

## **Gyula Gömbös and Hungarian Jews, 1918–1936**

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**In the history** of fascist or radical right-wing movements in twentieth century Europe, Gyula Gömbös played a distinctive role. He was the chief spokesman for and dynamic leader of the extremist right-wing movement that developed spontaneously in Hungary in the aftermath of World War I and the failed revolutions of 1918–1919. In 1919, before the concept had fully crystallized in the mind of Adolf Hitler, Gömbös was calling himself a “national socialist.” In a remarkable parliamentary speech in 1921, before Mussolini’s march on Rome, Gömbös predicted that the “axis of European power will lead from Rome to Berlin.”<sup>1</sup> In 1925 he organized and presided over an international anti-semitic congress in Budapest, the only one of its kind in the interwar period. Finally, in 1932 he became the second radical right-wing leader (Mussolini being the first) to come to power. Several months later, when Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, Gyula Gömbös was the first foreign leader to pay him an official visit. Throughout his career, which spanned the years from 1918 to his death in 1936, Gömbös attempted to effect significant political, social, and economic changes, which, had he been completely successful, would have re-defined the concept of the Hungarian nation. Gömbös championed the concept of “race protection,” which he and his followers proclaimed to be a necessary campaign to protect Christian Hungary from the alleged rapacity and destructiveness of Hungarian Jews. Yet Gömbös’s anti-Semitism was at times ambiguous, and his policies as Prime Minister between 1932 and 1936 were remarkably pragmatic.

Born in 1886, Gyula Gömbös came from a German-Hungarian family of the lower middle class.<sup>2</sup> Raised as a Lutheran, he developed a wary and suspicious attitude toward the Catholic Church, the aristocratic landowners (who were mostly Catholics), and the Habsburg Empire. Fluent in German (his mother, in fact, did not speak Hungarian), he embarked on a career as an officer in the Austro-Hungarian Army. His

rise in the ranks was not a rapid one, no doubt in part because he barely concealed his strong Magyar nationalism, his distaste for the Habsburg dynasty, and his preference for the establishment of an independent republic of Hungary.<sup>3</sup>

At the end of the Great War, Gömbös was an obscure army captain who, by pre-war standards, did not possess the proper credentials to play a leading role in political affairs. Yet he soon emerged as a champion of what became known as the “Szegeged idea”: a proto-fascist movement characterized by extreme nationalism, virulent anti-Semitism, hostility to all left-wing ideologies, and a willingness to mobilize the masses to achieve certain reforms in society and the economy. When in the spring of 1919 Gömbös arrived in the southern Hungarian city of Szegeged to join the counter-revolutionary government that was forming there, he became the chief propagator of the idea that the “Jews and Freemasons had caused the disintegration of the state” and their “enormous world power” had to be smashed.<sup>4</sup> Gömbös's subsequent rise to political prominence was greatly facilitated by his close collaboration with Admiral Miklós Horthy, who led the National Army organized at Szegeged and later, after the collapse of Béla Kun's Soviet Republic in the summer of 1919, was elected Regent of the counter-revolutionary regime. Gömbös was among the first to realize that, his strong public statements notwithstanding, Admiral Horthy did in fact have secret political ambitions. Gömbös encouraged Horthy along these lines and developed a successful propaganda campaign that promoted him as the “man on horseback” who would rescue the Hungarian nation.<sup>5</sup>

In the immediate post-war period Gömbös was tolerated by the traditional political elite not only because he was the protégé of Horthy, but because he demonstrated considerable talent for political organization. He played a key role in the establishment of the new Hungarian army, and efficiently carried out the task of “organizing” the first elections that established the government party as the dominant political force in Hungary. Before long, however, the more traditional right-wingers became alarmed at the radical nature of the program Gömbös was propounding, which seemed to involve a fundamental reshaping of Hungarian society.

For most of its history leading up to World War I, the “political nation” in Hungary consisted largely of the landed nobility or those who modeled themselves after that class. The great mass of peasants (whether Magyar or other ethnic groups) and, by the late nineteenth century, the growing industrial proletariat, were excluded from any meaningful

participation in the national community. Although during the last half of the nineteenth century the political elite embarked on a project to modernize the country and to combat Pan-Slavism and the threat from the emerging nationalist movements among Hungary's ethnic minorities, they were reluctant to mobilize the Magyar masses to support a nationalist program.

