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EDITORIAL

We greet the reader on the occasion of the publication of the fourteenth issue of the Central European Papers (C.E.P.). This number of our scientific journal is dedicated to different historical, legal and political topics. The first historical article focuses on the complex history of the name of the Hungarian parliament. We hope this article is the first step in the series of the terminological articles dealing with different aspects of the history of institutions in Central Europe. Minority issues are "evergreen" in Central Europe. One paper deals with the educational policy (on the university level) of Slovakia towards the Hungarian minority. The migrational issue is also a very current topic, especially after the crisis in 2015. Hungary has played an important role in the process of protecting the regional borders during this crisis. The following article deals with the activities and agreements of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission after the Second World War. This topic is an important contribution to the history of the problematic bilateral relations between the Central European states. Finally, as usual, we publish review about current and interesting book.

The authors of the current volume are respected scholars from the Czech Republic and Hungary. Readers can find among them scientific researchers, professors and PhD students as well. We hope that this issue of the Central European Papers (C.E.P.) will be useful not only for scholars but also for graduate and undergraduate students as well as for non-professional readers.

Editors

	ARTICLES	
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The name of the game – the historical names of the Hungarian parliament

dr. hab. György KÉPES

Abstract

Since the introduction of Hungarian as the official language of the Kingdom of Hungary (1844) the Hungarian parliament has officially been called *Országgyűlés* (in a common but not entirely correct English translation: “National Assembly”). In the “feudal” (estate) period, no such official Hungarian name was in use, and even the Latin denominations changed over time, from the 13th up to the 19th century. The use of the word parliament (*parlamentum*) was rather exceptional, and appeared in the earliest sources only, while the words *congregatio*, *conventio*, *comitia* and *diaeta* became common, however none of them exclusive, and all of them frequently used with attributes, in possessive form or in the combinations thereof (as e.g. *congregatio generalis*, *comitia regni* or *generalis diaeta regni*). This study is intending to make an attempt to show the origin, emergence and development of these various Latin expressions, and, in the last part, to present the Hungarian variants as well, also highlighting the importance and criteria of a historical demarcation between the two Hungarian forms of the English expression “national assembly”, *országgyűlés* and *nemzetgyűlés*.

Keywords

diet, parliament, legislative assembly, estates, popular representation, history of parliamentarism, historical terms for parliaments

Introduction

The Hungarian Parliament can look back on a many-centuries-long history. Its direct predecessor is a royal judicial assembly that was used to be held by the Hungarian kings in the city of Székesfehérvár traditionally “on the feast day of the holy king”, St. Stephen (1000–1038), in order to hear cases.¹ In the Golden Bull of 1222, Andrew II (1205–1235) promised to hold this meeting in every year, and to let, further to the prelates and barons usually invited since St. Stephen, also his royal servants (*servientes*), i.e. the free

1 BÓNIS, György: The Hungarian Feudal Diet (13th–18th Centuries), in: *Gouvernés et Gouvernants XXV*, Bruxelles 1965, 287–307, (289); ECKHART, Ferenc: *Magyar alkotmány- és jogtörténet [Hungarian Constitutional and Legal History]*, Budapest 2000 (originally written in 1946), 94; SZENTE, Zoltán: *A parlamentek története. A korai rendi gyűlések kialakulásától a modern népképviselői törvényhozásokig [A History of the Parliaments. From the Birth of the Early Diets to the Modern Parliaments of Democratic Representation]*, Budapest 2018, 118.

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men from around the country performing military service for the king,² assemble there and talk to their ruler “if they wish”.³ However, it is important to mention that these assemblies had a judicial function at that time, and it continued so in the following decades as well (that is why they are usually referred to as the “national days of justice”).⁴

In 1267, when king Béla IV (1235–1270) and his son, royal prince Stephen (king of Hungary as Stephen V, 1270–1272) were forced to confirm the privileges guaranteed by Andrew II in the Golden Bull,⁵ some important additions were made to the above cited text. On one hand, the expression “all the servientes who wish” was replaced with “two or three nobles from each county shall gather”, and on the other hand the function of the royal assembly was defined with the following half-sentence: “in their presence satisfaction shall be given to all petitioners for all the damages and injuries caused and committed by anyone whatsoever”.⁶ From this wording we may not lead to the consequence that the feast days of St. Stephen were thus transformed to a legislative body, but king Béla certainly promised to deal with more general affairs of his noblemen further to hearing their single legal cases only.⁷

While according to the historian Pál Engel, the *congregatio* of bishops held together with “some of the barons, the envoys of the nobles and those of the Cumans” in 1277, where the fifteen-year-old king Ladislaus IV “the Cuman” (named after the ethnicity of his mother, daughter of a Cuman chieftain) was declared to be of age, can be considered as the first Hungarian diet,⁸ the majority of the Hungarian legal historians are of a different opinion. In a book on the history of the Hungarian parliament published in 1999, written by the professors of the Department of History of the Hungarian State and Law at the

2 BARBER, Malcolm: *The Two Cities. Medieval Europe, 1050–1320*, London – New York 2004, 41; BÓDINÉ BELIZNAI, Kinga et al.: *History of the Hungarian Parliament*, in: *A magyar országgyűlés történetének képeskönyve [History of the Hungarian Parliament]*, MEZEY, Barna (ed.), Budapest 1999, 23–37, (23).

3 RADY, Martyn: Hungary and the Golden Bull of 1222, in: *Banatica*, 24, 2014, 2, 87–108, (92 and 104) – “*Ut annuatim in festo sancti regis, nisi arduo negocio ingruente vel infirmitate fuerimus prohibiti, Albe teneamur solemnizare. Et si nos interesse non poterimus, palatinus procul dubio ibi erit pro nobis, ut vice nostra causas audiat et omnes servientes, qui voluerint, libere illuc conveniant*” (in English: “That we are bound to celebrate the feast of Saint Stephen annually in Székesfehérvár unless we should be beset by some urgent matter or prevented by illness. And if we cannot be present, the palatine will definitely be there for us, and shall hear cases in our place, and all the servientes who wish shall freely assemble there”, see BAK, János M. (ed.): *Online Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae. The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, All Complete Monographs 4., Logan 2019, 158 and 160–161, online: https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/lib_mono/4 (Downloaded 16 January 2020).

4 BÓDINÉ BELIZNAI et al., 23.

5 ENGEL, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, London – New York 2001, 120. See also: S. KISS, Erzsébet: *A királyi generális kongregáció kialakulásának történetéhez*, Szeged 1971, 32–33 and 53.

6 In the Latin text: “*Item ordinavimus, quod singulis annis in festo sancti regis unus ex nobis Albam venire debeat et de quolibet comitatu duo vel tres nobiles debeant convenire, ut in eorum presentia de omnibus dampnis et iniuriis per quoscumque datis et illatis omnibus querelantibus satisfiat*” (in English: “Further, we ordered that each year at the feast of the holy king, one of us shall come to Székesfehérvár and two or three nobles from each county shall gather so that in their presence satisfaction shall be given to all petitioners for all the damages and injuries caused and committed by anyone whatsoever”, see BAK, 184 and 188.

7 SZENTE, Zoltán: Functions of the National Assembly Within the Constitutional Tradition of Hungary, in: *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae. Sectio Iuridica*, Budapest 2005, 93–114, (95).

8 ENGEL, 108.

University Eötvös Loránd of Budapest, it is emphasised that the general *congregatio*s of 1290 and 1298 can be accepted as parliaments because they “already functioned as a national legislative assembly”.⁹ In the introduction of his recent publication of the sources of medieval Hungarian law, the historian János M. Bak is also confirming this view: “the coronation decree of Andrew III and the parliamentary *decretum* of 1298 can be regarded as the earliest true pieces of legislation”.¹⁰

The *congregatio* of 1290 made a decision on the necessity to hold annual meetings in order “to consider the state of the realm and inquire into the actions of barons – how each behaved in his county and how he maintained the rights of the kingdom”.¹¹ Furthermore, the preamble of the decree of 5 August 1298 says that the king “convened a general assembly”,¹² and from the wording of the decree itself it is clear that the articles were enacted at the occasion of this meeting, convoked by the last king of the Árpád-dynasty, Andrew III (1290–1301).¹³ Article XVII of the same decree also orders that “all prelates [...] as well as all barons and nobles shall be bound to come together at Rákos near the River Danube [...] in order to review everything contained in the charter of the lord king, and to establish what is necessary”.¹⁴ By these provisions, the medieval parliament of Hungary was born, having very probably developed from the custom of annual royal meetings referred to in the Golden Bull. However, Erzsébet S. Kiss mentions that the only known example when a royal prince (namely the son of Béla IV, the later Stephen V) actually celebrated “the feast of the holy king” in Székesfehérvár on 20 August (“the day of St. Stephen”) happened in 1260.¹⁵

9 BÓDINÉ BELIZNAI et al., 23. See also: SZENTE, Zoltán: Az országgyűlés funkciói a magyar közjogi hagyományban [Functions of the Parliament in the Hungarian Constitutional Tradition], in: *Jogtörténeti Szemle*, 7, 2005, 2, 9–22, (11); SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 119.

10 BAK, 4.

11 In the Latin text: “*Item in quolibet anno semel omnes barones et nobiles regni nostri Albam ad congregationem debeant convenire [tractantes] de statu regni et inquirentes de factis baronum, qualiter quilibet ipsorum in suis comitatibus processerint et conservaverint iura regni, et secundum sua merita premia et demerita vel commissa supplicia ipso die secundum iudicium nostrum et consiliariorum nostrorum recepturi*” (in English: “Further, once each year all the barons and nobles of the realm shall convene at Székesfehérvár, to consider the state of the realm and inquire into the actions of barons – how each behaved in his county and how he maintained the rights of the kingdom – and to receive on the same day their rewards for merits or punishments for omissions and misdeeds in accordance with our judgment and that of our councilors”, see BAK, 194 and 202–203.

12 In the Latin text: “*Quo viso idem dominus Andreas Spritu Sancto suggerente aures aperuit sue clementie et fidelibus consiliis acquiescens congregationem indixit generalem ad hoc...*” (in English: “Having seen this, the same Lord Andrew, guided by the Holy Spirit, opened the ears of his compassion and, accepting faithful counsel, convened a general assembly...”, see BAK, 207 and 212.

13 ECKHART, 95; RADY, *Hungary and the Golden Bull of 1222*, 105.

14 In the Latin text: “*Statuimus, ut omnes prelati, quos legitimum impedimentum non detinuerit, necnon et omnes barones et nobiles universi ad quindenae beati Georgii in Racus iuxta Danubium convenire teneantur, ut omnibus ibidem recensitis, que in litteris domini regis expressa continentur, institutis, que necessaria fuerint...*” (in English: “We decree that all prelates, not prevented by a legitimate hindrance, as well as all barons and nobles shall be bound to come together at Rákos near the River Danube on the fifteenth day after the Feast of St. George in order to review everything contained in the charter of the lord king, and to establish what is necessary”, see BAK, 211 and 220. According to Károly Kmety, the end of the sentence should have been “...que necessaria fuerint statuuntur”. See KMETY, Károly: *A magyar közjog tankönyve [Textbook of the Hungarian Public Law]*, Budapest 1902, 225 [footnote].

15 S. KISS, 53.

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After the death of Andrew III (that, at the same time, meant the extinction of the male line of the House of Árpád), the estates tried to enforce the royal obligation of holding yearly assemblies. The Angevin king, Charles I (1308–1342), already crowned (unconstitutionally with a supplementary crown instead of the Holy Crown traditionally connected to St. Stephen) in 1301, had to meet this expectation in the first two decades of his reign, but as soon as he was able to consolidate his power, he seemed to be unwilling to continue this practice.¹⁶ Therefore, in 1318 four Hungarian prelates showed him a copy of the Golden Bull, with *Martyn Rady's* words: "in the hope that he would acknowledge the royal obligation to convene an assembly".¹⁷ Nevertheless, the last known diet was convened by him in 1320,¹⁸ and his son, Louis I "the Great" (1342–1382) appears not to have held any similar assemblies either – maybe with one exception, in 1351, when he reinforced the provisions of the Golden Bull and the "liberty" (privileges) of the nobles with some amendments at a diet probably convened in Buda.¹⁹

Not speaking about the difficult years between the death of Louis I and the accession to throne of his son-in-law, Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437), a revival of the Hungarian national assemblies can be observed only in the 15th century, primarily after Sigismund's decease.²⁰ It is worth noting that Sigismund himself also made an important contribution to the history of the Hungarian parliament, in 1405, when he invited the deputies of the free towns to the diet the first time in Hungarian history, in order to discuss their matters.²¹ The attendance of the towns at the assemblies through their representatives became regular from the 1440s on,²² while right in 1446 hundreds of noblemen, who earlier had also been represented from time to time by deputies chosen at noble assemblies in the counties,²³ were invited personally to attend the assembly in order to elect *John Hunyadi* (1387–1456) as regent until Ladislaus V of Habsburg (1440–1457) would come to age.²⁴

16 SZENTE, *Functions of the National Assembly...*, 99; SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 121.

17 RADY, *Hungary and the Golden Bull of 1222*, 105; see also: ENGEL, 142.

18 Ibidem, 140.

19 SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 121.

20 BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 290; ECKHART, 95.

21 BÓDINÉ BELIZNAI et al., 24; ENGEL, 218; SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 122.

22 BÓDINÉ BELIZNAI et al., 25; BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 294; ECKHART, 97; RÁCZ, Lajos: A Historical Insight in the Theory and Organization of the Hungarian State, in: *The Hungarian State, 1000–2000*, GERGELY, András – MÁTHÉ, Gábor (eds.), Budapest 2000, 17–67, (40); SZENTE, *Functions of the National Assembly...*, 98. Recent historiography mentions that the participation of the delegates of the towns became regular only after 1526. See e.g.: KUBINYI, András: A magyar országgyűlések tárgyalási rendje, 1445–1526 [Operational Rules of the Hungarian Diets, 1445–1526], in: *Jogtörténeti Szemle*, 8, 2006, 2, 3–11, (4); PÁLFFY, Géza: *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century*, New York 2009, 22 and 179.

23 BÓDINÉ BELIZNAI et al., 25; ENGEL, 349; RÁCZ, *A Historical Insight in the Theory...*, 39–40; SZENTE, *Functions of the National Assembly...*, 98 and 100.

24 ENGEL, 349; SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 122.

This personal invitation was transformed to an obligation of attendance in 1458 (by Act XIII), and it led to an unfortunate practice of holding mass assemblies, especially in the Jagiello era (1490–1526), thus after the death of Matthias I Corvinus (1458–1490).²⁵

The significance of the diets in the turmoil of the 15th and 16th centuries was enormous. After Sigismund's death, the estates quickly made clear that the election of the king fell into their competence. Further to the election of the ruler, the diet obtained the right to approve royal taxes (by custom already since the mid-16th century, and from 1504 also by written law, namely Act I of 1504),²⁶ and to "vote recruits" for the king (set up an army for the kingdom) as well.²⁷ For the 16th century, the exercise of the legislative power in general also became impossible without the diet: *Stephen Werbőczy* emphasised in Chapter 3 of the Second Part of his famous law book *Tripartitum* (prepared for the diet in 1514, and first published in 1517) that the king cannot issue statutes by himself, but "once the people are summoned and asked whether such laws are acceptable to them or not, and they approve the laws, then such bills are henceforth to be observed as laws [...]".²⁸

During the reign of Matthias Corvinus the diet was convened 25 times, while at the time of the Jagiello kings, Wladislas II (1490–1516) and Louis II (1516–1526), further 42 or 43²⁹ assemblies were held. Altogether it means an average of one diet a year, not evenly spread: less frequently summoned under the strong-armed leader Matthias and more often at the time of the weaker Jagiello kings (in 1518 not less than threetimes).³⁰ After the defeat of the Hungarian troops at Mohács in 1526 against the Ottoman Empire, in the so-called "royal" part of Hungary falling under the rule of Ferdinand I of Habsburg (1526–1564), the practice continued, however, the new king intended to return to the earlier custom (followed by Matthias Corvinus)³¹ of inviting only deputies from the counties. Though it could be interpreted as an infringement of the ancient principle of equal noble privileges

25 BÉRENGER, Jean – KECSKEMÉTI, Károly: *Országgyűlés és parlamenti élet Magyarországon, 1608–1918* [*Parliament and Parliamentary Life in Hungary, 1608–1918*], Budapest 2008, 24–25; ECKHART, 96; KMETY, 243 [footnote]; RADY, Martyn: Law and Ancient Constitution in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary, in: *A History of the Hungarian Constitution. Law, Government and Political Culture in Central Europe*, HÖRCHER, Ferenc – LORMAN, Thomas (eds.), London 2019, 29–45, (35); SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 255. The legal historian György Bónis mentions four known occasions of mass assemblies in the Jagiello period: 1492, 1498, 1518 and 1525. See BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 294.

26 Ibidem, 298; ECKHART, 98; SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 253.

27 SZENTE, *Functions of the National Assembly...*, 101–102.

28 SZABÓ, Béla: Development of Law in Hungary: the First Eight Centuries, in: *The Hungarian State, 1000–2000*, GERGELY, András – MÁTHÉ, Gábor (eds.), Budapest 2000, 130–167, (136–137); SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 254. The source in Latin: "Attamen princeps proprio motu & absolute potissimum [...] constitutiones facere non potest sed accersito interrogatoque populo si eis tales leges placeant an ne? qui cum responderint quod sic, tales postea sanctiones [...] pro legibus observantur", see: WERBŐCZY, Stephen: *The Customary Law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary in Three Parts* (1517), Budapest 2005, 228–229. (Based on the first original publication: *Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii incltyi regni Hungariæ per magistrum Stephanum de Werbewcz personalis præsentie regiæ maiestatis locum tenentem accuratissime editum*, Wien 1517).

29 According to Tibor Neumann, no diet was actually held in 1491, the historical documents referring to it are from later times and were wrongly dated. See NEUMANN, Tibor: Királyi hatalom és országgyűlés a Jagelló-kor elején [Royal Power and Diet at the Beginning of the Jagiello Era], in: *Rendiség és parlamentarizmus Magyarországon, a kezdetektől 1918-ig* [*Estates and Parliamentarism in Hungary, from the Beginning to 1918*], DOBSZAY, Tamás et al. (eds.), Budapest 2014, 46–54, (47).

30 ENGEL, 348; RADY, *Law and Ancient Constitution...*, 35.

31 BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 294.

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(*una eademque libertas*),³² the high costs of personal attendance meant such a burden to the less wealthy noblemen that this change has gradually been accepted by them, especially when Pressburg (today: Bratislava, Slovakia) was established as the new location of the diets.³³

The modern (now also historical)³⁴ bicameral structure of the Hungarian parliament was finally set up in 1608 (Act I *post coronationem*), based on the already established practice of holding separate meetings with the aristocrats in the royal council (before the battle of Mohács in the castle of Buda, during the Habsburgs' reign in different buildings in Pressburg or even Sopron).³⁵ This regulation, enacted at the occasion of Matthias II's (1608–1619) accession to the Hungarian throne, made a clear distinction between [1] the house of the *praelati* (catholic archbishops and bishops), *barones* (the leading office-holders of the realm) and *magnates* (male and adult members of the aristocratic families who held no office),³⁶ and [2] the chamber of deputies of the noble counties, chapters and convents, and royal free towns.³⁷ The prelates, barons and magnates continued to be invited personally (as all of them were, by custom, members of the [larger] royal council, the upper house can be considered as the successor of the latter),³⁸ while to the lower house, instead of given persons, the communities (counties, chapter, town) were invited by the king, requesting them to send their delegates (*ablegati*) to the assembly.³⁹ Until 1848, no significant change was made, moreover, not even the April Laws of 1848

32 See Chapter 9 of the First Part ("Primae Nonus") of the *Tripartitum*. The principle derives from Article XI of Louis I's Decree of 1351: "*Ad eorundem etiam nobilium petitionem annuimus, ut universi veri nobiles intra terminos regni nostri constituti, etiam in tenutis ducalibus sub inclusione terminorum ipsius regni nostri existentes sub una et eadem libertate gratulentur*", in English: "We grant the petition of these same nobles, that all true nobles established within the borders of our kingdom, including also those living on ducal territory within the borders of our kingdom, should enjoy one and the same liberty". See BAK, 273 and 283.

33 BÓDINÉ BELIZNAI et al., 25; BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 293; PÁLFFY, *The Kingdom of Hungary...*, 179; RÁCZ, *A Historical Insight...*, 39–40.

34 The Hungarian Parliament has been unicameral since 1945.

35 BÉRENGER – KECSKEMÉTI, 25; CSEKEY, István: *Magyarország alkotmánya [The Constitution of Hungary]*, Budapest 1943, 138–139; PÁLFFY, *The Kingdom of Hungary...*, 179; RADY, *Law and Ancient Constitution...*, 37; SZENTE, *Functions of the National Assembly...*, 101. For the locations see the table in PÁLFFY, Géza: A magyar országgyűlés helyszínei a 16–17. században [Locations of the Hungarian Diet in the 16th and 17th Centuries], in: *Rendiség és parlamentarizmus Magyarországon, a kezdetektől 1918-ig [Estates and Parliamentarism in Hungary, from the Beginning to 1918]*, DOBSZAY, Tamás et al. (eds.), Budapest 2014, 65–87, (67–68).

36 BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 295; ENGEL, 348; PÁLFFY, *The Kingdom of Hungary...*, 21–22; RADY, *Law and Ancient Constitution...*, 37; SZIJÁRTÓ, István M.: The Diet: The Estates and the Parliament of Hungary, 1708–1792, in: *Bündnispartner und Konkurrenten des Landesfürsten? Die Stände in der Habsburgermonarchie*, AMMERER, Gerhard et al. (eds.), Wien – München 2007, 119–139, (124).

37 BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 295; ECKHART, 213; SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 256–258; SZIJÁRTÓ, *The Diet...*, 124.

38 BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 293; RÁCZ, *A Historical Insight...*, 39; see also: BÓDINÉ BELIZNAI et al., 25; RADY, *Law and Ancient Constitution...*, 37; SZENTE, *Functions of the National Assembly...*, 101; and especially concerning the earlier development of the royal council: KUBINYI, 4.

39 BÓDINÉ BELIZNAI et al., 25; RÁCZ, *A Historical Insight...*, 40; RADY, *Law and Ancient Constitution...*, 37; SZIJÁRTÓ, *The Diet...*, 124.

