

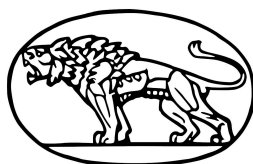
**SZÁLASI FERENC**  
**HUNGARIZMUS**





# HUNGARIZMUS

Ferenc Szálasi



HERITAGE

## Ferenc Szálas: Hungarism

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EDITORIAL-PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD

As a result of the deliberate falsification of history and the hysterical hate campaign, Ferenc Szálasi is the most hated and despised figure in Hungarian history. The object of this pathological hatred is a historical figure for whom hundreds of thousands of people were fanatically enthusiastic in the 1930s and 1940s. The fanatical affection with which the people surrounded his every act, his every manifestation, was akin to that of the Great Prince. In the words of the English historian Macartney, he was almost 'revered as a saviour'. Not only did he create the greatest party and movement in Hungarian party and movement history (ignoring, of course, the Communist interest party membership) at a time when belonging to his party or movement was at best a discrimination rather than an advantage, often internment and persecution - the great majority of the political prisoners of the 1930s and 1940s were supporters - but also, among other things, achieved the unity and national unity of the right, so much talked about today, which, despite all the lies and distortions, was the result of the 1944. The events of 15 October 1944 are proof of this. We wish to present this Ferenc Szálasi, who is now known to few, despite all the hatred, contempt, disdain, belittlement and indecency, through his own writings, in the book series that is now being launched, in the place of the phantom 'Szálasi the Arrow Cross', conceived in Talmudic hatred. The real Ferenc Szálasi, whose only "sin" was that he could only ever serve his dearly beloved nation and the truth, and therefore faced the gallows with a clear conscience and unbroken courage.

The National Leader himself saw the need to compile his writings and statements in a series of books, as a guideline, a guide, a justifying report on his world view (Hungarism), his moral conduct, his actions for his followers, his nation and posterity. The tragic end of the war and his martyrdom prevented him from realising his plans.

The National Leader was taken into custody by the US military authorities, and his archives, along with his plans and sketches, were placed in the Washington archives and made available for anyone to study decades later.

It is on the basis of these documents that we wish to implement the intentions of the National Leader, respecting his plans and vision - 55 years late - and taking into account the objectives, needs and requirements of today. Consequently, it is necessary to speak briefly about the principles of the settlement. The National Leader had originally planned a four-volume series entitled Hungarism, the first volume of which was to be The Goal, the second The Way, and the third The Road to Power. He planned to add a fourth, which would have brought together the writings of his main collaborators. Plans for the contents of the first, second and third volumes

are more or less ready. And the fourth volume remains only a plan, the contents of which we can only guess at. This division is followed up to the first three volumes. The number of further volumes is still open (we have five so far). The arrangement of this volume (The Objective) has been guided by the two aspects mentioned above: respect for the plans, while combining the needs and objectives of the present. The latter made it necessary to modify the original plan. But contrary to communist and liberal convention, this means increasing the material published rather than reducing or curtailing it. Salasi's plans were extended by his speech on the right to have the last word, alongside his Goal and Demands and Way and Goal.

I have tried to give a complete overview because of the ideological nature of the volume. Only some chapters of The Way and the Goal were included in the original plan. The Purpose and Demands

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but in the second volume. All his writings are published in full. The Way and the Goal is based on the original manuscript, which is the same as the 1959 Munich edition, but differs slightly from the earlier version published in Argentina. Also slightly different in text and containing only a few chapters is a series of articles under the same title which appeared in the pages of the Hungarianist newspaper *Összetartás* in 1938 under the names of Ferenc Szálasi and Lajos Széchenyi. Otherwise this work is entirely the brainchild of Szálasi. Both émigré editions give the wrong year as the first publication of the work, the Munich edition giving 1935 and the Argentinean one 1936. According to the bibliography of Szálasi's writings compiled in 1944, the series of articles just mentioned can be regarded as the first publication.

Although the study entitled *The Military Life of Europe* is not a study of a distinctly ideological nature (although Szálasi imbues all his writings with his particular worldview, his Hungarism), it was originally included in the first volume as an appendix, and thus unfinished, in view of the war, as he had planned to publish the work in March 1945. Half a century on, the importance of the study has not diminished, only the perspective has changed. It is unnecessary to justify the inclusion of his speech on the right of the last word, but I note that, unlike the selection of the Szálasi Trial by Elek and László Karsai, the full verbatim text of the stenographic record is given.

We are launching this series in the sure knowledge that the future generation of Hungarians and Hungarian historians committed to the future nation will, after learning the real historical facts and documents, find Ferenc Szálasi to be the greatest and most morally pure personality of twentieth century Hungarian political life, and his memory will be cherished among the greatest Hungarians, worthy of them. We trust that the leader of the Nation will set the standard and the path for future Hungarian national politics, because somehow justice always wins in the end.

### THE LIFE'S WORK OF FERENC SZÁLASI

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Dear Reader, you have a book to fill the gap. It is a collection of studies and speeches, containing some of the fundamental intellectual and political statements of Ferenc Szálasi, the martyred leader of the Hungarian National Party, the great thinker of the 20th century, the creator of Hungarism, the Hungarian national synthesis of realism and idealism, who linked the founding of the Hungarist state with the self-defence of the Hungarian nation and homeland, which required a life-and-death struggle against the Bolshevik forces threatening the ancestral land and its peoples. The last in the series of speeches is the one delivered before the People's Court of Blood, which was called the People's Court, and which was the last word. With this speech, Szálasi crowned his heroic life's work with an unparalleled moral example.

In the past decades - and still today - in school education, in the media (mass communication), in official politics (both under the communist one-party system and today under the multi-party system), Szálasi has been and is portrayed as both a villain and a stupid politician. In certain (influential) circles, Szálasi is the most hated Hungarian politician of the 20th century, undoubtedly more hated than Mátyás Rákosi, who was not worthy of the slightest sign of respect. Recently, even the parliamentary representative of MIEP - otherwise known for his admirable statements and preaching - felt obliged to refer to Ferenc Szálasi as a 'villain' in front of the TV public, in contrast to the 'worthy of retrial', also martyred László Bárdossy. This circumstance, and the fact that the works presented in the following pages have not seen the light of day in the past decades, makes it necessary to provide the Honourable Reader with a short biography and biography in addition to the analytical appreciation of the works presented.

## 1. WHO WAS FERENC SZÁLASI?

### Family background and career start

Ferenc Szálasi (before his voluntary name change in 1935: Szálasy) was born in Kassa on 6 January 1897. His paternal grandfather took part in the Hungarian War of Independence, was taken prisoner of war by the Russians at Világos, and from there he was sent to Austria during the punitive measures following the War of Independence, where he was also forced to perform military service. During this time he met a woman in Vienna, whom he married. This marriage produced Szálasi's father, who was sent to a military orphanage after his grandfather's relatively early death. Following a decree forcing all those whose fathers had been sent to Austria after 1849 to settle in Hungary, Szálasi's father continued his military education in Bratislava. After completing his studies, Szálasi's father worked as a military officer.

In the late 1930s, Dezső Sulyok, a well-known Hungarian oppositionist of the Horthy era, but with anti-German leanings and close to the left (who was one of the most talented leaders of the small farmers from 1945 and who was removed from the small farmers' party by the communists during the first "downgrading" of the party), came up with the story of the late 1930s, at the instigation of István Bethlen and based on forged documents of origin he had given him, to discredit Szálasi, that Ferenc Szálasi was not actually Hungarian, but a man of Armenian descent who (or whose ancestor) was originally called Szaloszján. The discrediting operation was a Thursday: the Polish Council of the Budapest Court of Justice ruled that Ferenc Szálasi was a man of "pure" Hungarian descent on his paternal grandfather's side, with only a distant side relationship to Armenianism, and that the name Szaloszján was a "pure" Hungarian name, which was not a "pure" Hungarian name.

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(By the way, being Armenian is nothing to be ashamed of. As far as we know, two of the martyrs of Arad had Armenian blood in their veins, so called "Armenians". Erno Kiss, Lieutenant General and Vilmos Lazar, Lieutenant Colonel.)

While Szálasi's paternal grandmother was a German woman, his mother had Slovak or Ruthenian blood in her. All in all, Szálasi was by no means a man of "purely" Hungarian origin, as is the case with a significant proportion of Hungarian people. It is probable that, in addition to his moral elevation and his Christian faith, this circumstance also influenced Szálasi's patient and realistic nationality policy, which was so characteristic of his Hungarism and which made his policy comparable to that of the reception of useful and Christian foreigners in St. Stephen's or, for example, in the Carpathian Basin. This links his policy to that of István Széchenyi (e.g. to the principles of the greatest Hungarian as expressed in his so-called great speech at the Academy, or to the ideals of the greatest Hungarian in his numerous actions against impatient Hungarianisation) or to the similar concept of Ottokar Prohászka, who was also of "not purely" Hungarian origin.

Szálasi grew up in a family with - as we would say today - many children. The first child was a girl, the others were boys. Ferenc was the oldest of them. The Szálasi family life was intimate. The children received a strongly religious upbringing from their mother, who was Greek Catholic but deeply religious. My mother watered me with faith through and through." Ferenc Szálasi was destined for a military career by his parents, given the family's poor financial circumstances. This is how the future founder of Hungarism ended up at the Military Real School in Kőszeg, after graduating from which he entered the military. He took part in the First World War. In 1915 he was sent to the front as a lieutenant, where he served for 36 months.

As a team officer he also led an assault unit.

After the war, he moved to Hungary and served as a foreign courier during the so-called "Rose Revolution". In the following decade, he trained himself in many ways and, before being admitted to the Military Academy, which he completed in 1923-1925, he calculated the direct correlation between the productive activity of the workforce and military success. From there, it is only a step to one of the main elements of his view: a successful national policy is not possible without an understanding of the economic and social importance of labour and an appreciation of its desirable role. In 1925 he was transferred to the General Staff, and from 1926 to 1929 he served in the General Staff and General Staff Training and General Staff Personnel Affairs Divisions of the General Staff Headquarters. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Szálasi took part in study trips at home and abroad. During this time he wrote various political essays on military policy, and his views and writings made him a central figure in the General Staff, a kind of political phenomena in officer debates. His writings were also known to Gyula Gömbös, who sometimes commented on them with rapture (and when he was already Prime Minister, he mentioned Szálasi as one of his possible successors), but at other times he rebuked him for his revolutionary statements. Szálasi was promoted to Major General in 1933, but he retired on 1 March 1935 and founded the Party of the Will of the Nation (the NAP), the first party founded by Szálasi and Hungarism in Hungary.

From Goal and Demands to Way and Goal

The ideas of the NAP, its conceptions of political action, are contained in Szálasi's March 1935 work, Goal and Demands.

In this work, he takes a significant step forward from his earlier writings: he develops a plan for the renewal, reconstruction, reorganization, organic and unified management of the Ancient Land (the Carpathian-Danube basin, i.e. historical Hungary), the creation of the United Lands of Hungaria.

Goal and Demands can also be understood as a short - but to the point - introductory essay to Szálasi's most important ideological work, The Way and the Goal.



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for the study. But years pass between the two studies. The formation of the NAP is followed by a difficult period of party organisation and party building, a time-consuming and energy-consuming task, and one that is under attack from almost all sides. (These attacks then become constant, and Ferenc Szálasi and his movement have, so to speak, not a moment's peace, and then, after the defeat of the war, when he and his movement are made the main scapegoats, the main cause of all evil, Szálasi becomes the subject of an extraordinary moral, mental and physical torture, and after his death, a vilification - which still continues to this day - is carried out against him and his fellow Hungarist martyrs, which makes the assumption logical: that the National Leader and his comrades are certainly in a purified "afterlife" and that the Eternal Light is shining upon them.)

On October 6, 1936, Gyula Gómbós dies unexpectedly, and Lajos Keresztes-Fischer Szálasi, the most knowledgeable promoter of his reform efforts, is asked by the chief of Horthy's military office, Lajos Keresztes-Fischer (the brother of the future Minister of the Interior, a consistent enemy of national socialism), to write a national situation report. Szálasi - after his country tour and in-depth investigations - writes a so-called "Reminder", in which he criticises the state of affairs in Hungary, stressing that the nation is in crisis. At the same time he asked Horthy for an interrogation. Keresztes-Fischer sinks Szálasi's letter and prevents the Head of State from contacting Szálasi. In the following years, Szálasi made numerous attempts to contact Horthy, but was repeatedly stymied in his efforts until May 1944. The articles published in the paper criticise the government, the liberal world view, international big business and the Communist International, and detail the politics and programme of Hungarism. The result: the government quickly dissolves Szálasi's party (the first of its kind in this "genre", i.e. the first in a series of dissolutions of Hungarist parties) and on 15 April 1937, almost 100 years after Lajos Kossuth is imprisoned, Ferenc Szálasi himself is arrested, the first in a series of arrests. Soon after his release from prison, in August of the same year, he was arrested again for a pamphlet, then released on bail but charged. In the summer of 1937, Szálasi was approached by the British with an offer of support for the Hungarist movement if it would commit itself to a confederation of south-eastern Europe. Szálasi says no, but realising that the name Hungaria United Lands might be confusing (he would not have considered it right to perpetuate the state fragmentation of the Carpathian-Danube basin in either confederation or federation form), he uses the term Hungarist Hungarian Empire from then on. In August 1937, Szálasi agrees with László Endre that the Hungarists will form a new party, which Endre joins with his party, the Hungarian Socialist Party for the Protection of the Hungarian Race. On 24 October 1937, the new party, the Hungarian National Socialist Party, holds its inaugural general meeting in the Buda Vigado, where it is declared that the party wants to take over full power, both from the head of state and from the will of the nation. As Szálasi explains, on the road to power, prison and freedom are twin brothers, the former marking the way, the latter the goal. The goal is complete regime change, because only this will bring the desired new reality, the new truth that reflects it, and the new - and true - freedom. This systemic change can only be born in revolution, but this revolution is a people's movement with a conscious and noble intention. It is well-led and constructive, not driven by base instincts and not carried out by a mob of destructive passions. If, however, they were to seize power merely by the will of the nation, against the will of the head of state and against constitutionalism, they would not be carrying out the true revolution referred to, but would be paving the way for a terrorist and anarchist revolt of the masses; if, on the other hand, they were to rely solely on the will of the head of state to seize power, this would lead to dictatorship, which is unacceptable and

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should not be confused with an authority-based system, based on formal authority.

As the months and years passed, the Hungarist idea became more and more widespread, and the party slogan was born: "1938 is ours, Szálasi is coming." In this situation the ruling circles decide to resort to repression to prevent the further advance of national socialism. (In Szálasi's opinion, Darányi was the last Hungarian head of government before Sztójay to take a fair approach to the Hungarist movement.) At the same time, under the leadership of the new prime minister, Béla Imrédy, a large-scale attack on Hungarism is launched. So-called "laws of order" were passed, restricting the right of association, tightening the press police, setting up large internment camps, setting up five-member "special courts" at the headquarters of the courts to speed up political trials, and replacing state prison sentences with prison and jail sentences. (Almost all the political prisoners in jail at this time were Hungarists.) In the spring of 1938, the Hungarist leaders were placed under police surveillance and the Hungarian National Socialist Party was banned. According to Szálasi's assessment, Horthy was isolated from the nation by a clique that had begun to destroy Hungarism in 1938. In order to achieve this, the clique in question naturally not only adopted restrictive measures, but also embarked on a large-scale political propaganda campaign. On the other hand, Kálmán Húby, who was elected to parliament in one of the by-elections, announced the formation of a new - now third - Hungarist party: the Hungarian National Socialist Party - Hungarist Movement (the new party was joined by another national socialist party in August 1938). So he set to work to put his ideals into writing, writing *The Way and the Goal*. Not deceived by his premonitions, the authorities, with the help of one of Szálasi's colleagues who had turned traitor, fabricate 'evidence' against him, making the previously formulated accusation fit for trial. On 6 July 1938, he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in the second instance, and on 16 August the Curia upheld the sentence, after which Ferenc Szálasi was immediately transferred to the Csillagbörtön (Star Prison) in Szeged.

In these years, the domestic currents, which were also strongly observant of external models (Mussolini's fascism, Hitler's popular movement, Franco's Falangism, etc.) and called themselves national socialist, were pervaded by Szálasi's Hungarism, and he undoubtedly became the most authoritative figure in this camp, both morally and intellectually. This prestige was only enhanced by his subsequent imprisonment. It is also a factor in the fact that the attacks by the state authorities on the Hungarist movement will not be appeased:

On 24 February 1939, Minister of the Interior Ferenc Keresztes-Fischer bans the Hungarist party, which has not even lived a year, and a smaller party of the same name. However, all this did not stop Kálmán Húby from founding a new and now permanently surviving party under the name of Szálasi, in the wake of the forthcoming elections, and promoting his ideas. This was the Arrow Cross Party, which did surprisingly well in the 1939 parliamentary elections, winning - together with its small allies - nearly 20% of the seats in the parliament despite all the repressive measures, and achieving particularly significant success in the working-class districts of Budapest and among the poorer members of the peasantry, eloquently demonstrating that the social question had become a burning issue in Hungary, but also that marginalised Hungarism was the only real hope for the 'land of three million beggars'. All this was also linked to the fact that large sections of the population saw Szálasi not as a criminal but as a martyr. The famous motto of the *Way and the Goal* was confirmed: "It is not the mighty who persecute, but the one who is persecuted!"

In the early 1940s

The slander of the "Arrow Cross" continued in 1940. This was exemplified by two Hungarist MPs, Kalman Hubay and Pal Vágó, who in the summer of that year proposed a law on the self-government and registration of ethnic groups living in the territory of the Hungarian Holy Crown, and the parliamentary and public reception of this proposal. The proposal - which was made particularly timely by the facts and prospects of the "country's enrichment" - was intended to ensure for the non-Hungarian ethnic groups in Hungary, while preserving the unity of the country, an autonomy of the ethnic groups, an independent life, freedom and equity that had never been granted before. This proposal was a worthy continuation of Széchenyi's former nationality policy, the Szemere Nationality Act of 1849, Kossuth's constitutional plan and an excellent example of the Hungarism developed by Szálasi. According to the proposal, non-Hungarian ethnic groups in Hungary are to be considered legal entities, freely elect their leaders from among themselves, establish self-governing bodies, and these bodies are to be responsible for education and training in schools and out-of-school, public culture, public welfare, municipal and district administration and public order, and all matters of district justice. Each ethnic group sends representatives to the National Assembly in proportion to its numbers, receives a share of the state budget in proportion to the direct taxes it pays, and its municipalities may also levy a popular tax to be collected as a poll tax. However, the politicians of 'gentry' nationalism, peppered with anti-Germanism and tending towards chauvinism, labelled the bill as treason, accusing the Hubays of having surrendered to the Volksbund and proclaiming that our country belonged to the German Lebensraum, and deprived its proposers of their parliamentary mandate. It is true, however, that after the Second Vienna Decision, in view of the large number of ethnic Hungarians who had newly arrived in Hungary, Teleki himself presented certain elements of the Arrow Cross proposal, with some changes, as the legal formulation of his nationality policy.

Following the second Vienna decision, Miklos Horthy declared amnesty and Szálasi was released before serving his sentence. His supporters received him with great enthusiasm, but he had to realise that his movement was too much influenced by emotional and mood elements, and that there were no well-established Hungarist organisations. Although his deputy, Hubay, and Jenő Ruzsák had kept the movement together and had taken significant steps to unite the various national socialist forces, further hard internal work was needed, to work out the foundations of nation-building and the draft for the future staff exchange. Szálasi thus devoted his energies primarily to party organisation and to laying the foundations for the future, and under his leadership the unity of the national socialist forces was essentially established. In fact, he and his supporters gained far more influence among the working classes and nationalities than, for example, the nationalists. Imrédy, who from the spring of 1940 - with no small turn of events - followed and demanded a clear German orientation, won the Germans' trust and, with a few of his government party supporters, founded the Hungarian Renewal Party. Nevertheless, by the end of 1940 Szálasi was forced to notice that certain cliques were forming on the national socialist side which were also trying to use him, and that a bilateral slander campaign was unfolding against him. The government circles accused him of treason, of serving German interests by referring to the 'rolling marks' (later, for example, they even slandered him by saying that he was trying to persuade Hitler to invade Hungary). Some national socialists, on the other hand, tried to smear him in the eyes of the Germans by claiming that Szálasi was a German-hating Hungarian chauvinist. But all that happened was that Szálasi adhered to his Hungarist principles and, although he was of course a strong supporter of the nationalist and socialist ideals of the

German-Hungarian alliance - refused to cede to the Volksbund the exclusive right of national socialist organisation of the German people in the homeland and opposed those national socialists who said that the idea of a Hungarist Hungarian Empire was outdated and who, unlike the true Hungarists, actually talked about the need for the peoples of this region to create separate small states which would then be incorporated into the German Lebensraum. All these debates and 'labours' made the situation of the Hungarist movement more difficult and facilitated the government's use of force against the Arrow Cross, on the one hand, and promoted the alliance of the Volksbund, the Imredeists and the groups of national socialists led by Baky and Pálffy, on the other, which included the exclusion and discrediting of Szálasi and his supporters. In September 1941, Baky and Pálffy's group left the Arrow Cross Party and re-established the Hungarian National Socialist Party, and then allied with Imrédy's party to form the Hungarian National Socialist Party of Renewal (by this time, the latter party alliance had almost as much parliamentary weight as Szálasi's Arrow Cross Party).

Unlike the years 1938-40, this period was also a period of problems for the Hungarist movement, which resulted from the attitude of some leading National Socialists, who were primarily seeking the favour of the Germans. Thus, Hubay, Ruzsokay and the historian Odön Málnási, seeing that the Imrédys and the Bakys in particular enjoyed the confidence of the Germans, demanded from Szálasi a more German orientation and changes to the edifice of Hungarism. However, Szálasi still refused to give up his principles and went straight down the path of loyalty to the nation and the head of state, and on 23 February 1942 he expelled the Hubays from his party. It is also clear from his 1942 speeches published in this volume that in these months many former leading Hungarists took a different path from the one of crystal-clear Hungarian interests that Szálasi had charted. In his speech at the meeting of the High Council of Intellectuals on 27 Dec. 1942, Szálasi, for example, declared war on pseudo-Hungarianism and pseudo-National Socialism and, summing up the opinions expressed by the forces attacking him and his movement, said: "Five years ago we were told to migrate to South America. Four years ago, we were told we were unimaginative phantasms. Three years ago we were told that we were German traitors, that we were traitors to the nation, that we were inviting Germans into this country. Two years ago, we were told that we were communists in green shirts and that we were 'led by a madman'. A year ago they said that we were anti-German, that we were obstructing the Axis policy of this regime. Today, what are they saying? They say we want the same thing." (As to the background to the criticisms in question, it should be noted that the criticisms of four or five years earlier had been directed at the peculiar originality and unusual tone of Hungarism. The reference to the criticism of three years earlier should be seen as an allusion to the Imrédys' 'anti-Arrow Cross' repressive policy and as a comment which may indirectly have reminded Imrédy of his behaviour before his conversion to Pál, the criticism of two years ago was triggered by the sincere socialist perception of the Hungarists, and the one a year earlier by the fact that Szálasi was initially shocked by the Hitlerian attack on the Soviet Union, as he was unaware of the real Soviet diplomatic moves and troop movements.)

In any case, there is no doubt that the Germans - if not because of their "imperialism" as a whole, but on the basis of the logic dictated by the war situation - supported those circles in Hungary that were clearly aligned with the German political line. This line - in connection with the change in the war situation, i.e. the fact that the Germans, having achieved an excellent position in the fight for self-defence against Anglo-Saxon imperialism and then in the first, preventive phase of the war of ideology against the Soviets, were forced to defend themselves on all fronts from the end of 1942 onwards - meant primarily the call for increased military production and military participation, but also the right-wing demand for changes in the internal conditions in Hungary and, for example, the

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also encouraged him to solve the Jewish question. The dominant groups in our country, however, attacked the Hungarists first and foremost, and these attacks received considerable support from within the circles that called themselves opposition and national socialist. Thus, for example, those who followed the Himmlenan line of the SS continued to criticise Szálasi's Hungarism, even though Szálasi and his party were in broad agreement with the efforts to increase participation in the war.

However, it is also characteristic of Szálasi's consistency and straightforwardness that he always wanted to obtain power - from the moment he expressed his views on this in the autumn of 1937 in the Buda Vigado - from the common will of the nation and the head of state, in a way similar to the way Hitler had obtained it: from the will of the people and the head of state, and not by taking an unconstitutional step, e.g. He never sought to take Horthy's position, nor did he waver in his loyalty to the head of state - even after all the 'outs'. His opponents in the Prime Minister's chair (Pál Teleki, Miklos Kállay) knew all this about him and that is why they prevented his meeting with Horthy, which, as mentioned above, only took place for the first time after the German invasion.

### The German invasion of Hungary and what followed

In Szálasi's view, Hungary's interests had for years been to arm itself, to train and equip an effective army, to fight honestly and hard against Bolshevism, to apply a heroic approach to life and common sense in the emergency of war, and not to follow the Kállayan swing policy, to lie to the Germans and to participate in the war without regard for the country's long-term interests. According to this view, we should have relied on internal national forces, if only because it was obvious that if the Germans invaded our country, they would have a say in the course of our destiny. In other words, the Hungarian problem should have been solved by our own efforts, years earlier. In addition, Stalingrad, the so-called "eastern front", had to be taken over by the Germans. The great successes of the Axis powers between the autumn of 1939 and the spring of 1942 led to military advantages (for the Germans and their allies in the north, west, east and southeast of Europe, for the Japanese in the East Asian theatre) which Szálasi, the qualified former general staff officer, considered sufficient for the final victory even at the beginning of 1944. (He thought so despite the fact that in the summer of 1942 the German command had abandoned the decisive offensive on the Russian front - in the central direction, towards the Oka - Volga - Don triangle - and pushed the offensive towards Stalingrad and the Caucasus, which resulted in the German army 'running for the hills' and the Soviet forces being able to force an offensive leading to significant territorial successes in the winter of 1942-1943 and the summer of 1943. These Soviet attacks, in turn, enabled the Anglo-Saxons to gain control of North Africa, advance in Italy and, relying on their air superiority, launch a large-scale strategic bombing campaign against the Axis forces), that the Axis forces would not be seriously threatened from the 'soft underbelly' of Europe (since the three southern European peninsulas extending into the Mediterranean are isolated, resource-poor and have long supply lines, while in southern France, over the Po Valley and in the Balkans, the Axis could create a steel wall with a resource-rich area and excellent transport and supply possibilities behind it) or, for example, he trusted in the western wall built by the Germans. Above all, however, he hoped that the Germans would succeed in developing invincible weapons, rearming the army and switching to total war (and in this respect following the Soviets, who have been waging total war from the outset and have been preparing for it since their inception). To achieve this, of course, he says

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but this tune can be ensured by a slow and flexible release of the ample space available. Salasi, with his loyal collaborators, is therefore embarking on a massive effort to unlock domestic political space, in the knowledge that final victory is assured. But these efforts are not crowned with success.

The Kállay government, while ostensibly playing the role of an ally of the Germans, was in reality - especially after the withdrawal of Italy - also preparing to pull out of the war, the signs of which can be seen not only in its military policy and secret diplomatic moves, but also in its domestic policy, above all in its hostile attitude towards the so-called extreme right. Taking all this into account, Kállay's policy could hardly have led to anything other than what happened: the German army's invasion of Hungary. This act, by the way, was carried out with the cooperation of the Hungarian state leadership, without even disarming the Hungarian army. On the contrary, the new government preserved its sovereignty within the constraints of the war and its allied position, and the Hungarian army performed its duties accordingly. (The Germans themselves were also aware that if they attempted an invasion by force against the government and the Hungarian army, they might find themselves confronted with a front that extended from the extreme left to the Hungarians.)

Szálasi considered the German action - also called an occupation - regrettable. He did not, of course, take any action against the Allies, but he did not conceal his opinion that a complete social transformation, the rise to power of Hungarism and the effective mobilisation of the nation's forces for war were, and still are, necessary in Hungary. German diplomacy, however, as so often in our century, did not excel this time either: Veeseinmayer distrusts Szálasi and Hungarism and, as Imrédy's appointment as prime minister is opposed by the governor, Stoy, who is ill and unfamiliar with the domestic situation, becomes prime minister. The government's failures proved fatal. The deployment of a well-equipped, well-trained and sufficiently large Hungarian force in the Carpathians at the right time would have made a Soviet invasion of the north-east and south-east more difficult, to say the least.

In the spring and summer of 1944, Szálasi's priority remained the clarification of the internal political situation. Finally (on 9 May) Horthy accepted and showed his willingness to contribute to the national-socialist transformation of the country, if this was the will of the nation. And Szálasi, with Horthy's agreement, begins to build up his German connections. Veeseinmayer wants the right-wing parties to unite, and Szálasi agrees, provided that the leadership is in the hands of the Arrow Cross Party - Hungarist Movement. The assassination attempt on Hitler and the betrayal of Romania are already ominous, the suspension of the parties' activities on the day after the Romanian changeover and the

The appointment of the Lakatos government on 29 August and the recent visit of Salasi to the governor's office make it clear that the clique surrounding the governor wishes to follow the Romanian example. Szálasi knows that in this pre-arranged artificial chaos the Hungarist Movement cannot responsibly assume leadership, but - as Kálmán Koos writes in his work "We were, we are, we will be" - "And yet he has taken it on under much more difficult circumstances. At a time when the Russians had already invaded the country, at a time when Horthy had to leave and when the Germans could no longer play tactics. He and his movement became the scapegoat who could be held responsible for everything after the war. But before the Hungarian future... Ferenc Szálasi and the Hungarist Movement will represent the same spirit that fought a hopeless battle against the Turks for a century and a half, launched a serious struggle against Habsburg oppression and, last but not least, burned into the memory of Hungarian pain on the fiery throne of Dózsa." Let us add to this: the Hungarist takeover of 15 October 1944 intensified a struggle which, in the

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regardless of the intentions of the combatants - once again sees Hungary in the role of the West, once again in the role of the bastion of Europe. For if Hungary had gone the Romanian way, it is a question of how far the Bolshevik forces would have gone in absorbing Europe. Apart from the successful battle of Debrecen, which was a success for the Germans, the Hungarist fighting spirit certainly deserves credit for the fact that the vast majority of Austria and Bavaria, northern Italy and possibly other European territories were saved from Soviet conquest and Stalinist Bolshevism. (Those Austrians, Bavarians, northern Italians who have experienced the enormous difference between their country and its Soviet-occupied neighbours over the decades, and which has only grown over time, could be faithful advocates of erecting a statue of Franz Salasi in Vienna, Munich, Milan or Salzburg in gratitude for all this.)

### Hungarist constitutionalism and reforms

Hungarist power is not just about a heroic war of defence. The takeover was constitutional and legal: Horthy voluntarily withdrew his so-called armistice proclamation of October 15th the next day and entrusted Ferenc Szálasi with the formation of a government of national unity. Hence, Szálasi received his appointment as Prime Minister from the Head of State. Horthy then resigned as governor, which necessitated a renewal of the state's top leadership. It was proposed that the office of Head of State should not be filled, but that a three-member Governing Council should be formed, headed by Szálasi as Head of State, who would retain his position as Prime Minister. The proposal was adopted by Parliament and on 4 November Szalasi was formally inaugurated as Head of State. Szálasi took his oath on the Holy Crown. He is the last Hungarian head of state to swear an oath on the Holy Crown. In the following period, the laws and decrees that were passed triggered a veritable social revolution.

This revolution was given little time and a small, and even smaller, area to unfold, but the feverish work carried out in a small area in a small time has left many lasting intellectual and political works to posterity, and this is true even if in recent decades the official authorities have tried to close the floodgates to remembrance by every means and to falsify the facts. It is not possible here to go into the details of the Hungarist transformation of social relations, personal attitudes or the economic order, but a few important reforms must be mentioned.

Thus, for example, on 8 November 1944, a decree was passed establishing the Order of the Profession of the Working Nation. This professional organisation was an improved version of the fascist corporatist system. The executive order established 14 professional orders, which were hierarchical according to their importance. The first was the armed forces, as was absolutely necessary in the circumstances. Then came the order of the churches.

Given the Hungarist conception of the socio-cultural role and importance of churches and religiousness, the intolerance of sectarianism, the links between religious consciousness, moral conduct and spiritual greatness, it is hardly surprising that churches and religious life should be given a prominent place in a Hungarist state. The third order was that of mothers. This meant a special appreciation of motherhood, which is most natural in a racist ideology that holds the future of the nation sacred. The order of mothers was followed by that of educators of the nation, which is also natural according to the order of importance of the tasks of a society that thinks in terms of the nation as a people: i.e. if the most important task is self-defence, then the moral and spiritual image of society, and then the bringing of future generations into the world and the family life that provides the framework for this, then the next rank in the order is clear,

that the next most important task in the sequence is to educate the next generation, which emphasises the educational (and, of course, teaching) activity from nursery school to higher education. The order of health workers is the next in the order of importance. This is hardly disputable, just as it is obvious that health is the most important thing in the eyes of patients and that the medical profession has the highest status.

Next come the civil servants, followed by the independent intellectuals, and the relative positioning of the two layers obviously reflects the perception that the public interest takes precedence over the private interest. The actual productive sectors come next in the hierarchy, testimony to the fact that Hungarism, in contrast to materialist communism or similar liberal thinking, places spiritual and intellectual activity before material productive work. The first of the productive orders is that of the peasantry. This follows not only from the priority given to nutrition and food, but also from the fact that Hungarism sought to build a national socialist peasant state. (It is noteworthy that Szálasi himself enrolled in the workers' order after learning the trade of weaver in prison.) The order of the guildsmen came next, followed by the order of the transport workers. The last two orders were the merchants and the credit workers. (In other words, according to Hungarist thinking, the work of the bankers dealing with money is the least value-creating work, and thus - in moral and material terms - they are the least deserving in relative terms. It is typical, however, that in the USA or even in Hungary today, banking is the best paid sector. The professions in question were created to fulfil a very important task: they had to provide socially for the working nation, they had to 'use' the means of production and organise specialised national education.

Equally important was the decree establishing works councils. It stipulated that all companies with more than 20 employees should set up a works council, which, in addition to enforcing the laws and regulations governing the employment of workers, should be at the forefront of the establishment of a Hungarist way of life. The Hungarist government has also proclaimed the principle that, in addition to the power of money, the power of birth privileges must be broken and that in future people's values should be measured solely by talent and work. There is no doubt that under the circumstances of the struggle, the evacuation and the organisation of urban defence, there was little time and effort to work out a new and happier Hungarian future, but what little was achieved in this field proves that Hungarism is an idea born from the noblest Hungarian intentions and is the closest relative of the ideas of our 1956 revolution and struggle for freedom and the institutions that grew out of the revolution.

#### Hungarism and the fate of the Jews in 1944 and early 1945

We cannot avoid, nor do we want to avoid, the most sensitive of the sensitive issues, the "persecution of Jews by the Arrow Cross". In answering this question, many things must be taken into account. For example, the basic assumption of Hungarism that the Jews of the Carpathian-Danube basin were not rooted in this homeland and thus not a "homeland- and soil-rooted ethnic group", although they are considered an ethnic group (and as such should not be confused with the whole of the Moslem faith, since the Sabbatarians were also adherents of this faith). According to Szalasi, the explanation for this basic assumption lies in the choice of career, the migratory, even immigrant nature and cosmopolitanism of the Jews, i.e. in their ability to migrate to where they can live 'well' and, if they can no longer live in a given area to the level expected of them, they simply move away. It has no ties to the host nation, to the homeland, it is in reality a "state within a state" and



all this prevents it from assimilating into its environment, unlike the children of other peoples, who can assimilate into their ethnic environment after a generation or two without consequences. Nor does it have any attachment to an afterlife. He is an entirely worldly being, the chief representative of the modern trends of Western civilization, because these trends are most in harmony with his qualities. In more recent times, the role of geography, economic mobility, the vicissitudes of intellectual and social life, contact between people - superficial contact, trade, mediation, the power of money in economic activity, information and contact capital, have all become more important. If we interpret these trends as the advance of 'civilisation', we can say that the popular motor of this process, the Jew, is nothing other than a 'supercivilised' group of people. This was eloquently demonstrated in the 1930s by the statistical data showing that the share of the national Jewry in the national income, in real estate assets, its weight in certain very lucrative professions (credit, wholesale trade, the legal profession, etc.), and its share in the national economy (the social and economic life of the Jews), were all very high, and especially in opinion-forming activities (journalism, advertising, entertainment, certain literary and artistic circles, theatre and film, etc.) far exceeded the proportion of Jews in the population, being about five to ten times higher, while in the niche professions there were only a few Jews. Moreover, according to Szálasi, in addition to their economic superiority, their opinion-forming power and their excellent ability to "assert their interests", which was also based on their unity, their practical materialistic attitude and their corresponding ideological-political views also pointed in a direction that endangered the Hungarian nation: on the one hand, towards liberal democracies with free exploitation and "plutocratic" money capitalism, and on the other hand, towards the utopian leftist, Marxist direction, which, for example, was based on the idea of the "plutocratic" capitalism of the Hungarian people, in Soviet practice, a system that was both inhuman and inefficient. From all this, Szálasi initially inferred the correctness of restricting Jewry, and later of so-called Ashkenazism (the idea of a Jew-free Hungary). Before the war, for example, he urged good Hungarians not to buy from Jews and not to take their money to Jewish bankers. He says of the Hungarist programme, for example: 'We will use economic policy to persuade the Jews living in our country to participate in the direct branches of production by the sweat of their brow, so that their present position can be taken over by the race Hungarians returning from abroad. Jews who do not like this will be supported in their Zionist aspirations.' (The idea of an exchange of peoples in the quote also refers to the 19th century, the era when Jews immigrated from Galicia, etc., and achieved a rapid rise in our country, while "one and a half million of our people staggered out to America.") In the wake of the outbreak of the war, and its subsequent escalation into a real world war, or a worldview and total war (especially the open entry of the USA into the war), Szalasi, as he had clearly condemned international Jewry for the crime of escalating the war into a worldview and total war, also clearly advocated the de-Jewification of the country. According to this, after the victory of the Axis, the Jewish population must leave Europe, which, in the final analysis, was still in good harmony with the aspirations of Zionism, which wanted to establish (and did establish after the war) the ethno-faith, religious-ecclesiastical and national state of the Jews in Palestine, Israel. The three Jewish laws in Hungary, which were approved and voted for by the Hungarists as well as by the right-wing government majority, were in fact aimed at this in the self-defence of the Hungarian people, at encouraging the Jews to leave.

The argument, so common today, that these laws were enacted by the political elite under German pressure, is wrong. In Slovakia, for example, the compulsory wearing of the yellow star predated the German provision by two years. In fact, at that time, the trend north and east of Fascist Italy and west of the Soviet Union towards economic, etc., restrictions on the Jews, and then a steady escalation of these restrictions, was quite general (in Hungary, the restrictions

is illustrated by the successive "Jewish laws" and the tightening of national defence measures as the front approached). The fact is that Hungarism, although it embraced the idea of race, based its Ashkenazism, its ideal of a Jew-free Hungary, primarily not on ethno-racial grounds, but - in line with its general world view - on national considerations and moral-spiritual grounds, in this respect it differed from Hitler's popular movement, which - precisely because of the decisive role played by the ethno-racial factor in the theory - was based on the so-called "Jewish-philosophical" theory, (although Hitler himself saw Jewish racialism primarily in Jewish spirituality). It is also a fact that the labour service in the army was not limited to Jews, but also included members of all ethnic or social groups (such as, for example, the Hungarians) who were not considered by the government to be completely politically trustworthy. (In Germany, the distrust of the Jews during the war was such that they were excluded from the armed defence of the homeland, which also meant that, unlike Germans who were considered Aryan, the Jews were not in 'danger' of having to sacrifice their lives for the homeland, e.g. in the fight against Bolshevism. The chance of this, however, was given to the Jews of Hungary, which also meant that Jews in Hungary could also become heroic dead. It is also a fact that, after the pro-German turn in Hungary, the deportation of Hungarian rural Jews abroad was carried out by the Royal Hungarian Gendarmerie under the control of the Gestapo, and the Hungarists had no role in it. Szálasi also saw this deportation as a withdrawal of the manpower available to the Hungarian Defence Forces (about four million man-hours a day) from the country, while at the same time criticising the unconditional nature of the deportations. He therefore devised a plan under which deportation could only apply to a part of the Jewish population of working age, namely as so-called loan Jews. During the deportation of rural Jews, a group of Hungarian Hungarists led by Kalman Hubay - according to Ernő Lits' sworn testimony - spoke out to the Germans against the deportation of Budapest Jews to the Reich. The view that Miklos Horthy or the armoured commander Ferenc Koszorus were solely responsible for preventing the deportation of Budapest Jews to foreign labour camps is therefore also wrong. It is also a fact that the Hungarist take-over meant the continuation of the anti-Soviet struggle and the increased labour service of non-combatants, especially after the Soviets launched their offensive against Budapest. The Germans demanded that the Jews of Budapest contribute their labour to the fighting in the labour camps established in the German Reich. As a result, the deportation of Budapest Jews to the Reich began. Within a few weeks, however, Szálasi had this stopped, partly on humanitarian grounds and partly on Hungarian national considerations.

There is no doubt that after the Hungarist takeover, atrocities were committed against the Jewish population in Budapest, for example. On the one hand, however, these were not committed by convinced Hungarists, but by elements of the mob who had newly joined the Arrow Cross because they thought that they could loot and use violence under the pretext of joining the armed forces (as Kálmán Koós explains, the mob never joins an opposition party in a disadvantaged position, and the Hungarists were in opposition before the takeover.) On the other hand, young people with Arrow Cross sentiments (in the parlance of the time: armed hooligans) also took part in some atrocities, who were filled with fanaticism by the approaching fighting and believed that they could take revenge on Jews who were sympathetic to the enemy, or even "cronyist". The atrocities were carried out by the Hungarist government

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could not, of course, and did not tolerate it: it tried, where necessary, to prevent such things by draconian countermeasures.

Szalasi in front of the "People's Court"

The Second World War is over. Szalasi and his colleagues were taken prisoners of war by the Americans, who sent them home to face prosecution for their so-called war crimes, ultimately to be hanged by the communists and their henchmen. In the course of the proceedings, the so-called People's Court conducted the Szalasi trial, and this volume contains material from Szalasi's last speech. The speech is, by its nature, a defence speech, but Szalasi is not defending himself, but the theory and practice of Hungarism, especially after the Hungarist takeover. He does this by placing Hungarism in the broader context of the times and, despite the Council President's remarks, also foresees certain developments for the future.

After stating that he is being treated unfairly and unjustly in the litigation and that it would be fair to have his case heard by an impartial international tribunal, he goes on to explain the philosophical basis of the Hungarianist ideal. He thus turns to the three basic manifestations of the human self (i.e. its egoism, its search for community and its relation to the absolute) and the integration of these three basic inner factors in the community (nationalism, socialism and Christian morality), and to the three basic forms of the human self (i.e. its egoism, its search for community and its relation to the absolute), the three distorted forms of this integration that occur when our thinking expresses these basic factors exclusively, without regard to the other basic factors (i.e. chauvinism, materialism and statist dogmatism). He then goes on to criticise Marx's historical materialism, albeit without merit, stating that there is no future for historical materialism (and thus for liberalism and Marxism, which rely on materialism as a whole), although this is a recognition without merit that, to date, humanity has focused on the material facts of life, which is a debatable statement. As Szalasi points out, humanity is on the road to social integration, which is largely the result of rapid technological development and the 'shrinking' of the Earth in this sense. In the face of such conditions of development, class struggle, both from above, from the side of the defence of birth privileges, and from below, from the point of view of the materialist conception of the masses, is a mistaken method, and the great social strata must establish peace: peace of the land for the peasantry, peace of labour for the workers, peace of society for the intellectuals, peace of the family for women, peace of culture for the youth, and finally peace between peoples for the armed forces. And only when all these peace is established can there be political peace and the moral, spiritual and material interests of individuals, peoples and nations be asserted.

Turning to the connections between the more recent past and the expected future, Szalasi is convinced that in Europe, with the cooperation of the Germanic nations of the Northwestern region, the Slavic nations of the Northeastern region, the Eatin nations of the Southwestern region and the Hungarist nations of the Southeastern region, a community will sooner or later emerge in which each nation will assume its share of the common task according to its talents and vocation. Similarly, in the more distant future, a cooperation between the peoples of the world will have to develop which will create order between the individual continents (Szalasi's prediction is particularly timely in our times, when the environmental problems of mankind really demand so-called planetary thinking). Among recent events, Szalasi highlights the Papal Sermon on the fourth anniversary of the outbreak of war, which, in line with the

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Hungarism, he points out that the old world is in ruins and a new world is emerging, which must be built on Christian culture, the sanctity of private property, the sanctity of the family and, Szálasi adds, socialism. The new world order is always born in blood, and war could not be averted this time either. In this war, Hungarians had to go along with the German people, because England was indifferent to this region, and Bolshevism was alien and unacceptable to Hungarians, while Germany was guided by ideas akin to Hungarism. In addition, German weapons initially brought glory to Germany, and the battlefield situation only changed at the beginning of 1943. The Allies then had the upper hand on all fronts and the Germans, as Szálasi explains in his last word, as in his military study in this volume, needed time to develop and produce new weapons and to organise and rearm their army. From that point on, the Germans opted for the tactic of giving up territory because there was plenty of territory. The Allies were anxious to see Germany collapse before they could implement the new armament, and the Germans were anxious to maintain their military advantage and carry out the rearmament and evacuation. Salasi stresses that he believed in the ultimate German victory until the last months. This belief was based, among other things, on information from German high circles. (There is not space here to go into detail about the Second World War, but we can say that, in relation to Szálasi's alleged daydreaming about German victory, there was probably a chance of German victory in the autumn of 1944 and for some time afterwards, or at least of ending the war with a draw. This chance was offered by the so-called miracle weapon, which is still remembered today as a mere propaganda ploy, even though it is a fact that Germany was the world leader in nuclear research in the 1930s and the first nuclear magnet was set up in Germany. It is a fact that a warlike Germany also tried to put science and technology at the service of the war industry, and it is even assumed that Germany, which was the world leader in the development of military missile technology and which during the war outstripped the Allies in the development of numerous aircraft, tanks, etc., could not have been significantly behind the Anglo-Saxons in the development of nuclear weapons, except by treachery. In any case, it is noteworthy that in America, research and development into the military application of atomic technology was already under way at the beginning of the war, but it was not until two months after the defeat of Germany that it became an atomic bomb, following the successful Los Alamos test explosion. In other words, some 50-60 months of effort did not lead to any results, even threateningly, to the detonation of the bomb very shortly after the German collapse. The writer of these lines considers the most probable version to be that the Germans were practically on the verge of producing a nuclear weapon, presumably a rocket nuclear weapon, and not an air-droppable nuclear bomb, when, for reasons not discussed here, the collapse of Fortress Germany suddenly occurred. The only thing the US nuclear weapons research team could have done was to use US technological advances, which were not too far removed from the production of an atomic weapon, to upgrade the documentation, etc. of the German atomic weapon to the technical level required for detonation. But there is no doubt that if Germany and the new Hungarist Hungary, born in the autumn of 1944, had by some miracle managed to drive the Russians out of the Carpathian Basin, Szálasi's plan for a united Hungary would certainly have become a reality.)

Szálasi also had the right to say the last word about the imperialism of certain German circles, against which he tried to protect Hungarian independence and of course the Hungarian Hungarist movement, so that he and his movement would not end up like the Iron Guard in Romania. His speech

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concludes by discussing the relationship between Hungarism and the Jewish question. He mentions that according to Hungarism, the Jews in Hungary should elect a leader who would participate in the Hungarian leadership and would be responsible for the implementation of the laws and regulations through the Jewish popular administration. He stresses that the Hungarists did not and could not participate in the deportation of rural Jewry, and he himself opposed the free provision of Jewish labour to Germany, while demanding that Jewish property be declared national property and that the Jewish population be supplied from this property. He also points out that the figures of Jewish suffering are exaggerated and that the mere fact of certain 'facts' is questionable, but he also states that he himself condemns the actual atrocities and that the Hungarists took steps to prevent such atrocities after they came to power. After all, the history of Jewry is a history of suffering, but those who have served the Jewish cause badly have also contributed to that suffering. It is to be hoped, continues Szalasi, that the Jews will also gain access to their longed-for homeland and that such conflicts will then come to an end. The Jewish people 3,000 years ago placed the racial question, that is, the ennoblement of their race, at the centre of their life, and Hungarism in this respect only follows a path which the Jewish people also considers good for themselves. The new world view must strive for this ennoblement, which is to be carried out in the moral, spiritual and material construction of man, and at this point it is clearly shown that the greatest Hungarian and Ferenc Szalasi think on the same wavelength about the Hungarian nation (since Széchenyi repeatedly wrote: "our aim is to secure and nobly express our nationality in a different context"). At the end of his speech, Szalasi thanks all those who have followed him on the sacrificial path of Hungarism, and pays tribute to the heroes of the victorious army and their heroic rear, asking the victors to be just to the vanquished. He asks the Lord God to give the victors' leaders wisdom "in building peace on the globe in the spirit of a cultural community of free, independent and autonomous working peoples and nations." The last words of his speech reveal a determined and unflappable politician, a statesman of diamond-hard character, blessed with a sense of mission and creativity: 'In the service of our nation, one can die, but never tire. God be with my nation.' And his last steps to the gallows at Golgotha, in front of the mocking and scolding crowds, were indeed an example of a heroic approach to life, a testimony to what Ferenc Szalasi wrote in his Final Psalm of Aims and Demands: 'The motto of the historic struggle: better a hero for a moment than a slave for a lifetime!'

### 11. WHAT IS HUNGARIANISM?

#### A. THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE HUNGARIST IDEAL

##### 1. Hungarism has philosophical foundations

Szálasi's ideology, the Hungarist ideal, undoubtedly has philosophical foundations. Even if Szalasi did not create a metaphysical (e.g. ontological) system or write a critique of knowledge, or even a theory of values (e.g. (logical, aesthetic, ethical) monographs, i.e. he did not deal with the ultimate questions of existence and cognition, but on the one hand he was a "philosopher" in the Hegelian sense of the word, i.e. he viewed things by thinking, and on the other hand, in his ideology, the concepts and ideas that are more closely termed philosophical are prominent, form the basis of his system of ideas and world of thought, and are revealed to us again and again in the course of the development of his concept. Szalasi often employs the rhetorical device of the triadic occurrence of concepts, but beyond this, in his exploration of the content of the real world, he also uses the recurring appearance of these conceptual triads (triads)

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you can meet. Let us add: Szâlasi does not apply these conceptual triads dogmatically or with the obsession of a player. In other words, he was no more an obsessive Hegelian than he was a Christian adherent of the trinity. The unity, the co-occurrence of the three different things is certainly part of the essential depth of the real world, and this is also evident in Szâlasi's system of ideas.

He began to put down on paper the basic outline of his system of ideas in a mature form, under the title "Way and Goal", in the spring of 1938. It is a work about the Hungarist worldview and its broad, sweeping and long-term political implications. This study developed his work on Goal and Demands from an ideological point of view and served as an ideological basis for his further work, and thus for his later speeches included in this collection, and as a reference for understanding his ideas.

In the introductory sentences of the study, Szâlasi rightly highlights this system of ideas among the intellectual trends and programmes of contemporary Hungarian political parties. The latter are. The latter "at most went as far as the desire for revision" and gave no guidance as to what they intended to do with the territories to be reclaimed and their populations. 'Let it be as it was in the old days' was the song, but this is precisely what Hungarism could not accept. In the 1930s, as he writes, "practical politics became equated with momentary assertion and not with the determination and manly vow of the doings of the eternal Hungarian vocation".

Szâlasi's Hungarism, however, was undoubtedly a political worldview based on careful and far-sighted thinking, oriented towards the future of Hungary. He was not a man of detail, although he did elaborate on many details. He was in his element when he could deal with the broad issues, the far-reaching problems of the nation, the homeland and Hungarism, and not with the details of workers' insurance, the main land reform or the nationalisation of large farms. He was a philosopher's soul in politics.

Unfortunately, politics without ideology, short-term politics, often focused only on the interests of the moment, is still quite common, and not only among the successor party of the former state party calling itself "socialist" and its surroundings, or among the forces that replace liberalism with liberalism, imagining human rights without moral obligations, but also among people who consider themselves Christian and nationalist-minded politicians. Such people claim the importance of 'concrete practical' issues, but underneath their pragmatism it is not difficult to detect an exclusive focus on material selfishness, economics and finance. This indifference or aversion to ideals, ideals, systems of ideals, can be attributed only in small part to disillusionment with communist (Marxist, Leninist, socialist, even) ideals: in fact, today's anti-ideology is a perpetuation of the materialism and utilitarianism, the atomizing socialism, opportunism and corruption of the Kâdâr era, which, in the context of the colonialist and foreign-interest capitalism that burst upon the Hungarian reality of the 1990s, was heightened by the "innovative example" of the groups that had previously played a leading role. All this undoubtedly contributes to the distortion of values that is common in the so-called developed countries and to the kind of religious, spiritual-religious and at the same time

cultural-intellectual, (in some places threatening) demographic-social decline, and even (universally threatening) environmental-military dangers, which so many have written about and continue to write about, from poetic giants like our own Madâch to Pope John Paul II, or from Oswald Spengler to Lâszlô Ervin, who proclaimed the need for a mindset that looks out for the whole Earth. In this context, the vision and programme of Hungarism, which synthesises moral, spiritual and material values, is not just timely, but a beacon in the dark night.

### 2. Christian morality, nationalism, socialism

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Szálas starts from the premise that the human "I", unified in the person, is expressed in three basic ways. These are: its relation to the absolute, its egoism (which combines in a healthy form with helping others) and its search for community. Hungarianism seeks to integrate these three forms of expression. The first is integrated in Christian morality, the second in nationalism, and the third in socialism (the socialism professed by Hungarists is, of course, fundamentally opposed to the socialism preached by communists). The aim of this triple integration is to integrate a relationship to the absolute, egoism and the search for community in a so-called "socialism". (The body is the material factor). The distinction between the spirit and the soul is debatable. If, however, by spirit we understand not only the processes of intuitive or experiential cognition and not only conceptual thinking, but also the so-called "spirit" of the emotions, desires, and thus of the so-called "senses", which are different from sensual or conceptual cognition, as belonging to it. If we also include the world of non-cognitive spiritual functioning, i.e. the world of the soul, which is not cognitive or of the perceptual or conceptual, it is obvious that the remaining soul is the essential part of the self itself, that is to say, the personality which goes beyond the mere consciousness of the self, the so-called self-consciousness, which freely chooses and experiences its responsibilities, and in this context the morality of our immortal soul. The spiritual, mental and physical gifts and activities of each individual are now summed up in the life of the community, and in the broadest sense of the blood community: the people, as moral, spiritual-cultural phenomena and material factors. Spiritually, it is nationalism because Hungarianism seeks to harmonize the subjective self and the community in such a way as to promote the nobler culture and society of the Hungarian people (as the leading people) and the Hungarist Hungarian nation (while also taking care that the community approach does not become so predominant), which would have a personality-destroying effect, nor should self-interest be so emphasized that it would threaten to wither away the communities), and finally, its material basis is socialist because it wants to use the capital and wealth available to the community not for the benefit of individuals or classes privileged by birth or wealth, but for the welfare of the people as a whole, for the benefit of the nation.

The integration of the relation to the absolute now entails the elevation of the morality of society to a higher level, the integration of egoism leads to the development of a nationalist spirit, of which the peasantry is a typical example, which is intelligently and healthily selfish and at the same time the depository of national culture, and the integration of the search for community leads to the 'human-scale' development of the material world, the economy (a good example of which is the nation-building economic activity of the truly socialist-minded working class). To go further:

according to the Hungarist conception, there is a hierarchy between the moral, the spiritual and the material factors: the moral factor is the most important, followed by the spiritual and only the third is the material factor. In any of Szálas's writings (or written speeches), we are confronted again and again with this triple concept of 'moral, spiritual and material' factors, their development and the questions of their unfolding.

Since the moral basis of Hungarianism is Christianity, its spiritual basis is nationalism, and its material basis is socialism, this system of ideas may be understood as a nationalist version of the Christian-socialist conception, and as a nationalist version of the Christian-nationalist circle of thought. (It is obviously very uninformed to think that national socialism is the same as the Hitlerian version of national socialism, as in the 20th century

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In Europe and worldwide, there was a whole range of simultaneously nationalist and socialist (or socialist) tendencies. Strictly speaking, this concept includes the fascism founded by Mussolini, and even the Christian-socialist conception of Bishop Ottokar Prohászka, whose teachings had a far-reaching influence on the conception of Ferenc Szalasi, since Szalasi also adopted the term "Hungarism" from him. It should be noted that the term "Hungarism" was also used by the greatest Hungarian, Széchenyi. It is now well known that in so-called Western publicist literature, a distinction is often made between fascism and Nazism. In fact, it is becoming increasingly common to contrast the two in such a way that the contrast is made in favour of Mussolini and fascism, i.e. to the detriment of Hitler and German national socialism. It is becoming increasingly common to see Mussolini as the 'lost sheep', while Hitler remains the devil, the 'Antichrist'. The authors of such thought experiments usually state openly the reasons for this often sharp juxtaposition and 'excuse' of the Duce. The Duce was not originally a so-called anti-Semite: his wife, the mother of Edda's daughter, was a Jewish woman from Russia, the economic and even political involvement of Italian Jews was not initially restricted by fascism, etc., and it was only with the rise of Hitler's influence that Italian fascism 'followed in the footsteps of German Nazism'. To this day, Szalasi has not received such leniency from the authors of official and semi-official statements, which is obviously linked to the fact that Szalasi's attitude towards the Jews in his country was already different from Mussolini's towards the Jews in Italy, although Szalasi was not an 'enemy' of the Jews, provided, of course, that, taken as such, a policy which criticises Jewry, wages political war against it and encourages the emigration of Hungarian Jewry abroad, or more precisely to a Jewish homeland, is not regarded as a policy hostile to Hungarian Jewry. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that in historiographical circles and in connection with Marxist class metaphysics, a sharp distinction is made between the so-called gentry fascist, gentry Arrow Cross tendencies and the popular, even proletarian fascist, proletarian Arrow Cross tendencies, and Szalasi is to some extent considered less harshly in the latter, while his attitude towards the Jews is still the subject of the most serious accusations.)