As a way out of this dilemma the nobility found it useful to facilitate the growth of an economic elite that would be entrusted with the task of modernizing the country by stimulating trade and creating an industrial infra-structure. This economic elite, a new middle class consisting largely of Jews, was granted extensive civil liberties and full access to the universities and professions, but for the most part was excluded from the spheres of government and administration. Most Hungarian Jews were willing to accept this "assimilationist contract."<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the extent to which Jews, who represented about 5% of the pre-World War I population, came to dominate the economic and professional life of Hungary is remarkable. By the early twentieth century about 85% of the leading bankers were Jews, 45% of the journalists, 60% of medical doctors, and there were similar high percentages in the other professions.<sup>8</sup> Many of these Jews were so eager to assimilate into Hungarian society that they became, as one Hungarian writer put it, "more Magyar than the Magyars themselves."<sup>9</sup> The symbiotic relationship between Hungary's political and economic elites thus led, in the decades before World War I, to a prevailing definition of the Hungarian nation that implicitly embraced the Jewish community and that provided sterile ground for the growth of political anti-Semitism.<sup>10</sup> This relatively favourable situation for Jews and Hungary's liberal immigration laws proved quite attractive to Jews from surrounding countries, especially the Russian Empire. Hungary became, in the words of one historian, the "America of mobile East European Jewry."<sup>11</sup>

If, borrowing from Benedict Anderson, we can speak of nations as "imagined communities,"<sup>12</sup> Gyula Gömbös might be said to have set himself the task of "re-imagining" the Hungarian nation. When in 1919 he declared himself to be a national socialist, he strongly implied that, though he rejected international socialism and communism and what he later termed the "dream world of Jacobin egalitarianism,"<sup>13</sup> he intended to mobilize peasant farmers and industrial workers and make a place for them in the national community. Thus, he began to speak and write disparagingly about two pillars of pre-war Hungary: aristocratic landown-

ers and capitalists. The former, he declared, were afflicted with "parasitic idleness," although he conceded that the great estates were "canters of culture" for the Magyar nation.<sup>14</sup> In the early 1920's Gömbös made various land reform proposals that he justified by the necessity for "race protection." He demanded that those lands that had fallen into "foreign hands" (a code phrase for Jewish ownership) be returned to the Magyar peasant, the true progenitor of the Hungarian nation.<sup>15</sup> Had the legislation proposed by Gömbös been enacted, it would have created a large, new class of smallholding farmers and greatly diminished the political and economic power not just of the Jews but of the Christian nobility. In later years, however, Gömbös's interest in land reform greatly diminished.<sup>16</sup> In part this reflected his growing realization that the landowning nobility still retained enormous influence in governing circles, especially over Regent Horthy, who long remained an opponent of significant land reform. There was a psychological factor at work as well: Gömbös, like many previous Hungarian politicians of modest birth, eventually found it expedient to emulate the very nobles that he had denigrated. Thus, in the late 1920's he suddenly discovered (or more likely invented) a noble pedigree in his ancestry, and began using a noble title.<sup>17</sup>

Gömbös proved much more consistent and zealous in his attacks on capitalists. He insisted, however, that his opposition to capitalism must not be equated with that of the Communists, for he made a distinction between "rapacious" and "creative" capitalists.<sup>18</sup> The "rapacious" capitalists were the Jews, who dominated banking and industry in Hungary and whose activities, Gömbös asserted, "embittered the lower classes" and curtailed "the development of the nation like an octopus."<sup>19</sup> A central element in the program he developed in the early 1920's was thus the elimination of Jewish influence in Hungarian economic life and society, and the creation of a large, and presumably creative and vigorous, Magyar Christian middle class. Gömbös used various terms to describe his program: national socialism, Christian nationalism, race protection, but his guiding principle remained a fierce anti-Semitism.

For the most part Gyula Gömbös made no original contributions to the development of modern anti-semitic thought. Rather he borrowed the ideas of others and applied them to an analysis of Hungarian society. Of particular influence on Gömbös were the racist theories of Houston Stewart Chamberlain, the Anglo-German writer whose book *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* Gömbös regarded as his "bible of racism." From it he gained the conviction that race was the key to understanding