(establishing the Hungarian constitutional monarchy based on the Belgian model of 1831)⁴⁰ changed the structure of the parliament compared to the 1608 regulations. The only (very important) modification was that the lower chamber was transformed into a modern kind of House of Representatives by the introduction of a limited male suffrage instead of the privilege of the estates concerning the appointment of their *ablegati*. The second chamber (invariably called “Upper Table”) remained unchanged until 1885, but the aristocratic-historical element was kept (though slightly restricted) even after this reform. After a short interruption after the First World War, the Hungarian parliament became bicameral again for the rest of the interwar period, and it has become unicameral (maybe definitively) only in 1945.

Historical names of the Hungarian parliament

The eminent political thinker and legal scholar of the Hungarian enlightenment, József Hajnóczy (1750–1795) published a book on the Hungarian parliament in 1791, right after the dissolution of the first Hungarian diet since 1765.⁴¹ In the first chapter of this book written in Latin (official language in Hungary at that time) with the full title *De Comitiiis Regni Hungariae, deque Organisatione eorundem Dissertatio Iuris Publici Hungarici* [A Public Law Dissertation on the Diet of the Kingdom of Hungary and its Organisation], he has compiled a list of the names used for the denomination of the legislative assemblies in the Hungarian history, based on (and with reference to the year and number of article of) the laws collected in the *Corpus Iuris Hungarici*. The list contains not less than thirty-three names, but in major part those are different variations of expressions containing the Latin words *comitia*, *congregatio*, *conventus/conventio*, *di(a)eta* and *parlamentum*.

If we look at the names used Europe-wide for the same purpose, we can establish that the Hungarian naming practice was very similar of that of the other European countries functioning in the same or similar political system of *Ständestaat* (or “estate monarchy”). According to Zoltán Szente,⁴² the following words were applied in the Middle Ages and in the early modern era for legislative assemblies:

- Court (in Latin: *curia*): in the Iberian peninsula (variations: *Cortes*, *Corts*);
- Parliament (in Latin: *colloquium*, *parlamentum*): in England, Ireland and Scotland (*Parliament*) and in some of the Italian principalities (*Parlamento*);
- Assembly (in Latin: *congregatio*, *conventum*): in several different forms throughout the continent, from the Scandinavian *things* through the German tags right until the Slavic versions like *sejm* (Poland), *sabor* (Croatia);
- Estates: in the United Provinces of the Netherlands (*Staten-Generaal*) and in France (*États généraux*).

40 CIEGER, András: New Models and Old Traditions: Debates on Parliamentarism in Hungary after the Austro-Hungarian Settlement of 1867, in: *The Ideal of Parliament in Europe since 1800*, AERTS, Remieg et al. (eds.), Cham 2019, 77–94, (78).

41 HORVÁTH, Attila: Alkotmányjogi javaslatok és reformok, 1790–1949 [Constitutional Proposals and Reforms, 1790–1949], in: *MTA PTI Working Papers in Political Science*, 2011, 6, 92–109, (96).

42 See e.g. SZENTE, Zoltán: A korai rendi gyűlések fő jellemzői és intézményei [Main Characteristics and Institutions of the Early Estate Assemblies], in: *Parlamenti Szemle*, 2017, 1, 5–25, (6); SZENTE, A *parlamentek története...*, 19.

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In the opinion of the author of the present study, a further distinction is to be made, namely between the different language variations of the word “assembly” and those of the word “diet” (in correct Latin: *dieta*), because, as we will see in the following, these two have slightly different etymology. As the entire Hungarian parliament was never called “court” (*curia*), in the next part of this paper we will focus on the use of four characteristic denominations in their order of appearance in the Hungarian historical documents: “parliament”; the several forms of “assembly”; the separate and very popular word “diet”; and the equivalent of “estates” in the Hungarian legal sources: *Status et Ordines* (not mentioned by Hajnóczy in his book). After these, we will have a quick look at the Hungarian denominations as well.

Parliament (*parlamentum*)

The English word “parliament” is now a very popular name of legislative assemblies. Many of the contemporary national assemblies of European countries and also of countries on other continents (obviously emerged under the strong influence of European constitutional law and theory) are called this way, however, in the Middle Ages, the use of this name was rather exceptional. The first known example when a general and nation-wide assembly was called like this is a document of the English king Henry III (1216–1272) from 1244 in which he referred to the assembly leading to the issue of the famous *Magna Carta Libertatum* as “*Parlamentum Runimede, quod fuit inter Dom. Joh. Regem patrem nostrum et barones suos Angliæ*”.⁴³

The etymology of this word is disputed, but we accept the view of those who are saying that it was used as an equivalent (or “bad substitute”)⁴⁴ of the Latin word *colloquium*, meaning a personal meeting in order to hold a discourse,⁴⁵ and very probably deriving from the French verb *parler*⁴⁶ or its Italian version *parlare* (to talk), both being indirect derivatives of the ancient Greek word παραβολή (comparison) with the mediation of the Latin language (*parabola*).⁴⁷ This etymology seems to be especially well-founded for the cases of medieval assemblies in England or Hungary, as the general scope thereof was that the king could discuss the urgent matters of his realm with a privileged group of his subordinates.

According to Hajnóczy, only one Hungarian assembly was called *parlamentum* (in the entire form: *parlamentum publicum regni*), the one convened by Ladislaus IV in 1289.⁴⁸ He refers to page 150 of the work written by *Martinus Georgius Kovachich* and published in Buda just one year before the publication of Hajnóczy’s book, in 1790, with the full Latin title *Vestigia comitorum apud Hungaros ab exordio regni eorum in Pannonia usque ad hodiernum diem*

43 WHITE, Albert B.: Early Uses of “Parlamentum”, in: *The Modern Language Review*, 9, 1914, 1, 92–93, (92 [footnote]).

44 RICHARDSON, Henry G.: The Origins of Parliament, in: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 11, 1928, 137–183, (143).

45 Online: <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/colloquium> (Downloaded 21 January 2020); see also: RICHARDSON, 143; SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 19.

46 Ibidem.

47 Online: <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/parlare#Verb> (Downloaded 21 January 2020).

48 HAJNÓCZY, József: *De Comitibus Regni Hungariae, deque Organisatione eorundem Dissertatio Iuris Publici Hungarici*, Pressburg 1791, 4.

celebratorium, containing a detailed description of the works of all (presumed or factually proved) legislative assemblies in Hungary since St. Stephen right until the long-awaited convocation of the coronation diet of Leopold II (1790–1792) convened in 1790, after a 25-years interruption of absolutistic form of government of queen Maria Theresa (1740–1780) and Emperor Joseph II (1780–1790) who cannot be considered constitutionally as a Hungarian king because he had never been crowned.

Hajnóczy's reference to the given page of the *Vestigia comitiorum* is correct,⁴⁹ and many other authors referred to the same document of 1289 as the only known example of the official use of *parlamentum* in Hungarian history as well.⁵⁰ More recently, legal historians highlighted that in ecclesiastical sources the (already mentioned) assemblies of legislative character convoked in 1290 and 1298 (by Andrew III) are also named as *parlamentum publicum* or *parlamentum generale*.⁵¹ According to Lajos Rácz, even if it seems obvious, it does not necessarily prove that the model of these assemblies would be the Parliament of England, because historiographical researches discovered a more direct connection with the diet of the Patriarchate of Aquileia on the North Adriatic coast (now belonging to the Italian region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia).⁵²

The Hungarian equivalent of the word "parliament" (*parlament*) is widely known and accepted in our contemporary language as an (unofficial) denomination of the parliament of Hungary. However, in the history of the Hungarian language, it is far newer than the usage of the Latin version (*parlamentum*). According to our knowledge, its first occurrence is from 1612 in the meaning of legislative assembly, though not referring to the Hungarian diet but the English (or Scottish) parliament,⁵³ because the book itself was a Hungarian translation of the famous work of the Scottish king James VI (1567–1625, king of England as James I from 1603), *Basilikon Doron* (1599), translated to Hungarian by György Szepesi Korotz. In another book written in Hungarian (*Angliai Independentismus* by Gáspár Miskolczi Csulyak) and published in 1654 in Utrecht (the Netherlands), the word is used in its Latin form (*parlamentum*), referring to the English parliament and presenting its two chambers to the Hungarian readers.⁵⁴ The Hungarian diet was not referred to as "*parlament*" until the modern age.

49 KOVACHICH, Martinus Georgius: *Vestigia comitiorum apud Hungaros ab exordio regni eorum in Pannonia usque ad hodiernum diem celebratorium*, Buda 1790, 150.

50 See e.g.: BEÖTHY, Ákos: *A magyar államiség fejlődése, küzdelmei. Politikai tanulmány. I. rész: A régi Magyarország, a honfoglalástól az 1825-iki országgyűlésig* [Development and Struggles of the Hungarian Statehood. A Political Study. Part One: the ancient Hungary, from the Conquest until the Diet of 1825], Budapest 1906, 48 (with wrong reference); KMETY, 225 [footnote].

51 BÓDINÉ BELIZNAI et al., 24; RÁ CZ, *A Historical Insight...*, 37; SZENTE, *Functions of the National Assembly...*, 96 [footnote No. 13]; SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 119.

52 RÁ CZ, *A Historical Insight...*, 37.

53 According to the linguist László Országh, the English one [see: ORSZÁGH, László: *Parlament*, in: *Magyar Nyelvőr*, 94, 1970, 3, 349–350, (350)], in the opinion of the author of this study the Scottish parliament, because James was not yet king of England at the time when his book was published (in 1599).

54 Ibidem, 350.

Latin forms of the word assembly

Congregatio

Congregatio (with different attributes and combinations thereof) was undoubtedly the most frequently used Latin word for denominating the legislative assemblies in medieval and early modern Hungarian legal documents.⁵⁵ Hajnóczy alone discovered 25 appearances of *congregatio* in law texts, starting with 1435 (preface of the decree of Sigismund of Luxemburg issued in that year), right up to the 18th century, practically until contemporary times from his point of view. The most frequent form of usage was *congregatio generalis*, used in not less than twelve articles in different Hungarian laws according to Hajnóczy's research.⁵⁶ According to György Bónis, the attribute *generalis* referred to the fact that these were nationwide assemblies for all the privileged inhabitants of the realm, instead of partial assemblies for given groups of people, or parts of the country.⁵⁷

Erzsébet S. Kiss mentions in her study that this term very probably derived from ecclesiastical document, as several types of meetings of the clergy were used to be called *congregatio generalis*, from the assemblies of monastic orders and convents up to the papal synods. In the 13th century, the Hungarian kings and royal officials could easily become aware of this meaning, as it can be seen in the letters written by popes to Hungarian kings (e.g. the letter sent by Pope Innocent III to Andrew III) or prelates. In the *Chronicon Pictum* ("The Illuminated Chronicle",⁵⁸ in Hungarian: "*Képes Krónika*"), probably written by Márk Kálti, guardian-canon of Székesfehérvár around 1360 on the basis of a mandate received from king Louis I, a judicial assembly held by queen consort (and regent) Elena in 1131 in Arad is mentioned (retrospectively) the first time as *congregatio generalis*. According to S. Kiss, and contrary to the above cited opinion represented by Bónis, in 13th-century royal documents the same expression was used for partial assemblies convened by the kings for different groups of counties as well.⁵⁹

Article XVIII of the decree of 1290 (probably already adopted at a legislative assembly that was, as we have already seen, also mentioned as "*parlamentum*") is referring to the necessity of convening yearly assemblies as ordered in the Golden Bull with the following words: "*in quolibet anno semel omnes barones et nobiles regni nostri Albam ad congregationem debeant convenire*" ("once each year all the barons and nobles of the realm shall convene").⁶⁰ The diets of the 15th century (from 1435 on, until 1498) are also usually called simply as *congregatio* (e.g. in 1435, 1446, 1478, 1498) or *congregatio*

55 BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 292.

56 HAJNÓCZY, 2–3.

57 BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 292.

58 A recent publication in English see: BAK, János M. – VESZPRÉMY, László (eds.): *The Illuminated Chronicle. Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex*, Budapest 2018.

59 S. KISS, 11–13.

60 BAK, 194 (Latin) and 202 (English).

generalis (e.g. in 1446, 1458, 1459, 1462, 1464, 1492, 1495, 1498).⁶¹ In the preamble of the Tripartitum, Stephen Werbőczy also refers to the parliament (to which his great work was presented as a bill) the same way, in the name of king Wladislas II: "*Demum nobis in praesenti conventu & congregatione generali eorundem universorum prelatorum & baronum, regni huius nobilium...*" ("Finally, after we had convened in the present assembly and general gathering of all the same prelates, barons and nobles of this realm...").⁶²

Conventio or conventus

Further to *congregatio*, the other most frequently used expression for the parliament in the 15th century was, again based on Hajnóczy's compilation, *conventio* (in itself in 1446 and 1498, with the attribute *generalis* e.g. in 1453, 1458, 1471, 1492, 1500 and 1517). An altered form of this word (*conventus*) was also quite often applied: as *conventus generalis* (e.g. in 1471, 1550 and 1662) or even as *conventus generalis omnium regnicolarum* (in 1500), later in a very detailed official form as "*Conventus Dominorum Praelatorum, Baronum, Magnatum & Nobilium, ceterorumque Statutum & Ordinum Regni Hungariae, partiumque ei subiectarum (alibi annexarum) generalis*", i.e. listing all the estates (the chapters and towns only as "the others"). This long version was used several times in the 17th century, and also as late as in 1751.⁶³

Comitia

As we could already see, further to many other sources, from the title of Kovachich's book (*Vestigia comitiorum...*) and Hajnóczy's work (*De Comitibus Regni Hungariae...*) as well, in the late 18th century one of the most widely known and preferred names of the Hungarian diet was *comitia*.⁶⁴ A considerable part of the official publications (in Latin language) of the sessions of the Hungarian parliament held in 1790–91 (coronation of Leopold II), 1792 (coronation of Francis I) and 1796 (attack of French troops against the Habsburg empire) also referred in their titles to the diet by using this word. In order to substantiate this observation, we may mention the official title of the parliamentary diaries of this era (*Diarium Comitiorum*) and that of the documents (laws) adopted by these diets (*Series Actorum in Generalibus Regni Comitibus*) as well.⁶⁵

61 As an example, let us cite the first paragraph of Article I of Wladislas II's decree of 1498 on the necessity of convening assemblies annually to the Field of Rákös: "*Item, quod amodo infra quatuor annorum spacia post sese immediate consequenter affutura singulis annis ad festum sancti Georgii martyris universis regnicolis, tam scilicet prelatibus, quam baronibus, ceterisque nobilibus et possessionatis hominibus per regiam maiestatem in campo Rakos una congregacio generalis indicatur et celebretur*" (in English: "Then, that in the four years now following a general assembly shall be annually held by His Majesty at the feast of St George the Martyr for all the gentlemen of the realm, that is the prelates as well as the barons and other nobles and men of property in the field of Rákös"). See: BAK, 921 (Latin) and 945 (English).

62 WERBŐCZY, *The Customary Law...*, 8–9.

63 HAJNÓCZY, 2–4.

64 SZIJÁRTÓ, István M.: *A diéta. A magyar rendek és az országgyűlés, 1708–1792* [The Diet. The Hungarian Estates and the Parliament, 1708–1792], Keszthely 2010, 30 [footnote].

65 All this documents can be read at and downloaded from the collections of the Library of the Hungarian Parliament, online: https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/orszagygyulesi_konyvtar_dtt_ReformkorElottiDok/ (Downloaded 17 January 2020).

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According to Hajnóczy, the first appearance of *comitia* in the text of Hungarian laws can already be found as early as in Act VI of 1542 (as *comitia generalia*), while in the later (17th and 18th) centuries the word *comitia* can be found in legal sources in its simple form as well as in attributed forms like *comitia regni* (1655, 1765) or *comitia generalia regni* (1741, 1765).⁶⁶ When the compilation of the Hungarian statute law later (from its famous 1696 edition) known as the *Corpus Iuris Hungarici* was first published in 1584, its full title was also “*Decreta, constitutiones et articuli regum inclityi Ungariae [...] publiciis comitiis edita*” (in English: “Decrees, laws and articles of the noble Kingdom of Hungary [...] adopted at public assemblies”).

Furthermore, in Act I (*post coronationem*) of 1608 (that was, as we mentioned before, the most important regulation concerning the Hungarian parliament until 1848, and remained partially in force until 1944), the terms *comitia regni* and *comitia generalia* appear as well. In the first section it is laid down that the scope of the law is to specify whom the king shall invite to the future assemblies: “*quive per suam majestatem regiam ad publica regni comitia per suae majestatis regales vocari*”, while in the final (12th) section the law prohibits the king to invite any persons not belonging to the “estates and orders” listed in the previous paragraphs with the following words: “*Praeter hos itaque S. S. et O. O. [Status et Ordines] ne sua majestas regia [...] ad comitia generalia adhibeat*”.⁶⁷

Dieta or diaeta

According to the eminent researcher of the 18th-century Hungarian diets, István M. Szijártó, the parliaments held in this age were the most often referred to in contemporary documents and literature as *diaeta*, *regni comitia* (see in the previous section of this study) or *diaeta regni*.⁶⁸ The word *diaeta* is misspelled, and this mistake is very probably deriving from the other meaning of diet, the food consumed by a given person or group of people.⁶⁹ Anyway, the fact that this form appeared much more often than the correct form (*dieta*) in medieval and early modern sources is well reflected in the fact that Hajnóczy does not mention the latter even once.⁷⁰ The etymology of this word is still not clear, however it is presumed by many researchers that it has to be somehow in connection with the Latin word *dies* (day). Consequently, *dieta* could have originally meant a daily portion, one day's run or a daily allowance. The German equivalent of day, Tag was (and is still) used as a term meaning assembly.⁷¹

66 HAJNÓCZY, 1.

67 Source of the Latin text: MARCZALI, Henrik: *A magyar történet kútfoinek kézikönyve [A Handbook for the Sources of Hungarian History]*, Budapest 1901, 511–512.

68 SZIJÁRTÓ, *A diéta...*, 30 [footnote]; see also: BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 292; RÁCZ, *A Historical Insight...*, 37.

69 See e.g. the article “*diéta*” in: BENKŐ, Loránd (ed.): *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára, 1. kötet (A–Gy) [Historical-etimological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language, Volume 1 (A–Gy)]*, Budapest 1967, 632 and FEJES, László: *Diéta és diéta [Diet and Diet]*, online: <https://www.nyest.hu/hirek/dieta-es-dieta> (Downloaded 17 January 2020).

70 See HAJNÓCZY, 3–4.

71 BENKŐ, 632; FEJES.

As it is well known, the imperial diets of the Holy Roman Empire were called *Reichstag*, while the provincial assemblies *Landtag*. In Scandinavia, similar terms have been adopted under German influence: *riksdag* in Sweden, *rigsdag* in Denmark and Norway.⁷² According to the researches of Géza Pálffy, the contemporary German (imperial and Austrian) sources referred to the Hungarian diet as *Landtag*, though the use of this word was incorrect, because the characteristics of the Hungarian parliament as a “composite assembly” were preserved even under the rule of Habsburg kings, since the assemblies of Croatia and Slavonia (*sabor*) and, in the beginning, even the Transylvanian *congregatio generalis* sent there its deputies. Therefore it should have been rather called *Reichstag*, similarly to the imperial diet, than *Landtag* (a provincial assembly).⁷³

If we look at the Hungarian historical sources, we can observe that the word “diet” (in the well-known misspelled form *diaeta*) was already used as early as in 1453.⁷⁴ In Hajnóczy’s work (already cited many times in the present study) not less than 14 appearances of *diaeta* (alone, together with other terms, or with the attribute *generalis*) are counted from the 15th–18th centuries, right up to Hajnóczy’s own times. When the parliament made clear that tax should not be imposed without the approval of the estates (Act I of 1504), the assembly to be convened to the Field of Rákos was (also) referred as the *diaeta generalis* (“general diet”).⁷⁵ In the enormously important regulation of 1608, further to this form, we can find the expressions *generalis regni diaeta* (“general diet of the realm”) and *publica regni diaeta* (“public diet of the realm”) as well.⁷⁶

Finally, we would like to mention that the famous Hungarian poet, Mihály Csokonai Vitéz (1773–1805) published his one-man journal on the sessions of the parliament in 1796 having chosen the title *Diétai magyar múzsa* (“Hungarian Muse at the Diet”).⁷⁷ *Diéta* is the form of the word according to the modern Hungarian spelling, written with a long (accented) é instead of e. In the present-day Hungarian language both meanings of diet are still accepted and used in the form “*diéta*”: in colloquial usage as food, while in the historiography as a reference to medieval and early modern Hungarian and foreign parliamentary organs (in case of Hungary, always in the sense of parliaments held before 1848, thus showing the contrast between the estate assemblies and the democratic parliament that is usually referred to as *parlament* or, more officially, *országgyűlés*).

72 WICKHAM, Chris: *Medieval Europe*, New Haven – London 2016, 238; for Scandinavia see e.g. KÉPES, György: *A Dán Királyság alkotmánytörténete a kezdetektől 1848-ig* [A Constitutional History of the Kingdom of Denmark from the Beginning to 1848], Budapest 2019, 141–142; SCHÜCK, Herman: *Royal Assemblies (Parliaments, Estates)*, in: *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, PULSIANO, Phillip – WOLF, Kirsten (eds.), New York 1993, 544–545, (544).

73 See: PÁLFFY, *The Kingdom of Hungary...*, 19–20 and 177.

74 BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 292; HAJNÓCZY, 3.

75 MARCZALI, 316.

76 Ibidem, 511.

77 All the eleven volumes of this interesting periodical have been published in one book (in reprint) in 1974: CSOKONAI VITÉZ, Mihály: *Diétai magyar múzsa*, Budapest 1974.

Status et Ordines

In the European constitutional history there are two well-known examples where the official name of the medieval and early modern parliament is containing the word “estates”. The French diet first convened in 1302 by king Philip IV “the Fair” (1285–1314) in order to gain support from his subordinates in his fight against the Pope was called *États généraux* (in English translation: “Estates General”)⁷⁸ until 1614 when its last session was held (and then, for a short time, in 1789 as well), while the powerful federal assembly of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, representing the sovereignty of the Dutch Republic, bore the same name in Dutch, *Staten-Generaal* that has interestingly remained the name of the democratic parliament of the Netherlands as well, right until today.