### 3. Community vision, politics, good profit and kalokagathia

Thus, in the sense of the above, the basic attitude of Hungarism includes the awareness that man, although he has an individuality, is a community being, and a member of many communities at the same time. The most immediate of these is the family, which is the basic cell of all society and human coexistence. In addition to the family, there are two other basic cells of human existence, namely the locality (or residence) and the factory (workplace). Of the three basic cells, the family is the most mobile, the factory the least mobile.

Families are united by blood ties to form a nation (Széchenyi, for example, writes of the Hungarian people as "dear relatives"), peoples are or should be organised into nations, nations into communities of nations. In the historical past, blood kinship played a much greater role than it does today (and accordingly, several degrees of kinship played a role between the family and the people, e.g. families were organised into extended families, the latter into clans, and clans into tribes, and tribes formed peoples). The following phenomena, which are not necessarily to be welcomed, play a role in the eclipse of blood relations: the explosive growth of the material factor of human existence, the at least relative decline in moral and spiritual weight, the eclipse of the peasantry and the rural way of life, urbanisation and industrialisation, which can be traced back to the dramatic development of transport and public transport technology, the differentiation of the individual in the relationship between place of residence (place of work) and place of business (i.e. the fact that different individuals have different occupations, different



physical or psychological distance from his workplace), etc. In any case, regardless of any individual or family mobility, the peoples themselves, with few exceptions, live in roughly the same homeland for a very long historical period, and thus there is a close connection between their lives and their territory of residence, what Szálasi calls the heroic life and space of Hungarian life and space, but which, as blood and soil, as Blut und Boden, is also a key element of Hitler's ideology. It is this attachment of most peoples to the nugget, to the soil, their cultural roots, their clinging to the given soil, that makes these peoples, in Szálasi's terms, homeland (characterised by the ability to acquire homeland) and soil-rooted (because they testify to the ability to preserve homeland) peoples.

The people are characterised by the particularities of their moral, spiritual and material life. These characteristics derive from the race (the "blood") and from the land (the nugget) and, as different combinations of these two, they represent different groups of peoples, or, in Szálasi's terms, people-personalities, on the stage of world history. From a moral, spiritual and material point of view, peoples are the building blocks of humanity, in Szálasi's terms. When different peoples, through the evolution of circumstances, form a so-called community of life and destiny with each other, these peoples become nations. (Of course, there are also nations which are homogeneous in their ethnicity.) The roots of nations are the political, social and economic characteristics whose coordinated functioning serves the benefit and security of the peoples. This political, social and economic coherence is the basis of the (political) nation's leadership (the Carpathian-Danube basin and, preferably, the Hungarian people). The Hungarist party and movement is playing the lion's role in this organizing work (and in the Hungarian context). The soul of Hungarism is its ideology and its movement. The movement is led by the party, but the party is also the instrument of the movement, of the idea. The Arrow Cross Party and the Hungarist Movement led by it were organized for a historic struggle, a struggle for freedom, in Szálasi's words: against the tyranny of Trianon, against the Jewish aspirations for power, against the so-called "Jewish power". Jewish tendencies, the Judeocracy (which seduces the intelligentsia with its selfish liberalism, the workers and peasants with its materialistic Bolshevism, and the nations with its cosmopolitan Freemasonry), and the tyranny of the Horthy era, represented by the gentry privileges, blatant social inequalities and alien state institutions of the Horthy era.

A wider community than nations is the community of nations (connationalism), created by nations whose cultural, civilizational and techno-economic life and needs make them partners and common in their destiny. Just as the people is the building block of the moral, spiritual and material life of humanity, and the nation the building block of the political, social and economic palette of humanity, so the community of nations is the building block of the cultural, civilisational and techno-economic life of humanity. Families settle where they live; the homeland is the living space of peoples united morally, spiritually and materially; the living space of nations united politically, socially and economically is the living space; and the commonwealths, built on the basis of the needs of culture, civilisation and technical economy, are the great space (the globe of humanity).

If the thesis that politics means dealing with public affairs, e.g. the scientific or ideological foundation of this, or its "artistic" implementation, is true, then the purpose of Hungarism as a political worldview becomes obvious: i.e. The Hungarist nation-state, which is adapted to the specific situation of Hungarians and to the eternal Hungarian vocation, which has been unfulfilled since the 16th century, and the restoration of the national-state unity of the Carpathian-Danube Great Homeland. This Hungarist restoration of the unity in question

between the Hungarian people on the one hand, and the non-Hungarian peoples of the Carpathian-Danube basin on the other, through the coordinating activity of the Hungarian people as a leading people, through its guiding work without infringing the freedom of other ethnic groups, and based on the community of companionship and destiny, which is the result of their historical past and their present and future interests, the peace of the people, the "coherence of life" of the "Motherland", the flourishing of public morality, public spirit and the well-being of the people in the "basin country", the increase in moral, spiritual and material wealth will unfold. This renewal of the historical Hungaria in line with the requirements of the times, the fulfilment of the specific national policy goal of Hungarism, will lead to the greatness, glory and happiness of the Hungarian nation. This happiness is far more than, for example, material prosperity and comfort and, although it does not yet mean our salvation in Eternity, it can become a worldly reality with sufficient faith, hope and strength.

The aim of the politics of the "Good" is to reconcile the interests of the individuals and the community that make up the community in a way that is not simply beneficial to the actors, but, as Szalasi often put it, is of so-called "good use", i.e. morally, spiritually and materially beneficial. This total conception of utility is demonstrated by the fact that a careful reading of Szalasi's works reveals the Greek ideal of *kalokagathia* as the aspiration of man (humanity) to create values through his activity, or more precisely to create more and more beautiful, good and just things, to display more and more spiritual goodness and nobility, to fertilise his spirit with more and more important truths and to enjoy more and more natural and man-made beauty. And only a world in which reality, justice and freedom prevail, in which the life of the community (and of the individuals belonging to it) is characterised by the dominant moral, spiritual and material achievements which enrich its values of beauty, good and truth.

## B. THE STRUCTURE OF THE HUNGARIST IDEOLOGY

### 1. Religion and culture

Leaving aside the legal-political-state sphere of life, civilization and the management of technology as a kind of superstructure, we can describe and summarize the different societies and the foundations of these societies as the following areas: 1. culture (including so-called high culture and popular culture, work and leisure culture, the culture of social intercourse, science and technology, and even the whole intellectual infrastructure of economic life), and 3.

For Hungarism, questions of morals and religion were clear and crucial. On the one hand, the principle was emphasised that, at the social level, non-denominationalism, irreligion, was intolerable, since without religious consciousness there could be no certain morality. On the other hand, however, faith is a fact of divine grace, and thus no one can be forced to believe in God, in Christ, if he does not believe otherwise. The Hungarist principle thus called for a ban on atheist propaganda and the personal affirmation of membership of a legally registered denomination. (In this respect, the Hungarist totalitarianism is more definitely Christian than Hitler's and cannot be classified as the direct opposite of Soviet communist totalitarianism, i.e. as a tendency which persecuted or wanted to persecute the non-denominational, the atheists, only because in the case of Hungarism there was no personal persecution, whereas the communist dictatorship was content with merely marginalising the churches and religious consciousness only in its soft periods, and not in its hard periods, persecution of Christians almost as much as the persecution of the early Christians in ancient Rome. Moreover, it is hardly possible that on that basis,

that Soviet ideology was also totalitarian and that the Hungarist ideology also excluded the denial of God, we bring together materialistic atheism, which led to moral decadence, and the belief in God, the Christian doctrine of salvation and the knowledge of the Eternal, which is the basis of morality.)

At the same time, Hungarism did not want to create a church-state, just as it did not choose a state church for itself. In its view, the Church should not concern itself with specific political questions (the founding of political parties, etc.), but should serve its purpose as a guide in man's approach to the absolute, or as a support for the morality of our conduct. In this way, the totality of religion becomes a "national-religious doctrine" and part of the national totality, just like armed force. The separation of church and politics, according to Szalasi, must not, of course, mean a 'new paganism', nor must it mean the resurrection of the 'Turanian' ancient religion. (As is known, in the 1930s, attempts were made in some regions to renew the ancient Hungarian monotheism against the traditional Christian denominations, but the Catholic Szalasi rejects this, while recognising the historical merits of this faith. As he writes: "Christ our Lord came to us so easily because it was the White Horse that paved the way for him in the moral life of the Hungarian people." However, this religion has "fulfilled its duty, in the new era it has no new vocation.") But Szalasi demands of the Hungarian priest that he should love his nation, his homeland, his race through God, and even if as a priest he can cross the borders of the country, as a Hungarian priest he must live and die here. He is a mighty pillar, because the harmonious unity of our country can only rest on "the two mighty pillars of the family exalted by the true Hungarian woman and the religion exalted by the true Hungarian priest".

The main aim of the Hungarist cultural policy is to "implant" Hungarism in the statehood and the popular community and to deepen the Hungarist spirit. This spirit relies on Hungarian folk culture as a guiding force, but also promotes the further development of the culture of the sister nations living here. In doing so, the Hungarian Hungarist spirit will systematise the overall culture of the Carpathian-Danube homeland, and the cultures of the sister nations will make the cultural life of the Motherland richer and more diverse by "preserving their own heritage".

Hungarian culture must feed from a pure source, the cultural treasure of the people. This cultural treasure is the fruit of the creative power of the Hungarian race, which is not inferior to any other race of human beings, the expression of the ancient Hungarian genius, the faithful reflection of our thought and emotional world, our desires, hopes, goals, will, the testimony of our inner values, the basis of our future existence. It follows from all this that a Hungarist cultural policy, on the one hand, advocates organic cultural development from the bottom up, and, on the other hand, can only represent a policy oriented towards quality. According to the objective of this policy, a new type of Hungarian soul, a new generation of Hungarians must be raised up, loyal to their race and people, rising to the heights of their national vocation, strong in body and soul, and religious, noble soul and honest, disciplined, able to learn, to work hard, to obey, to tolerate, but also able to take the initiative, to advance, self-respecting and courageous, enthusiastic for noble ideals and ready to live and, if necessary, to die for the nation and the homeland. It is therefore clear from the Hungarist portrayal of the desired type of the new generation that Szalasi's ideology was the most beautiful because it placed the most ambitious and promising spirituality at the centre of cultural policy.

Laszlo Nemeth's idea of a revolution in quality, the birth of which, incidentally, coincides closely with the emergence of the above idea of Hungarism. All this also proves that Szalasi's spirit also converses with the greatest spirits of his time, draws from them, responds to them.) At the heart of the Hungarist cultural policy is the Hungarian youth, especially its education in the national spirit, but parallel to the transformation of souls, their ennoblement, their becoming more Hungarian, the broad adult strata of the Hungarian people must also be in a position to

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to avoid not only the physical drudgery, the bitter daily drudgery, but also to be liberated morally and spiritually, to know and embrace the beauties, values and noble joys of life, and to feel that politics is also taking upon itself the spiritual care of the common people. How essential for all this, and how nothing new under the sun! is the abolition of the soulless, mechanical bureaucracy and the protectionism which in the intrusive Salasi era was called 'the urambatami world', and the assertion of the principle of 'the right man in the right place'.

An essential characteristic of the Hungarianist movement was the struggle against all harmful influences that sought to exclude the racial spirit and form of Hungarian language, music and art from cultural life and to ethnically exclude culture. Hungarianism did not recognise that any nation had a cultural superiority over the Hungarians, and Szalasi left no doubt that if the tendency he represented came to power, a decisive turn would take place in the question of the ethnicalisation of culture and the development of its national character.

### 2. National economy and work organisation

Our age, which was far more a material-economic (even money-hungry) age than the age of the birth of Hungarianism, views almost everything in terms of gross domestic product, economic growth, profits, economic efficiency and effectiveness, and other concepts and indicators such as population growth, quality of life, clean environment or moral conditions, crime rates, etc. does not show the same interest as it did at the time of the birth of Hungarianism, or as it should if it were to take due account of the longer-term trends and threats to development. But Salasi's conception, like any national socialist or Christian socialist conception, is based on the assumption that material is always a means and not an end, and that material life must be subordinated to the moral and spiritual life of the nation. Following W. Ropke, this group of views should be called the 'third way', if we consider the first way to be the completely (or almost completely) unregulated free market economy, and the second way to be the complete opposite of this, the centrally administered state economy. The first is exemplified by the so-called Manchester model, the second by communist state capitalism. In the course of time, both the first and the second model have undergone some modest modifications in the direction of the other, which have led some economists to put forward the theory of convergence between the two models. However, real synthesis is rare: in the Western models, private property, deregulation and materialism always prevailed, while the Soviet system maintained the trinity of state ownership, the 'planned economy' and proletarian society until its collapse, and finally, in the countries liberated from Soviet rule, there was a complete shift from the second to the first.

In Szálasí's conception, the nation is the central category of the economy. This is also reflected in his conception of law. In his conception, the ideal is that the nation is the owner of material goods and that the natural or legal members of the nation are part-owners of this property. This idea is very much in line with the principle of private property, despite the linguistic expression (indeed, whether we consider the peasant estate or the Hungarianist preference for the small industrial or commercial etc. enterprise, it is actually more in line with the principle of private property, the 'sanctity' of private property, than the modern capitalist ideology which favours the industrial or agricultural etc. giant).

At the same time, it contradicts the "civic" conception of private property, according to which, in the course of its operation, the owner arbitrarily, without any public service obligation

can act without. Property and liability must be balanced in both material and moral-spiritual terms. This system of individual or corporate freedom and the social responsibility and obligation of property owners, which must be constitutionally and legally regulated, is what Szalasi calls socialist free enterprise or social-nationalism. In the social-national order the working nation forms a moral body, a spiritual unity and a material community, all the workers of the Hungarian people are united by the principles of faith in God and the teachings of Christ, love of country and the welfare of the people based on moral and spiritual foundations. In this system, it is not the state that produces and manages with the help of a bureaucracy developed into a monster, but the individual, on the basis of his own choice of career, using his abilities and skills. At the same time, his activity must serve the common good, if only because to the accumulation of his perfections and wealth "the working nation contributes by production, the millions of the popular community by consumption, and the state power by ensuring the enjoyment of production, consumption and profit by the will of the nation."

Social-nationalism thus rejects materialism in all its forms, that is, it rejects both the ruthlessly materialist system of so-called liberalism, which favours the more violent and the clever, and the communist system, which is based on Marxist materialism. In this system, there is no place for the natural and anti-social pursuit of interests to the point of libertinism, for anti-social work, or for the dehumanisation of the workers, for the transformation of the human personality into a mere instrument. This system rejects the pathological selfishness that leads to man's war against man and the exploitative system in which private property is indeed akin to robbery and theft, but sanctions and protects private property that is the result or valuation of work for good. It rejects the view that identifies value with marketability and stresses that the true value is that of a valued working member of a homelike and down-to-earth community of people, balanced in morals, spirit and character.

On the other hand, it legitimates and protects the interdependence of property, family, religion and private property, and thus also protects the civilised popular and state order. It promotes talent, diligence, expertise and entrepreneurship, but it also discourages immoral enrichment, excessive and unjust wealth and income inequality. The social-nationalist movement provides work and a livelihood for all working members of the nation, legalises labour law in national economy and compulsory work in the work system, and fights for the future membership of all workers in the Carpathian Basin in a national and socialist community of the people based on rights, work and respect.

In an age of conceptual confusion, aided by the confusion of language (a kind of Babel), it is refreshing to get to know Szalasi's conception of capital. According to this view, all capital can be that which can be shaped, made into value, used as a resource. Thus, above all, the human being himself, the working member of the national socialist people's community, with his own useful abilities, skills and knowledge. The greatest world asset is, for example, the untapped labour and creativity, the intellectual strength and morality of the homeland-rooted and soil-rooted humanity.

In the liberal order, which is based on total individual freedom, the money of the information and communication privileged (and the institutional system that accumulates money and its symbols) represents capital. In the system of state management, capital is the stock of goods at the disposal of the state. The capital system (capitalism) of liberalism is therefore private capitalism, finite capitalism, and its capitalists are the ruling rich, the plutocrats. In the Marxist-communist system, capitalism is state capitalism, and those who run capital are members of the state (party) bureaucracy. In the social-national system, the system of capital is national capitalism, operated by the working

nation. Under the liberal system, the proletariat produces for the benefit of capitalist groups seeking the greatest possible profits. Under the Marxist system, all of society, except the ruling class and its servants, produces within the framework of a modern slave-labour system in the interests of the proletariat and the state goals formulated by the bureaucracy. In the social-national, there are no longer any proletarians and the aim of work is the moral, spiritual and material strength, security and patriotism of the nation and the individuals who make up the nation. What guarantee is there that the noble aims of the social-national can be realised, given, for example, that the communist regimes also spoke of similar aims in relation to work, but without these aims being realised? The guarantee is provided by the appropriate laws and by the living community of free men themselves, for example, by the fact that every large-scale factory is under the control of its workers. Thus, for example, the rule that the three basic elements of production (planning, labour and capital, which form an integral whole) have certain rights of sale, share in the profits, income and property after production, or, for example, that the first task of economic activity is to ensure the livelihood of the community on the basis of the resources available, and only then to meet the community's missing needs, to ensure the continuity of work and to develop the private property of those involved in production. But it is also important to prevent, for example, the accumulation of wealth that leads to social misery, the dictatorship of capital for its own sake.

A notable chapter in the economics of Hungarism is the careful national work system, whose very chaptering eloquently demonstrates that the social-national takes seriously the primacy of the work-centred way of life and the respect for the worker. These chapters: compulsory work, labour law, employment, the employment relationship, the performance of work, the appreciation of work, labour tribunals, occupational health and safety, the beauty of work and work ethics. The development of these chapters is still timely today, because the problems of the work system remain unsolved, even with the application of the most 'modern' methods of human resources management.

No less important is the critique of the Hungarist economics of the currency based on gold or foreign currency, and the Hungarist currency policy based on national labour and the stock of goods, and thus the subordination of the national bank to the state. In the liberal system, money is power and thus the goal of economic activity. The system does not actually produce, but chases money. Money has become a religion and everything is for sale: family, people, nation, country, spirit, God, honour, power and forgiveness. In the Hungarist order, however, money becomes a voucher for the supply of goods, the substitution of goods for goods, and the sale and valuation of labour, and the currency becomes the backing of the labour of the working nation and the stock of goods in circulation from labour. In the light of the debt crises that unfolded in the last decades of the 20th century, the Hungarist conception of interest rate policy, the usury rate and the Jewish bankocracy is particularly noteworthy. The debtor can easily be ruined by the creditor, especially if the principle is applied that the interest on money is money. This could lead to a fearsome dictatorship of compound interest. Anyone who needs a bank loan under this system, unless in an exceptional situation, becomes the interest slave of the banks.

### 3. The foundations of Hungarist state theory

According to the Hungarist conception of state theory (succinctly captured in Szalasi's work entitled Goal and Demands), the sovereignty of the state derives from the principle of the supremacy of the people. According to this principle, the people transmit their sovereign will to those they choose in the form of state power. The chosen are empowered to exercise certain rights, but they also have duties to protect the external and internal interests of the people. The

the state system is governed by politics. The politician plans, the chosen politician's plan is implemented by the state organisation. There is only one politician in the state, he is the supreme leader, the others (who assist him) are specialists. The supreme leader is the one who, on the basis of his knowledge of history, geography, resources, peoples, legal relations, sets the goal of the state in the interests of the people, and determines the path to that goal, the means, the methods and the timing, the so-called life of the state. The leader is the first servant of the state (the people). The goal he or she sets must be based on the will of the community, it must be known by all, and the goal of the state must be made public. The leader leaves the purpose of the State as a political testament to his successor. This purpose must be both moral and practical.

The morality of the state's purpose must also be reflected in its social structure. The people, by its very existence, cannot realise the social ideal. Only an objective state power can do this, that is, consider how the people should act in their common self-interest. The state must, within the constraints imposed by the constitution, govern the people in such a way that the people act voluntarily and freely within the framework of the state's governance. In accordance with its constitutional obligation, the Hungarist State gives all its constitutional subjects the opportunity to grow morally, spiritually and materially in accordance with the public interest. It is aware that the individual's aspirations for livelihood, wealth and self-respect cannot and must not be stamped out, but it is vigilant to ensure that the individual's life does not become blinded by the pursuit of profit or self-interest, which leads to social misery and becomes the state's gravedigger. In order to fulfil its vocation, state power must be given the rights by the people to assume with honour the defence of their interests. Hungarism demands equal duty from all, and gives equal rights to all. But the principle is: first the fulfilment of duty and only then the enjoyment of the rights that are deserved. It thus breaks radically with the liberal conception (nowadays embodied in the cult of Human Rights) that gives priority to the enjoyment of rights over the fulfilment of duties. Strictly speaking, however, it also differs from it, just as it differs from the conception of the state of the Hitlerite popular movement.)

The various Hungarist parties and movements, first of all the Party of the Will of the Nation (NAP), for example, demanded universal suffrage for both sexes, equal suffrage, secret and free elections, in accordance with the principle of the supremacy of the people, but also in the spirit of the times. (The Hungarist take-over in 1944 took place in an exceptional situation and was thus not based on a new constitution, but on the existing one. This was also the case when Szalasi was elected Head of the Nation.) In Szalasi's view, power is different from rule. The power of a political party (or movement) presupposes the faith and trust of the nation in the party (movement). Power becomes domination when the party acquires the basic means of power, such as the means of lawmaking, law enforcement, public administration, law and order and state defence, in order to gain the trust of the nation. The Hungarist movement began to acquire the foundations of power in 1938, and according to Szalasi, it was ready to take power. In 1942 he became.

According to the Hungarist conception, the head of state and the form of government are matters of national concern and cannot be drowned in the self-serving ends of party politics. At the same time, the Hungarist view of history argues, as the author of Aim and Demands does, that the leadership of the state should be placed in the hands of the 10-year elected Nader, who should be endowed with exceptional power. It is his duty to prepare the new constitution. The representative bodies with economic self-government must be included in the state power and self-serving and fruitless party politics must be abolished. All this, according to Hungarism, did not mean the

the need to introduce a one-party system and to eliminate other parties, but even after the takeover the Hungarist leadership limited itself to restricting party politics to the extent that the defence of the homeland required.

Szálasi was against the one-party system, because it leads to dictatorship. (Of course, he also considered as one-party system, dictatorship, the fact that in a given country there are several parties, but one of them always prevails, as it was the case in some communist countries.) Dictatorship and one-party rule can be accepted only in exceptional situations and only temporarily. The abolition of the old political system and the transition to the new authoritarian political system should be considered as such a transitional situation. During this transition, the new constitution must be drawn up, defining the roles of the head of state, the constitutional court, the head of government (the "nador") and the national governorate assisting him, as well as the representatives of the interests supported by the specialised bodies, and the form of government, the head of state and the head of government must be elected. The new order must be ratified by referendum. Salasi therefore rejects dictatorship for its own sake, as it will inevitably degenerate into tyranny. The most terrible of such tyrannies, Salasi stresses, is that of the Soviet Union.)

It advocates the establishment of a Constitutional Court, constitutionally independent of state power, and even the ultimate control of state power, in accordance with the principles of state organisation that are still modern decades after the birth of Hungarism, but it also calls for a modern organisation of the judiciary, the organisation and professionalism of the state administration and local authorities based on the principle of centralised control and shared implementation, and the régularisation of the status of public servants and their exemption from politics.

4. The components of a nationalist and socialist popular community

According to the Purpose and Demands, the sovereignty of the people as sovereign, as ruler, can be described by the following concepts: god, peasant, citizen and soldier. "God belongs to us all, the peasant provides the bread, the citizen is the stakeholder of the peoples gathered in the state and the public subject of the state, and the soldier is the defender of God, the peasant, the citizen and the state." The list shows that what is at issue here is not the sociological structuring of the people, but the creation of an intellectual and symbolic concept of the people. A concept that does not simply describe the people, but points to the role of the people in the world order. The social centre of this group of concepts is the citizen, since here the citizen is everyone who has an interest and who maintains and runs the state (including, in a given context, the peasant and the soldier).

We have mentioned that Hungarism integrates man's search for community in socialism, i.e. it proclaims socialism, which means that Hungarism affirms the necessity of communal forms of existence and the determinant character of the community spirit, the primacy of the public interest (which, by the way, is more valid on the ground of socially responsible private management than on the ground of unlimited public property, or. Socialism, according to this view, is a system of life for the peoples, in which these peoples base their moral, spiritual and material enrichment on the fulfilment of their duties, which are the result of a conscious belief and are also required by the sovereign state. Only in this way can people gain the right to pursue their conscious public and individual lives in a dignified manner. Socialism is thus the fullest harmony of duties and rights.

In *The Way and the Goal*, Szálasi sketches the composition of the people on which Hungarism primarily intends to rely, i.e. the totality of the people representing a significant strength and value from the Hungarist point of view. This people obviously does not include the masters of huge capital and landed estates, those who live in the sphere above the people, just as it does not include the lumpen and criminal elements, i.e. those who live in the so-called sphere below the people, on the margins of society. In the same way, only the public utility



are included in this concept, just as only indigenous and land-rooted peoples are mentioned when speaking of ethnic groups. However, in this study, Szalasi does not deal with the armed forces of national defence, which are otherwise said to be of great importance, and only mentions certain other occupations belonging to the working nation. In addition to certain themes of Hungarism relating to the Carpathian Basin and the European living space, *The Way and the Goal* also deals with the peasantry, the working class, the intelligentsia, and the role of women, children and youth. In addition to these actors of society, the national soldier and the woman, the child and the youth, these three factors of the nation's immortality are considered by Szalasi to be the five factors of the total nation. In the following, we will first present the Hungarist conception of the peasantry, taking into account Szálasi's speech at the meeting of the Peasant High Council on 27 November 1942.

Speaking of the peasantry, Szalasi emphasises the role of the peasantry in the maintenance of the nation. "The frontier of the country is said to be where the peasant's plough ploughs, his scythe flashes, his sheaf covers the land, his blood makes the clod holy. By force, he continues from the heights of moral idealism, the territory of a country cannot be increased, for the bayonet breaks on the plough and the paper of the treaty is burnt up in the fire of blood spilled on the clod." (In this respect, Szalasi refers to Japan as a positive example: Japan, he says, does not colonise, does not exploit the results of the work of others, but increases its territory by building on the harmonious work of the Japanese peasant and the Japanese soldier.) Throughout history, the peasantry has been the popular source of the productive forces of each country, but also of the middle classes, the military leaders, the scientists and the priests. Peasant roots can be found in every stratum, and without the peasantry there would be no Hungarians. The destruction of the nation begins with the destruction of the peasantry (the deprivation of the peasant of his land, his oppression into proletarianism, the destruction of peasant morals and peasant culture, as was once witnessed in the original capital accumulation in England or the colonialism and maniacal industrialisation of the communist dictatorship, played and still plays a decisive role in this process). The key to the rise of the nation can only be found in the strengthening of the peasantry, in its healthy selfishness, not in its desire to plunder but to help others, in its emphasis on peasant settlements. The prerequisite for national uplift is that the land must be in the hands of the peasantry. The responsible cultivator of the land, the peasant, must receive a share of the national landholding in the form of a perpetual lease. The peasant should therefore not be a landlord, a serf, a tenant in the bourgeois sense. Land ownership must be closely linked to work, gentry land ownership must be ended, the proletarian peasant's hunger for land must be satisfied at the expense of the large estate, the agrarian proletarian must be made a peasant peasant with a small holding. It must be recognized, says Szalasi, that there will be peace on the land only if the land is responsibly owned and cultivated by the peasant, and the result of the work is to the good of the family and the nation.

At the same time, the peasant, the small landowner, must be supported by a dispersed agricultural industry, small industry, cooperatives for purchasing, sales, credit, etc., by vocational training and a state information and management system, by the assumption of his debts by the state, by the abolition of interest slavery, which destroys the peasant. There is no doubt that large estates are more capital-strong, more creditworthy, more professional, more economical and more useful to the state than small estates, but the peasant peasant peasantry is the root of moral and spiritual uplift, the end of the Hungarian nation!

For the work of the peasant, his secure occupation, his landed property, his attachment to the land, the space available to him, the orderliness, rhythm, naturalness and human community of his life are the factors on which a people's healthy reproduction, its pure morality and its culture rich in values can be built. It is therefore a great danger to our culture and civilisation if, under the pretext of increasing economic efficiency and productivity and

Because of his worship of the golden calf, peasant agriculture is replaced by large-scale farming based on an alienated way of life and the growth of the so-called organic composition of capital, the "efficient" agrarian economy. Of course, the conditions of life of the peasantry also change over time, for example, the civilisational construction of the peasantry changes and it becomes a requirement that the peasant also has access to the latest technology. What is constant and must be preserved in the peasant, however, is the peasant's role in creating and defending culture. All this, that is to say the threat to the peasantry from liberal capitalism and the Marxist system, and the historical role and significance of the peasantry, has set the notable goal of Hungarism, the realisation of the national socialist peasant state. As Szalasi states in his Goal and Demands, "We want a peasant state with industry in a high degree, not a low degree industrial state with peasants (or, as he says elsewhere, peasant-proletarians)." Or, as he writes in *The Way and the Goal*: "Let us embed our nation in the Hungarian soil, so that it may have a firm, eternal, solid foundation from which no one can ever again repel it!" The Hungarist worldview assigns no less important a role to the workforce, which Szalasi sees as nation-builders. He is pleased to note that the Hungarian worker has become disillusioned with Marxist ideology (he says he was never really "in love" with it), but that he does not yet have his own ideology to replace Marxism. And it is through ideology that the worker can be won to a great cause. The new and winning ideology can only be the system of national socialism, of Hungarism, tailored to the working class, the social-national. This system, as mentioned above, rejects both materialist liberalism and its sweet child, Marxism, which is also materialist. It creates a workers' state and with it, in contrast to the materialist conception of the industrial state, it establishes a labour state. Szalasi saw clearly that the Soviet system, based on Marxist foundations, was a proletarian dictatorship in word only, but in reality the rule of a thin ruling clique and its armed servants over the whole of proletarianised society, a rule, moreover, which could not offer any original moral or intellectual value, and whose otherwise questionable material results were achieved by reducing broad sections of the people to poverty. Szalasi also made a clear distinction between worker and proletarian, and criticised the type of proletarian as sharply as he criticised class struggle, such as strikes. In his view, the proletarian is a godless, homeless and, in fact, familyless class, with no sense of community, an irresponsible wage-slave, a slave of both the plutocracy and the trade union bureaucracy, and living in miserable conditions. (As to the latter, Szalasi had his own experience of the hungry proletarian, not knowing that a new type of proletarian, similar to the famous type of proletarian of ancient civilisation, demanding bread and circuses, would soon be spreading, the so-called consumer proletarian.) In this context, he points out that the workers' commitment to nationalism is just as necessary as that of the peasantry or the intelligentsia to socialism, and that the worker who is merely socialist but not nationalist is just as distorted a picture of unhealthy political, social and economic conditions as the peasant or the intelligentsia who is nationalist but not socialist. Szalasi considered the intelligentsia to be the leading force of the nation and stressed that the so-called national leadership, which filled the political leadership, must come from the intelligentsia. The great superiority of the Hungarist ideology over Marxism, but also over liberalism, is clearly reflected in this view. The class-metaphysical communist ideology refused to regard the intelligentsia as a class (it was constantly referred to as a layer), and the communists were not willing to entrust it with a leading role, even when the new intelligentsia, brought up by communism, had already grown up. But in liberal systems, money is king, and it is well known that the plutocratic

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the intellectuals under the regime are in a proletarian situation (with the exception of certain groups, their remuneration is much lower than that of the representatives of the moneyed classes).

Speaking of the intelligentsia, Szálasi distinguishes between the intelligentsia, the bourgeoisie and the middle class. He stresses that the intelligentsia is a social group of a different size from the middle class or the bourgeoisie, since there are and must be an increasing number of intellectuals among the ranks of the working class or the peasantry, while many representatives of the middle class or the bourgeoisie can only be called "intellectuals" with great goodwill. As far as the term middle class is concerned, Szalasi approves of this concept, saying that this class is 'in a Jewish mercenary state', alienated from the nation and the homeland and grinding between the two millstones of plutocracy and the proletariat. Its misfortune is that it cannot organise itself, and so it lives in distress. If it could act as an organised force, it would be "on its knees" before plutocracy and proletariat alike. But it has a future, and after the victory of Hungarism it will use its skills and knowledge in the new order. This, of course, is not inconsistent with the fact that Hungarism seeks to combine the creation of a middle class rooted in the roots of the Homeland, in the people and the nation, with the limitation of the succession of privileges acquired for personal merit. Dividing the class of the middle class into classes that partially coincide with the middle class, Szalasi establishes the following hierarchy: at the top is the plutocratic bourgeoisie (an undesirable layer in the Hungarist conception), below it the so-called industrial middle class (small and medium-sized capitalists, entrepreneurs), then civil servants, public employees, and the middle class of the middle class (the middle class of the middle class). The next layer is that of the liberal professions (doctors, engineers, lawyers, writers, etc., many of whom are anarchists or nihilists), and finally, at the bottom of the pyramid, the so-called "summer bourgeoisie", who look down on the "stinking proles" and stare at the plutocrat. This depiction of the middle class and the bourgeoisie also shows that Szálasi does not consider these classes and strata to be the social strengths of the Hungarist transformation, but with one or two exceptions he does not consider them to be groups to be eliminated, just as he considers the class of small industrialists or the so-called Christian national merchants to be a useful class, but not particularly strong from the point of view of Hungarism.

Undoubtedly, Szalasi is most beautifully about women. Women who have a sacred vocation: motherhood. As he mentions several times: women (the mother), children and young people are the pledge of the nation's immortality. In comparison, the situation of women is very difficult (and has become even more difficult in the following decades), mainly because the dominant perception of women is that they are men. They did not appreciate how important home-making, clean family life and children's rooms were for the health of society and the secure future of the people. There should be at least three children per family, says Szálasi, who believes that civil marriage should be abolished, while church weddings should be made compulsory. Hungarism would severely restrict divorce and would no longer allow people to marry if they were to blame for the divorce. Any request for a divorce on the grounds of a purely broken relationship should be rejected and the applicant should be punished. (Anyone who finds this view unacceptably 'reactionary' should remember that these demands are the norm in states with a religious-ethical basis, such as Israel or Islamic countries, and that in such states faith and loyalty to ideals are more strongly and steadfastly established among the population than in so-called secular states.

Hungarism is also characterised by a stricter approach to religious education, which it wanted to make compulsory in all school sectors, than the trend of the Horthy era as a whole.) The following statement also reflects Szálasi's family-centred approach: "Our nation will only be happy, great and resilient if we do not listen to the children's rantings of wise politicians." But also of great importance is the Hungarist goal of no more unemployed graduates and unemployed young people, so that the Hungarist conception of youth (like all national

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socialist system of thought, especially e.g. the Hitlerian popular movement) sees the closest link between the preparation of youth and the future of the nation. As the founding declaration of the second Hungarian Party states: 'Whoever educates his youth sees his national future as he educates his youth'. What is needed is an education that will make young people feel that they have a great national vocation: to serve their country with tools, ploughs, wit or swords.

### C/ THE ULTIMATE GOAL OF HUNGARIANISM

#### 1. Hungary United Lands

Principle 1 of the national policy of Hungarism is the necessity of the annulment of the Treaty of Trianon and the need for the peoples of the Carpathian-Danube basin (the Ancient Land) to solve their own questions of existence by asserting their right to self-determination.

Hence the need to establish a constitutional body of state for the Ancient Land, centralised governance from the Hungarian Land and political and economic self-government of the other ethnic groups based on a community of historical, geographical, land, economic, socio-legal and constitutional destiny drawn from the Ancient Land's past. The aim of Hungarism is that the state power of the fragmented Hungary should consider the moral and material prosperity, the interests, happiness and glory of the peoples of the Homeland as the sole guiding principle in all its actions.

This goal is reflected in Szalasi's first plan for nation, homeland and peace in the Hungarian sense, the idea of Hungaria United Lands, which reveals that the first Hungarian party in Hungarian history, the NAP, had the ultimate goal of rebuilding the state unity of the Carpathian-Danube basin. The sufferings and lessons of the World War, as we read in the Goal and Demands, call for a new historical era, but the construction and cadres of the truncated Hungary of the 1930s, denying the need for a completely new human and social order, cannot cope with events because they are stuck in a bygone stage of development. A completely new system on a new basis is therefore urgently needed. The peoples of the Carpathian-Danube basin are also watching to see how the chieftains who, a thousand years ago, linked this Ancient Land to statehood, intend to establish the vocation of the Ancient Land, the next millennium of its peoples.

First and foremost, we must start from the premise that the Homeland cannot be the slave of any one great power. Its own life, its own vocation is and should always be at stake. The NAP is at the service of this vocation and affirms that the Motherland can only fulfil its vocation as a Hungaria of United Lands, and only in this way can it unite and resist the forces which seek to destroy the unity of God and nature and the destiny and community of its peoples. He believes that only the rapid implementation of the new Constitution and work plan which he has drawn up can ensure the effective survival of the peoples of the Motherland. By adopting this plan, all men assume a sacred obligation to carry out the work of reconstruction, and by virtue of this obligation they acquire the right to legitimate and defend their rightful place in the work of reconstruction. From a European, or even a Eurasian, point of view, the Mother Earth has no small calling: to establish a power of balance towards the four cardinal points, with the higher nation-building of the peoples living here, as God and nature require, in order to ensure the peace and land-owning power of Europe. With this vocation as its starting point, the NAP sets itself the following state goal: to extend over the territory of the Carpathians

Under Hungarian sovereignty up to the Adriatic coast, the unification of the Entities with self-governments as laid down in the new Constitution, under the name of Hungaria United Lands, shall be structured, organised, centrally governed and managed, and endowed with shared executive power, in order to ensure that the peoples living in the respective State unit

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1. to consider and accept the community of states as necessary for the establishment of a united nation and homeland, while, of course, constitutionally guaranteeing the freedom of popular culture,
2. defend the commonwealth with a common will,
3. only in this way can they see their moral, spiritual and material growth assured.

The new state formation must be recognised by the major European powers through international treaties as a free, independent and indivisible state, free from occupation and migration. The peoples concerned must then ratify the new constitution by referendum. In the Goal and Claims, the state system to be established under the name of Hungaria United Lands would consist of the following so-called Sub-Lands with municipalities: Hungarian Land, Lake District, Ruthenia, Transylvania, Croatia-Slavonia and West-Gyprus. In his list of sub-lands and in his horizontal structuring of Hungaria, Szâłasi takes as a model the south-western extension of the Ancient Land (the pre-World War I version), as evidenced by the fact that in the same article he writes: "The NAP is to be formed for the whole of the Ancient Land, Bosnia, Dalmatia and Slavonia." In other words, he also envisages the accession of Bosnia to Hungaria. But this is also evidenced by the fact that he has drawn up a sketch map of each of the sub-lands which shows Bosnia (or most of it inhabited by Bosniaks and Croats) as

Croatia-Slavonia, while the South including Backa and Banat would appear as an integral part of Hungary, testifying to the fact that Szâłasi did not accept the relatively recent imperialist concept of the (Greek Orthodox) Serbs of the so-called Vojvodina.

The increased southward expansion of the Hungarist empire in the Goal and Claims is, moreover, due to a definite geographical and historical reason. The Old Country is open not only to the west, but also to the south and south-west, towards the Balkans, and this geographical feature allows a flexible territorial policy in this south-south-west direction, which the factor of the Carpathians closing the area to the north and east, or south-east, only with difficulty allows. Of course, the artificial overriding of the geopolitical factor of the Carpathians was already possible in the Middle Ages, but it is precisely the problems of the 20th century Romanian and Soviet (now Ukrainian) states in relation to Carpathia and Transylvania that prove the historic and unnatural nature of a policy based on state unity across the Carpathians. The situation is different with territorial politics in the Balkans. On the one hand, the medieval Hungarian Empire extended its sovereignty over large areas of the Balkans until the conquering Turkish power appeared in the Balkans, and on the other hand, Austro-Hungarian foreign policy after the Reconciliation seems to have picked up the thread of expansion southwards that had been dropped in the Middle Ages (the Monarchy invaded Bosnia in 1878 and annexed it to the Empire in 1908).

Today's independent Croatian state, as the heir to the Illinsm, the so-called Three Kingdoms, includes old Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, and the tripartite Bosnia also has a Croatian part in Herzegovina, the so-called Croatian Bosnia.

### 2. Pax Hungarica

He further develops his Hungarist concept of national (imperial) politics in Szâłasi's Pax Hungarica, entitled Way and Goal. As he writes: "Our goal is Hungaria, our path is Hungarian national socialism." The Hungarist conception of 'Hungarian peace' is closely linked to the concept of the 'political' Hungarian nation, whose most significant representative was perhaps Ferenc Deák, but which continued to exist between the two wars, and even took shape in Ottlik

László's idea of Pax Hungarica. Szálasi's "Hungarian peace", however, is an original idea in which the idea of a Hungarist Hungarian Empire combines medieval roots with modern national socialism. A sense of vocation, a united will, an honest fight for a new order that brings peace and freedom to all members of the nation, an empire based on work and strength - this is the formula for the creation of Hungarian peace. Faith, patriotism, discipline, and then faith, obedience and struggle are the factors highlighted by Szálasi as the main preconditions for the realisation of 'Hungarian peace', i.e. the victory of the specific Hungarist conception of national politics, and the fulfilment of the Hungarist state goal. A noteworthy new element in *The Way and the Goal* is that Szálasi goes beyond the concept of Hungaria as United Lands and no longer speaks of Part Lands. The point is that, as already alluded to, Szálasi did not think either that the Hungarian state should be confederative or that it should become a federal state. At the same time, he continued to insist on the idea of the fullest possible autonomy for nationalities (so-called ethnic self-government), which was also expressed, for example, in the Hubay-Vágó bill. Szálasi stresses that historical experience (especially after 1526) bears witness to the common sacrifice, sorrows and joys of the peoples living here, on the one hand, and to the discord, hatred and disunity, on the other. It proclaims the need for reconciliation and peace on all fronts. The Hungarist Hungarian Empire can only be based on the general peace of the region. On the one hand, this means peace around the land question, the prerequisite for which is the moral, spiritual and material appreciation of the peasantry, which is the nation's sustainer and culture-creator, and on the other hand, it means peace in the world of industrial work, production and the economy, which can be created by the will of the working class, by the proportionate sharing of the benefits of work, by the elimination of social poverty and fine capitalism. It means the peace of a society in which there are no privileges based either on birthright or on the power of money, and in which the peasantry, the nation-building workers, the armed nation and the guardian of family peace: the woman or mother, and the guarantor of cultural peace: the youth, unite around the intellectuals who play the leading role. Last but not least, it is a symbol of peace between the native and land-rooted peoples of the Carpathian Basin, i.e. between those groups of people who are strongly rooted in this land by their past, their sacrifices and their culture and who feel at home here. Thus, first and foremost, it means peace between the leading people, the Hungarians, and the other ethnic groups of the Carpathian Basin. The prerequisite for the latter reconciliation is that the peoples living here must be given a homeland in the new Hungaria, and that the homeland which the Hungarians had missed during their feudal history must be created for them, a homeland which not only imposes duties on its citizens, but also grants them rights, freedom and respect. The consequence of all this will be a political peace in the Greater Homeland, in which the community is not governed by selfish party interests, but is guided by a single political vision: the promotion of the greatness, glory and happiness of the Hungarist nation in the Central European living space and within the wider European community of nations (the European Great Space). The peoples of the Carpathian Basin can, of course, only create a new nation of their own free will, but Szálasi believed that they would also create a new nation, the Hungarian Hungarist nation. This free expression of will, i.e. referendum, will sanction and protect the moral, spiritual and material well-being, the political, social and economic life of these peoples in the reality of the Lands of the Hungarian Holy Crown, under the authority of the Holy Crown, which represents Hungarian national unity, in such a way that the so-called "Hungarian nationality" of the ethnic groups living there will be guaranteed. (Although the latter requirement does not appear *expressis verbis* in the *Way and Goal*, it is a natural element of the autonomy of the ethnic groups, not only according to the Hubay-Vago bill, but also according to Szálasi's idea.)

3. Szalasi's arguments for Hungarian statehood in the Carpathian-Danube basin

Szalasi, for example, in his chapter on ethnic families and minorities in *The Way and the Goal*, lists the real foundations on which Hungarian peace and the leading role of Hungarians within Hungary can be built. These are the following:

Among the 9 peoples living here, the Hungarian were the only ones able to build an organic state system in the Carpathian-Danube basin for a thousand years. (This statement is not contradicted by the fact that after the extinction of the rpad dynasty, the country had a ruler who was mostly not of Hungarian origin, nor by the fact that the medieval Hungarian state, which had been integrated in its territory for six and a half centuries, functioned in a truncated state during the period of Turkish occupation, nor by the fact that people and ethnic groups of foreign origin were brought into the framework of the Hungarian state, nor by the fact that the country, freed from Turkish rule, was only legally established as a state in 1848, or in 1848. In 1867, i.e. more than 300 years after Mohacs, the state became a unitary state, i.e. it was not a state that was liberated from the Turkish rule in 1848, but a state that was united by the Ottoman Empire. Hungaria as an organic state formation consisting of the countries of the Holy Crown remained Hungarian even under the rule of the Angevins or even the Habsburgs, remained Hungarian even during the Turkish occupation, at most in a truncated state, and remained Hungarian not only despite the assimilation of foreign settlers who retained their ethnicity, but also when not only Croatia, but also the southern border region and even Transylvania had a separate state status within the Habsburg Empire.) At the same time, Szalasi also sees the real basis in history. The problem was that the Hungarians, following Western models and yielding to external influences, gave only a state framework to non-Hungarian ethnic groups living in the Homeland, the so-called brother nations, but could not incorporate these peoples into the nation, could not give them a homeland beyond the state. As he writes: "To serve the State ... and the Homeland at the same time is only possible if the Homeland ... represents the moral, spiritual and material reality and content, and the State is the legitimate service of this inner real content." It was, of course, the absence of a homeland and a homeland which, beyond the anti-Hungarian agitation of the "Scottish traveller" and his ilk, and the views dictated by French interests, etc., turned the brother nations against Hungarians, and it was the will of the victorious powers which, without their true consent, linked them to peoples to whom they were originally linked only by linguistic similarity or identity.

2. The 'basin country' of the Ancient Lands, surrounded by a strongly uplifted chain unit to the north and east, presents a wide and open gateway to the west and south: the Danube makes it a natural collection and distribution point for the West and East, it is this geography that defines its geopolitical position in Europe." In this region, the various ethnic groups, with the exception of the German ethnic group, live in an essentially closed ethnic bloc, but there is also a certain mixing along ethnic borders and these peoples have interacted directly. Their moral, spiritual and material centres of gravity are located within the basin country, their natural centre of gravity being the Danube, as evidenced by the hydrography of the basin. Geopolitically, the peoples of the Carpathian Basin are geopolitically interdependent and any attempt to link them primarily to a centre of gravity outside the basin is unnatural. Experience has confirmed that the living conditions of the Carpathian Basin make the Slovak, the Ruthenian, the Transylvanian Romanian, the Transylvanian Saxon, the Horvatslavonian and the German of the Burgenland different from those of their brothers and sisters in other countries. Life proves that all these peoples living in the Carpathian-Danube basin belong together historically, economically, socially and even politically. It is therefore not state borders that must be drawn between them, but so-called cultural borders as a framework for cultural autonomy. If this were to happen, the peoples living here would not only lose their culture and identity, but would also enrich the cultural heritage of the region in a unique way, developing

the new Hungarism, pan-national culture.

3. Within the basin, Hungarians occupy a central position, and are a focal point for information and contacts. This, in turn, argues for Hungarians to be the leading people in Hungaria. It is also in favour of the fact that Hungarians are by far the most numerous of the peoples of the Carpathian Basin. In addition, although the Hungarians are, in Széchenyi's words, a heterogeneous breed within Europe, their basic, ancient parts are of Turanian origin, while their more recent generations also contain plenty of Indo-European racial elements, and the Hungarians alone have no masses or even significant relatives outside the Ancient Land.

4. The Carpathian-Danube basin is also an economic-geographical unit, with resources that, as Szalasi writes, "are definitely pastoral, predominantly agricultural." "(In the light of the facts and trends of the past decades, it would be easy to criticise Szalasi's economic strategy, which sees the Carpathian-Danube basin as a primary producer area, an exporter of raw materials and an importer of industrial goods. In other words, as the economy grows, the role of the primary sector in the so-called national economy is becoming less and less important, and exports of industrial goods are being promoted almost everywhere in foreign trade, with export-led growth being given priority. On the one hand, however, it is by no means certain that the present trends will continue in the future, and on the other hand, it is not disputed that, as has already been mentioned in connection with the peasantry, the trends which prevail are often very bad, and that these must be taken into account and then, by a judicious concentration of forces, the bad trends must be changed. Man has free will and with strong faith, hope for the future and loving human relations, reality can be changed. Moreover, the relative importance of industrial production seems to be declining and the role of the so-called third sector, which D. Bell used to call the service sector, is nowadays called the information and communication sector, simply infrastructure, and more recently the knowledge-based sector, and traditionally the intellectual society in general, is gaining ground. In any case, the kind of heavy industry-centred industrialisation that was the 'sacred cow' of ideology in Hungary in the 1950s and 1960s, for example, during the period of the hard communist dictatorship, is certainly a thing of the past. Today, it is clear that the 'smokestack' era of industrialisation has left behind a veritable bankruptcy in terms of the natural environment, investment and employment, and quality of life. Of course, the bulk of industrial production, including now much of the so-called agro-industrial sector, is still a major burden on the environment, both as a resource depletor and as a polluter. The people of the so-called developed countries or of the developing countries that are imitating their economic growth, therefore, if they want to live in a beautiful, clean, liveable environment in the long term, will certainly have to change their economic policy and abandon their mania for economy and productivity and develop an economy and a material world that works in harmony with nature. However, if such a strategy is adopted, the countryside could play a much greater and qualitatively completely different role than it does today in the increasingly information-based, post-industrial society, and the environmentally friendly farming sector, such as a landscape gardening culture, could also have very good prospects for development. Once again, the small landowning, culture-creating, nation-preserving social stratum that clings to the nuggets could play a major role. The transformation of the peasantry, e.g. the increased cultivation of the peasantry and its modern machinery, was, as we have said above, a desirable development that Szalasi had anticipated. Going further, it is also clear that the Carpathian-Danube basin needs to become much more integrated than it is at present. This is justified, for example, by the hydrography of the basin. Recent deforestation in the mountainous areas has increased the flood load of the basin's interior in a way that is dangerous for the Hungarian population. But at least



such problems can also be caused by the careless treatment of waste water from industrial companies in mountainous areas, as was recently shown by the cyanide and heavy metal pollution of the most Hungarian river. If the basin were reasonably economically integrated, such a risk would certainly be less.)

5. Ultimately, Szálasi establishes the historic task of the Hungarian people to build the new, Hungarist Great Hungary. It is imperative that this unity of the Carpathian-Danube basin be sanctified by the common will of the peoples concerned, by referendum, on the basis of their right to it, earned through historical sacrifice, free from foreign influence, and not copying the model of other European states, but in accordance with their own interests, for the purpose of the flourishing of their public morals, public spirit and material well-being, to create, under the leadership of the Hungarian people, that is to say, to create the new Hungarist nation and to combine their autonomy with loyalty to the homeland. If the Hungarian people are unable to achieve all this, then the state-people relations of the Danube Basin will be shaped by the great powers and the external forces allied with them after wars that may destroy the state-people relations, which will push the ethnic groups of the basin on the path of internal strife, depending on which internal ethnic group the external influencing forces rely on. (These ideas of Szalasi were born on the eve of the 1938-1941 country-building, before the Second World War, i.e. after the so-called "war of 1918" had been concluded. This was after the state unity of the Carpathian-Danube basin had been destroyed by the aggressive actions of the victorious great powers and their allies from outside, i.e. the Czechs, Romanians, Serbs, internal treachery and finally the Trianon "peace treaty" that ended the First World War. However, the outcome of the Second World War and the Paris Peace Treaty, which ended the war, undoubtedly confirmed Szalasi's foresight: in Czechoslovakia, the Czech were once again the 'leading people', Transylvania came under the rule of Bucharest and in Yugoslavia, too, the Serbs came to dominate, even more than the Romanians in the Rhaetian region or the Czechs in their own territory, as the whole of the Carpathian Basin, and indeed the whole of the Balkans, with the exception of the Yugoslav territories, was under the rule of the Serbs. Central and Eastern Europe is under Soviet domination. And this was not the last external intervention of a great power in this region in the 20th century, as Malta followed Trianon and Yalta.)

4. Was the author of the idea of a united Hungary delusional?

In any case, before anybody classifies Szálasi's Hungaria plan as nonsense, or at least as a pipe dream, they should consider the following.

1. The transformation of the Homeland into a state-national entity, as Ferenc Szálasi explains, is a pan-European interest. Within Europe, a struggle has been going on for many centuries between the Muscovite-led pan-Slavic, the German-led pan-Germanic and the French-led pan-Latin forces, in which the Anglo-Saxon power has also been involved, with the aim of preventing one of these powers from gaining excessive power, i.e. to preserve the state of equilibrium between the powers in question. In the event that one of the other ethnic groups in the Carpathian-Danube basin, rather than the Hungarian, were to take the lead, there would be a danger for the balance of power in Europe that the group (racial) factor represented by the given people would thus gain excessive power in a pan-European context through its hegemony over the Carpathian Basin. Thus, for example, the Trianon partitioning of the basin gave excessive influence to the Western Slavs on the one hand and the Southern Slavs on the other. But a similar advantage was given to the Pan-Latin power factor in Romania, by making this eastern "French" country too large. Theoretically, it was also possible that the victory of Hitler's Third Reich in the Carpathian Basin would give the German-speaking population of the Old Country an excessive role, and thus shift the European balance in favour of Germany. However, Hitler's original ambitions, as declared in the autumn of 1939, were not

Carpathian Basin, but on the contrary: to "repatriate" the German ethnic "chips" living there to the Reich, and the German-speaking population did not live in a block, which would have made it difficult for a German leadership to emerge (Szalasi's sub-cities did not include German land).

2. The Arpadian-Koppányi line, fighting for and conquering one of the ancient jussus of the moving mert, the Ancient Land, and, according to some recent hypotheses, the Arpadian-Koppányi line "adventuring" for the other ancient jussus, the Holy Crown of Scythian-Hungarian Christianity, and the highly realistic approach of the mert, despite all its destruction of the ancient Hungarian religion and culture, have a positive effect, because the policy of Szent Istvan, which enabled the survival of the Hungarian people by adapting to the Latin Christian Europe of the time and promoting the settlement of the Hungarian population, and at the same time defended the independence of the country against the Western conquest efforts, and finally the policy of Szentlászló, which also crossed the Drava and thus completed the conquest and essentially the reconquest of the Motherland, and united the ideas of Saint Stephen and the Holy Crown, was the most important policy of the 16th century. It proved to be fully successful until the middle of the 16th century, when it was able to conquer the Old Country with the help of the Holy Roman Empire. In addition, the historical Hungarian state was fully successful until the end of the 18th century, when the Hungarian state was gradually expelled by the Turks. (Maria Theresa, for example, was not only legally but also de facto Queen of Hungary and Croatia, Grand Duchess of Transylvania, etc.) The victory of the National Revolution of 1848 (the so-called "Hungarian Revolution") was the first step towards the restoration of the territorial sovereignty of Hungary. The united country's relationship with Austria, although not explicitly stated in the April Laws, was in fact reduced to a de facto personal union. (The Hungarian nation, by the way, had sought to defend the advance of the Hungarian national principle and the increased functional and territorial sovereignty of the Hungarian state with the 1848-49 War of Independence. The War of Independence was thus nothing other than the self-defensive struggle of Hungarism, which also assumed the ancient Hungarian vocation, against the anti-Hungarian action of Austro-Slavism in particular.) The 1867 Compromise and the events related to Bosnia then show the territorial sovereignty of the Motherland in its entirety, with the restriction that in the structure of dualism there was a so-called real union between Hungary and Austria.

3. Although the First World War (the overture of the evil 20th century) with its fateful end and the Paris Peace Treaty tore the ancient land to pieces, the German-led great space settlement of the 1930s offered potentially more steps for Hungarian foreign policy. Thus, in addition to the well-known developments of the so-called Horthy-style country expansion, it is a fact that if the Hungarian government had, even before the Munich Agreement was concluded, e.g. The Hungarian government, during its visit to Hitler in August 1938, had announced its claim to the former whole of Upper Hungary and had taken military action accordingly, it would have found a partner in Hitler's Germany in its revisionist efforts to assimilate Burgenland into the German Empire, even if it had shown goodwill towards German measures. Similarly, in the spring of 1941, after the Simovic coup in Belgrade, the Hungarian leadership received an offer from Germany that, in the wake of active Hungarian action in Croatia, Germany would support Hungarian policy to restore the integrity of the historic Hungarian Empire in this respect. Thus, a sufficiently capable and clearly pro-German Hungarian leadership

In 1938-1941, it could have occupied both Slovakia and Croatia, especially if the Slovaks, Ruthenians and Croats who had returned to the Hungarian state had benefited from the nationality policy that Szalasi and Hungarism had imposed on the people of the Homeland.

offered to the people.

4. There were two significant events in the 1990s that fundamentally challenged the Pans Peace Treaty that ended the First World War (and its restoration after the Second World War), namely the disintegration of two unnatural, alien state creations that disregarded the divine gifts of the Carpathian-Danube basin. Czechoslovakia and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later Yugoslavia, were consigned to the dustbin of history, to put it mildly. And after the partial historical satisfaction, one only has to look at the natural geography and the new political map to see: Slovakia, Hungary and today's Croatia are potentially much more a part of the same country than Croatia and Serbia or Slovakia and the Czech Republic (and this is also expressed by the former Hungarian coat of arms with the Holy Crown and the shield part of the coat of arms). Hungary alone is a member of NATO and Hungary alone stands at the gate of the European Union. This means that a wise Hungarian policy with a national spirit could use these facts as a situational advantage to improve the national situation of Hungarians living beyond the borders and, secondly, to exploit the potential of the Holy Crown and the historical idea of the Holy Crown countries to promote the economic, social, cultural and political-military integration of the Carpathian-Danube Great Country.