the course of history and the rise and fall of nations.<sup>20</sup> Employing statistics and interpretations gleaned from Chamberlain's work, and relying on his own experiences during World War I, Gömbös published in September, 1918 a pamphlet entitled *Die Juden in Ungarn*.<sup>21</sup> In it he asserted that the Jews were a disruptive, anti-national element that was leading Hungary toward defeat and revolution. The events of the following two years, particularly the disproportionately high representation of Jews in the leadership of Béla Kun's regime, seemed to many Hungarians to confirm Gömbös as an astute political observer and prophet. He thus rose rapidly to leadership positions in those radical associations (such as the League of the Awakening Magyars) that sought to make the Jews a scapegoat for all of Hungary's problems. From 1919 to 1922 in frequent speeches and articles in newspapers and in the radical right-wing journal *Szozat*, Gömbös established himself as the acknowledged expert on the "Jewish question" and the champion of Christian Magyars. He constantly emphasized a view that represented the touchstone for adherents of the Szeged movement: the "Jewish question" was not a religious but an economic and, above all, a racial one.

Gömbös used a variety of statistics in his attempt to prove that the Jews were a corroding social and political element in any country where they gained a foothold.<sup>22</sup> The Central Powers had lost the war, he insisted, because the percentage of Jews in those countries was significantly greater than that in the Entente countries. By his calculations the ratio of Jews to Christians in the Allied countries was 1:227, in contrast to the more unfavourable ratio of 1:56 in the countries of the Central Powers.<sup>23</sup> According to statistics compiled by Gömbös, during the war Christian Hungarian losses in combat were 2.8% of the populations, while Jewish losses in combat were 1.1%. Since Hungary was the European country with the highest ratio of Jews to Christians, it was no wonder, he declared, that of the Hungarian officers who as prisoners of war in Russia were converted to Communism, 95% were Jews. And, Gömbös constantly emphasized, it was precisely in Hungary that the worst revolutionary turbulence occurred after the war. It was not surprising that the Jews were "vastly over-represented" in the leadership of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, since by their nature Jews were hostile to national ideals and goals and attracted to international movements of all kinds, including socialism and freemasonry. Thus, Jews continually strived for the establishment of a world order, "which for them means hegemony but for us represents slavery."<sup>24</sup>

What Gömbös most decried, of course, was the dominant influence of Jews in Hungary's economy, professions, and newspapers. Unless drastic action was taken, he warned, the "successors of the state-founding people led by Árpád" would within 50 or 100 years become slaves in their own country.<sup>25</sup> Not surprisingly, Gömbös was a strong supporter of the anti-Jewish law, known as the *numerus clausus*, that was passed by the Hungarian National Assembly in 1920.<sup>26</sup> This established a racial quota for admission to Hungarian universities, limiting Jews in each class to 6%. Gömbös supported this legislation, arguing that the "Jewish problem" became acute in any country that did not impose restrictions on the activities of the Jews. However, he regarded the *numerus clausus* as only a first step. On the one hand, he preferred that the quota be set instead at 5%, which was the percentage of Jews in Hungary's pre-war population; on the other hand, he suggested that what was really needed was the imposition of a quota that directly and immediately reduced the number of Jews in banking, journalism, art, culture, and even sporting life. Furthermore, he insisted that the concept of a quota should not be applied to the military officer corps, for in his opinion no Jews should be permitted to be officers.<sup>27</sup>

In general, despite his vituperative rhetoric,<sup>28</sup> Gömbös rejected violent tactics, insisting that it was senseless to "repeatedly slap around the Jews." Moreover, unlike some of his radical colleagues, Gömbös sometimes, albeit grudgingly, admitted that there were some patriotic Jews who had fought for their country in World War I. He also conceded that Jews who had arrived in Hungary before 1848 had stronger roots in the country and had some claim to citizenship.<sup>29</sup> Often Gömbös tried to emphasize a more positive interpretation of "race protection": it meant not so much an attack on the Jews, but rather the promotion of the economic and cultural interests of the Magyar "race."<sup>30</sup> Still, it was clear that any attempt to implement his program would involve a massive expropriation of Jewish property and the enforced unemployment and probable impoverishment of large numbers of middle class Jews. Anticipating these consequences, Gömbös suggested in 1921 that all further Jewish immigration into the country be prohibited and that arrangements be made with Zionist organizations for the resettlement of what he called "surplus Hungarian Jews," who would number several hundred thousands.<sup>31</sup> The departure of a large number of Jews would have the added advantage of making room for the return from North America of Christian Magyars who had emigrated in large numbers in the decades before World War I.