If we go back to Hajnóczy's *De Comitibus Regni Hungariae* and look at his list, we cannot find any similar name in itself, however we may find a long expression containing the Latin term *Status et Ordines* (“estates and orders”), in the form *Conventus Dominorum Praelatorum, Baronum, Magnatum & Nobilium, ceterorumque Statuum & Ordinum Regni Hungariae, partiumque ei subiectarum (alibi annexarum) generalis*, referred to by Hajnóczy in six decrees (namely: 1625, 1630, 1635, 1638, 1647 and 1655) from the 17th, and one (1751) in the 18th century.⁷⁹ If we try to translate this very detailed denomination, we can observe from the usage of the word *ceterorumque* that it may have been a general reference to “any other” estates not mentioned explicitly before. According to Hajnóczy, in the text of last (from his point of view: recent) laws this long denomination was used “several times” (“*Plurimum in ultimis decretis usitatum nomen est...*”).⁸⁰

Many scholars emphasise that *Status et Ordines* was often the synonym for the lower estates represented in the Lower Table of the parliament, i.e. the county nobles, the lower clergy and the burghers.⁸¹ It is undoubtedly true for the 18th century, however right in Act I (post coronationem) of 1608 this expression was used for the entirety of the Hungarian estates. This very important source of the Hungarian historical constitution starts with the following question: “*Quinam Status, et ordines dicantur?*” (Who can be called as estates and orders?),⁸² and continues with this explanation: “*quinam sub nomine statuum et ordinum regni intelligi; quive per suam maiestatem regiam ad publica regni comitia per suae maiestatis regales vocari, et vota sua in publica regni diaeta habere debeant*” (i.e. the ones who are to be invited by his Majesty to the diet and who will have their votes there). Consequently, as György Bónis and Jean Bérenger also observe, the expression *Status et Ordines* (“karok és rendek”) was in use as a general reference to the parliament as a whole as well.⁸³

78 WICKHAM, 238.

79 HAJNÓCZY, 3.

80 Ibidem, 4.

81 See e.g. KMETY, 243 [footnote]; SZIJÁRTÓ, *A diéta...*, 328.

82 MARCZALI, 511.

83 BÉRENGER – KECSKEMÉTI, 25; BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 292.

Hungarian terms used for denominating the legislative assembly

Until the 19th century (1844), the only language used in legal and other official documents in the Kingdom of Hungary was – apart from an unsuccessful attempt of Joseph II in 1784 to introduce German language as the official language of public administration in Hungary as well as in the other countries and provinces of his realm – the Latin. However, especially among the members of the lesser nobility, Hungarian was also widely in use. Though the first complete Hungarian translation of the *Corpus Iuris Hungarici* is from as late as 1896, Werbőczy's *Tripartitum* was published first in an incomplete Hungarian translation by Balázs Weres already in 1565 in Debrecen, and some years later, in 1571 a revised and more complete Hungarian edition was published by Gáspár Heltai in Kolozsvár (now Cluj, Romania).⁸⁴ In the Principality of Transylvania (a semi-independent state since 1570) Hungarian was also used as an official language,⁸⁵ in publication of laws as well.⁸⁶

Rákos

As already mentioned, because of the ancient privilege of the *servientes* to attend the meetings "as they wish" (Golden Bull, 1222) and the principle of *una eademque nobilitas* (1351, 1514), there were several occasions in Hungarian history until the second part of the 16th century⁸⁷ when mass assemblies were held, with the personal attendance of hundreds, or even thousands of noblemen from around the country. The location of these, sometimes "tumultuous" assemblies was usually the Field of Rákos, a large open territory close to the castle of Buda where the council meetings (with the prelates, barons and magnates) were held by the king, but at the opposite side of the river Danube, near the town of Pest (united with Buda only in 1873).⁸⁸

The first assembly that summoned here was in May 1277.⁸⁹ Thirty years later the first Angevin king, Charles I was elected at this place, and so was Wladislas II in 1790 and the two-month old John II Szapolyai (1540–1571, Hungarian "national" counter-king chosen against Ferdinand I) in 1540 as well. The Hungarian nobles made their famous decision

84 RÁCZ, Lajos: Werbőczy István Tripartitumának első fordításai [The First Translation of Stephen Werbőczy's Tripartitum], in: *Ünnepi tanulmányok Máthé Gábor 65. születésnapja tiszteletére* [Festive Studies in Honour of Gábor Máthé's 65th Birthday], MEZEY, Barna – RÉVÉSZ, Mihály T. (eds.), Budapest 2006, 453–466, (455–456).

85 TAMÁSNÉ SZABÓ, Csilla: A magyar jogi nyelv az Erdélyi Fejedelemség korában [Hungarian Legal Language in the Era of the Principality of Transylvania], in: *A nyelvtörténeti kutatások újabb eredményei*, 4, 2006, 173–180, (173).

86 As a nice example for early official Hungarian law texts see: *Approbatæ constitutiones regni Transylvaniae et partium Hungariae eidem annexarum*, Várad [Oradea] 1653, online: https://rmk.hungaricana.hu/hu/RMK_I_878/ (Downloaded 23 January 2020).

87 The last time all Hungarian noblemen were invited in person was the coronation of Archduke Rudolf (king Maximilian I's oldest son and future heir according to the rules of successions of the House of Habsburg accepted by the Hungarian estates at an assembly held in Nagyszombat in 1547) in September 1572. PÁLFFY, *The Kingdom of Hungary...*, 179; SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 256. Károly Kmety wrongly indicates this date as 1562, see KMETY, 243 [footnote].

88 BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 293; ENGEL, 349; RADY, *Law and Ancient Constitution...*, 36; SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 262.

89 ENGEL, 108; S. KISS, 32.

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(“Decision of Rákos”) in 1505 also at this site, on electing a Hungarian “national” king for the case Wladislas II would die without heir. The name of this emblematic place of the mass assemblies of Hungarian nobles became a term for the Hungarian diet in the 16th-century, however not in Hungary but abroad, especially in Poland – according to Polish spelling, in the form of “*rokosz*” (in the Polish language the letter “sz” is to be pronounced as English “sh”, similarly to the Hungarian “s”).⁹⁰ This name became such popular that even some special assemblies of the confederation of Polish nobles were called *rokosz*, for example the one convened by the king in 1606 in order to reach the approval of noblemen for an extraordinary tax of war.⁹¹

According to an article published by Elemér Moór in 1936 in a journal called *Népünk és nyelvünk* (“Our people and language”),⁹² the Poles very probably adopted their word *rokosz* as the name of the assembly of the Hungarian nobles from the Slovaks living at the border between the northern part of the historical Kingdom of Hungary called *Felvidék* (the “upper country”, now the territory of the Republic of Slovakia) and Poland. Furthermore, Moór mentions (based on the research of another Hungarian linguist, Béla Iványi)⁹³ that there is a document from 1497 in the archive of the margraves of Brandenburg which already referred to the Hungarian diet as *Rakusch*, and the imperial chancellery of Ferdinand I also used this word in connection with the assemblies of Hungary.⁹⁴ However, there is only one known example when the word *Rákos* was applied as a term for parliament, from 1515.⁹⁵

Országgyűlés

The name of the parliament of Hungary is *országgyűlés* since the Hungarian language was made official by Act II of 1844. In 1848, two of the famous April Laws, Act IV “on the yearly sessions of the parliament” (“*az országgyűlés évenkénti üléseiről*”) and Act V “on the election of delegates to the parliament based on popular representation” (“*az országgyűlési követeknek népképviselet alapján választásáról*”) contained this word in its titles.⁹⁶ This is a composite word, consisting of two elements, *ország* (country, realm) on one hand, and *gyűlés* (assembly) on the other. Basically, it is a literal translation of the Latin expression *comitia (generalia) regni* that, as we have already seen, was already in use as one of the most frequent forms for denominating the parliament in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It is interesting to mention, that in the 17th century, the word *ország* was also used as a synonym of the lower chamber and its members, the *regnicolae* (in a more complete Hungarian form: “*országlakók*” meaning “inhabitants of the realm”).⁹⁷

90 BÓNIS, *The Hungarian Feudal Diet...*, 293; ECKHART, 97; ENGEL, 349.

91 SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 287.

92 MOÓR, Elemér: Rákos, in: *Népünk és nyelvünk*, 8, 1936, 179–186.

93 IVÁNYI, Béla: *Adalékok régi országgyűléseink Rákos nevéhez* [Additions to the name “Rákos” of our old diets], Szeged 1935, 4 [322].

94 MOÓR, 179–180.

95 Ibidem, 181.

96 See: <https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torveny?docid=84800005.TV> and <https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torveny?docid=84800004.TV> (Downloaded 24 January 2020).

97 SZIJÁRTÓ, *A diéta...*, 328; see also BÉRENGER – KECSKEMÉTI, 25; BÓNIS, György – BALOGH, Elemér (eds.): *Hűbériség és rendiség a középkori magyar jogban* [Feudal and Estate Elements in Medieval Hungarian Law], Budapest 2003, 371; SZENTE, *A parlamentek története...*, 120.

The first known appearance of the expression *országgyűlés* (written separately and with contemporary spelling as *"ország gywles"*) was found by the poet and scholar Gábor Döbrentei (1785–1851) in 1835. It is a judgment from 1560 in a legal dispute concerning a fruitery and vegetable garden that had been, at least according to the claimants, unlawfully taken from a certain nobleman called Péter Czeczey when he had been away, right because of his obligation to attend the diet: *"mykor ország gywlesben wolth"* (with modern Hungarian spelling *"mikor országgyűlésben volt"*, in English: "while he was at the assembly of the realm").⁹⁸ In the late 16th Transylvania where, contrary to the Kingdom of Hungary where Latin kept its privilege, Hungarian was used as an official language, we can also find an ancient example of use of the word *gyűlés* (assembly). Prince Kristóf Báthory wrote in April 1578 in a letter of invitation to the Transylvanian diet the following *"Coloswarat [...] generalis giwlest vegeztwnk celebraltatni"* (modern Hungarian: *"Kolozsvárott [...] generális gyűlést végeztünk celebráltatni"*, in English: "we have decided that a general assembly would be celebrated in Kolozsvár [Cluj]").⁹⁹

Another popular variant was the possessive form *"ország gyűlése"* (meaning literally the "assembly of the realm" or "assembly of the country / land") or even *"országunk gyűlése"* (the assembly of our country). A good example for the first one can be found in the famous handbook of procedural law *Directio Methodica* written by János Kítonich (1560–1619), first published in Latin in 1619, and translated to Hungarian in 1651 by János Kászoni (b. 1605), regarding litigations to be brought to the diet as a judicial forum: *"Ország gyűlésére való Pörök"* (with modern spelling: *"az ország gyűlésére való perek"*, in English cca. "litigations belonging to the competence of the assembly of the realm").¹⁰⁰ For the other form, we may refer to a letter sent by the Hungarian estates to the Slavonian estates in 1608 about Archduke Matthias, the later Matthias II (called in this letter as the regent) who should not be involved in the affairs of Hungary until "the coming assembly of our country" (*"az jövőendő Országunk Gyölésigh"*, with modern spelling: *"az jövőendő országunk gyűléséig"*).¹⁰¹

The third old version of *országgyűlés* leads us to the modern official English translation "National Assembly", in the sense of the word national as "country-wide", as a known contemporary synonym for *generalis*. This version, *"országos gyűlés"* can also be found in some 17th century documents, such as the Hungarian edition of the Tripartitum published in 1643 in Bártfa (now Bardejov, Slovakia) in which the expression *"ad diaetam & conventionem generalem"* was translated to *"bizonyos hagyot napra, vagy Országos gyűlesre mennenek"* (with modern spelling: *"bizonyos hagyott napra vagy országos gyűlésre mennének"*, in English: "[who are] going to a certain day or general assembly" – that is, at the same time, a

98 DÖBRENTÉI, Gábor (ed.): *Régi magyar nyelvemlékek, 2. kötet II. Vegyes tárgyú régi magyar iratok, 1342–1599* [Old Memories of the Hungarian Language, Volume 2 Part II. Old Hungarian Documents with Various Topics, 1342–1599], Buda 1840, 167–168.

99 Ibidem, 256.

100 KÍTONICH, Joannes: *Directio Methodica. Processus Judiciarii Juris Consuetudinarii, Inclity Regni Hungariae*, Lőcse (Levoča) 1650, 12.

101 DÖBRENTÉI, Gábor (ed.): *Régi magyar nyelvemlékek, 3. kötet II. Vegyes tárgyú régi magyar iratok, 1540–1600* [Old Memories of the Hungarian Language, Volume 3 Part II. Old Hungarian Documents with Various Topics, 1540–1600], Buda 1842, 126.

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good proof of the already mentioned connection between the words *diaeta* and “day”),¹⁰² or a very nice example from 1653, right on the first page of the compilation of Transylvanian laws known as *Approbatae*: “a’ közönséges jorol akarván concludálni Országos Gyűlésekben” (in English: “wanting to conclude on the general good in national assemblies”).¹⁰³

In the late 18th century, when the publication of the materials of diets (as diaries, bills, adopted laws) became common, the titles of such books usually contained the aforementioned possessive form “ország gyűlése”, sometimes even with the attribute “Hungarian”: “Magyar ország gyűlése” that can be spelled in a modern form as “Magyarország gyűlése”, and in this case it can also be translated simply to “the assembly of Hungary”.¹⁰⁴ We have also found a relatively early example where the two parts of the possessive form were connected to each other with a dash: the Hungarian title of the *Acta Comitiorum* (“Documents of the Parliament”, containing all relevant documents from the letter of invitation and the royal *propositiones* up to the diaries of the sessions and the laws adopted at the diet, all of them in Latin language only) published in 1807 in Buda is spelled as “Az Ország-Gyűlésének Írásai”.¹⁰⁵ According to the linguists, the use of the dash represents that two separate words are going to be connected more closely to each other, later forming a new, composite word.¹⁰⁶

Nemzetgyűlés

As we mentioned in the previous chapter of this study, *országgyűlés* is a common name for parliaments in the modern Hungarian language, and if it is written in a legal document, book or any other formal publication with capital first letter as “Országgyűlés”, we can always be sure that this is about the parliament of Hungary, because our legislative assembly has been officially called like this since the introduction of Hungarian as the official language.¹⁰⁷ However, there were short periods in Hungarian history, when another official name was used, that is *nemzetgyűlés* (“national assembly”). We would like to emphasise that the fact that the name *Országgyűlés* is commonly translated to English as “National Assembly”,¹⁰⁸ can be slightly misleading, and in the final part of the present study we would like make an attempt to substantiate this statement.

In the Hungarian language the word “nemzet”, which the attribute “nemzeti” (“national”) is deriving from, means nation in the sense of “people”, the ensemble of citizens, and before 1848 the community of the inhabitants of Hungary having political privileges, Werbőczy’s “noble-nation”. That is why Hajnóczy, at the end of the first chapter of his book containing the list of different names for the Hungarian parliament, does not propose the use of expressions like this in Hungarian, because, according to his enlightened opinion

102 WERBŐCZY, Stephanus: *Decretum Latino-Hungaricum sive Tripartitum Opus Juris Consuetudinarii Incltyi Regni Hungariae & Transylvaniae*, Bártfa (Bardejov) 1643, 28.

103 *Approbatae constitutiones regni Transylvaniae et partium Hungariae eidem annexarum*, 1653, 1.

104 Several examples to this document title can be found at the digital archive of the Library of the Hungarian Parliament, online: https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/orszaggyulesi_konyvtar_dtt_ReformkorElottiDok/ (Downloaded 17 January 2020).

105 https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/Orszaggyules_ReformkorElottiDok_1807_Ir/?pg=0&layout=s (Downloaded 24 January 2020).

106 ZSOLDOS, Jenő: *Parlament [Parliament]*, in: *Magyar Nyelvőr*, 84, 1960, 2, 222–223, (223).

107 See e.g. the official website of the Hungarian parliament, online: <https://www.parlament.hu/> (Downloaded 24 January 2020).

108 See the English version of the official website of the Hungarian parliament as an example: <https://www.parlament.hu/en/web/house-of-the-national-assembly> (Downloaded 24 January 2020).

based on the principle of popular sovereignty of the 18th century, an assembly cannot be called “national” where only a part of the nation is represented.¹⁰⁹ From this point of view, the parliament of our time could legitimately be called “National Assembly” in English, because popular representation is nowadays satisfactorily guaranteed by general suffrage. It is not surprising that the Hungarian expressions “*nemzeti gyűlés*” (national assembly) and “*nemzet gyűlése*” (assembly of the nation) were first used in Hungary in connection with the *Assemblée nationale* of the French revolution, already in 1789. The latter (“*nemzet gyűlése*”) has been transformed to the composite word “*nemzetgyűlés*” very similarly to the formation of the word “*országgyűlés*” (from “*ország gyűlése*”).¹¹⁰ When the first Hungarian legislative assembly based on popular representation (franchise as regulated in Act V of 1848) summoned on 5 July 1848 in Pest (as provided by Act IV of 1848), the legendary poet of the Hungarian 1848, Sándor Petőfi (1823–1849) published a revolutionary poem addressed to its members with the title “*A nemzetgyűléshez*” (“To the National Assembly”).¹¹¹ Thus, as the lower chamber was renamed to House of Representatives (*Képviselőház*), the parliament as a whole could have been renamed to *nemzetgyűlés* as well, but it hasn’t been.

However, as we mentioned, there are some periods in the history of the Hungarian parliamentarism when the legislative assembly was officially called *nemzetgyűlés* instead of *országgyűlés*. If we look at these, we can find two (maybe cumulative) reasons why this name change could occur. The first era was between 1920 and 1926, when the continuity of the Hungarian historical constitution was restored after the revolutions of 1918–19, but the second chamber (*Főrendiház*) was not reinstated until January 1927. The old *Főrendiház* ceased to exist (by the legal nonsense of self-dissolution) in the flurry of the post-first-world-war events in October 1918. The second period started very similarly: the upper chamber (since 1927 simply called *Felsőház*, “Upper House”) also dissolved itself in practice when all its functionaries resigned on 3 November 1944, two weeks after the arrow-cross movement had been brought to power by Gestapo. The new, provisional assembly organised by the opposition parties and communists under the territories already liberated by the Soviet army in Debrecen, the eastern part of Hungary, became unicameral and was called *Ideiglenes Nemzetgyűlés* (“Provisional National Assembly”).

Consequently, we may observe on one hand that the legislative organ of Hungary was called *nemzetgyűlés* instead of *országgyűlés* always in provisional, transitional periods; and on the other hand that, when the word *nemzetgyűlés* was in use as a denomination, the Hungarian parliament never had a second chamber. By virtue of Act XII of 1926 reinstating the second chamber of the parliament in its position from 1927, i.e. restoring the historic, bicameral structure thereof, it had to be officially called *országgyűlés* again. After the second world war, the name *országgyűlés* was brought back by Act XXII of 1947 on the parliamentary elections (already in its Hungarian title: “*az országgyűlési választásokról*” instead of “*a nemzetgyűlési választásokról*”).¹¹²

109 HAJNÓCZY, 8. (For similar reasons, he does not propose the use of the word “ország” [country] either, as the privileged estates represent only a part of the country.) For an interpretation of Hajnóczy’s proposals see: BÓNIS, György: *Hajnóczy József*, Budapest 1954, 235.

110 See: ZSOLDOS, 222–223.

111 *Pesti Hírlap*, 5 July 1848.

112 See: <https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torveny?docid=94700022.TV> (Downloaded 24 January 2020).

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The questions whether the Hungarian parliament should be called *országgyűlés* (as it is actually called) or *nemzetgyűlés*, and that the official English name “National Assembly” is the translation of the first, the latter or both, have less importance from the point of view of our constitutional history than the question whether the parliament should be unicameral or bicameral. According to the Hungarian historical constitution, our legislative assembly should be, and in all periods of our history when the historical constitution was respected, it actually was bicameral. However, in fact, we have not had an upper chamber since November 1944, and it would be impossible to reinstate the original one, and maybe it would not be possible to create a new one either. The same happened in many other European countries as well: the maintenance of bicameral parliaments in non-federal countries has become exceptional. Returning to the question of denomination classified above as secondary, we would like to refer to the Fundamental Law of Denmark of 1953 that transformed the Danish bicameral parliament (earlier called *Rigsdag*) to a unicameral assembly called *Folketing* (“Assembly of the People”, or with other words: national assembly). Between 1849 and 1953, *Folketing* was the name of the lower chamber of the parliament of Denmark, thus in 1953 the new, unicameral assembly was simply given the name how the lower chamber had earlier been called. Following this (very well-founded) logic, if we accept that the Hungarian parliament was always called *nemzetgyűlés* in provisional, transitional periods of history only, it should now bear the name “*Képviselőház*” (“House of Representatives”), since this was the name of its lower chamber, based on popular representation, between 1848–1918 and 1927–1944. For a legal historian who adheres to historical terms, the use of name “*országgyűlés*” for a unicameral parliament will always seem to be a bit problematic.

Conclusion

Similarly to the diets of other European countries based on a mixture of personal attendance of some privileged groups of the society and the representation of other classes or groups, the Hungarian parliament also has its origins at the turn of the high and late Middle Ages. The first royal assemblies that can already be called parliament were convened in the last decade(s) of the 13th century. The Hungarian diet had no official name. It was usually referred to with Latin expressions known and used in other countries as well, such as *congregatio*, *conventio*, *comitia* and *diaeta*. The last two became very popular in the early modern period, and the Hungarian historiography often uses the Hungarian version of *diaeta* (“*diéta*”) in order to distinguish the general assemblies of the estates from the modern parliaments based on popular representation (rather called “*parlament*”). Interestingly, the Latin equivalent of the latter, *parlamentum*, was almost never used in the medieval and early modern period, except for some early examples in the late 13th century. For a long time, Hungarian was not accepted as the language of political and legal communication (except for the Principality of Transylvania). In the Kingdom of Hungary it has become official only as late as in 1844. Since then, the name of the Hungarian parliament has been “*országgyűlés*” (national assembly in the sense of the word “nation” as the country). Another form, “*nemzetgyűlés*” (national assembly in the sense of the word “nation” as the people) was in use as well, in the literature for a short time already in 1848 (making a comparison with the *Assemblée nationale* of the French revolution), while

officially in two brief and provisional periods in the 20th century, 1920–26 and 1945–47 (always referring to the necessity of the establishment of a permanent, definitive parliament that can be finally called “országgyűlés” again). Now, the official Hungarian name of our legislative assembly is therefore Országgyűlés (with majuscule), and its official English name is National Assembly. The word *parlament* is also commonly used, in the normal speech and in more formal communications as well, however, if we want to refer specifically to the parliament of Hungary, we prefer to apply the word *országgyűlés*. A good example of this distinction is the fact that the Hungarian parliament can be called “magyar országgyűlés” or “magyar parlament” as well – those two expressions are synonyms of each other – but the European Parliament shall always be called “Európai Parlament”, the form “európai országgyűlés” would be more than unusual.