5. To claim that all these national problems will be solved by our future European integration in one way or another, and that it is superfluous to think about the integration of the Carpathian Basin, is not acceptable, as the reintegration of the Carpathian Basin would mean the accession of a more integrated area to European integration. This, in turn, could result in the accession of a more integrated people-nation-state formation to a suitable European community of nations, which would be of higher quality and thus more beneficial to the peoples living here, in terms of both material-economic and spiritual-social as well as political aspects, given the increased exchange of goods and services within the Carpathian Basin, the faster development of innovations and environmentally friendly technologies, and the greater role of tradition and the recognition of interdependence, or the expected predominance of Christian morality and ethno-nationalism, the general emphasis on moral and spiritual values, and the development of popular culture, and finally, the expected rise to a higher level of both unified governance and subsidiarity (self-government, autonomy), assuming the rise to prominence of a community approach.

6. Finally, it must be taken into account that (whether we call Goal and Demands or Way and Goal) Hungarism, insisting on the principle of the supremacy of the people, can only imagine a unification of the Carpathian-Danube basin as culturally autonomous, with no or few links to the peoples outside the basin who speak the same or similar languages, with the possible exception of the Transylvanian Romanians, which is carried out without coercion or intrigue, which is sanctioned by a referendum and which is accompanied by the realisation of cultural autonomy unprecedented in our region and in our history. This is a prerequisite for the homeland- and soil-rooted peoples of the Carpathian Basin to unite as a state around the Hungarian people as a leading nation, to organise themselves into a nation.

#### D/ PROGRAMMATIC EXPRESSION OF IDEOLOGY

Szalasi also expressed the ideology of Hungarism in the form of a party political programme. Interestingly, this programme appeared in the public domain before the ideological edifice The programme of the Party of National Will, which originated in 1935, was published in the

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claims. The following gives a taste of the religious, cultural, economic and national policy aspects of the programme. All of these demands were timely and in some cases urgent at the time of their publication.

They have not lost their charm to this day, and many of them are still relevant today.

The NAP calls for the complete de-politicisation of denominations, the concentration of religion on education for a moral national life, and the abolition of sectarianism. It demands the enactment of modern child and family law, the morality and purity of family life, its material basis, the possibility of early family formation, "a richer, healthier blessing of the mother's sacred womb", the modernisation of inheritance and the abolition of the concept of illegitimate children, i.e. it demands that children from the same father enjoy the same rights in the areas of name, inheritance and upbringing. All children should have a natural parental home, and youth should have a better future.

It demands the social construction of public and public health, the obligation to revalidate medical diplomas, the reorganisation of patient assistance, medical treatment and the pharmaceutical industry, and the construction of healthy housing. The reconstruction of public and popular education on the basis of an educational system geared to practical life and the fulfilment of duty. Retraining and placing unemployed graduates by means of economic management.

It demands the legal use of the Hungarian language in the administration of the state, in the implementation of laws and in certain administrative fields. The latter can only give the people of the Motherland a sense of unity and spiritual support for their common destiny. It demands the free development of the specific culture of the peoples forming the community of states and the building up of its press, the abolition of the shameless, morality-mocking, subhuman, and unethical pseudo-culture and press. A press university, newspaper ownership linked to a press degree, editorial and staff responsibility, a press law.

It demands the constitutional guarantee of the primacy of the interests of the State and the construction of its constituent elements in such a way as to permit the enrichment of the private interest and the well-being of the people as a whole. When public and private interests conflict, the state must be the judge. "In the State, the programme is only freedom of interest under law. We will eradicate the freedom of interest that lives in the loopholes of the law." He demands a review of the recently issued settlement permits, industrial licenses, land and property purchases, a constitutional solution of the Jewish question in accordance with the interests of the state, the inclusion of the Jewish people in state life in proportion to their numbers, the abolition of Jewish immigration, the expulsion of newcomers, of those who evade the law, of those who have played a part in the world war, and the elimination of destructive Jewish spirituality. The national and social settlement of the world of work, with mutual consideration of the interests of workers and employers. The worker should be entitled to a share in the profits of the factory and to a pension. Labour arbitration within the interest representation, strikes and trade union agitation should cease!

A livelihood must be secured in accordance with the natural and interest conditions of the State, and then such a profit must be sought as will enable, on a just scale, the development of private and public property, the maintenance and increase of production, the just profit of the intermediary trade, and the security of public life. This requires an economic and labour constitution, an adequate system of national credit and working capital, the cessation of material or financial services imposed on the country by the peace treaty and of interest payments on foreign loans, the levy of gold and foreign exchange, self-supporting public works programmes, the modernisation of agriculture, small-scale industry and cottage industries, extensive family farming, and the establishment of a system of public works, direct state lending to promote this and restrictions on confectionary and large-scale industrial production, the rationalisation of private farming, state-controlled and state-owned enterprises, and the

the national organisation of production and sales cooperatives subordinate to the municipalities, the development of the agricultural industry, the promotion of the repatriation of ethnic Hungarians who had left abroad, the repatriation of the middle classes, the resettlement of peasants and workers, the land settlement, the trusts, in parallel with the consolidation of interest groups, kartellek felosztatására, az egészségtelen, erkölcsstelen, túlhajszolt cégérezés kiirtására, az árúnak a termelőtől a fogyasztóig húzódó útvonala lerövidítésére, a közlekedés és szállítás egységesítésére és egyszerűsítésére, a tőzsdének a készáruvására való átállítására és a haszonelvű kufárkodás minden időkre szülő megszüntetésére, a létszükségleti cikkek szociális árszabályozására, a fizetésen kívül un. the abolition of the system of unregulated fees, the placing of foreign trade under national control, thus strengthening the economic security of the State, and the boosting of foreign trade by treaty with tire States which parallel the mother country. The confiscation of property and imprisonment should be the punishment for those who jeopardise the national economy of the State, for example by transferring their assets abroad. It demands that money and credit policy be based exclusively on national foundations and that the state alone should have the right to issue money and grant credit. The issuance of banknotes should be adapted to the needs of public finances. Money and credit institutions must be placed under state supervision, and the artificially stifled credit life must be freed up. The tax system should be based on three basic principles: that state taxes should cover the needs of the public budget, that social taxes should be introduced by nationalising insurance, and that the state should impose taxes on interest representatives in the form of a lump sum, the latter levying the taxes on individual taxpayers under state control.

As a consequence of the universality of the defence of the Carpathian-Danube basin, the defence of the state must be structured in an organic way for the basin and the army must be organised, directed, led, trained and deployed accordingly. The truncated Hungary needs equal rights in armament and, in case of its devious postponement, armament in accordance with the degree of security and requirements. Bony Hungary needs a Hungarian military leadership of colour, a military regime in tune with the Hungarian people's spirit. The NAP calls for the reconstruction of public security and public order and their organisational integration into the state's internal defence system. Finally, it demands that it be endowed with extraordinary power and responsibility and given an exclusive mandate to carry out this programme and thus to implement it for the greatness, glory and happiness of the peoples of the Motherland.

## E/ NATIONALISM, WORLD POLITICS, WORLD HISTORY

### 1. Connectionism

Connectionism, as a Latin term, refers to the cooperation, concerted and joint action of nations, which are juxtaposed and self-serving, and to the socialist and nationalist community of European nations, for example, whose day was dawning in this period, and which was also in the mind of Szalasi. (In the manifestations of Hungarism, especially during the war years and in the context of the need for ever greater cooperation between the Axis powers, but also as the horizon became increasingly global, the need for the emergence of a 'nationalist and socialist European community' became an increasingly common argument and reference point.) Even before the war, the development of this European community was motivated both by the interdependence of the nations in the region, i.e. the need for nations that were politically, socially and economically united or to be united to become united, to come together on the basis of their cultural, civilisational and technological needs and goals (because these nations

complement each other in the light of these aspects), and on the other hand, that the total nations, if they have put their internal life in order and reached this nationalist and socialist stage of development and want to continue on the path of progress, prosperity and justice, which goes hand in hand with public happiness, must give priority to the task of organizing the commonwealth, to "outward-looking" national politics. In doing so, Hungarism, as Szalasi explained, must define the relationship of the Hungarian national socialist community and community of destiny to the other national socialist communities and nations, and in the period of war it must fight together with these peoples and nations with this in mind, which, moreover, are partners not only because they live under a national socialist system (or because they are military allies), but also because they complement (and will continue to complement after the war) the moral, spiritual and material, or rather, the socialist system of the peoples of the Carpathian-Danube Great Homeland.

Its political-social-economic life. The homeland of these peoples and the homeland and homeland of the Hungarist community of peoples form a single organic area of interest, and the national socialist states must conclude a so-called life contract on this. These treaties must also reflect the fact that the sovereignty and autonomy of the individual nations participating in the community of nations must not be diminished (this conception of Szalasi is more akin to De Gaulle's concept of a 'Europe of the homelands' than to the European Union of today). After all, connectionism is nothing more than an extension of Hungarism to the field of relations between nations. Szalasi argues that the problems of the modern world, which on the one hand

technical and economic development, on the one hand, and the eclipse, and in many places even the deliberate erosion, of traditional religion and culture, on the other, have resulted in a particularly strong desire for a community of peoples and nations living side by side and sharing the same cultural, civilisational and technological needs and goals. And just as individual peoples build up their own homelands and nations integrated from peoples create their own living space (where people and nation coincide, homeland also coincides with living space), so too do the communities of nations create the so-called large spaces in which their cooperation takes place.

Connectionist integration cannot come into being and cannot be maintained if it is based on violence, conquest or intrigue, if some peoples or groups within peoples seek to exploit and rob other peoples or groups of peoples, if some engage in "interest nationalism" or "interest socialism" experiments that degenerate into chauvinism or materialism. There is therefore no room for colonialism, for example, in the large spaces of the commonwealths. Those large spaces, those communities of nations, which, according to Szalasi, are created by immoral methods or by ignoring the facts of the community of mates and of destiny arising from natural needs, are not viable in the long run, they will disintegrate. (The validity of this statement is eloquently demonstrated by the developments in this field since Szalasi's death:

the colonial empires created by the European nations fell apart and the Soviet Union itself and its conquests came to nothing).

After the Axis lost the Second World War and the total defeat of the so-called nationalist and socialist historical experiment, the European space has been controlled since 1945 by powers outside Europe in the historical and cultural sense. Szalasi's prediction also undoubtedly proved correct, in that if the Axis is defeated in this war of ideologies, the fate of Europe will be determined by non-European powers (and the collapse of the Soviet Union did not change this decisively). The American-Jewish world power Szalasi even characteristically mentioned as the Anglo-Saxon-Jewish world power's weight (in no small part precisely as a result of the fall of the Soviet empire) is greater today than it was before the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the aspirations of this power factor are increasingly discernible, to use its financial and economic power (and not least its military superpower) to create an unprecedented world empire, a global world system based on international capital and media power. There is growing evidence that this power, subtle but unmistakable and almost trapping

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tries to knead and crush individual peoples and nations into a mass. Nevertheless, the game is not yet decided: the nations can prevent the emergence of a new world empire by nation-building statehood and by uniting independent nations, by their connectionism. In this respect, they have an advantage: the liberal cosmopolitan forces can only rely on reason, while the national forces are supported by the emotional factor. The most important emotional prerequisite is love of country and, as Szalasi notes, it was this feeling that cradled the cradle of national socialism.

### 2. World politics

In Salasi's conception, the final triumph of national socialism, in which he firmly believed, would create on Earth a vast and integrated, as he called it, continent, embracing Europe and Asia as the leading continents and Africa, Australia and Oceania as the additional parts (the American continent is mentioned as completely separate from the former and only as a possible future home of international Jewry). The purpose of this multicontinental integration is to manage and distribute the Earth's available wealth in a planned way, and thus to provide for the needs of the peoples, nations and communities living there, and for their moral, spiritual and material fulfilment.

From the point of view of national socialism, Salasi believed that after a victorious end to the war, the two leading great powers would be organised around three centres of power, such as Berlin, Rome and Tokyo: the European and the Far East, each in the spirit of its own peace of land, peace of labour and peace of people. A huge world trade then developed between them in four main directions. The four main directions are three land routes and one water route: the northern route, linking the northern parts of Europe via Siberia to the

Far East, a central one linking central Europe to China via Inner Asia, a southern one linking central and southern Europe to the Indian subcontinent and beyond to Southeast Asia via Asia Minor, and a southern waterway linking the

It connects Europe to the Tokyo-Sydney Colombo triangle via the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea. Our country lies on the axis of this world trade and is therefore a key area. All the more so because there is a west-east flowing river, the Danube, which connects Europe, divided by the Alps and the Carpathians (north and south), and thus creates a key area, the Danube.

South-East Europe. The Danube, the upper part of which flows through German territory, the organisational area of the Volkische Bewegung, and the lower part of which flows through the Romanian-Bulgarian ethnic area to be organised, is the central part, the "heartland" of Hungary. All this emphasises the geostrategic role of our country.

This is also linked to Szalasi's question: which of the three national socialist movements in Europe (Hitler's popular movement, Italian fascism and Hungarism) will primarily determine the face of the European space? Salasi's answer: Hungarism.

The reasons for his answer are as follows: 1. Italian fascism, which, in view of the great mixture of races among the peoples of southern Europe and the tensions, conflicts and social disintegration that inevitably ensue, thinks primarily in terms of the category of state authority and the citizen, and, in keeping with historical tradition, organises the Italian, Spanish, French, etc. népekből intégrait latin nemzetet s gondoskodva az eurôpai nagyter déli, délnyugati latin életterének biztonságos létfeltételeiről bekapcsolja Afrikát s ezzel a néger kultúrât Europa civilizációs és technikagazdálkodási köreibe. All this requires a specific southern policy, which has no notable validity in other directions, and the colonial past of the Italians does not arouse any particular sympathy for fascism in the regions of the European metropolitan area.

the most natural life, the self-awakening of its community of companions and destiny), race, people and the relationship of both to the absolute constitute the basic categories of thought, which is a Nordic and peculiarly German or Slavic phenomenon (as Szalasi points out: despite all internationalist ideology, even the government and administration of the Soviet empire was organised on a popular basis). The negative memories of the colonial past are less relevant for Germans than for Italians, but they have a special and important task ahead of them:

they must organise the Germano-Slavic living space and, in connection with this, promote the development of two nations, the Germanic and the Slavic. The Hungarism of the Hungarian people, characterized by its historical leadership, placed the concept of the nation at the centre of its world view, in addition to the categories of state and people (the Hungarist Movement's favourite slogan was "with the nation for the nation"), i.e. it based its ideology on the category of the community of life, companionship and destiny of peoples confined to a single living space, and on the political concept of the organization of the various national personalities into a single state. In this respect, the Hungarian nation has the most valuable experience, since nowhere else do so many ethnic groups live together as in the Carpathian Basin, which is in reality the habitat of a heap of ethnic debris. In addition, the Hungarian nation cannot be accused of colonialism, which is a particularly important aspect, since the Islamic countries, which have a brilliant culture but are underdeveloped in terms of civilisation and technology, are necessarily linked to Europe (mainly through South-Eastern Europe and thus through the living space of the Hungarian nation) in the same way as, for example, India, Australia and Oceania, which are 'walking in the same shoes', are linked to the East Asian continent. Together with the Islamic Eebensraum, the European Great Plains will thus have five Eebensraum: the Germanic, the Slavic, the Eatin, the Hungarist and the Islamic Eebensraum. None of these will have any particular connection with the Americas, but the Islamic world will probably have the greatest contrast with the North American continent, because the USA is characterised by its materialistic civilisation and its techno-economy, while Islam is characterised by its anti-materialistic culture.

### 3. World historical context

Szálasi's conception of connationalism also draws on the relics of a world historical consciousness that provides an overview of the period from the cradle of humanity to the 1930s. Certain elements of this historical consciousness can of course be questioned. We have already indicated above that Szalasi appreciates Marx's historical materialism beyond its merits when he described the whole period from antiquity to his own time (the age of ancient imperialism, medieval universalism and feudalism, modern absolutism and liberalism, and the plutocratic development of liberalism) as an age of materialism and considered historical materialism obsolete only for the national socialist future. In some respects, however, the evidence suggests the opposite: materialism has never been so rampant, at least in the so-called developed countries, as it is today. On the contrary, looking back to the past, we find an era in which man was guided by the enormous power of morality and the spirit. One such period was the Gothic-Gothic Middle Ages. On the other hand, Szalasi's historical consciousness also contains many elements that speak of the freshness of his approach to history, his search for connections between different phenomena and, essential to the construction of an ideology, the emphasis on order among the concepts of several disciplines.

There is not space here to analyse the details of this historical conception, but it seems appropriate to highlight a few specific moments. Thus, for example, in accordance with the way in which the peasantry plays the most important role among the social classes in his system of ideas



role, and also attaches great importance to the various waves of squatters. He writes: "The first great conquest coincided with the period when peoples appeared on the stage of history. The second conquest began with the conquests of the peoples of the Migration Period, which overthrew the Roman Empire, and lasted until the first millennium. In both conquests, the peasant was the squatter, who fought with his sword and plough and provided the leadership. By the end of the feudal period following the second conquest, the Anglo-Saxon-Jewish world power had emerged, which was the pinnacle of the period in terms of culture, civilisation and technology. However, with the popular movements that began throughout Europe in the 1930s, the third conquest began, the subject of which, according to Szalasi, was the peasant, who continued to fight with arms and labour and who was also the leading layer of the struggle. This conquest, in which Ferenc Szalasi was wrong, will end in the second third of the 20th century and will lead to a new peak: the power of the nationalist and socialist European metropolis under the leadership of Berlin and Rome. Instead, it is the triumph of national socialism that is still to come, not only because the liberal American Jewish power has been decisively strengthened by the defeat of national socialism in the war, but also because the national socialist peoples who had previously played a leading role, such as the German and Italian, have turned to the path of liberal materialism and thus to opportunism and submission. (From this point of view, the national socialist aspirations that unfolded 60-80 years ago may well be seen as precursors of a future national socialist world reorganisation.) But there seems to be no doubt that the peasant is the basis of the life of a nation, and that the misery or prosperity, the suffering or happiness of a nation can ultimately be traced back to the peasantry, to the situation of the peasant. "If the intellectual, the worker, has become a proletarian," says Szalasi, "this can only have happened because the peasant has already become the proletarian of the land." Szálasi's understanding of the history of capitalism is very interesting. Unlike the Marxists, who see capitalism as a recent or modern phenomenon, in his view, and this is linked to his concept of capitalism, capitalism is a historical category that has always existed from antiquity to the present day, but with different characteristics in different periods. Thus, for example, in antiquity, when tyranny and imperialism prevailed in material, intellectual and moral terms, capitalism was represented by capitalism of the spoils, against which and for the dignity of man slave raids took place. In the Middle Ages, when feudalism prevailed, characterised by material, intellectual and moral privileges and privileges, there was what is known as 'cattle capitalism', against which and for the dignity of the land the serfs rebelled. In the modern age, liberalism, which created a material, spiritual and moral plutocracy, prevails. Its capitalism is money capitalism, and it is against this that the proletarian workers are fighting. Their struggle, according to Szalasi, is for the dignity of labour, and this struggle will lead to a new national socialist order when the proletariat becomes a national socialist working people, in which capitalism becomes national capitalism and the working nation is fulfilled in moral, spiritual and material terms. This is the great historic struggle for freedom, in which the struggle for man, for land, for labour is summed up in the struggle for the people.

According to him, the people's movement of Szálasi's era united man, land, labour and people. There is no doubt, then, that the Hungarist and Marxist visions of the future bear a certain faint resemblance, but the foundations are quite different.

Szálasi's drawing on the history of liberalism is also noteworthy. According to him, the 19th century was the century of liberalism's conquest of the world. But by the time it triumphed, it had changed profoundly. It became a tool in the hands of materialism, the economic and financial tyranny. In the wake of its success, a private economic totalitarianism unfolded, which suppressed patriotism, a sense of loyalty to the nation, a belief in racial cohesion, blood ties and

## Ferenc Szalasi: Hungarism 1 /4

did the same with religion and all other non-maternal values. Then, when it became necessary for the people to make sacrifices for the plutocrats, the "liberal masters" immediately resorted to the rhetorical cannons of patriotism and national loyalty to "work the people" (it should be mentioned that the materialist and internationalist Stalin resorted to this rhetorical device after the German invasion). However, after their victory, they immediately forgot these concepts. Let us add to this: as long as the Soviet Union existed, the propaganda in favour of 'liberal democracy' was leading people and peoples into the streets of finance capitalism, by referring to the oppressive and exploitative workings, the physical and psychological horrors of barbaric and undoubtedly at its peak tyrannical communism. After the Soviet collapse, however, the words used as bullies changed: today, by constantly accusing people of racism, neo-Nazism and anti-Semitism, and by crushing national feeling, they distract people from the threatening consequences of a liberal (by which they mean pro-freedom) and cosmopolitan world order. There is no doubt, however, that Szalasi misjudged the prospects of this liberalism, if he reckoned on its imminent demise. This explains why, in his words, liberalism would drag Marxism down with it. Whereas Marxism and its practical realisation had essentially disappeared into the abyss of history, leaving behind a single bankruptcy, the distorted liberalism seemed to have reached its heyday towards the end of the 20th century.

### F/ THE STYLE AND LANGUAGE OF YOUR LANGUAGE

We should also draw attention to the particular style of Szálasi's communication of his ideas in relation to his published studies and speeches.

1. He was obviously of the same opinion as the majority of ordinary Hungarians, i.e. that "too much talk is too much waste". Therefore, his style is extremely concise, and it is almost impossible to condense his text further. This is especially true of the political categories and basic concepts he uses. To understand his ideas, therefore, you need to go deeper. He uses, for example, the brief but highly expressive concept of the Homeland. Geographically, this Ancient Land means the so-called Carpathian-Danube basin, emotionally it means the Great Land embraced by the Carpathians, the historical Hungaria, the reality that has been fragmented since Trianon, the ancient land in danger, the reconstruction and reintegration of which Szálasi considered the main political task.

2. There is no doubt that Szálasi can be considered a linguistic innovator in the field of political terminology. This is already implied by the term 'Ancient Land', but also by the fact that he adds the word 'reality' to the political terms he uses in order to distance himself from demagogy. This is how terms such as 'nationhood', 'bloodhood', etc. were coined in Szalasi's political dictionary.

3. When creating the new concepts, Szálasi consciously strove to ensure that the linguistic form of the concept reflected the spirit of the Hungarian language, which is also expressed in, for example, sensual imagery. I am thinking of expressions such as 'job-secure homeland' (which refers to a country where secure employment is a class privilege for everyone), or 'a people with a strong sense of their homeland and roots in the soil' (as mentioned above), or the so-called 'homeland of the people' (which has so unexpectedly burst into the public consciousness today). The term 'industrial peace', a term that has so recently come into the public consciousness, refers to a negotiated agreement between employers and workers, to economic cooperation between employers and workers, and above all to the avoidance of strikes and other forms of class struggle. It would not be uninteresting to go through Szalasi's writings and recorded speeches with that aim in mind,

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to write down the words and expressions that he created.

4. It is noteworthy that Szálasi's linguistic innovations are most closely linked to the most distinctive elements of his ideology. To give just one example: it is well known how quickly the so-called utilitarianism, the utilitarianism, spread across Europe, coming mainly from England some 200 years ago (Széchenyi's thought was also decisively influenced by it, and the most references to this are found in the *Hitel*, Széchenyi's most contemporary work.) In continental Europe, however, utilitarianism had a moral charge, especially in the early days, e.g. in Széchenyi's time, in connection with the view that what is truly useful is that which is useful to many, to the community, or that which is not formed at the expense of others. This conception of utility is quite different from the materialistic, 'squid-minded' conception of utility built on money, on this abstract and quantifiable 'measure of value', the view of Shylock, whose image inspired Marx's view of the dirty Jewish essence of capitalism. It was no accident, then, that Szalasi used the word 'good' instead of 'profit'. The unusual vocabulary of the term is only an apparent multiplication of words, i.e. it is a succinct expression of Ferenc Szalasi's moral ideology, which is so different from the worldviews and concepts that are so fashionable today.

5. It is also a "stickler principle" of Hungarism that if there is a way to use words, they should be Hungarian in terms of the vocabulary used, i.e. if there are several words with the same or related meanings to designate a phenomenon or concept, then choose words of Hungarian origin, but at least with a Hungarian sound, even if the Greek or Latin word is well known, but there are also Hungarian words with the same meaning to designate the given concept.

6. Szalasi was also very concerned about the content of the terms used in political life. In the context of party education, for example, he published a list of incorrectly and correctly used versions of some terms. Thus, for example, instead of 'Christian national', he proposed 'Hungarian national', saying that the word 'Christian' should only be used in the sense of 'Christian'.

makes sense in a religious-ecclesiastical context, but not in a political one. (In practice, the word 'Christian' was used as a subtle substitute for 'gentile'.) De helytelen a 'jobbaldali', 'szélsőjobbaldali' kifejezés is a "nemzeti szocialista" helyett, a "nyilas mozgalom" a "Hungarista Mozgalom" helyett (a nyilaskereszt ui. mint Szent László egykori hadijelvénye csupán szimbolum, míg a 'hungarizmus' elnevezés tartalmi, sőt a lényegre utaló fogalom), az 'orosz' szó használata a "szovjet" helyett (minthogy a hungarizmus nem az orosz nép, hanem a szovjet rendszer, ill. (as Hungarism sees command rule, dictatorship, as a method for the rapid introduction of a new order, while it rightly sees authority based on formal authority as a precondition for a lasting order), the word 'collective' instead of 'communal' (as the collective is also an expression of impersonality), etc.

7. The conciseness of his style is also related to the fact that he regularly uses certain concepts together, without explaining the connections between them, the reason for their use. To the superficial observer, this might give the impression that Szálasi is a word multiplier. The reality is that he tries to be comprehensive and uses only those terms in a bundle that have a permanent link in the context. Such bundles of concepts are therefore not filler terms, but a means of synthetic compression. The most commonly used concept clusters are triads, or conceptual triplets. These are generally found in this volume, as they are not primarily rhetorical

tools, but also the building blocks of the Hungarist ideal, as described above. A possible example of their grouping is shown below:

On the link between the absolute of existence and the ultimate goal of Hungarism: God, Country, Nation or the fear of God and country, love of nation. On the core values of moral personality: faith and trust (e.g. in God, in the future, in our fellow human beings, in our comrades, in ourselves). Loyalty (to comrades, to the ideal, to our word, etc.), endurance (enduring hardship), sacrifice. On the moral plane of the relationship between the "I" and the "we": comradeship (solidarity, giving help), honour. On the link between reason and morality: faith, loyalty, comradeship and wisdom, or: heroic outlook on life and common sense (the latter is a plexus of dirty comfort and opportunistic cowardice). More specifically: family, justice, welfare of the people. (The phonak of the same: kiss, smudge, gold or money.) Concerning the value-producing activity and achievement of man (which is most closely related to the meaning of man's existence and to general development and thus to the principles of Hungarism): moral, spiritual, material. (This can be related to the dimensions of the existence of the individual human being: the moral personality as an immortal soul, the spiritual-mental processes and the body, but it can also be related to the community as: public morality, public spirit and the welfare of the people.) In relation to the forms, arrangements and institutions of popular life: political, social, economic or nation, life, justice (the latter as eternal values contrasted with their instrumental, changing pair of values: constitution, law, justice). In relation to fundamental cultural values: beautiful, good, just. In relation to human subsistence: security of life, livelihood, well-being. In relation to the fulfilment of duty and the enjoyment of rights (especially in relation to work): work, law, respect. For the structuring of the world of work: planning, management, working. With particular reference to freedom as a fundamental political value:

freedom, independence, autonomy or (in the context of political revolutionary transformation); new truth, reality, freedom. In relation to the structure of society: family, locality (place of residence), factory or ethno-national: people (group of people, people-personality), nation, commonwealth. For the relationship between the latter: life, companionship and community of fate (identity of destiny). For the relationship between life and its space: homeland (territory), homeland, living space, large space, earth, globe. In relation to the relations within the great space, the commonwealth: cultural, civilisational and techno-economic. On the side of the spiritual process of political action: knowledge, will, action, or: belief, will, action. Concerning the end of political action: progress, happiness, and justice as the prerequisite of public happiness; or (in general, the nation's) greatness, glory, happiness. Concerning the composition (integrality) of the ideology itself: Christian morality, nationalism, socialism, or its distorted forms: statist dogmatism, chauvinism, materialism. In relation to the general political, social, intellectual (cultural) and economic (then supplemented by physical military struggle) aim of the struggle (struggle for freedom, war), the opponent (enemy): Freemason, Jew (Judaic, Judeo-Christian), Marxist, liberal (plutocratic), sometimes: pseudo-nationalist, etc., etc.

G/ FINISH:

#### THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF HUNGARIANISM

It has been a long time since the birth of Hungarism, the unfolding of Hungarism, the Hungarist takeover and the terrible reprisals, the execution, imprisonment and martyrdom of Hungarists. Since then, the Hungarian people have had to live through a whole historical period, through decades of Soviet occupation and Communist tyranny, and since then, a turnaround called regime change has taken place, during which the Hungarian people have been transferred from the Moscow conveyor belt to the

Washington and Brussels on the surface, and the international capitalist media power at the bottom. The limits of this regime change are illustrated by the fact that the recently adopted so-called screening law still (after more than half a century!) seeks to single out former members of the Arrow Cross Party for special stigmatisation. And among those who voted for this law are a distinguished number of politicians who claim to be 'Christian nationalists'. As if Christianity had nothing to do morally with forgiveness, or legally with the statute of limitations. We should not be particularly surprised by all this, of course, since it was also "Christian national" politicians who in 1992 introduced the so-called "law for the protection of the unborn", under the cover of which the unscrupulous and industrialised foeticide of the Kádár era continued in our sweet country, with the "blessing" of those who, on the grounds of human rights, prevented the hanging of murderers and other criminals.

The euphoria that characterized the majority of Hungarian society in the years 1988-1991 can only be understood by those who lived through the era of the communist dictatorship, which was always fearful in its repressive institutions and by the end had softened completely in its political practices (and was preparing for a kind of "regime change" with its violent organs): the terror with which the regime started, the tyranny of the regime, which was organised in a way unprecedented in history and which affected all aspects of life: hanging, imprisonment, honour-tripping or spine-bending, and finally the so-called 'regime of the rule of the people'. The moral and spiritual crippling effect of the socialism of the friesian, the goulash communism on society, the spiritual and characterlessness of practical materialism, of selfish and opportunistic careerism, the long institutionalised lack of human freedom and dignity. This euphoria, due to the aforementioned soul-poisoning effect of the late-Kadar era, naturally did not reach as broad a section of the people as the 1956 revolution and national liberation struggle, but in those who had themselves experienced the total authoritarianism of which Gyula Illyés wrote with the precision of a medical visionary: "where there is tyranny, there ... everyone's eye is in chains,..... he tells you who you were, and your dust serves him", could only be aroused by the newborn freedom of political expression and organisation, the inglorious expulsion from our country of the Soviet forces that occupied our country, the Bolshevising, blood-shedding struggle for freedom, the proclamation of so-called democracy and market economy, and the awakening of the Hungarian nation in the Carpathian Basin.

Then slowly the cataracts came off our eyes. Not that the siren voices that blare "It was better under Kádár" are right, because it was unacceptably bad for the nation to be the underdog province of a diabolical empire. But it has proved that this way, the way of the 1990s, is not right either. The bulk of the former communist (now largely careerist technobureaucrat) ruling class was transformed into a bourgeoisie, and did so by retaining most of the economic, cultural and even political leadership in our country, mainly in the service of foreign interests. In parallel with this, and with the operation of the three usury circles described by Gyula Tellér, and with the influencing activities of the international judeocracy, the latest colonisation of Hungary took place: the capital and opinion-regulating power, which aspired to global domination, brought Hungary into its sphere of subordination. Nor can we really say that the so-called Hungarians beyond the borders have finally been put in a more favourable position - just think of the March of Târgu Mures in 1990 or the treaties that have been signed and remain written. The best we can conclude is that it is not in a relatively worse position. Of course, there are positive signs, such as the break-up of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in the external context, or the youthful and, on the whole, more favourable action of the Orbán government than previous governments in the internal context, and, for example, its family policy in particular.

Ultimately, the question is: does what has happened since 1945, in essence, in historical perspective, justify Hungarism or not? Over the last 55 years, the

the Hungarian people and of course their narrower and wider environment, the so-called world at large, have undergone such a manifold change that if a person who is not well-informed in the issues of Hungarism, and who is a typical Hungarian, picks up the works of Ferenc Szálasi, the best thing he will think about these studies and speeches before he starts reading is that he will encounter something very old-fashioned, a kind of "pre-flood" thoughts, because how much science, technology, society, etc. And the average informed (or uninformed) reader will be surprised.

Because everything that the martyr leader of the Nation said about the fundamental manifestations of the "1", the unity of the person, the integration of these manifestations, and thus about the values of religion, Christian morality, the national way of thinking, culture, the need for a community, social approach and institutional set-up, or about the role of work and the family, is still true today, still relevant today. We, who have experienced the many modalities of communist state capitalism, but have also experienced the practice of the original accumulation of capital, of capitalism in the Wild East, and have not forgotten the workers' councils of 1956, are right to give the Hungarist doctrine of the social-national, of forms of management and work that apply freedom and solidarity simultaneously, of the relationship between the public and the private interest. Although Szalasi did not call himself a democrat (because he did not find the rule of the majority over the minority acceptable), the fact that he defined the foundations of state-building in the law of the supremacy of the people, in constitutionalism developed in the national interest, in laws and justice adapted to truth and life, and rejected self-serving and permanent dictatorship, shows him to be a thinker in whom people with so-called democratic sensibilities can respect as a 'true democrat'. What Hungarism says about the racial factor, about the conceptual difference between people and nation, is undoubtedly unusual in today's public thinking, but even today the theory of the relationship between nation and state, for example, is still undeveloped. All this, however, can hardly require anything other than further clarifying research. The ultimate goal of Hungarism, the restoration of the state unity of the Carpathian-Danube basin and the leading role of Hungarians in this unity is a vision that is supported by all reason, but also by the Hungarian heart.

We consider everything that Szalasi said about the commonwealth of nations, about so-called connectionism and the unacceptability of colonialism in this context, about the resources of the Earth, its wealth and the dutiful cooperation of nations to be equally worthy of consideration. Today, there are two dangerous trends, which are primarily based on the so-called "colonialism". In the long term, they threaten the very existence of humanity: The first is the depletion, pollution and destruction of the natural environment, and the second is the dramatic decline in the birth rate among white peoples in general and Hungarians in particular (which, through the extraordinary increase in the coloured population of so-called underdeveloped areas, threatens to upset the balance of the human species, to bring about a new, unprecedented migration of people and the destruction of the white race and its culture, and which seems to us to be bringing our race into a particularly painful danger of extinction). At the time of the birth of Hungarism, these dangers were not yet discernible, but Szalasi saw the factors which lay at the bottom of these dangerous trends. These factors were:

materialism, the inversion of the correct order of moral, spiritual and material values. And a particularly sinister factor is the disappearance of the peasantry, a force that has played a decisive role in the survival of peoples and which has been able to counteract the harmful effects. For the real force that sustains the nation, as Szalasi proclaimed, is the peasantry with its way of life, its morality, its culture, its reality linked to blood and clot.

## Ferenc Szalasi: Hungarism 1 /4

Taken as a whole, the Hungarist version of Christian National Socialism is the historical high point of Hungarian political philosophy. It integrates the Arpadian conquest of Hungary, the (Latin) Christian foundation of the state at Szentistván, the defence and propagation of higher values at Szentlászló, the pioneering elements of the Hungarian constitution at the time of their creation (the Golden Bull, Werbőczy's Tripartite, the forty-eighth constitution, etc.), and the Hungarian constitution at the time of the founding of the state at Szentistván. It is an organic continuation of the struggle for existence and the freedom of the Hungarian people and nation, the life's work of the Zrinyi, Rakoczi and Kossuth, and offers a complete system of ideas and a world view of Christian morality, based on the principles of nationalist outlook and action and the socio-social system indicated by the socio-national, and in the idea of Pax Hungarica and nationalism it sets out the goal that the Hungarian nation, or rather the Hungarian nation, should pursue, the peoples and nations of the world must keep in mind if they wish to achieve peace, harmony and happiness in their lives. The uninformed reader of today's Szalasi and Hungarism hardly knows anything about this. What is usually discussed in connection with Szalasi is the world war he lost and the suffering of the Jews during that war. In material terms, the war was indeed lost by Szalasi and Hungarism, and there is no doubt that European Jewry also suffered in this war of the greatest magnitude in history. But it is also true that Szalasi only saw international Judeocracy, which played a decisive role in provoking the world war, as his enemy, and Zionism, which sought to build a Jewish homeland in Palestine, as useful to the aspirations of Hungarism. As for the world war, Hungarism did not lose it in a moral sense!

Not just because he had no role in starting it. Nor was it because he consistently continued to fight against the invading Soviet forces, against Bolshevism, in defence of the Hungarian people, of Hungarian women, of the Hungarian nation.

April 2000, Gyula Ungvári SZÁLASI

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THE BASIC TENETS OF THE IDEOLOGY OF HUNGARIANISM IN THE PRE-6 JULY 1938  
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PURPOSE AND CLAIMS WAY AND

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"God has given, Life has confirmed, the People sanctify, this Trinity executes! "DAY All power comes from the people.

The sovereignty of the people is original, the sovereignty of the state derives from it. The sovereignty of the people, in the form of a state power, transmits its living will to its chosen one, in order to secure and protect the interests of the sovereignty of the people in its internal and external aspects; it gives it the power to exercise rights, and, on the other hand, entrusts it with the administration of the state, imposing upon it duties.

The whole system of the state is governed by politics. The plans generated by politics are implemented by the whole organisation of the state. The moral, spiritual and material fruits of the implementation are shared by the state power and the individual, according to just laws articulated in or rooted in the constitution.

Politics is an art. Its constituent elements are: the historical, geographical, resource, people and socio-legal situation of the state, and a single skull that sees in time, based on the correct recognition of the facts;

What the state's vocation is, what goal it can set as a consequence of this, or what goal it must set out of necessity for the sake of its state-making elements: this is the state's goal; how, by what means, in what way, in what order and when to achieve the end, how to organise, build, develop and bring to fruition the means to achieve the end: this is the life of the State.

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The purpose of the state and the life of the state must complement each other in an organic way, they must go hand in hand. The law of this organised parallelism is a living, rational and purposeful law, the working garment of the state: the constitution. On this foundation is built the house of the glory, greatness and happiness of the State as a whole.

There is only one politician in the state: the leading politician, who universally administers the life of the state according to the state's objectives. The other professionals are.

The leading politician is the first servant of the state, the first worker in the pursuit of the state's purpose. He plans, structures and sets in motion the machinery of the state.

The state's goal must be a public goal and a public will, which is why it must become public. It must be public, like the cry for the daily bread: Our Father, Who art!

### HUNGARISM

The sovereignty of the state is the purpose of the state. A correctly identified state goal is a political testament, which the leading politician leaves to his successor.

The aim of the state should always be moral and practical: realistic in subjective terms in the internal life of the state, and internationally acceptable and necessary in material terms. It must have a spiritual-ethical and a material-ethical aspect.

The morality of the state is expressed in the social structure of the state, which is pervasive for the individual. What the state ethic permits is that of the individual in all his being.

Because of the one-sided life struggles of the people, it cannot put social ideals into practice. The source of the social ideal is state power as the objective expression of popular sovereignty.

Only an objective state power can consider how the subject people should act in the public and self-interest. The state power must govern in a bound and binding manner. Its binding nature is laid down in the constitution, and within the bounds of this governance the people must act voluntarily and freely.

The Party of the Will of the Nation (NAP) enshrines the theoretical and practical meaning of social ideals in its state system in the following principle:

Socialism is the system of the community of peoples in which they base their moral, spiritual and material life on the fulfilment of their duties, based on pure action, born of conscious faith and demanded by the State authorities, in order to acquire the right to conduct their public and individual lives in a dignified manner.

In socialism, an actual, full duty should give rise to an actual, full right and vice versa: an actual, full right should lead to an actual, full duty.

The NAP wants to recreate the Ancient Land. The vocation of the Motherland:

A balance of power between East and West, North and South, in whose majesty different peoples form a superior nation, required by God and nature, to secure the peace and landed power of Europe.

From the vocation of the Motherland, the NAP has created the purpose of the state:

The construction, organisation, central management and administration of the HUNGARIAN UNITED FOLDS, a political, economic and social, organically interconnected state territory, under Hungarian sovereignty, extending from the Carpathian belt to the Adriatic coast, with self-governing powers as laid down in the new constitution, to be formed from the union of the constituent parts of the HUNGARIAN REPUBLIC, with shared executive power, so that its peoples, in the unity of the state

1. consider and accept the community of States as necessary, and want the creation of a united Nation and Homeland with the constitutional guarantee of the freedom of popular culture;

2. defend the commonwealth with a common will;

3. only in this way alone could they see their moral, spiritual and material prosperity secured; the recognition of the United Lands thus established by England, Germany, Italy, by Poland and Russia through international treaties securing the United Lands as a free, independent, indivisible territory free from occupation and encroachment for the benefit of each other and the sovereignty of the United Lands.



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The United Lands of Hungaria form a higher state system, which is created by the common interest of the directly interested Sublands: Hungary, Toth, Ruthenia, Transylvania, Croatia-Slavonia and Western Hungary. For its constitutional constitution, the common will of the Lands is sufficient to establish the formation of the State

is manifested in the interest of. The will of the peoples of the Part Lands is a necessary precondition, the will of the interested foreign country is desirable but not a precondition. The NAP wants to and will achieve the goal of the state, and is an honest, righteous and uncompromising fighter in the pursuit of this goal. It will immediately and courageously begin the work necessary to achieve the State's objective without delay. It is his conviction that the course of life will grace at most one more generation of the peoples of the Homeland, but that we shall perish if we do not immediately set about the task of achieving the State's goal.

This is the basis of the sovereignty of the United Lands of Hungary: "God has given, Life has confirmed, the People sanctify, this Trinity executes! "

"God has given": he has given the geography, the resources and the people, which cannot be changed by human power, which cannot be torn apart, which cannot be abused. They are eternal. They are eternal. They are eternal landmarks and hereditary paths on which the peoples of the Old Country must travel, on which their statehood must be built, which compel them to obey God's commanding, eternal, hand- given laws.

"Life has confirmed": the gifts of God have been confirmed by the events of the millennia, especially of the last millennium: the historical and social lessons of life. Human weakness has corrupted and dissipated these forces, but it cannot destroy them. They have remained unchanged, those forces that compel the peoples of the Old Country to rebuild what they have destroyed in their weakness and short-sightedness, by systematically and organically combining the laws that radiate from their heredity, on the basis of the lessons they have learned from life's experiences. Life has confirmed that the conditions of life in the Carpathian basin make the Totians, the Ruthenians, the Romanians and Saxons of Transylvania, the Croats and Slavs, the Germans of the western extremities, different men from their brothers and sisters. This is fact and law. Life has strengthened the solidarity of the peoples of the Ancient Land in historical, political, economic, social and societal terms. The barrenness of the present is the best proof of life's infallible findings.

"The People sanctify": all statehood is sanctified by the people. For centuries, the peoples of the Old Country have sanctified, by their spiritual, material and blood sacrifice, by their spiritual and material well-being, the gifts of God and what life has confirmed. The sovereignty of the United Lands of Hungaria should confirm this historic sanctification in its new constitution by referendum, so that human weakness and short-sightedness on the part of the peoples of the Old Country may not once again give rise to fatal, unnatural and fatal decisions which have brought about the ruin of all the peoples of the Old Country without exception.

"This Trinity shall execute": what God has given, Life has confirmed, the People have sanctified, let the common and viable power of the State, which constitutes this Trinity, be executed. The State power receives its instructions for the government of the State from God, its laws from Life, its will to govern from the People, and must therefore be built on the Trinity if it is to do its work of blessing.

The NAP summarised its popular supremacist basis in its badge, which reads.

"God, peasant, citizen and soldier!" God is for all of us, the peasant is the bread of all of us, the citizen is the lobby of the peoples of the State and the public subject of the State, the soldier defends everything: God, peasant, citizen, State.

This is the basis of the sovereignty of the United Lands of Hungary: "I give to give!"

"Giving": the State power assumes the obligation to grant to all its constitutional subjects the possibility of moral, spiritual and material enrichment, but in accordance with the public interest. The State power is aware that the individual's primordial instincts are subsistence,

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in terms of acquisition and accumulation of wealth, faith and self-consciousness, cannot and must not be eradicated; but it must guard against individual life becoming a blindness of gain, faith and selfishness, and thus a cause of social misery and a grave-digger of statehood.

"To give": the supremacy of the people must grant to the state power the rights on the basis of which the state can honestly assume the defence of the interests deriving from the supremacy of the people. He who does not give, does not receive; he who does not give life, does not receive life, whether it be the life or the existence of the individual or of the State. The great state and individual struggles of practical life know no other interrelationship between state power and the individual, nor can they. This is a fundamental law.

The sovereign base of the NAP was created from the initials of the words of the sovereignty of the people, which transforms the letters "HIT" of the runic script into the cross of the Motherland.

The NAP finalized its major work plan and its demands for the rescue and reconstruction of the Primeval Land in 1931. Whoever is indifferent to this sacred goal should not prevent the implementation of this plan, because he is not in conflict with the Party, but with life, which knows no other solution, no other unfolding; it demands it, forces it, and therefore crushes the opponent mercilessly.

The plan requires everyone to fulfil the same obligations and gives everyone the same rights. Principle: first the fulfilment of duties, then the enjoyment of rights. The state is seen as an organic living reality and not as an abstract concept. It is based as little on individual interest as on the masses. It wants the interaction of the interests of the State and the interests of the people, of the people and the State! It radically breaks with the old, outdated principle of giving unilateral priority to the enjoyment of rights over the fulfilment of duties.

The NAP is the governing, guiding and protecting body for the implementation of the plan. Having formulated the whole plan, having moulded it into an unassailable, frictionless system, it alone assumes responsibility for its implementation, its correctness and its effectiveness, and demands that the party alone be given the fullest power necessary for the implementation of the plan, because the other parties cannot solve the task of the Homeland as God has assigned it. The fifteen years that have elapsed prove it.

NAP is for the whole of the Ancient Land, Bosnia, Dalmatia and Slavonia. It is open to all sons of all peoples of the Ancient Land who want to build the United Lands of Hungaria.

The NAP flies the flag for the implementation of its plan, for the glory, happiness and greatness of the state and the individual. It demands trust for honour, patriotism for loyalty. With fanatical, holy faith and conviction, we set out to save the Motherland, to inaugurate a new historical era

"In the name of God, peasant, citizen and soldier!"

and we will not stop until we reach our great goal!

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### BASIC PLAN AND CLAIMS

"I give to give! He who does not give, does not receive!" NAP

1. We want and demand the renewal, reconstruction, reorganization and integrally connected unified management of the state, national, ethnic, moral, spiritual, social, political, economic and state defence of the Motherland.

1. Article.

2. We want and we demand the annulment of the Trianon Treaty, the rearrangement of the question of the Ancestral Lands on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination and the principle that they should give and leave to the Ancestral Lands what is theirs, so that they can give and leave to the other lands what is theirs.

3. We want and demand a constitutional solution to the question of the Homeland on our own, in partnership with the peoples directly concerned.

4. We want and demand the construction and organization of a constitutional body of state, a community of companionship and destiny of the United Lands of Hungaria, and central state control of the Land of Hungary; the political and economic self-government of Hungary, Ruthenia, Transylvania, Croatia, Slavonia and Western Hungary within the state system of the United Hungaria based on the recognition of the historical, geographical, land, economic, constitutional and social community of destiny of the Ancient Land, and the participation of the Land and the Ruthenia in the unified state governance as laid down in the new constitution.

5. We want and we demand that the state power of the truncated Hungary should consider the happiness, glory, vital interest, moral and material well-being, prosperity and the realization of the state's goal to be the sole and exclusive guide for the people of the Motherland in all its actions; that we should reject the interference of foreign countries in all cases where they seek to prevent the realization of the plan.

11. Article.

6. We want and demand a new constitutional structure, the adoption and ratification of a new constitutional law based on the free expression of the will of the nation.

7. We want and demand the political, economic and social structure of the state and the constitutional system to be adapted to the eternal nature, the primordial source and the primordial nature of the agricultural production of the Ancestral Land. We want a peasant state with a high degree of industry, not a low degree of industry with peasants.

8. We want and demand universal, secret, equal and compulsory suffrage for both sexes, the independence of voting from state power, freedom of the individual to express his or her will, and the expression of the will of those entitled to vote by referendum on the new constitution, the form of government, the head of state and the imperialist government.

9. We want and demand a temporary, provisional, constitutional solution of the form of government, of the question of the head of state, for the fragmented Hungary, within a definite period of time, and a definitive, unambiguous solution when the United Lands of Hungary are united. We will make the questions of the form of government and the head of state a state question, we will not let them drown in the self-servingness of party questions.

10. We want and demand that the fate, direction, management and organization of the State be placed in the hands of a ten-year elected Nader, and that he be given the most complete authority, the right of extraordinary and exceptional power, for the first ten years.

without constitutional constraints; the constitutional establishment and installation of the State General Council as the supreme and principal governing and executive organ of the State.

11. We want and demand the constitutional and timely establishment and organisation of a representative body with economic self-government, its organic integration into state power, and the abolition of the present self-serving and sterile party politics of the stunted Magyarfold.

12. We want and demand the establishment of a constitutional court with exclusive power to conduct votes, constitutionally independent of state power, to organise and establish it as the first, supreme and final state control body of the factors of state supremacy; the modern, universal organisation and reconstruction of the judiciary, the judiciary, the judiciary.

13. We want and demand the universal organisation of the state and self-governments based on the new constitution, based on the principle of centralised management and shared implementation, and the purging of politics, the establishment of a specialised management in each administration, the constitutionalisation of these matters; the definitive constitutional settlement of the social questions of public servants, the question of seniority, pay and pensions, on the strict principle of the non-political nature of public servants.

14. We want and demand the creation of a new middle class, rooted in the roots of the mother country, called upon to lead the state, a purified, noble, national and people-conscious middle class, with legal restrictions on the succession of privileges acquired for personal merit. We demand the curbing of immigration and emigration and the repatriation of our emigrated blood.

### III. Article.

15. We want and demand the complete non-politicization of the individual religions, the declared educational effect of each for moral national life, the proclamation of the faith of the enjoyment of rights based on the fulfilment of duty; the abolition of the political branch of all religions, the conclusion of new concordats and contracts of faith which take into account all the interests of the State; we do not recognize any denominational heterogeneity, every citizen should be a member of one of the established or recognized religions.

16. We want and demand the establishment of the right of the child and the family, the establishment of the law, the morality and purity of family life, the possibility of its material foundation and the early foundation of a family, the more abundant and healthier blessing of the mother's sacred womb. We demand a new construction of the law of succession for the vigorous promotion of the population of the State. Illegitimate children are not recognized before law and justice, children of the same father should enjoy equal rights in name, inheritance, upbringing. All children should have a natural parental home. We want to be honest, practical fighters for the great future of our youth!

17. We want and demand a social, modern structure of public and public health care in the universal interests of the state, the reorganization of the medical faculty, the obligation to revalidate medical diplomas, the social reconstruction of patient assistance and medical treatment, the complete reorganization of the pharmaceutical industry, and the construction of healthy housing. Public health: public health!

18. We want and demand the reconstruction of public and popular education on the basis of a system of education based on practical life and duty; the placement of unemployed graduates in practical careers, their free retraining and their placement within the framework of managed agriculture. We want and demand the constitutional legalisation of the use of the Hungarian language in the administration and management of the state, and of the mother tongue in the implementation of laws and in certain administrations. The free use of the mother tongue gives a conscious soul to a

community of companions and destiny forced by fate.

19. We want and demand the building up of a national and popular literature, art and press of the Commonwealth, the extermination of indecent, immoral, subhuman, unethic literature, art and press; we demand the establishment of a University of the Press, the

press doctorate linked to newspaper ownership, editorial and staff responsibility; we call for the adoption of an International Press Law to make it impossible for nations to be mutually hostile to each other's press and for the international press to be poisoned by the well.

IV. Article.

20. We want and demand the constitutional guarantee of the primacy of the State interest, the construction of the governing, guiding, safeguarding and protecting elements of the State interest in such a way that the development and growth of the private interest and the well-being of the people as a whole are made possible by the interaction of these elements; the right of direct jurisdiction of the State power in the event of the private interest being in conflict with the universal interest of the State or endangering other necessary interests. In the state we know only freedom of interest based on law. Freedom of interest that lives in the loopholes of the law will be eradicated!

21. We want and we demand that the universality of private interest should be the constitutionally protected public property of the ancestral lands of the Ancestral Lands; We therefore demand the revocation of the settlement permits and industrial licenses issued since 1900, the review of land and property acquisitions, their new distribution or their affirmative renewal in the universal interests of the nation.

22. We want and demand a definitive constitutional settlement of the Jewish question in the interests of the State, a constitutional definition of the Jew as a race, and his proportionate participation in the life and work of the State; the cessation of Jewish immigration for ever; the expulsion from the territory of the State of those Jews who, in 1914. We demand the expulsion from the territory of the State of all Jews who have received a settlement permit, citizenship or nationality certificate after August 1, 1914, who were not in the line of battle in the world war, who violate, evade, obstruct or trifle with the laws of the State, regardless of when they settled in the Homeland; We demand the ruthless extermination of the Jewish spirit in all its manifestations, the practical construction of an uncompromising Christian spirit.

23. We want and demand a solution of the labour question on a national, social basis, with mutual protection of the interests of employer and worker, the treatment of the worker as a natural person with pension rights who benefits from the profits of the enterprise, the abolition of trade unions and strikes, and the establishment of a workers' court within the representation of interests. National work with national work legally and constitutionally protected! We want and we demand a social, universal solution to the private worker question, in relation to public employees and the labour question.

V. Article.

24. We want and demand the securing of subsistence on the basis of the natural and interest relations of the State; the lawful establishment of a rate of profit after the securing of subsistence which, on the basis of a just rate, will permit both the development of private and national property, the increase and maintenance of production, the just profit of intermediary trade, and the independent security of the economic life of the State.

That is why we want and demand it:

the creation and the law of the constitution of national economy and labour;  
the building of a national credit and working capital system as the pillars of our economic and working life;

the linking of the freedom of property to the territory of the State, the retroactive amendment of this law to 1920;

the denial of material or financial services flowing from peace treaties, the cessation of interest payments on foreign loans, a new and appropriate settlement taking into account the material and economic situation of the State and its universal interests;

gold and foreign exchange services; from its own resources, solely and exclusively with the workers of the State, the industry of the State, tire

the launch of public works carried out by the trade;  
the modern reconstruction of agriculture with the direct help and guidance of the State;  
the revival and domestication of small-scale industry, the organic interlocking of cottage industry and extensive family farming by means of direct public credit and loans, the simultaneous abolition of confectionary production and the production of large-scale industry as part of the small-scale industry;  
the organisation of private enterprise in a controlled, planned unit, its consolidation in a system of interest organisations, the organisation and nationwide establishment of state-controlled Producer and Distributor Cooperatives subordinate to the economic self-governments within a specified period, and its integration into the national commercial system of the State in connection with the reconstruction of trade;  
the building up of the agricultural industry at the expense of the artificially fuelled and developed industries which have proliferated since 1920, with their total elimination;  
the triple parallel of deployment:  
a.) the resettlement of the middle classes;  
b.) the resettlement of the peasantry;  
c.) the industrial worker's nails by installation;  
the régularisation of land tenure, the régularisation of credit tenure, the definitive solution for housing modernisation and construction at fixed intervals;  
the consolidation of the economic life of the state in interest groups, the dismantling of cartels, trusts and interest groups, the ruthless eradication of unhealthy, overworked and immoral, unjust business interests;  
shortening the path of goods from producer to consumer, based on the principle that we produce to live, and not only live to produce and accumulate material goods;  
the simplification, unification and nationalisation of transport and traffic in all its aspects;  
the conversion of the stock exchange into a commodity exchange, the abolition of futures, the abolition for all time of the bargaining and trading in the basic necessities of life for profit only;  
radical, social regulation of the prices of basic necessities of life;  
that only one salary be paid out of public and state coffers; no honoraria are known!  
the explicit and exclusive national control of our foreign trade, the decoupling of the economic security of the State from the conditions of foreign trade, and the sharing of the benefits of foreign trade between State and producer on the basis of a fair ratio;  
the conclusion of trade treaties with foreign states that run politically and economically parallel to the state objectives of the Homeland; the confiscation of property and severe imprisonment of those who exported  
fail to place their assets at the disposal of the state within a short period of time, or obstruct the grand plan of the national economy of the state.  
We want a moral link between national and individual work for the harmonious life of the state and the individual!  
25. We want and demand the building of money and credit on a solely and exclusively national basis, their removal from the dependence on self-interest and individual profit and their organic and continuous integration into the economic bloodstream of the nation. We demand the right of the state to issue money, credit and loans directly.  
26. We want and demand that the amount of banknotes to be issued should be set at the level of national needs. We demand that the universal

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the need for a general government budget to ensure the economic life of the EU should consist of the investment needs of a burden-free small economy, public finances and managed management. To the investment needs should be added the indirect investment needs: the gradual repayment of war loans and bail bonds by capital repayments on the basis of a key figure of one Crown and one Pengo.

27. We want and demand a modern reorganisation of our credit life, a merger of money and credit institutions, with state supervision and economic powers strictly limited to lending;

We want and we demand the liberation of the artificially stifled credit life, tire social regulation of interest payments.

28. We want and demand a tax system based on three pillars: public taxes to cover the needs of public finances;

the creation of social taxes by making all insurance compulsory and nationalising it in order to protect the social and economic interests of the citizens of the state;

the fair levying of taxes, in the form of a lump sum by the State on the representative bodies and by the representative bodies on the individual taxpayers, under the control of the State.

VI. Article.

29. We want and demand the organic organization of the defence of the State, under a unified direction and leadership, based on the universality of the defence of the Part Lands, in relation to the State-part of the United Lands of Hungaria, and the corresponding organization, direction, leadership, training and employment of the army. We demand equality of arms for the truncated Hungary. In the event of denial or devious delay of this equality, we demand the commencement of armament in accordance with the degree of security and requirements. In the truncated Hungary we demand a Hungarian military leadership of colour, military regulations in tune with the Hungarian people's spirit and Hungarian leaders of colour.