The radical remaking of the Hungarian national community proposed by Gömbös received little support from Hungary's traditional political elite. To be sure, Admiral Horthy was a self-professed anti-Semite who agreed with the proposition that the Jews were too powerful in Hungary and that Christian Hungarians should be encouraged to enter middle-class professions. But both he and Count István Bethlen, the true creators of Hungary's interwar regime, rejected extremist measures (such as expropriations of property) and argued that the reduction of Jewish influence would have to be a very gradual process. Horthy even placed part of the blame for the situation on Christian Magyars, who, he asserted, lacked entrepreneurial skills and shunned careers in industry and technology.<sup>32</sup> Both Horthy and Bethlen acknowledged that Jews had played, and continued to play, important roles in the modernization of Hungary and tacitly supported a renewal of the pre-war relationship between the Jewish community and the regime. As a result, by the late 1920's the numerous *clausus* law had been watered down, and the representation of Jews in the economy and the professions had not changed significantly from that of the pre-war period.

Foreseeing such a development, and frustrated by the refusal of the regime to take vigorous action against the Jews, Gyula Gömbös broke away from the government party in 1922 and formed the "Party of Race Protectors." As the leader of this party during the 1920's Gömbös declared on many occasions that the minimum program of his party was the reduction of the Jewish role in society to 5% in any area of activity. Such action must be taken, he warned in 1925, because the Jews would not be satisfied until they had destroyed historical Hungary.<sup>33</sup> Privately he spoke in even more radical terms. At the International Anti-Semitic Congress that he organized and presided over in Budapest in 1925, Gömbös called for the total "removal of Jews" from Hungary and resettlement in some other land, but not Palestine.<sup>34</sup>

Such extremist views found little support in Hungary in the 1920's, as economic conditions stabilized and the memories of the Soviet Republic faded. The "Party of Race Protectors" had little success in the political process: in the 1926 elections of Parliament Gömbös and his followers gained only 1.5% of the vote. Frustrated by this lack of success, Gömbös finally concluded that he could fulfil his political ambitions only by toning down his radical rhetoric, regaining the confidence of Regent Horthy, and rejoining the government party.<sup>35</sup> This strategy soon paid significant dividends. The world economic crisis hit Hungary particularly

severely, forcing Count Bethlen to resign and prompting Horthy to seek a “strong hand” to prevent revolutionary outbreaks. Horthy thus offered the post of prime minister to Gömbös, but only on certain conditions, the most important of which was that he would not introduce any anti-Jewish legislation.<sup>36</sup>

Eager above all to gain power, Gömbös not only complied with all of the Regent's requests, but also, in a stroke of breathtaking opportunism, initiated secret negotiations with leaders of the Jewish community. In exchange for Jewish support for his governmental program, Gömbös promised that he would abandon his attacks on the Jews, respect Jewish “material interests,” and provide strong support for the development of Hungarian industry and rearmament.<sup>37</sup> Given Gömbös's reputation as one of Europe's most notorious anti-Semites, it would seem unlikely that any Jewish leaders would have regarded such an offer as sincere. Yet an agreement was made along these lines with leaders of the Neolog community of Hungarian Jews, and in his inaugural speech to Parliament Gömbös made a statement that startled all political observers in Hungary:

To the Jews I declare openly and frankly that I have changed my views. That part of Jewry that acknowledges that it shares a common fate with our People I wish to regard as brethren, just as I do my Magyar brethren.... I saw Jewish heroes during the war... and I know that they fought courageously. I know prominent Jews who pray for the Magyar fate, and I know that they will be the first to condemn that part of Jewry which could not or would not assimilate with the national community.<sup>38</sup>

Remarkably, Gyula Gömbös was true to his word. During his four year tenure as Prime Minister no anti-Jewish legislation was introduced, despite the fact that during this period Hungary gravitated to the Nazi German orbit and Gömbös spoke openly of his admiration for Benito Mussolini and his preference for Italian-style corporatism. Even while very strong restrictions were being placed on the Jews in Germany (such as the Nuremberg Laws), no attempt was made by the Hungarian government to diminish the influence of the Jews, save for a futile attempt to impose a kind of *numerus clausus* in the legal profession.<sup>39</sup> Gömbös even made several friendly gestures to Hungary's Jews. He permitted the two major Jewish communities, the Neolog and the Orthodox, to hold national congresses and sent warm and sympathetic greetings to each.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, he consulted frequently with prominent Jewish industrialists like Ferenc



Chorin, and he was the first Hungarian Prime Minister to attend a meeting of and speak before the major Hungarian association of industrial managers and financiers, a large number of whom were Jews.<sup>41</sup> And when in 1935 he put forward a plan that would have outlawed strikes and restructured labour laws along the lines of Fascist corporatism, the proposed changes would not necessarily have had a negative impact on Hungary's Jewish business elite. In fact, in 1936, when Gömbös died suddenly of a liver disease, the percentage of Jews in the economy and the professions was little changed from the early 1920's, when he had declared that the racial situation in Hungary was intolerable.