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University education and Hungarian minority in Slovakia 1918–1938

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Abstract

The paper is devoted to education issues of young generation of Hungarian minority at universities in Czechoslovak Republic in their mother tongue. The situation in years 1918–1922 is analyzed, when students of Hungarian nationality were finishing university studies of law in Hungarian language in Bratislava and in Košice. Paper analyses with obstacles which they were encountering. Hungarian students, interested to acquire university education in their native language were attending universities in Hungary, namely in Budapest. Analyzed is also a measure of Ministry of Schools adopted in year 1928, which annulled validation of diplomas issued by Hungarian universities. Consequently, identical measure was adopted by Hungarian authorities. Paper is also pointing to a moderate increase of Hungarian university students in Czechland and Slovakia, which, however, was in monitored period not higher than 5% and to negative reaction of Hungarian students that there was no university in Czechoslovakia offering education in Hungarian language.

Keywords

university education, Hungarian minority, Czechoslovakia, minority policy, language politics

Introduction

Czechoslovak Republic (CSR) was established in year 1918 as a national state, despite the fact that population was composed of several ethnic minorities. Of them the most numerous were Germans inhabiting the border territories of Czech lands and Hungarians living in Southern Slovakia in region bordering with Hungary. Czechoslovak Republic was, considering ethnic structure, a state *sui generis*. Number of members of ethnic minorities was, in comparison to Czechs and Slovaks, greater than in any Central European state. Hungarians and Germans were refusing their inclusion to Czechoslovak Republic, which was in their opinion a state foreign to them and also as an obstacle to unification with their "mother countries". The members of Hungarian minority were perceiving Hungary as their "thousand years lasting mother country" and were gravely surprised by a new geopolitical situation. The demission of Hungary was for them a traumatic entry into a new reality – to life in Czechoslovak Republic.

Czechoslovak government committed itself, to fulfillment of international agreements which obliged CSR to award to minorities basic minority rights. It is possible to say, that CSR its obligation basically fulfilled. In case of Hungarian minority its political parties were legal,

educational institutions with Hungarian teaching language were established, Hungarian periodicals and books were allowed to be published. The official language in regions with 20% share of Hungarian population was Hungarian language. Various Hungarian associations were allowed to be active. However, a minority policy of Czechoslovak governments had many faults problems, namely in economic and social sphere. Many regions of the Southern Slovakia were characterized by season labor in agriculture and by high unemployment. Population suffered by low level of medical care. The dissatisfaction was growing as result of land reform adopted during twenties, which was characterized by national aims, that is preferring Czechs and Slovaks in receiving land allotments to detriment of Hungarians.¹ Members of Hungarian minority were also dissatisfied with government policy in public sphere. As injustice was perceived also official attitude of state toward Reformed Church and many conflicts resulted by reluctance of authorities to award to Hungarians Czechoslovak citizenship. Latent but also frequently open dissatisfaction was voiced by prohibition of display Hungarian national symbols.²

Hungarian minority in CSR lived in more democratic and progressive conditions as Hungarians in Horthy's Hungary. This fact, however, did not removed an intensive feelings of injustice which Hungarians in Czechoslovakia felt. The Treaty of Trianon, a traumatic event in view of Hungarian minority, was permanent source of resentment. It was also resented by government circles in Hungary, which with growing intensity proclaimed request of revision of state boundaries. This opinion was generally spread among public in Hungary. The members of Hungarian community in CSR found themselves in situation when they were in some ways in inferior position as a result of decision of European powers became minority.

After Austro-Hungarian settlement, for several decades was government in hands of Hungarian mobility which after October 1918 ceased to exist. After establishment of CSR, in Slovakia, authority of Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Education in Budapest ended. To expect from Hungarian population in the Southern Slovakia a positive reaction to establishment of a new state – Czechoslovak Republic, of which they became unwilling part, was illogical. However, for stability of CSR, an integration of numerous Hungarian minority was important. To look for the most effective way of gradual build-up of positive relation of Hungarian population toward Czechoslovak Republic was a question of statesmanship and political wisdom from side of highest representatives of the Republic. One of the areas offering a broad space for integration were schools. Consequently, formation of educational system was one of primary tasks of government, parliament and the Ministry of Schools and National Enlightenment (MSNE) of Czechoslovak Republic.³

1 SIMON, Attila: *Telepesek és telepés falvak Dél-Szlovákiában a két világháború között*, Šamorín 2008.

2 MICHELA, Miroslav: K otázke historickej kultúry Maďarov na Slovensku, in: *Maďarská menšina na Slovensku v procesoch transformácie po roku 1989 (Identita a politika II)*, ŠUTAJOVÁ, Jana – ĎURKOVSKÁ, Mária (eds.), Prešov 2008, 191–197.

3 In regard to issue of university education of minorities see: KUKLÍK, Jan – PETRÁŠ, René: The legal status of minorities and universities in inter-war Czechoslovakia, in: *Central European Papers*, 5, 2017, 2, 27–36 (www.cceol.com/search/journal-detail?id=1122). KUKLÍK, Jan – PETRÁŠ, René: Právní postavení menšin a vysoké školy v meziválečném Československu, in: *Menšiny, vysoké školy a právo*, HALÁSZ, Ivan – PETRÁŠ, René (eds.), Praha 2018, 11–22.

Hungarian minority on Czechoslovak political scene was represented mainly by two political parties: the Land Christian Socialist Party (Országos Keresztény Szocialista Párt) and the Hungarian National Party (Magyar Nemzeti Párt), which in summer 1936 united and assumed name the United Land Christian Socialist and Hungarian National Party (Egyesült Országos Keresztény-socialista és Magyar Nemzeti Párt). Both parties struggled for political, economic and cultural rights of Hungarian population, including education. In the area of university education they strove for establishment of university with Hungarian teaching language. This way young Hungarians could be educated in their mother language from elementary to university level. However, this aim during existence of Czechoslovakian Republic was not achieved.

Hungarian schools were in time of establishment of Czechoslovak Republic perceived as a primary tool of Hungarianization. Czechoslovak government authorities since year 1918 supported construction of schools with Slovak teaching language, which should serve as a base of formation of Slovak national awareness and education of Slovak intelligentsia. After establishment of Czechoslovakia, parallel with implementation of Slovak teaching language, a radical decrease of schools with Hungarian teaching language of every level and type ensued. Schools with Hungarian teaching languages functioned on elementary and middle level.⁴ However, university education in Hungarian language during years 1918–1938 was not realized, which was perceived by Hungarian population as a grave injustice.

Before year 1918 university education was offered at one university: the Hungarian Regal University of Queen Elisabeth (Magyar Királyi Erzsébet Tudományegyetem) in Bratislava⁵ (established in year 1912) and six schools of lower type. Legal education was offered at the Law Academy in Košice and at the Law Academy in Prešov (church school). Also in city was active the Lutheran Theological Academy in Prešov. Another school of lower type was the Economic Academy in Košice. Well known was also the Mining and Forestry College in Banská Štiavnica. On all cited institutions was teaching language Hungarian. After year 1918 were Elizabeth University in Bratislava and Academy of Law in Košice abolished. Agricultural Academy in Košice was transformed to four years middle agricultural school. Education at Prešov academies provided by Lutheran Church was terminated. Also the Academy of Mining and Forestry in Banská Štiavnica was exposed to changes when it was transformed to the School of Forestry and the Industrial School. At all transformed schools teaching language became Slovak.⁶ In year 1925 was in city of Lučenec established The Hungarian Reformed Theological Seminary, which was active till end of January 1939. However, it was not qualified as full-valued educational institution.⁷

4 In regard to education at schools with Hungarian teaching language in Slovakia during CSR see: GABZDILOVÁ, Soňa: *Možnosti a obmedzenia. Vzdelávanie v jazyku maďarskom na Slovensku v rokoch 1918–1938*, Košice 2017.

5 It was named also Elizabeth University.

6 In regard to issue of abrogation of university education in Hungarian language see: POPÉLY, Gyula: *Búcsú a főiskoláktól. A felsőoktatás és a felvidéky magyarság (1918–1945). A fiatal magyar értelmiség útkeresése*, Bratislava 2005, 11–126.

7 TÓTH, Andrej: *Menšinová vysokoškolská výuka jako politická otázka – maďarské požiadavky v Československu 1918–1938*, in: *Česko-maďarské ob(z)ory. Kapitoly z dejín česko-maďarských univerzitných vzťahů*, JANUŠKA, Jiří (ed.), Praha 2018, 69.

Pedagogues of Elizabeth University, after its cancellation, were transferred to Hungary. On the base of decision of Hungarian government, all Faculties with exception of Faculty of Law which remained in Bratislava, were reestablished in Budapest. This, however, was only a temporary solution, because in Budapest was situated the University of Peter Pázmány established in year 1777. The leadership of Elizabeth University was trying to situate institution in some other cities in Hungary. As a suitable localities were considered Debrecen, Pécs and Győr. Finally, based on decision of the Hungarian Parliament, from June 1921, city of Pécs was chosen to become seat of Elizabeth University in summer 1922. In Slovakia, at the beginning of academic year 1920/1921, teaching in Hungarian language was carried at the Faculty of Law of Elizabeth University in Bratislava and at the Academy of Law in Košice. Initially both institutions were intended to teach till 31 July 1922, to allow students who started their studies in academic year 1918/1919 to complete their studies. Czechoslovak Parliament on 11 August 1921 decided to establish the Faculty of Law at the Comenius University in Bratislava, which began to function on academic year 1921/1922, the Faculty of Law in Bratislava on 31 July 1921 was abolished.⁸ Students of Faculty of Law entering last year of studies could finalize study either at the Academy of Law in Košice, where the education was intended to end at the end of academic year 1921/1922, or on some other university of law in Czechoslovak Republic. On the beginning of academic year 1921/1922, a commission for state examinations of law was established. Graduates of both Hungarian schools were obliged to pass *“rigorous examination according to examination regulations valid previously in Slovakia with respect to Czechoslovak law.”*⁹

Professors who were teaching at the Faculty of Law in Bratislava and the Academy of Law in Košice could be transferred to some other university in Czechoslovakia according to Law no. 79/1919 Zb. z. a n. Professors teaching at the Bratislava Faculty in period of 60 days from adoption of cited legislative norm, could request MSNE to be “incorporated” and be retired in line with Law no. 269/1920 Zb. z. a n. In case that they did not submit the above mentioned request, MSNE classified their decision as voluntary resignation on their teaching position. Professors of cited universities were entitled to full pension for period of one year on condition that they remained on territory of Czechoslovakia. Employees of both teaching institutions were obliged to submit their requests to the Comenius University. On the basis of government regulation no. 276/1921 Zb. z. a n., in Slovakia education at the Faculty of Law in Bratislava and the Academy of Law in Košice in Hungarian language terminated on 31 July 1921.

A mentioned regulations were perceived by Hungarian population negatively. The Department of Schools of MSNE justified adopted measures by results of census from year 1921. According to MSNE abolishment of Hungarian University was not *“a heavy cultural injustice, because also during previous regime (University) was not exceptional and had no tradition.”*¹⁰ The Academy of Law in Košice was not considered by government as equal to level of university education, therefore *“its abolishment for reasons level and significance of studies was enacted is utterly justified and must be accepted.”*¹¹

8 *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu československého – ročník 1921*, Praha 1921, 1205.

9 *Ibidem*.

10 Archiv Ministerstva zahraničních věcí České republiky (A MZV ČR) (Archive of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Czech Republic (A MFA CZ)), sekce MZV 1918–1938 (section MFA 1918–1938), fond (f.) II/4 Mírová konference v Paříži a reparace 1918–1938 (fund (f.) II/4 Peace Agreement in Paris and reparations 1918–1938).

11 *Ibidem*.

The government regulation no. 276/1921 evoked sharp negative reactions from Hungarian minority members. Dissatisfaction was voiced namely among persons directly affected – students in Bratislava. A memorandum, in which Hungarian minority students pointed to an agreement concluded among leadership of the Elizabeth University in Bratislava, MSNE and plenipotentiary of the Ministry with Full Powers for Management of Slovakia (MPS) was elaborated. In line with an agreement the Faculty of Law should be active another three years – till end of school year 1921/1922 so students were able to finish studies on Elizabeth University and obtained fully fledged diploma.¹² According to authors of memorandum, cited government regulation will prevent many students to accomplish their studies. Even though the Academy of Law in Košice will be active one more year and students from Bratislava could accomplish their education in Košice, authors of memorandum pointed to the fact that, that in Košice did not existed conditions for admission of students from Bratislava. It was argued that approximately 100–150 students could not finance expenses associated with transfer. President T. G. Masaryk met with delegation of students of the Hungarian Faculty Government and the Law Sciences in Prague on 14 September 1921 and was given cited memorandum. He declared that he will enquire about situation. In case that agreement exists, he himself, in extend of his authority will make sure that rights of students will be fulfilled. However, nothing came of it.

Before planned closure of Academy of the Law in Košice, students organized a protest meeting on 2 June 1922, on which participated also teachers led by dean Hugo Baitner.¹³ In declaration addressed to the Ministry they demanded to retain the Košice Academy at least for two years, so student will be able to accomplish their studies. Nevertheless, the Academy was closed on 31 July 1922, which was the end of university education in Hungarian language in Slovakia.

During academic year 1921/1922, 1,200 students of Hungarian nationality attended universities in Czechoslovak Republic. In academic year 1926/1927 number of Hungarian students decreased to 899, which was unquestionably caused by closure of Hungarian universities. A majority of Hungarian students attended German universities in Czechland – 584 in comparison to 315 Hungarian students attending Slovak universities.

Many of Hungarian students living in Slovakia attended universities in Hungary. During school year 1918/1919 their number was relatively low – only 47 and during following year decreased further to 35. However, during following period was increasing – in academic year 1920/1921 to 222 students and during period 1921/1922 to 924.¹⁴ A majority of students studying in Hungary attended educational institutions in Budapest, but many students attended also universities in Debrecen, Miskolc, Szeged and Pécs. According to the Ministry of Interior of CSR, a majority of them joined university associations, which allegedly inseminated *“Hungarian irredentistic propaganda using students from Slovakia.”*¹⁵ Czechoslovak government institution perceived these students to adherents to irredentism, who could eventually work against Czechoslovak Republic.

12 POPÉLY, 52–53.

13 Ibidem, 54.

14 Štátny archív (SA) Košice (State Archive (SA) Košice), f. Košická župa (KŽ) (f. Košice County (KC)), carton 221.

15 SA Trenčín, pracovisko Archív Bojnice (workplace (w.)) (Archive Bojnice), f. Okresný úrad (OÚ) Prievidza (f. District office (DO) Prievidza), carton 2, doc. No. 671/23.

Minister with the Full Administrative Powers in Slovakia Vavro Šrobár on July 1921 adopted a government regulation prohibiting issuance of passports to students who intended to study in Hungary. Students studying in Hungary could obtain passports only in cases when they could not continue and accomplish their education in given area in CSR, or if they must perform tests necessary to accomplish their studies in Hungary. According report of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest, from June 1923, validity of passports issued to Hungarian students was to be extended to the end of July 1923.¹⁶ However, Czechoslovak Embassy pointed to fact *“that a large number of students in Hungary are sons, respective daughters of state employs and teachers teaching on Slovak schools.”*¹⁷ They were most likely pedagogues of Hungarian nationality, who performed administrative oath and were teaching. They were preferred to secure for their children university education in Hungarian language and because in Czechoslovak Republic this was impossible, only option to acquire desired education was in Hungary.

Hungarian minority students were monitored by Czechoslovak security authorities in their homes in Slovakia during vacations and also in time of their study in Hungary. This is documented by the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which noted that *“persons studying in Hungary are monitored by us in regard to their behavior at home. The Embassy obtained report elaborated by Košice County Office containing accurate number of all students from Košice County studying in Hungary, information about their passports, military obligations and their loyalty. It would be suitable for the Embassy to obtained similar lists from all regions of Slovakia and Ruthenia, elaborated for military and passport evidence and for political section.”*¹⁸ The lists of names of students and their families, prepared by local offices of Košice County contained name and address of attended schools in Hungary, names and profession of parents, and names of Czechoslovak government authorities which issued passports. In addition, characteristics of persons in regard to their *“moral and political profile”* and their attitudes to Czechoslovak Republic and Hungary, for example: *“Student and his father are reliable (...) Father and his son are fanatical Hungarians (...) obdurate Hungarians, politically unreliable (...) Family is morally and politically impeccable.”*¹⁹

Chairmen of county offices in Slovakia were obliged in extend of their authority to prepare a lists of all university and college students studying in Hungary.²⁰ Lists were to be continually updated and should contain information in regard to activities of students and their families in Slovakia.

In report of Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest from January 1927 is written: *“students not only studying, but also actively participating on irredenta in frame of university associations.”*

16 SA Trenčín, w. Archive Bojnice, f. DO Prievidza, carton 3. Evidence Czechoslovak students in Hungary – passports students studying in Hungary.

17 Ibidem.

18 SA Košice, f. KC, carton 221, doc. No. 15943/25 prez.

19 Ibidem.

20 SA Košice, f. KC, carton 221. List of names should contain following data: 1. Name of student, 2. Year of birth, 3. Name of school, year and locality where student is studying, 4. Name of father or other relative to whom student is attending, 5. Address and occupation of person named in section 4, 6. Name of office which issued passport and length of validity, 7. Information stated result of investigation in regard to moral and political loyalty of student, his parents or relatives reported in section 4.

According to the Czechoslovak Embassy *"each student from detached regions, if he had to be admitted to local universities, must be member of some of these associations."*²¹

Change in regard to status of study of students from Slovakia in Hungary occurred in year 1928. MSNE on 14 July issued government regulation stated that diplomas issued by Hungarian schools after 1 October 1928 will be not certified.²² Consequently, diplomas of students from Slovakia, eventually from Czechland awarded by Hungarian schools were not accepted in CSR. Same approach was adopted by Hungarian authorities – diplomas awarded by Czechoslovak schools were not accepted in Hungary. MSNE endeavored to limit number of students from Slovakia to study in Hungary.²³ Restrictive measures were applied also in regard to acceptance of diplomas before 1 October 1928. But acceptance of diplomas before 1 October 1928 was realized only *"if it will be proved their complete equality and if there will not be objections whatsoever."*²⁴ A different situation in process of acceptance of Hungarian graduates existed in case of diplomas issued before year 31 December 1918. On 18 March 1931, MSNE adopted a government regulation based on Law no. 276/1920 Zb. z. a n., which decreed that acceptance of Hungarian diplomas *"is necessary to solve individually with regard attitude of supplicants to question of loyalty toward state and their material conditions."*²⁵

When R. W. Seton-Watson evaluated situation of university education in Hungarian language in Czechoslovakia, he admitted that *"Hungarians in Slovakia barely can have acceptable claim to establishment of sole Hungarian university, but they should have separate Hungarian faculty in Bratislava including departments and lectorates with Hungarian teaching personnel. This became more acute after adoption of government edict which nullified validity of diplomas awarded by Hungarian universities. Shortly, it is important that Hungarian youth should have access to adequate schooling in its mother language, so it will be possible to educate a sufficient number of teachers and priests."*²⁶

The situation which existed in the area of university education of young people of Hungarian nationality during the first decade of existence of Czechoslovak Republic did not changed during thirties and they were deprived of possibility to be educated in their mother language. Graduates of high schools with Hungarian teaching language had two options – either continue studies on universities in CSR offering education in Czech, German and Slovak language, or to continue study in their mother language outside CSR, in Hungary. Later option, however, stripped them of possibility to utilize their university diplomas in CSR.

21 SA Košice, f. KC, carton 221. Student clubs were united in Country Union of Students – MEFHOS.

22 *Věstník Ministerstva školství a národní osvěty* [Bulletin of Ministry of Schools and National Enlightenment], Praha 1928, 317.

23 AMFA CZ, section MZV 1918–1939, f. VIII/1. Zastupitelský úřad v Budapešti 1918–1940 (f. VIII/1 Representative office in Budapešť 1918–1940), carton 18.

24 *Věstník Ministerstva školství...*, 317.

25 Slovenský národný archív (SNA) Bratislava (Slovak National Archive (SNA)), f. Referát Ministerstva školstva a národnej osvety (MŠaNO), (Department of Ministry of Schools and National Enlightenment (DMSNE)), carton 2, inventárne číslo (inv. č.) (inventory number (i. n.)) 130.

26 SETON-WATSON, Robert William: Československo a slovenský problém, in: *Slovensko kedysi a teraz*, SETON-WATSON, Robert William, Praha 1931, 57.

Despite negative consequences, a number of young Hungarians opted to get university education at universities in Hungary. Czechoslovak authorities, however, viewed these students with suspicion, namely because their possible membership in university irredentistic associations. Ministry of Interior frequently notified district administrators and directors of police directorates in Bratislava and Košice to pay attention to these students and instructed these institutions to permit study in Hungary only in absolutely necessary cases. District offices were obliged to maintain exact evidence of students residing in their districts, who were studying in Hungary. The lists composed of such students should contain their names, age, schools where they were studying, names and addresses of parents and also information which authority was issuing passport.²⁷ The security authorities were paying attention also to organizational structure of associations established at Hungarian universities, because these were perceived by Czechoslovak authorities as associations inseminating irredentistic ideas via students from Slovakia in CSR. For this reason, they were monitored by Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest.²⁸

The university association, which was viewed by Czechoslovak authorities especially negatively was Magyar Egyetemi és Főiskolai hallgatók Országos Szövetsége – MEFHOS (the Land Union of Hungarian University and College students). MEFHOS was classified as association spreading pronouncedly hostile irredentistic ideology. According to Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest, primary position in management of associations active in universities in Hungary had former Prime Minister Pál Teleky, who as chairman of MEFHOS coordinated also activities of associations located abroad. For this reason he was appointed also to organize Hungarian students who lived outside Hungary, and who studied in Hungarian cities, namely in Budapest.²⁹

After adoption of cited government regulation by the MSNE which nullify validity of diplomas issued by Hungarian universities, number of Hungarian minority student attending universities in Czechoslovakia increased. At the beginning of year 1930 institutes of highest type of education in CSR attended 1,127 students of Hungarian nationality. Of this number, in Prague attended universities 494, in Brno 213 and in Slovakia 420 students. In regard to professional orientation, 488 students attended universities, 204 attended technical schools and 204 schools of other orientation.³⁰

Government authorities devoted an extraordinary attention also to transfer of text books from Hungary, carrying by students coming to Slovakia during time of vacation. Ministry of Interior issued an edict on 7 March 1931 allowed to transfer of text books, but students must get a special permit issued by Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest, containing exact list of text books. District authorities were obliged to require subordinated offices and border stations to pay attention to transfer of text books *“to Czechoslovakia as well as its export from CSR and compare its actual numbers with lists issued by the Czechoslovak Embassy*

27 SA Košice, w. Archive Rožňava, f. DO Rožňava, carton 27, prez.

28 SA Košice, f. KC, carton 221.

29 See: OLEJNÍK, Milan: *Politické a spoločenské aktivity maďarskej minority v prizme štátnych orgánov a dobovej slovenskej tlače (1918–1929)*, Košice 2011, 56–62.

