claim of Horthy's is denied by Dr. Sandor Torok, the converted journalist who was appointed deputy chairman of the Council of Converts in the summer of 1944, and who was directly responsible for handing over the report to Horthy. We also learn that Horthy received the report at the same time from another source as well. See ibid. Horthy's claim can be understood on the basis of the efforts made after the war by many involved directly or indirectly in the mass murder of Jews to clear themselves of these heavy allegations, or at least to limit their part in the crimes.
125. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 23.
126. When the message was being written, there were no longer any Jews in Hungary outside of Budapest. The aim of this sentence is clearly to deceive.
127. Levai, *Black Book,* 306–7.
128. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 276, 280–81.
129. Ibid., vol. 3, 390–91.
130. Levai, *Black Book,* 319.
131. Ibid., 321, 328, 330. See also Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 29–30, n. 57.
132. Ibid., vol. 1, 202. Hungarian law required the would-be convert to inform the offices of his community/church of his desire to leave his previous religion and adopt a new one. Only after receipt of certification of doing so was he permitted to turn to the community/church he desired to join in order to arrange for the conversion procedure.
133. Ibid. The interview with the rabbi appeared in the Jewish community newspaper *A Magyar Zsidok Lapja* (Newspaper of Hungarian Jewry), in its issue of April 20, 1944, a month after the German invasion. A few years after the war Dr. Sandor Torok said, "the government promised the churches to separate the Jews from the converts, and even if the Jews were deported from Budapest, the converts would not be deported. This was, understandably, never made public, but the rumor spread, causing a vast wave of baptism applications." Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult,* 203.
134. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 156–58.
135. Braham, *Politics of Genocide,* vol. 2, 1029. Braham does not make this claim explicitly, but the text paints just such a picture. According to Dr.

Sandor Torok's testimony, Ravasz, too, referred to what was happening to the Jews, saying, "I didn't want it to be this way." Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult,* 199.

136. Kis, *Megjelolve,* 93.
137. Levai, *Black Book,* 292–93. Seredi was consistent, remaining faithful to his principles and to the opinion he had expressed a few years earlier on this subject. See *Pesti Hirlap,* December 22, 1938. Seredi expressed a similar opinion at the session of the Synod of Bishops on January 13, 1939. See Gergely, *PPK,* 257.
138. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 215–18.
139. Ibid., vol. 3, 132.
140. Ibid., vol. 3, 195–96. An activist of one of the Protestant churches wrote a book just before the end of the war in which he attempts to present in a positive light the Protestant churches and their attitude to the Jews during the war and even before. He wrote that the church leaders had to ignore the rules of their own churches on many occasions on behalf of people whose lives were in danger. They ignored the preparatory period needed to prepare the would-be converts for their baptism, and baptized many and provided them with conversion certificates. With the help of these certificates, it was possible to deceive the authorities. Bereczky, *Protestantism,* 27–28. In light of the documents contradicting Bereczky quoted in this book, and in light of the fact that Bereczky provides no documentation whatever in support of his claims, these may be considered creative hindsight after the war, intended to disguise the behavior of his church during the persecution of the Jews. For the one-sidedness of Bereczky's book, see also Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult,* 85–87.
141. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 212. The letter is dated July 17, 1944.
142. Ibid., vol. 3, 213–14. The writer is certainly referring to Seredi's instruction concerning conversion procedures promulgated on July 24, and adduced below.
143. *Harc,* August 12, 1944.
144. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 257–58.
145. Ibid., vol. 3, 593–97.
146. Ibid., vol. 3, 383–84. The use of the term "laborers being sent to work in the Reich" served as a code that meant being sent to the death camps. In the messages dispatched in the summer of 1944 by the director of the local jail in the town of Sarvar to the Budapest police, the following wording appears regularly: "I hereby inform you that the detainee... has been handed over to the German Army so that he may be provided with work in Germany." In the letters there appear various personal details of the person being deported, including his date of birth. From these details we learn that among those detainees who "were sent to work" there was a 74-year-old woman and a two-year-old toddler. Ibid., vol. 3, 179 ff.
147. *Uj Magyarsag,* May 12, 1944, 5. A newspaper interview with Laszlo Endre

after he flew to visit thirty-four towns to supervise the deportations personally.