This overview of the career of Gyula Gömbös provides a number of insights into the nature of radical right-wing movements and the difficulties that extremists like Gömbös encountered in their attempt to remake the national community. Confronted by such authoritarian conservatives as Admiral Horthy and Count Bethlen, who resisted a radical solution to the "Jewish problem," Gömbös displayed a remarkable opportunism. One can only speculate whether, had he lived through World War II, Gömbös would have reverted to his earlier, virulent anti-Semitism. There is fragmentary evidence that shortly before his death he had given secret assurances to the Germans that he indeed planned in the near future to impose a totalitarian system in Hungary.<sup>42</sup> In any case, Gömbös did leave as his legacy a solid corps of radical right-wing government officials and parliamentary delegates who admired Nazi Germany and were imbued with the "Szeged idea."<sup>43</sup> These "Gömbös orphans" were responsible for the enactment of the anti-Jewish laws of 1938-1941 that fulfilled the program that Gömbös had proposed in the 1920's. It was they, also, who offered their support, or stood by indifferently, when in 1944 the Germans deported 2/3 of Hungary's Jews to the gas chambers of Auschwitz. Thus, the reshaping of the national community by the removal of Hungary's "surplus Jews," which Gömbös had proposed in the 1920's, was achieved in 1945, though he could hardly have welcomed the aftermath of that horrible event: defeat in a catastrophic war and domination of Hungary by the Soviet Union.

## NOTES

The research for this article was made possible by a grant from the Taft Faculty Research Fund at the University of Cincinnati.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas L. Sakmyster, *Hungary, the Great Powers, and the Danubian Crisis, 1936-1939* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia, 1980), 47.

<sup>2</sup> The only scholarly work to treat Gömbös's career as a whole is Jenő Gergely, *Gömbös Gyula. Politikai pályakép* [Gyula Gömbös. A political biography] (Budapest: Vince, 2001). A hagiographical work written in the 1930's is still useful for Gömbös's family life and education: József Révay, *Gömbös Gyula élete és politikája* [The life and politics of Gyula Gömbös] (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1934), 11-67.

<sup>3</sup> Gömbös later described himself as "the most intransigent Magyar in the [Austro-Hungarian] general staff." *Nemzetgyűlés Naplója* [Proceedings of the National Assembly], 1920-1926, IV, 513 (hereafter cited as NN).

<sup>4</sup> Gergely, p. 66.

<sup>5</sup> On Gömbös's relationship with Horthy, see Thomas Sakmyster, *Hungary's Admiral on Horseback: Miklós Horthy, 1918-1944* (Boulder: East European Monographs, 1994), 23-24.

<sup>6</sup> See the perceptive remarks in Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 141-142. Also useful is Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1992), 74-75.

<sup>7</sup> Victor Karady, "Antisemitism in Twentieth Century Hungary: A Socio-Economic Historical Overview," *Patterns of Prejudice*, 27, no. 1 (1993), 75-76. See also Vera Ránki, *The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion: Jews and Nationalism in Hungary* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1999), 27-51.

<sup>8</sup> Raphael Pataki, *The Jews of Hungary. History, Culture, Psychology* (Detroit: Wayne St. U. P., 1996), 437-38.

<sup>9</sup> Paul Ignotus, *Hungary* (New York: Praeger, 1972), 93.

<sup>10</sup> A party based on anti-Semitic principles did arise in the 1880's, but it never gained a significant presence in the Parliament and by the turn of the century it had largely faded from the scene. See Andrew Handler, *An Early Blueprint for Zionism. Győző Istóczy's Political Anti-Semitism* (New York: East European Monographs, 1989).

<sup>11</sup> Karady, p. 76.

<sup>12</sup> Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

<sup>13</sup> *Országgyűlés Naplója* (Proceedings of the Parliament), 1933, XV, 513.

<sup>14</sup> (Mrs.) Rudolph Dósa, *A MOVE. Egy jellegzetes magyar fasiszta szervezet, 1918-1944* [The MOVE. A typical Hungarian fascist organization, 1918-1944] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972), 127.