30. We want and demand the modern, non-political reconstruction of public security and public order, their organic and organisational integration into the system of internal defence of the state.

31. We want and demand state insurance against war invalidity for the armed population; that the war veteran should be given back his job if he remains able to work and earn; social and financial assistance for the living victims of the world war. Those who sacrifice on the altar of their country out of a sense of duty deserve every right!

32. We want and demand that the NAP be given the sole mandate to implement the plan, that it be given full and extraordinary power, that it be implemented with the sole responsibility of the party for the

HUNGARY UNITED LANDS

In the name of the greatness, glory and happiness of his constituent parts and

peoples. END VIDEO

"On the four pillars of God, peasant, citizen and soldier is built the glory, greatness and happiness of the United Lands of Hungaria!" NAP

The world war has shredded the noblest men's genes. From the shavings sprang new men, demanded by the new historical era. Men are coming who draw their whole vocation from the great world events that have put mankind on a new footing; who have the courage, the perseverance and the knowledge to take the great step without discouragement, with courage and with the conviction that the only right path is the right one.

The current structure and system of the truncated Hungary, denying the completely new human and



the need to establish a social order cannot cope with events, because it is building on foundations that have already done their duty and were the means of creating a bygone stage of development.

The most complete, rooted rebuilding on new foundations is urgently needed.

The four gates of the truncated Hungary and the Ancient Land: north and south, east and west, are the four gates of the world-shaping events. In the north and the south, in the east and the west, the peoples of the Old Country are watching how the chieftains who made the Old Country a statehood a thousand years ago are trying to forge and establish the next thousand years of the Old Country's vocation.

The vocation of the Motherland must be fulfilled by its own efforts, by using all its knowledge. It cannot be a slave to the interests of any great power. Its own life, its own existence, its own historic vocation is and should always be at stake.

The NAP is at the service of the vocation of the Ancient Land. It believes and firmly believes that only through the objective it has set itself can the Mother Earth acquire a meaning of life, a vocation on earth, and that only in this can it find an eternal basis in the history of Europe;

confesses and believes with strong faith that the Motherland can only fulfil its historic vocation as the United Lands of Hungaria, that only in this way can it be reunited, that only in this way can it resist the events which seek to destroy the unity of God and nature and the common destiny of its peoples;

believes and firmly believes that only the implementation of the new constitution and work plan it has drawn up, and its rapid and systematic transposition into the practical life of the state, can ensure the effective and harmonious life and survival of the peoples of the Motherland.

The NAP plan is a unique, rock-solid pillar on which everyone, all the peoples of the Homeland, can rely and build without fear, apprehension, suspicion or envy.

By adopting the plan, everyone makes a sacred commitment to carry out the reconstruction work. From this sacred commitment flows the pure right of all to the pure performance of their duty, which legitimates, secures and protects their rightful place in the sacred work of reconstruction.

The NAP plan is the plan of action! The comprehensive and coherent basic plan of the NAP is "God, peasant, citizen and soldier!"

is setting out on a new, historic journey. We will stick to the plan, we swear:

"God, peasant, citizen and soldier, help us all!" People of the motherland, bravely choose, decide and fight for the

**HUNGARY FOR THE GREATNESS, GLORY AND HAPPINESS OF THE UNITED PEOPLE'S STATES! SO BE IT, FOR SO IT MUST BE!**

The motto of the historical struggle is: "Better a hero for a moment than a slave for a lifetime!" **THE PARTY OF THE WILL OF THE NATION**

Budapest, March 1935.

#### **JOURNEY AND DESTINATION FOREWORD**

Today's Hungarian political parties all bear the voluntary stigma of the post-war humiliation of Hungarians, of Bonecountry. Their programme reaches at most to a yearning for revision. It does not, however, organically encompass what it intends to do with the territories that have been torn away from us and their populations. In short, each programme is as bleak today as our bleak situation; each party is merely a current enthusiasm and not the way of the future. Practical politics has become equated with momentary assertion and not a determination, a manly pledge of the doings of the eternal Hungarian vocation.

No political movement has ever received as many attacks as the Hungarism of Hungarian National Socialism. This is not disappointing, because it shows that the national socialism of Hungarism is different from the nationalism of all other parties. We cannot be

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in view of the political envy of the outdated parties, and the fact that our nationalist socialism and socialist nationalism will be subject to further attacks should not change our honest confession. We do not care! We know that our Hungarism is the only correct one, because we have not tailored it to the mutilated Hungarians, but we are building the historic and inviolable vocation of Hungarians, the frontiers of a worthy future. And because it is such, it is our duty to stand firm. Today's frightened interests and envious political speeches and friendly good advice will disappear at the rebirth of the Nation in the folk community of the Carpathian-Danube people. For Hungary the Nation, for the Nation socialism, for socialism all of us! The unity of the Nation is the working structure of socialism! Liberalism is the freedom of the strong, Hungarism is the freedom of all! Work, strength, peace, empire: Hungary! Our goal is Hungaria, our path is Hungarian National Socialism! We do honour, our means is order! Will one: the Nation, power one: the movement, ruler one: the Nation!

Our vocation is order, our struggle is the movement, our victory is Hungarism! It is not the powerful who persecute, but the one who is persecuted!

These words mean clarity. Our nationalism is not the political nationalism that has been so often worn out, our nationalism is the vocation of the Nation today and tomorrow. Our socialism is not the class struggle of Marxism, but the working peace of the social strata within the bosom of the Nation. And because everyone today believes in the historic vocation of our movement, and because everyone yearns for national reconciliation between the different social strata, we have a new and insurmountable movement. This faith of everyone is burning and shining in our fighters: in the new Hungarian peasant, the new Hungarian worker, the new Hungarian woman, the new Hungarian youth and the new Hungarian intelligentsia, the new Hungarian soldier and all our brother nations.

Mihály Vörösmarty gives the alarm and responsibility of our fighters:

"Thou art fair, O Hon; the rivers of the land, the valleys, in thy rich bosom, are changing Thy fields are flowing with the four streams of the land,

But all this is a gift from nature:

Only the holy will of your sons can make you great!"

Because "It is not the villages and towns that make the nation, but the men!" Brothers and sisters, to win our Movement we need three:

HIT! HAZZERETET! MISSING!

### HUNGARIANISM = PAX HUNGARICA

The soul, content, structure and reality of Hungarian National Socialism: Hungarism. Hungarism is the Hungarian practice of the National Socialist worldview and Zeitgeist. Hungarism is an ideological system.

Not Hitlerism, not Fascism, not anti-Semitism, but Hungarism.

Hungarism: freedom without liberty; justice without pharisaism; help and assistance; authority and totality based on mutual respect; law and order.

Hungarism is a worshiper of God and a believer in Christ; it does not tolerate denial of God, mockery of Christ, and denial of religion. It has one morality and one practice.

Freedom for some: liberalism, a system of violence Freedom for all: Hungarism, a system of Order!

The system of liberalism is based on: money, kissing, bluster. The basis of the system of Hungarism: welfare, morality, justice.

Hungarism for the indigenous and rooted ethnic families of the Carpathian-Danube Hont and Hazât

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gives, sanctifies, secures, protects; and the moral, spiritual, material, political, social and economic unity of these, in the reality of the Countries of the Holy Crown of Hungary. Hungarism is the defender of the members of a family of people scattered all over the world, forced to emigrate because of bread shortages. It is their right and duty to be repatriated to the Great Homeland. No Trianon!

Referendum for the unification and unity of the Hungarian Empire's people! The decision can only be sanctioned by the free expression of the will of the brother nations.

The referendum will sanction, guarantee and protect the moral, spiritual and material well-being of the ethnic families living in the Carpathian-Danube area under the authority of the Hungarian nation: Pax Hungarica! Pax Hungarica: moral, spiritual and material order in nationalist socialism and socialist nationalism.

Cultural autonomy for our sister nations in our loyalty system: language, schools, education; local government administration and judiciary; economic self-government within local government.

Hungarism is a system of moral, spiritual, material, political, social, economic authority with individual responsibility.

Hungarism means a socialist nation, nationalist socialism. Its socialism is social-nationalism, its nationalism is the reality of the fate and community of blood within the borders of the Great Homeland. From the conscious nationalist and socialist service of the Fatherland springs the individual's well-being, the bread of work.

The power of the State is the moral, spiritual and material service of the reality and content of the Homeland, of the community of the people. The State is an instrument in the service of the Fatherland and the Nation.

The Jew: a non-denominational and non-coerced breed. Israelite: a denomination not bound to a race and not forced. Israelite Jew: a racially religious race.

There is a constructive and a destructive element. Constructive is the native, down-to-earth person. The Jew is only a race, he cannot be a Nation, he is not a native, he is not rooted in the soil, he is destructive.

The goal of Hungarism's state-building: the construction of an industrialised, highly developed Hungarian national socialist peasant state.

The peasant state is based on the moral, spiritual and material order of the village community. We will not pay any more carnage!

The material order of Hungarism consists of the national economy and the work order. Its ideological basis: the social-national. In the moral and intellectual construction of our material life, the social-nationalist system protects the community of the people from internal and external imperialist aspirations.

National economy is based on private economy. Private economy is based on socialist free enterprise. It is socialist because it is an obligation to the community of the people; it is free enterprise because every Hungarian citizen with full rights can participate in national economy according to his or her talents.

Working hours: compulsory work, the relationship between worker and employer, the legal regulation of work enforcement, work regulation, health and safety at work and work ethics under the Labour Constitution.

In Hungarism, our intellectuals are the leaders and guides, the worker is the nation-builder, the peasant the nation-keeper, the soldier the defender of the nation, the woman, child and youth the pledge of the immortality of national life. The army is the executive instrument of the armed Nation and protects the commonwealth against armed imperialist attacks.

Hungarism avoids war, but it does not shrink from defending its moral, spiritual and material values and interests with all its means, all its strength and all its determination. Its foreign policy is based on the principle and practice of internationalism and connectionism. It fights together with those states living under national socialist regimes, which complement its moral, spiritual, material and political, social and economic life and which are the Hungarian

together with the homeland and homeland of the community of nations, form a single organic area of interest. Hungarism defends and attacks! It defends the commonwealth and national socialism, and attacks the enemies of the commonwealth and national socialism. In its defence it is vigorous, in its attack it is merciless. It asks for no mercy and gives none.

Hungarism: faith, obedience, fight!

Hungarism: Pax Hungarica! Hungarian Peace for the families of the Danube Basin, embraced by the Carpathians, who can believe, obey and fight!

Hang in there!

## 1. HUNGARIANISM - PAX HUNGARICA

Hungarism is an ideological system. The Hungarian practice of the National Socialist worldview and Zeitgeist.

Not Hitlerism, not Fascism, not anti-Semitism, but Hungarism.

Hungarism, therefore, means socialism, the harmonisation of the moral, spiritual and material interests of the self and the We, and thus the aim of securing the happiness not of privileged individuals or classes, but of a large community of individuals and classes. But Hungarism is also nationalism, because it strives for the well-being of the most natural community of the people, the nation, and through it the well-being of all working individuals.

Hungarism is not tailored to the body of the Hungarian nation, not only to the Bones of Hungary, but to the thousand-year-old Great Homeland of the Danube Basin embraced by the Carpathians and all the native and indigenous ethnic families living there, which, under the leadership and guidance of the Hungarian people, together with it, constitute the moral, spiritual, material, political, social and economic unity of the Hungarian Nation. But it is also the defender of Hungarism for the members of the family of the people scattered all over the world and forced out by bread shortages. It is their right and their duty to be repatriated to the Greater Homeland. Hungarism not only ensures peace for Hungarians and the ethnic groups living here, Pax Hungarica in the Carpathian-Danube basin, by giving the ethnic groups Hont and Haza, but also by providing cultural autonomy (language, schools, folk education, local government administration and judiciary, It will not only grant them a system of loyalty, but will also sanction the moral, spiritual and material well-being of the ethnic groups living in the Carpathian-Danube basin by means of a referendum based on free expression of will, under the jurisdiction of the Hungarian nation.

Pax Hungarica, however, does not only mean the restoration of peace between the leading Hungarian people and the ethnic groups living together with it, but Hungarism also means the creation of a general peace within the bosom of the Nation, in economic, social and political terms.

This inner peace will be based on the working peace of all the working classes in the bosom of the Nation. This peace will unite the nation-preserving peasant, the nation-building worker, the nation-leading intellectual, the nation-protecting soldier and the pledge of the Nation's immortality; women and youth, in an indissoluble popular unity. It also creates:

1. economic peace, which distributes the benefits of the results of labour and production proportionally among the factors of production, in order to eliminate the possibility of the emergence and existence of money capitalism and the hopeless misery of the working class;

2. a social peace which knows no privileged classes: feudal, clerical and liberal capitalist ruling classes; upper, middle and lower classes, but a united socialist community of workers;

3. a political peace in which the political nation is not led aside by selfish party interests, but in which a single political guiding principle guides the community to ensure the well-being of the Nation in the community of other European peoples.

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Hungarism is a system of spiritual, moral and material, as well as political social and economic authority with individual responsibility.

This responsibility, however, is not the irresponsible responsibility of the liberal system, which can be shared, evaded and passed on, but a responsibility gradually assumed towards the highest authority. But Hungarism's system of authority is not made up of self-appointed "authorities" imposed on the Nation, but of those whom the working nation itself elevates above itself as authority and leader.

On this basis, Hungarism builds its state system: an industrialised, high level national socialist peasant state.

Hungarianism is a worshiper and believer in Christ and does not tolerate denial of God, mockery of Christ, and denial of religion. It has one morality and one practice.

At the same time, Hungarism, when it assures the ethnic autonomy of all ethnic groups living in the Carpathian-Danube Basin, because they have earned the right to do so by shedding their blood and making moral, spiritual and material sacrifices for the existence and reality of the Hungarian Homeland over centuries, states it firmly, that Judaism is not a religion, but a race, and that it is a race of aliens who have never entered into communion with the Hungarian fate, have never made any sacrifices for this communion, and thus could not acquire the right to live in this moral community of peoples. Therefore, Hungarism does not proclaim anti-Semitism (anti-Jewishness), but anti-Asemitism (anti-Jewishness). Hungarism will not make Jewish laws, because laws also grant rights, and the Jews cannot even have the right to live unjustly in this community which they have exploited.

The foreign policy of Hungarism is the recognition of the National Socialist order of the European Commonwealth. Its practice is connectionism. It is the practice whereby the national socialist states living side by side in Europe complement each other's moral, spiritual and material life, as well as their political, social and economic life, and the Hungarian nation, together with its homeland and homeland area, form this common European community of interests.

Our popular community will defend the national socialist states that share our ideology and practice against any conquest by economic or armed force. Hungarism will fight with all legal means to prevent liberalism from re-establishing its power in the Danube basin, surrounded by the Carpathians, under a new mask or with a new makeover.

Hungarism defends and attacks.

It defends the people's communities and national socialism, and attacks the enemies of the people's community and national socialism. In its defence it is vigorous, in its attack it is merciless. It does not ask for or give mercy.

Hungarism: Faith, Obedience, Struggle!

Hungarism: Pax Hungarica! Hungarian peace for the believing, obedient and fighting people of the Carpathian Danube Basin

## II. THE MORAL BASIS OF HUNGARIANISM

True faith in God and true love of Christ can only lead to true love of nation and true love of country, and vice versa: true love of nation and true love of country should lead us to an understanding of the true God and Christ.

The practice of Hungarian national socialism is inseparable from the doctrine of Christ. Communism is the militant instrument of the practical transposition and realization of the Jewish moral world order; and Hungarian National Socialism, which is being developed in Hungarism, is the militant instrument of the practical realization of the Christian moral world order.

These are the valid position and basis of our movement on religion. We reject any other basis. From these then flow all our actions.

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It is intolerable that an individual's inner life should be divided, that his religious convictions should clash with his national convictions. An individual can only be a whole man and a balanced, truly useful member of our national community if his religious convictions and his national convictions are in strong connection and in close harmony in his soul and are projected in a secure balance in his consciousness. We give to God what is God's and we give to our nation what is the nation's.

The task of religious education is to form a true Christian man; the task of national education is to form a true Christian man into an individual who loves his country, his nation and his race. We must find a relationship with God our Father through our nation, our country and our race.

God created peoples and nations and approved their existence so that people might take note of this and, through these communities, come ever closer to the knowledge of his holy will and wisdom.

We do not know denominationalism. We reject all forms of godlessness, we abolish irreligion.

Every member of our nation must belong to an established or recognised legal religion. In exploring why religion is opposed to the national socialist movements, we find two main reasons. We must eliminate these reasons in our movement through educational work.

One of the reasons is the Church's tendency towards religious and secular totalitarianism. The pursuit of religious totalitarianism is at Christ's command, so it is absolutely right independently of us. The Church's pursuit of secular totalitarianism, however, is based only on a feeble human misinterpretation and sinful "misinterpretation" of Christian commands.

The Church, because of the opposing divisive forces of its two aspirations, has broken down into two distinct and separable essences. The first is the religious Church, the second the politicising Church. Our movement will never have anything against the religious Church, and will find in us, under all circumstances, its truest, most faithful and strongest support. But our movement will not tolerate the politicising Church in any form. God's servants should not be politicised, so that they can fulfil their holy vocation clearly and fully.

Our movement will give its support to this with the utmost determination and will draw a clear line of demarcation between "religious education" and "national education".

To understand this question, we need to shed more light on the following:

In history, three totalities have developed in succession, later reinforcing each other in parallel. What all three have in common is that they demand absolute obedience, and thus all three represent the most ancient command rule existing in a closed body. The most ancient is military totalitarianism. Then came the totalitarianism of the Church and then the economic totalitarianism of the economic leaders, especially the Jews. Morality, spirit and matter thus

have been given their most distinctive representatives separately, have progressed separately, but we always see them together in great decisions.

But in National Socialism a fourth totality was born: the totality of the nation. It is the most perfect totality because it can unite the others. The newborn Hercules was not looked upon favourably by the envious dwarfs, who saw his danger in the fact that this mighty newborn was able to unite their moral, spiritual and material beings, which had hitherto developed independently and gone their separate ways, and to fulfil them by his own strength:

the totalitarianism of religion as a national-ethnic fact; military totalitarianism as the armed nation; private economic totalitarianism as the national-socialist public good.

So a fight between them is inevitable. And it is indeed a fact that in the movement struggles of the pioneer nations of National Socialism: Italy, Germany, especially in the early days of the struggle, the "national totality" was opposed by the other three totalities.

In the final development of the victorious struggle of National Socialism, the details of the individual battles are interesting:

the Church withdraws her politicized parts from the struggle and reserves them for better times; religion is reconciled; the army is absorbed into the armed nation and is most extensively extended; and the totality of private enterprise is destroyed.

This is how we must anticipate the results of our victory in our movement struggle. These results are natural and fully cover the essence and practice of national socialism. Let us note one thing; of the three totalities, only the military can be rightly expected to understand them, because it is only the military that really gains and develops most fully with the victory of national socialism. The other two lose. One loses what it has not achieved but will always feel like a loser; the other loses what it has taken, enjoyed and usurped from its nation without any responsibility or obligation to return it, under the pretext of economic freedom.

We will profess our religion with true faith and conviction, but we do not agree that the political churches should dictate the conditions of our salvation, which can only be granted to us by the churches of religion, and which depend on the pure law of our Lord Christ, and not on the political ideas of the churches.

The churches that make politics are as bad and impure before our moral conception of life as politicians who make politics for their own sake, or worse, make them.

The other reason why religion in general opposes the National Socialist movements is that some churches see the state-religious construction of National Socialism as "paganism"<sup>1</sup> and fear a schism.

Regarding the New Pharisaism bias, we only note that if there is a New Pharisaism, it is only because there is a New Pharisaism.

It was liberalism that bred moral, spiritual and material paganism. It eradicated God from souls, burned the ideal and reality of the Fatherland from hearts and built up a whole ritual of golden calf worship. The charge of paganism falls first on their heads, and the churches must know it. It was only as a counter-reaction against this Pharisaic Christian paganism that the new paganism could be born, and as a necessary reaction, it must probably be purer and more moral in its morals, spirit and material concept, for then it would not have been born against it.

But apart from all that: we don't have a "new pogany" !

However, it seems that by being suspiciously zealous, the liberal side is trying to create another headline to distract attention from the substance of things. The familiar battle mode: to focus the nation's judgement on shadows, side events and secondary targets, so that the chief culprits can escape and the essential villainy can continue!

It is none of our business what other nations want to do with their religious-religious life, it is only our business what we want. We will not beat the heathens of the liberal system with neo-paganism, but with Hungarian national socialism rooted in a profound faith in God.

By the will of God and of our nation, we will win the right to take the whip and drive from the holy temple of our Motherland the graft and the merchants who sell our broken, mangled bodies to the land-hungry peoples and the rapacious corporations of Europe.

Our position on "Turanian monotheism" is negative. We are convinced that the Turanian monotheism did its duty at some time when it gave the beautiful laws of the moral life of our ancestors. It has fulfilled its duty; in the new age it has no new vocation.

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We are convinced that the Lord Christ came to us so easily because the White Horse had trodden the path of the moral life of the Hungarian people. We were not heathen in the morals of our ancestors, we will not be heathen in their offspring even if we so much wish it on the truly heathen other side.

The danger of a schism is much greater. Unless individual churches come to grips with the world-moving national socialist regimes, church splits may indeed occur.

This is also not paganism, but either heresy or sectarianism. Churches must take note of this.

Our movement declares that it will take its positions towards the individual churches to the extent that they preserve their neutrality in the creative struggles of the Hungarian people's community. We note with sincere regret the hostile attitude of the churches towards the elementary struggle for freedom of our people and hold them responsible for all the consequences.

Let the Hungarian priest love God; and through God, his Nation, his homeland, his race. Let him be a Hungarian priest. As a priest he can go beyond the borders of our country, as a Hungarian he must live and die here. Let him be a priest and a brother to all Hungarians, and according to the commandments of his faith, let him bring his Hungarian brothers and sisters closer to God, not as Catholics, Reformed, Evangelicals, Greek Catholics, Greek-Celts or Unitarians. Our Hungarian National Socialist system creates Christian Hungarians, and in return it demands that the priests of the homeland educate Hungarian Christians in order to establish our National Socialist moral life.

Hungarism is an indissoluble unity in its moral, spiritual and material structure, and therefore the moral, spiritual and material unity of our ethnic community is also indissoluble. It cannot be divided into separate parts.

The harmonious unity of our country rests on the two mighty pillars of the family exalted by the true Hungarian woman and the religion exalted by the true Hungarian priest. The loosening of one of these pillars also upsets the secure balance of our nation. The order of the Hungarian national socialist state, based on Hungarism, is the force which will not allow the pillars to be loosened and will punish without mercy anyone who attempts to do so with the iron rigour of its punitive power.

### III. THE INTELLECTUAL BASIS OF HUNGARISM

The basis of our Hungarian cultural policy is Hungarian folk culture, which also sets the direction for the culture of our sister nations, which can continue to develop in the direction set, according to their own characteristics, while preserving their own traditions. Hungarian culture does not oppress, it leads. Hungarist culture, on the other hand, systematizes and brings it all together in practice in order to create a unified spirit of Hungarist state-building and people's state life.

The main aim of our cultural policy is to integrate Hungarism as a cultural factor into our statehood, our popular community and to deepen its spirit.

We are constantly examining the impact of the creative factors of Hungarian spirituality and the ever-changing content of culture, and we use them appropriately in the service of our goals.

The pure Hungarian culture is the carrier and expression of the creative power, the ability, the spirituality, the Hungarian genius of the Hungarian people, and thus faithfully reflects the self-consciousness, the thought, moral and emotional world, the will, the aims, the hopes and desires of our race, and serves its specific life interests in a pure way. Culture shows what we think, feel and want. Culture demonstrates our intrinsic value, our worth in the world's cultural communities. Culture is the strongest foundation of our species, the guarantee of our survival.

The creative power and intellectual capacity of the Hungarian race, the intrinsic value of Hungarian culture



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backward than any other cultural people. Hence our sense of culture and our obligation not to accept anything from any stranger in the intellectual sphere without giving it ourselves, and to extend it to a wide range of people and raise it to the highest possible level by building up our institutions. We give Hungarian culture to the Hungarian people. We will not tolerate an alien culture, but we will appreciate, value and make known to the whole world our true high culture, which our race has carved out of the soul of Turan and raised to value through centuries of hard work. We place the bearer of culture, the race, at the forefront of the dynamic factors of culture.

We promote and want the deepening and awareness of Hungarian culture among the people, so we distribute it as a public treasure and give it away for free. Hungarian culture must not be the luxury and privilege of the big cities, classes, castes, social groups, or the business of foreign business enterprises, but must be the spiritual property and spiritual treasure of the entire Hungarian community. In its origin, purpose, function and content, Hungarian culture is folk culture. We will bring to the surface the many creative talents inherent in the masses of the people, we will put them at the service of national culture, we will make the great Hungarian community the owners of Hungarian culture, because we want and want to promote organic cultural development from the bottom up, instead of the propagation and promotion of high culture imposed from above. We bring the people closer to culture and then culture to the people.

The intellectual content of culture is preserved, expressed and transmitted by the institutions of culture, but their value does not depend on the external organisation and quantity of the institutions, but on the spirit which they emanate through their work. For this reason, we are striving not only for an external shaping, an external development, but also for the creation of more and more "cultural objects", not for a quantitative cultural policy, but for the inner spiritual transformation of the institutions, for the internal development of culture, for the careful selection, transformation and improvement of the educational material of the educational institutions.

We demand a quality cultural policy, with special emphasis on the spiritual wholeness and excellence of the intellectuals who are the leading workers of the institutions, whose task it is to contribute professionally to the formation and education of the new Hungarian cultural society, including the new Hungarian cultural society. The right person in the right place will also form a cultural policy programme, and for this reason we will destroy the strongholds of soulless bureaucracy and intrusive protectionism and open up the path of suppressed outstanding talents, and use their creative abilities for the benefit of culture, so that all the organs and institutions of culture, in their inner life and work, present, preserve, develop and pass on to the next generation the values of the Hungarian nation, in sum, of the highest quality, so that they may faithfully represent the Hungarian nation and the cultural public spirit of our brother nations.

Our goal is to cultivate a new type of Hungarian soul, rooted in racial, folk soil, which has risen from national consciousness to the heights of national self-consciousness, self-interest and national vocation, to raise a generation that is strong in body and soul, beautiful, noble in spirit, and honest, selfless, self-sacrificing, religious, self-confident, disciplined, able to obey, tolerate, suffer, work, learn, believe, take the initiative, forward-looking, self-respecting, courageous, persevering, enthusiastic about ideals, ready to live and, if necessary, die for the Fatherland and the race. The virtues of the good, the beautiful, the just, build up his noble character in spiritual harmony, he gladly chooses hard fighting instead of cheap compromise, because he knows that neither he nor his race is inferior to any nation and has the right to take his place in the first rank by his own talent and his own strength and not by the interests and merits of others. The renewing public spirit of our educational institutions, the moral elevation of the new national society, the transformed curriculum of the educational institutions based on the knowledge of national values, will enable the new spiritual type of Hungarian youth to be formed as soon as possible, to take its rightful place and to carry out its great task of laying the foundations for the present and the future of the nation.

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We anticipate and prepare for the transformation, rebirth, ennoblement, and transformation of souls into more Hungarian, more self-aware ones; we cultivate and develop a sense of common destiny, racial belonging and fraternal solidarity throughout the whole line; we want a broad popular culture so that the broad strata of Hungarian society will not only feel the drudgery of a physical life, the bitter sweat of everyday bread-winning, but will be liberated morally and spiritually to come to the sunny side and have sufficient spiritual flexibility to know the beauties and values of life, to embrace the noble joys of life. For only a vibrant, lively, flexible community of people can be able to mobilise its young members to the enthusiastic service of great national ideals and goals, and to persuade them to work and fight for these goals with self-sacrifice and perseverance. Those who, in their grey and joyless everyday life, are the workers of cartels and big business, who can hardly care about their souls, who can only lead empty, idle lives, who cannot know the wide range of our great national and racial duties which await them.

Hungarian culture is at the heart of the intellectual endeavours linking the Far East with the West, and is a central intellectual resource that unites and binds Hungarians living anywhere in the world. At all times it must preserve its unity, its racial autonomy and its equality with all other cultures. Its essence is to express the spiritual unity of the Nation in a unified world view, with Hungarian unity, in a clear and pure Hungarian form. For this reason we will eradicate all harmful influences which are directed against the racial spirit and the racial form of Hungarian language and music, of Hungarian art, and will punish deliberate efforts to alienate and ethnalize the Hungarian culture with the severity of the law. It follows from our cultural conscience that we will not accept cultural domination on the part of anybody, we will protest against it, and we will not tolerate being treated as an exotic people under the guise of tourist interests, or having attention diverted from the essence of our folk culture to other areas.

Our Hungarian national socialist state system is based on the moral foundation of the Christian religion and therefore counts on the harmonious work of the Christian denominations. The denominations may not engage in a cultural war either with each other or with the state power, nor may they represent a separate cultural spirit, because this would cause a split in the national soul and the disintegration of the spiritual unity of the Nation. Cooperation must be preceded by peaceful agreement, including in cultural matters. The churches cannot be a state within the state, but the state power is excellent at ensuring the social and cultural satisfaction of the religious and Christian church interests. All cultural institutions and institutions, the intellectual public life of Hungarians, the press and the theatre will in all their manifestations emphatically symbolise the public spirit, the world view, the proud Hungarian sense of self, the independence, the cultural world-standing and world value of the Hungarian race. For this reason, we consider organizational and cultural activity, creative work, to be the highest human activity because of its social, economic and national defence benefits, and we place it in the first place in our economic evaluation.

The emphasis should be placed not on education, but on the education of the Nation, the spiritual care and spiritual guidance of the community.

Popular education must be in close contact with the life of the Nation and must never come into conflict with it, because it must always be the builder of national community and destiny.

The moral, spiritual and material integrity of the teaching order is a requirement from which no concession can be made.

### IV. THE MATERIAL BASIS OF

#### HUNGARIANISM 1.

The ongoing world war required immeasurable sacrifices in human lives on the front lines and in material terms behind the fronts. The peace that resulted brought no peace, only a military truce. The devastation was then capped by the economic upheaval that followed the war, in which hundreds of thousands bled to death and millions were left destitute. And big business, which had only won the war, wanted to continue where he left off in 1914. The masters of big business dared to believe that all the enrichment that the war had brought to some, at the cost of the blood and suffering of millions, was not only sustainable but also of great can also be scaled up.

Governments in our country have tolerated the customs collectors of war becoming the tax collectors of the country after the war. After all, there has hardly been an industry since the war that has not relied on customs protection; at worst, when earnings were at stake, the cartels provided 'security'.

The war was understood by some generals. There were no experts on peace. And while France was demanding from Germany a gold service that did not exist in the world, America, forgetting that it was an ally, was pressing France to pay a strict price. France could not meet its obligation, but it could not pass it on either, and the whole world was left in a state of debtor and creditor, a state of unresolved 'hanging'.

National Socialism is the expert on peace, peace for all. Its executor: the Nation. One of the most important tasks of national socialism is to equitably balance the wealth imbalances, to remove the inhibitions and artificially imposed paralysis in our economic life and to break the so-called "very clever", i.e. immoral, enrichment based on abuses. Neither the spirit of enterprise, nor talent, nor diligence, nor expertise need be feared from Hungarian National Socialist management, for it will only set a limit to the boundlessly unjust accumulation of wealth which, in its present form, has led to the withering and wasting away of millions. Hungarian national socialist management is inseparable from Hungarian national socialist moral and spiritual life; its aim is the material well-being of the people's community. Our national economy and all its parts are therefore a means and not an end.

The greatest world asset is a homegrown and down-to-earth humanity whose capacity for work, whose useful and moral talent, whose creative spirit is not exploited. It is not for lack of circulating capital, for wealth has not diminished, but has been hidden from the millions of humanity's people, has accumulated in the hands of a few, and thus lacks a cycle of production and consumption.

And without the forces of the masses of the people, without the involvement and assessment of millions of people, the wagon of economic life, which has hit a pothole, cannot be pulled out of its present situation. Our struggle against the obsolete private capitalist system cannot be won without a solution to the Jewish question. The Hungarian national socialist system of management and the Jewish question are inseparable, one flowing from the other, two sides of the same coin.

As a result of our successful work of enlightenment, the only adherents of liberal private capitalism are gradually becoming Jewish, and yet there are still, it is true, and less and less frequently, concerns expressed by our intelligentsia, and especially by the leading spirits imposed on the nation, that the solution of the Jewish question in this country on the basis of the "German system" would upset the economic and financial order overnight, and that the country would not be able to survive economically and financially for a single day as a result. Such an assertion is either a reckless lie or criminal nonsense, which could lead to national disgrace, national ruin and national death. Let it end once and for all

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the official superstition that Hungarian life without Jews is unimaginable. The Hungarian ethnic community can exist without a Jew. Besides, we will not solve the Jewish question according to a "foreign system", just as our entire National Socialist practice is not based on a foreign system, but on our own particular Hungarian conditions and our own Hungarian racial characteristics.

It is true that forcing a solution to the Jewish question in 1919/20 would have bankrupted the country due to our isolation, but today our national economy can be smoothly taken into Hungarian hands, since almost all our neighbours are governed by National Socialist regimes.

Concerners also fear that, if the Jewish question is resolved, the Jews will find a way to extract from our country the capital necessary to build up our national economy, and thus give a coup de grace to our economic life and, through it, to our entire statehood and existence. The lack of pumpkins, however, which the Jews could smuggle out of the country in spite of the prohibitions, would do very little harm to our economic life. Even factories, plants and mines cannot be smuggled across the border. The rich blessings of our dear native soil, the strength of its waters, the vital rays of the Hungarian sun, the creative greatness of the Hungarian genius, the fertility and will of the Hungarian people, the thoughtful courage and elevated morality of their actions, all these are beautiful, inalienable, inalienable and inalienable capital which remains at home. It is inconceivable that ten million Hungarians should be reduced to poverty, starvation or ruin, or become "servants of Germany", simply because they have dared to solve the Jewish question. If our Hungarian people were to perish only because Jewish capital smuggled a few million pence out of the country, we would deserve our fate, because we would prove that we are useless, unlivable and unviable. The Jews could steal our capital by the millions, they could countermine our pence, they could fill the ever-shrinking world with all the horrors of Hungarian economic horrors, and yet they could not destroy us, because today they have to fight not just ten million Hungarians, but hundreds of millions of enlightened people. They know this better than any of us, and they know that they will inevitably and definitively be the losers in this fight.

The Hungarian National Socialist power will ensure that our economic and financial system does not disintegrate overnight when the Jewish question is institutionally resolved. Let us be so impartial that we can believe in the ancient strength, economic ability and maturity of the Hungarian people. It is also clear to us that in the purification of our economic life it is not only the solution of the Jewish question that is decisive, but also the exclusion, reduction and replacement of the Christian Hungarians, who are imbued and contaminated by the economic spirit of Jewry. We dare to do this, because it is not the Jewish moral spirit that will show us the way in terms of our economic knowledge and economic abilities, but the vitality, vitality and will to live of our Hungarian people.

We will continue to make the lofty ideas of Hungarian National Socialism ripe for practical realisation through enlightening work. And against those for whom enlightening work is of no use, or for whom the propaganda of socialism is used to further swell the economic principle of the "pocket of self", we will use the lash.

Our economic life must be reorganised from the bottom up, half-measures and compromises can only lead to our Bashkortostan becoming a colony of a powerful neighbouring state. In the Danube Basin, only through progressive reorganisation and proactive, action-oriented, brutally realistic state objectives can we achieve a leading role of influence that cannot be ignored.

The economic aspects of Hungarian National Socialism on the reality basis of Hungarism

become facts and represent the sole well-being of the Carpathian-Danube

ethnic community. 2.

Material life is subordinated to the moral and spiritual life of the Nation. Its sole aim is to raise the moral and spiritual life of the community of the people, to form it nobly, so that each member of the community of the people may be a conscious participant, stimulator, guardian and creator of the culture and civilization of the community of the people.

The material is always a means, not an end.

The national economy and the system of work will form the basis of the material and economic life of our statehood, Hungarism. We declare the wholeness of the Nation to be a natural person, which,

that as a conscious totality it also exercises sovereign rights, it becomes a legal person.

The basis for the rational, expedient and modern construction of national economy and work order is rooted in the law of national sovereignty. The Nation transfers its economic sovereignty and sole right to its responsible power factor, the Hungarian National Socialist state power, so that the latter may use the economic power transferred to the benefit and advantage of the people's community. It follows from this: the owner of everything is the Nation as a whole, as a yogi and natural person inseparable from its property, the owner is the individual who is a native and rooted in the soil and who has acquired citizenship.

The Nation, as a sovereignty, limits its economic sovereignty and its sovereignty as an individual by means of state power. In this way, the natural or legal members of the Nation become part-owners of the Nation's property. The part-ownership of the individual cannot be separated from the obligations to be owed to the community of the people. Property and obligation must be balanced, both materially and morally and spiritually.

The interrelation of property and possession in production, the interrelation of production and material well-being, the moral, intellectual and material uplift of the workers of the people's community form the basis of the national economic system and the workers' system of work of the Hungarian National Socialist State.

The Nation is the body of reality that can accomplish everything most usefully, most economically and most surely. Nationalist socialism and socialist nationalism are the highest, most enduring values within a nation. That is why the individual must be a national socialist. To become a national-socialist as an individual, that is, a socialist who accepts the nation, loves the nation, demands the reality of the Fatherland, one must build a working nation, a Fatherland, a community of people, of companions and of destiny, which can think socially in all its parts and is saturated with true socialist content in all its parts.

In this system, socialism is inseparable from the Nation and the Nation from socialism in its constitution, manifestation, essence, structure and content, in its rights and duties, in its moral, spiritual and material manifestations.

The ideological basis of Hungarism's national economy and work system is the social-national and its conscious practice. The individual becomes a conscious national socialist only through the ideology and practice of social nationalism.

The social-nationalist theory imposes two conditions for its citizens to become full members of the national economy and the labour system: for the national economy they must have a social feeling, and for the labour system they must be socialists with a national consciousness.

The knowledge of labour law and the commitment to work is the basic law of our work ethic. In the system of social-nationalism, the working Nation is a moral body, a spiritual unit and a material community. The social-national therefore has not only material aspects but also moral and spiritual factors. These three together constitute

structure, essence, content and practice.

The social-national rejects the foundations of materialism in all its aspects. There is no historical materialism, as proclaimed by liberalism and communism. Lies! Marxism is not "history", but the materialism of base instincts, the eternal struggle and rebellion of inferiority against the natural order and development, which in its rebellion forms the "trinity" of its materialism from the stomach, the intestines and the rectum. It arouses instincts, it lulls us to sleep.

There is no historical materialism. Nature has not implanted materialism, materialism, in human beings, but natural selfishness, which has not only material but also moral and spiritual aspects. Social-nationalism, in its conception, captures this natural, healthy selfishness to ensure a balanced economic life for the community of the people.

Natural, healthy selfishness is based on mutual help. Sick, unnatural selfishness is based on the principle of fighting each other, creating the fallacy of materialism, from which the unhealthy economic system of liberalism was born.

Mutual assistance born of natural, healthy selfishness can only build up a community of companionship and destiny in which the Nation and the Homeland become realities, in which the interdependent relations of property, family, religion and private property really legitimise, guarantee and protect the construction and preservation of a civilised state and people.

Unnatural, sick selfishness sees in everything only prey, and all its efforts are directed to getting as much prey as possible. For it, the Homeland is a domain of prey, the Nation and its members are slaves, the community of mates and the community of destiny is the leader, and the state power is nothing but the guardian, protector and lawgiver of its lust for prey and its exploitation. In fact, the materialism and immoral practices of liberalism have sanctified the perversion that private property is robbery, theft. Social nationalism, in its system based on a nation-conscious and socialist free economy, recognises, sanctions, safeguards and protects private property as the result of work and as a valuation of work. One of the misconceptions of our liberal economics is that only what can be sold has value. This view is natural within liberalism, because its whole essence is based on immaterialism, on materialism. In the system of social-nationalism, on the other hand, only that which ensures, serves and protects the moral, spiritual and material development of the community of the people has value. Values are not sold, but used or exchanged to increase our intrinsic value. In the conception of the social-national, the only value is that of a man who has a homeland in a people community, a homeland rooted in the soil, a homeland in his balanced morals, spirit and character. Only such a person can give value to any material or its manifestation. It depends on such a man alone that gold can be made from mud

create. It was the opponent of this man, the enlightened "citizen of the world", who created the mud from the gold.

In the fullness of Hungarism, social-nationalism is the ideological system which: in the Hungarian National Socialist community of companionship and destiny, provides work and a livelihood for all the workers of the nation, and thus creates a secure and worker-loving nation for the workers of the Nation;

provides the workers of all the states and their peoples' communities based on national socialist systems with an ideological basis for the proper development and practical implementation of their nationalism and socialism;

in the national economy, it legislates and protects labour law, and in the work system, the obligation to work;

in the body of the Nation, in its moral, spiritual and material entirety, fulfils socialism and tire

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a socialist with a patriotism and respect for the nation;  
fights for a nationally conscious socialist people's community based on rights, work and respect for all workers in the Danube basin around the Carpathians.  
Hungarism's social-nationalism, in its structure, content, essence and fundamentals, enshrines these principles as the guiding thread of its ideology and will put them into practice in its Hungarian National Socialist material practice in accordance with the requirements of life.

3.

Every gift that can be shaped, sold, accepted in its moral and spiritual aspects: capital. The most valuable capital is the native and rooted man. Capital is everything that is below us, above us, within us and around us; everything that can be found in the moral, spiritual and material world. He who speaks against his gourd speaks against the universe. Capital and life are one. We must draw from the capital that is perceived around us in order to live, in order to achieve our life's goals. Capital is therefore a means given to us by God. The only question is the relationship of capital to the individual. Marxism proclaims: "Capital will not have mastery over us!" And it also proclaims historical materialism! The egalitarianism of immaterialism! Thus the domination of capital! And the domination of the individual, because the individual is materialistic, materialist! The most stupid, the most stupid contradiction that has ever been born in ideology. The enslavement of the Russian people is explained in this way: state power as capital, power over the individual. The relation of capital to the individual determines the naturalness or unnaturalness, the morality or immorality of the economic life of each system.

Who owns the capital? In liberalism, it belongs to the "more skilful", the "more chosen", the one who, by right of the more violent, not the stronger, crushes the others on a legal basis; in Marxism, to the state as the slave-owning capital-individual power; in social-nationalism, to the nation as the sovereign who places capital as an instrument at the disposal of its members.

The transformation of raw capital into something that can be used for the necessities of life is called production. Who produces? In liberalism, the proletariat to satisfy the speculations of capitalism, the aim: the capitalist's profit; in Marxism, the proletariat to satisfy the speculations of the State, the aim: the State's profit; in social-nationalism, the proletariat to satisfy the necessities of life of the respected worker of the Nation, the aim: the moral, spiritual and material strength, security and patriotism of the Nation and the individual.

The result of production is the output. The delivery of the product to the consumer is called sale. From the sale comes the profit. Who owns the sales and profits? In liberalism, it belongs to violent capital; in Marxism, the capitalist state power; in social-nationalism, the nation and its constituent members.

The raw measure of profit is income. Who owns the income? In liberalism, the capital-guzzling and capital-destroying, profit-sucking and enlightened cosmopolitan; in Marxism, the all-absorbing, desecrating state-abolitionist; in social-nationalism, the nation-conscious socialist who produces from capital, sells it, uses it, makes it profitable.

We can state:

liberalism is capitalism; Marxism is state capitalism, while social nationalism is national capitalism; the socialism of liberalism is capital socialism, the socialism of Marxism is state socialism, while the socialism of social nationalism is national socialism;  
in liberalism, the state serves the individual, the individual serves capital; in Marxism, the individual serves the state, the state serves the state's purpose; while in social-nationalism, capital serves the state, the state serves the nation and the moral, spiritual and material values and interests of the community of the people for the benefit and advantage of all its members without exception. The social-national is the only material and physiological theory of life. The true individual shapes matter with his soul, his hands are only instruments. And because this is so, the material formed is a value and not a commodity.

The social-national is therefore the physiological materiality of the nation, not its historical materiality. The vitality of the nation, the materiality of the socialism that is being completed in the nation. A community of life and a community of matter in a community of companionship and destiny, based on a Nation and a Fatherland that is pure in morals and spirit, pure in truth.

Social nationalism is not class socialism, but the socialism of the university of the nation. It requires everyone to be both a nationalist and a socialist.

It is a prerequisite for our national economic system:

There is a limit to the capital accumulated by one man, beyond which capital is no longer the fruit of the labour of one man, but the accumulation of capital is contributed to by the labouring Nation by production, by the millions of the popular community by consumption, and by the State power by securing the enjoyment of production, consumption and profit at the will of the Nation. The Hungarian national socialist state power therefore has the right to exert a regulative influence on the production, sale, utilization, profit and enjoyment of the capital thus accumulated by common force, and to allocate to the participants an appropriate share of the blessed benefits of capital in such a way that this share also serves the moral and spiritual interests of the people's community through its material interests.

In the Hungarian national economy, citizens with full rights are equal and equal economic subjects. Each economic subject works in a productive job according to his or her ability. Our national economy and our system of work are based on the national capitalist system, on national capitalism. This alone is the healthy, sane, natural, secure and unshakable capital system, the moral relationship between man and capital, nation and socialism.

Production is the process of transforming the raw natural resources and raw capital of our country into forms that meet our vital needs and serve the moral, spiritual and material development and enrichment of our national community.

Production has three factors: planning, labour and capital. From their utilitarian relation to each other derive the morality of work, the moral utility of work and the utilitarian valuation of work. These three factors form an integral whole. Production is impossible without the three being present at the same time and in the same place. The three factors of production in our national economy and in our system of labour have rights of sale, of sharing in the profits, of income and of acquisition of wealth after production. It is from the sale of production that the profit is derived, the national income is generated and from this the private property of the members of the nation is accumulated. Production, sale, profit, income and private property are inseparable from each other and from the nation as a whole. Our community of nations as a whole produces, sells, exploits, and grows in income and wealth. A nation's income is healthy when, at the same time, the wealth of its members is growing and developing. The State cannot be rich, only the Nation.

The three basic factors of production: design, labour and pumpkin, share equally in the net profit from sales. This is a basic tenet of our national economy. It is the social essence of our national economy. Our communities are the first receiving and consuming markets for the sale of our production. That is why the social-national system lays it down as a law:

Our economic life should be based on the principle that the livelihood of our communities should be ensured primarily on the basis of existing geographical and resource endowments. Once this livelihood has been unconditionally guaranteed, the State should only allow a policy of sales and profits which will make it possible to meet the needs of the community and ensure continuity of work, on the one hand, and to develop the private property of those involved in production, on the other.



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Our national economy is based on private farming. The private economy, which is an integral part of the national economy, is based on socialist free enterprise. It is socialist because it imposes obligations on the individual and binds him in all his activities to the community of the people, thus excluding greedy, unrestrained individual accumulation of capital and the resulting harmful extraction of capital. It is free enterprise because it gives all citizens equal opportunities and rights to participate honestly in the national economy. Socialist free enterprise is the sole source of a just social distribution of income, which excludes the unhealthy shifting of wealth, the accumulation of wealth in individual hands, which causes social misery, and the self-serving tyranny of capital. Socialist management creates a healthy basis for socialist private property, which is always ready to sacrifice itself on the altar of the Fatherland and the Nation in times of great peril. The freedom of interest, which, through the loopholes in the law and the nation to the detriment of abusive and anti-social labour system is being eradicated. The constitution of our national economy will define the cases in which the specially authorized agent of state power may, in the universal interest of the nation, temporarily or permanently, wholly or partially, terminate the right of possession of individual natural or legal members of the nation and take them into national ownership. Such cases are: temporarily, in time of war, danger of war, time of great peril, and generally the necessity of a complete establishment of an armed Nation; permanently, in case of rebellion of natural or legal persons of the property against the national administration. In the social national economy, the rights of socialist free enterprise end where the interests of the universal commonwealth of the people and of the totality of the Nation begin. It is the duty of state power to regulate this legal relationship in an unambiguous, clear and unequivocal manner.

The socialist content, security and continuity of the socialist structure of national economy is the continuity of the Nation.

The national work system means labour law and compulsory work rooted in the national economy. It covers: compulsory work, work value, employment relations, work enforcement, work discipline, occupational health and safety and work ethics. Just as the "Armed Nation" is the Nation's defence against imperialist armed foreign aspirations, so the National Labour System, the "Workers' Nation" is the Nation's defence against imperialist aspirations, both internal and external, in economic terms. The "Armed and Labouring Nation" is one body, one soul, one will, one action, pointing to a common goal, serving a common purpose in its operation. Only the field of their operation is different: the "Armed Nation" is the sword, the "Working Nation" the shield in the life of the Hungarian Nation. They have a common objective: to ensure, legitimize and defend the moral, spiritual and material well-being of the Hungarian National Socialist People's Community.

The national working system is the basis for each representative body.

The national work system brings the practice of social-nationalism into the working body of the Nation and educates through it the conscious Hungarian National Socialist.

The social-nationalism of Hungarism is the basis which each Nation can adopt in its economic, productive and working system. All the National Socialist States have already established a conscious nationalism, but have not yet attained a conscious socialist nationalism, from which nationalist socialism is born as a healthy counteraction. The socialist consciousness in nationalism is created by the social national alone. No Nation can be truly national-socialist until it gives its workers the socialist order in the nationalist order. This is the vocation of the social national. Ideology and practice. Right and duty, work and appreciation.

The workers' international of Marxism was launched from England. It is from the Danube Basin, our Hungarian Working Nation, that the social national movement of true national socialism will start and take off, and we know that it will conquer the working society of all nations.

National Socialism does not yet have an ideological system, only its political and social factors can be identified. And because it has no ideology, it takes a position of denial and rejection of Marxism. He is right in his extension and rejection. But denial alone will not get us anywhere. It must be defeated by assertion and finally defeated. It must be confronted with a new ideology. This new ideology is the affirmation of life, the great positive of working life, the great morality and moral spirit of material life: social-nationalism, which develops within a nation all the abilities, all the strength, all the knowledge of the individual, the member of the nation, within a nation, and provides his bread, so that, in the great consciousness of his strength, he may thus work for the commonwealth and through it for the Peace of Labour. The Peace of Labour is the foundation of the Peace of Arms.

4.

Every new system stands or falls primarily on economic implantation. This is only natural. The old system is wanted to be removed from people's practical lives primarily because of its economic side. Therefore the new system is required to help primarily the economic ills. The new system may fail at the outset secondly because it is unable to cope with those hidden forces which, although they helped it to victory, emerge forcefully after the victory has been won and want to revolutionise the takeover. It will take the courage of morality not only to suppress this attempt ruthlessly, but to make it impossible for ever. Hungarism is prepared for both.

It is also important to be aware of which tasks can be tackled immediately and which can only be tackled after a certain transition period. What can be done immediately is: the retention of power, the change of personnel, national education, propaganda, the regulation of the old economic system, the clearing away of the moral, spiritual and material legacy of the old system, in other words, the cleaning up. The full implementation of the ideological system of Hungarism, however, can only be achieved step by step, with the introduction of transitions, and requires the hard, persistent work of a generation.

The limits of evolution and revolution can be met if the new system brings prudent, sober, but very powerful help to the economic life of the Nation. In the Hungarist system of Hungarian National Socialism, it wants and will assert its will primarily in terms of the economy of the Nation and the working order of the Nation. The reorganisation of production, planning, labour, goods, sales, profit, income, wealth and its auxiliary means is the task facing Hungarian National Socialism in the first year of the takeover. The first and most important task is to regulate production in its personnel and material details.

The productive order of Hungarism is based on national capitalism, on the national capital system: in its practice, the national and socialist credit system will occupy the most prominent place, will be its vital air and its fertilizing sunshine.

Hungarism can only fulfil this task in its material part if we change our financial and credit system to meet the requirements of our national economy. The change from the monetary system and credit system of capitalist economy can be carried out smoothly. The need to reorganise the monetary system is characterised by the impossible situation that, according to the so-called economic laws currently in force, a central bank that has lost its reserves of ore and foreign currency cannot put any banknotes into circulation. Practice, however, showed otherwise even before the World War. The principle of a gold and foreign exchange system proved to be imperfect, rigid and one-sided. With world peace, this principle

and the unsustainability of the practice is even more striking. In times of major crises, the central banks nail down fundamental principles, stopping the unlimited sale of ores and currencies when liberal production and capitalist policies demand it. And when the free circulation of gold and foreign exchange is abolished, the value of money loses its link with gold. It is no longer a gold-backed money, but its value becomes merely a function of internal currency policy operations, of the political influences of credit and interest. If the liberal management system is so 'flexible' in dealing with this question, then Hungarist management must legitimately break with the principles of gold and currency cover in the conversion of its monetary system. This is its right and its duty, all the more so because it sets everything to the exclusion of its nation.

The monetary system of the liberal economic system was built internationally. Hungarian money is backed by gold and the currencies of the most diverse states. Liberal money thus became international money. Its value became pegged, and pegged to the monetary value of foreign states. Money itself, on the other hand, became a currency which was given and taken. A high school of monetary economics was born, with the currency sybarites as its uncrowned scholars, experts and masterminds. As a direct consequence of its immaterialism in the liberal world view, money became the first power. It is no longer a means of supporting its moral, spiritual and material power in the life of the nation, but power itself. Its morality is that without money nothing is possible, with money everything is available, everything can be bought: God, morality, spirit, power, Nation, people, family and last but not least the forgiveness of all sins. Money has become a religion. The religious tenet: worship your God as yourself! Liberal economic life does not produce, but chases money. It doesn't matter where it comes from or how it comes, just come! It has no smell. Hungarism radically breaks with the law of international money in its material structure and system. It dethrones my lord from his usurped throne of power, whose footstool is poverty, the breadlessness of hundreds of thousands, and makes him once again a humble, disciplined, servant at command. He will place on the throne of life the Hungarian community of people, morally, spiritually and materially degraded. In our national economy, money will be the money that serves the nation. The gold currency links the value of money to the value of gold alone. The central bank was always obliged to deliver the same amount of gold for a certain amount of money. Was! Today it no longer does. The value of gold is subject to constant fluctuations, regardless of how the value of other commodities fluctuates. This shows that gold has become an end in itself. It plays itself. It has become completely detached from its original vocation. It is no longer a solid basis of calculation for economic life. Those in the know have calculated that in 50 years all the gold mines and gold fields will be exhausted. What will the 'great' economists do then? There will be no gold supply. Will it be the end of the economy? It is possible that these "knowledgeable" gold worshippers will starve to death because they will not buy bread with money that has no gold backing. Then peace be upon their ashes!

World production has increased. Gold supplies could not keep up with the high rate of production. Gold-backed money was insufficient for production. It is a pity that great 'flaming economists', 'money scientists', who in their modesty remained in the obscurity of anonymity, helped the problem by raising the value of gold almost twofold overnight. Yet the world's gold reserves have not been reduced by one ounce. And yet they raised the value of gold per kilo. In our country it was over 6000 pence. And why did they do that? To issue more banknotes to reflect the surplus gold value. This is gold pimping. Soft gold gypsyism. Anyway. The bottom line is that gold is used by the big capitalists, the uncrowned gypsies of the international capital market, to do whatever their selfish, self-serving interests require. If they want to strangle the gold-backed world, they will simply devalue gold because they like it that way. The "civilized" world is at most

would write about an economic crisis "the like of which has never been seen in the history of the world" and let hundreds of millions of people starve to death. The only thing greater than the meanness of gold is the stupidity of men.

National economy, human well-being, the humanism that is so tiredly trumpeted have very little to do with it. The gold-backed monetary system is humbug! Bluff! In the material order of Hungarism, gold will be produced by the labour of our national economy and not by the mines. We will not give money for gold, we will not give work for money. In our system, the only payment for work will be a job-secure Homeland and the honest livelihood that comes from job security.

Money of lasting value can only be spoken of with common sense in the sense that it enables each and every member of our people, of our community, to know, see and enjoy the daily bread in their families and homes. We will organise our money system in such a way that the goal of the material, moral and spiritual well-being of the community of the people can be achieved and realised. We find that, in fact, it is partly only the Jews who can provide their daily bread. The present system of money is the sole basis of Jewish well-being. The material order of Hungarism will tear money out of this life-unilateralism and place it at the service of the Nation. In our material system, the value of money will not be affected by fluctuations in the value of gold or by the currency policy machinations of international Jewry.

Our money will not be backed by gold in the hands of international Jewry. The recognised true and proper backing of money is the labour of the working nation and the stock of goods in circulation derived from that labour. Money is a substitute for commodities, a voucher for the supply of goods, the sale of labour, the valuation of labour. It cannot be a gold voucher, as was desired in the past and as is still demanded by the private capitalists in possession of gold. In the system of Hungarism, by simultaneously increasing the productive labour and the consumer capacity of the Nation, the circulation of the banknote can be increased without reducing the value of the money or, in scientific terms, without having inflationary effects.

The most important task and duty of the central bank of the Hungarian National Socialist state will therefore be to put banknotes into circulation in accordance with the needs of the national budget and to keep their value at a constant level by means of an appropriate central bank policy. In its interest rate policy, the Central Bank will adjust the principle and practice of the Central Bank so that the official rate of interest will be kept substantially below the rate of return on capital invested in agriculture.

In our system, interest on money cannot be money because it is not based on money capitalism. Its interest is solely and exclusively the surplus of wealth, national income, the increase in value, continuity and security of labour and production.

Only those who are able to continue production in accordance with the systemic structure of Hungarian national socialism can participate in our national economy.

In production, impersonality is not known as a legal form. Impersonality always means irresponsibility. We restore personal responsibility in all sectors of production.

Those who are deprived of credit in economic life will inexorably wither away; those who have access to credit and do not use it will surely flourish. In our country the possibility of granting credit is concentrated exclusively in the hands of the Jewish bankocracy. Even the credit of the Hungarian National Bank can only be obtained through the intermediary of this Jewish bankocracy, which, guarding the 'creditworthiness' of the Hungarian National Bank's bill-brokers, grants direct credit mainly to the big banks. Even among the industrial or commercial enterprises, only the very large ones, i.e. those in Jewish hands, are entitled to direct submission.