30 LÁSZLÓ, Béla: *Maďarské národnostné školstvo*, in: *Maďari na Slovensku (1989–2004). Súhrnná správa. Od zmeny režimu po vstup do Európskej únie*, FAZEKAS, József – HUNČÍK, Péter (eds.), Šamorín 2008, 199–242.

in Budapest.”³¹ That this procedure was rigidly controlled, is documented by a circular issued by the Presidium of Land Office in Bratislava dated to June 1931 and addressed to district chairmen and police directorates, containing document named *Confirmation of transfer of books*, which was issued by Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest to students. Czechoslovak authorities have this way exact picture in regard to process of permission of study materials, which was allowed to transfer to Czechoslovakia.³²

Representatives of Hungarian minority political subjects, namely The Land Christian Socialist Party and The Hungarian National Party frequently pointed to fact that young members of Hungarian minority had no possibility to acquire university education in their mother tongue in Czechoslovakia. Hungarian minority politicians speaking during deliberations of the Chamber of Deputies of National Assembly, voiced these complains. For example, during session of the Chamber of Deputies on 5 December 1935, which was devoted to government budget proposal of Czechoslovak Republic for year 1936, deputy János Esterházy stated that *“situation of Hungarian is truly catastrophic because from 137 million crowns allocated to universities, Hungarians according their numerical share, would be entitled 6.5 million crowns, in reality they do not have any faculty and there is no will to establish an Hungarian faculty. Already, this single injustice should led to protest voiced by cultural representatives of the Republic.”*³³

MSNE argued in 1935 that to secure university education for barely 700,000 (691,923) members of Hungarian minority living in CSR is from economic and financial point view not realistic.³⁴ It was also argued that there is no available sufficient number of Hungarian pedagogues. The MSNE argued that there is active Teleological Lutheran Faculty in Bratislava, where Hungarian students could gain a sizeable part of their education in Hungarian language. Also, according to the MSNE, also at other educational institutions tests could be realized in Hungarian language with aid of Hungarian translator.³⁵

In this context, it is necessary to point to situation in education of German minority at the universities in their mother tongue. In Czechoslovakia during census in year 1921 reported German nationality 3,123,568 persons which was 23.35% of total number of Czechoslovak citizens, 745,431 persons reported Hungarian nationality, which was 5.57% and 8,760,937 persons reported Czechoslovak³⁶ nationality, which was 66.50% of the total number.³⁷ During the second census in year 1930, significant changes did not occurred:

31 SA Košice, w. Archive Rožňava, f. CO Rožňava, carton 18, doc. No. 306, prez.

32 Ibidem.

33 Poslanecká sněmovna N.S.R.Č. 1935. IV. volební období, 2. zasedání. Těsnopisecké zprávy 1–24. Těsnopisecká zpráva o 16. schůzi poslanecké sněmovny Národního shromáždění republiky Československé. 5. prosince 1935. Vystoupení poslance Jánose Esterházyho [Chamber of Deputies N.S.R.Č. 1935. IV election period, 2. Stenography session, Report 1–24. Stenography report about 16 session Chamber of Deputies, National Assembly of Czechoslovak Republic. 5 December 1935. Speech of Janos Esterházy].

34 Národní archiv (NA) (National Archive (NA) Praha, f. Ministerstvo školství (MŠ) (Ministry of Schools (MS)), carton 376.

35 Ibidem.

36 The declaration of so called Czechoslovak nationality was a political construct of Czech political representation. A stated nationality in reality did not existed. Only Czech and Slovak nations were real.

37 *Sčítání lidu v republice československé ze dne 15. února 1921. I. díl*, Praha 1924, 60*. Československá statistika; svazek 9. Řada VI., Sčítání lidu; sešit 1.

the German minority accounted to 3,231,688 persons – 22.31%, Hungarian minority to 691,923 – 4.77% and Czechoslovak to 9,688,770 persons – 66.90% of the total.³⁸ The most numerous minority in the Republic were Germans, who constituted almost quarter of total population. Hungarians constituted the second numerous minority (in Slovakia they were most numerous). Germans during years 1918–1938 could be educated in their native language at one university and two colleges, which were the German University in Prague, the German Technical College in Prague and the German Technical College in Brno. A college with Hungarian teaching language in Czechoslovak Republic did not existed. Insufficient situation existed also in sphere of university education in Slovak language. Little more than two millions Slovaks³⁹ had only one school – The University of Komenský in Bratislava.

An important role in education of Hungarian intelligentsia played seminaries (catedres) of Hungarian language and literature at the Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University in Bratislava and at the Faculty of the Philosophy of Charles university in Prague. The Hungarian opposition politicians criticized mainly fact that lectures at the both universities were realized in Czech or Slovak language. The chairman of both seminaries was Prof. Pavol Bujňák, who was Slovak, similarly as further members of seminaries. P. Bujňák was active at his post till his sudden death in year 1933. Because government was not willing to ask rectors of Prague and Bratislava universities to appoint to vacant posts an expert of Hungarian nationality either from Czechoslovakia or from abroad, Hungarian opposition politicians were critical of government indecision. After death P. Bujňák, both seminaries of Hungarian language and literature were provisory substituted. In Prague grammar was lectured by associate professor of Czech language and literature Vladimír Šmilauer and Hungarian literature lectured by director of Hungarian František Jankovič gymnasium, who was retired. The board of pedagogues as a suitable candidate to be chaired seminary of Hungarian language and literature chose dr. Vladimír Skalička who was about to become an associate professor of Hungarian language and literature. At the Comenius University in Bratislava, the seminary of Hungarian language and literature was teaching by professor Ján Bakoš, who lectured grammar. Literature was lectured, similarly as in Prague, by František Jankovič, but for this chair professor Alžbeta Göllner, a teacher at gymnasium in Bratislava was to be habilitated.⁴⁰

Situation was broadly commented by Hungarian opposition press and had also a political dimension. Periodicals *Prágay Magyar Hírlap*, *Magyar Ujság*, *Napló* and others argued that appointment of pedagogical personnel to teaching positions is less an issue of professional competence than political problem.

In regard to future of both seminaries, an intensive discussion was carried on not only among professionals but also in government circles, among opposition politicians, among Hungarians and non-Hungarians. After year 1933 the issue became pronouncedly political. Students of Hungarian nationality in Prague, who were already in year 1921 motivated

38 *Sčítaní lidu v republice československé ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl I*, Praha 1934, 81. *Československá statistika*; svazek 98. Řada VI, *Sčítaní lidu*; sešit 7.

39 Exact number of members of Slovaks nationality, because officially stated Czechoslovak nationality, is impossible to ascertain.

40 TÓTH, 73–74.

by periodical *Prágay Magyar Hírlap* established a preparatory committee of student association. Later an association was founded and named Magyar akademikus keresztény köre Prágaban – MAKK (Christian Circle of Hungarian Academicians in Prague). According of its charter the aim of the MAKK was to grow Christian spirit, spreading of Hungarian culture and economic support of Hungarian university students, eventually also of colleges. MAKK had branches also in Bratislava and Brno and was supported by student association in Budapest. Since its inception MAKK was perceived by Czechoslovak authorities as association allowing a space for irredenta. The activities of MAKK and students in general were monitored by Czechoslovak authorities. In January 1933 the Ministry of Interior in Prague notified the Presidency of Board of Ministers that in community of Hungarian students Hungarian opposition political parties are losing influence and consequently *"lately for understandable reasons also Hungarian Embassy (...) is increasingly interesting about conditions existing in community of Hungarian youth."*⁴¹ Political program of social democrats was allegedly gaining influence among students. According to The Police Directory in Prague, which was author of the cited report sent to the Ministry of Interior, this was consequence of rift between older and younger Hungarian generations and eventually *"another result of this new international and socialistic thinking young people could be end of irredentistic movement in Slovakia."*⁴²

Despite alleged loss of adherence toward Hungarian political representation, MAKK enjoyed respect and support of Hungarian politicians. This was documented by presence of Hungarian Ambassador Szilárd Masirevich, Hungarian deputies Géza Szüllő, József Törkly, Károly Hokky and others.⁴³ In year 1934 MAKK had 400 members. Data in regard to numbers of students of Hungarian nationality attending educational institution of highest level of education are shown in Table 1.

41 NA, f. Prezídium ministerské rady (PMR) (Presidium of Board of Ministers (PBM)), carton 575, doc. No. 6145

42 Ibidem.

43 Archiv Ústavu T. G. Masaryka (A Ú TGM) (Archive of T. G. Masaryk Institute (A TGM)), f. TGM – Republika 1918–1937, menšiny (f. TGM – Republic 1918–1937, minorities), carton 393.

Table 1 Students of Hungarian nationality attending educational institutions in Czechoslovakia

Academic year	Students		
	Total	of Hungarian nationality	
		Number	Share in %
1921/1922	28,570	1,200	4.20
1923/1924	26,226	833	3.17
1925/1926	27,725	779	2.80
1927/1928	28,899	982	3.39
1929/1930	31,164	1,127	3.61
1932/1933	33,332	1,157	3.47
1934/1935	31,640	953	3.01
1937/1938	27,878	878	3.14

Data is showing that number of students of Hungarian nationality was lower in comparison to the total number of students in Czechoslovakia than the total number of Hungarian minority members to the whole population.⁴⁴

Conclusion

In Czechoslovak Republic, the system of education was more democratic and content and form of education more advanced than in pre-war Hungary. Illiteracy was lowered and all levels of schools became more accessible to a broader circle of young people. The school infrastructure was modernized, new schools were built, libraries were established, schools were equipped with radio etc. All of this however could not eliminate a feelings of injustice in ranks of Hungarian population, which only with difficulties coped with policy and measures of school administration of Czechoslovak state.

During years 1918–1938 it was impossible to study on the highest level of educational structure, on universities teaching in Hungarian language. Czechoslovak governments explained this fact by low number of members of Hungarian minority, which was insufficient to justify establishment of Hungarian university. This facts, however, created space for numerous discrepancies among Czechoslovak educational authorities on one side and government and Hungarian community.

44 Elaborated according to: *Statistická příručka Republiky československé*, Praha 1932, 351. *Statistická ročenka Republiky československé*, Praha 1935, 218–219. *Zprávy Státního úřadu statistického Republiky československé*, roč. 19, č. 57–58, Praha 1938, 442–443. *Statistická ročenka Republiky československé*, Praha 1937, 236–237.

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Activities and agreements of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission (1947–1949)

Dr. Gábor HOLLÓSI, PhD.

Abstract

By the time Czechoslovakia occupied Dunacsún (Čunovo), Horvátjárfalu (Jarovce) and Oroszvár (Rusovce) on 15 October 1947 – the three villages that Hungary had to cede in accordance with the Paris Peace Treaty – negotiations between the two parties of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission had barely begun. The Peace Treaty called for a boundary commission composed of the representatives of the two governments to determine the exact boundaries of the new frontier within two months. Because the commission also had to make decisions on other related questions, talks lasted until the beginning of 1949. Making use of documents housed in the National Archives of Hungary, we present the structure, activities and agreements of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission in the work below.

Keywords

Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission, Paris Peace Treaty, territorial ceding, Čunovo, Jarovce, Rusovce

Introduction

Historical background

Relations between Hungary and Czechoslovakia reached a historic low point in the post-WWII period. Although the First Vienna Award¹, which returned the southern part of Slovakia to Hungary, had corresponded to ethnic borders, Hungarian troops and administration were forced to retreat to the pre-1938 borders in accordance with the ceasefire agreement signed in Moscow on 20 January 1945. In order to hold onto the evacuated areas, it was in the interests of Czechoslovakia to remove the borderland minorities by the time the peace treaty was concluded.

The Košice government program of April 1945, which was “legitimized” by the Beneš decrees, accused the ethnic German and Hungarian residents of wrecking the Czechoslovak Republic and allowed for their expulsion. The deportation of the German and Hungarian populations and the show trials in the people’s tribunals were begun. However, in contrast to the Soviet Union, the Western powers did not accept the unilateral expulsion of the Hungarians; a population exchange agreement was thus concluded on 27 February 1946. This did not lead to the results desired by Czechoslovakia. Thus, in the end, a re-

1 First Vienna Award was held at 2 November 1938.

Slovakization was attempted: anyone who declared himself as Slovak could regain his Czechoslovakian citizenship.²

The proposal, which had already existed in Czechoslovak military circles between the two wars, that the Petržalka bridgehead should be widened such that the state borders would be at least twenty-five kilometers away from Bratislava instead of the previous six (thus placing the city outside the range of artillery cannons) was formally formulated in November 1945. Therefore, Czechoslovakia demanded five Hungarian townships at the Paris Peace Conference, arguing that urban development of Bratislava was possible only in their direction. Nevertheless, mainly due to American pressure,³ Czechoslovakia received only three of the five: Dunacsún, Horvátjárfalu and Oroszvár, which were later renamed Čunovo, Jarovce and Rusovce, respectively. Oroszvár was mainly ethnic German (73 %), while Horvátjárfalu and Dunacsún were majority Croatian settlements (53.9% and 47.8%, respectively, and in the case of the latter, only a relative plurality).⁴

The Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission

By the time Czechoslovakia occupied Dunacsún, Horvátjárfalu and Oroszvár on 15 October 1947 – the three villages that Hungary had to cede in accordance with the Paris Peace Treaty – negotiations between the two parties of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission had barely begun.⁵ The Peace Treaty called for a boundary commission composed of the representatives of the two governments to determine the exact boundaries of the new frontier within two months.⁶ Because the commission also had to make decisions on other related questions, talks lasted until the beginning of 1949. Making use of documents housed in the National Archives of Hungary,⁷ we present the structure, activities and agreements of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission in the work below.

2 See in detail: HORVÁTH, Attila: A Beneš-dekrétumok és a hozzá kapcsolódó magyarellenes intézkedések (1945–1949) [The Beneš decrees and the anti-Hungarian measures connected to them (1945–1949)], in: *Kisebbségvédelem. A Kisebbségi Jogvédő Intézet Tudományos Folyóirata [Protection of Minorities. The Academic Journal of the Institute for the Protection of Minority Rights (IPMR)]*, 1, 2019, 1, 144–158. (Available in Hungarian).

3 See in detail: ROMSICS, Ignác: Az 1947-es párizsi békeszerződés [The 1947 Paris Peace Treaty], Budapest 2006, 206, 212–223. (Available in Hungarian).

4 HOLLÓSI, Gábor: Az “emberi és polgári jogok” értelmezése pozsonyi hídfő kiszélesítése kapcsán [The meaning of “human and civic rights” in connection with the enlargement of the Bratislava bridgehead], in: *Iustum Aequum Salutare*, 12, 2016, 3, 143. (Available in Hungarian).

5 Please see: HOLLÓSI, Gábor: *A pozsonyi hídfő. A Magyar-Csehszlovák Határrendező Bizottság tárgyalásai (1947–1949) [The Bratislava Bridgehead: The Negotiations of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission (1947–1949)]*, Budapest 2017. (Available in Hungarian).

6 “The exact line of the new frontier between Hungary and Czechoslovakia laid down in the preceding subparagraph shall be determined on the spot by a boundary Commission composed of the representatives of the two Governments concerned. The Commission shall complete its work within two months from the coming into force of the present Treaty.” Treaty of Peace with Hungary – 10 February 1947. Article I., 4. (d). Law Library of Congress, online: <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000004-0453.pdf>.

7 National Archives of Hungary (hereinafter referred only as NAH), fund “A Külügyminisztérium »adminisztratív» iratai, 1945–1994” (“Administrative” Documents of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1945–1994; hereinafter referred to only as XIX–J–1–k), carton 69, file “A Magyar-Csehszlovák Határrendező Bizottság jegyzőkönyvei 1947. október 11. és december 16. között” (The minutes of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission between 11 October and 16 December 1947; available in Hungarian).

The composition and structure of the Hungarian government delegation

The Hungarian government delegation of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission was established by the decision of the Council of Ministers on 19 September 1947. The President of the Republic himself appointed the members of the delegation. Originally Béla Bojta,⁸ State Secretary of the Office of the Prime Minister, was considered for the role of chairman. Bojta's appointment seemed so likely that he even staffed the delegation. In the end, however, Roland Kiss,⁹ State Secretary of Domestic Affairs, who had been initially eyed for the position of Permanent Deputy to the President, was appointed as chairman instead.¹⁰ The members of the delegation were Envoy Extraordinary and Delegated Minister Viktor Szondy¹¹; József Bartha, on behalf of the Ministry of Transport; Andor Zalányi,¹² on behalf of the Ministry of Agriculture; and Sándor Karcsay,¹³ on behalf of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, who was also the secretary of the delegation.¹⁴ The work of the chairman and the members was supported by experts. Additionally, János Bogárdi,¹⁵ Director of the Institute for Hydrography, as a water management expert; László Hollós, on behalf of the Ministry of Finance, as a financial and economics expert; István Hazay,¹⁶ Head of the Department for Survey at the Ministry of Finance, as an expert on the matters of marking out borders; Tibor Mikó,¹⁷ on behalf of the Prime Ministry, as an expert

8 Lawyer Ernő Béla Bojta (born Burger) (1899–1969) organized the National Council of People's Tribunals after WWII.

9 Roland Kiss (1888–1967) referred to himself as the "Bible-carrying socialist". His father had been a saddler. Kiss joined the Hungarian Social Democratic Party in 1917, two years before the proclamation of the Republic of Councils in Hungary (Hungarian Soviet Republic). He took part in the management of various Protestant organizations during the Interwar Period. He was a member of the committee which oversaw the separation of the state and church in 1948. He accepted the secular chairmanship of the General Convention of the Reformed Church through the Hungarian Workers' Party (the party of the state) in 1949.

10 NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 71, doc. "*Pesti előkészítő iratok*" (Pest Preparatory Papers; available in Hungarian).

11 Viktor Szondy (1891–?) was an international legal expert and a professor at Budapest University. He took over the Department of Private International Law at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1937. He also led simultaneously the Department of International Administrative Law from 1941. After WWII, he worked as the head of the Department for Prisoners of War.

12 Andor Zalányi, a university private professor, was habilitated at the Agricultural University in 1947. He was the chairman of the Hungarian delegation of the Economic Sub-commission of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Mixed Commission for population exchange. In April 1949, he was sentenced (in a show trial) to a two-year prison term in "the case of the conspiracy of the representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture".

13 Sándor Karcsay (1915–1999) was a legal expert. Having been compulsory retired, he initially found new work as an insurance agent, after which he joined the National Translating Office. He was the Deputy Chairman of the international Christian Democratic Union after the System Changeover in Hungary in 1989/90.

14 NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 69, doc. "*Jegyzőkönyv amely felvétellett a magyar-csehszlovák határrendező bizottság 1947. október 11-én délelőtt 10-órákor tartott üléséről*" (Minutes Drawn Up during the Session of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission at 10:00 a. m. on 11 October 1947; available in Hungarian).

15 János Bogárdi (born Bogner) (1909–1998) was a hydraulic engineer, hydrologist and professor.

16 István Hazay (1901–1995) was a surveyor, professor and full member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

17 Tibor Mikó was one of three men who took part not only in the work of the Boundary Commission but was also present at the Paris Peace Conference (1946). Before moving to Munich, he emigrated to Vienna in 1948. He later worked at Radio Free Europe.

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on nationalities and as a liaison; Imre Jakabffy,¹⁸ Head of Department at the Institute for Political Sciences, as a statistician and cartographer; and Lieutenant-Colonel / Chief of Staff Jenő Czebe¹⁹ all participated in the work of the delegation. We should also mention the administrative secretary of the delegation: Mrs. Józsefné Raáb, who was sent from the Prime Ministry to Bratislava.

An interdepartmental demarcationary commission supported the Hungarian government delegation as a “background institute”. Three sub-commissions were formed within this structure, which included staff not listed above. Roland Kiss was also the chairman of the Sub-commission for Demarcation. The Sub-commission for Matters Related to the Non-Relocated Population was directed by Viktor Szondy. The chairmanship of the Sub-commission for Economic, Property and Transportation Matters Related to the Ceded Territory was shared between József Bartha and Andor Zalányi. Sándor Karcsay took part in the sessions of all three sub-commissions as a liaison. His mission was “to keep all sub-committee discussed matters in line with respect to internal affairs”.²⁰

First term

The government delegations of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission met in Bratislava on 11 October 1947.²¹ During the short two-month period (as outlined by the Peace Treaty), they were able to agree only on the most pressing issues.

One of the problems that needed to be addressed was that a section of highway tying Budapest and Vienna together had ended up in Czechoslovakia as a result of the territorial switch. Thus direct traffic flow between the two capitals was interrupted. Scheduled and unscheduled transportation of people and goods was worked out by the so-called “passage agreement”,²² although under its terms, the escort provided by Czechoslovakian toll authorities was not free. The agreement was extended indefinitely until the direct highway connection could be restored between Hungary and Austria. It is important to note that unlike the below mentioned agreements, the “passage agreement” came into force as a

18 Imre Jakabffy (1915–?) was a legal expert, statistician for nationalities and cartographer. He was the rapporteur for Romania at the Institute for Political Sciences (Pál Teleki Scientific Institute) during WWII. He attended the Paris Peace Conference as an expert of the Hungarian delegation. His ironically written memoir on the first term of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission was published in 1998. Please see: JAKABFFY, Imre: A pozsonyi hídfő [The Bratislava Bridgehead], in: *Életünk [Our Life]*, 36, 1998, 10, 891–919. (Available in Hungarian).

19 Jenő Czebe (1914–1949) was the expert on prisoners of war for the military group of the Hungarian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. He was arrested on a trumped-up charge of high treason. He tried to escape during his interrogation but was shot and killed.

20 NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 71, file “Pesti előkészítő iratok” (Pest Preparatory Papers), doc. “Jelentés Miniszter Úrnak a határrendező bizottság tagjairól” (Report to the Minister on the Members of the Boundary Commission. Budapest, 3 October 1947; available in Hungarian).

21 NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 69, doc. “Jegyzőkönyv amely felvétellett a magyar-csehszlovák határrendező bizottság 1947. október 11-én délelőtt 10-órakor tartott üléséről” (Minutes Drawn Up during the Session of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission at 10:00 a. m. on 11 October 1947; available in Hungarian).