<sup>15</sup> József Vonyó, *Gömbös Gyula és a jobboldali radikalizmus. Tanulmányok* [Gyula Gömbös and right-radicalism. Studies] (Budapest: Pannónia, 2001), 36; Gergely, pp. 128, 138.

<sup>16</sup> One historian has asserted that Gömbös and his colleagues paid "lip service to a very limited agrarian reform" and their friendly overtures to the workers were "forgotten and contradicted whenever it was expedient." Nicholas M. Nagy-Talavera, *The Green Shirts and the Others. A History of Fascism in Hungary and Rumania* (Stanford: Hoover Institute, 1970), 76.

<sup>17</sup> This led one contemporary writer later to describe Gömbös as a member of the "pseudo-gentry." Ignotus, p. 157.

<sup>18</sup> Gömbös may have borrowed this idea from Gottfried Feder, a German anti-Semite.

<sup>19</sup> Révay, p. 265.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 255.

<sup>21</sup> This key work, of which apparently not a single copy has survived, is mentioned by Gömbös in a book he wrote shortly after World War I: *Egy magyar vezérkari tiszt bíráló feljegyzései a forradalomról és ellenforradalomról* [The critical comments of a Hungarian member of the General Staff about the revolution and the counter-revolution] (Budapest, 1920), 8-9. One historian now suggests that the study probably remained in manuscript form and was never published. Gergely, pp. 43-44.

<sup>22</sup> The following is based on Gömbös's speeches in the Hungarian National Assembly (cited as NN) and in the journal *Szózat*.

<sup>23</sup> NN, 1920, V, 377-79. See also Gergely, pp. 99-100.

<sup>24</sup> Jenő Révay, *Zsidósors Magyarországon* [Jewish fate in Hungary] (Budapest: Téka, 1948), 18.

<sup>25</sup> Speech of September 17, 1920, NN, 1920-1922, V, 372; Gergely, pp. 130-31.

<sup>26</sup> For the numerus clausus, see Nathaniel Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews. Policy and Legislation, 1920-1943* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan U.P., 1981), 60-64; and Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide. The Holocaust in Hungary* (New York: Columbia U.P.), I, 46.

<sup>27</sup> Gergely, p. 88.

<sup>28</sup> For example, in a speech in 1922 he declared that violence was acceptable as long as it served the interests not of a narrow clique, but of "the entire nation." Andrew C. Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary, 1825-1945* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1982), 257.

<sup>29</sup> Révay, *Gömbös Gyula*, pp. 212-13.

<sup>30</sup> Vonyó, p. 42.

<sup>31</sup> Lévai, *Gömbös Gyula*, p. 18; Dósa, p. 125.

<sup>32</sup> Sakmyster, *Hungary's Admiral*, p. 397.

<sup>33</sup> Vonyó, p. 38.

<sup>34</sup> A reliable Austrian report on the secret proceedings of the Congress is found in the Neues Politisches Archiv (Vienna), K915/16143/146-7. Delegates from twelve countries came to the Congress, including Alfred Rosenberg from Germany and Professor A. C. Cuza of Romania. See Nagy-Talavera, p. 72.

<sup>35</sup> Mária M. Kovács, *Liberal Professions and Illiberal Politics. Hungary from the Habsburgs to the Holocaust* (New York: Oxford, 1994), 82-83; Gergely, pp. 189-90.

<sup>36</sup> Sakmyster, *Hungary's Admiral*, pp. 170-71. Gömbös had signaled his willingness to moderate his position on the "Jewish question" in a parliamentary speech in 1930. Janos, p. 260.

<sup>37</sup> C. A. Macartney, *October Fifteenth. A History of Modern Hungary, 1929-1945* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh U.P., 1961), I, 117-18. Details on the negotiations are found in Macartney Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, MS 3297, Box 18.

<sup>38</sup> NN, 1931-1935, II, 53.

<sup>39</sup> Kovács, p. 84.

<sup>40</sup> Braham, p. 51.

<sup>41</sup> See the letter of Ferenc Chorin to Elemér Balogh, Nov. 21, 1961, in Macartney Papers, *loc. cit.* MS 3310, Box 31.

<sup>42</sup> Sakmyster, *Hungary's Admiral*, pp. 182-83.

<sup>43</sup> Kovács, p. 84; Janos, pp. 291-92.