No direct credit is given to a private individual.

The Jewish bankocracy with the credit that ultimately belongs to the pious Hungarian

of the public's money in the banks and the discount loans from the Hungarian National Bank, is being abused in the most outrageous way at the expense of the Hungarian nation and the Hungarian race. It is using the capital of the Hungarian people for the most indecent Jewish racial protection and the most unquestionable genocide. Credit on terms which would make a material recovery possible is granted only to Jews or those living on Jewish land. Everyone else goes broke and becomes an interest slave to the banks if they need bank credit.

The Jewry and its paid "objective" "economic greats" proclaim the lie that the Hungarian man is not skilled in trade and industry, because he is chivalrous and a gentleman who defends and guards his noble traditions, a born soldier. Until now, we did not know that the main ingredients of competence in trade and industry are unchivalry and ignorance, mockery of tradition and evasion of military duty. But it must be so, for why then should the Jews so much emphasize the chief characteristics of our race as incompatible with the trade and industry they have implanted in it, They are right. In such industry and commerce the Hungarian man cannot be connected, for he will perish. The fact is that the autocrats of credit are ruthlessly and unrelentingly devouring our sons who have 'strayed' into the field of industry and commerce by means of their credit policy.

The Hungarian national socialist state power will declare the right to issue money and to grant credit to be a national sovereign right and will regulate the right to accept and collect savings deposits accordingly. This sovereign right will be delegated by the State to credit organizations organized for the service of the Nation.

The Magyar Nemzeti Bank RT. will cease to exist as a joint-stock company and will become an executive organ of the Hungarian National Socialist state power. Its General Council, currently composed exclusively of representatives of the bankocracy, big industry and big landowners, will be composed of delegates from the interest representatives. The General Council of Interest Representatives will determine the needs of the national budget and propose credit requirements.

We run a national economy. The state is serving this with all its might. Running public finances alone is therefore not enough. Hungarism requires the management of national finances. Therefore, the amount of banknotes to be issued and the need for credit will be adapted to the needs of the national budget.

The material order of Hungarism is an instrumental and imperative system serving the moral and spiritual order of the Hungarian ethnic community.

The social-national, which constitutes the socialist order of the material order, is ruthlessly guarding that the first and most important life-servant of the order of Hungarism may never again rebel against the Hungarian people and the people-rooted man and the moral and spiritual order which it consciously legislates. Historical materialism has been dethroned from its usurped throne, its rebellion against morality and spirit has been crushed; forced by our nation, it gives place to the real Homeland and the real Hungarian People's Community.

## V. HUNGARISM AND THE PEOPLE

### 1. THE PARASTS

The Peasant is a nation-holder.

Although there are many roads to the peasantry, all of them are long, all of them require patience, and all of them must ultimately lead to the reality of the Hungarian national socialist peasant state.

We need a complete knowledge of the peasant's soul, body, emotions and interests in order to see what a state body of two million independent peasants and more than two and a half million agricultural assistants can be moulded into.

We are expressing the soul of the Hungarian peasant, the body of the Hungarian peasant and the will of the Hungarian peasant, and we are in fact moulding it into reality for the construction of the Hungarian peasant state.

Our goal is the realisation of a Hungarian peasant state that is a true community of partners and destiny. This is what the Hungarian National Socialist movement and its fighters are fighting for.

The peasantry is the true pillar of our nation's existence, without which not only the Hungarian nation would have perished, but also the middle class, which grew primarily out of this peasantry and today has unfaithfully made the peasantry its stepchild instead of its dear parent.

This peasantry, which not only set out towards liberation with George Dózsa, which is not only a late descendant of the ancestors who lived on the bitter bread of serfdom, but also the cradle, the well, the tribe of the emerging nobility, the aristocracy, for centuries.

This is the peasantry that not only gave the Hungarian warring masses legendary heroism, but also legendary leaders of great renown.

This is the peasantry that gave the Homeland famous priests and teachers of learning, only to wander orphaned in the Homeland without guidance, knowledge and faith.

Literature, fed on the breast of the liberal economic system, has always presented the Hungarian peasant in a ridiculous, unrealistic form to the minds of the leaders. Instead of presenting the external and internal figure of the peasant in all his dignity, in accordance with his important national role, and in accordance with the truth, it has mostly given him qualities which give him a false and untrue image. Those who should have treated the lion with affection were caged him, and the watered-down liberal suitors spread horror stories about him, undermined his dignity, mocked him, teased him and humiliated him wherever possible. Istvan Széchenyi had already laid the foundations of the peasant state essence of Hungarian national socialism when he said: 'the charm of owning one's own estate... and that of an estate which... is just enough to support a household which does not make and write regulations, does not give orders, but turns the plough horn, spade and hoe itself...'

The peasant soul is one of the most closed areas, and only those who are given the gift of trust can enter it. He does not accept trust, he gives it willingly. He is clearly aware that he has the most important role in the life of the state.

He understands the importance of his vocation, even in the simplicity of his circumstances. From this we can understand that the peasant always values all working classes.

He has never known class struggle, but he cannot go down that road, because it is clear to him that, in spite of all class rule, he has the decisive say in everything, at all times.

They like to make the peasant look like a profiteer. The peasant has an immense wealth of experience of practical life, which we must learn from him, because he does not pass it on. And those who have been taught by nature have no hypocritical feelings left in them, only wisdom, serenity, necessity, practical reason. What, therefore, he is convinced of the goodness and necessity of, he accepts from life without false modesty, and stretches out his hand for it. However much it may seem that the peasant soul exhibits materialistic qualities, it is only an appearance, for there lives in it the indispensable condition of all noble high creation: the faith of the beautiful, the thirst for the beautiful, the healthy poetry of the beautiful, the insight of the beautiful, the pursuit of the beautiful. Our folk culture, our folk art, our folk music, and all folk manifestations that strengthen, encourage and uplift us, all originate from the peasant.

He is mistaken who sees the peasant as subtle, cunning, without love for his neighbour. These are not the types of peasantry! His cunning, his cunning, his lack of charity, are only weapons of equal quality. Let us take it upon ourselves to receive everything with scepticism and suspicion, because so far we have been deceived at every turn by the leadership from which we could have rightly expected to be guided along the right national and socialist path.

Under the present system, the Hungarian peasant pays taxes and Jews. This is his whole life's work. For his produce he receives the amount he is given, and he pays what he is paid,

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as they demand of him. What is given to him and what is demanded of him is out of proportion. The difference is his loneliness, his lung disease, his raggedness, his physical, mental and spiritual debility, his unbelief and distrust of all that could be his leadership and guidance.

The Hungarian peasant is in debt through no fault of his own. The land was artificially and masterfully pulled out from under his feet. Our peasantry is morally, spiritually and materially bankrupt. It had to go bankrupt, because it was the body of our Hungarianness, and our Hungarianness was being dragged towards the perishing place a long time ago. We shall create a peasant state of high standing, in which the Hungarian working class is inseparable from peasant production. The order of the present day does not permit the acquisition of land, but the most miserable Hungarian peasant and the Hungarian worker conceivable form the basis of our statehood, in the building, maintenance and defence of which the Hungarian intelligentsia bears equal responsibility with the Hungarian soldier. After the 1914-18 World War, the Hungarian peasantry was divided into three distinct strata.

One layer is the one that came home from the war. They have travelled all over Europe, half the world, their horizons have broadened considerably, quite different from those of the old people who stayed at home. This peasant class, born between 1880 and 1900, is one of the most disappointed social groups. This group of people had already been active participants in life before the world war and could rightly expect to see a better Hungarian world after their bloody suffering and sacrifices during the war. But instead it got a much worse one, full of the same faults that had made life so miserable for the peasants before the war.

The other peasant class, born between 1900 and 1910. This stratum was still a child or adolescent before the war and could not share in any of the 'peace' sufferings, but they did share in the misery at home during the world war. This stratum was still in the job of the head of the family as a child, and all its burdens rested on the shoulders of the children. He had to work in place of the fighting parent, father and head of the family. This stratum knows well that it was in vain to have a huge factory or a bank full of money during the war, but only the land and the work invested in the land can provide bread. This stratum of our peasantry began its struggle in the most important field, bread production, at a young age and therefore has every right to demand that it should have a share in the leadership of the post-war period.

The third layer of peasants is the one born between 1910 and 1920. He knows nothing of his life before the war, having lived through his infancy unconsciously, when heads of families were destroyed and crippled.

His post-war education took a very different direction and a different form from that of the previous age groups. Many of them have definitively rejected the family customs, forms and character which had become obsolete in the perspective of childhood, and have placed themselves in the service of principles of communism, agrarian socialism, agrarian socialist revolutionary movements which lead to their own destruction, and thus to a foolish and reckless denial of the past.

The Hungarian National Socialist state will reunite the Hungarian peasantry, which has been divided morally, spiritually and materially, and restore it to its ancestral right, the undivided possession of the Hungarian land. It will strengthen it morally, spiritually and materially; it will make it capable of creating a healthy new leading middle class, and finally it will reward the Hungarian National Socialist peasant state for the duty it has performed so far.

The liberal democratic view of the state, which judges the phenomena of the state from an exclusively selfish, materialistic point of view, coldly states that the large manor is more creditworthy, more capital-strong, more professional and more efficient in production, and therefore ultimately more economical and more useful to the state than the small manor. It is for this reason that liberal democratic state systems prevent and oppose the institutional development of the small landlord system at the expense of the large landlord for reasons that are inherently selfish.

The national socialist view of the state rejects the worship of the golden calf and replaces it with the idea of the dignity of work. It regards as a crime against the dignity of labour the maintenance of the large landed property system out of blind worship of capital to such an extent that it not only makes it impossible for the masses engaged in physical agricultural labour to acquire land, but reduces them to the most miserable conditions of subsistence imaginable, and leaves the existing small landed classes to struggle disproportionately for economic life, and thus exposes them to monarchy, atrophy and degradation.

For this reason the Hungarian National Socialist State will find a way to transform the present agricultural proletariat into a small landowning class in return for its honest labour at the expense of the large estates, and will also find a way to develop the small estates into a much more useful and economical institution from the point of view of the State than the large estates of the liberal democratic systems, by the establishment of suitable cooperative systems, by vocational training and controlled farming.

Let us embed our nation in the Hungarian soil, so that it may have firm, eternal, solid foundations, from which no one can ever again push it down!

The Hungarian National Socialist peasant state is therefore not only a state system imposed by necessity, but the natural end of the Hungarian nation. It is the last resort against all imperialist aspirations, whether they come from within or from without, whether they be economic or intellectual, and whether they be destructive weapons.

## 2. THE WORKER

The worker is a nation builder.

The way to the peasantry is through nature. To the worker through ideology.

There are many paths to the peasant, all of which can be taken without having to bury and destroy the others. But there are only two roads to the worker: the road of the old ideology and the road of the new ideology. Once one reaches its goal, the other is self-destructive. Such is the difference when the national socialist movement sets out to win over these two most powerful strata of our popular community.

The road to the peasant is by its nature more tactical, the road to the worker more strategic: the first is to be conquered by practical weapons, the second by intellectual ones. This is the first fundamental law of our workers' movement.

Hungarian national socialism must be practised with the peasantry, and the worker must be made aware of it, because after he has been made aware of it he will practise it himself. This is the second fundamental law of our workers' movement.

The peasant is not a factor in the struggles of the Hungarian National Socialist movement, because he only accepts and fights for what has already been proven. What he does not know whether it will work, he takes a position of expectation. His attitude towards the new in the face of the old can at most be taken to the point of passionate opposition. The worker, however, is always ready for a heroic fight to the end for an ideology which he has already become conscious of with his heart and intellect, even before it has become practical, and he fights only to bring the ideology he has become conscious of to victory and to make it a practical system. Hence it follows that every ideology is victorious when it is embraced by the working class and, regardless of its natural stages of development, always becomes a practical system. This is the third fundamental law of our labour movement.

The peasantry can be transferred to a new system on a disaggregated basis. It is slowly being transformed into a new way of life. The worker consciously and voluntarily tears himself out of the old ideology, destroys it completely, throws himself with great impetus into the framework of life formed by the new ideology. He does not temporarily lose his strength, but even increases it, because he knows, confesses and believes that the new ideology means for him an increase in strength in contrast to the old. This is the fourth law of our labour movement.

The spiritual and practical world of the peasant is explicitly the egocentric socialism of which



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in its broadest sense, is based on the socialisation of the land. It cannot develop its socialism, but it cannot be developed. The spiritual and practical world of the worker is all-embracing, embracing the popular community in its entirety. The socialism of the worker is therefore a socialism of the people and of society. This is the fifth fundamental law of our workers' movement.

And rightly so, because the peasant is a nation-keeper: he stands, holds and protects; the worker is a nation-builder: he attacks the unbroken, the fallow moral, spiritual and material areas of national production.

In the case of the peasantry, we have shown that it is divided into three distinct layers. The three strata have in common that they are dissatisfied with the present conditions, but they are sure that the present system could help them fundamentally: all three strata would accept the present system for a longer period of time. Labour, by contrast, is not divided. And it is dissatisfied, and this is essential because of the bankruptcy of its Marxist ideology.

He was disappointed by the system he believed in, hoped for, fought for and expected to prosper under. He cannot deal with the bankruptcy of his Marxist ideology. It is upon him and pushing him towards moral, spiritual and material destruction. He would no longer accept Marxist ideology even if its communist practice were to re-establish itself in our country through some diabolical policy. This is the sixth fundamental law of our workers' movement, and the most important, because the knowledge of it gives our movement an excellent weapon of war.

The aim of the Hungarist Movement is to win over the Hungarian workers to the Hungarian National Socialist ideology.

The task is neither easy nor difficult. It is not easy because our ideology is new and unfamiliar, since the national socialist states have not yet developed such an ideology and in this respect they know only a firm rejection of Marxism and its communist practices. But the worker needs more than denial! It demands a claim to have something to replace the intellectual void left by the voluntary and joyful imposition of the old ideology. If it is not replaced by something else, it will see in the new system nothing but the possible fulfilment of the old, more open ideology within a certain closed framework, and it is therefore not surprising that many people should recognise in the new system, which national socialism proclaims and realises, an evolutionary stage of the old ideology, and wrongly see in national socialism communism confined within a national framework.

The task is not difficult, however, because the position of the working class has been fatally shaken by the murderous embrace of the Marxist system, not because it has accepted national socialism, but because it has become disillusioned with Marxism and has already rejected it from its ideological life. The working class sees that where the international capitalist system has been overthrown on Marxist grounds, Marxism has also failed, together with its entire communist practice; where, on the other hand, national socialism has overthrown the international capitalist system, the working class has found its moral, spiritual and material conditions of existence, alongside the final downfall of Marxism.

It follows from all this that international big capital, the pinnacle of liberalism, and Marxism have fought in complementary ways, always supporting each other, never being enemies, and Marxism is the sweet child of liberalism. It is therefore natural that the fall of liberalism should drag Marxism down with it. It ultimately follows that liberal practical systems must be overthrown if the possibilities of Marxist practices are to be eradicated once and for all from the practical systems of nations.

The Hungarian worker is impatient with his party, himself and his workers' organisations, because he is disappointed in his old ideals. However, since, in contrast to his present-day attitude of favouritism, he can still only somehow secure and defend his non-ideological interests of subsistence with the help of his existing workers' organisations, the Hungarian worker has also become opportunistic.

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Our workers' leaders are therefore no longer Marxists in the social-democratic evolutionary sense, and not yet national socialists from our point of view. Our Hungarian workers are therefore ideologically desperate socialists, and in terms of their livelihood they are opportunistic desperate socialists.

Let us give them a bread-secure homeland, a worker-loving nation, let us integrate them into the just moral, spiritual and material system of our people's community, let us give them the ideology of our Hungarist movement, and we shall have the Hungarian National Socialist worker, one of the great organic pillars of the Hungarian National Socialist state system.

The Hungarian worker rightly accuses in the name of the Homeland and the Hungarian nation: the leaders of bourgeois society, that after 1918-19, when the working class realised the false futility of the international workers' goals, when it realised that internationalism was in the service of Jewish big business, the leading strata of society, instead of organically setting the Hungarian people's right, of the Hungarian people, they kicked it, showed cold indifference to it, became disgusted and puffed up with its fate, ignored its struggles, called it "stinking proletariat" with a word of shame and made the moral, spiritual and material construction of our Bonesharkhaza without it and against it; with its nation-destroying and worker-destroying leaders, they made deals and bargains at the expense of the nation and the worker, forcing the worker to go back to the one he hated, with his hated ideas and leaders;

the government, because it implements its "workers' protection" through the big capital and the racist Jewish social-democratic party leaders, demands patriotism and national love from the workers, but does not give them a secure homeland, a nation that loves workers; the parties and the associations, because they have torn the peasant from the land, the worker from his job, the intellectual from the nation, they have torn our whole society apart and are not fighting for power, but in the shadow of power for selfish, individual goals and with their frivolous programs they are sharpening and deepening class conflicts even more; our religious and religious life, because they feel that the nation has been separated from God, shaking the Hungarian worker's faith in the inseparability of God, Country, Nation and Family;

the social-democratic workers' leaders and the Communist International, because it has made them completely at the mercy of the international Jewish big business, has trapped them between the millstones of the international Jewish big business and the bourgeoisie's ruling class, and is caught between the two millstones, crumbling, the one makes it more of a slave, the other more of an enemy, because Marxism has killed the worker's faith in God and Country, and has replaced it with nothing but moral, spiritual and material bitterness and the laws of base instinct;

himself, because he did not take the management of his destiny into his own hands, but let himself be beaten and beaten by everyone because of the lies and unnaturalness of his old ideology! The Hungarian worker has asked so far, he has not been listened to. His followers, his demands have not been met. In the name of the Homeland and the Nation, in the framework of the struggle of our Hungarist Movement, he will now take, of his own will and strength, the place to which he is entitled in the Hungarian people's community by right, work and esteem.

We therefore proclaim the struggle of the social-nationalist movement, which unites all the workers of the Hungarian people on the basis of faith in God, love of country and socialist popular welfare.

The most powerful force of the ideology of our Hungarian National Socialist movement is that it unites all workers, whether they work with tools, hoes, scythe or brains, and requires them to be conscious patriots and conscious socialists in one person.

Socialism is therefore taken out of the narrow framework and narrow limits of class socialism, which has hitherto been the privilege of the industrial working class, and transplanted to all forms of life, to all members, to all strata of the nation, in its entirety, because from its birth

should have started here. This is the basic tenet of Marxism: class rule won by class struggle and the means of terror is itself collapsed, destroyed. The working class, as Hungarian working class, takes its rightful place in the state system, which is rightfully its by right, work and dignity.

Hungarian national socialism gives its workers a new ideology in the social-nationalist sphere. It embraces socialist nationalism and nationalist socialism and puts an end to the lie that nationalism and socialism are fire and water, inseparable. It rejects the internationalism of Marxism and builds internationalism.

We have built the intellectual edifice of our movement in such a way that the Hungarian worker will find in it his new ideology. We are convinced that this new ideology will not only arouse the determination of the workers, but will be accepted in all those states where national socialist systems exist, but without being able to give the workers of the Nation ideological reality and practice.

Hungarism is the moral, spiritual and material reality of our national community. The ideology and practice of social-nationalism provide the national and socialist working system of our nation. And the ideology and practice of nationhood determines the moral, spiritual and material relation of our nation to the national and socialist order of other nations.

Jewry will lose its role as a labour leader completely. Our movement will really and definitively destroy Marxism, its hotbed, liberalism and its spiritual bed, Freemasonry. In its place, we will implant the eternal ideology: mutual recognition of rights, mutual respect, complementary and progressive development and peaceful relations between national and socialist states, which are morally, spiritually and materially complete.

### 3. THE MADNESS

Intellectuals are national leaders and managers.

The way to the peasant is through nature, to the worker through the destruction of his old ideology. To the intellectual, it is through his spiritual and physical rebirth, through the restoration of his faith, his self-respect and his uplifting sense of vocation. We stress at the outset that by intellectuals we do not only mean the middle classes. It is only one of the components of the intelligentsia, which includes all those who, through conscious intellect, have earned through their personal knowledge and action the responsible direction and leadership of a community.

The peasantry and the working classes therefore have their intellectuals just as the middle classes do not.

The intellectuals are the intellectual leaders of state and popular life. In the Hungarian national socialist state, it is from the intellectuals that we will draw the most important governing and leading organ of our state system: the national leadership.

Our intelligentsia will find its self-respect as it becomes an integral part of our popular community; the responsibility will not fall on technical processing alone, but on the essence itself, which is to decide and solve a question of the nation correctly.

We do not educate "responsible" bureaucrats, but leaders who are responsible for the nation. Even in the most seemingly insignificant matters. To live for bureaucrats is worse than death; that's why the masses of intellectuals locked up in offices were the living dead. They were, for the most part, clerks, without any freedom of power or autonomy, without the slightest joy or hope of satisfying the noble feelings in their hearts.

All letters are dead, only the spirit of letters is life. To fight for our people, our nation: that is tire

work from which spiritual and moral forces flow. The work of our intellect will therefore also be a powerful meaning of our lives. He will be freed from the nightmare of aimless accomplishments, disappointing futilities, helpless labours and fruitless efforts, which in the liberal past had been kneeling at his knees, strangling his manhood, his spirituality and his whole personality.

We strengthen him spiritually and morally, so that he can sharply recognise, with his eyes that span the Hungarian horizon, that the ideal of the people and the Homeland is what we must live and work for.

Intellectuals must first and foremost be nationally conscious and conscious socialists in order to fulfil their primary national task.

Our intellectuals have been torn from our nation, but partly by sinful hands. It was torn away when it became a bureaucracy; it was torn away when, in the known methods of subjugating our nation, morally, spiritually and materially, it was first divided into parts, so that they could be beaten separately.

Our intellectuality was such a severed and beaten part.

The spinelessness of the middle class, its carelessness, its aversion to the land, its withdrawal from the practical manifestations of national life, its soulless mechanism, its unbelief, its moral gangrene, its neglect: all these are facts and results of the guilty hand which has uprooted it and condemned it to moral, spiritual and material degradation. In his own disgusted and disgusted soul, he remained indifferent and insensitive to all patriotic and national-saving movements.

In our intellectuality, we can observe three groups of layers. However, these are not determined by the grouping of birth ages, but by the manifestations of intellectual consciousness.

The first group includes those who are infected with the Jewish spirit and Jewish blood. This group is mostly made up of the upper middle class. They reap all the benefits of the present system. They will therefore be the ones who will have to tolerate all the disadvantages of the new system on the basis of the distributive truth. These are the ones who have no individual convictions or, if they had any, have sold them out. Their eyes see only what the Jewish interests allow them to see, they hear only what is whispered from the background, their mouths are the spokesmen of this genocidal interest.

Hired and damned souls. Before them, money and misery have no smell, the motives of life have no meaning. They are insensitive to the misery of others and of their whole nation, but every mortal must pity their own misfortunes. Treacherous, selfish, spoiled, empty vessels, the testicles of our nation. They are the real intellectual and moral parasites of our country, whose happiness is based on the fact that they themselves do not know where they have sunk to and do not know what they are doing. Otherwise, the whip of their conscience and guilt would whip them to death.

This is the group that is removing itself from our struggle, from the life-and-death struggle of our nation. They are not relevant to our movement. Dealing with them is a fruitless waste of time.

The second group includes those who have been made listless by the sins of those in the first group. Those who, disgusted and weary, have given up their convictions and become spineless. Their willpower was lost. And though in the ashes of their souls there was the creative hope of a more human and Hungarian life, they sank, as it were, into helplessness.

These types are found mainly in the so-called "Latin" middle class, in public administration and in the masses of private employees. And because they have been made so, they are the ones who, like jaded, submissive, frightened pariahs, always serve anyone who makes them feel powerful. They are the most unhappy, because their reason and consciousness are often

in the depths of their unspoiled souls, it shows them the right path.

They can feel with the nation, but they can no longer act with it; they are the ones whom our movement must liberate from their tragic inhibitions. This is the group that does not dare, cannot, but will not dodge our struggle, our nation's life and death struggle. This is the group that must first and foremost be given back their self-respect, their masculinity, and first and foremost we must embrace them back into the popular community. This is the group that must finally take a stand: here or there! Because anyone who is not with us with all the strength of his intellect, with all the intimacy of his heart, is against us.

The enlightening work of our movement is not a waste of time for this group, on the contrary: it is an apostolic and redemptive work. Let us not be impatient if we meet with rejection. The individual with inhibitions rejects everything outwardly, but everything he receives from without he keeps within, he cannot get rid of.

In the third group are those whom we should call pearls, and whom we should embrace with the greatest love, because they come to us consciously, with all the treasures of their soul, heart and intellect;

are unspoiled, healthy and filled with the courageous and manly joy of taking responsibility. They are found mostly among intellectuals who have retained the fragrance of the precious Hungarian land, who cling tenaciously to their peasant roots still in the soil of Hungarian morals, Hungarian customs, Hungarian memories, the Hungarian past, and were not ashamed to save and profess their racial traits, regardless of everything, in everything and everywhere, in the hostile atmosphere of this foreign and wild life.

This is the group that rejoices and weeps, stands or falls, lives and dies with its nation.

The one that sees with the eyes of its nation and feels with the heart of its nation. A true, non-negotiating, responsible, nation-saving, nation-governing and nation-leading class.

He accepts responsibility for others without hesitation, if he is convinced that what he is doing is in the national interest. This is the group that will never be far from our fight.

The primary aim of our movement should be to bring this group into the most direct contact with our labour movement. It is from this group that we can build the responsible governing and leading body of our statehood: the national leadership, because we are convinced and believe that the moral, spiritual and material life of our people's community cannot be in better, more honest and cleaner hands.

#### 4. WOMEN, CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Women, children and youth are our nation's immortality.

Who, as he educates his youth, so he sees the future of his nation. The moral height which a polity can attain and maintain in its practical life depends on the way in which it sets up a woman.

The establishment of the right of the child and the family will be the basic law of our Hungarian community life. These are the instruments that our laws will strongly ensure and protect:

the purity of family life, the creation of moral, spiritual and material conditions, the honouring of the maternal vocation, the far-reaching guarantee that the mother's sacred lap will produce the most abundant and healthy child-bearing; and, finally, the new construction of the succession system to increase the population;

we do not recognise an illegitimate child before law and order. Children from the same father will enjoy the same rights of national upbringing and inheritance. All children will have a natural parental home. We are and will remain honest practical fighters for the future of our youth.

A woman fulfils her true, sacred and most natural vocation as a mother. The mother is the home, the good spirit of the family, the nurturer of the child, the understanding support and comfort of the mature youth, the stimulus of the bread-winner.

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The mother is the genius of the Nation's immortality.

The system that deprives women of their sacred vocation, exploits them as workers and turns them into "men" in a rush for material conditions, is a sin. She commits a grave sin against the state institution of the home and the family as the maintenance of the people, and therefore against her country and her nation.

The unnecessary, frivolous, often unhealthy embellishments and glossing over are a sign of poverty within. They imply that, in the absence of a meaningful life, the woman has been led down the bleak path of an outward 'life of appearances' and thus increasingly distanced from her true vocation in life. Impossible moral, spiritual and material circumstances confirmed this. The liberal system, with its impossible institution of civil marriage, which throws a sharp light on its entire moral essence, has established a form of officially and socially proscribed friendship which is really not even one step removed from the practice of free love. Communism only wants to legalise what liberalism has already socially and socio-legally accepted.

In order to safeguard and protect the moral life of our nation, we insist in the strongest terms on the ordination of the Church, we require it for all marriages, and we will not deviate from it under any circumstances.

It will be the foundation of our family life. And the current system of civil marriage will be ruthlessly abolished.

Divorce is allowed by the state, but only in strictly defined cases that are in the national interest:

in cases of infertility, degeneracy or related cases affecting not only the family but also the nation. A non-defective spouse who is separated for such reasons may remarry with state permission. However, his or her remarriage is automatically subject to our ecclesiastical laws. The defective spouse may never remarry. The child always belongs to the non-defective spouse. Under no circumstances should there be any grounds for divorce, except for reasons deserving punishment, which the state will treat as such.

The child will enjoy the special protection of our state power. A child is a child when there are at least three of them in a family.

One child is a trembling worry, two children are a diplomat in the separation of motherly and fatherly love, three children are a joy, and many children are a true happiness. Our nation will be happy, great, resilient, if we do not hear the clamour of children over the booming, homeland-saving rhetoric of wise politicians.

We will provide tasty Hungarian bread for the happy children of real Hungarian families.

The most powerful weapon of an armed nation is the child: the healthy, pure, brave Hungarian child. Whatever weapon our enemies point at us will fall from their hands under the onslaught of the multiplied, laughing, happy and healthy Hungarian army of children.

The education of the child must be guided in parallel: he must be given a nursery education, so that he may be rooted forever in the depths of a loving home and a pure family life, and a national education, so that he may put down healthy roots in his nation and his country.

Don't overload his brain and heart with things he can't yet digest. Let us be aware that this parallel structure of child-rearing: the nursery and the national education, is crucial. Let us teach and educate.

It is the responsibility of the home to educate the child. Teaching is a state responsibility.

The child thus raised, pure in spirit, body and blood, begins his great journey as a youth in the life of the nation. Youth thus becomes a home to cherish, a family to cherish.

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and instilled with racial pride and a sound educational foundation, it becomes part of the system of national education. From that time on, teaching and education are the responsibility of the State. They cannot be separated from each other. It must become an independent fighter, an enthusiastic, ideal-conscious, serious member of the Hungarian national socialist system. Our education will provide him with a solid foundation, our training will prepare him for his future leadership. The aim of national education should be to mould a leader who is knowledgeable, imbued with a fervent love of his country and his race. Let each and every member of our youth feel and know that there is a vocation in the life of our nation, whether it be to serve it with tool or plough, with wit or pen or sword.

But let him also be imbued with the knowledge that, when he has completed his education, he will have the place which he can and can justly claim in the moral, spiritual or material aspects of our national socialist life.

Only the liberal state system is aware of the issue of "unemployed graduates". Our national socialist people's community will not know any unemployed Hungarian graduates, unemployed Hungarian youth.

Our Community is above all nationalist and socialist, and therefore cannot tolerate any failures in these two aspects. We will place the graduates and unemployed youth of today's system in practical careers after appropriate prior free retraining.

Instead of job hoarding, we will give everyone a secure job, because we have big, beautiful jobs waiting to be filled. We will enlist our youth in the ranks of our armed nation and our workers' nation and give them into our hands either the weapons of struggle or the weapons of work, according to whether we wish to form a sword or a shield from the noble material of our national and socialist youth, consciously acting for national goals.

Hungarism will embrace the Carpathians into one nation, one national soul

The whole youth of the Danube basin and essentially carries the message of peace and struggle. Struggle for the reality of Hungarism, peace after the reality has been created, in the common work for the glory, greatness and happiness of our great Motherland.

The Family: the head of the family, the mother, the true child are the building, securing, protecting and legitimizing foundations of Hungarian National Socialism. The head of the family is its warrior, the mother its soul, the child its weapon, the youth its embodiment.

### 5. THE ETHNIC FAMILY AND MINORITY ISSUE

Hungarian National Socialism will settle the great moral, spiritual and material questions of the Danube basin embraced by the Carpathians on the basis of the reality of Hungarism. The emphasis is on the basis of reality. The realisation of this, the conclusions and the lessons to be drawn from this realisation will determine the definition and implementation of the tasks which are necessary for the setting of our new nation-building and which will legitimize, ensure and protect the unity of the civilised state and people's order of the area concerned in moral, spiritual and material terms.

One of the realities is that our Hungarian people were the only ones capable of building an organic state system in the area for a thousand years. Politically, socially and economically united, it created in this territorial unit an organic state which was able to adapt to and adapt to past developments, the spirit of the times and the practices of Europe. In 1848-49 and in 1867, he sought to transpose into our public life the liberal systems of practice he had taken from the West. Our state-building has therefore always gone hand in hand with and adapted to European state-building. But this effort has failed. One of the reasons for this failure is that we took our models from states which had already achieved internal unity in moral, spiritual, material, bloodline and linguistic terms, and had therefore only had to change the interaction of the forces of their internal life when transposing their systems, and had already been organised into a unified nation. If

even in a rudimentary form, but they were able to express a unified national will: they were able to ensure the unity of their nation in their state objectives, the objective of state power was not only accepted by the Nation, but also embraced and consciously carried out by it in accordance with the will and direction of state power: the state objective and the national objective could be one in all the systems that had been established and accepted. On the contrary, when we conquered our Homeland, we were able to build the state system that had been tried and tested in the West, with Western concepts of the state, but without being able to make the ethnic groups that made up our statehood an integral part of it, without being able to make our system of transposition a unified national will to support our state objectives, without our state objectives covering the ethnic objectives of the ethnic groups.

The initiatives which the individual struggles for freedom expressed with a view to establishing a specific state and people, and a unified moral, spiritual and material system, suited to the conditions of our country, were obstructed by the forces of the regime in power, who were stubbornly clinging to the external forms of statehood of the Western states, made it impossible, by playing off against each other the groups of people who were in every respect interdependent, and by making our country for centuries the scene of constant and ever-increasing moral, spiritual and material struggles. The second reason, which is a function of the first and which follows from it, is that we have not been able to become a nation, we have not been able to give a Homeland, a Home in the Homeland, to the ethnic groups. We Hungarians have occupied Hont, but from it we have not built the reality of the Homeland, but only its framework of power: the State. To serve the State and to serve the Homeland at the same time is only possible if the Homeland alone represents the moral, spiritual and material reality, the content, while the State is the legitimate service of this inner reality content. Until now, we Hungarians have only served the State, and therefore we have lost that without which there can be no state life: the Homeland. The individual ethnic groups, our sister nations, have felt and still feel the same lack and have therefore tried and are still trying to find themselves in a state framework which for them also means the Homeland, i.e. the practice and service of the people's reality at all times.

Hence, some of our sister nations have not looked and are looking not at whether they live in a geopolitically ideal unity, but solely at the moral, spiritual and material relationship that the territory covered by their ethnic group and the ethnic group to which they belong can have with another ethnic group and its territory. The causes of the misfortune which befell our statehood in 1918-19 must be seen and understood in this way, and in this way alone. The internal causes of the great unrest which our brother nations are experiencing today must likewise be understood and recognised in the total absence of the reality of the Homeland and the Homeland.

The other reality is that our great Motherland is a closed entity in all respects, and its forces are confined to sharply defined areas.

Geographically, we are a basin country, surrounded by a strongly uplifted chain unit to the north and east, with a wide and open gateway to the west and south: the Danube makes it a natural collection and distribution point for the West and East. This geographical picture defines its geopolitical position in Europe.

Each ethnic group is divided by landscape. The Slavic ethnic groups are found in the mountainous areas, the German ethnic groups in the hilly areas, the Romanian ethnic groups in the alpine mountainous areas and the Hungarian ethnic groups in the lowland areas, where they have found a secure ground for the individual development of their particular forms of life. With the exception of the German ethnic groups, which are scattered throughout the basin country in scattered island groups, the other ethnic groups are all located in closed ethnic groups. The influence of the individual ethnic groups on each other was always direct, regardless of their historical position. Any historical or statehood boundaries drawn in our basin country cannot eliminate this direct influence.



they knew. The geopolitical interdependence of the indigenous and land-rooted permanent populations is therefore not in dispute. It follows that the geographical and geopolitical characteristics of our basin do not allow it to be divided into spheres of interest whose moral, spiritual and material centres of gravity and focus lie outside its borders. The Danube is a natural centre of gravity, and its moral, spiritual and material weight can therefore be found only along this line.

The ethnic boundaries of each ethnic group are not sharp, but overlap and blend on the contact surface. They can never be separated from each other, because the strong moral, spiritual and material contact between the different ethnic groups is a necessity of life. This implies, in turn, that we must not draw borders of statehood between the individual ethnic groups, but cultural borders which allow each ethnic group to develop its own particular popular culture in the interests of the great unity. It is from this fact that we can derive the elementary basis for the autonomies that are absolutely necessary: cultural autonomy.

Starting from the Hungarist reality basis of Hungarian National Socialism, we state that, in connection with land readjustment and resettlement, we will implement measures which will make it possible for the parts and members of ethnic groups dispersed throughout our basin to be returned to their ethnic group block in order to ensure the full enjoyment of their autonomy.

It is undeniable that the culture of each ethnic group is a function of geopolitical interacted and their influence on each other led to the development of a specific Carpathian-Danube cultural area. We would like to emphasize that this specific cultural development, which is natural and has occurred due to the interdependence of the ethnic groups, will continue to develop and will be ennobled into a Hungaristic culture, because only this can ensure the state-building public morality, public spirituality and public welfare of the interdependent ethnic groups. The natural development of a Hungarist culture will only achieve its noble goal in Hungarism if the ethnic groups do not lose the ashes of their own culture, but on the contrary, if they cultivate it vigorously, develop it in all aspects according to their specific characteristics, make it conscious and practised in their ethnic groups as an indispensable force multiplier and make it available to the ethnic community as a public treasure. A hungarisztikus kultúra tehát az egyes népcsoportok kultúráinak összességét, egymásra utaltságát, összértékét és egymást serkentő gyakorlati beállítottsát és hasznosítását jelenti.

Our Carpathian basin is a united and closed country from an economic and geographic point of view. In terms of resource endowments, we are a distinctly pastoral area, predominantly agricultural in character. Hence our economic orientation in Europe. As a matter of economic policy, our basin country is the most pan-European country in Europe, because both its exports and imports are limited in total volume to the states of our European continent. Our economic policy has its scope and focus on the Rhine-Rhone in the west, the Vistula-Dniester in the east, the Eastern Sea in the north and the Adriatic Sea in the south, the Black Sea in the east. Consequently, we are not only the most European area, but we are also explicitly and definitively the internal political and economic closed core of Central Europe. This closed core is intersected and influenced by industrial lines to the west and peasant lines to the east. It is an economic area and market for industry and for farming. As a closed economic unit, it is an indicator of the balance of the Central European economic area. If the interlocking system of economic closure and unity of our basin country breaks down, the economic equilibrium will be disrupted not only in our basin country but also in Central Europe. The creation of economic unity in the Danube basin, surrounded by the Carpathians, is therefore a central European and therefore European necessity and objective, which no European state can ignore, unless it wants to expose Europe to the serious consequences of an economic war, the focus of which would be our basin country.

Our country, forged into a closed foreign policy unit, represents a balance and predominance of the given

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in the Central European force area. It will fall out of these two roles as soon as its internal closed unity breaks down and it becomes a battleground for both the Central European states and the foreign policy interests of the West and the East; It will thus become a battleground for the Germanic, Eatin and Catholic Slavic powers to secure their hegemony in the Danube basin, but it will also become a battleground for the English, French and Russian interests which are competing with the Germanic, Latin and Catholic Slavic powers to preserve or extend their specific world political position.

The third reality is that the creation of a closed Danube basin, embraced by the Carpathians, is a necessity and a law. We are convinced that this closed unit must be created. We affirm that it is the historical task and vocation of our Hungarian ethnic family to create this closed unity on the basis of the real foundation of Hungarism, by the common will and sanctification of the interested and affected ethnic groups, by its own efforts, free from all unnatural influences: to acquire a homeland for all ethnic groups and to give them a homeland that is a confession of heart and mind. If we, the Hungarian ethnic family, are unable to accomplish this great historic task, it will be created out of natural necessity, but after the barren wars that have devastated our country and are raging, by the great powers of Europe in a second "peace of Falaise", in which the new state and ethnic map of the new Europe will be drawn and legitimized. In this case, however, the peoples of the Carpathian Danube basin would be placed under a state and ethnic system which would be sanctioned not by their will but by the common will of the great powers concerned. This, in turn, would lead, in the absence of internal persuasive content, to the situation where the ethnic groups, confined and forced into such a framework, would be torn apart by persistent internal strife over which ethnic group the great powers that created and provided the state would attempt to secure their moral, spiritual and material superiority. It is therefore imperative that

This unity of Central Europe is forged by the interested ethnic groups, by their common will, completely free from foreign influence, on the basis of the reality of Hungarism, both morally, spiritually and materially, into a state and popular community system of their own accord, and be ratified by a general secret referendum.

These three bases of reality set a commanding and sharp boundary for our Hungarian nation, as a direction and a goal, as a content, when, in the midst of fateful conditions, it sets out on a third conquest in the Danube basin surrounded by the Carpathians, with its undeniable state-building capacity, and intends to carry it out gloriously, and to influence its European history in a powerful way. Only our Hungarian nation is capable of carrying out this historic task, because its instinctive aspirations have always pointed in this direction and towards this goal, and the fact that it has failed in this endeavour so far can only be attributed to the fact that foreign and internal power interests have hindered this endeavour for centuries and that it has been caught up in the moral, spiritual and material treadmill of power interests. The Hungarian national socialist struggle for freedom, with the reality of Hungarism, has taken the burden off our Hungarian people and, liberated, will now devote all its energies to the liberation of its brotherly peoples.

Based on the reality of our homeland, and recognising the worldview dictated by the spirit of the age, these are the foundations of our nation-building:

We cannot build our statehood on the model and system of any other European State; our State and our popular objective must be such that all the national groups assigned to this territory recognize it, sanction it and defend it by common will;

The leading and guiding role of the Hungarian nation in the new state is at all times a vital requirement of life and a question of state and community existence, the basis of a civilised state and people's order, the guarantee of the harmonious development of moral, spiritual and material life, the guardian of the frictionless people's order between the individual fraternal ethnic groups.

It follows from all this that for all the ethnic groups of our great Motherland.

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an ideological system must be put into practice and consciously perceived in it, which traces the reality of the Homeland and the Homeland not only to geopolitical entities, but also to the unified moral, spiritual and material will and action of its peoples.

As a final conclusion, the first law of the basis of the solution is that in their ideal geopolitical unity, which represents and guarantees an ideal Homeland and Hont for the ethnic groups living in it and on it, we must build an ideal popular statehood, the framework of which is the state, the backbone the constitution sanctioned by the public will, the expression the national will of the ethnic groups, the content the popular community of the ethnic groups, the basis of the existence the natural, law-given right of the Hungarian nation to lead and govern the state.

The correct, just, honest and unambiguous solution of the ethnic family and minority question in the Hungarian National Socialist state is a matter of life for the Hungarian nation, the brotherly ethnic groups and minorities alike. We declare:

For our brother nations, we are legitimizing the rights which they acquired by shedding their blood for the reality of the Hungarian Empire for centuries, by making moral, spiritual and material sacrifices, and by suffering imprisonment, exile and martyrdom in the hell of the occupied territories after the World War.

The Hungarian National Socialist State will settle the relationship between the Hungarian nation and our sister nations by referendum: this question is a matter which belongs only to the two of them, and is an internal affair of the Hungarian National Socialist State. No other power has any say in it. If, in spite of honest, just, right and accepted decisions of honour, any of our brother nations should violate our life treaties in any respect: they become usurpers and miscreants and must answer for the consequences themselves.

Hungarism demands the same conscious patriotism, nation-building and loyalty from the minority as it does from its Hungarian brothers and sisters. The value of the Hungarist minorities as a people and the extent to which they are valued are determined by these criteria alone. The Homeland is one. It offers its drink and its bread alike: there can therefore be no difference in the loyalty, gratitude, rights and sense of duty of its sons. Since, according to our Hungarist conception, the preservation of the mother tongue and of the peculiar folk culture is not incompatible with loyalty to the Fatherland, we shall, when we come to power, ensure and implement in practice the establishment and maintenance of all institutions for our minorities, as our equal and full-fledged Hungarist nation-brothers and sisters in state-building, through which they may cultivate their folk characteristics and culture, but only at all times in the service and for the benefit of our common Fatherland.

We believe that every ethnic group can only develop its highest human values from its inherited natural endowments, and only with these can it honestly and valuably fill the national framework in which it lives. Only by freely exploiting these specific natural gifts can he be a grateful, contented, useful and loyal son of his country.

Within the borders of the common homeland, the Hungarian National Socialist state stands on the material basis of blood unity, recognising it as a natural endowment. On the contrary, it demands in the strongest terms that each and every member of the blood-religious groups lives and practices the reality of Hungarism as a subject. It recognises the assimilation of blood as a fact of blood-breeding among its ethnic groups, and excludes and isolates only the elements which are blood-contaminating and race-destroying.

We declare as destructive and destructive elements those who, by virtue of their moral, spiritual, material, blood and racial composition, are unpatriotic, rootless, and do not recognize the reality and practice of Hungarism, and act against it by destroying the people, the homeland, the race, and the moral, spiritual and material unity of the State. In contrast to this is the constructive element, which enjoys all the protection of the Hungarian National Socialist State.

Embracing and practicing Hungarism with faith, heart and mind in the love of one's country

and loyalty is a foundation that cannot be corrupted by fateful times.

All the ethnic groups covering and living on the territory of our Great Motherland will and to form the Hungarian National Socialist Hungarist community of the people. We call the totality of the indigenous and deep-rooted ethnic groups of the people's community the Nation. Every citizen and citizen of the nation is a citizen of the Hungarian national socialist statehood, which is formed by the totality of ethnic groups and is territorially inseparable, and a citizen of the bonds of the ethnic group.

Citizens' rights and duties are the basis of the rights and duties of citizenship. Citizens' rights and duties shall in no circumstances conflict with the rights and duties of citizens.

Non-nationals are those who cannot exercise citizenship or nationality rights. Their rights and obligations will be governed by specific laws and regulations.

Every citizen is a citizen and vice versa: every citizen is a citizen, or the event that a nationally recognised member or a part of an ethnic group commits or intends to commit an act which endangers the moral, spiritual, material, territorial or territorial integrity or unity of the State and the homeland, which is sanctioned by the common will, or disrupts the whole or parts of the community of peoples, which is legally harmonised and sanctioned among the ethnic groups, he or she becomes a foreign national by virtue of the right guaranteed by the adopted common constitution.

The referendum is an irrevocable requirement, a right and a duty on our part, a fundamental law of our entire state-building and our country's structure. Whether by peaceful means or by armed force, the reattachment of our brotherly ethnic groups for the purpose of building the Great Homeland: the fundamental law of the referendum cannot be changed or set aside. We do not want to conclude our contract with individuals, but the entirety and totality of our Hungarian people will conclude a contract with the entirety and totality of our brotherly ethnic groups.

The Hungarian National Socialist state builds the Hungarian Empire on the basis of the reality of Hungarism, in accordance with the requirements of a modern world view and the spirit of the times, and expands its meaning and practice with Hungarism and the autonomies sanctioned by referendum; and restores the Hungarian statehood, which fell in 1526, after more than four hundred years of forced discontinuity, and gives it a new life, a new purpose and a new life, by the conscious, common will of all the peoples. The fraternal ethnic groups shall, by referendum, sanction their autonomy and their inseparability from it and from the Hungarist Hungarian Empire; and the Hungarian people shall, by referendum, sanction and acknowledge the consciously professed will of the fraternal ethnic groups.

We, who believe and profess the Hungarist reality of Hungarian National Socialism with profound faith, assert with conviction that our Hungarian nation can only fulfil this great historical and sacred task and sacred calling if it professes and practices our creed with heart and mind; it will make it possible for a truly independent Hungarian National Socialist system to prevail in our Bashkortostan within the foreseeable future, and it is convinced that this system and this rule can only and exclusively be secured and defended by us alone and with integrity and honesty. Therefore, we must build and make real in our practical life a moral, spiritual and material order and system which will make the return of our separated brothers and sisters to our Hungarian National Socialist State necessary and desirable. We Hungarian National Socialists reclaim our blood living on the territory of the successor states for the Hungarian Homeland.

The interested powers must take note of the will of the peoples of the Danube basin around the Carpathians and must not under any circumstances influence or hinder the will of individual ethnic groups.

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We have proved the necessary and natural reality of the Hungarian Empire Our proof will be confirmed by evolving life. The path in this reality is marked by the sacrificial Hungarian National Socialist movement, the goal by the vitality, soul and content of Hungarism. With Zrlnyi we say and confess: "As for doubt, it is only out of vanity, because we lack the will and inclination to do what we think impossible to do."

### VE THE PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY: CONNATIONALISM

All conscious life has moral, spiritual and material manifestations. It is the National Socialist era that integrates these three manifestations into an inseparable state and people system.

With its Hungarian practice, moral manifestation finds expression in the God-fearing nation, spiritual manifestation in Hungarism, material manifestation in the social-national. The Hungarian practice of national socialism has four basic factors and expressions: the first factor and expression is the relationship of a nation and its law-based relationship with the individual religious churches, which is based on the worship and fear of God; the second is Hungarism, which gives to our state, national and popular objectives the solid framework which, in accordance with the requirements of the National Socialist era, constitutes the civilised state and popular order in the moral, spiritual and material life of our statehood;

the third is the Workers' Nation, the Work System, expressed in the ideology of the social-national and the practical system of work that derives from it;

the fourth is the Armed Nation, set up for defence against imperialist ambitions, which ensures the moral, spiritual and material life and peaceful development of our state and people.

Our ideological system would not be complete and comprehensive if we did not define the relationship of our Hungarian National Socialist community and community of destiny to the life of another National Socialist community and community of destiny. It is also necessary to establish this relationship because it is the part of our ideological structure which in practice determines the definite, major directions of our foreign policy.

To understand it, it is necessary to first get to know the essence of national socialism.

Many people believe that National Socialism was born in Germany in 1919 and that Hitler was its inventor or discoverer. Some, on the other hand, argue that it was born here in a cradle with our national awakening following the counter-revolution.

But in fact, the essence of National Socialism germinated from the feeling that first inspired the first man to cry out, "My dear Homeland!"

It was this involuntary exclamation that gave rise to its origins. When people realised that there was something that sharply delimited all the forms of their lives, influenced all their activities, gave meaning to their struggles, gave substance to their sufferings; where for the first time the departed felt the call of the Homeland calling them back so irresistibly; where for the first time they shed tears on the borders of the Homeland; where for the first time they prayed for the Homeland;

where they first became aware that, blessed or not, they must live and die here; they must look for the cradle of National Socialism. There, where they first understood the importance of the fact that only the Fatherland is worth sacrificing everything for, taking every risk, because it is the surest foundation on which the moral, spiritual and

which gives it all protection, in which it can live its beautiful, true and good life, and which distinguishes it from other peoples, nations and their lives by eternal, indelible marks. A people becomes a Nation when it has found a Homeland and can keep it. Only a people that has become a nation has a homeland. A people that has found a homeland and has become a nation establishes itself, builds a system. We call its establishment a state, and its civilized state and people's system a constitution. The state: the framework, the constitution: the backbone, the nation: the expression, the people: the content of our community of peoples. They give our lives substance and purpose. This is the basic law and the foundation of our laws of our Hungarian National Socialist state-building.

In the 19th century, liberalism conquered not only the peoples of Europe, but of the whole world. It became part of our lives. Bloody battles, uprisings, revolutions have marked its path.

The explanation of his conquest of space was the blind thirst with which mankind at that time was already thirsting in its soul for something purer, better and more beautiful. On the basis of this conquering liberal world-view, each state then built the practical edifice of its state life according to its own internal conditions. This is why the Danish, or rather the Scandinavian, practice of liberalism differed from the Italian, German or Spanish practice of liberalism. They all differed from each other and the American liberalism was different in practice from the English or the liberalism of the old monarchy. As a world view and as liberalism, it was short-lived because it quickly became a tool in the hands of the economic tyrants. It degenerated into instrumental liberalism. The state tolerated it because it brought it an apparent boom; but the nation and the people everywhere were disgusted because, once again, it did not bring them what they had hoped, expected and wished for.

Liberalism does not know the reality of "Country, Nation, Race" and the blood "People". And since liberalism as a worldview has failed and has become the sole instrument of economic, especially Jewish, interests, it has fragmented the realities of nation, fatherland, people and constitution, setting them apart and apart from each other as one-sided instruments for its own selfish ends.

It atomized the people and the nation into "citizens", and reduced the reality of the homeland to the formulation of "state only". Of the moral, spiritual and material world of all conscious life, he, by his own materialistic essence and conception, only put the material basis in order and in sequence, and the moral and spiritual world was atrophied and put in the order and order required by his materialistic conception.

However, instrumental liberalism had to wake up to the fact that to defend its power it always had to rely on the realities of the Homeland, the Nation and the People. It had to resort to them whenever its power was at stake. Before the people, he always invoked the 'glorious nation' and the 'Homeland' when he considered it necessary to demand sacrifices from the citizen.

When the citizen fought for the "Fatherland", for the "honour of his Nation", and shed his blood on the altar of the "Fatherland", he always saw only the defence of the instrumental fatherland and the instrumental nation, that is, only the defence of his own interests.

He did not defend, but defended, he did not attack, but attacked another. From its safe hiding places it was urging, urging, and with the rapacious greed of a spider's nature, it was reaping the spoils: the material benefits of events.

But the same system and method can be found in the absolutist and feudal systems that preceded liberalism. As soon as the citizen had done his duty to his Country and Nation, he could leave; feudalism, absolutism and liberalism stopped the utterance of "Country" and "Nation", forced them back from their reality into the framework of "only a concept" and persecuted anyone who tried to create a real, acting, real Country and Nation out of this concept which they had castrated out. It struck at all those who not only recognised the Fatherland and the Nation as a living reality only in times of danger, but also wanted to live their reality in peace, order and everyday practical life, and fought to create it.

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It is clear that every living creature desires a secure Homeland, because it feels that only in it can it protect, legitimize and realize all its wishes, desires and wishes. Since feudalism, absolutism and liberalism did not proceed from these fundamental laws in their state-building, they could not have been the final fulfilment, but only transitions, temporary stages in the life of each nation. Their temporary nature was, of course, also the womb of their certain demise.

The fact is that the sense of belonging to a particular ethnic and national community, the sense of Homeland, has always existed in man, but it has not been consciously expressed and has not been given practical forms. Man was therefore looking for a framework in which this feeling could be transformed into a systemic reality. In national socialism this was achieved.

A Nation under National Socialism reaches the peak of its internal development.

The inner life of the Nation thus attains its highest moral, spiritual and material fulfilment, the whole result of which it can perpetuate, its quantitative inner composition at most being subject to change. It can change in its quantitative composition, through the technical utilization of its resource endowments and through the multiplication of its population, and through the practical development of its moral and spiritual factors. But the Nation will always remain complete and one, and therefore total, because it is nationalist and socialist.

Since there is no stopping the development, but in the national socialist systems and practices the development of the inner life of the Nation has already reached its peak, the possibility of further development can only arise in the outwardly acting life-practice of the Nation. Here we come to one of the fundamental factors of Hungarian National Socialist ideology: the concept of connationalism, of the community of nations.

Liberalism has regulated the life and relations of states among themselves internationally, internationally, and has given birth to international jurisprudence. It developed this to the artistic height of perfection: the League of Nations. Of course, its external manifestation could only be like its internal one: one-sided, self-serving. He decided the fate of nations, but he was jealously guarded that his decisions only affected the nation and not the state, for he needed the state to support his own interests in the constitutional power of the state. That is why we find that liberalism destroyed the nations that lost the world war, but protected their statehood in their old systems, so that the territories occupied by the peoples were preserved as material interests. In the international treaties, one state saw in the other either a spoil area, a market or a marketplace.

In economic terms, therefore, the game of trade contracts, of import-export, of international supply and demand was played out, regardless of whether it was to the benefit or detriment of the nation. The international legal bases were therefore the instruments of liberalism, born of it. The national socialist communities of the people must start from a different basis in defining their external relations.

National socialism must establish a new jurisprudence in the relations between states, which must be first and foremost a jurisprudence of life. Its basis is not the State but the total Nation. In every treaty, the Nation must be represented, that is to say, the moral, spiritual and material interests of the Nation must be inseparable.

The State, therefore, will be the instrument of the Nation; and the end will be the happiness, glory and greatness of the Nation. The Nation is no longer a means, but the sole commanding end.

Our nation must first of all regulate its relations with all those national socialist communities of peoples which, by their natural endowments, complement our moral, spiritual and material unity: which, politically, economically and socially, can only form a completely closed moral, spiritual and economic area together with our nation.

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The political, economic and social grouping of nations which enter into a contract of life with each other for the development of the advantages of a morally, spiritually and materially closed territory and for the enrichment, defence and legitimation of the moral, intellectual and material forces of the nations living in this closed territory, and which ensures the continuation of an independent national existence: this is the theoretical basis and practical reality of the ideology of connectionalism.

Connectionism: the community of nations. Liberalism developed the state, the citizen and internationalism. National socialism develops the nation, the citizen and the international community.

In the practice of Hungarian national socialism: Hungarism is our internal nation-building; social-nationalism is our internal system of work; and connationalism is the basis of our outward-looking national life. These three practices of our ideology alone ensure the awakening to a new reality and the modern construction of the Hungarian imperial ideal, because, by virtue of its moral, spiritual and material, and the social, political and economic eternal conditions flowing from it, our state and people's order, formed by Hungarism, can be nothing other than the life projection of the reality of the basis of the commonwealth for our Great Motherland.

Let us believe and be convinced that the path shown here is the path of Hungarian life, of Hungarian justice and of Hungarian fulfilment, but at the same time it is the only path for our other brother nations, whose existence or non-existence is closely and inseparably linked to our moral, spiritual and material existence or non-existence.

We will march along this path, because we know that the important, great vocation of our Hungarian people points to this path, and that its goal is the happiness, greatness and glory of our nation.

THE BASIC TENETS OF THE IDEOLOGY OF HUNGARIANISM IN THE POST-1 OCTOBER  
1940 PROJECT  
THE PEASANT THE WORKER THE

INTELLECTUAL SPEECHES

SPEECH DELIVERED ON 22 NOVEMBER 1942 AT THE FIRST MEETING OF THE  
NATIONAL PEASANT COUNCIL IN THE HOUSE OF LOYALTY:

THE PARASTS

Peasant leaders! Brothers and sisters!

The peasant leaders of the Arrow Cross Party and the Hungarist Movement led by it came together for the first national grand council of the presidium to define the vocation, the tasks, the responsibilities and the consequent place of power of the peasant social strata of our nation in the Hungarist Hungarian Empire and in nationalist and socialist Europe. The peasant has always been at the centre of Europe's great history. This is particularly evident in the facts of the conquests.