22 NAH, fund “A Külügyminisztérium lejárt szerződése” (Expired treaties of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; hereinafter referred to only as XIX–J–1–f), carton 59, doc. “Egyezmény a Budapest–wieni közút csehszlovák szakaszán átmenő forgalom szabályozása tárgyában. – Dohoda o úprave pasážnej dopravy na československom úseku verejnej cesty Budapest–Wien” (Agreement Concerning the Regulation of the Transit Traffic on the Czechoslovakian Section of the Budapest–Vienna Highway; available in Hungarian).

separate entity. It had validity prior to the issuing of the Final Protocol of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission (on 22 December 1947).²³

Through extremely difficult negotiations, the Hungarian delegation managed to bring into force that provision of the Peace Treaty through which " (...) the dam and spillway within the village limits of Rajka will remain on Hungarian territory"²⁴. The reason why was the incorrectly indicated borderline in the map annex of the Peace Treaty. Moreover, data in the text related to distance were also broadly inexact. The significance of this question was that after the ceding of the Dunacsún Spillway, flood prevention of the settlements located on the Hungarian Szigetköz, which included the city of Győr, was provided by that very same spillway ('Szigetköz' is an island between the Great Danube and the Moson-Danube). Since the Hungarian government delegation had not accepted the population exchange in this area, the Czechoslovakian delegation made a statement related to the matter of the people of the territory that Hungary had to cede to Czechoslovakia. Another statement was also made concerning private law and administrative issues. The first statement guaranteed Czechoslovakian citizenship and non-discrimination of the non-relocated population; the second one included recognition of Hungarian civil service periods and the granting of social security benefits (e.g. pensions). Czechoslovakia, however, did not observe the rules in these statements.

The parties could not agree on financial issues thus, the clause "final settlement of those will be a matter of interstate negotiations" was included only in the Final Protocol. It was also stated that the parties would conclude a water agreement with each other in three months after the finalization of the border.

Second term

The water agreement had already been prepared by the time the second term began. A Hungarian-Czechoslovakian mixed sub-commission was created for this purpose. (Mixed sub-commissions prepared the agreements in other cases also, but simultaneously as the plenary sessions were underway, in contrast to the water issues). The talks of the Water

23 NAH, XIX-J-1-k, carton 70, doc. "Zárójegyzőkönyv a párisi békeszerződés 1. cikke 4. pontjának »d« alpontja értelmében a magyar és a csehszlovák kormány képviselőiből alakított Határrendező Bizottság munkálatairól" (Final Protocol on the Work of the Boundary Commission Composed of the Representatives of the Hungarian and the Czechoslovakian Governments through Article I., 4. /d/ of the Paris Peace Treaty; available in Hungarian).

24 "Hungary shall cede to Czechoslovakia the villages of Horvathjarfalu, Oroszvar and Dunacsún, together with their cadastral territory as indicated on Map No. IA3 annexed to the present Treaty. Accordingly, the Czechoslovak frontier on this sector shall be fixed as follows: from the point common to the frontiers of Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, as they existed on 1 January 1938, the present Hungarian-Austrian frontier shall become the frontier between Austria and Czechoslovakia as far as a point roughly 500 meters south of hill 134 (3.5 kilometers northwest of the church of Rajka), this point now becoming common to the frontiers of the three named States; thence the new frontier between Czechoslovakia and Hungary shall go eastwards along the northern cadastral boundary of the village of Rajka to the right bank of the Danube at a point approximately 2 kilometers north of hill 128 (3.5 kilometers east of the church of Rajka), where the new frontier will, in the principal channel of navigation of the Danube, join the Czechoslovak-Hungarian frontier as it existed on 1 January 1938; the dam and spillway within the village limits of Rajka will remain on Hungarian territory." – Treaty of Peace with Hungary – 10 February 1947. Article I., 4. (c). Law Library of Congress, online: <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000004-0453.pdf>.

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Sub-commission began in Bratislava on 9 January 1948.²⁵ However, the tasks of the second term of the Boundary Commission encompassed more than simply negotiating the water agreement and determining the location of the new frontier. New questions arose related to the grievances of the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia, especially the individuals who had “voluntarily” left the ceded territory.

Roland Kiss still headed the Hungarian delegation of the Boundary Commission during the second term, which took place from 5 May to 2 July 1948. “Due to prior commitments”, Ivan Horvath²⁶ (Envoy Extraordinary and Delegated Minister, Vice-Chairman of the Slovakian National Council), leader of the Czechoslovakian delegation, was replaced by Ján Bujna (Embassy Councilor, Chargé d’Affaires of the Republic of Czechoslovakia in Budapest) on 22 June.²⁷ Some new names were added to the list of experts who helped the work of the Hungarian delegation: Nándor Hegedüs and Jenő Monár²⁸ (from the Prime Ministry), and Oszkár Petényi²⁹ (from the Ministry of Agriculture).

The talks were very tense. Unidentified persons ripped the Hungarian flag off Roland Kiss’ car in Bratislava on the night of 26 June.³⁰ The Hungarians in Czechoslovakia also inundated the commission with complaints against the authorities. The minutes of the session of 1 July recorded one of the more flagrant incidents. “[Roland Kiss] must state that the Hungarian population of the three villages is being persecuted. (...) He felt obligated to share his exasperation [at the following case]. He mentions that a woman employed by the Office of the Hungarian Delegation met him today. Through tears, she informed him

25 NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 71, file “Víz” (Water), doc. “Jegyzőkönyv a magyar-csehszlovák Határrendező Bizottság Vízügyi Albizottságának Bratislavában, 1948. évi január hó 9-től január hó 15-ig tartott tárgyalásairól” (Protocol on the Negotiations of the Water Sub-Commission of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission in Bratislava from 9 to 15 January 1948; available in Hungarian).

26 Ivan Horváth (1904–1960) was Czechoslovakian ambassador to Hungary. He was sentenced to twenty-two years in prison in a show trial of “Slovakian bourgeois nationalists” in Bratislava in 1954.

27 NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 71, doc. “Kormánybizottsági jelentés a Magyar-Csehszlovák Határrendező Bizottság 1948. évi második üléséről” (Government Commission Report on the Second Term of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission, 15 August 1948; available in Hungarian). – See also: NAH, fund “A Külügyminisztérium »titkos« iratai, 1945–1995” (“Secret” Documents of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1945–1995; hereinafter referred to only as XIX–J–1–j), carton 48, file “Magyar-Csehszlovák Határrendező Bizottság” (Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission), doc. “Jegyzőkönyv mely felvételte a Határrendező Bizottság 1948. évi június hó 22.-én megtartott üléséről” (Minutes Drawn Up during the Session of the Boundary Commission on 22 June 1948; available in Hungarian). – In the period sources, we did not find any reference to the real reason for Horvath’s departure.

28 Monár’s role was monitoring nationality policy changes regarding the Czechoslovakian-Hungarian population exchange at the Prime Ministry after the war.

29 Oszkár Petényi was a senior engineer and former head of the Fluvial Engineering Office in Győr.

30 NAH, XIX–J–1–j, carton 48, doc. “Jegyzőkönyv mely felvételte a Határrendező Bizottság 1948. évi június hó 26-án Bratislavában tartott üléséről” (Minutes Drawn Up during the Session of the Boundary Commission in Bratislava on 26 June 1948). Melléklet (Annex, available in Hungarian). – See also: NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 48, file “Vegyes” (Miscellaneous), doc. “Zászló-gyalázás” (Desecrated Flag, 12 May 1948; available in Hungarian).

that Károly Egyházi, her father and 'white card' resident of Dunajská Streda, had been evicted from his own home and placed in the adjacent yard while lying on his deathbed. (...)”³¹ In the end, negotiations came to a standstill. There were no substantive results of the second term.³²

Third term

After the negotiations halted, there were several months of informal talks in Budapest and Balatonföldvár (a settlement on the southern shore of Lake Balaton). Roland Kiss wrote a letter to the chairman of the Czechoslovakian delegation on 17 July 1948, in which he stated that negotiations would resume on the condition that on-site verification by the chairmen of both delegations of the Boundary Commission that the rules pertaining to the residents of the ceded villages in the Final Protocol were in fact being followed.³³ Bujna informed Kiss over the phone that he had received his letter, and that he wished to talk to Kiss in person. Kiss invited Bujna to Balatonföldvár, where he was spending his summer holiday. On his 5 August visit, Bujna informed Kiss that he anticipated that the Czechoslovakian government would consent to the on-site verification of the fulfillment of the points added to the Final Protocol.³⁴

This was the basis of the third term, which was held in Bratislava between 4 and 14 October 1948.³⁵ The water agreement³⁶ guaranteeing flood control for the neighboring Hungarian territory and the feeding of the Moson-Danube with streamflow was signed at this time. (Along with Dunacsún, the derivative section of the Moson-Danube and a 9.6 kilometres long part of dam were also ceded by the Paris Peace Treaty). Czechoslovakia promised that

31 NAH, XIX–J–1–j, carton 48, doc. “Jegyzőkönyv mely felvétellett a Határrendező Bizottság 1948. évi július hó 1-én d.u. 6 órákor Bratislavában tartott üléséről” (Minutes Drawn Up during the Session of the Boundary Commission in Bratislava at 6:00 p. m. on 1 July 1948; available in Hungarian). – Cf.: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.” *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Article 1, online: www.un.org – “White card” was the common name of the notice for people who were designated for displacement under the population exchange. It was delivered *ex officio* by the Office of the Hungarian delegate.

32 NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 71, file “Külfügbe jelentések” (Reports to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), doc. “Vázlatos tájékoztató jelentés a Magyar Határrendező Bizottság tárgyalásainak állásáról 1948. július 8-án” (Schematic Information Report on the Progress of the Negotiations of the Hungarian Boundary Commission on 8 July 1948. By Roland Kiss; available in Hungarian).

33 NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 71, doc. “Kormánybizottsági jelentés a Magyar-Csehszlovák Határrendező Bizottság 1948. évi második ülészakaról” (Government Commission Report on the Second Term of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission, 15 August 1948; available in Hungarian).

34 NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 71, doc. “Kormánybizottsági elnöki jelentés a Magyar-Csehszlovák Határrendező Bizottság tárgyalásainak újrafelvételéről” (Report of the Chairman of the Government Commission on the Resumption of the Negotiations of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission, 23 August 1948; available in Hungarian). Roland Kiss’ manuscript: NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 73.

35 NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 71, doc. “Jelentés a záró ülészakaról” (Report on the Final Term; available in Hungarian).

36 NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 71, file “Víz” (Water), doc. “Egyezmény a Magyar Köztársaság és a Csehszlovák Köztársaság között a párisi békeszerződés 1. cikk 4. pontjának »c« bekezdése értelmében fogantatott területátengedéssel kapcsolatban felmerülő egyes vízügyi kérdések tárgyában” (Agreement between the Hungarian Republic and the Czechoslovakian Republic on Individual Water Issues that Arose from the Territorial Ceding Under Paragraph »c« of Point 4 of Article 1 of the Paris Peace Treaty; available in Hungarian).

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it would share the water level data of the floodometer in Rusovce twice daily with Hungary until the new floodometer was built in the Hungarian territory. However, Czechoslovakia was unwilling to pay compensation for the assets (exempli gratia, dams) of the Association for Regulating the Rába (River) on the ceded territory. The Boundary Commission thus postponed this question to the matter of “financial negotiations related to the peace treaty”.

Supplementary Protocol No. 1 and 2 were also signed during the third term.³⁷ Protocol No. 1 concerned the work related to determining the border, while Protocol No. 2 related to the people who had “voluntarily” left. The people who had “voluntarily” resettled to Hungary could do whatever they wished with their belongings; whoever had already left the ceded territory was allowed to return for any belongings left behind. The Population Exchange Agreement (PEA) of 27 February 1946, and the resolutions passed by the mixed commission created by the PEA were used in principle for inventory and evaluation of immobile property.

Fourth term

The translation into French was made more difficult because of innumerable differences between the Hungarian and Slovakian texts of Supplementary Protocol No. 1 and the water agreement. Thus a fourth term was convened in Prague in December 1948 and at the beginning of January 1949, during which the two sides reconciled the language discrepancies.³⁸ The question of where the borderline would be drawn was still not determined when the work of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission concluded. The Czechoslovakian delegation proposed that the Boundary Commission review the entire Trianon border because border landmarks had been removed as a result of the return of the territory to Hungary via the First Vienna Award on 2 November

37 NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 70, file “Határrendező Bizottság jegyzőkönyvei” (Minutes of the Boundary Commission), doc. “I. számú pótjegyzőkönyv a Bratislavában 1947. évi december 22.-én kelt Zárójegyzőkönyvhöz a határkitűzési munkálatok tárgyában” (Supplementary Protocol No. 1 on the Works of Determining the Location of the Border to the Final Protocol in Bratislava dated on 22 December 1947; available in Hungarian). – NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 70, file “Határrendező Bizottság jegyzőkönyvei” (Minutes of the Boundary Commission), doc. “II. Pótjegyzőkönyv a párisi békeszerződés 1. cikk 4. pontjának »d« alpontja értelmében a magyar és csehszlovák kormány képviselőiből alakított Határrendező Bizottság munkálatairól szóló, Bratislavában 1947. évi december hó 22.-én kelt Zárójegyzőkönyvhöz” (Supplementary Protocol No. 2 to the Final Protocol on the Works of the Boundary Commission, which was Composed of the Representatives of the Hungarian and Czechoslovakian Governments According to the Sub-point »d« of Point 4 of Article 1 of the Paris Peace Treaty, in Bratislava dated on 22 December 1947; available in Hungarian).

38 NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 70, doc. No. 22.323, “Kormánybizottsági jelentés az 1948. október 9-én aláírt I. számú Pótjegyzőkönyv francia szövegének megállapítása tárgyában Prágában folytatott tárgyalásokról” (Government Commission Report on the Prague Negotiations Relating to the Determination of the French Text of the Supplementary Protocol No. 1 signed on 9 October 1948; available in Hungarian). – Prague negotiations were between 8 and 15 December 1948, and between 4 and 12 January 1949. – See also: NAH, XIX–J–1–k, carton 70, doc. “Kormánybizottsági jelentés a Magyar Köztársaság és a Csehszlovák Köztársaság között a párisi békeszerződés 1. cikk 4. pont »c« alpontja értelmében foganatosított területátengedéssel kapcsolatos vízügyi kérdések tárgyában Bratislavában 1948. évi október hó 9. napján aláírt egyezmény francia szövegének megállapítása iránt Prágában folytatott tárgyalásokról” (Government Commission Report on the Prague Negotiations relating to the Determination of the French Text of the Agreement between the Hungarian Republic and the Czechoslovakian Republic in Bratislava signed on 9 October 1948, on Water Issues that Arose from the Territorial Ceding Under Sub-point »c« of Point 4 of Article 1 of the Paris Peace Treaty. 1 March 1949; available in Hungarian).

1938. According to the Council of Ministers of Hungary, however, this task was outside the authority of the Boundary Commission of the Peace Treaty. The Hungarian side thus decided to delegate a new commission. A State Commission for Border Affairs was formed for this purpose.³⁹

Conclusion

In the extremely tense situation following the WWII, the Hungarian government delegation of the Hungarian-Czechoslovakian Boundary Commission fulfilled its sad obligation to carve out once again a small piece of the territory of the country. Although negotiations dragged on considerably, the Hungarian delegation concluded the agreements which it considered necessary. Implementation of the agreements varied in Czechoslovakia. For instance, understanding the importance of the "passage" agreement, the Czechoslovak government was ready to extend it four times. At the same time, implementation of the agreement guaranteeing citizenship and non-discrimination for the non-relocated population stalled. It would be interesting to find out from contemporary Czechoslovak sources what exact instructions the Czechoslovak delegation, initially headed by Ivan Horvath and then Ján Bujna, had received, for negotiations with the Hungarian side. We hope that the relevant conclusions of Czech and Slovak researchers will be published in Hungary sooner rather than later, so that any one-sided perspectives in our work may be reconciled.

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The border barrier – a Hungarian solution

Gabriella KAKUK

Abstract

The growing mass of migrants arriving of the European Union at the area from the year 2015 had imposed a huge burden on the European Union. Considering that a solution to the problem resulting in the large-scale migration cannot be expected in the near future, the danger of another wave of mass migration reaching Europe and seeking international refuge is still present. Since the flow of migrants resulted in heavy burdens on the member states – especially to the countries of the Schengen-borders – the problems arised called for urgent measures according to the existing legislation. The solution that Hungary found was the erection of the border barrier. In the present study the effects of the border barrier on the migration data will be overviewed, based upon statistics published on the topic. Since 2015, a large number of publications have been published on the topic of the migration crisis, the problems arised in the wake of it, and the possible solutions like the “compulsory resettlement quotas” or the physical border barrier. In the present study I would like to further examine the Hungarian solution to this problem. During the preparation of the study I processed the literature on the topic and also analyzed statics in order to determine the effectiveness of the border closure.

Keywords

migration, border barrier, fence, Hungary

Introduction

Since 2010 the number of irregular arrivals into Europe by sea or land has increased substantially. From January to June 2015, 137,000 refugees and migrants arrived in Europe, an increase of 83 % over the same period in 2014. Syrians are the single largest nationality, followed by Eritreans and Afghans. Most are likely to qualify as refugees in European Union (EU) countries. The main migration routes are through the Eastern and Central Mediterranean and the Western Balkans. The Eastern Mediterranean route is currently the most popular, substantially increasing flows through the Western Balkans as only a small minority of people apply for asylum in Greece. Estimates of the actual number of irregular arrivals into Europe vary between agencies, in part because migrants may be counted more than once as they make multiple crossings between EU and non-EU countries in order to reach their preferred destination. This is particularly the case across the Eastern Mediterranean and the Western Balkans routes. The meaning of transit migration and transit migration countries is changing. Turkey, for many years considered a country of emigration, is today seen as a ‘transit’ country, where most asylum-seekers receive ‘temporary protection’ status which

allows them to apply for resettlement in other countries. Libya is evolving from a country of immigration from sub-Saharan Africa to a major 'transit country' between countries such as Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, Chad, and Europe. Future trends of migration flows and patterns are extremely difficult to predict. This is largely due to the difficulty of predicting changes in the drivers of migration, including political unrest, conflict, and patterns of economic growth.¹

The humanitarian crisis that unfolded on the borders of the European Union – and is now increasingly unfolding inside – was not the result of a natural or unforeseen disaster. The arrival of large numbers of refugees and migrants was neither new nor unexpected. Rather the 'crisis' was, in large part, policy driven and sustained by the failure of the EU to put in place adequate and humane responses to deal with this unprecedented but also foreseeable movement of people. The failure of EU policies to respond effectively to the increased movement of people across the Mediterranean in 2015 was partly a reflection of political differences and tensions within and between EU Member States but also reflected flawed assumptions about the reasons why people move, the factors that shape their longerterm migration trajectories and their journeys to Europe. These assumptions became deeply politicised over the course of 2015.²

The fundamental European value, the free movement and employment of the population living there, the free choice of educational institutes that called the Schengen area to life, has become an everyday reality with the termination of the internal border control. However, the termination of the internal border control has led to a great security deficit, that called for a stricter and more uniform control on the external borders. In the preamble of the repealed 562/2006 EK, it was stated as early as 2006 that a controlling activity on the external borders of the area is a community interest, and that this control must promote the fight against illegal migration and human trafficking. Furthermore, it has to strive to avert the dangers threatening the internal security, the public order, the public health and the international relations of the member states, while respecting the fundamental human rights. If we are talking about member states and therefore a community, according to the principle of solidarity, this control must guarantee not only the security of one state but that of the other states where anyone can freely travel after crossing the external borders. With the irregular migration, generally, several other offences posing security risks are associated; furthermore the continuous flow of people between countries and regions itself generates conflicts. Following the migratory processes of 2015 onwards and the tangible increase of terrorist threat one had to realize the fact that changes, even restrictions have to be made in the system of border control having been applied so far in order to meet the requirements of border control, among which security must stand in the first place these days.

1 CUMMINGS, Clare et al.: *Why people move: understanding the drivers and trends of migration to Europe*, London 2015, 16.

2 CRAWLEY, Heaven et al.: *Destination Europe?: understanding the dynamics and drivers of Mediterranean migration in 2015*, Coventry 2016.

The requirements of border control can be put shortly and simply, that is border control must step up efficiently against illegal migration, and must guarantee the inner security of the member states.”³

The migratory situation of Hungary

The migratory tendencies and processes affecting Hungary show that at present Hungary is a transit country that lies in the intersection of the Eastern and South-Eastern migration routes. In the majority of the applications the applicants left the country before the end of the procedure and submitted another application in another member state. A good example to this is provided by the proportion of the decisions and applications. The proportion of the procedures in which a decision could be made, that is the applicant was accessible in the later stages of the procedure, was the lowest in Hungary. This phenomenon proves that the asylum-seekers see Hungary as a transit country.⁴ Beginning in the fourth quarter of 2014 and continuing in the first quarter of 2015 the irregular migration towards Hungary intensified.⁵

However, the number of asylum-seekers had increased excessively in the year 2013. At the beginning of 2015 citizens of Kosovo appeared on this route, who intended to reach their destination in Germany through Hungary. The number of asylum-seekers registered in Hungary slightly decreased in the second quarter of that year, but in the third quarter it has increased in an unprecedented degree. In this period of time the number of the Kosovo applicants slightly reduced, and the number of the ones arriving from Syria and Afghanistan significantly increased.⁶

According to Frontex, the European Border and Coast Guard Agency, more than 1.2 million illegal border crossings were detected until the end of October 2015, as opposed to the 235 thousand of the same period of the previous year. Before the year 2016 the experts analysing the statistics assumed that the number of migrants arriving in Hungary would permanently increase, entailing additional burdens to the Office handling the applications. “A common policy on asylum, including a Common European Asylum System, is a constituent part of the European Union’s objective of progressively establishing an area of freedom, justice and security. The Asylum System must not function as an European fort, but to stay open for those who, forced by circumstances, legitimately seek protection in the Community.”⁷

3 KUI, László: A határellenőrzés elveinek és követelményeinek érvényesülési lehetőségei Magyarországon, in: *Hadtudományi Szemle*, 11, 2018, 2, 268–286.