148. *Magyarorszag,* June 16, 1944, 5. Some two months before the beginning of the operation in which Jewish books were destroyed, a newspaper interview was held with Kolozsvary-Borcsa, whom the newspaper describes as "a fearless fighter for Christian ideals . . . who will work tirelessly for the Hungarian spirit and for the true Christian spirit." *Pesti Hirlap,* April 16, 1944. In a speech he delivered at the ceremony inaugurating the operation of destroying Jewish books, Kolozsvary-Borcsa recalled the inspiring memory of the late Bishop Prohaszka, who was "one of the pioneers of the concept of the struggle against Jewish literature." See above, part 2, nn. 31, 88.
149. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 1, 313–14. See also above, part 2, n. 100.
150. Ibid., vol. 1, 299–300. Quoted from the newspaper *Pesti Hirlap,* May 6, 1944.
151. Ibid., vol. 3, 137.
152. Ibid., vol. 2, 185–86.
153. Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult,* 234. Quoted from the Catholic periodical *Egyedul Vagyunk.*
154. *Pesti Hirlap,* April 23, 1944, 2.
155. Ibid., April 16, 1944. See above, n. 107.
156. Ibid.
157. *Uj Nemzedek,* May 9, 1944, 8.
158. *Uj Magyarsag,* June 27, 1944, 6.
159. *Harc,* July 8, 1944, 4.
160. *Uj Nemzedek,* May 18, 1944, 5. The minister of economics, Imredi, spoke in a similar tone. See *Nemzetor,* July 14, 1944, 2.
161. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 3, 507–8. The bishop's reply was given on September 6, 1944.
162. Ibid., vol. 3, 395.
163. Ibid., vol., 1, 262–64.
164. *Uj Nemzedek,* June 21, 1944, 7.
165. Karsai, *Vadirat,* vol. 1, 236.
166. Ibid., vol. 3, 226.
167. Ibid., vol. 3, 353–55.
168. Ibid., vol. 1, 66–69. As already noted, the Catholic chief inspector quotes government directive ME 1210/1944, dated March 29, 1944, promulgated in the official newspaper on March 31, 1944, under that number. The document composed by the Catholic chief inspector mentions two additional government directives: paragraphs 9 and 16 of Law XV of 1941, as well as directive number 1730/1944. These two directives deal with the definition of who the relevant anti-Jewish laws apply to. See also ibid., vol. 2, 355.
169. Ibid., vol. 3, 381–89.

170. Ibid., vol. 3, 447.
171. Ibid., vol. 3, 501. The instructions of the Catholic education inspectors and the pressures applied by the priests for the total separation of Jewish and convert residences reflected the common attitude demanding absolute separation from the Jews. It is not impossible that the atmosphere generated by this approach is the explanation for the demand made by Catholic prostitutes to be separated from their Jewish counterparts. Macartney, *October Fifteenth,* vol. 2, 276; Nagy-Talavera, *Green Shirts,* 204.
172. Kis, *Megjelolve,* 74.
173. From a letter by the bishop of Gyor to Cardinal Seredi, dated June 17, 1944. Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult,* 234.
174. In the winter of 1944 he attempted to save a nun from a Russian soldier who was about to rape her. The soldier shot and killed him.
175. Personal testimony in the Yad Va-Shem Archives, given in October 1983 by L.G., who lives in Hungary and desires to preserve his anonymity. He added pictures to his testimony, and they were marked with the number 1359. A set of four pictures describing the final stages of the deportation from the town of Soltvadkert also appears in the final pages of Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult.* In one of these pictures, a white patch may be discerned alongside one of the coaches. L.G.'s explanation: after the coach was padded with lime, it was decided to use it to transport the gendarmes who accompanied the deportees. For this purpose the coach was swept out and cleaned. The white patch next to the coach was created out of the lime dust swept out of it. In the pictures one can clearly see the accompanying gendarmes.
176. According to the men of office 06, after they completed the Eichmann file for the prosecution in preparation for his trial in Jerusalem in 1961–1962, and after they had made a study of the Holocaust over a long period of time—in their conversation with the newspaperman Dezso Schon, *A Jeruzsalemi Per* (The Jerusalem Trial), Tel-Aviv, 1962, 272.
177. Ibid., 377.
178. R. Major, *Churches,* 379.
179. Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult,* 230.
180. Gergely, *PPK,* 24, 157.
181. *Magyarsag,* January 25, 1939, 9.
182. Szenes, *Befejezetlen Mult,* 87.
183. Nagy-Talavera, *Green Shirts,* 230. This event took place after October 15, 1944.