The first conquest took place at a time when individual peoples were appearing on the stage of history. The squatting peasant, with his sword and plough, fights for the political, economic and social place and unity of his people, which he builds according to the moral, spiritual and material outlook and perception of the world of that time. It is this peasantry which provides the leadership which, through imperialism, creates the pinnacle of the era: Roman world power, its cultural, civilisational and technical structure, its reality, its fact. The migration of the people in the 4th century brings the Roman Empire to an end and the second conquest of Europe, which is essentially completed in the 10th and 11th centuries, takes place. Here again, the squatter is the peasant, fighting with sword and plough, who builds the political, economic and social position and unity of his people in the moral world of the time,



according to its spiritual and material approach and perception. It is this peasantry which provides the leading layer which, through feudalism, creates its peak achievement, in accordance with the Second World War: the Anglo-Saxon-Jewish world power, built on the plutocratic system, i.e. on material feudalism, and its cultural, civilisational and technical structure, reality and fact.

The people's movements that began throughout Europe in the third decade of the 20th century, with their revolutions and struggles for freedom, will, out of imperative necessity, eliminate the Anglo-Saxon-Jewish world power, which will have the effect of bringing about the third conquest, which will be essentially completed in the second third of the 20th century. The squatter is still the peasant fighting with sword and plough, who builds the political, economic and social position and unity of his people according to the moral, spiritual and material perceptions and outlook of the world of today. And again it is this peasantry which provides the leadership which, through national socialism, will build the nationalist and socialist European superpower under Berlin and Rome, the cultural, civilisational and technical structure, the reality, the fact of the new Europe.

From these indisputable historical facts it follows first:

that the imperative need for every new moral, spiritual and material world order requires a new and new conquest of every people. Secondly, that in the struggles of ever renewed conquests only the viable peoples will survive. Further, that the conquests are always carried out by the peasant with sword and plough, but it also follows that each new conquest requires a new layer of leadership, which must be born of the peasantry and rooted in it. And, finally, that the peasant is always the nation-builder in the nations of Europe.

Hungarism is therefore the moral, spiritual and material basis of the Hungarian peasantry, so that our Hungarian people can carry out its new conquest with sword and plough, in order to secure the political, economic and social place and unity of our nation in the community of life, society and destiny of nationalist and socialist Europe.

National Socialism can therefore mean nothing more for our peasantry than a struggle for freedom to liberate the peasant from his moral, spiritual and material misery, from his helplessness, so that he can fulfil his new conquest of the country, his tasks, and create the right preconditions for this. The war of ideology that is now raging must be won by two: the soldier on the outer front of the war and the peasant on the inner front of the war. The others: the worker, the intellectual, the woman, are all means to carry out the task of the sword and the plough victoriously.

Every viable people must do this, must confirm its millennial conquest, because it is entering a whole new, imperatively necessary order of life. But a new conquest must be carried out especially by those peoples whose land has been snatched away by sinful hands, so that, through the landless peasant, they can subordinate their whole nation to their own ends.

The beginning and the end of the life of every people are in a blur. Every people has a long way to go before it is able to write its history. Its prehistory can only be extracted with great difficulty from the mythical world, from the cultural relics that have been spared by the ravages of time in its ancient wanderings, and from the traditions that have been handed down by word of mouth. But as soon as he begins to write, however rudimentary his records and the means of recording them, he is no longer living only by memory. It engages itself with immortality, it lives indelibly even when it is no longer there, it teaches and inspires action even if it can only survive in its writings.

Itinerancy is prehistory, with its sagas, nomadic hunter-gatherers and

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with a shepherd who lives by memory, giving the stories and traditions by word of mouth. Once a people is able to write its own history, it is mostly a farming people, a peasant people. The need to write, the requirement to know how to write, therefore coincides with the first agricultural settlements, the first peasant way of life. It is the peasant who invents writing, who puts it at the service of his aims, so that over thousands of years his invention, the letter, may ruin five peoples and, through them, all peoples. National socialism makes the letter the first and most important peasant tool, so that the Hungarian peasant, made healthy in morals and spirit, can make the wholeness of our nation healthy again.

Here and now we must clarify unambiguously what we, our Party and our Movement, mean by the Hungarian nation, in order to prevent unnecessary speculations, false accusations and foolish remarks, and to state our conception and practical will for the nationalist and socialist development of Europe in South-Eastern Europe and its key region, by recording and stating the fact and reality of the Hungarian nation. But it is also necessary in order to clearly and unambiguously define and define the place of power and leadership of the Hungarian peasantry.

By the Hungarian nation we mean that natural community of life, companionship and destiny which the Hungarian people organise into political, economic and social unity in their living space and which they alone can responsibly lead. The Hungarian peasant is the national sustainer in this living space, namely because in our moral life he is the creator of culture, in our intellectual life he is the ancestral element from which our leading layer must be born and replaced, and in our material life he is the backbone of our national economy and the basis of our security of life. The Hungarian peasant is therefore the basis from which all aspects and conditions of national life derive, and to which all political and social facts can be traced. If our nation is in misery, trouble, danger or prosperity, vitality, all this can be traced back to the peasant, to his misery, trouble, danger or prosperity, joy, vitality. If the intellectual, the worker, the soldier became a proletarian, this could only have happened because the peasant before them became a landed proletarian, and so they became detached from the peasantry, rootless, and the peasantry became rootless and rootless. From the realisation of this basic law, the basic tenet of Hungarism emerged as a natural corollary: build a high peasant state with industry and abolish the low industrial state with peasant-proletariat. Lest anyone think that Hungarism is anti-industrial, against industrialisation. That would be a mistake and a deliberate distortion. We are well aware that industry is needed, not as an end but as a means to an end. We will therefore put industry in its rightful place in the service of our nation. It is not the machine that will rule the nation - that is the root cause of all inferiority - but the nation that will rule the machine, so that it may humbly serve the welfare of millions and millions of families.

All the expressions of peasant life are expressed in agriculture. That is why it matters how agriculture is organised by the nation. The basis of organisation and practice so far shows that under liberalism agriculture was organised on a materialistic, self-interested basis, and therefore as agrarian economy it found practical expression in our national economy, which in turn necessarily developed the agrarian state.

Hungarism breaks completely with this organisational basis and practice and builds a nationalist, public interest practice of agriculture in peasant farming, the state practice of which can of course only be expressed by the peasant state.

Remember back to 1935, when we declared our great constitution, that we were a peasant state, that we would and would build it, what a gross mockery we were subjected to, how the great wise men laughed at us, saying: look at these sleepers, they are rediscovering America, even today they don't know that liberalism was a century ago

recorded that we are an agrarian state. Yes, we know very well what liberalism has recorded, and in particular, if it had not recorded its facts so well, we would not need, our nation would not need, to shake off this supposed truth of liberalism. But we also know, and they do not, that there is a huge difference between an agrarian state and a peasant state, just as there is between an industrial state and a labour state. An agrarian state can be built without the peasantry, but everything has to be mechanised: ploughing machines, harvesting machines, large-scale industrial factories, and proletarians have to be put into them. I am convinced that there will be no less yield, only one less: the peasant who is the nation. It is therefore possible to exterminate all the peasants in the name of mechanisation in the holy name of agrarian economy, but in doing so the nation is also committing self-imposed suicide, because it is artificially erasing its roots of life. All over the world, liberalism has set up agrarian economy in accordance with its profit capitalism, that is to say, a policy of dead matter in accordance with its materialism, but at the same time it has everywhere either exterminated the peasantry or turned it into a landed proletariat whose intimate relationship with the land has ceased. It is through the proletarianised peasant that our entire nation has become proletarianised and enslaved to the materialism of liberalism and its blatant distortion, Marxism. The Anglo-Saxons, the Jews and the Soviets, who are practising agrarianism and reaping the death-blow of their state life, are the deterrent images of peasant landlessness.

Hungarism has therefore deliberately set up its basic law of building a peasant state, because it is aware that only peasant farming with all its means can sustain the moral, intellectual and intellectual life of the nation.

I want to draw the attention of the peasant leaders to something else, very seriously, because this is a crucial issue. In 1914-18 I took part in the Great War, I served in the infantry. I am sure there are brothers and sisters here who experienced with me, and perhaps all those who serve in the infantry still do, that they were told not once, but several times: you stinking baka! Let us take a closer look at this stinking goat! I am convinced that Singapore would still be in the hands of the British today, and would not have fallen if only the Japanese warships had marched against it, even in their thousands, and held it under the heaviest siege. For Singapore to really fall, to really fall to the Japanese, it needed the despised buck who, by his assault, his body and blood, had taken and held it. Likewise, hundreds and hundreds of thousands of aircraft could still be circling the island of Crete and bombing it to this day, still in the hands of the British and Greeks, but the daring fight and blood sacrifice of the winged buck, the paratrooper fighter, broke the resistance, took and held Crete. The hundreds of thousands of armoured men would have broken through the Soviet lines in vain if the armoured hunter, the armoured grenadier: the blood sacrifice of the despised baka, had not claimed the great success of the battle. The island of Malta and the coast of the British Isles adjacent to France have been under constant aerial bombardment and heavy, heavy artillery fire for nearly three years, and yet they are and will remain in British hands until the despised Baka, the German and the Italian infantryman, by their blood sacrifice and heroism, take possession of them. The Soviet Baka, the French, the Dutch, the Norwegian, the Greek, the Serbian, the Polish Baka were broken first and foremost, and because they were broken, the resistance of the whole army was also broken and destroyed. Hitler praises and singles out the German buck: the musketeer, the grenadier and the hunter, not only because they are indeed beyond all praise and the highest praise is not enough to exalt them, but also because he is aware that they are the front and heart of every army, the king of battle, the factor that carries victory or defeat with it: the despised, the stinking jackanapes, who carries in his calf not only the marshal's baton, but also the army's victory and defeat. The war is never lost militarily when few are

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begins to be the machine and the material of war, but always when the spirit which can forge the frail, transient man into an immortal hero is in short supply in the goat. The Hungarian goat is also the king of the armoury, worthy of all praise, because he must fight not only against the external enemy, but also against an internal enemy which attacks him invisibly and insidiously in his most important field, in his supplies, in his moral, spiritual and material means of war: the country behind him, our homeland, our nation.

And there is only one lesson to be learned from all this, and that is that the baka is the most important and the foremost in the army, that everything is for him, and that the other arms and services are but a means to enable the baka to fight and win battles without unnecessary bloodshed and to end the war victoriously. A textbook example of sparing unnecessary bloodshed is the battlefield execution of the Battle of Stalingrad after reaching the Volga, on which occasion heavy weapons, aircraft and technical forces brought the objectives to a fully mature state before the infantry went on the attack and set the final victorious outcome.

Why have I told you all this? It is because I am convinced that the brothers and sisters here before me have most certainly been called, if not once, then certainly several times in their lives: you stinking peasant! Apart from the fact that we know and know of many more stinkers than that, the name peasant acquired a pejorative, stigmatising connotation in liberalism, which capitalism and Marxism adopted and were only willing to incorporate into their system the stinking peasant. I recall how much I had to fight to get the front and core of our people, the peasant, who had been proletarianised into a small peasant, to once again adopt the most beautiful, the truest, the best name: the peasant.

For a peasant is only one, and only one, who is the responsible owner of the land, who is the responsible master of the land and who cultivates the land responsibly for the common good of his family and our nation. Anyone who does not own such land can be anything but a peasant who is a nation-builder. He may be a sharecropper, he may be a tenant farmer, he may be a small or large landowner, but he cannot be a peasant in the true and only sense of the word.

It is the peasant who wins or loses the great battles of his nation. Let all fail, but if the peasant can stand firm, the nation will survive, it cannot perish. The peasant is therefore the same fate-deciding factor, the only fate-deciding factor in our nation and in our lives, as the jackanapes are in the army and in war. And from this there is only one conclusion to be drawn, namely that the peasant is the most important and foremost in our nation, that everything is and must be for him, and that everything else is a means to enable the peasant to achieve the imperative result of the great death struggle of our nation: the Hungarist Hungarian Empire, without unnecessary spiritual and material loss. But this also entails the peasant's immense duty and responsibility. If he does not assume his duty and joyfully assume his responsibility, his nation-preserving vocation will cease, but with it all his rights will cease, and the dutiful and irresponsible peasant will lead his nation to ruin.

There are many who object to the selfishness and land-hunger of the peasant. The true and healthy peasant is at all times the expression of a healthy selfishness, of a selfish self, and thus the representative of a true and pure nationalism. The peasant's outlook on life is always on the plane between heaven and earth. He ploughs and sows his land, and, having done all the earthly things in order and in sequence, he lifts his eyes, which have hitherto been fixed on the earth, to heaven, and from there he asks and awaits the blessing of his labour, so that it may have its result and its fruit. The peasant is therefore a closed, complete individual, most of all a self, but he is aware that this self is protected only in the community of his many selves, in the nation and its order of self: nationalism. The peasant is healthily embedded in nationalism only when peace on earth is assured in the life of our nation. And we can define the essence of peace on the land as follows: peace on the land when the land is owned and cultivated responsibly by the peasant and the fruits and fruits of his labour are shared by the peasant's family and our nation.

provide the benefits of.

The life of the peasant is nothing other than his militant and fruitful relationship to the land, to the animal, to nature itself, to life, to its recurring constancy, to its ever-evenly pulsating life-cycle: to the rhythms of spring, summer, autumn, winter, which are the eternal harmony of eternal fertilization, maturation, eternal harvesting and the necessary rest of life, gathering and storing strength, bearing new life, in the eternal life of viable nations.

The healthy and natural hunger for land of the peasant is the expression of the nation's vitality, its capacity for development, its will to power. A nation that does not have a healthy, land-hungry peasant will stop in its tracks and slowly but surely plunge into darkness, disappear, only to remain as a historical nation in the textbooks of other history-making nations.

The peasant is the plant: a native, rooted plant of a certain land area, which can only live and bear fruit most economically in a certain composition and landscape type of habitat. The Hungarian peasant cannot remain a true peasant outside his homeland, but becomes a peasant labourer, simply because he is unable to make his life in his new environment as intimate as it is in his homeland. He cannot make it as unified, as natural and as necessary as it is in his family, in his ancestral homeland from which he came.

It is from this fact and reality of intimacy that the peasantry, settled on the periphery of the mother territory, yearns so deeply, strongly and violently to return to the ancestral territory. And if this yearning cannot be satisfied by repopulation because the ancestral homeland is already overpopulated, they will move there, tear up the colonized land they have inhabited and annex it to their ancestral homeland. This is the basis of natural expansion as opposed to artificial expansion, which forcibly colonizes without needing to, without moral, spiritual and material overcrowding in its own primary territory: the Homeland.

The border of the country is always where the peasant's plough ploughs, his scythe flashes, his sheaf covers the earth, his blood makes the clod holy. By force, by imperialist means, it is never possible to increase the territory of a country, to extend its frontiers, for the bayonet breaks on the plough, the paper of the treaty is burnt up in the fire of blood spilled on the clod. But, moreover, there is no power greater than this that is not born on this earth. A great example of how natural frontiers can be extended by natural territorial expansion: the wonderful life-coalition of the Japanese soldier and the Japanese peasant. All this time Japan has not colonised, but has always colonised, and thus has always multiplied its wonderful homeland and nation by homeland. The peoples of Europe are waking up to this eternal truth in the national socialist world view and they too will realise the life-context of the sword and the plough, without which there are no secure national borders, never have been and never will be.

The sameness and uniformity of peasant life is striking and striking throughout the world. The peasant is everywhere the creator of culture, the protector of culture, and without him there is simply no culture, no healthy, pure state and people's life.

Some predict the disappearance of the peasant, while there are some who wish to artificially revitalise peasant life and its forms. This is the right view of this fundamental issue: In life there are always things that remain and things that change. There are things that must remain, that will remain, even if we try to change their permanence. What must change, on the other hand, will change, even if we try in vain to stop it, to make it rigid. We must therefore investigate what is constant and what is changing in peasant life. What is constant in it is its capacity to create culture, its readiness to defend culture. What is variable in him are the demands which he makes on the nation as a whole in order to be able to fulfil his task fully. These demands are always civilizational and therefore changeable. It is variable, therefore, in the civilizational construction of the peasant, but in this it is necessarily and demanding. It must therefore be made available in time

the achievements of technology. But by making it available, we do not destroy the peasant, on the contrary, we only increase his power. It follows that there is no need at all to look upon the peasant with a certain regret as a life which can only be kept alive by artificial means. By enabling him to make full use of the achievements of technology, we bring him into the actual civilising life of the nation and give practical meaning and practical purpose to his whole work.

Peasant leaders! Brothers and sisters!

In the framework of the ideological and practical content of Hungarism, we must establish the Hungarian peasant's perception and view of the European community of destiny, his moral, spiritual and material role in South-Eastern Europe and his professed and claimed vocation in the life of the Hungarian people.

L In the European community of destiny, the Hungarian peasant is of the opinion that it is necessary to create a European peace among the people and, on this basis, a European peace on land. The great ethnic confusion which has existed for more than a millennium and a half since the migration of the peoples must be resolved. This persistent ethnic confusion has been the root cause of the inability of the peoples of Europe to settle down within a firm, natural and necessary framework, and one of the solutions to this problem is the necessary implementation of the European settlements.

In this context, I would like to draw your attention to a very important fact. The industrialised, or rather industrialised states of Europe have hitherto regarded the agricultural, or rather less industrialised states as colonies, as not being of full value, and have therefore taken it for granted that they would support them without any obligatory industrial consideration. It is true that the Jews are the chief exponents of this perverse conception, but it may be noted that it has been adopted by the leaders of the so-called more industrialised states. In a constant state of moral, spiritual and material exploitation, this area of Europe can be defined as the territory east of the Oder, Morava, Eajta and Fiume. This is why social tensions were always greatest in this area and their outbreaks were always the most extreme. The maintenance of this state of affairs cannot be the goal of the new National Socialist Europe; on the contrary, its emergence and liberation from it is one of the necessary goals that life has ordered.

But there are some who still preach the need to colonise Eastern Europe. But they are so cautious that they will not say where Eastern Europe begins. In my view, it is probably where these people lose their common sense. Let us recall 1918-19, the time of the Paris Peace Orders. At this time, all the efforts of the so-called victors were focused on how and how to colonise the part of Europe east of the Rhine-Rhone. Naturally, this could not be achieved. But it will succeed even less in the new Europe of national socialism, in the foundations of the world view of national socialism, in the great epoch-making and epoch-transforming period of the necessary adjustment and organisation of the great spaces. But especially not since the appearance of Japan in the great creative history of mankind, since it has risen to the forefront of the great powers of Europe by its own efforts and not by the efforts of Europe: all the peoples of the Asian continent have awakened to consciousness, also not by the efforts of Europe, and under the leadership of Japan they will once and for all abolish colonialism and all systems of colonial empires on our globe.

Besides: since the necessary practical adjustment of the great space, the preconditions and possibilities of colonialism in our globe have completely disappeared, as well as its

the need for. For no part of the great space will be made up of colonies, but of living spaces, which must form an integral moral, spiritual and material part of the great space. Therefore, and therefore: the least that can be done is to colonise Europe, the so-called leading white race, by the leading European powers, because this would only have one end: in the foreseeable future, Europe would become a colony of the Asian living space. It was first in Italy, then in Germany, that the great point and need for peasant organisation was realised, starting from the correct and irrefutable principle that the great power which would lead Europe would be the first to organise a pure, healthy peasantry, in pure, healthy peace of mind and pure, healthy nationalism. Germany has so far, to our knowledge, built up a large credit plan for peasant organisation to the tune of more than 80 billion marks, which she is already putting into practice in some parts of her plans, which can be carried out under the present difficult conditions.

IE Our role in South-Eastern Europe highlights even more vividly the great vocation of the Hungarian peasant, his great responsibility and the fateful weight of the task he has to perform.

The area we call South-East Europe starts in the west at the Déjà vu and is bordered by the eastern reaches of the Alps, the Carpathians, the Dniester, the Black Sea, the Aegean and the Mediterranean. It covers an area of nearly one million square kilometres

is home to fifty million peasant peoples, which in turn belong to 12 historic peoples. Southeast Europe is a heap of ethnic debris, based on ethnic identities, but living in the most complete geographical, geopolitical, geohistorical, geoeconomic, geojuristic and geosociological unit in Europe. Until now, this unity has been unwanted, unwilling to be recognised. Hungarism, however, is forcing all those in power to see it, but it is primarily leading the people of south-eastern Europe to see the truth that unity can only be established by a united will, purpose and action, and that the Hungarian people are a whole moral people, Its moral, spiritual and material structure calls it to a leading role, and it can organise itself for this from its own strength, because its talent, tenacity, excellence, quantitative and qualitative qualities qualify it for this, and its capacity for organisation is there, but it has been artificially suppressed.

The peasant construction of this South-East Europe would have as its first vocation and task the supply of agricultural products to Southern Europe and South-West Europe. The Russian living space, say the Slavic primary living space, would be called upon to supply the rest of Europe with the necessary agricultural products. This would make Europe's food supply independent and secure.

Regarding the need for resettlement in Europe, some raise the issue of the resettlement of our Hungarian people near Eake Caspian and the Black Sea. Some even put it this way: if we are not willing to accept the new Europe as the northern race called upon to lead us sees it as good and right, and if we do not stop questioning the ideal of Turanism, we shall be punished by being sent to the Turanian peoples in the East, where we can do Turanism to our liking. The only answer to this impudence of the Europeans, who hide behind silly tongue-lashings, is that tire triple work of violence, restraint and meanness may be able to displace our Hungarian people near Eake Caspian and the Black Sea, but I am sure that after one generation at the most our Hungarian people would return to their homeland, but after our return we would no longer be a people without a relative in Europe.

But apart from this naivety to the point of folly, everyone should know by now that without the Hungarian people's role in state-building and ensuring peace among the peoples, there has always been, is and will always be political, economic and social turmoil in South-Eastern Europe, and that to exclude the Hungarian people from this area of life would be a tragedy for Europe, because without the Hungarian people this key area of Europe would become a perpetual battlefield for the moral, intellectual and material interests of Berlin, Moscow, Rome and not least Tokyo.

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But the Hungarian peasant must also be aware that if he is unable to fulfil his vocation in South-Eastern Europe, another peasant nation will do so out of imperative necessity, because in this area of life there is a particular need for the expression of a leading purpose, a leading will and a leading action. After the organisation of the peasant peoples of South-East Europe, we must organically link it to the other nationalist and socialist living spaces of Europe. It is out of the coherence of these lives that the community of destiny of the nations of the great European space must be created and built.

III. In the life of our Hungarian nation, the vocation, task, responsibility, duty and the resulting place of power of the peasantry are given to Hungarism in its two basic tenets: that the peasant is the nation's maintainer, and that Hungarism builds the peasant state.

In order to meet all these requirements, the peasant, and above all his leading layer, the peasant intelligentsia, must carry out the following tasks of national organisation: to organise the peasant so that he can take responsible ownership and cultivation of the land. The peasant must be integrated into the civilizational life of the state as a factor of state power and must be consciously educated as the first factor of state power. The peace of the land must be secured.

The peasant is a peasant farmer. Their distribution according to their natural occupation is as follows: the lowland and lowland peasant; the highland and highland peasant; the mountain peasant; the miner; the forest peasant; the animal husbandry peasant; the fisherman and the hunter.

In addition to defining the natural vocation and place of the peasant in society, we must also define his relation to the various basic forces of our nation, for this is the way in which the great vocation and task of the peasant really come to the fore.

Its relation to labour can be defined as the peasant providing the raw material, but needing the worker to process it and make it consumable. Thus they complement each other in their work, they cannot do without each other. The systems of the past have always set the peasant and the worker, and the nationalism and socialism they express, in opposition to each other, and as a result the peasant and the worker have become estranged in their lives and in their conceptions, in the self-interested interest systems, and have fatally irritated each other, and have initiated and fought a merciless, artificially fomented social and class struggle against each other.

In Hungarism, the peasant and the worker are organized in the imperatively necessary harmony of life, and the two wage their relentless struggle with a determination of common will against those who would disturb or they want to make impossible the harmony forged in steel through bloody disappointments. The relationship of the peasant to the intellectual is crucial in the life of our nation. The peasant is the ancestral stock from which our nation's leadership is born and grows, and with which the intellectuals must always remain in the most extreme relationship. If the ancestral stock is poisoned by the deterioration of political, economic and social conditions, the intelligentsia will be poisoned too. If intellectuals break off their intimate relationship with the ancestral body because of the artificially constructed partitions of the existing political, economic and social system, they will be permanently cut off from their natural birthplace, become rootless and completely at the mercy of self-serving and arbitrary power-seeking.

Hungarism sets up and organizes the imperative intimacy between the peasant and the intellectual and legitimizes their struggle against those who want to make it impossible, to break it again.

Her relationship to woman is the result of our law of life: the purity of family life, her morality, her generosity in bearing children, in the knowledge that no child will be left unprovided for. A



the peasant must know that he must honour not only the land but also his nation by accepting the sacrifice of children and by considering it his duty to our nation. The peasant is the front of the armed Nation, he ensures the heroic living conditions of blood and carcass, of Hungarian life and Hungarian space. He is the embodiment of self-sacrificing patriotism, in the sacred knowledge that the moral, spiritual and material security of his nation and his family can only come from his blood sacrifice. This is the eternal law which has from time immemorial governed his relation to the soldier, and will ever continue to do so, so long as the pure and healthy peasant is the basis and destiny of our nation.

Peasant leaders! Brothers and sisters!

We have mapped out the place of the Hungarian peasant in space and time, we have laid down the principles, we have measured our peasantry in terms of its ability to perform its great task. But we must also examine the questions which are the cornerstones of our Hungarist peasant politics. In short, we must know the position of our party and our movement on the great questions of everyday life, so that we can use this knowledge in our task of national organisation.

1. So, first and foremost, we need to get a clear picture of the land issue. According to the principle of Hungarism, all the goods of our country are the inalienable property of our nation, morally, spiritually and materially. The parts of this property are handled by those who can handle them responsibly. Consequently, the land can only belong to those who can cultivate it responsibly, wisely and purposefully, preserve it with their blood and bequeath it to their children as an unbroken and unbroken heritage. The land therefore belongs to the peasant.

The land must be planted if we want it to stay ours. It must be planted with people and the soul of the people. This planting is a perpetual process. It began as soon as we conquered our homeland a thousand years ago and will continue as long as our Hungarian people can settle it with their people and their souls.

This life work must be purposeful. A morbid hunger for land must not be allowed to take root, which results in some people acquiring new land when their land has not yet been cultivated in a rational and purposeful way and only a small proportion of the yield is produced. They must be dealt with just as harshly as those who stand in the way of the natural settlement of our people by force and guile.

The Jew always starts with the peasant when he wants to destroy the nation: makes peasant production and peasant farming artificially impossible through its forced infiltration into economic life. And by forcibly infiltrating intellectual life, it destroys peasant morality, the peasant's natural ability to create culture. After the destruction of these two, the nation collapses, and the Jew, having done his work well, leaves the scene of his destruction and settles down to a new race. Thus the question of land became a question of destiny in our nation, and the need for the speedy implementation of the settlement became a question of life in our nation.

The only way we can keep the precious good land of our nation's living space in our possession and take it into our possession in accordance with its destiny is to be able and dare to take the question of small and large estates off the agenda of our working life once and for all. In our Hungarism, as in all matters, the interests of our nation are decisive.

The small estate, the peasant landowner, and the peasant farming on it, is required and demanded by the interests of our nation, and therefore the large estate will disappear. The size of the peasant landholdings will vary according to the quality of the soil, on which the peasant alone will be responsible, alone in charge and alone in control. The large estates will be adjusted to our large settlement plan by the system of perpetual tenancy. The perpetual lease is already property, hereditary, the price of the corpus of the estate will be repaid by the perpetual lease. This will make all large estates immediately available for resettlement

can be expropriated. The hereditary tenancy, like all peasant farming in general, will be protected by the Hungarist state as a genuinely useful, public interest and public law transaction, so that the peasant who farms on a hereditary tenancy will carry out his great cultivation task free from private law harassment.

At this point we must clarify what tasks are assigned to a single peasant holding and what part of production falls to it. We need to know that there are currently around 3.5 million families in our country, of which around 2 million are engaged in subsistence farming, and one and a half million are therefore unserved. In view of this, the share per peasant landholding is made up of the following: the landholding must cover the needs of the peasant landholding, the needs of the unsupplied, and the needs to be covered must also include the storage and the European needs of our nation. It is therefore clear that our peasantry must be given every means to fulfil its very serious task and obligation.

3. However, it can only fulfil the great task outlined above, and fulfil it in every respect, if it sets up its landed body, its peasant economy, for qualitative and quantitative production. This is what our nation demands of it. And it is the peasant's duty to fulfil it. The first help in this is the machine and all the necessary technical means. The presence of these, but also their use, is the civilizing stage of peasant farming. But the machine is only a means and not an end. It is a means to increase man's labour power, his capacity for work and his possibilities for prosperity. If we make the machine an end, as in the plutocratic system of capitalistically constructed liberalism, our entire farming will necessarily degenerate into an agrarian economy that will end in national economic bankruptcy, with its total peasant oppression, peasant poverty and its nation of degenerating proletariat.

We must meet the qualitative and quantitative requirements of peasant production through rational and rational in- and outdoor farming.

The first aim of extensive farming should be to meet the needs of the family living space. In particular, we must strive to raise our horticulture from its present very low level to become the first garden paradise in our country and in Europe, especially between the Danube and the Tisza. We must also integrate the gardening of workers and intellectuals into our extensive domestic farming, which is intended to provide for the small needs of their families. The only basic principle is that these family garden farms must not sell outside the family, but must produce solely and exclusively for self-consumption.

Extensive farming provides for the needs of the community, but to the exclusion of peasant estates. The only surplus that can be managed is the quantity that remains after the community needs have been met in full. These surpluses must be set aside for storage to meet the needs of the nation and for the partial satisfaction of European needs.

Our nation can only be called self-sufficient and independent in terms of food if each family has a year's supply in its larder. The retail market has a year's supply of community needs. A full year's supply of the primary national defence requirement, which is the community requirement of the nation, is stored in the storehouses, and if a full year's supply is available in the arable land, in the agricultural state, in a state not yet produced, it can be set up for extraction without shortage of labour and material. With such a food plan economy, our nation is always secured for at least three years in terms of food supply, so that in the event of war, war food plan economy can be adjusted without shocks.

4. For peasant farming, a high-quality agricultural industry is a matter of life and death. Our nation therefore needs, first and foremost, a large-scale industry that is

machines needed in the industry to produce live. And the technical aids that promote and enable the quantitative and qualitative production of peasant farming. The organisation and construction of agricultural industry for the processing of the products of peasant farming: a priority issue for the development of the in agriculture. The agricultural industry is based on well-organised small-scale industry. Small-scale industry always has its place where individual tastes, variety, diversity and quality in all these must be ensured. Small-scale industry must also be mechanised, but without this mechanisation destroying the small-scale craftsman. But the most important principle in the construction of agricultural industry will always be that it cannot be developed into a large industry, and that agricultural industry must be distributed over the whole territory of the country. The products of agriculture must therefore be sold by the agricultural industry through on-site processing.

The peasant economy cannot, therefore, survive without a small-scale industry, organised qualitatively and built up in sufficient numbers, and without a retail trade integrated into sales, consumption and purchasing cooperatives. These are intended to meet, qualitatively and rapidly, the many and varied needs of the peasant farmer and of families and the community living space of the nation. They are therefore inseparable from peasant farming.

5. It is imperative to ensure the quiet and secure progress of peasant farming by the responsible national government taking off the peasant's shoulders the worries of sales, provision and credit, and by making it imperative to ensure that the peasant lives and farms in the secure knowledge that he can sell all his produce safely, on time, at a safe price, without loss of price or loss of value. That all his necessities will be made available by the small industry and retail trade, qualitatively and in time, at a price which is fully in accordance with the value and actual price of his produce. That the necessary credit facilities for the qualitative and quantitative processing of its production will be provided by the national government through credit operations which will integrate its production organically into the entire circulation of our national economy and will also serve as the basis for all other credit needs of our national economy.

Every peasant is therefore directly entitled to credit, and the credit of every peasant landowner and the maintenance of it are the joint responsibility of our nation. The interest shall never be higher than one third at most of the net profit of the land.

6. The most pressing issue of peasant politics at all times is the settlement of peasant debts. This will remain a topical issue until it is finally resolved, on the one hand, by resolving the peasant credit question and, on the other, by the definitive liquidation of the outstanding debts. But this question can and dare to be solved only and exclusively by the Hungarist Empire. Simply because this question will be solved by the Hungarist State taking over the peasant debts in their entirety and by the Hungarist State coming to an agreement with the creditors. We will, of course, review the execution of peasant debts retrospectively and we will make use of the cancellation of debts in all cases where it can be shown that the principal has already been repaid with the interest paid. The question of the peasant debts will of course be solved together with the question of the indebtedness of our nation, and in an organic manner, very radically and with urgent rapidity. There will be nothing wrong in that either. At the same time, of course, we will ruthlessly eliminate the harassment of peasant debts by creditors who hold the peasant in interest slavery.

Peasant leaders! Brothers and sisters!

Hungarism puts our peasantry in the place it always belonged, but until now

could not reach the first place. Only a people that is healthy, that stands firm, that can weather all storms, whose peasantry is in the first place in its entire national and state life. Order can only exist when everything has its place. And everything is in its place. Liberalism has displaced everything from its natural order, and its uninhibited practitioners have always given different places to the life-givers of our nation according to how their free enterprise conception of business has judged best to structure society to extract the greatest profit from it. Everything was set in terms of profit. The state had but one task: to accept, support and enable this one-sided, sick, greedy, papist profit-hunger. And its only duty was to lock up or ground, or put under state and social curse, all those who dared to see and criticise this abominable thieving and greedy economy through the eyes of the nation, the people, the families.

As long as the land and its territory are necessary for the life of mankind, and always will be, and as long as the building blocks of mankind will be nations, peoples: then peasants will be needed. It is my conviction that nations and peoples will always form the building blocks of humanity, for it would be a terrible thing if humanity were to fall into the repulsive fate of the Jewish people: first a peasant people, then, after the loss of its peasantry, a slave-owning people, and, disintegrating, the destructive poison of all peoples.

It may be that the peasant will shed its external manifestations of form, will be transformed, but it can never be replaced by machines or other material means, because matter is dead, it cannot replace the living, life. Agricultural agriculture can never replace the element, peasant agriculture. In society, there will always remain the one who produces the raw material, the one who produces the raw material: the peasant farmer and the beginning and the core of this: the peasant!

Only a people with a healthy peasantry will remain worthy of the name of man. If they do not have this, they are mostly stripped of their humanity and become completely uncultured. The truth of this statement, the proof of it, is set before our eyes by the horrible examples set by the Jews, the Anglo-Saxons and the Russians: they are inhuman, uncultured, homeless and without a country, for the greatest disaster of the three races is that they have no healthy, rooted and native peasantry. It is totally peasantless.

The peasant and the worker's destiny and their community of association are indissoluble. Liberalism, Marxism, capitalism have consciously separated them, but Hungarism, with the vigorous hand of its self-conscious intelligentsia, educated as nationalists and socialists, will weld them together. It will set each of them in its vocation of life and, by their concerted work, it will legitimize, sanction and secure, it knows, it dares and it will, the security of life of millions and millions of families. The historic vocation of our nation, the will to power, the maturity to rule and the ability to lead of our Hungarian people, and the nationalist strength of the European peoples to build i t.

The peasant organization and peasant organizations of Hungarism are essential prerequisites for our third conquest and indispensable factors for the glory, greatness and happiness of the Hungarist Hungarian Empire that is sure to come.

Hang in there!

SPEECH DELIVERED ON 18 OCTOBER 1942 AT THE FIRST MEETING OF THE NATIONAL WORKERS' GRAND COUNCIL IN THE HOUSE OF LOYALTY

THE WORKER

Labour leaders! Brothers and sisters!

The war of ideologies, which will uncompromisingly set the final outcome, will create the very thing for which he is making his blood sacrifice and his tremendous efforts: the system and order of a nationalist and socialist European community. 1 stress: the socialist and

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nationalist new order. And at this point I must reiterate that I am a nationalist and a socialist: I am the enemy of all nationalism without socialism, but I am also the enemy of all socialism without nationalism. It is on the vital harmony of nationalism and socialism that our entire Hungarism is built, which we want to and will transplant into the entire political and social life of our people and our nation. Hungarism professes and organizes this vital harmony into an ideological and practical system and order, because it professes that nationalism without socialism inevitably degenerates into chauvinism, into the sickly and rigid practice of nationalism, and that socialism without nationalism also inevitably degenerates into materialism, into the sickly and rigid practice of socialism. And the consequences of this are well known from the past and even more so from the present. Both chauvinism and materialism produce systems based on violence, both ultimately leading to imperialism, chauvinistic or materialistic imperialism, which is always a disaster for the social community. For these reasons, we must always emphasise and make it the axis of our work of national enlightenment that the new Europe will be nationalist and socialist, because a Europe built on nationalism alone or on socialism alone would be a bad thing: it would be destroyed before it had built its foundations and enjoyed its new moral, spiritual and material life.

The nationalist and socialist new Europe will be built by the working class and working community of the European nations. But this great community can only be built by the worker in charge, never by the proletarian.

For our working brothers and sisters, then, the struggle for freedom fought in the national socialist world-view means nothing less than final liberation from the Marxist political, economic and social slavery, from their irresponsible proletarianism, which is built into the plutocratic system, and from their irresponsible proletarianism, which is in moral, spiritual and material fetters.

If we trace the millennial history of Europe and the struggle of the worker for the foundations of work, dignity and rights, the following great historical picture emerges from this millennial struggle.

In antiquity, the economy of the slave is the basis of the slave's labour system: its capital system could therefore be nothing other than a system of capitalism of the slave with the enslaved man as a means of monetary hedging. The slave-owner takes care of the slave, because he is of value to him as long as he is in his full labour-power; but without any sentimentality he destroys him as soon as he has reached the end of his labouring strength; for he does not feed or water the unworked, even when in his labour of strength he has become incapacitated, powerless, disabled, and thus unworkable. The social struggles of this age are expressed in the slave revolts.

But looking deep into the depths of these social struggles, we can see that they were nothing more than the struggle of man, held in ignoble fate and rank, for the dignity of man, whether consciously or unconsciously this goal was pursued. The world-view of this age, which determined the moral, spiritual and material perceptions, attitudes and practices of the time, was imperialism. A system of power and domination based on physical violence is moral, spiritual and material tyranny.

In the Middle Ages the picture changes. Eivestock farming comes to the fore, with its labour force, the right-brained. The capitalist system is therefore cattle capitalism, with cattle as the financial backing. The serf is self-supporting, but he is obliged to provide primarily for the welfare of the owner. The social struggles are thus manifested as peasant revolts, as they are wrongly called, which have been fought not only for the dignity of man but also for the dignity of the land, and which have as their goal the dignity of the land.

The world view of this age, which projected cattle farming into its material practices, was the

feudalism: a system of loyalty based on a material reward, i.e. loyalty bought with cattle, which of course lasted only as long as the cattle were available, but which also passed away. Feudalism was nothing other than a system of power and domination based on the arbitrary exercise of moral, spiritual and material prerogatives, which came directly from God and the substitute Pope.

In the modern age, in accordance with the world view of liberalism, the profit economy with its plutocratic system and its characteristic labour force, the proletariat, has developed.

Its capital system is monetary capitalism, with gold as the monetary hedge. The proletarian is the one who works and supports the profiteer, but he is not taken care of by anyone except the pub, the asylum and the prison. The social struggles of this period are characterised by proletarian revolts and struggles for the dignity of labour. The struggle for the dignity of man and the land is thus joined by, thirdly, the struggle for the dignity of labour. This world view has found its characteristic and expressive practice in the system and order of power and rule of moral spiritual and material freedom and liberty.

In the new era, which we can expect from the end of the 1914-18 world war, the material system we have built up until now is in crisis. Then it will be completely bankrupted and its place will be taken, at the cost of and forced by severe and bloody struggles, by national economy, whose labour power is the worker, responsibly integrated into the labour state, and whose capital system can therefore be nothing other than national capitalism, whose only possible means of monetary backing is the labour power of the total Nation. The social struggles for the realization of the imperative system and order of the workers' state are also seen as popular movements in the fateful life of our Nation. Thus the millennia-old struggle for the dignity of man, land and labour is joined by a fourth struggle for the dignity of the people. The aim of this struggle is the realisation of the world view of National Socialism, the realisation of Hungarism in the life of our nation in Hungarian practice. It follows from these historical facts:

First: the exploitative system and the struggle against it is as old as humanity. First man took up the fight against it. It has failed in its struggle. Then the land, labour, but all of them failed; but today man, land and labour are united in the popular movements as the sole factors of the people and the Nation in the coherence of life, and with one will, one purpose, one action, they destroy the system of exploitation, the possibility of its return. Secondly, the militant is always the worker, the worker is the strength and the essence of the militant, only in each age he appears and fights under a different name: in antiquity as a slave for the dignity of man, in the Middle Ages as a serf for the dignity of the land, in the modern age as a proletarian for the dignity of labour, and in the modern age as a nationalist and socialist worker for the dignity of the people who unite man, land and labour.

Thirdly, the exploitative system was the same in every age, but always under a different name. In antiquity as slave-owning imperialism, in the Middle Ages as serf-owning feudalism, in the modern age as proletarian liberalism and Marxism, and in the most classic form in the modern age: as unrestrained plutocratic capitalism, ruled by money.

Fourthly, throughout the millennia, the same guerrilla horde of hirelings has always hidden the exploiters, only under different names: in antiquity as patricians, in the Middle Ages as knights, in the modern age as magnates and industrialists, in the modern age as the most classic expression of the exploiters, the right-wing and pseudo-national socialist called Aladdin.

Fifthly, the representative and the beneficiary of exploitative regimes have always been the same for thousands of years, however they have been hidden and however they have tried to protect them.

moral, spiritual and material laws: the eternal Jew, who remains the eternal enemy and exploiter of the working peoples.

In conclusion, we can state the basic law: in the struggle for freedom with National Socialism, the millennial struggle of the worker is brought to a conclusion, as the eternal moral laws of the natural world order demand. With it, the imperative setting and the demanded realization of the perceived truth will be achieved. In the struggle of the Hungarian worker for Hungarism, the millennial workers' struggle for the dignity of man, land, labour and people for our country, our Homeland and our Nation is brought to a close and the final goal is set: the harmony of social peace, peace of land, peace of labour and peace of nation, which means the legalised, sanctioned and securely protected political, economic and social system and order of the Pax Hungarica on its developing life path based on the new truth, new freedom and new reality.

It is a very important fact that in all the peoples of Europe it was the worker and the woman who fought these relentless struggles. In antiquity and in the Middle Ages, alone and abandoned: in the modern age, supported in the early days by the intelligentsia and the peasantry, but then abandoned again. That is why the worker and the woman in ancient, medieval and modern times always failed in their glorious great struggle, and the worker was reduced to the proletariat, while the woman was reduced to a life without family and without a home, and was either relegated to the 'high' social salons of moral, intellectual and material freedom, or to the streets. Another major reason for her failure is that for thousands of years she has always been seen by social systems as a means to an end. They never showed them a goal, because they felt and knew very well that as soon as they would fight for a pure, healthy goal, the millennia of social systems based on exploitation would all be destroyed by them without exception and forever, and the millennia of slavery would become eternal livelihoods.

But in recent times, the picture of this millennia-old struggle for life and death is changing: the worker and the woman have won the active support of the intellectual and the peasant in their great struggle and are fighting with them, in alliance to the death, their great struggle for the creation, the dignification and the sanctification of the European working community by common will. The Hungarian worker and the Hungarian woman will perform the great part of the work necessary for the achievement of this goal in the living space of our nation, so that from it the families of all the workers of the Hungarist workers' state, and only the workers, will receive their moral, spiritual and material well-being and security of life. But in our struggle with Hungarism, the two warrior personalities: the worker and the woman, achieve their goals. The worker achieves his goal, because the basis of Hungarism is the workers' state, which can only be built by a responsible worker who is integrated into the power of the state. But the woman is also a target in this great struggle, because the basis of the Hungarist Empire is the secure family, of which only the woman who organises and leads the home can be the responsible leader and centre.

The working class and its necessary practical expression: the working community of the forged nations of a nationalist and socialist Europe built on a national socialist world-view must lay the following foundations for the organisation of Europe.

First: the foundations of a workers' peace, the expressions of which are the Commonwealth economy, the Commonwealth work and workers' constitution, the core of which must be the social-national, which means nothing less than a socialist order in nationalism, starting from the premise that not only must socialism be nationalist, but nationalism must also be socialist. This is the first field in which the Hungarian worker must work in the service of the realisation of the European Community.

Secondly, the foundations of peace on earth must be laid. The expressions of this are: the political, economic and social definition of large spaces and habitats, their geopolitical, geo-economic and geo-sociological delimitation, their organisation, the common security of large spaces and habitats, the

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settling the European peasant question. This, in turn, is the first area in which the Hungarian peasant must work in the service of the European Community.

Thirdly, the foundations of peace must be built. The expressions of this are: the necessary settlement of the population of Europe, the practical question of the resettlement of the people, but above all the final, Europe-wide elimination of the confusion of the people caused by the migration of the people, and the resulting European constitution of common destiny which would sanction, protect and secure peace among the people. This is the area in which the European aspirations, ideology and practice of Hungarian intellectuals must be linked with constitutionalism, with the community of nations, which means nothing less than the political, economic and social community of interdependent nations without diminishing the sovereign autonomy of each nation. It thus signifies the European dimension of Hungarism, and defines the basic guidelines for its necessary organisation, or vice versa: it signifies the projection of the new Europe onto the living space of the Hungarian people. This is the most important field in which Hungarian intellectuals must work in the service of the realisation of the European Community.

In our nation-building, we always rely on the strengths of our nation to achieve our objectives in the service and for the good of the family, the Nation and the European Community. These are the force factors:

The peasant is the responsible owner of the land, who must be the custodian of peace on the land in our country and thus the exponent and representative of pure, healthy nationalism. He is the national maintainer.

The worker is the responsible owner of labour, and through him the custodian of labour peace and thus the consummator of pure, healthy socialism. He is the nation-builder.

The intellectual is the responsible property of the leadership to create the vital harmony of nationalism and socialism in the service of social peace and thus to complete the fact and reality of Hungarism. He is the national leader.

The family is the first beneficiary of the good work of the peasant, the worker and the intellectual; the woman at its responsible centre is the custodian of the purity of the family and the home, the custodian of family peace. She is the saviour of the nation.

The soldier who is the responsible property of the leadership of an armed nation is the security of national life. He is the custodian of national peace.

Under the present system, our nation is totally proletarianized, because the peasant, the worker, the intellectual, the woman and the soldier are not owned, and are all irresponsible proletarians. We must lift the peasant, the worker, the intellectual, the woman and the soldier out of this proletarianization of our nation, put them in their place of national responsibility and vocation by destroying this general life-losing proletarianization through the ideology and practice of Hungarism.

I want to characterize the one whom or what so-called Marxism calls the proletarian: First and most importantly, the proletarian is not a socialist, but an obedient and irresponsible tool and dirty weapon in the hands of the Jewish plutocratic bitang regime. He has no sense of social community, because he does not live in a natural social community, such as the family, the people, the nation, but in a system of domination which pulverizes these very natural social communities. Without a sense of community and the necessary sense of community, there is no socialism. If Marxism had socialism with a spark, it could not have failed. But it failed, because it did not seek to create socialism, but sought to pass off as socialism a view which was solely and exclusively in the conscious service of Jewish world domination;

and secondly, we must know that the proletarian is not a nationalist, but a godless, homeless, homeless and familyless vagabond of a social order artificially forced into moral, spiritual and material decay;

and thirdly, the proletarian is not even a materialist, but a wage-slave who does not even know the most rudimentary preconditions of his most natural material well-being.



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because it lives in total moral, spiritual and material indifference and indolence.

In the plutocratic system, all workers are proletarians without exception; those who do not work responsibly but serve without conviction. Hence, he does not fight for his most natural rights, but compromises. He dishonours and disgraces himself in his so-called wage struggles and strikes, and gets no further than to steal from the great thief.

Labour leaders! Brothers and sisters!

The Hungarian worker has so far asked, but his request has not been heard. He has demanded, his demand has not been met. Now, in the name of the nation and the workers, he will take and fight for what is his right and what he deserves in the interest and service of his family and the community of his nation.

The requirements of a worker's living space can be summarised as:

a clean and healthy family home and complete security of life;

a clean and healthy workplace, so that he or she can perform to the best of his or her abilities and produce and display the highest work performance for the benefit of his or her family and the nation;

enjoyment of the institutions of national culture and civilisation and the possibility of active participation in the European labour community.

In the ideology of Hungarism, it rejects the barren class struggle, because it points out and proves that such a struggle only serves and strengthens the plutocratic system. Where, on the other hand, as a proletarian dictatorship, it has achieved its alleged aim, it has constructed an impossible and absurd political, economic and social system. The class struggle is always the result of artificial social stratification, the stages of which are: caste system, strike, the drifting away, rigidification, self-serving separation of the natural social strata, the disintegration of the necessary social community, class struggle.

Hungarism, on the other hand, has made natural social stratification a cornerstone of its political, economic and social system and order, and sees it as follows: the peasant farmer who provides the raw material: the worker who transforms the raw material into a consumer, the intellectual who transforms the raw material into a consumer.

just and useful distribution and harmonising the work of the two basic factors; the woman, who enjoys the good benefits of the work done in harmony by the peasant, the worker and the intellectual in the organised family; the soldier, who ensures and protects the continuity of the national work and the enjoyment of the result of labour.

The consequence of this natural social stratification can be nothing other than the order of work in the different strata. The demanding need for work schedules gives rise to the corresponding occupations, which the work schedule coordinates. This order of work constitutes the totality of the natural social strata, the worker, the working nation.

The will of the working Nation is expressed by the orders of professions, which are the factors of state power of the Hungarian national socialist labour state. Every worker is therefore a factor of public power in the life of the Nation. The rules of profession legalise, sanctify and protect the labour constitution of the working nation, which is the moral, spiritual and material system and order of the working nation based on the labour law, the obligation to work, the respect for work, the work ethic and the work beauty.

It is the service of our nation, that is, the service of the community, that best secures the self-interest, the interests of the individual natural social strata, without these clashing with each other and destroying their militant force, the moral, spiritual and material life of the working nation, in a barren class struggle. It is therefore only from this point of view, and only in this sense, that the placing of the public interest before self-interest and its legalisation is right and useful and acceptable. For 'public interest only' atrophies the personality, 'self-interest only' atrophies the necessary community of fellow-men. The public interest and the

Hungarism ensures the vital harmony of self-interest in such a way that it finds the legitimate claim of self-interest only through the obligatory service of the public interest.

The plutocratic systems believe that national socialism and Marxism will mutually beat each other to death and thus free humanity - the plutocratic profit world - from these two scourges. They will be disappointed, that's for sure! National Socialism will surely triumph over Marxism as well as over the Masonic Jewish plutocratic Anglo-Saxon world power and will, out of imperative necessity, establish the new system and order of nationalist and socialist Europe. The Hungarian vanguard of this great struggle are the Hungarian workers, who are fighting shoulder to shoulder with all the national socialist workers of Europe in the service of the new construction of Europe. In Hungarism, the Hungarian worker is the nation-builder. On his shoulders rests the heavy work of planning, leading and implementing it. On his workbench our nation, our party and our movement are formed, built and consolidated. Eet the Hungarian worker never forget the great principle of Hungarism: he who is first in battle is first in power! Our struggle only imposes duties on us. We will win our rights in our workers' state, built in struggle, blood, sacrifice, sweat and suffering, as we have fulfilled our duty.

Some say out into the streets, others say do nothing, because power will fall like ripe fruit in your lap. Don't sit up for the agitators or the feckless convenience seekers. Eet the inciters take note that our workers, united in the Hungarist Movement, will take to the streets only if the mob of Marxism breaks through the streets against the unfolding of Hungarism, the Hungarian people's movement of National Socialism. But that was the last time that the Jewish-led Masonic Marxist mob would take to the streets, because the second time they would have neither the ability, nor the opportunity, nor the occasion. And for the dunderheads who think that we should do nothing because power will fall in our laps anyway, let them know that the sick, rotten, rotten fruit always falls from the tree. For the healthy one, you have to reach up to the tree and tear it down! And the power that just falls into the lap is also sick, rotten, rotten power, of which neither our nation nor we ask for!

The only path that leads to the goal is perseverance, faith, loyalty, the external manifestations of which are organisations and the work of national organisation within them. Organisations must stand rock-solid, ready to take up their nation-building task at any moment in the will and service of our nation.

The strategy of the fighting external front and the fighting internal front must be consistent at all times. On the external front, the homeland defender does his duty; on the internal front, the Hungarist does his. It is from these two that our nation watches and from these two that our nation demands that it fulfils its duty, from the last home guard to the last Hungarist. The defender in his external struggle enables the Hungarist to fight his great internal struggle in the service of his nation.

However, in the internal struggle of the Hungarist, it must enable our patriots to receive, with absolute certainty, in time and in the quantity demanded, what is the sure victory of their struggle. The Honvéd must feel and know that not only does the Hungarist help his victory over the external enemy, but also that by the time he returns home victorious, Hungarism and its vanguard, the worker and the woman, will have defeated the internal enemy and will have created the new Hungarian Hungarist Empire, in which the peasant, the worker, the intellectual, the woman and the soldier work in blessed harmony of life in the great service of the glory, greatness and happiness of the families of our Empire, of our nation and of nationalist and socialist Europe!

Hang in there!

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SPEECH DELIVERED ON 27 DECEMBER 1942 AT THE FIRST MEETING OF THE NATIONAL INTELLECTUAL GRAND COUNCIL IN THE HOUSE OF LOYALTY

THE MADNESS

National leaders! Brothers and sisters!

For the first time the Arrow Cross Party and the Hungarist Movement led by it called together the leaders of the middle class, organised in its ideology and framework, to establish the vocation, the tasks, the responsibilities, the duties and the place of power of the strata called upon to lead and govern our nation, both in the Hungarist Hungarian Empire and in the order and system of the nationalist and socialist new Europe, in the first National Grand Council.

The intellectual is the national leader, with all the responsibilities that entails. The motto of the Hungarist intellectual is: honour, knowledge, example. An honest heart, a knowledgeable skull and a self-sacrificing example in working and fighting life: these must be the characteristics of our new layer of leaders emerging from the furnace of nationalism and socialism. We must throw off all the dross and inhibitions of prejudice. We must also rid ourselves of the political, social and economic delusions of at least thirty centuries. We must restore the truth, the reality, the freedom that peoples have understood for thousands of years, but have not been able to live because of the unheard-of abuse of the faith, loyalty, sacrifice, not least but above all the good faith and patience of all peoples, which cries out to the heavens for revenge and reparation. Nearly thirty centuries have passed without an account of what happened, how and why, and the impact and consequences of events. The great laws of practical life which scientists have seen and which they have brought back on a golden platter have been dismissed as grey theory, that practical men see things differently and cannot in any way tie their decisions to theoretical findings. The pioneering struggles of the self-sacrificing have been dismissed with a pompous wave of the hand, called phantasms, called insane, rewarded with the cross and murder, or stolen gallantly. In these we must first of all see the root cause of much needless bloodshed. History teaches everyone how to live and how to die. But so far it has taught it in vain.

It is fitting, therefore, that for the first time in many thousands of years we should take stock of the way in which the stock of goods which is to make mankind happy here on earth has been handled, and take stock of this great historical reckoning. But let us also note the lessons of all this, especially from the point of view of what our nationalist and socialist leaders, born into Hungarism, must want and how they must act, how they must live and die, if they are to fulfil their great calling worthily.

First and foremost, we must also answer with certainty the question of what the peoples who made up humanity have wanted to achieve over the past millennia, what their goals have been, what they can want today and what they can want in the millennia of peoples to come. The answer can only be: all peoples want to be happy. The whole problem of happiness, with all its beauty and ugliness, its full depth and shallowness, its sacrificial grandeur and its selfish smallness, is thus raised. It is said, and rightly said, that happiness is a duty, and that he who renounces happiness is in breach of duty.

There are many different concepts of happiness. We will discuss two extremes. After examining them, we will set out the Hungarist understanding of this important issue, which I believe is

issue will remain as long as there is man on earth. At one extreme stands the Jewish conception, which sees the fulfilment of happiness in the enjoyment of matter, and with this materialistic conception, even if he would, and could not think otherwise, he utterly rejects the rightfulness of the happiness of others, and in order to do so with impunity, has set himself up as the chosen one, the sole rightful beneficiary of our globe, to realize his earthly happiness without moral or spiritual restraint. This conception of happiness is exclusive, can only be attained and enjoyed by Jews.

At the other extreme are the churches that evolved from the teachings of Christ, which place the consummation of happiness in the afterlife. Sceptically and pessimistically denying even the possibility of happiness on earth, they are therefore convinced that happiness on earth is not possible anyway. Here on earth everything is dust and ashes. This conception of happiness is not exclusive, but universal, and all mortals are willing to share it, but only in the afterlife.

These two concepts are the two extremes and because they are extremes, they are false. But they also interact with each other in their whole moral, spiritual and material structure.

In this matter, Hungarism has stated its understanding as follows: humanity, in its millennia of development, has become more and more clear-sighted, and is increasingly able to satisfy its needs, both moral, spiritual and material. Those peoples who cannot participate in this progress and perfection, who are unable to keep pace with it, will disintegrate, and their individuals, wandering in solitary savagery, will ultimately mark the road to destiny, along which they will be forever excluded from human society. Only those peoples who are on the path of progress, those who are life-giving, can extort and extort their living needs. Hungarism, then, is the ideal of clarity, the progress towards perfection, the ideal of life-giving and the practice of the claim to life.

Happiness and truth are sweet brothers. Truth is the taste, the flavour of happiness, its pea. Truth, therefore, just like happiness, is only accessible. Hungarism therefore strives to have in its ideology and practice only an injustice that hurts one in a hundred and not ninety-nine. But it also knows that it will fail as soon as its justice becomes justice for one and not for ninety-nine. All the systems which have sprung from liberalism will therefore all fail, because they will be justice and happiness to only one per cent, and injustice and unhappiness to ninety-nine. This is the immutable law of the present, which is being carried out with blood, iron, tears and sweat by peoples disappointed in the old happiness and the old truth, and demanding a new truth and a new happiness.