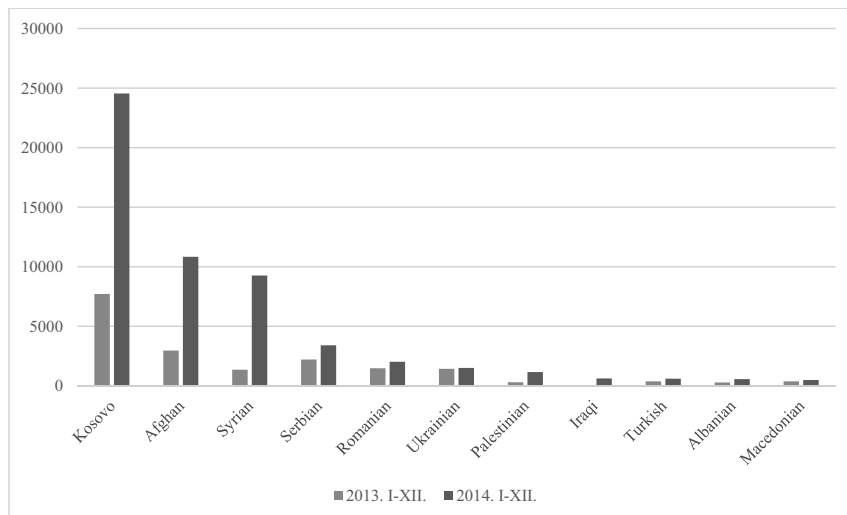
4 National Statistical Office, online: <https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/stattukor/menekult15.pdf>.

5 JUHÁSZ, Attila – MOLNÁR, Csaba: Magyarország sajátos helyzete az európai menekültválságban, in: *Társadalmi riport*, 14, 2016, 1, 263–285.

6 Central Statistical Office, online: <https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/stattukor/menekult15.pdf>.

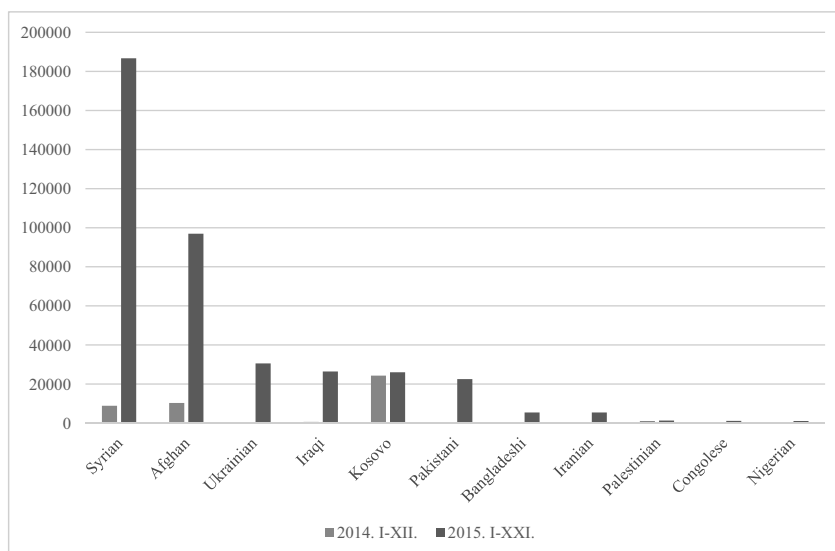
7 BUJÁKI, László: A migráció Európai és állami szabályozásának kihívásai – közös menekültügyi együttműködés és kvótarendszer bevezetésének kihívásai az Európai Unióban, in: *Diskurzus*, 5, 2015, 13–26.

Figure 1 Unlawful acts related to Illegal Migration broken down by nationalities (2013–2014)



Source: Statistical information as published by the Police, online: <http://www.police.hu/hu/a-rendorsegrol/statisztikak/hatarrendeszet>

Figure 2 Unlawful acts related to Illegal Migration broken down by nationalities (2014–2015)



Source: Statistical information as published by the Police, online: <http://www.police.hu/hu/a-rendorsegrol/statisztikak/hatarrendeszet>

In view of this issue the question arised in the member states how they could keep the migration flow within limits. Some member states viewed the solution in keeping the refugees outside the EU, while others believe that the problem of third country citizens getting into EU territories needs to be handled based on the solidarity of the member states. This has been one of the most important areas of actions of the EU from the separate resources dedicated to hot spots for the registration of immigrants to the urgent resettlement system.

Migration is increasingly seen as a major challenge throughout Europe. In the May 2015 Eurobarometer survey it was already considered the most important topic in Europe on average EUwide, while in 2014 it had ranked only fourth (behind economic issues). Previously, respondents had considered immigration an urgent issue in only four EU member states, but by May 2015 the topic had moved to the top in 20 member states. Compared to the EU average, there was an even more significant shift in Hungary. While in 2013 only 3 % said immigration was among the top three challenges facing Europe, in May 2015 this figure had reached 65 %. The Hungarian government's summer anti-immigrant campaign, rising refugee numbers, and asylum-seekers' visibility all played a major role in this shift.⁸

According to all domestic and international studies, strong prejudice against minority groups is a significant characteristic of the Hungarian population.

In April 2015 the level of xenophobia reached a peak (at that time) with 46% of respondents being xenophobic according to surveys conducted by Tárki, a social research institute.

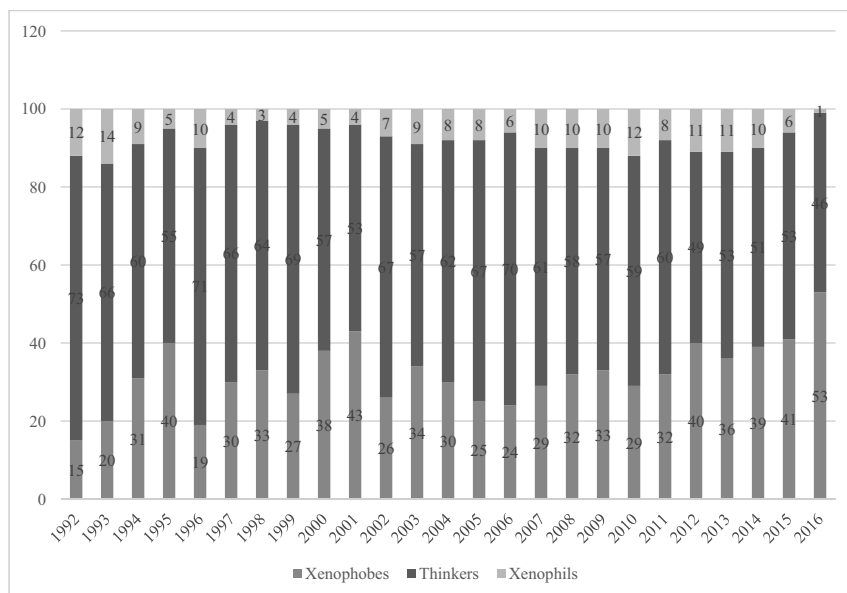
The intensive, persistent government communication campaign built on fear had a significant effect on the population's views on migration and on the government's measures during 2016 and 2017 as well.⁹

From the start of 2015, through a number of different campaigns, the Orbán's government has created the impression that Hungary's place in the world has fundamentally shifted in the context of global migration. Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán turned the issue of migration into a major political campaign issue. The terms used in government communication, 'immigrant' and 'migrant', have conveyed the message that Hungary, as a destination country, must cope with a wave of migrants coming from outside Europe. Contrary to this government framing though, Hungary has, in fact, not yet become a destination country for migrants coming from the outside.

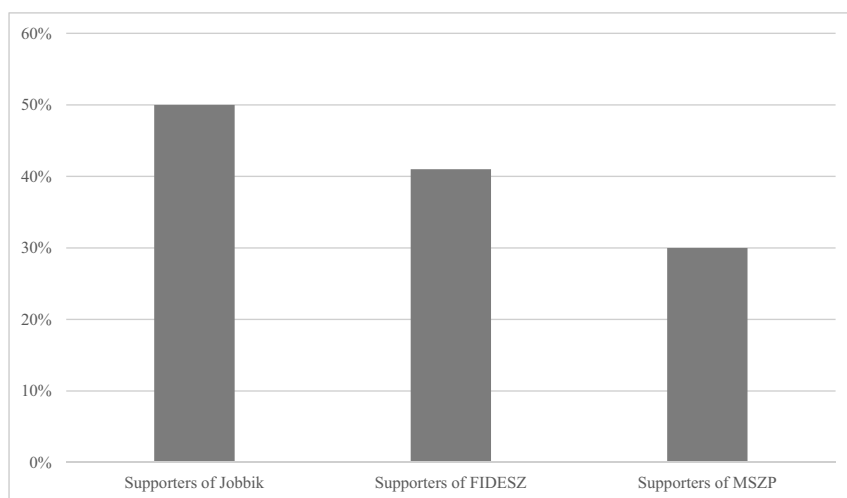
Orbán promised to deliver a crackdown on "illegal migration" and to protect the country against Islamic terrorism, mass immigration and cultural alienation. In the early summer of 2015 the Hungarian parliament adopted a set of special laws relating to migration after announcing a "state of emergency." These have been in force since the beginning of 2016.

8 Migration and Home Affairs, online: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-is-new/news/news/2015/20151223_2_en.

9 JUHÁSZ, Attila – MOLNÁR, Csaba – ZGUT, Edit: *Menekültügy és migráció Magyarországon*, Prága 2017.

Figure 3 Ratio of xenophobes, xenophiles and thinkers, 1992–2017 (in %)

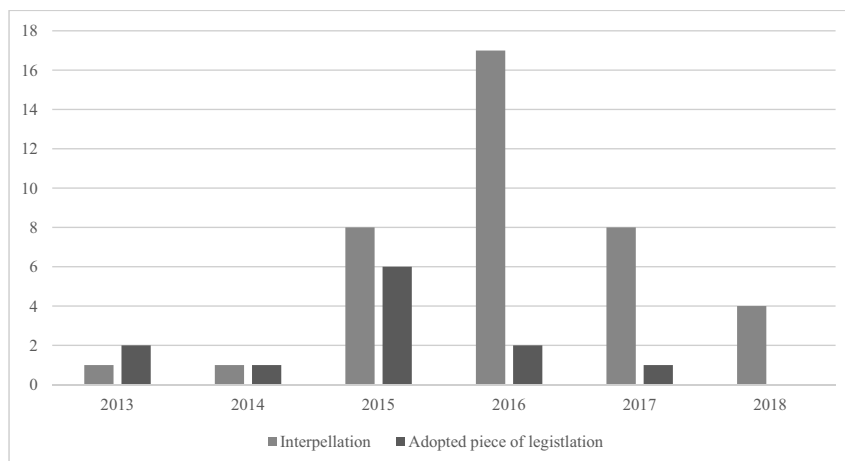
Source: Statistical information as published by Tárki, online: https://www.tarki.hu/hu/news/2016/kitekint/20160404_idegen.html

Figure 4 Ratio of xenophobes among supporters of Fidesz, Jobbik and MSZP in October 2015 (in %) in the whole sample 36%

Source: Statistical information as published by Tárki, online: https://www.tarki.hu/hu/news/2016/kitekint/20160404_idegen.html

Party politics experience in Europe over the past 40 to 50 years shows that European governments have all but no influence on migration patterns, whether they are driven by refugees or labour migrants. The main reason for this is that individual nation-states cannot effectively influence global migratory patterns. Consequently, more politicians see an excellent opportunity to exploit the problems accompanying increased arrivals in order to reap short-term political gains for themselves. Since the 1970s, parties opposing all immigration have emerged in all European countries. While their agendas have mostly been adopted by mainstream political forces, the problems accompanying increased arrivals have not dissipated by any appreciable measure. Tightening immigration regulations over the decades has proven ineffective and there is no evidence that, on their own, the European nation-states can regulate global migration patterns at all. As a result, political competition with the anti-immigration parties demands evertighter, more visible controls. Among other measures, governments prefer to pass the buck to the EU system. The short-term objective is to take a popular position while not actually addressing these problems. The Hungarian ruling party is well aware of this and, not oblivious to its own political interest, launched its communication campaign using increased arrivals to Hungary as a pretext. On the defensive in autumn 2014, Fidesz used this method in an effort to regain the political upper hand, to recapture the political initiative and to eliminate from the public discourse all other issues that may have hurt the party's interests. From the party politics perspective, however, current developments point beyond competition with Jobbik and involve a broader objective. Viktor Orbán and his party have a well-tested strategy of dividing the political arena into the "pro-national" and "anti-national" fields, and insist on parsing all issues along this fault line. Anyone questioning a position taken by Fidesz is automatically and without argument relegated to the "antinational" camp and considered to be a "foreign agent". By the end of 2014, domestic party politics had turned its back on this fault line that had been so convenient for Fidesz; it became increasingly less plausible that the Orbán cabinet was indeed the sole representative of the "national interest". This is why the governing parties seized on the refugee crisis; with a campaign built around this issue, the entire left-wing opposition as well as civil society and right-wing activists criticising the government could all be defined as "pro-foreigner". Fidesz's efforts paid off inasmuch as it managed to increase its support base by 5–6%, while its major challenger from the right, Jobbik, could not exploit the migration issue and in fact lost some supporters. The fragmented left-wing opposition was forced into an unpopular, reactive role and its support has essentially stagnated.

Figure 5 Interpellations and adopted piece of legislation



Source: Statistical information as published by Comparative Agendas Project, online: <https://www.comparativeagendas.net/tool?project=hungary>

Orbán's strategy on the refugee crisis aims at continuously generating conflict between the Hungarian government and EU institutions. The government organised a referendum and then a national consultation to drive these arguments home.

In 2016, the number of migration-related interpellations increased exponentially, but the number of adopted legislation does not reflect this.

The Hungarian solution

Hungary saw the fast solution to the problem of the migrational tide in the border barrier. Heated debates had begun preceding the decision about the physical border barrier (hereinafter: physical barrier). But what could be behind the opposition to the physical barrier? On one hand, it is clear that the aim of the physical barrier is to keep the illegally arriving persons outside the borders of the country, nevertheless, due to human nature people do not like being caged. Furthermore, it needs to be mentioned that due to the closing of the border Hungary had to slightly move away from the original ideas, mainly in the case of the Serbian section of the border. In the Migrational Strategy¹⁰ and in the seven-year planning document based thereon, that is connected to the Asylum and Migration Fund to be created in the 2014–2020 cycle by the EU, the most emphasis fell on the integration of Hungarians living outside the borders of the country, especially in the neighbouring countries. In harmony with the principles of the national policy strategy, the premise is that Hungary – set out in the Basic Law – takes responsibility for the future of Hungarians living outside the borders of the country.

¹⁰ The 1698/2013. (X. 4.) government decision.

This plan seemed to fall down after building the physical barrier. Nevertheless, the decrease in the number of the migrants¹¹ setting foot on the territory of Hungary appear to convince those in doubt; and we can also state that enormous steps have been taken considering the residence of Serbian and Ukrainian citizens in Hungary.¹²

In his essay on "The Significance of Fences" Balázs Orbán¹³ wrote the following: "This March the Financial Times brought together in the graph below how the willingness to build physical border defence facilities changed in the previous years. From the mid 2000s the number of border defence facilities drastically grew, and by now, on global level it has reached the number 70."¹⁴ In view of the numbers, it can be concluded that building a border defence structure is not an unconventional instrument at all.

In June 2015 at the press conference announcing the building of the physical barrier the following were said: "the construction can be started at 10 to 12 sites. Nine hundred members of the defence forces will take part the deadline is the 30 of November.

The sample section will be built with four different technologies, out of which one will be chosen that will be applied on all of the 175 km length of the Hungarian-Serbian border."¹⁵

In spite of the physical barrier the transit zones working on the Southern section of the border still serve as points to submit asylum seeking applications.

At the time of the announcement "the Minister for Home Affairs stated that the structure is a temporary physical barrier that can be lifted when the migration pressure on the country eases. The aim of these measures is that the applicants do not arrive through the green border but through the legal crossing points. Building a fence is not a solution but a necessary and inevitable measure that tries to manage the flow of illegal migrants by means of legal and controlled frames."¹⁶

What does the physical barrier mean? It is not exclusively a visible and tangible fence. The border barrier consists of three pillars. The first one is the legal background.¹⁷ According to (the 2012 C Act of) the Penal Code the illicit crossing of the border, causing damage to the physical barrier or the deliberate obstruction of the construction is a criminal offence. Furthermore, the concept of 'state of emergency due to massive immigration' has been introduced.¹⁸

11 See Article on this topic: BÓDI, Stefánia: Jogszábváltozások a tömeges bevándorlás okozta válsághelyzetben, különös tekintettel a Magyar Honvédség és a rendőrség többletfeladataira, in: *Jogelméleti Szemle*, 15, 2015, 4, 88–102.

12 Such as the measures to facilitate the employment of non-EU citizens from neighboring countries to Hungary, furthermore the exemption from the visa (visa-free) introduced on 11 June 2017 for citizens of Ukraine and Serbia.

13 Balázs Orbán: Director of The Migration Research Institute at the time.

14 ORBÁN, Balázs: A kerítések jelentőségéről, online: <https://www.migraciokutato.hu/hu/2017/11/13/a-keritesek-jelentosegerol/>.

15 A honvédség felkészült az ideiglenes határzár építésére, online: <http://www.kormany.hu/hu/hirek/a-honvedseg-felkeszult-az-ideiglenes-hatarzar-epitesere>.

16 Ibidem.

17 Legislation on preventive measures against illegal immigration – Amendment to the Act XXXIV of 1994 on the Police, Amendment to the Act XII of 1998 on foreign travel strategies, Amendment to the Act I of 2007 on the Admission and Residence of Persons with the Right of Free Movement and Residence, Amendment to the Act II of 2007 on the Admission and Right of Residence of Third-Country Nationals, Amendment to the Act LXXX of 2007 on Asylum, Amendment to the Act LXXXIX of 2007 on the State Border, Amendment to Act XLVII of 2009 on the Criminal Records System, on the Records of EU Member State Court Rulings against Hungarian Citizens and on the Records of Biometric Criminal and Law Enforcement Data. Amendment to the Act II of 2012 on offences, the procedure in relation to offences and the offence record system, Act C of 2012 on the Criminal Code.

18 BALLA, József – KUI, László: A határőrizeti célú ideiglenes biztonsági határzár és a határőrizetre gyakorolt hatásai, in: *Hadtudományi Szemle*, 10, 2017, 1, 222–238.

Another important change was that the sentencing of human trafficking became stricter; it can carry prison sentences of up to 20 years.¹⁹ A prison sentence of 10 to 20 can be set for those organizing and managing human smuggling. The criminal assets of the human smugglers must be confiscated.

In the state of emergency an asylum seeking application can exclusively be submitted in the transit zone at the border, the asylum seeker must wait there until a decision has been taken. This place can only be left towards the outside – presently towards Serbia. In a crisis situation due to massive immigration the police officers – in the whole territory of Hungary and not just within the 8km zone from the border – are authorised to detain individuals illegally staying in the country, and to lead them across the gate of the crossing point, except in the event of suspected criminal offence. Entry can be granted to the asylum seekers staying in the transit zones only if the asylum authority makes a decision granting international protection or the conditions of conducting the asylum procedure according to the general rules are satisfied.²⁰

According to the § 5 (1a) of the LXXXIX. Act of 2007 the irregular migrant detained within 8 km distance from the border will be lead back to the transit zone.

The second pillar is the security closure obstructing the physical crossing of the border. By April 2017 the second, inner line of the fence was constructed, which consists of a wire net fastened on steel posts, at some places strengthened by fast deployed wire barriers. A further 8mm steel wire net has been fastened to the fence that cannot be cut through

with hand wire cutting tools, and the density of the net makes it impossible for a person to insert a foot in and climb the fence.²¹

The third pillar is the 'human force' that is the strength of the police and the defence forces.

The fence

According to the information published on the official website of the Hungarian government on 7 March 2017 the construction will be carried out with the work of 700 prisoners and with the HUF 38 billion cost of the present project the overall cost of the fence on the Southern border section will grow to HUF 284 billion. He stated that the National Judicial Authority gets HUF 295 million to cover the costs of the additional burdens, and the Ministry of Human Resources is also given 76 million Forints. He added that the Ministry of Defense needs more resources for the establishment of border defense bases, security tasks, information technology tools and for the payment of individual entitlements which can reach up to HUF 10 billion.²²

19 According to the Act C of 2012 on the Criminal Code Section 353. (5) Any person who is engaged in organizing or supervising the criminal offense defined in Subsection (3) or (4) is punishable by imprisonment between ten to twenty years.

20 The Act LXXXIX of 2007 on the State Border.

21 KUI, László: A határőrizeti célú ideiglenes biztonsági határzár továbbfejlődése, avagy a második kerítés mindent megold?, in: *Hadmérnök*, 12, 2017, 4, 67–75.

22 A kormány fenntartja a tömeges bevándorlás okozta válsághelyzetet, online: <http://www.kormany.hu/hu/miniszterelnokseg/hirek/a-kormany-fenntartja-a-tomeges-bevandorlas-okozta-valsaghelyzetet>.

To maintain control over the most part of the border section at night time stationary and mobile thermographic detection systems are available. The technological background is reinforced by the permanent presence of a great number of living forces alongside with the system.²³

At the planning of the border barrier the cooperation of several Ministries was necessary.²⁴ However, the most important task was to provide the living force. The living force of the border closure is provided by the Hungarian Police, within that the border agencies that belong to the organization.²⁵ In maintaining the order on the border the Hungarian Defence Forces actively take part. In cooperation with the professionals civilian patrols help their work which focuses on watchkeeping – like the number, description, movement of migrant persons and identification of their cars – and after detection on immediate signalling towards the Police. On 10 August 2016 the Government made a decision to expand the number of border intervention troops of the Rapid Response Police Unit with an additional 3,000 people. In order to achieve that another border management body has been established besides the one existing so far, the number of intervention departments has been expanded from seven to fifteen. To enhance the human force the National Police Headquarters had issued vacancy notices for the positions of border patrols to serve under the Border Intervention Departments.

“Based on the national data collected on 31 August 2017, altogether 3,561 people has applied for the border patrol training courses since 25 August 2015. The eight course of the training started on 1 September 2017 with altogether 70 people.”²⁶

Talking about the two years since the construction of the border closure István Simicskó Minister for National Defence stated that “in the last two years the members of both organizations have done their jobs with serious concentration, responsibility and devotion in order that the civilian people can live their everyday lives in security”. According to him the difficulty in the present border management task is partly due to the fact that earlier we had not have the chance to meet this type of challenge. But in the migration crisis situation the armed forces and the police have quickly created the efficient and tight forms of cooperation and they coped very well.

The Minister also said that up to September 2017 more than 12,000 soldiers took part in the border management in one way or another meanwhile the Defence Forces naturally were doing their everyday tasks, and the Police had to recruit about 3,000 people for border patrol in an extremely short period of time. “In the meantime they could cope very well in a difficult situation, they are doing their jobs on a higher and higher level, and in the last two years they have gained a really great knowledge regarding both cooperation and the concrete tasks as well. This is best proven by the fact that we are already able to demonstrate and share this knowledge to others, for instance in the event of the COOPSEC 2017 practice in Austria between 11 and 15 this September.”²⁷

23 CSOBOLYÓ, Eszter: A határőrizeti célú ideiglenes határzár, mint kritikus infrastruktúra, in: *Hadtudományi Szemle*, 10, 2017, 3, 482–494.

24 The 1665/2015 (IX. 21.) government decision.

25 According to the § 1 of the Act XXXIV of 1994 on the Police.

26 Elindult a nyolcadik határvédelem-képzési ütem is, online: https://www.orientpress.hu/cikk/2017-09-05_elindult-a-nyolcadik-hatarvadasz-kepzesi-utem-is.

27 Elismerések a határvédelmi szolgálatért, online: <http://www.kormany.hu/hu/honvedelmi-miniszterium/hirek/elismeresek-a-hatarvedelmi-szolgalatert>.

As István Simicskó emphasised, "it deserves all compliments that we could equal to the quick and unexpected tasks". Based on what the Minister said we can state that more than 15,000 people took part in the border defence.

After reviewing the number of people taking part in the border defence let us look through what those people had to face. From January to September 2015 175,963 asylum seekers were registered in Hungary that meant an increase of 1,143.9% as opposed to the same period of 2014.²⁸ Between January to September 2016 this number was 28,803 while the same period of 2017 brought about 3,187 people. It can be concluded that following the building of the physical barrier the number of registered asylum seekers decreased drastically. The construction of the physical barrier and the measures made in connection with it grant Hungary a higher degree of control over the entry of migrants.

The border closure in practice

After reviewing the numbers, let us take a look at what happens at the physical barrier. In the event of a crisis caused by mass migration the border patrols are lead by the police officers together with the soldiers, and they will be responsible for the fulfillment of the given tasks and for the lawfulness of the application of coercive measures.

According to the directions about the order of participation of the Hungarian Defence Forces in Police tasks, the National Police Commissioner and the Chief of Staff of the Hungarian Defence Forces conclude a separate cooperative agreement on the coordinated performance of the tasks required by the state of emergency caused by mass migration and on the preparation to these tasks. According to the directions of the Minister the police officers can request the soldiers to implement measures in connection with mutual service tasks. This request can only be refused if the implementation were against the laws or the implementation of such measures cannot be expected of the appointed soldier or the circumstances make it impossible. During the implementation of these tasks coercive measures laid down in legislation can be applied.

The measures must be taken by the police officer by default, the soldiers provide direct security. According to the directions published in the Official Gazette in the case of joint service the soldiers cannot initiate an independent measure unless they are in direct connection with the leader of the patrol or the situation calls for immediate measures.²⁹ In addition to that, the Defence Forces provide nourishment to home affairs organizations and public administration employees that take part in the fulfillment of the tasks required by the state of emergency to mass migration. Regarding that this kind of cooperation was not regulated earlier, the directions of the two Ministers contain further provisions to the force protection of the transit zone which are performed by the police and the army independently licensed to take full measures."³⁰

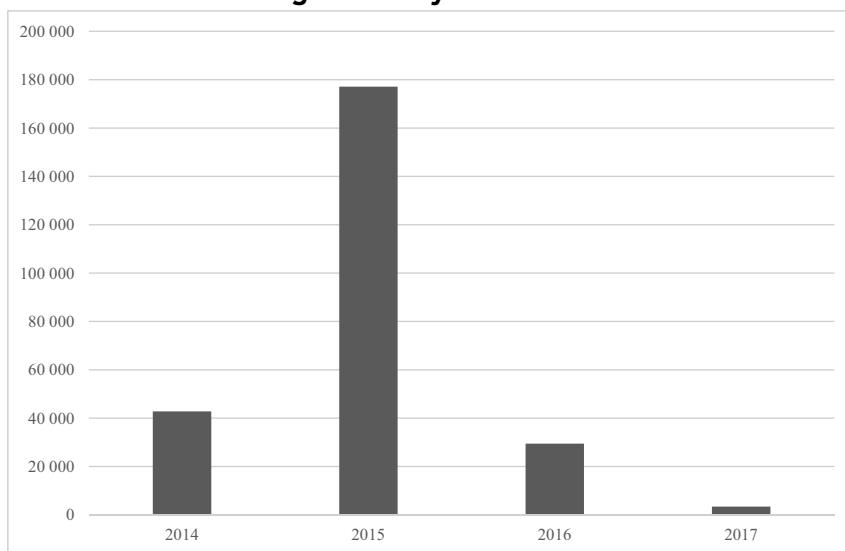
28 Immigration and Asylum Office, online: http://www.bmbah.hu/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&layout=item&id=177&Itemid=1232&lang=hu.

29 25/2015. (IX. 14.) BM-HM Joint instruction

30 Online: http://magyarhirlap.hu/cikk/35370/Eletbe_lepett_a_hatarzar.

After reviewing what the border barrier means in practice, let us take a look at the effect of the barrier to the irregular arriving to Hungary.

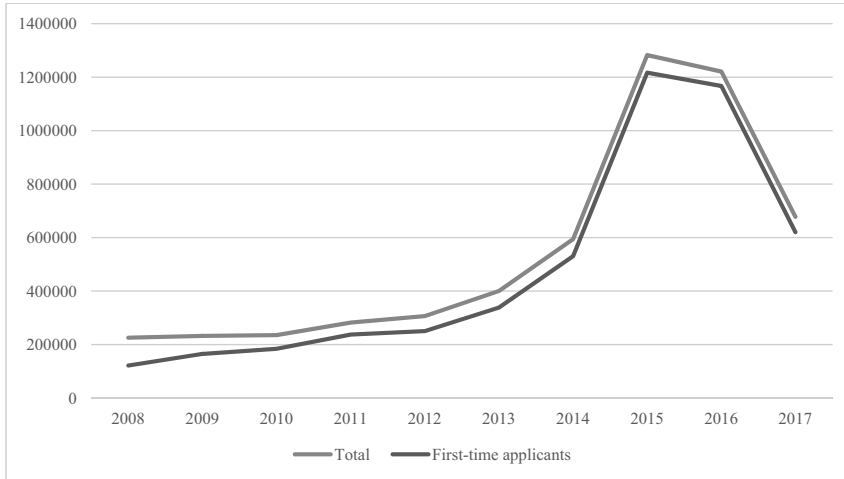
Figure 6 The total number of registered asylum seekers



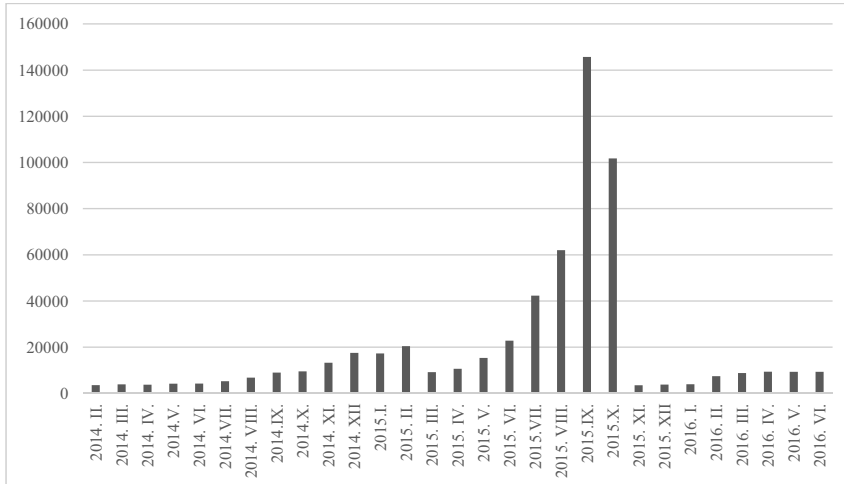
Source: Calculation of the author on the basis of the data published by the Immigration and Asylum Office

The examination of the data concludes that the number of registered asylum seekers in 2015 was nearly 180,000, and then in the year following the construction of the physical barrier this number fell drastically (29,432). In the meantime no such decrease could be seen in the whole of the European Union in the number of registered asylum seekers. The decrease of the applications submitted in Hungary was 83.4%, while the decrease in the case of the applications submitted in the EU was 4.86%.³¹

³¹ See Article on this topic: BÓDI, Stefánia – SZUHAJ, Ilona: A civilizációk összecsapása?: A tömeges bevándorlás által életre hívott migrációs válsághelyzet elemzése és a különleges jogrend, in: *Hadtudomány: A Magyar Hadtudományi Társaság Folyóirata*, 26, 2016, 1–2, 41–51.

Figure 7 Asylum application (non-EU) in the EU-27 Member States, 2008–2017

Source: Asylum statistics, online: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Asylum_statistics

Figure 8 Measures taken by the border management field

Source: Calculation of the author on the basis of the data published by the Police

Despite the statistics "Hungary was widely criticized for setting up the border barriers and the criminalization of the acts against thereof."³²

The greatest attention was received by the "Sargentini Report" which said the following with regard to the border barrier: "On 6 June 2016, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees expressed concerns about the increasing number of allegations of abuse in Hungary against asylum-seekers and migrants by border authorities, and the broader restrictive border and legislative measures, including access to asylum procedures."³³

According to the statement of the Hungarian Helsinki Committee "The Government codified three separate criminal acts, tightened the criminal law rules for smuggling, eased the conditions for expulsion, and introduced special, accelerating rules in criminal proceedings. Some of the provisions contravene international conventions and, overall, are unenforceable, and the expected burden of litigation will put enormous pressure on the entire justice system. Hungary has already been obliged to provide reparation by the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg for a number of delays in prosecution, but it has also recently lost a strategic case due to overcrowding. It is easy to see that discussing the new provisions before "any other matter" slows down the trial of the other punishments and increases the congestion of prisons."³⁴

Despite the advantages of the migration arriving at the territory of the country, such as the fact that Western European politicians and economists refer to migration as a "silver bullet" solution to the demographic and economic problems of the European Union, a thorough examination shows that in the past, migration may have been a useful tool in the past to tackle cross-country labor market frictions and to raise the level of well-being in general (this is what one of the EU's important achievements, the free movement of labor is built on). It is now clear that the benefits and benefits of migration are in not proportion. The prerequisite for achieving a positive overall effect is that the newcomers are successfully integrated into the labor market of the host country. However, this important prerequisite had not been met in the past, even if a significantly higher proportion of highly qualified workers arrived in the host country than now. The current migratory wave differs in many respects from previously experienced movements. "The integration of the masses of migrants arriving from other cultures, most of them being presumably low-skilled, exposes the EU and the Member States to disproportionately high public spending and efforts over several decades with severe social tensions." In the current process, the source countries suffer significant losses, the migrants get in a vulnerable position, and Europe is facing a disproportionate burden of uncertainty besides the expected benefits."³⁵ Not to mention the increasing number of terrorist attacks.

32 BÉRCES, Viktor: A határárral kapcsolatos bűncselekményekre vonatkozó eljárási szabályokról – de lege ferenda, in: *Eljárásjogi Szemle*, 2017, 2, 45–52.

33 EURÓPAI PARLAMENT: Jelentés a Tanácsot az Európai Unióról szóló szerződés 7. cikke (1) bekezdésének megfelelően az Unió alapértékeinek Magyarország általi súlyos megsértése egyértelmű veszélyének megállapítására felszólító javaslatról (2017/2131(INL)), online: https://szabadmagyarszo.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/20180704_EP_SargentiniJelent%C3%A9s_HU.pdf; see also EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: Draft Report on a proposal calling on the Council to determine, pursuant to Article 7(1) of the Treaty on European Union, the existence of a clear risk of a serious breach by Hungary of the values on which the Union is founded (2017/2131(INL)), online: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/resources/library/media/20180411RES01553/20180411RES01553.pdf>.

34 See: A Magyar Helsinki Bizottság álláspontja a Kormány fizikai határárral kapcsolatos büntetőjogi törvénymódosításairól, online: <http://helsinki.hu/wp-content/uploads/fizikai-hatarzar-btk-modositasrol.pdf>.

35 Az aktuális migrációs hullám gazdasági hatásai Európában, online: <https://www.migraciokutato.hu/hu/2016/11/07/az-aktualis-migracios-hullam-gazdasagi-hatasai-europaban/>.

Summary

The tasks caused by the migratory flow on the border of Hungary in 2015 posed a huge challenge to the country, but if we were to form an opinion on this issue we need to take into consideration the burden (material expense) of one migrant entering the country, and also the danger of the migration flow towards the European Union. It is enough to think about the constant terrorist acts.

The 2015 phenomenon was not previously seen in the history of the European Union, so there has been no solution scheme to the problems arising. Thus the European Union and the Member States need to search for a solution themselves. The solution chosen by Hungary may not have been perfect, but considering the statistical data we can conclude that it can be considered effective.

Furthermore, failure, disruption, loss or destruction of the operation of the border lock would have a direct serious impact on citizens, in particular, on public security, national security and the functioning of the national economy and government.

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REVIEWS

Ivan DUBOVICKÝ

Češi v Americe a česko-americké vztahy v průběhu pěti staletí [Czechs in America and Czech-American relations in a course of five centuries]

Praha: Epoque 2018, 200 pages.
ISBN 978-80-7557-165-6

Czech emigration has historically been strongly associated with transoceanic population movement to the United States of America, and it is the topic that Ivan Dubovický deals with in his book as well. The author tries not just to describe the process itself, but also the social and economic situation of the Czech minority in the United States as it developed over the centuries. His approach is primarily focused on the selection and subsequent description of particular important personalities and their activities in their new homeland. The book gradually and in chronological order describes the emigration of the first Czech settlers to the United States and their moves across their new homeland from New York to California.

It describes the process of growing the Czech minority in the US from the period after "The Battle of White Mountain" during the existence of the Habsburg Empire, the period of the First World War and the subsequent efforts of Czechoslovak Americans to support the emerging state. The book is further devoted to the following events, such as the visit of T. G. Masaryk in Chicago and Czech minority efforts to support the emerging state during the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic. Another significant part of the book is the description of Czech emigration throughout totalitarian periods in Czechoslovak history, i.e. during the Nazi rule and the period after the Communist coup in 1948.

The book inevitably deals with the most important political events that occurred in Central Europe over the centuries that fundamentally influenced the emigration to the United States. Nevertheless, it focuses not just on emigration caused by the political events such as oppression under the Nazi regime or Communist dictatorship. In his text, Dubovický also focuses on the activities of Czech-American community, helping their persecuted compatriots living overseas.

The book was published at the time of great interest in the history and origins of the Czech-Americans. The proof of that interest is that in the last decade, several books have been published on the subject of Czech emigration and community settlement in the United States. As a reminder, we can mention Dagmar Hajkova's book *"Naše česká věc"* (2011), which describes the activities of American Czechoslovaks in the United States during the First World War, including their activities in support of the creation of an independent Czechoslovak state. Another book that focuses on the described topic is Marek Vlha's book *"Mezi starou vlastí a Amerikou"* (2016), which approaches the topic of the early founding period of the Czech community in the United States in the mid of 19th century.

Eva Heyd is an author who has recently also contributed to the topic of Czech-American migration and the Czech Community in the USA. In her bilingual book from 2018 *“Lístek do Nového světa”* she focused on the question of the emigration of Czechoslovak artists to the United States shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War and the subsequent war years. The last important publication about the topic of the Czech minority in the United States is the Renata Fučíková's book *“Historie Čechů v USA”* (2019), that through sophisticated visual form is trying to show the Czech historical footprint in the United States mostly to the general public.

Finally, Ivan Dubovický's book follows not only the topic of Czech migration to the United States but also the significant activities by the Czech minority across the ocean. The book itself was created to celebrate the centennial of independent Czechoslovakia and it aims to map the relationships and actions of the Czech community in the so-called “New World”, from the first Czech written works before the founding of the USA itself during the 16th century to Czech-American relations after the Velvet Revolution. Just like the later book by Renáta Fučíková *“Historie Čechů v USA”*, the publication aims to map the complete period of existence of the Czech minority in the US and it is meant to be a source of information for the general public that is interested in the topic rather than a comprehensive work for academic purposes. This necessarily implies a partial abbreviation, which however, leads to a clearly outlined coverage of its subject matter.

What is also an indisputable advantage of the book is that it is written just like the book *“Ticket to the New World”* in a mirror image and is therefore available to both American and Czech readers. Numerous illustrations added to the text are also very beneficial. These are in particular photographs of the then prominent Czech personalities in the US or various archival documents such as the copy of the so-called *Pittsburgh agreement* (p. 82), *Washington declaration of the Independence of Czechoslovakia* (p. 90–91) or a later letter from George Bush to the American Friends of the Czech Republic (p. 110).

Reading the book, one realizes, that much of the Czech migration to the United States was associated with the political events in the Czech homeland. Not surprisingly, the first mention of Czech exiles in the United States is associated with the situation after The Battle of White Mountain, around 1633 is where the story of the book begins. Initially, the book follows important figures and ordinary settlers who had to flee Europe because of religious oppression. Gradually, especially after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the reason for the migration of the Czech population started to change. The motivation remained political ones for a while, but at that time it was caused mainly by the political oppression of the Vormärz era. Economic rather than political reasons for migration began to prevail after 1850 when the last remnants of the feudal system were abolished, and the United States became an attractive destination renowned for railroads and shipping industry, offering potential earnings to the new settlers. As already mentioned, notable illustrations of the book are once more useful when showing advertising posters that tried to attract Czechs to transatlantic travel.

The author further focuses on the gradual expansion of the Czech-American community during the late 19th century and describes their ways of livelihood and the differences that this migration brought to the way of living for new settlers used to a European way of life. This was also related to the development of a cultural and social life and the establishment

of Czech associations of all kinds, that helped migrants to remember their Czech roots. These began to emerge mostly in the mid-19th century, but played the most substantial role in the first half of the 20th century, especially concerning the effort in establishing an independent Czechoslovak state. Among the prominent promoters of Czech culture in the USA, were for instance, Vojta Náprstek after which the museum that also contributed significantly to the creation of this book was named or Vojta Beneš, brother of the later Czechoslovak president Eduard Beneš (p. 49–50).

Several interesting facts that the book notes are associated with the oldest memories of the Czech settlers on American soil, when the author recalls, that many Czech immigrants were directly involved in the American Civil War. Other immigrants were able to establish themselves at most prestigious American universities. This is an example of Count František Lützow, who was even accepted by President Taft in the White House for his university activities (p. 60). After that, the book moves into the storyline of the origin of the Czech press in the United States and recalls the most important titles such as the daily newspaper Svornost or socialist newspaper Dělnické listy.

As previously mentioned, large parts of the book are focused on the struggle of Czechs in the United States to create an independent Czechoslovak state. The author reminds the reader of the fact that during the First World War, Czechs in America already represented a large community with influential association, with the press and members that were seeking their place in politics. Besides this, some members of the Czech community also had significant financial resources that they used to support the newly established Czechoslovakia. These donations were not small by any measure, as the author for example mentions a gift from Aleš Hrdlička from the Smithsonian Institute worth 1 million crowns to build a museum in Brno (p. 113–115).

The focal point of these efforts was Chicago, which was a significant destination for emigrants from Central and Eastern Europe. It was in Chicago where T. G. Masaryk was welcomed by Czech emigrants in May 1918. In addition to Czech, the author also deals with political activities of the Slovak community, represented mainly by the so-called Slovak League (p. 80). Dubovický also mentions Masaryk's all-important talks with US President Wilson in Washington and considers Wilson's important role in the creation of the new state and points out that the Prague railway station was subsequently named after him.

Subsequently, the book's narrative, returns to Chicago where it maps the work of the Mayor of Chicago of Czech ancestry, Antonín Čermák, best known for being shot during President F. D. Roosevelt's visit to Miami (p. 106). Through analysis of American influence on interwar Czechoslovakia, the book follows through to the Second World War and the fight of Czech-Americans against Nazism. Not surprisingly, this struggle is once again connected with the city of Chicago, where the congress of the Czech National Association in America took part in 1939 and issued a call to fight (p. 119). The movement was subsequently supported by the arrival of former President Edvard Beneš to the US. Beneš used his stay to convince American politicians of the need of free Czechoslovakia. For that purpose he even met with President Roosevelt.

The book goes on to describe the liberation of Czechoslovakia, emphasizing the role of Patton's troops in the action itself, and highlighting the financial assistance that the United States provided to the postwar Czechoslovakia. However, this period did not last long

and Czechoslovakia fell into another totalitarian regime, this time a communist one. The subsequent wave of political refugees from Czechoslovakia meant setting new tasks for the Czech community in the USA. For example, the American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees was established and newspapers in Chicago were frequently writing about the new wave of Czechoslovak emigration.

A whole chapter is devoted to the struggle of Czechs in America against totalitarian regimes in their homeland by support for Radio Free Europe or Voice of America. In this chapter, the reader can also find plenty of interesting attached pictures reminiscent of the most crucial events from this period, such as a sticker commemorating the death of Milada Horáková. Another important political milestone that took place in Czechoslovakia more than 20 years after the Second World War and which also affected the Czech minority in the USA, was the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact armies in 1968. According to Dubovický, the event itself was also significantly important for the American political situation, because it perceptibly contributed to the subsequent victory of Richard Nixon in the presidential election (p. 160). The Czech-American community in the United States, in the following years, tried to financially support resistance against the totalitarian power sending financial donations to members of anti-communist illegal organizations such as the Charter 77.

Finally, the author concludes the historical journey of Czech-Americans by the description of their situation after 1989, reminding the reader of important personalities of Czech origin living in the US and their significant achievements, such as the former United States Secretary of State Madeleine Albright or the tennis champion Martina Navratilova. Dubovický also points out the interesting fact that the Czech-American community numbers almost 2 million people, which he sees as a basis for a strong potential to be used for the benefit of both the Czech Republic and the United States (p. 176).

In conclusion, it is clear, that the author has succeeded in fulfilling the primary purpose of his book by creating a publication for the general public, which provides basic information about the Czechs in the United States from the early Czech-speaking settlers almost to the present day. The book deliberately does not dwell much in theory or difficult questions and does not attempt to shed more light onto the general phenomenon of Czechoslovak emigration. It rather deals with the most prominent personalities of the Czech-American community and successfully illustrates the overall situation of Czechs coming and living in the United States over various eras. The book can serve as a first step towards further research and therefore, in my opinion, it is definitely worth reading.

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