It is a fact, therefore, that every system of ideals and their practice born and to be born in the human history of our earth has always aimed at the realization of happiness, and that is why people make blood sacrifices and take all the suffering and risks. And these ideals have always failed because they have not realised the hopes they had been raised.

Delving further into the balance sheet of the past millennia, we see that throughout known and known human history, after AD 1920, our globe was the scene of fierce struggles for the possession of its material wealth. The aim was therefore a distinctly material one. No wonder, then, that during these millennia only materialistic systems could develop, which suppressed all moral and spiritual natural requirements. These materialistic systems have made man, the peasant, the worker, the intellectual, the woman, and the soldier only instruments in their objectives, and have made their politics with dead matter. So they made agrarian policy and destroyed the peasant. They made industrial policy and destroyed the worker. They have made monetary policy and destroyed the workers' livelihood. They have made economic policy and destroyed the well-being of the family. They made state policy and destroyed the soul of the nation and the people, nationalism. They made material and power politics and destroyed the nation's

a healthy community, socialism. They made territorial politics and set up a sick, materialistic chauvinism and materialism. They have made marriage policy and destroyed the family and the woman. They made mercenaries and officials to defend all these policies and destroyed the soldier and the intellectual. These materialist systems destroyed everything that resisted their rigid profit motive. The struggles for freedom which the oppressed and driven by vested interests have fought over the millennia for the dignity of themselves, the land, work, the family, society and the people have failed because the intellectuals, the ruling class, were not up to their task, but could not be, because they were not leaders, but only the first servants of the vested interests.

This long, millennia-long power and domination of materialism rested in antiquity on imperialism, in the Middle Ages on universalism and feudalism, in the modern age on absolutism at its beginning, and later on liberalism; to reach its culmination in the outcome of the modern age in capitalism and the plutocratic despotism it established. Throughout the millennia there has been no question of planned leadership, direction, rational and purposeful construction. There were only exploiters and exploited. However their names have changed, their essence has always remained the same.

Europe has been in political, economic and social decline since 1900. The leading powers of liberalism - Britain, France and the United States - directly or indirectly own the entire wealth of our globe, and refuse to share it with others. In Europe alone, nearly 500 million people are seeking their way to the prosperity and contentment they deserve and have earned. All peoples have realised that the whole of our land is in the grip of a single society of rapacity, which does not produce, but steals and robs; does not rule, but usurps; does not exercise power, but commits violence against reason, against the common soul and against life. In spite, therefore, of the fact that our globe, by virtue of its riches, can abundantly feed and support all the peoples who live on it, there is still general poverty, misery, distress and despair. But the new world outlook, the new order and system of nationalism and socialism, have pointed to the real source and root causes of these troubles and have launched a struggle, one of the ultimate aims of which is the planned distribution of the wealth of our globe. This will be the first true land distribution in our history. The new leadership of the nationalist and socialist order will therefore have the first task and responsibility of carrying out the great work of distribution in such a way as to launch the cultural, civilisational and technical life of the nationalist and socialist order for thousands of years in the spirit of the peace of the land, the peace of the workers and the peace of the people of the European metropolis.

The main stages of the European crisis of 1900, which has been in labour for 42 years and which since 1930 has become a complete crisis of our globe, can be summed up as follows: the Jews, who have gained intellectual omnipotence in the press and literature, are using Marxism to confront the working class with the bourgeoisie. It proves to the working class that it needs an international organisation in order to fight effectively against the internationally organised 'stinking bourgeoisie'. It proves to the bourgeoisie that it needs nationalism in the extreme in order to successfully take the fight to the internationally organised "stinking proletariat". The two 'stinkers', whose only greater stink was their stupidity, are also pitted against each other. In this unholy struggle, every moral, spiritual and material, as well as political, social and economic, key area of Europe is directly or indirectly under the power of the Jews. The world war of 1914-18 will destroy once and for all the civil order born in the blood of the great French Revolution. The liberal bourgeois order, which disappeared in the bloody sea of the 1914-1918 world war, gave way to the Marxist dictatorship of the Jews in the East and the plutocratic dictatorships of the Jews in the West. Capitalism and Marxism share the world,

as prey. These are the two regimes which, since 1919, have held all the peoples of Europe under their tyrannical rule, and since 1927 they have been using every means at their disposal to establish de facto and de jure Jewish world domination. Totally organized wickedness has begun its merciless war against our entire globe. By 1930, all European nations will be crumbling under the millstones of Marxist and plutocratic Jewish dictatorship to the point where all nations will either have Jewish leaders or a system of government controlled by Jewry. From 1935 onwards, this great rush and unbridled greed of destruction and ruin was halted and checked with breathtaking suddenness by the Italian and German peoples, organised and found in a nationalist and socialist order, and by their two ardent leaders, Mussolini and Hitler. From that year until 1939, total meanness used and canonized every means at its disposal to overthrow the nationalist and socialist regimes that were the New World. Having suffered disastrous defeats in its struggles with political, economic and social weapons, it has resorted to armed violence and seeks to exterminate with blood and iron all those who refuse to submit to it and who ally themselves against it.

This brings us to the last item in our millennial reckoning and balance-sheet, the new age, which in fact begins with the current war of ideologies and opens an era which posterity will bless or curse as the new nationalist and socialist leadership fulfils its historic vocation and mission, or commits irredeemable dereliction of duty and grave error. This huge and unprecedented ideological war must wash away in blood and atone for the mistakes and sins committed over thousands of years. The aim of this great struggle can be nothing less than the total annihilation of the total inferiority which has been organised and organised since 1900, the completion of a new world view based on nationalism and socialism in the community of life and destiny of the European peoples, which will organise the European metropolitan area into a unity based on political, economic and social harmony of life, and which, together with the Asian metropolitan area, must be the true governing power and true shah of our globe and its wealth.

The greatest lesson of the great reckoning and balance sheet going back thousands of years, which we want to state openly, honestly, without any unnecessary shame, is that the peoples have not had a leadership, an intelligentsia. The new world-view, which we call nationalist and socialist, in Hungarian practice and in accordance with the conditions of life in South-Eastern Europe, Hungarism, and as such we want to and will live, will develop in its great popular struggle for freedom the imperatively necessary natural new social order: the intelligentsia, the leading stratum, for the political, economic and social leadership and good of the total nation.

National leaders! Brothers and sisters!

On 18 October and 22 November of this year, we recorded the occupation of worker and peasant respectively. We have established that the peasant is the embodiment of pure and healthy nationalism, the expression of peace on earth, the sole factor on which our workers' state is founded: that the worker is the embodiment of pure and healthy socialism, the expression of workers' peace, the only factor with which we can build the Hungarist workers' state and the European workers' and labour community. But someone must bring the work of the peasant and the worker into harmony if their work is to be effective and useful for the common good. There must therefore be a factor which unites the work of the two and establishes it as the practice of the national socialist worldview. This factor is the intelligentsia, the leadership. It is he alone who is able to put nationalism into its fitting and natural vocation, to organise it for the good of practical state, national and people's life, and to develop the national socialist world-view out of its vital harmony. He is thus the embodiment of true and pure Hungarism, the expression of social peace, the depository of the Pax Hungarica. If he lacks everything, he is not

intellectual, but a proletarian. Our leadership, born in Hungarism, must know firmly that the National Socialist worldview fundamentally rejects the systems of the past and builds those that see total communities as good and useful as their ultimate goal. From the point of view of the European great space, it has to organise and build three total communities: the totality of the family, the Nation and the European Community. These three totalities are inseparable, one cannot stand without the other. For this reason, Hungarism can conceive of the individual only in the ideological and practical construction of the family, the family only in the nation, the nation only in the totality of the European Community. Any other structure, in our opinion, is not a national socialist system, but either an interest nationalist or an interest socialist system, which will fail and be destroyed just as the plutocratic totality built on Jewish interests.

Each people builds its nationalist and socialist new order according to its own specificities. That is why the Italian practice is called fascism, the German "Volkische Bewegung", the Spanish practice as Falangism and the Hungarian practice as Hungarism. However, there are some who say that a separate worldview is fascism, which is nothing more than the Italian people's view of the world. And National Socialism is also a separate world view, which in turn is no different from the German people's view of the world. But if that is so, then so is Hungarism, which is the Hungarian people's view of the world. On the one hand, this does not make us less true, and on the other hand, it does not make us less National Socialist. In this way, in practice, three main tendencies of the European worldview are emerging: the North, the Northwest and the National Socialism in Eastern Europe; Fascism in South-West and Southern Europe; and Hungarism in South-East Europe. The question therefore arises as to which of the three main trends will best serve as the basis for practical state, national and popular orders and systems in Europe.

Our judgement from experience is that the goal of fascism is the total state. It affirms that only by means of such an objective can all the demands of life be best satisfied, secured and defended. In his view, in the empire all peoples can realize their objectives. The basis is therefore the state. It is the sole source of all power, law and right. Its construction is not exclusive but universal. In German National Socialism, as we call it: the Volkische Bewegung, we have, on the other hand, established that its aim is the total race, in this too the selection, the sole vocation and the supremacy of the Nordic race over all the peoples of our globe. But its selection and vocation, its superiority, are not fictitious and come from beyond, and are therefore not uncontrollable, as is the case with the Jews, but are the result of its own strength, its own ability, and of course its particular racial quality. It holds that all the requirements of life can be best satisfied, secured and defended only by this objective. Its construction is exclusive, open only to the Aryans. Even among these, however, only the northern breed is destined to the leading role. The basis of all power, law and right, therefore, derives from the race.

But the goal of Hungarism is a total nation. By nation, Hungarism means a natural and imperative community of life, companionship and destiny, which is organised into a political, social and economic unity by the leadership of the people who are called upon to do so at all times, and who alone are able and called upon to lead it responsibly. Therefore, all peoples which establish their necessary interdependence, and thus also establish the imperatively necessary community of their living space and recognise the vocation of the leading people to lead, constitute a total nation. Hungarism affirms that all the requirements of life can best be satisfied, secured and defended only by such an objective. The basis of power, law and justice is therefore a total Nation. It may be taken as a fact that in the nation nationalism can degenerate into chauvinism, socialism can degenerate into materialism, but in the total nation all this is not possible, because only a total nation can mean a pure and healthy nationalism and a pure and healthy

the coordination of socialism. If the leading people are not up to their vocation, they are incapable of this pure and healthy coordination. The space of life will disintegrate and become easy prey to political, economic or social imperialist wills and aspirations. In our Hungarism, therefore, we affirm that the peoples of Europe will be integrated into total nations out of the need for life, companionship and common destiny. The Germanic Nation, the Latin Nation, the Slavic Nation will therefore be born of imperative necessity under the responsible will of the leading people, just as in Hungarism the Hungarian Nation will be born of imperative necessity under the responsible will and leadership of the Hungarian people. The nations thus formed will constitute in their vital harmony the entire political, economic and social unity of the European metropolitan area.

Hungarism, then, is really a world view. Through its ideology and practice, our Hungarian people really do look at the world consciously, and have an understanding of all the forces of our globe, their effects and their relationships. And he has given his understanding a solid moral basis which anyone can accept calmly, without any mistrust or jealousy. But because this and such is our conception of our globe, of Europe, of the systems of the near and distant future which can be reasonably and spiritually deduced, we must therefore state very seriously and unmistakably our fundamental law that this conception would remain unchanged even if no other people had found a home in our sphere of life and had not formed a common country with us. But also that, if we really want the peoples of Europe to live together in identity of destiny, there is no more reassuring solution to the problems of Europe and the great question of the settlement of the European great space than the practical implantation of such principles, which our Hungarian people, through the ideology and practice of Hungarism, have seen, embraced, crystallized, do not "hide", and dare, in the responsible consciousness of their leading vocation, to submit to the judgment of the leading powers that are organizing Europe, because we will not be ashamed of them.

The peoples living in our living space are part of our nation, inseparable for better or worse, for richer or poorer, for richer or poorer, and an integral part of our nation. In accordance with their gifts, they form in our nation that nobler and higher community of life, companionship and destiny which is the sole guarantee and pledge of the well-being and security of our habitat. And that this may be so built, may be so and may remain so: this is the second task and responsibility of our intellectuals born in Hungarism. At the same time, it is also the unmistakable definition of our nation's right and place of power in the leadership of South-Eastern Europe and the European Community.

Brothers and sisters, ethnic leaders!

We have sketched a summary, a big picture of the millennia of the history of the peoples, we have defined how out of these events the triumphant world view and world vision of National Socialism, this great life and destiny of humanity and of our whole globe, have emerged out of imperative necessity, and we have also indicated the three possible main directions of practical system-building. We must also recognize the factors that underlie and guide every community.

The total nation, organised in Hungarism, always has five force-factors: the worker, the peasant, the intellectual, the woman and the soldier. The peasant is the nation-preserver, the worker is the nation-builder, the intellectual is the nation-leader, the woman is the nation-preserver, the soldier is the nation-protector. We can speak of a total nation only if it has the five force-factors and they possess their specific vocation. There is, however, another layer, which became conscious in the great French Revolution, but has not been able to find its place since. It has lost its place in the search for a place, it has been worn down, it is now only to be found in its vestiges, and these too are being absorbed into other natural social strata, or are doing the work of founding the new natural social strata demanded by life. The peasantry and the



layers of the working class, but then broke away from them. This is the bourgeoisie. Hungarism is frank in stating that there is no bourgeoisie, that the vast majority of the bourgeoisie under Marxism, capitalism and plutocracy have become totally proletarianised, while a tiny minority have become small and large owners of capital, as accepted by the plutocracy.

However, we will examine citizenship in order to draw lessons for the intellectuals. At the very top of the bourgeoisie, we find the bourgeoisie, the owners of money, commerce, industry, the means of production, the "so-called" bourgeoisie in liberal sociology, the sole beneficiaries of plutocratic systems, the sole formers and exploiters of capitalism, the sole beneficiaries of plutocratic systems.

At the bottom of this interesting but totally unviable ladder are the bourgeoisie, those who have struggled their way up from the proletariat amidst the noisy or less noisy recognition of the bourgeoisie. They hate the proletariat the most. Quite rightly, because they came from there and know very well who he is. But they stare at the bourgeoisie, quite rightly, because they don't yet know who it is. They are the bourgeoisie. All over Europe, without exception, they were and still are members of the various social democratic parties.

Between the top and the bottom of this were the others, from top to bottom, in approximately the following order:

the industrial middle class, which included the larger and smaller owners of capital; the clerks, the priests, the judges, the administrators, the educators, the doctors; in economic terms they are in fact proletarians, since they are not owners of capital, but only put their labour and their skills at the disposal of the plutocratic system; Further down the scale are the private employees, who, like the clerks, are proletarians in economic terms; it may be said that it is the remaining residue of this stratum which is most in need of a way out of the confusion of today;

in the penultimate stage, before the Citizen of the Poplars, we saw a large group of free-riders: doctors, lawyers, engineers, writers, artists, actors, journalists; the leaders of these, or rather those chosen by the plutocratic bourgeoisie, reached the very top of this strange social order, but the vast majority of them went to the extremes and strayed into anarchism and nihilism; they were the offspring of what liberalism called the castaways, which we might more correctly call the ladder-breakers; they hated the bourgeoisie, including, of course, the pinnacle of the bourgeoisie, which was beyond their reach, but they also hated so-called "barrel socialism", which they saw in the generalised proletarianisation of the population; they were pained to see that quality was dying out and drowning in quantity; but their tragedy was always that, despite all this, they could not fully rebirth new social systems.

Without any superfluous sensationalism, we can state the fact that the so-called bourgeoisie has been completely eroded. The remnants of it that still exist have been quite rightly called the middle class by liberal sociology, because it could not place them either among the plutocrats or the proletarians. So not only life, but even science could not do anything about it. In this middle class lives and thrives what might be most aptly called the ideology of fear. This part of our society lives in constant fear and dread of being crushed between the millstones of the highly organised international plutocrats and the equally internationally organised proletarians. The plutocratic regimes have always had the great good fortune that this middle class could not organise itself, because if it had stopped working even for a single day, it would have been knee-deep in plutocrats and proletarians alike.

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From these scientific and practical facts, the ideology and practice of Hungarism filtered the important conclusion and the consequent determination that this middle class, which by virtue of its expertise could form a very valuable and indispensable layer of any natural social order, must be saved from extinction. He wants to achieve this, and will do so, by making them aware that, by virtue of their skills, they are among those who are called upon to lead responsibly. But he has not been able to fulfil this great role because, despite being in possession of the most powerful capital, knowledge, and the inalienable possession of it, he has been powerless, helpless, and artificially or forcibly prevented from taking his rightful place. For the intellectuals of each of our societies, Hungarism therefore represents a struggle for freedom, the ultimate goal of which is the intellectuals' vocation to lead and their right to lead.

The backbone of our national government will be the State Governorate, whose main task will be to ensure the moral, spiritual and material well-being of our living space. It is therefore the foremost and most important organ for planning, organising, directing and controlling the management of territory, materials and forces. It provides a place, a job and a responsibility for our intellectuals, who are leaders and personalities both in terms of their expertise and their outlook. They are unswervingly loyal to our nation, unwavering in their faith in its strength and commitment.

The three strongest and most complete of the basic community factors are religion, nationalism and socialism. These three have always been most sharply opposed by Freemasonry, the Jews, the plutocrats and the fringe, saying that they are oil, fire and water, which have never been compatible. They knew very well that they were irrevocably doomed, that they would disappear once these three elements of life came into harmony. In our Hungarism, we affirm that religion, nationalism and socialism are life factors that are not in competition, but are complementary and necessary to each other. In the moral basis of Hungarism, religion is the core and the force multiplier; in the spiritual basis, nationalism is the core and the force multiplier; and in the material basis, socialism is the core and the force multiplier.

The called prophets of religion have allowed the churches in plutocratic systems to adopt materialistic views, and believe that God has set them up to rule over men. This state of affairs and perception must disappear if the churches are to place any emphasis on the people's acceptance of and need for their intercession towards the absolute. It is our opinion that the controversy surrounding the Old Testament will initiate the great reformation, whether within or without the Church, which is absolutely necessary in the individual Churches, and without which they cannot fulfil the calling which is imperatively demanded of them by God and man alike. It cannot be the task of Hungarism to defend the dogmas of individual Churches. Religion is defended, must be defended and must be defended, often even against churches that have forgotten themselves. We do not touch dogmas, but under no circumstances will we become dogma keepers. For we are convinced that the new worldview will not only decisively change the spiritual and material side of life, but will also influence the moral side. And it will make it possible, on the one hand, for the individual churches to cast off materialism with all its offensive frills with a light heart and, on the other hand, for the necessary harmony of life to be established between the churches and the new world view and the emerging new world order. We do not therefore want other religions and other churches, but pure churches. And we have the right to do so.

We find that religion becomes rigid in its various dogmatic ecclesiologies, if it does not have the imperative coherence with nationalism and socialism, but rejects and keeps them at a distance. We can reassure everyone, but especially those who fear religion from us, that we will always give to God what belongs to God, but

that will not deter us from taking from the churches, in the name and for the sake of God and our nation, what is not divinely ordained for the churches.

The new worldview is based on the real and actual values of peoples. Thus on true and pure nationalism, which is nothing other than the sum, content and expression of the spiritual life of a people. A nationalism which lacks the imperative vital harmony with religion and socialism, rejects them and keeps them at a distance, degenerates into a nationalism of sovereignty. This degenerating nationalism is always advancing imperialistically to achieve its goals. Liberalism has been the hotbed of chauvinism, but Hungarism is the precondition for true, healthy nationalism. So those, neither official nor unofficial, who think that Hungarism can be accused of 'excessive' chauvinism simply because our ideas do not coincide in the construction and practice of the European New Order are very mistaken.

Marxism, born in the hotbed of liberalism, can only be called socialism with a great deal of goodwill. In fact, it is not socialism, but a system of domination based on the Jewish materialist world view. It has only just enough to do with socialism to enable it to use it as a means of making the most inclined social strata, the workers, the most inclined to action, serve its own ends. In Hungarism, socialism is the containment, content and expression of our material life. It signifies the imperative need for communion, it gives practical expression to the noble socialization of the individual. If this force factor lacks its two companions in life, religion and nationalism, it is distorted into materialism, which seeks to achieve all its objectives in an equally imperialistic way. Liberalism has always been a breeding ground for materialism, but Hungarism is a precondition for true, healthy socialism.

We are aware that our living space must be an integral part of tire to the European highway. We are also aware that this large space must have a common political, economic and social objective, which we must achieve through a joint effort. We know that we must participate in this joint effort in accordance with our capabilities, and we consider it both natural and imperative. But we want to do it and to do it with our own strength, with our own resources. With our peasants, our workers, our intellectuals, our economic and commercial agents, because we know that we are capable of doing so and that we have the factual, material and material prerequisites for this. We demand the whole task and assume full responsibility for it. We want to be totally integrated into the European great space, but only with our total nation.

If we are incapable of fulfilling our vocation and carrying out our task, this incapacity can and must be harshly acknowledged in the interests of the European Community. But, also in the interests of the European Community, our inability to do so cannot be denied us until life proves our inability.

The third task and responsibility of our intellectuality, therefore, culminates in laying the foundations for our moral, spiritual, material, and material and subjective leadership. Hungarism is not based on racial intolerance, but on racial ennoblement. It does not exclude races from our living space because it is intolerant of them, but because it wants to ensure the racial purity and nobility of the peoples living in our living space. But neither do we stand on the basis of spiritual intolerance, but on the basis of the necessary harmony of life, because we see and experience that in every sphere of life there has already developed the spirit and the practical world-view which it demands, which in that sphere of life is true, beautiful and good. But it only becomes really useful if it can work in harmony with the spiritual and practical tendencies that have developed in all the spheres of life. The reason why the harmony of life between religion, nationalism and socialism has so far failed is that the mere presence of Judaism has made it impossible, has always broken it up and has made all of them

to his own materialistic worldview. Judaism must therefore be absolutely removed from the body of all European peoples, it must therefore not remain in the great European space, and a place must be allotted to it in which it can no longer be a detriment to any people, and in which it can build and construct its practical world in accordance with its own conception; its long desired goal and long desired desire: the independent and autonomous and free and democratic Jewish State, in which there will always be peace, there will always be bread, there will always be work. But for this very reason it is we, not they, who will determine whether Jewry is a poison or not to us. The plague bacillus is convinced of its harmlessness and innocence, but the people, in spite of this, have a vastly different opinion.

We admit that the plague bacillus cannot help being what it is. But don't take it amiss if we don't enjoy any plague and defend ourselves against it. Let our intellectuals in particular take note of the undeniable fact that, in addition to the long millennia of its selection, the Jews have had, by the special and indulgent grace of the good God, a full two centuries to show and prove what they can create in the fullness of His power. In the Russian nation he had at his disposal for nearly 25 years some 180 million souls, and he had in his possession and unlimited possession all the means of power to accomplish all that was beautiful, good and just in what is virtually the richest sphere of life in the world, and to restore therein the lost paradise on earth. And what he has actually done in practice is monstrous! He has proved to himself that he is by nature completely incapable of leadership, organization, creation, that he can only live out his nature in the negative direction: in destruction, in destruction. It is the fourth and apostolic task and responsibility of the intellectuals of Hungarism to proclaim the essence of the Jewish question at every opportunity, to point it out at every opportunity, and not to let their initiatives in the solution of the Jewish question be led by pseudo-poverty, pseudo-humanity, for they will only be paid for bitterly by themselves, their nation, their people and everything that lives and demands life.

One of the most important forces behind Hungarism is the leadership, the intelligentsia. We have to state that we cannot and cannot include the so-called leadership produced by liberalism and capitalism in our initiative, because they were chosen by the Jews, selected by their wishes, approved by their outlook. We must choose new leaders from the peasantry, the working class and the totally repressed middle class. Hungarism must educate its own elite, it must build its own salons, just as liberalism once did, which at the time had no intention of taking over the elite of absolutism, but deliberately either stunted it or exterminated it. And rightly so. In the matter of the formation of our elite, the same right action is demanded by reason and reason. The fundamental law of Hungarism, which it makes binding on its intelligentsia, is this:

if he has to choose between Nation and Constitution, between justice and law, between life and law: he is bound to choose always Nation, justice and life, because he must know that these three are eternal. Constitution, law and justice are necessary but transient forms, which the nation can replace when and as its new truth, its new reality and its new freedom demand it, that is, as the will and the will of the new life want to be expressed in and through it. According to his new life, therefore, he establishes the framework within which he wishes to live and die and demands his life. Hungarism, therefore, will have its constitution, its legal basis and its laws, but these cannot be similar to or equal to those of liberalism and will certainly not derive from it. They are not constitution-continuous, law-continuous and will be law-continuous, but nation-continuous, life-continuous and justice-continuous.

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National leaders! Brothers and sisters!

Our Hungarist intelligentsia, against its vocation, duty, obligation and responsibility, makes one imperative and uncompromising demand: the political, economic and social reality of the Hungarist Hungarian Empire under its responsible leadership.

We are convinced that this, the greatest and bloodiest catastrophe of all time, will ultimately give all life its true meaning, true content, true vocation, true framework, true expression and true place. Thus, for the peasant, the worker, the intellectual, the woman and the soldier, as well as for the trinity of life of religion, nationalism and socialism, and so on for all the value factors.

I am said to dislike civil servants, the middle class, the intelligentsia, and to organise a class party. Of course, this is another lie. Our entire Hungarism does not mean and build a class party, but a people's movement that embraces all strata of society, excluding no one from its movement. It can be said that there are some who exclude themselves, but these are by no means the civil servants, the middle class, the entire intelligentsia or even the leaders of the movement. It is our intellectuals, born in Hungarism, who will provide the national leaders of our entire political, economic and social life, of our working nation, of our armed nation and of the totalitarianism of our nation.

We must fight very hard against pseudo-nationalism and pseudo-hungarianism. Our defence against both is simple. It is simple because we are unambiguous, unwavering and steadfast. Let us recall and state the following:

Five years ago we were told to emigrate to South America. Four years ago we were told we were unimaginative phantasms.

Three years ago they said that we were German supporters, that we were traitors, that we were inviting Germans into this country; two years ago they said that we were communists in green shirts and headed by madmen, and a year ago they said that we were anti-German, that we were obstructing the Axis policy of this regime. Today, what are they saying?

They say that we want the same thing. It is from these last five years that we can best see our ambiguity and their duplicity, our intransigence and their vacillation. Our persistence and their conjuncture.

It is said that justice does not need to be organised, it organises itself. This is not true. If one waits for truth to organize itself, one wakes up to find that it is being organized by others for one's own benefit. Everything that requires life, including truth, requires organization. But truth is not truth if one does not put it into practice; at most it remains only written or only spoken.

Our intelligentsia, forged in Hungarism, must make every sacrifice, take every risk, suffer every suffering, in order to be worthy of their vocation and rightfully claim their place in our state power structure, which serves the glory, greatness and happiness of the Hungarist Hungarian Empire. Only in this way can the family, the Nation and the European Community be legitimized, only in this way can they be secured and only in this way can they be defended for the good of the family, the Nation and the European Community.

Hang in there!

15 AND 16 JUNE 1943, IN THE HOUSE OF LOYALTY, THE CLOSING SPEECH OF THE SERIES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS MEETINGS

OPEN SPACE, LIVING SPACE, LEADERS

Hungarism, in its ideological system and order, gives a serious, responsible and structured vision of the new world, as well as the foundations, framework and content of the new truth, new reality and new freedom that will emerge from the common worldview of nationalism and socialism. A full knowledge of this is necessary in order that each and every Hungarist may see clearly the goal, the new community of humanity for which nearly 800 million people are so far consciously or instinctively striving. But it is also necessary so that our Elunganan nation in the first place may know its vocation, its duty, its task, its responsibility, its rights, the goal it must imperatively strive to achieve, and the path it must pursue with integrity and without compromise.

This time Elungarism also wants to answer the question of whether it is worthwhile to make the heroic approach to life the basis of all beautiful, just and good life.

Elungarism answers all these questions with a resounding yes. I want to prove this yes, its legitimacy and its necessity. But I also want to prove that Elungarism is a world view, the view of our Hungarian people of the world as they want to see it and live it, and for the creation of which they will make every sacrifice. But I also want to show how, in the new age, we do not want to see and live in the new world. This is my right, but above all my duty. The most important tenet of Hungarism is that the new worldview is based on order and harmony of life. On this it bases its ideological and practical principles. We do not and cannot care that some peoples do not yet see the new world. Nor do we care, nor can we care, that in this fast-paced world of enlightenment and technology, some people still do not realise that our globe has suddenly shrunk to a very small size, all at once and without any transition, so that all the factors of life affect every point on our globe, regardless of distance.

There are some who see it as a danger that today, when nothing has been decided, we are already talking, discussing and arguing about what the new world view will be, because they say that it will only end in unnecessary excitement and scandal. Aside from the fact that we already know that the new age will win and will do everything, we believe that creating excitement or stumbling blocks is only the weapon of those who do not want to clarify the imperative issues of life, but want to increase the confusion.

We cannot even care that some people urge a shaky caution against the publication of premature facts, as they do, especially on the side that takes note of every Anglo-Saxon bluff that is published with a restrained, barely concealed joy, but with a serious, anxious, paternalistic, yet badly disguised, deathly pale fear of the plans which are being revealed by the nationalist and socialist leaders and fighters of the new world view and the new age.

We also have to set our sights now, so that we have something to adjust our behaviour to. The surrender of purpose is necessary, especially because it is the only way for the peoples still under the rule of the plutocratic Masonic Jewish Marxist systems of exploitation and the power of the bitch to see and hear the beauty, the truth and the goodness of the new life. Surrender and conduct demand each other, one cannot stand without the other. Faith, yes, moves mountains. But only faith and knowledge can work together. Faith in conduct and knowledge in giving up purpose can create together. Faith in conduct and knowledge in the surrender of purpose must guide the steps of all those who have conspired and rebelled against the misery and slavery of peoples, so that in the struggle for freedom of peoples, which gives new life to them, they may build the welfare and freedom of peoples, in the consciousness of their sole and unique responsibility. Hungarism builds the moral, spiritual and material system of the new worldview with three basic elements: the great space, the living space and the leading people.

The question is: why is it necessary to build the new worldview with these very factors, why can't everything be left as it is, but the plutocratic Masonic Jewish Marxist system should be destroyed and the political, economic and social worldview should remain unchanged.

Answer: you can no more build a new system on old foundations than you can build a new era with old people. On liberalism, therefore, the practical order of the new world-view cannot be built, any more than Churchill can be entrusted with the task of implementing the new age; for if this were to happen, the Jew-bucket would become a mere Jew-bucket, otherwise everything would remain as it is now: the Jewish domination of the world and the moral, spiritual and material slavery of the peoples, which they deserve after such blatant stupidity.

Hungarism holds that all the moral, spiritual and material resources of our globe, discovered and to be discovered in the course of time, must be distributed at all times in such a way that all peoples have access to them and can satisfy their moral, spiritual and material needs and wants. To this end, however, we must carry out the first conscious distribution of the stock of goods in our history. On the basis of the justice of the imperative necessity of life, we must therefore regulate the moral, spiritual and material conditions and practices of life of 134 million km<sup>2</sup> of land and 360 million km<sup>2</sup> of water for some 512 million families of 2050 million people, so that the well-being and security of life of the peoples who make up humanity can be effectively and legitimately adjusted. The liberal worldview has been built on the basis of a predatory economy, not for the benefit of the people, but for the sole good of the chosen violent. Hence the need not only to dismantle once and for all the Masonic plutocratic Jewish Marxist systems, but also to completely and totally transform the current practical worldview of our globe. This means, however, nothing less than the complete abolition of the entire colonial system of the British, US, Soviet and French world empires, built on the basis of predatory economics, and the construction of a practical world system in keeping with the new era. This means that we need to clarify the big questions of principle that are crucial and point the way forward for the reordering of our globe. Hungarism therefore expresses its conception, its view of the nationalist and socialist new world and of the vocation, duty, obligation, responsibility and right of our people in it, on the one hand, because we consider our view and our conception of things to be true, and on the other hand, because we believe that just as the words of a mute child are not understood even by its mother, so the truth of a mute people is not understood by life. I now turn to the worldview of Hungarism. Its first basic fact is:

#### THE HIGH SPACE.

Mankind is built into reality and wholeness from the practical life-context of three basic building cells: the family, the plant and the factory. Of these, the family is relatively the most mobile, the factory relatively the most connected. The plant, on the other hand, is a function of the family and the plant, a practical expression of the moral, spiritual and material community of the two. The functional space of the family can therefore be our entire globe.

In his migrations, he is tied only to the farm that provides and ensures his livelihood. It is through this constraint that he is forced to build his establishment.

This process can and did apply to some families many thousands or tens of thousands of years ago. But it does not apply when we are talking about hundreds of millions of families. They cannot wander across our globe, because then it would not be their habitat, but would become their death ground because of the friction. But beyond that, families of the same race, speaking the same language, sharing the same customs, spirit and morals, are best able to provide for their material needs and wants together: they seek each other out, they flock together. Such families, by natural necessity

stick together, stay together, and struggle together to achieve the conditions of life that will give them the best moral, spiritual and material life chances: consciously build up the territory in which they and the factories and sites they are given can form a community of life, companionship and destiny. This community of life, companionship and destiny of the families thus referred to one another is what we call in our Hungarist ideology the people. The people no longer change their place unless very serious events force them to do so. The territory which it covers and can hold is its homeland, its homeland. Every people must be rooted in the soil in order to keep its homeland, but it must also be homelike in order to occupy its homeland. Without being rooted in the soil and without being able to call itself a nation, there can be no loose family community life. This is also the most fundamental reason why Judaism is unable to rise from a loose family community life to a higher and nobler practical community of life. The people are, in our conception, the building block of the moral, spiritual and material life of mankind.

In addition to regulating its internal life, the people who have a homeland also endeavour to regulate their relations with their neighbours in a secure manner; they seek to establish a moral, spiritual and material harmony of existence with their neighbours which will make their life complete and secure. When natural imperative necessity creates out of this harmony of life a community of life, companionship and destiny between peoples, we speak of a nation. The Hungarist ideology calls the area in which the nation is born out of the common political, economic and social coherence of life of the peoples who inhabit it a living space. Thus, while the community of life, companionship and destiny of families, the nation, is based on the moral, spiritual and material factors arising from the race and the land and from the system of relations between these two, the community of life, companionship and destiny of individual peoples, the nation, is based on the political, economic and social factors which serve the co-ordinated and common good and security of the peoples living in this community.

In our Hungarist ideology, as explained above, we call a nation a natural community of life, companionship and destiny of peoples, which is organized by the leading people in its sphere of life into a political, economic and social unity, and which only he can and only he is called to lead responsibly, so that the moral, spiritual and material well-being and security of life of the peoples concerned may result from it. The Nation is thus a community of peoples, a political, economic and social community of interdependent peoples, a reality.

The Nation is, in our view, the building block of humanity's political, economic and social existence. But there is no stopping progress. The culmination of nationalism and socialism within the nation represents a peak in the life of the Nation. It cannot develop further on its own. It is thus forced to regulate its relationship with other nations. From this necessity arises what our Hungarist ideology calls connationalism, or the community of nations. It is a community of interests, a community of interests, a community of life, a community of companionship and a community of destiny of interdependent nations. But while the individual families can be forged into a community of life, companionship and destiny, i.e. into a people, by moral, spiritual and material factors, and peoples into nations by political, economic and social factors, the community of life, companionship and destiny of nations is determined by the factors of culture, civilisation and technology. Hence: a community of nations is constituted by all those nations whose cultural, civilisational and techno-economic life and needs are identical. A community of nations living in such identity requires a territory which can provide, under all circumstances, from the stock of goods of our globe, the moral, spiritual and material necessities of life of the peoples and families living in the nations. This area is the Great Plains. It cannot be a large space if it is only cultural, or only civilisational, or only a technical-managerial unit. Such a sub-unit always belongs to tire



which naturally complements and completes such a truncated life. The commonwealth is thus conceived as the building block of the cultural, civilisational and techno-economic development of humanity.

To summarise, the ideological and practical worldview of Hungarism is based on the following foundations:

the content of the family, the factory, the workplace as the basic cells of human life: the primary natural life, companionship and destiny of man, woman and child;

the content of the homeland as the basis of life: a people united morally, spiritually and materially;

the content of the living space as the basis of life: the politically, economically and socially united nation; and

the content of the metropolitan area as a basis for development: a commonwealth structured in terms of the needs and requirements of culture, civilisation and technology.

The new worldview, the globe and the system of the great space of Hungarism, with its basic tenets, is presented in Annex 1. The data are approximate. The outline is presented in the following:

1. The basic conditions and essential factors necessary for the formation of the great space, the raw materials for food, clothing, construction, industry and security of life, are all to be found in the individual great spaces, their extraction is dependent on the peoples of the great space alone and is amply sufficient to ensure the constant and fullest moral, spiritual and material sustenance and well-being of the peoples living therein.

2. The stock of goods of our globe in each of the great spaces is not the property or possession of a single people, which it may dispose of as it pleases, but the stock of goods acquired, organized and defended in common by all the peoples participating in the system of the great space, the enjoyment and use of which are the duty, right and responsibility of all in the political, economic and social order in which they live and through which they are members of the great space.

3. Hungarism organizes a practical basis of life which makes any war initiative in the coming centuries completely unjustifiable, because it could not arise from the necessity of life, but solely from the imperialist violent aspiration and objective. That is why wars within individual large spaces will also be and become completely superfluous. Hungarism is well aware of the fundamental law that without struggle there is no life and no prosperity. It is necessary to fight for the daily bread of the family, for the survival of the people, for the security of life of the nation, for the establishment and maintenance of peaceful relations between land, labour and peoples in the service of human development. Prosperity must therefore always be fought for. Prosperity that softens after it has been fought for is always destructive. And it is destroyed. Prosperity is therefore as binding as honour, which, if easily lost, is very difficult to regain. This, at least, is clear to us all. On the other hand, the struggle for the more to the detriment of others or of all mankind, which has no other basis than brute force, which excludes others from the abundant table of life by the power of the stronger or the more violent, such a struggle is not natural, not justified, it arises from a morbidly distorted spirituality, which must always be repulsed, but especially then and on those who claim their bloody violence to be the will of God made in their own image, and claim the right to it by lying to themselves that they are God's chosen ones. In my opinion, God only imposes duties on mankind; rights are already given by man to himself in order that he may easily fulfil the duties imposed by God. This is the truth and nothing else. So there is no chosen people, but there is a people confirmed in their duty. Since all peoples have their duties, none can be excluded from fulfilling them, for one people cannot fulfil another, because it would be overwhelmed by the surplus which would flow upon it through its own fault.

4. The relative vitality of the American or Western metropolitan area is extremely interesting and striking. The notion that National Socialist Europe and Asia, united in the Turanian people's movement, that the peoples of America have no compelling reason to reach out to any other part of the globe, is blatantly vindicated. On the facts recorded, they simply cannot suffer need, or if they do, it is only because American life is based on the predatory economy of individual selfishness, which is the root cause of all misery and misery. The antidote to this, however, is not to carry out its internal troubles in a war against other nations and to give free rein to the base instincts of inferiority, which have been bred and grown up in a predatory system, but only to put its own house in order first, shaking off the white-slave system of the plutocratic Masonic Jewish Marxist and Puritan Anglo-Saxon ruling class and realizing a moral, spiritual and material life that would make America a worthy partner of the human community. War on the part of America is therefore the latest and most disgusting imperialism known to world history. But the war of Berlin, Rome and Tokyo against London, Paris and Washington is fully justified, since the latter, on the one hand, have forcibly made it impossible for the German, Italian and Japanese peoples, and with them the other peoples, to take their rightful place under the sun, and, on the other hand, have advocated the creation of a world view which would have established and sanctified the power and rule of the inferior, in order to secure the world domination of Jewry for ever. Berlin had, has and will have to fight London, Rome Paris, Tokyo Washington and all three the Soviet Union in order to create a new world view in complete unity, in accordance with the new era. The need for Berlin Rome Tokyo to be a life, a partner and a destiny is therefore obvious. They must live side by side in the greatest harmony of life, because as soon as they live against each other, inferiority will surface and turn everything into hell.

5. After the destruction of the leading powers of the old worldview, the European great space will have a decisive influence on the life of the American great space. America has always been a projection, albeit a distorted projection, of Europe. With the fall of European liberalism, the practical system of American liberalism will also be destroyed. In its place will be born, in accordance with the specific characteristics of the American great space, but as a projection of the European system and order, a nationalist and socialist great space, led and governed by the new Washington and the new North American nation. In this case, a community of great spaces may in time be established between the European and American great spaces, with the Atlantic as its centre, and which can under all circumstances legitimize, sanction and secure the peace of our globe, the peace of the land, the peace of labour.

From a cross-regional perspective, there are two other issues that need to be briefly discussed. These are: the yellow scourge and the Jewish question.

1. There is no yellow peril according to our Hungarist conception. At most there is European stupidity. There are, in fact, some European peoples who cannot recover from the centuries of terror they suffered when the peoples of the East, in the form of the Huns and the Mongols of Tartary, put their names on the table of the European peoples as a simple warning that Europe is always weak when Asia moves. Attila the Great and Genghis Khan live in the imagination of the peoples as a destructive and destructive spirit. No other people, however, has yet been able to raise such a healthy storm in Europe as could have blown away the old world and prepared and assisted the imperatively necessary new system of life so perfectly, so quickly and so effectively as the Huns under Attila could do. And no other people in the world could have created, built, and organized such a mighty world power as this dreaded and reviled Genghis Khan had raised from one day to the next to such a power that, after a period of more than seven hundred years

even in the feet of some peoples fear. However, we cannot decide which was the greater barbarism: that of the Huns and the Tatar Mongols, or that of the Vandals of the time, or of their race, the mocking Aryan race, the English and the Americans, in their plutocratic Masonic Jewish Marxist barbarism, which they have cultivated, are now doing in their immense desire for destruction and bloodlust. It is better to leave this question open and simply record that there is no people without a fault.

Without any unnecessary sentimentality, it can be said that for a weak nation, anything it cannot cope with is a threat. A viable, strong people knows that danger is always there and that only its vitality and will to live can protect and save it. There is therefore no yellow peril. On the other hand, without any superfluous sentimentality and coldly, we must take note of the fact that if the great European continent is unable to establish the necessary nationalist socialist system, because it is incapable of doing so, do not be surprised if the other two great continents of our globe bring order to our country. Just as disorder of any kind arising from permanence or inability to survive cannot be tolerated within a single metropolitan area, it cannot be tolerated within any single metropolitan area.

So we must either look at the yellow peril with the confidence of the strong peoples or, more cleverly, we must take it off the agenda, because it is not there and it only makes foolish the soberly constructed ideas and plans.

2. On the Jewish question, I will only say that it is a sinful ignorance and a self-deception, coupled with a dangerous error, to claim that Jewry is only now aspiring to world power and world domination. Indeed, since 1918, Judaism has de facto and de jure already been a world power and a world ruler. Only for this reason could the Jewish question become a world question. Plutocracy, Freemasonry, liberal democracies, parliamentarianism, the gold standard and Marxism: all these are merely instruments in the hands of Jewry to maintain and consolidate its world power and world domination and to make it impossible for the peoples to see clearly and act with a common will for their own good in this question of the destiny of our globe and of themselves. It will be due to the world freedom struggle of the peoples enlightened and acting in the new will of life and the blood of the sanctified age that Jewry will be driven out of the great European and Asian continent and probably forcibly settled in the great American continent. We may rightly assume, on the basis of grave experience, that in its new and probably last refuge, it will soon, by its conduct, its moral, intellectual and material greed and ruthlessness, break the popular bark of American stupidity, ignorance and meanness, and that a new nationalist and socialist way of life will triumphantly develop and take power there. What the propaganda of the new world-view in America has so far failed to achieve, the Jews who have fled there will work out with resounding success. Thus it will be America, fighting in the service of Jewry, which will ultimately and finally, whether it wants to or not, have to settle the Jewish question, the globe which the other great powers have sewn around its neck. It will depend on the spiritual disposition of the American people, and above all on the moral, spiritual and material education they have received from the Jews, whether the practice of the Katyn will be adopted in the settlement of this question. The peoples of Europe and Asia will not have time to pay attention to the number of times the colt will bark out "in Texas or Arizona" and put an end to the lives of many peoples who have been migrating for thousands of years. We leave these thoughts to America. The peoples of the great spaces of Europe and Asia, after a great clean sweep, will build clean and wholesome lives in which the practical realization of the Beautiful, the True and the Good will give meaning only to all that is God, Country, Nation, People and Family.

After the victorious end of the war of ideologies, the most powerful continent on the globe will be organized, politically, economically and socially. This vast continent will include Europe and Asia as the leading continents, as well as Africa,

Australia and Oceania, which are additional, necessary accessories. In the western part of this vast area, Berlin will be the final centre of power, with Rome in the west and Tokyo in the east, with full command and control. It is reasonable to assume that between these three centres of power there will be a huge world traffic. This will be carried out along four major transport routes:

in a northerly main direction, most of which will be land transport. In general, the current main Siberian transport may break off from this main line.

another, which generally links Turkestan and the entire central region of the Chinese empire to world trade, using the traces of the famous Silk Caravan Route, already known in this area, or the Mongol military routes to and from Europe.

a third or middle main direction, also predominantly overland, which would generally lead through Asia Minor at the southern base of the Himalayas and

a fourth, southern trunk route, much of which would be more of a waterway and generally through the Persian Gulf or Red Sea to the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean, in

the areas of interest of the Tokyo Sydney Colombo power triangle. Our country lies precisely on the axis of the central and southern world trade routes, making it a key area for the emerging new life. It is from this position between these centres of power that all

our decisions, choices, initiatives and actions must derive their ultimate cause and impetus. In the strictest sense of the word, our country is indeed a paradise, but it can

also be a hell. It is paradise if it is vital, capable of power and domination, and if it builds a practical life system of its own strength, in accordance with its vocation and

mission. But hell, if it is incapable of doing so, because in that case a power struggle will be launched for this key area, which will drag all our lives into blood, dirt and

compromise. It is the great task and duty of Hungarism to educate our people and the living space which it is to lead to its great vocation and

organise. And this can be nothing less than mediation and coordination between West and East. We are a gateway and a threshold: a gateway to the East and a threshold to be crossed by those who are going from East to West.

Our position as a centre of power enables us to act as an intermediary trader for the East's produce to Europe. The Hungarian trader and businessman therefore has a very great and therefore very responsible future and will have much to look forward to in Western Europe, but the main direction and main areas of his operations are still more towards the South-East, not only because of what has been said so far, but also because of the following:

In the Southeast are the areas that we will see as the potential future great spaces of Islam in the detailed analysis of the living spaces. The tribes living in this space have come to a definite consciousness at this great epoch of life and demand to be acknowledged. It is

noticeable and palpable that these communities of Islam want to organise themselves into a popular community, and are therefore shaking off all political, economic and social

barriers, because they feel that only in this way can they gain their rightful place in the new worldview. In their new order of life, however, they must also organise their

civilisational and techno-economic life factors. They lack both the skills and the means to organise this in practice. They must therefore carry out a twofold task at the same time:

they must train their own specialists of their own species, which must be done abroad in the first instance, and at the same time, while they have their own specialists, they must

recruit them from abroad. But engineers, doctors, economists, entrepreneurs, organisers and planners will be invited by Islam from nations which have no colonialist intentions,

but which cannot be colonised and which, in addition to their good qualities, really do have the desired specialists. We should take this expected demand of Islam for granted

and very much as a matter of course. Calm

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we dare to say with conscience and without any modesty that such a people is to be found primarily in the Hungarian people. The Japanese people are also definitely taken into consideration, but they are still too far apart. For the Japanese people have already proved in practice, by their entire history, their conduct and actions and by their example, that they have not had, do not have and will not have any colonial intentions, because they consider, in accordance with our Hungarist opinion, all forms of colonialism to be unnecessary, outmoded and outdated.

Germany and Italy will also know and be aware of this understandable aversion of Islam to all those from whom it might presume to re-colonise. That is why, even if they lend a helping hand to Islam, they will seek a mediating hand to avoid any legitimate or illegitimate suspicion. Such an intermediary hand could be, first and foremost, our Hungarian people. If, however, they do not seek an intermediary hand, but want to help with a direct hand, do not be surprised if the Japanese contractor will appear in the eastern and south-eastern Mediterranean before theirs on the shores of the Persian Gulf or the Arabian Sea.

But apart from all this, Germany will be so busy organising and integrating the Eastern European area into Europe, and Italy will be so tied down to the South, to bring the necessary parts of Africa into its sphere of life and organise them, that someone will be needed to take over the exploratory and organising work in the enormously important South-East. And this, by virtue of its reliability, its ability and its qualitatively excellent peasants, workers and intellectuals, is, first and foremost, our Hungarist Fatherland.

The vocation, duty, obligation, responsibility and right of our country, our people and our living space are strictly defined by this great vision of the world. It is the responsible duty of the Hungarist People's Movement to prepare our people for all this and to create the moral, spiritual and material prerequisites for the necessary implementation.

One Japanese personality said that our Hungarian people will one day have to decide what they want to be: the arrowhead of the Turanian Commonwealth or the heart of Europe. To this clear question of destiny we give a clear, equally unambiguous answer. The heart of Europe will always beat in such a way that the arrowhead will not be needed: and if it should ever be needed, it will only be because this heart has long since ceased to beat.

The second factor in the worldview of Hungarism:  
THE EIVE WORD.

One of the basic tenets of our Hungarist ideology is that a practical community approach to life in the European metropolitan area must be implemented which enables the individual peoples living in it to regard the community of life in the European metropolitan area as natural, necessary and worth defending. Every means of force must be put at the service of this goal.

In the Greater Space system of the Hungarist worldview, the European or central Greater Space is next in size, in order, to the Asian Greater Space. Its 43 million km<sup>2</sup> of land and 70 million km<sup>2</sup> of water must provide for 800 million people living in some 200 million families. Of the nearly 220 million families, 130 million have made their homes in Europe, 40 million in Africa and the remaining 30 million in Asia, which is part of this large area. Over the millennia, the population, which has grown to 200 million families, has been predominantly organised into ethnic groups in Europe, while in other parts of the world it has remained predominantly in primitive tribal systems.

Hence the fact that Europe is the leader of the big space.

All the ancestral varieties of humanity that make up the European continent, with the exception of the Indian, are present on the European surface, and are native to this area. Their location is very interesting. In the western and southern fringes of the European continent of the Great Plains, the Aryan ancestor is found, but it is not a native ancestor of this fringe, but is rightfully

it can be assumed that these peripheral areas have been pushed into the hands of the apparently unarrestable Gondwana. Thus, over the millennia, the Aryans, confined to the European coastal fringes, migrated to the Scandinavian peninsula and the British Isles, especially the majority of their secondary variety, known as the Nordics. In the interior of Europe, the Gondwana remained in an unbroken chain over many thousands of kilometres of the

Pacific Ocean coast, generally the lower reaches of the Rhine Alps Danube, Caucasus Hindu Kush Himalayas Bramaputra line north and east of the vast area. South of this great dividing line, the pre-Asian ancestral variety and its admixtures with other ancestral varieties are found in the Asian areas of the European Great Plains and in the African and north-eastern peripheries, and the Negroid ancestral variety and its admixtures have developed and settled in the central and southern African areas.

We consider this location to be very important, and we draw attention to it because it is not the Gondwanan that has mixed with the pre-Asian and Negroid variants over the millennia, but primarily the Aryan, especially the pre-Indian Indo-Aryan and Mediterranean secondary variants. But it is especially important to note that the Jewish wave's invasion of Europe thousands of years ago was predominantly through the southern and western peripheries of Europe, and thus predominantly through Aryan settlements. Until the 17th century, the Aryan periphery of Europe was also trying to get rid of the Jewish threat. But already from the 17th century onwards, under the suffocating influence of the Jewish poison, they grew tired of defending themselves against them, they took back the Jews expelled from their territories and to this day they only act against them in those areas where the new world view established the new order. This only explains the fact that about two-thirds of the Aryan ancestry still serve the Jews and send their sons against their brothers and sisters in the cause of Jewish interests. Our continent also came into contact with the Negro and pre-Aryan ancestral varieties through the Aryan fringes of southern Europe. These, however, were unable to cross the Rhine-Alps-Aldunate-Caucasus line of separation, but remained south of it and greatly impoverished the Aryan racial landscape of the Mediterranean region in particular.

The enormous pressure from the east ended with the Mongol invasion in the 13th century AD. From then until the 20th century, we experience a relative equilibrium of species on our continent. Signs of over-saturation appear from the 20th century onwards, in particular due to poor land distribution and the resulting inadequate economic and livelihood conditions. The high density of people, congestion and scarcity of sites in the areas of Europe generally west of the Oder-Carpathian line has led to a countervailing pressure from west to east, which will naturally tend to be less resistant, i.e. towards areas with a low density of people, scarcity of sites and suitable sites.

Between the peoples of Europe and the peoples of the Far East, there are still tribal, sparsely settled communities living thousands of kilometres apart. This finding is very important, because it is in these areas that we must look for the natural opportunities for expansion that are primarily available to the peoples of Europe. Just as for thousands of years peoples have been flowing from the mysterious womb of Central Asia to the West and East, so they are now flowing back from the overcrowded West, but now armed with all the arts, practices and technical means of organisation, and displacing those tribes which have not yet been able to integrate themselves into the great rhythm and order of life. This purposeful exploration and colonisation of Asia will solve all the problems which have hitherto been shrouded in the veil of great mystery. Asia has been and will be the cradle of many peoples, but perhaps also the coffin of as many.

The essence of the European outlook and practice of the new worldview is that it is the coherence, synthesis and practice of all that the peoples of Europe create for each other's moral, spiritual and material well-being and security of life in terms of culture, civilisation and technology. This higher culture therefore represents for all the peoples of Europe the desire, the will, the affirmation of the beautiful, the just and the good life,

means their entire moral, spiritual and material conduct, the action and sacrifice for it, it means, ultimately, the standard of living which all peoples must attain. It means Europe itself, which draws its elements from the cultural creativity of the Gondwana, the civilisational architecture of the Aryan and the technical and economic organisation of the North. In this connection, we can also say that everything that comes from Europe and is of value must bear the stamp of this high culture, and that everything that comes to Europe and stays here must be stigmatised with this stamp of higher culture, and only in this way can it become European.

Looking at the foundations of the life of the peoples of Europe, even taking into account what has been said, we find the following very interesting and instructive facts, which shed new light on the history of Europe so far:

firstly, the Roman Empire's limes coincides with the great dividing line between the races already mentioned, a very important geosociological fact;

secondly, it is from the areas south of the double limes that the other peoples of Europe got all the elements around which they could build their civilisation as a nucleus, but it is also in these areas that the bulk of the Aryan race is found;

thirdly, that from the regions north of the given frontier came all that could make the actual culture of the peoples of Europe higher, nobler, more European, but that it was in this region that the bulk of the Gondwanan breed was to be found.

Technological management is given and linked to the individual raw material deposits, in short to the areas which, because of their resource endowments, best support technological management. In the heyday of liberalism and capitalism, which coincides in time and space with the loud decline of humanity, the western European periphery and the British Isles in front of it were the only areas to be explored, while the central and eastern European areas could only be explored to the extent that the profit-oriented approach of the time allowed and deemed necessary. It is thus understandable that the technical economy of Europe to date has been determined by the northern species that populated the western fringes.

The reason why they have not seen or are not seeing this issue in this way until now is either because they do not separate the three factors, or because they are exchanging culture and civilisation, the latter with techno-economics, in order to give way to those who see in techno-economics the highest peak and fulfilment of culture. It was the lack of clarity of the concepts and the facts surrounding them that led to the attribution of all the cultural creations of our globe to the Anglo-Saxon peoples, who were mainly of northern origin. This is not at all the case. At most, it could be that the Anglo-Saxons planted the tools of techno-economics in the areas in question for their own selfish civilisational benefit, as is now more clearly evident than ever. They could not bring either culture or civilization into those areas, either because they had already found a higher culture there, as in India, for example, and therefore had nothing to bring, or because they brought their own culture with them, but into their own areas, as in India, for example, and therefore had nothing to bring.

Australia, South Africa, Canada. And civilisational work was out of the question, because everywhere, even in the areas they had colonised themselves, they were colonising mercilessly, and that really had nothing to do with civilisation, but with profit. Let it be noted, against all contrary opinions, that culture cannot be taken anywhere, because culture is an innate skin of every race and ethnicity, which cannot be peeled off to be replaced by a new one. The breed that does this will die in this self-skinning. Only civilization and technology can be transferred and transmitted. But the Anglo-Saxons did not do that either. Instead of civilisation, they colonised and exploited by means of techno-economics, and thus behaved in such an uncultured way, especially the Anglo-Saxons, that one has to question the legitimacy of even daring to speak of culture, civilisation and techno-economics.

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the result. This attitude of the Anglo-Saxons seems to be like angel makers talking among themselves about child blessing.

From the racial picture of the central living space, from the life factors of the culture, civilization and technical economy of the European continent, and from the fact of the European high culture derived from them, we derive the basis for organizing this large space into units of life so as not to disturb the internal unity of the large space, and so as to ensure the moral, spiritual and material well-being of the peoples living in this large space. The organisational unit that can best meet these requirements is the living space and its content: the political nation, or simply the nation.

The large European space can be divided into two floor areas. Let us call the north political Europe and the south political Africa.

The leading continent of Europe has moved beyond the concept of geography to become a political space and reality. As such it does not cover a geographical area, but is much larger. It is a territory forged into a historical unity by the moral, spiritual and material forces that act and interact within it. The historical territorial unit of political Europe thus includes, in addition to Europe, the territories of Asia extending to the eastern border of the European continent and the territories of Africa in general north of the Aden-Dakar line.

Alexander the Great's empire, the Roman Empire, the Arab World Empire, Charlemagne's World Empire, the Elabsburg and Turkish World Empires, the Muscovite World Empire initiative, the French World Empire initiative under Napoleon, were all attempts to organise the area we call political Europe into a unity, always according to different interests, on a narrow basis, but still united. All these attempts have, of course, helped to pave the way for the unification of Europe, which is imperative, and to loosen the rigidities and resistances which have stood in the way of this unification. The new Community vision of the world and the practices that have emerged from it are now in a fully mature state of flux, so that the reality of a political Europe can be legally implemented.

The only question may be which of the main directions of the new worldview will be adopted by the new grand spatial order: the German, the Italian or the Hungarian. For in our view the European community world-view is developing in three main directions: a German direction, which sees the race and its closest influence, the people, as the basis of everything; an Italian direction, which sees the essence and basis of everything in the State; and a Hungarian direction, which sees and professes its essence and basis in the nation. It is therefore necessary to decide which of the main directions is best suited to European conditions. But we must of course also examine whether it is necessary that each nation of the European community which we are to organise should be able to organise its higher unit of life strictly on the basis of only one of the main directions, and whether such exclusiveness can be raised to a law of life to be observed on the basis of the endowments. Hungarism has made the following statements in this respect and drawn the necessary conclusions from them:

The limescale of the Roman Empire divided Europe, perhaps for all time, into two sharply divergent but not hostile parts. The community systems to be organised south of this line, whatever the idea which formed their soul and backbone, always appeared in practical life as the great 'State' and 'Citizen', while the community systems to the north of it, whatever the idea which led them, always became conscious of themselves as 'Country' and 'People'. Thus we find in the south the Greek city-states, the Roman Empire, the State of God organised under the leadership of the Roman Church, the Spanish Habsburg Empire, the French system of states and the Italian Empire, which also expanded under the aegis of the Pax Romana under the rule of Fascism. The goal was always the State, the Empire, the power of leadership and justice. But why? The answer is that the conditions of the South make it so. The most important factor in considering these is the fact that this territory is the periphery of Europe, with its narrow inland sea and the very important northern and western fringes of Africa and Asia



and therefore the very different peoples of different races living here interact very strongly. Authority and order in such circumstances can only and above all be established and maintained by a firmly established state power, a power which can be said to be above races and peoples, and which dispenses justice impartially. Hence it naturally followed that the basic factors and forces of civilization were here primarily conscious and developed.

The Germanic-Slavic land of the Limes is Europe's most natural community of life, companionship and destiny. Its tragedy has always been that, despite its obvious geographical, geohistorical, geojuristic, geosociological, geopolitical and geo-economic interdependence, it has not been able to achieve the necessary higher order of life which could fulfil its moral, spiritual and material vocation within Europe and in guiding the development of humanity. Nevertheless, it was able to develop powerful force-factors which those south of the Limassol could not develop because of their endowments, but which are indispensable for organic life. These factors are the factors of culture: the race, the people, and their intrinsic relation to the absolute. It is precisely for this reason that the divine, the species and the people have been and are at the axis of all the ideologies of all times. Thus, too, the Volkische Bewegung set as its goal the total species, and even the Russian practice of Marxism did not divide its state into the needs of administration alone, but had to choose the popular basis as the backbone of its administration.

The inevitable division of political Europe into a definite southern and a definite northern living space could be set in this simplicity. This cannot be done, however, since Europe is generally divided by the Alps and the Carpathians into a southern and a northern area, which would certainly have developed quite independently of each other in the course of time, if these northern and southern areas had not been linked by the Danube, which flows generally in a west-east direction. The Danube is therefore the factor that unites Europe and is the only factor capable of completely linking Europe's water network from the Volga to the Garonne. The key area of this river is what we know as South-East Europe and at the heart of this key area is the country that Europe has been least willing to accept under the name of Hungary. The Danube and the Carpathians thus form South-Eastern Europe, which is characterised by its geographical, geohistorical, geojuristic, geosociological and geo-economic unity, but also by its ethnic composition. This area is what might be called a heap of ethnic debris, or perhaps more politically, economically and socially sheltered, which, at the beginning of human history, became a temporary but later permanent settlement for those who, for political, economic or social reasons, could not find a place in the rest of Europe, but who could satisfy their moral, spiritual and material needs and desires in this closed unit. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was the Hungarian people, who brought with them permanence

From the endowments of South-Eastern Europe, it was able to develop the third factor of Europe, in addition to the State and the People: the nation and its reality, i.e. the community of life, companionship and destiny of peoples confined to a single living space, under the guidance of a leading people. Thus, while the "State and the Citizen" is the fruit of the limes South, the "Homeland and the People" is the fruit of the limes North, the "Nation and the Leader" is the fruit of the Hungarian people, who took note of the gifts of South-Eastern Europe and built upon them, which they completed and made conscious in their Hungarism and put at the disposal of Europe and all mankind as a moral, spiritual and material world view and practice.

However, we can also conclude from all this that, with the total aim of fascism, the Latin Lebensraum, the Volkische Bewegung is the Germano-Slavic Lebensraum, and Hungarism is the system and order of the Carpatho-Danube Lebensraum. Therefore, the European large space will not be organised by a single main direction of the new community world view, there is no such exclusivity, but the living spaces of Europe

will develop an ethos that is suited to their specific talents and will be in harmony with each other. But the ideological basis will be the same.

Nevertheless, the question arises as to which of the three main tendencies of Fascism, Volkische Bewegung and Hungarism will most influence the nationalist and socialist systems in their practical implementation. In my opinion, Hungarism. Europe's imperative necessity of life, companionship and destiny includes more than 30 popular personalities. Europe is thus a nation-state in the old sense of the term, like our country. Hence, none of these areas of life is united in its most important basis: its ethnic composition. All the peoples, without exception, have become aware, but at the same time they have also become aware of the practical fact that they must enter into a natural community of life, companionship and destiny if they are to live in security. Self-consciousness and the recognition of the need for inter-ethnicity are the two characteristics of the vital peoples of today. The practical insights of Hungarism cannot therefore be ignored, for what is good, useful and necessary for the life of seven peoples in an area of one hundred and some ten thousand square kilometres must be good, useful and necessary for the life of any number of peoples in any number of millions of square kilometres, since it is no longer a question of quality but of quantity. From this fact, I dare to draw the great conclusion, by comparing our ideology with others, that while Fascism is a distinctly Roman and imperialist idea, and the Volkische Bewegung a distinctly German idea, Hungarism is not only a Hungarian idea, but also a practical European idea and system of ideas.

On the basis of our understanding of the Hungarist ideology, we see that higher forms of community of life, of companionship and of destiny will develop in the fixed millennial habitats in which political, economic and social purposes and rationalities have been observable and even clearly discernible for many centuries. These will include peoples in a higher and nobler unity under the direction of a leading people, with a common political, economic and social structure and purpose, which our ideology calls, professes and makes conscious a political nation or simply a Nation. Thus will be formed in the Northwest the Germanic, in the Southwest the Latin, in the Northeast the Slavic, in the Southeast the Hungarist political nation, under the direction of a leading people.

In political Europe, the definite contours of five living areas emerge in their fullness and clarity, based on what has been said and on their known geography, history, ethnicity and resources:

the Northeast or Slavic habitat, or as it is also called the Sarmatian Plain habitat, because it is predominantly the Sarmatian Plain that forms the basis of its life:

the north-western or Germanic Eebensraum, or as it is also called, the Five Rivers Middle, because the Rhine, Weser, Elbe, Oder and Vistula rivers cross through its most important area;

the south-western or Latin habitat, or as it is also called, the Mediterranean habitat, because it is an integral part of the inland sea;

the Southeastern European or Carpatho-Danubian area of life, because the Carpathians and the Danube marked the path of all its life; and as a fifth

the pre-Asian or Islamic space of life, because of its territorial location and its specific content: Islam has yet to establish its own particular system and order, the foundations of which, however, must also be built on nationalism and socialism, because only in this way can it form an invincible integral part of the European space.

Political Africa could be called the other part of our continent, which lies approximately south of the Aden Dakar line and includes Africa south of that line, including its archipelago. It is a part of the region which, from a cultural, civilisational and technological point of view, cannot do without Europe's leadership, guidance and control, and which is an integral complement to Europe in terms of its resources.

Only with this niche can Europe claim to be self-sufficient.

The northern part of political Africa will fall more under the jurisdiction of the Latin habitat, while the southern part, with its archipelago stretching as far as the Kerguelen islands, will fall under the jurisdiction of the Germano-Slavic habitat. Both, however, will only be able to carry out their tasks and to do so conscientiously if they do not explore their territories on the basis of the existing colonial system, but establish systems which organically link this area to the larger area on the basis of the harmony of life and order, to the moral, spiritual and intellectual benefit of the peoples living in the area. Two other issues need to be briefly clarified in the context of the European space: the Negro and Islam.

1. In connection with the Negro question, we must first of all note the serene fact that the Negro is to us as coloured a man as we are to him. That would settle everything. But that is not quite the case. Our race has had the quality of making every other colored race happy by the way it has built its own happiness. Having seen in its own territory only prey, in its own people only serfs, we should not wonder that it has made happy by colonialism and slavery that race whose colour it assumes on two occasions in particular: when it is in great distress, or when it is suddenly preparing its material happiness by sudden recklessness. By the first I mean black mourning, by the second black market. The colour of the Negro should not therefore be underestimated, for it has lent the plutocratic Masonic Jewish Marxist world a certain sharp cultural colour. But apart from all this, Negroism, if I may use this definition, which suggests community, is undergoing the most tragic split that its kind has ever suffered: its culture, civilization and techno-economy have been completely separated from each other, which keeps it in a state of utter disunity. It is still a long way from developing its people's life. But he will come very close to it if his culture, his civilization and his technical economy come together, for this will inevitably create and give life to his own moral, spiritual and material community.

There is a Negro culture, but it is on a different plane than ours, or that of Asia or other peoples. But there is. The specific culture of the Negro and the specific conditions of its habitat have not yet enabled it to build its own civilisation and technology.

But he is not the only one to blame. His civilization was primarily born in America, the very place where the most brutal form of civilization manifests itself: total materialism. It is thus primarily in contact with the inferiority, not the superiority, of our species. He found the same slaves in the new world, only their skin was neither white nor black, but dirty, and the same brutal chieftains as in the darkest Africa, only they were savages from stone houses. His civilisational upbringing he received from the American uneducated and heartless-unfeeling utilitarianism, or stole as he was learning. He reached his utterly and miseducated and civilizing climax in the famous saying, from the lips of a negro scholar, that in America he had not received and won civilization, but syphilization. It was completely backward in the technical economy, on the one hand, because of its climatic conditions, which produced racial characteristics which strongly inhibited the technical economy which demanded a strict work schedule, and, on the other hand, because it was left and kept in a primitive state by the colonial rapacious economy which the white man had cultivated on his black skin.

It can only follow that, because of the tragic separation and separation of the culture, civilisation and techno-economy of the Negro, he cannot yet form a separate large space in any form, but must be linked to it, where he can arrange his life according to his own needs and wants, and set up the conditions for his own life. If it is unable to do so by its very nature, it will remain in its present state and will be reduced to dust, it will perish. Africa must therefore, like Europe

constitute the great field from which the Negroes can learn, educate, and educate themselves under the guidance and direction of the peoples of Europe for their own moral, spiritual and material good.

2. Turning briefly to the question of Islam, we must state the following: Islam is an excellent cultural community, a hard moral, spiritual core, which has so far been bitten by many people's teeth. Islam has so far separated Europe from Africa, Asia and From the Far East. It was a strange cork that stopped several bottles at once and that is why it will now open several bottles at once in the new worldview. Its raw materials are only present in very small quantities in the area it covers and in which it lives. This is the origin of the persistent, highly exploitative and consumptive nature of the a life of itinerant farming. This basic resource scarcity, based on current conditions, makes it impossible for the time being to create a separate large area. We have established that a large area can only be a unit in which the life factors of culture, civilisation and technology are present together. This is not yet the case in Islam. Therefore, it must be integrated into the space that can primarily satisfy its civilisational and techno-economic needs. And this is undoubtedly the European great space, just as pre-India, Australia and Oceania are undoubtedly part of the Asian great space for the same reason.

In the event that the assumptions that America has abundant raw material resources that can form a solid, unshakable basis for civilization and technology, the fourth, Islamic megalopolis will necessarily emerge on our globe in a complete cultural, civilizational and technological entity. Until this happens, however, Islam, stretching from the Indus to the West, can only secure its moral, spiritual and material well-being in the European great space.

In order to complete the picture we have to give the vocation of the political nations living and organizing in each space, because from this follows their practical task as well as their behaviour.

The vocation of the Latin Living Space: to ensure the security of life in the southern territories of the European metropolitan area, to explore Africa and integrate it into the life of the European metropolitan order, is therefore a vocation that is weighted towards the south.

The vocation of the Germano-Slavic living space: to ensure the security of life in the northern areas of the European metropolitan area, to create and organise the circulation and connection of life with the American and Asian metropolitan areas, to ensure the coherence of life in the European and Asian metropolitan areas by implementing the political, economic and social unification of the Germanic and Slavic living spaces, is its vocation, and therefore its weight is in the east.

The vocation of the Carpathian-Danube Living Space is: the political, economic and social organisation of South-Eastern Europe, the security of life, and, together with the Islamic Living Space, the creation and securing of the life connections of the European Greater Space to the South-East with the Asian Greater Space System, a vocation that therefore places its weight towards the South-East.

Finally, the vocation of the Islamic Life Space: to raise the popular consciousness of Islam, to participate in the exploration of Africa, and to provide, together with the Carpathian-Danube Life Space, a close living link between the European and Asian Life Spaces.

But the vocation of the European or central great sphere of life can only be fulfilled, its tasks of life can only be accomplished, if its responsible leaders conduct the affairs of this great sphere of life with all moral, spiritual and material responsibility, and if each of its peoples is imbued with the belief and conviction that only if he fulfils his part of the duty, and if his inner life is so organised that he can really fulfil it, can he live his life in safety. Our Hungarian people must know that their vocation in Southeast Europe is a historic task which they must accomplish if they are to be and remain the leading people of Southeast Europe. Hungarism, in its full structure, gives it this opportunity, it only has to want it.

And to want to do so, it has all the prerequisites. The Hungarist leaders of our people have only to ensure that the undeniable interests of our people can unfold unhindered.

Our people must know that their view of the new world must remain the same. The whole ideological and practical structure of Hungarism would remain unchanged even if there were no other ethnic group in our Carpathian-Danube area, that is, if the Hungarian people alone populated the whole. This is a very important thesis of Hungarism, because it is the way it becomes a European and world thought. Hungarism sees and organises not only life within a single people, but also political, economic and social coexistence between peoples. This basis of Hungarism makes our ideology a world-view which places the eternal moral, spiritual and material values of beauty, justice and goodness in a new relationship of life with each people.

Hungarism always warns our Hungarian people that their whole life is tied to the fact that their homeland lies in the heartland of the Danube, and that the Danube is the heart of Europe. It rises in the Black Forest and flows into the Black Sea. We must reject the view that the Hungarian people and the German people are related to each other merely because one is more agricultural and the other more industrial. This rigid thesis must be removed from our thought, for we must once and for all acknowledge that all the peoples living along the Danube form a single community of life, of companionship and of destiny, even if they all happen to be equally agricultural or equally industrial. The Danube is binding. The Danube has reminded this very harshly to all those who have forgotten this basic truth. It depends on the peoples living along the Danube whether the Danube carries the blood of the peoples in its banks or whether it is their life-stream that sanctions their interdependence for the good of all and for the security of their lives. Hence the thesis, so often voiced, that life on the Upper Danube must be organised on the basis of the Volkische Bewegung, on the Middle Danube on the basis of Hungarism and on the Lower Danube on the basis of the ideology of the Bulgarian-Romanian people, but in the knowledge that these peoples must always move together, because if they do not, one will perish after the other.

Hungarism also warns our Hungarian people that their living space is bordered by the Germanic region in the northwest, the Slavic region in the northeast, the Latin region in the southwest and the Islamic region in the southeast, thus they are the most central region of the European Great Plains, its most pan-European area. Liberal leaders and scholars would say that it is a textbook example of a buffer zone. They would be right to reorganise Europe from a liberal perspective. However, this would betray the utter ignorance of those who still want to see our area as a buffer zone. Because: in a large-scale system, there can be no buffer zones, because that would be against the whole new system. After all, we need to build large areas in order to eliminate possible collisions within and between them. The south-eastern European area is therefore not a point of conflict, not a so-called international isolator and separator, as they like to call it, but a necessary, integral part of the European metropolitan area, fully integrated into the system and order of the European metropolitan area. It is not, therefore, needed to separate and isolate warring, power-hungry factors. If, in spite of all this, they still want to turn this heartland of Europe into a buffer zone, it will not be a new national socialist system that will be built in Europe, but an imperialist system of despotism that will throw the European metropolitan area into confusion, and will therefore bring about a European stupidity or inertia whose impossible, unrealistic behaviour and actions will not be tolerated by either the Asian or the American metropolitan areas.

And last but not least, our people must also know that in the life of its great space it lies not at the point of collision of East and West, but in the most important area of the life of North and South, and that it must organise its whole life in such a way that it is neither to the detriment of one nor of the others, but to the good of the commonwealth of the great space and

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so lead us to the glory, greatness and happiness of our people.

Hungarism gives to our people what belongs to our people, to our nation what belongs to our nation, to Europe what belongs to Europe, to humanity what belongs to humanity. Therefore, it rightly demands that the Nation, Europe and humanity give to our Hungarian people what is indispensable for the fulfilment of its vocation and the accomplishment of its task. And if it does not, it will take it from its own resources, but always in the name and at the behest of the security of life and the moral, spiritual and material well-being of the nation, of Europe and of humanity.

### THE MANAGER

is the third basic factor of the Hungarism worldview.

All life is movement. Without movement there is no life. Without movement there is no movement. All movement has an axis.

Of all the peoples united and living together in the European metropolitan area, those who are by their natural endowments the initiators and thus the organic creators of organised movement: they are the leading peoples.

History proves that there was no organised movement, no organic life in North-West Europe until the German people crystallised as a leading nation. In the same way, in North-Eastern Europe the Russian people, in South-Western Europe the French and Italian people, and in South-Eastern Europe the Hungarian people, needed to be organised in order to create a movement and, from it, a useful organic life for all those who fell or came within the sphere of its influence. As long as these leading peoples were not formed, or as long as other peoples, artificially set up to lead, wished to lead life, in Europe it was always one war after another, one moral or spiritual or material calamity succeeded by another. This, too, can be coldly observed, no matter what the history, no matter how biased the writing.

The political, economic and social worldview of liberalism has been sketched out, its fact-based legal foundations laid down and the peoples organised in a liberal worldview led by the United States of America, England and France. All power and all law came from them, however we explain the facts of liberal power in each state. All the nations of our globe were directly or indirectly subordinate to them, and they determined and sanctioned the moral, spiritual and material existence of all peoples. Washington, London and Paris were the trinity which ultimately decided all questions. Thus Paris became the world centre of the culture of liberalism, London of its civilisation and Washington of its techno-economy. The degeneration of these centres of liberalism led to the degeneration of all other life. It was not said in vain that all debauchery came from Paris, all duplicity from London, all bluff from Washington. The last years of plutocratic Freemasonic Jewish Marxism are characterised, therefore, by cultural debauchery, civilisational characterlessness and gangster cowboy colt-revolutionary attitudes and practices of technocratic management.

Born in France, liberalism got its name in Spain. It comes of age in England and attains its maturity in the young United States of America, which it has reduced to an age-old paralysis, with all the moral, spiritual and material abominations of an age-old paralysis, but which its parent, liberalism, calls Americanism. In vain did it strive for a noble socialization, its essence made this simply impossible. In a century and a half of liberalism, our globe has been completely dominated by the Jews, who have made it into one big colony and who have been able to secure their domination of it by means of artificially nationalised political, economic and social anarchy, which they call the liberal constitution, but they call it the liberal constitution out of mockery, and the goyim call it the liberal constitution, but they call it the goyim constitution out of stupidity. From 1922 onwards, when fascism came to power in Italy, the

in all the united and vigorous peoples of our globe, the struggle for freedom against the world anarchy of liberalism and Marxism, to bring order to our globe: order that will ensure the moral, spiritual and material well-being of all peoples. Rome was joined by Berlin in 1933, by the Hungarist Movement in our country in 1935, and by Tokyo in 1940. We must take it for granted that the "People's Struggle for Freedom", initiated in 1922, will end victoriously, because it is always the will of the freedom-loving peoples, always the action of the new and strong, the people who want to live, who are capable and courageous, who decide. The new truth, the new reality and the new freedom of the new life will build the new world view, will draw the new economic, social and political bases and areas of power and domination of our globe. The leading role of Washington, London and Paris will pass away with the passing of liberalism and Marxism, and will be replaced and elevated as the globe's factor of power and domination by the Three Stars of National Socialism. Tokyo Tokyo Tokyo. The only people who will stumble at this are those who do not want to acknowledge that there are other peoples besides the Jews living on our globe, and who do not yet want to see that a moral, spiritual and material world order and harmony of life must be organised out of imperative necessity in place of the self-contradictory globe life suffering from pathological anarchy.

So: there were, are and always will be leaders. The only question is whether a people with a natural endowment, which starts life, can always remain a leader in an area. There is nothing irreplaceable and indispensable in the world. Everything is expendable and everything can be replaced. In the great order of nature, absence causes only temporary disturbance. It soon puts everything right and replaces the failure by the new, the life force, or rather by that which can bear the new life, takes note of it and acts according to its commands. This is true of the peoples, but especially of the leading peoples. That is why we see the French and the Anglo-Saxon peoples declining before our eyes; that is why we see the German, Italian and Japanese peoples rising before our eyes. It is the leading peoples, then, who initiate the movement and around whom, therefore, life crystallises. If every new age is a new life, every new age can also take on new leaders, according to the extent to which the people can adapt themselves to the new life. It is a historical fact that in Europe the leaders have always been German, Russian, French, Italian and Hungarian. I cannot include the Anglo-Saxon people, because they have never been a European people, they have always been outside Europe. Only now, after the end of the world war, will this prodigal son of Germanism, who has caused so much bloody grief to the European birthplace, return.

In Europe, the new age has so far made evident the vocation to leadership of three peoples: the German, the Italian and the Hungarian. The German people, through the Volkische Bewegung, the Italian through Fascism and the Hungarian through Hungarism, have created a new life-creating movement in the areas which require a new ordering in order to ensure the well-being of the peoples within it without mutual harm. All three movements have the same basis, run parallel to each other, complement each other, and only together do they constitute the new nationalist and socialist system and order of the European metropolis. The Volkische Bewegung, Fascism and Hungarism were born, as they are before us, because the conditions in which the three leading peoples live demand the system of ideas and practices they represent.

The leadership role of our Hungarian people, their vocation for leadership, is therefore not in doubt. It depends only on him, on his strength, his will and readiness to act, which is the result of his vision and recognition of the new life. If it were to fall out of incapacity, its place and its vocation would be taken by another people, a people that both dares and knows how to live the new life. Hungarism points to the new life, the imperative need for it, the new truth and the new freedom which this new life implies and makes conscious in the practical life of peoples: it gives us the goal which we can and must reach and the path to it which we must follow if our intentions are honest and pure. There is a choice: a new life for all

with the prosperity of a people, or the old life with the further misery of all peoples. It is not up to the prophets to carry out the vision, but up to the people alone. If insight is not followed by implementation, the best intentions fail because of the blindness and deafness of the people, together with the prophet and the people who mock and curse the prophet. Our Hungarian people lost their leading role in 1526. From that time on, it fought bloody battles to regain it. In the 17th century Bocskai, in the 18th century Rakoczi, in the 19th century the 48-49 war of independence, in the 20th century the 20th century the Hungarian Revolution, in the 20th century the Hungarian Revolution, the Hungarian Revolution and the 20th century the Hungarian Revolution. The popular movement of Hungarism marked the persistent, tenacious, power-seeking will of our people to reclaim its natural leadership and its vocation in South-Eastern Europe by its own efforts and to replace the "mourning-ground red with heroic blood" with the glory, greatness and happiness of the Hungarist Hungarian Empire, for the good and security of all its well-meaning and well-intentioned people.

There are no chosen or unselected peoples. There are no large peoples or small peoples, as it is understood today; there are only viable or non-viable peoples, regardless of what they mean in quantitative terms. But: when the great vital factors of quality and quantity become real in a people, when they meet in it, there are born the peoples which are primarily destined to lead mankind, and which the world view of Hungarism as a community of men sees and considers destined in the German, Italian and Japanese peoples.

I have tried to solve the very important question of the leading people in Annex 3 in a way that best approximates the requirements of the worldview of Hungarism.

It follows from this:

on the one hand, that the whole of humanity is facing a huge organisational-technical issue that is unprecedented and unique of its kind.

on the other hand, that a whole new world-view is indeed emerging, that the old one is completely useless in meeting the cultural, civilisational and techno-economic needs of mankind, in order to develop the new world-view required, and that this long millennia-old, receding system and order, based on the "I", and two great experiments: universalism and Marxism, which were based on the system of the "We" alone, have irrevocably failed before they have fulfilled their duty, and must give way to a system and order which, on the living unity of the "I" and the "We", will build the great and new community of all humanity for millennia to come.

The worldview of Hungarism, in contrast to the worldview of Marxism, which is a worldview of the material community, always has as its goal the communities of life, of companionship and of destiny that are formed in humanity, that is, the family, the people, the nation, the community of nations, humanity; in everything else it sees a means to the service of these human communities. We affirm that this new vision of the world can only be a guarantee that the moral, spiritual and material wealth of our globe will be fairly distributed and actually used for the Beautiful, the Just and the Good.

Hungarism gives our Hungarian people how to live in order to fulfil their vocation, but also why we must die if our vocation and mission in life require this heroic sacrifice.

This is how Hungarism sees the new world. It sees the goal; it sees the way to it; it sees the meaning of its sacrifices and sufferings, the imperative heroic necessity of the life-giving of its heroic dead; thus he sees the vocation, the duty, the obligation, the responsibility, the right of our people in this new world of blood-sacred and life-giving; and thus we see assured the peace of our globe, the peace of our labour, and in them the real glory, greatness and happiness of all the peoples of the Hungarist Empire. I'm done: hang in there !



Ferenc Szalasi: Hungarism 4/4

EUROPE'S MILITARY  
LANDSCAPE STUDY  
INTRODUCTION

Our globe is in the midst of the biggest war in the history of the world. Since September 1939, the war declarations of the warring parties and the supplementary reports explaining them have been published. Few people, however, know what the forces are that drive the war, that legitimately determine its course. This is why destruction is a veritable orgy, which confuses, confounds and confounds everything, and spits lies at the credulous. Clarity is therefore crucial, especially on this issue, so that our faith in the ultimate victory of National Socialism is not shaken for a single moment. By way of introduction, the following basic facts should be presented:

The war has broken out not because humanity wants war, but because some who hold the instruments of power refuse to acknowledge the new truth, the new reality and the new freedom of life's command and want to prevent the emergence of a new order ordered by life by the use of physical violence.

The war can be a war of ideology, a war of self-defence and an imperialist war. All three are always fought, without exception, but hitherto unrecognised, with political, economic, social and military weapons.

A war of ideology is always a total war: it aims at the total annihilation of the opponent. And rightly so, because each worldview strives for autocracy and does not tolerate the other. The peaceful coexistence of several worldviews is only apparent and temporary; it is a fearful silence before a destructive and cleansing storm. The war of worldviews does not end in peace negotiations, in peace treaties, because there is no one to make peace with, since the enemy has been destroyed and no treaty can be made with a dead man. A war of ideologies establishes a new moral, spiritual and material order of the globe according to the will of the victorious party. In total war, no spies are spied upon, but no mercy is given. All means are permitted to destroy the enemy effectively and completely. The present war: a war of ideology.

The war of self-defence and imperialist war are not total, but partial. They are conducted within the existing ideological system, not to destroy the system, but to either eliminate the flaws in the system: this is the war of self-defence, or to exploit these flaws for their own benefit: this is the essence of imperialist war.

Imperialist warfare was waged all this time by the British Empire and the USA, a war of self-defence by Germany until 1941, when the Soviet-plutocratic alliance launched a war of ideology to destroy National Socialism and prevent the establishment of the imperative New World Order at all costs.

All wars must be waged offensively, whether they are initiated or forced. At most, it could be argued who should be held responsible for the war. My opinion: the question of responsibility can be raised only in the case of so-called wars of self-defence and imperialist wars, and in this case with the slightest result, because the victor will always shift the responsibility for the war to the vanquished in all its aspects, including the moral aspect; in a war of ideology, the question of responsibility cannot be raised at all, because such a war is as necessary and inevitable as a storm, which does not upset the existing balance, and is therefore not the cause and parent of disorder, but the cause and parent of the already upset balance, the already upset order

consequence, cause, child. But in addition: since total war is a war of ideology, the question of responsibility is also totally settled by the total annihilation of the enemy. The preparation and conduct of war embraces all those activities which place the three practical foundations of mankind at the service of the war aim, and bring them into concerted action so as to ensure the victorious conclusion of the war under all circumstances. These three practical bases are the family, the factory and the establishment.

Blood spilled in war is only futile if it does not achieve the purpose for which it was necessary. Blood shed in vain disrupts the imperative harmony between family, factory and establishment, and the war is lost before the battle is lost on the battlefield. In the preparation and conduct of war, therefore, the primary aim must be to break up the practical harmony of family, factory and plant life in the enemy's home with all the moral, spiritual and material means at his disposal.

Preparing for war is everyone's duty, obligation and responsibility. The waging of war is the duty, obligation and responsibility of one man. If we take the conduct of war to be one hundred units, only one of these units is for the conduct of the war, while the other ninety-nine are necessary to enable the army, as a fist of steel, to fulfil its task and destroy the enemy with the weapon of physical force.

The conduct of war is in the hands of the statesman, that is where he belongs. Fortunate is the country in which the statesman and the general are united in one person, or the statesman and the general work in the most perfect harmony. There are examples of both: the first is Hitler, the second Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor and his partner Moltke, the diplomatic general Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Julius Caesar, Gustavus Adolf, Frederick the Great, Napoleon:

they all failed to reconcile the ideal qualities of statesman and general, but allowed either one or the other to predominate; so that sooner or later all their initiatives ended in disaster, because they were and remained individual, everything was tied to their individuality, they could not transfer their aims to the community, and after their death what only their authority could hold together fell apart. The necessarily individual initiative and will of the commander in chief must complement and implement the determination and will of the statesman, which must necessarily be based on a comprehensive community approach.

Warfare is based on a war plan. The war plan has political, economic, social and military components, which must be in perfect harmony. But all of them must be mutually beneficial to the war effort at all times. The shortest route to the goal is the one that can be taken without unnecessary bloodshed. But unnecessary blood sacrifice can only be avoided if in politics the clear-sighted, rightly judging and swiftly acting diplomacy, in economics the conduct and example of the nation, manifested in the untiring work of the worker, the peasant and the intellectual, in society the need and purity of the war purpose, pave the way for armies, morally, spiritually and materially. The Japanese conduct of the war is a textbook example of this: the Japanese armies owe their great initial victories to this political, economic and social ploughing ahead, without unnecessary blood sacrifices; the Japanese armies are still fighting in Burma, but the political, economic and social ploughing ahead has already taken place many thousands of kilometres ahead of them, as far as the Persian Gulf, and even Africa and the eastern fringes of the Mediterranean are already ploughed ahead for the Japanese soldier. The unnecessary blood sacrifices are those of armies where such ploughing up has not taken place, or has been wrong. Mistakes made in the preparation for war always come out in the war, but mistakes made during the war are the unnecessary losses of divisions which, at the end of the war

are missing for good.

Napoleon has a saying that essentially says: the general who wins battles is the one who commits the least foolishness and takes advantage of the foolishness of the enemy. The validity of this statement is magnified and heightened in the world order-deciding struggle that is now unfolding before our eyes. There have always been, are and will always be four basic conditions for winning war and for the prosperity and security of life that follow; the purity of the war aim, the moral, spiritual and material conduct and example of the nation, good diplomacy and a good army. It is true: without these it is possible to win a war, but it is not possible to obtain the prosperity and security of life which all men demand afterwards, for armed war is always followed by armed peace, which, because of its unnatural system, cannot be maintained, and leads to more and more wars until the war has achieved its object.

As we have said: the most important, but not unique, part of warfare is the conduct of war, which is the most intimate, the closest relationship with the other factors of warfare. It is the command which, in a thoughtful, deliberate, planned and timely manner, makes use of all the means which the family, the factory and the establishment place at its disposal for the purpose of bringing the war to a speedy and effective conclusion.

The basis of warfare is warfare. War science is the science and practice which educates, instructs and teaches how the moral, intellectual and material resources of a nation are to be organised and brought into action in such a way that, in the event of a threat to life, the danger in all its aspects and manifestations can be quickly eliminated without unnecessary bloodshed. Warfare is a social science and a practical tool of life, born of the harmony of idealism and realism, applied in the face of imperative necessity by a combination of heroic vision and common sense.

A plan to destroy the enemy is called a war plan. It is nothing other than the sum total of the theoretical and practical, preparatory and executive works and actions of the will to destroy the enemy.

We call the area in which the war plan must be carried out and from which the war leadership can produce all the means to carry out its war plan the military living space. In every part of the war plan, therefore, it is firmly bound to the area from which it cannot withdraw, because if it does, it cannot deploy the military force factors in a decisive manner. Military force factors are all the political, economic and social force factors of a nation, all its moral, spiritual and material endowments, which are capable of exerting moral, spiritual, material and physical violence on the enemy.

The military plan is carried out by the armed nation, which in the event of war consists of two main parts: the army, which is responsible for the destruction of the enemy, and the armed rear, which produces and places at the disposal of the army the moral, spiritual and material means necessary for its destruction.

The limits of Europe's current military habitat:

In the north: Newfoundland, the southern tip of Greenland, Iceland, Bergen, Stockholm, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk line;

In the West: the American Atlantic margins from Newfoundland to the Rio de la Plata estuary;

In the south: Buenos Aires, Dakar, Tangier, the Mediterranean rim of North Africa; in the south-east: Athens, Constantinople, Rostov, Stalingrad, Orenburg, Magnitogorsk, Chelyabinsk;

In the east: the Magnitogorsk, Chelyabinsk, Sverdlovsk line.

Because of England, the European Military Habitat covers the area of the Atlantic Ocean. Any military plan against a European nation must be carried out within the defined military life-space. As long as it is outside of it, Europe is not interested

peoples; but whichever leaves this space for any reason will fail. Let it be understood: as long as it is a war against one of the European nations. In the case of intercontinental war, the situation changes in that Europe can only be beaten within its military sphere, not outside it.

There are spaces north and south of the given military habitat which are important, say, for resupply, but not for military purposes, because everything that moves beyond these borders has value only if it enters the military habitat and is used there. In these areas, therefore, only incidental military operations are carried out, which are an integral part of the military plan, but are not decisive for war.

The European military landscape is divided into four theatres of war: land, sea, air and internal.

Europe's land battlefield is bordered to the west by the open waters of the Atlantic Ocean. The British Isles close the open water to the mainland of Europe. To the south, the frontier is the closed but highly indented Mediterranean coastline, in strong military contact with Africa, the Strait of Gibraltar, the Sicily-Sardinia-Tunis land triangle, Crete; and with Asia, the Aegean archipelago, the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus.

In the southeast it is bordered by the Black Sea with the Rostov line of Constantinople, and from there by the line of Stalingrad, Orenburg, Magnitogorsk, Chelyabinsk. Its eastern border is Magnitogorsk, Chelyabinsk, Sverdlovsk. In the north, Bergen, Stockholm, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk. Europe's naval theatre of operations comprises the sea areas of the European theatre of operations together with their archipelagos, while its air theatre of operations comprises the entire airspace over the theatre of operations and the whole of Europe.

The European internal theatre of war encompasses all those areas in which the army is not fighting and which, for the fighting army, include all the force factors which are decisive for the bearing and conduct of the war.

In the theatres of war listed above, total war is being fought by the forces of total war, by total nations fighting for total victory. On the outer front: infantry, cavalry, artillery, armour, engineers, aircraft, warships, the anonymous heroes of liaison and supply; on the inner front: the peoples, the nations, the peasant, the worker, the intellectual, the child, the woman, the young, the old, the invalid: all of them, without exception, are indispensable cogs in the great war machine, organised, moved, exchanged, pushed forward or backward, put on the offensive or on the defensive in the service of the iron will to destroy, by the war plan in the warfare field of life. A truly unique task with unique responsibilities. I will discuss the great and vital questions of Europe's military life-space as follows:

1. The Eastern Front.
  2. The Western theatre of operations.
  3. The southern theatre of operations.
  4. The air theatre of war.
  5. The naval theatre of war.
  6. The internal theatre of war.
  7. Fortress Europe.
  8. The joint cooperation of the German and Japanese military leaderships.
  9. The force factors of war: man, material, force, the balance of territory.
  10. Total war and retaliation, the resolution of the apparent contradiction between the two.
- Since the end of August 1939, Europe's military landscape has taken on historic significance. On all four theatres of war, the great struggle between the old world and the new world continues uninterrupted. Each side is using all its might to destroy the other. A whole series of military plans are being implemented. The Hungarian national socialist people's movement is naturally and

are primarily interested in the military plans and options that they were implemented in the European context and by the nationalist and socialist Berlin-Rome axis. To these plans already carried out, we give the Hungarist perspective of enlightenment, in order, on the one hand, to expose the distorting, misleading and slanderous campaign of the enemy on the other side, in the cold world of facts and laws, and, on the other hand, to set the direction of our conduct and consciously strengthen our faith in our final victory.

## I . THE EASTERN THEATRE OF OPERATIONS

From 1939 to 21 June 1941, Berlin Rome overcame, by its strong resolve and rapid military operations, the issues that could have prevented them from taking decisive military action. From 21 June 1941, however, the self-defensive war waged by Berlin Rome and the imperialist war waged by the Anglo-Saxons gave way to a war of ideology, that is to say, total war, because the plan of world Jewry was revealed in all its nakedness by the entry of the Soviet Union into the war. The plutocratic Marxist-Judaism alliance wanted to strike a devastating blow at all the peoples who wanted to establish a nationalist and socialist world order, so that world Jewry could secure and make secure for all time its already organised world domination.

The situation in Europe on June 21, 1941: the Anglo-Saxons were thrown over the southern fringe of the land theatre of operations, the Stockholm-Madrid-Ankara neutrality triangle had supported the land theatre of operations in favour of Berlin-Rome; the Anglo-Saxons on land, sea, air and the inner front were in severe labour and hailed the Soviet entry into the war against Berlin-Rome as a miracle from beyond the grave.

The area of Europe between the Dnieper, the Danube and the Alduna, the Sereth, the Carpathians, the San, the Vistula is one of the most interesting and important areas of Europe's military landscape. It is a constricted area, meaning that immediately to the west and east of it, the land battlefield widens out suddenly without any transition. It is an area best suited for military defence and for the execution of military surprises.

Its danger is that the army which emerges from it to the east or west will, if undisciplined, inadvertently scatter like a fan, thus giving the enemy an opportunity for very favourable military counter-measures. The average width of this area is 1300 km and the average depth 600 km. It is divided into a northern and a southern part by the Rokitno marshes in the middle, so perfectly that operations and decisions in the northern and southern parts are independent and can be made independently of each other. These swamps are a great advantage for the pro-active side and a great disadvantage for the non-initiative side, whether offensive or defensive.

In June 1941, the Soviet army marched on the western, i.e. European-facing periphery of the area of the Toko, the area of the Tories. The probable grouping and the probable tasks of the groups: first or assault group of the bulk of the Soviet army, colour of the air and armoured forces; task: annihilate the German armies in the area between the Rokitno marshes and the Vistula in encircling battles from the north and south, reach the Vistula at a single pace, fight the decisive battle there, and after forcing a passage across the Vistula, open a wide and unobstructed path for the second group, which was closing up closely behind it; The second or overrunning group was approximately one-fifth of the Soviet army; its task was to overrun and flood Europe.

The first or offensive pacing marched in two groups; one north of the Rokitno marsh, the other south of it; the second or advancing pacing was behind the first, but probably also in the Torok area, but in the eastern area of the Torok area, towards the Soviet.

This possible Soviet military plan was detailed by the German General Staff

because there is no other way to explain the unparalleled and unique rush by which the German army completely destroyed the entire Soviet military plan before it was implemented. In military history, the operations and battles of the Germans from 22 June 1941 to the end of October 1941 will one day be taught as those in which every private soldier was a general and every general was a private soldier. In its first assault, the German army smashed the central Soviet forces at Brest-Litovsk, which had held the Soviet armies of the north and south together at the hinge, and pushed the Soviet armies, thus divided into two parts, into the areas north and south of the Rokitno marshes, and in the operations in the Gomel and Bryansk areas, restoring the unbreakable link between the non-Net armies north and south of the Rokitno marshes and advancing at a tremendous pace from the Toko area eastwards, that it drags with it the second advancing army and throws it back into the Don, Upper Volga, Volhov, Lake Ladoga areas, the very line that can be called the military crisis area of this theatre of war.

It was hitherto thought that the Soviets could not be beaten, because they were in the advantageous position of being able to evade decision by always retreating into the vastness of their territory, and thus to cut off their opponents from their operational bases, and to defeat the detached and exhausted enemy decisively wherever they wished. The failure of Napoleon in 1812 is always used as a favourite example. But that is not quite the case. There is a limit to every military retreat, beyond which it is impossible to go back without risking losing the war. This line is called the crisis line or the area. It is an area beyond which the retreating enemy must accept the decisive battle, beyond which, if he is defeated, he has no possibility of retreat and can only expect annihilation.

The Soviet Crisis Area includes the areas along the Leningrad-Moscow-Stalingrad line. Its most important key area is the triangle of the rivers Oka, Don and Volga with the Moscow-Kazan-Stalingrad segments. If the Soviets were forced to retreat beyond the given crisis line, they could only hold on to the eastern bank of the Volga, which would be tantamount to losing the war. The explanation: in the Chelyabinsk area of Sverdlovsk, a throat area reappears in the characteristic structure of Europe's military life-space, namely the Siberian throat; here, the almost 2,000 km military life-space is suddenly narrowed to only 500 km without transition; beyond that,

In Siberia, it will be even narrower, barely 200-300 km wide. If the Soviets give up the Leningrad-Moscow-Stalingrad areas, which we call the crisis line, they will be forced to give up the most important areas of their military life, on the one hand, and the area between the Ural Mountains and the Volga, on the other, because in this narrow area, poor in resources, they will not be able to stand up to the German armies, which are already always able to encircle them, because they will advance from the wider area into the narrower one; but, in addition, the Soviets could not reinforce from Siberia their armies, confined to the resource-poor area of the Volga-Ural, to the extent that they could attempt a decisive attack on the German army. The Soviets were therefore forced to stop, as they did, on the Leningrad-Moscow-Stalingrad line, and either to accept a decisive battle on that line or to attempt to strike a last-ditch war-deciding blow at the German army from that line.

In the winter of 1941-42, the German and Soviet armies were generally stationed in the areas of the crisis line. By the summer of 1942 there was no need to fear a Soviet attack, because the 1941. In the summer and autumn of 1941 and the winter battles between Moscow and Leningrad had caused such heavy losses to the Soviets that it would take a long time to replace them, especially since everything from fresh divisions to material resources would have to be supplied from Siberia, because the most important and most abundant resource areas of the European Soviet theatre of operations were predominantly in the possession of the German army.

So in 1942, we were all waiting for the great German attack on the Soviets, the aim of which, in our opinion, could not be anything other than to force the Soviet armies into a decisive battle in the Moscow-Kazakhstan-Stalingrad area, and after their defeat, to overrun the Stalingrad-Kazakhstan line in the winter of 1942-43. The Soviet army would have been forced to return to the Urals with its bulk.

The main direction of the German offensive in the summer of 1942 could have been directly towards the Sverdlovsk-Chelyabinsk Siberian Torg area, i.e. generally to the Saratov-Kazan area, as the first operational objective and phase, because only with this objective could the Soviet army have been forced to a decisive battle in the already mentioned Oka-Volga-Don river triangle. No doubt the Soviet army would have suffered a decisive defeat and the German armies could have reached the Volga section between Kazan and Stalingrad before the winter of 1942, but the Soviets would definitely have been in the worst crisis of the war.

Without facts, we cannot judge why in 1942 the operational plan was carried out, which by the end of the summer had led the German troops to the Caucasus ridge, the direction of which was not the direction described between Saratov and Kazan, but deviated from it by almost ninety degrees and pointed to the south-east. In fact, with the exception of the preceding and beautifully constructed battles of the Crimea and Kharkov, which could be regarded as preludes to the decisive battle to be fought in the Oka, Volga and Don triangle, no decisive event of the war took place during the whole summer of 1942. After the great defeats of the Soviets, he was able to put his army in order undisturbed for almost a year and a half in the Oka, Volga, Don triangle and, in November 1942, he and his army moved from the crisis line to strike a decisive blow at the German army. The basic idea of his military plan for the winter of 1942-43 should have been as follows: the German army was in front of the Rokitno marshes; if he wanted to strike a decisive blow, his main military direction should be the Rokitno marshes, i.e. westwards; he should engage the German army in battle in the Upper Don and the Dnieper, beat it and then attack the middle section of the Dnieper. This would split the German army in two and, having destroyed the southern group, it would be ready before the summer of 1943 to flood south-eastern Europe with this army. From the Soviet side, the major attack was not in the expected and only possible military direction, but also almost directly southwards, with a deviation of almost ninety degrees. The answer to this change of direction can already be given: the Soviets did not want to crumble in the winter battle of 1942-43 against the highly equipped German armies, but wanted to lift the key German theatre of operations between the Upper Don and the Dnestr rivers out of its corners, by first attacking with its full force south of it the much more poorly equipped and weaker Romanian Italian-Hungarian armies of the Don line between Stalingrad and Voronezh, breaking through it, then pushing through and pressing on to the Donetsk line. However, this was a major setback to his military plan, because his initial successes, precisely because they were only combat successes, could not be extended militarily, and in February 1943, when he tried to make up for his mistake, the German defence broke the neck of the entire Soviet offensive in the amazing second victorious battle of Kharkov in winter. The first Soviet offensive against the German army was thus a complete failure. It can also be assumed that the Soviet leadership could not have chosen the deadly military course because it could not muster a force sufficient to carry out the plan militarily.

Therefore, he had to be satisfied with a battle plan and a result, perhaps with the ulterior motive of assembling the necessary military force by 1943, but until then he would expose the Germans to heavy pressure by completely shutting down the Romanian - Italian - Hungarian armies.

At the beginning of 1943, the situation in the European military arena was as follows: in the Eastern Front, the German and Soviet armies were still generally stationed in the western areas of the crisis line, and no decisive battle had yet taken place;

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in the southern theatre of operations, the Anglo-Saxons make great preparations to occupy the North African periphery of the European military theatre of operations;

The invasion of Europe by the Anglo-Saxons was expected anywhere from Narvik to the island of Crete; the Soviets demanded from the Anglo-Saxons the establishment of a second front in Western Europe; the Italian army was showing very serious and alarming signs of war weariness and discouragement, and the Italian people were showing signs of war weariness and discouragement; the leaders of Germany, Italy and Japan had decided to switch to total war;

the Anglo-Saxons announce a relentless air war against the German and Italian populations to break the resistance of the inner front;

the diving boat war has diminished after a great upsurge, the whole of Europe is looking for an explanation, the Anglo-Saxons are jubilant, the Germans are silent; Stockholm Madrid is giving way to Ankara's neutrality triangle, which is neutral for the Anglo-Saxons, and no longer supports the European land theatre of war for Berlin-Rome, as it did from the outbreak of the war until the autumn of 1942;

the destruction of the peoples of the European mainland is being carried out with unprecedented ferocity on the internal front; a series of political, economic and social sabotages are being used by the Anglo-Saxons, with their agents and the Jews, who are still moving without barriers, to provoke anarchy, uprisings and rebellions in order to break up the internal front of the Axis; Germany is organising Fortress Europe to provide a solid basis for defending itself against the joint Anglo-Soviet-Soviet attack expected in the summer of 1943.

In the light of the general situation outlined above, it is necessary to examine the possible military plans that the German and Soviet leaderships implemented in 1943. The facts which occurred in the Eastern theatre of operations must be taken as a basis. From these, starting backwards, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the structure of the military plans of both sides and the reasons which might have led them to formulate such plans.

In 1943, the German armies are under constant defence, while the Soviet armies are under constant attack. Let's examine why, and whether the defence and attack were the result of planned military thinking, or whether they were the result of a situation of necessity. First the German, then the Soviet plan will be discussed.

German troops in the Eastern Front have been under constant defence since the beginning of 1943. Why? The German offensive campaign of 1942 proved once and for all to the German leadership that the Soviet Union could only be destroyed by the full deployment of German forces, because it was facing an enemy organised for total war. The necessity for total war was therefore dictated by the facts of the situation. The Winter Battle of 1942-43, which ended with the surrender of the Caucasus, Stalingrad and the Don, further confirmed the German leadership's final conclusion that the enemy could only be destroyed by entering into total war. These considerations led to the German leadership's decision, officially announced at the end of January 1943, to organise the German people for total war and to formulate and implement its military plans accordingly. At the end of January 1943, the German leadership gave up any possibility of agreement, because it had to experience that its enemy was setting all its efforts on the total annihilation of the German people. From this harsh fact it was quick as lightning to draw the lessons and the consequences, and on the basis of these it set in motion a massive organisational effort in all fields aimed at setting the German people on the path to total war.

Around a hundred million people are directly affected by this decision, and around the same number again indirectly. Almost half of the population of Europe has thus felt, either politically, economically or socially, or all three, the enormous decision and the enormous plan that has emerged from it. The organization of such a huge mass into a common total purpose under the leadership of a total will for a single total effort cannot be accomplished in days or weeks. It will take months, and we are not very much mistaken if at least



we estimate the time required for the total changeover at a full year. We should put the nearest time at about the spring and summer of 1944 when the German leadership could strike a decisive blow against its enemies, corresponding to total war, and the furthest time at the spring and summer of 1945, because the two years which elapse before then may be sufficient, to bring the almost 200 million people in question morally, spiritually and materially into the total war and its war-deciding plan, even if the Anglo-Saxons were to attack the basic cells of this vast war community day and night with their air armies: the family, the factory and the plant.

Such a transition is a huge effort for everyone and everything, and therefore a huge crisis until it is completed. An offensive, on the other hand, can only be carried out with armies that are not backed by a crisis and have all the means to strike a decisive blow against the enemy. By 1943, the German leadership could not provide its army with these basic factors because of the situation described. It could not carry out both a decisive offensive and a transition to all-out war, because if it had done so it would have done both only halfway, but it would not have been able to end the war and would have been faced with a crisis of incalculable consequences. It could therefore only follow that the German army would have to wage a defensive war from the beginning of 1943 until the transition to total war was completed and the means were provided to give it the basis for a decisive offensive.

The army set for total war must receive from the family set for total war the moral strength and heroic outlook of the world, from the factory the means of war produced by total labour and effort, from the plant the total solidity of the totally formed inner front; these in turn require from the army equipped with total moral, intellectual and material means total victory and the attendant prosperity and security of life. This is the indissoluble relationship of life, companionship and identity which must exist between the army and the nation in total war. This is the task which the German leadership is carrying out with admirable, superb foresight, which it can cope with because of its theoretical and practical preparation, and into which it can pour a purposeful spirit and soul because of its firm outlook, despite the fact that it is in fact nothing more than dry organisational-technical work.

The German leadership therefore decided, with foresight and prudence, that in 1943 it would fight to gain time and defend itself. Its plan was a military plan, which it would carry out as such with an iron fidelity from which it would not deviate, which it would develop independently of the enemy's will and without interference. However, he will conduct his defensive operations on the basis of the basic military principle of crushing the Soviet Union and putting it in such a moral, spiritual and material condition that the decisive German attack which is to be launched at that time will be able to destroy the Soviet Union, if possible, in its first attack.

From 4 July to the beginning of October, for three months, the German army fought devastating battles, generally only on its southern flank between the Don and the Dnieper, whose territory was systematically emptied and destroyed to the extent that the Soviets had to resupply all materials with a completely destroyed transport and traffic network. The German armies accomplished the task with unparalleled skill. In military history, this German operation will be remembered as a textbook example of cooperation between command and execution.

Already in mid-August, the full extent of the German plan unfolded: a planned operation in the throat of Europe, i.e. in the Danube-Dnieper and Vistula-San-Carpathian-Sereth-Aldunian areas, in which the decisive defence was to be carried out until the time of the transition to total war. The Rokitno marshes in this torok area, which extend over the entire depth of the area in the middle valley and cover a width of some 300 kilometres, are of great assistance to the German decisive defence. For: the German spirit of initiative, guided by the Soviet leadership, which was incapable of initiative, had been

Soviet offensive armies, split in two from the marshes, with their eastern operational reserves held west of the Rokitno marshes in the Vistula and Vistula Bug areas, can bring the Soviet offensive armies into decisive battle where and when they want. Hence the interesting fact that the German leadership has the fullest control of the military initiative despite being on the defensive. The Soviets, on the other hand, are always on the defensive, despite the fact that they are on the offensive.

From the beginning of November onwards, the German leadership began to take initiatives which were designed to provide a decisive defence, and which have so far resulted in the undeniable fact, and the resulting undeniable German success and Soviet failure, that the battles are still being fought on the eastern fringe of the said area of the Torko, along the Dnieper, towards the Soviet Union. It can be assumed that in the winter of 1943 the Soviets will do everything in their power to advance as far as the western edge of this Torko area, towards Europe, that is to say the Vistula San Carpathian-Sereth Alduna line, in order to advance their armies into the Danube valley and the Balkans in the summer of 1944 and, together with the Anglo-Saxons, to destroy first the German armies in a catastrophe battle and then to expel the Anglo-Saxon forces from Europe. The German leadership is as aware of this Soviet intention as the Soviets themselves. It has therefore made every preparation to thoroughly thwart the Soviet leadership's calculations. All the indications are that the Soviet grave has been dug by the fighting along the Dnieper and will be buried by the decisive battles in the Torko area.

The structure of the German plan for 1943 must also be examined in the light of the general European situation and the extent to which it influenced the final form and development of the German plan.

As regards the attitude of the Anglo-Saxons, it is perhaps not a great mistake to say that they would have necessarily established the second front between the Seine and the Weser, which the Soviets demanded, if the German leadership had decided to attack the Soviets in 1943. In that case, the German leadership would have had to completely strip its western front and move its forces eastwards. Such a decision was, however, seriously contradicted by the facts and the resulting opportunities: on the one hand, Germany was not yet prepared for all-out war, only the preliminary stages were being worked on, and the German army could not enter into a decisive battle with the Soviets with such inadequate preparations; on the other hand, the Italian troops which could have relieved the German troops in the western front, which had become necessary in the east, would have been unable to repel the Anglo-Saxon attack because of the very great internal troubles which had already become apparent in the Italian army and high command at the beginning of 1943. Indeed, if the Anglo-Saxon attack had succeeded in the west, it would have brought about a catastrophe on the western theatre of operations which would not only have upset all the plans of the German leadership, but would have ended 1943 with a serious crisis. Events in Italy in the aftermath unmistakably confirm the correctness of this reasoning. The Anglo-Saxons, on the other hand, had very much expected the Germans to attack the Soviets, but as always, the enemy did not want to take over and play the role which the Anglo-Saxons had intended for him.

The German leadership's decision to defend rather than attack in 1943 and to use the time to prepare for all-out war upset Anglo-Saxon-Soviet plans: it made it impossible to set up a second front and forced the Anglo-Saxons to initiate operations in southern Europe which were completely out of place in the grand scheme of things; it forced the Soviets, on the other hand, to begin their offensive sooner than they had planned, because the German leadership at Kursk was not prepared to take on the role which the Soviets had so heartily and with thumbs crossed intended for them. In the end, there was nothing left of the whole Anglo-Soviet plan but Anglo-Soviet air raids on Germany, led by a furious desire for revenge,

the meagre Anglo-Saxon adventure in southern Italy, which the Soviets refused to accept as a second front because of its complete failure, the Red Army entering the Dnieper with its forces decimated, and the knowledge that Germany was far from having thrown all its forces into the war.

In considering the general situation in Europe and in drawing up the final military plan for 1943, the impact of the Anglo-Saxon invasion of North Africa in early November 1942 on the individual European nations and their governments probably played a very important role in the German leadership's judgement. From that date onwards, the plutocratic-Judaic-Marxist forces still present in Europe, which had hitherto been operating in a rather covert manner, were revived and the Axis leadership was confronted with a very serious situation, with their series of political, economic and social infidelities and betrayals carried out with uninhibited perfidy. These actions did not fail to have an impact on the peoples who were directly or indirectly occupied by Germany and Italy during the war. From November 1942 to the present day, the activity of these reactionary forces has increased to an incredible degree. In most places, they have not been and are still carrying out their attacks, not covertly, but with the utmost and most blatant openness, against the inner front of Berlin-Rome and the power brokers of the unity of Europe. The German leadership was and is aware of this great psychological and disruptive effect. And because it saw the situation clearly from this point of view, it was right and proper to decide on a military defence for 1943. It is not possible to launch a decisive attack from a European base that has been destroyed by destruction. First and foremost, it is necessary to consolidate resistance in all areas of Europe, to give all peoples and nations the spirit of the new age world outlook, so that they will want to live and win, and to do so on the side of the German Reich, which they must see as their natural ally and their ally for life and death. Total war can only be won by a totally organised Europe. The peoples of Europe must want the victory of National Socialism, because they must know that without it they will be forever enslaved morally, spiritually and materially, either by the Bolshevik regime under Jewish leadership or by the Anglo-Saxon plutocracy under Jewish leadership. The reassuring recruitment of Europe into total war on the side of Berlin Rome must therefore be carried out safely, so that the great and decisive blow against the Soviets can be struck from the firm foundations of a Europe guided and guided by a united vision. But this moral and intellectual conversion of Europe will take time.

At least a year. And this total changeover must be carried out by those European forces in whose consciousness it has become clear that only a nationalist and socialist communist world view and the fact of European solidarity based on it can make it possible to organise and wage total war and achieve total victory.

Briefly dissecting the Soviet plans that were implemented, the following can be drawn from them: the Soviets had to force the decision out of the German army because the staggering defeats and losses in manpower and materiel suffered during 1941 -42 simply precluded them from sustaining a long war. His plan, therefore, was to force the Germans into a decisive battle between the Don and the Dniester in the summer, defeat them and begin the invasion of south-eastern Europe in the winter of 1943-44, in order to

- 1.) cut Germany off from two of the most important factors in its military life: oil in Romania and the Hungarian bauxite deposits;
- 2 .) cuts off the Anglo-Saxons' world political opportunities in the Balkans and the Dardanelles;
- 3 .) the Soviet armies, battered by poor food supplies, could put themselves in order in the uninhabited areas of south-eastern Europe, completely spared the ravages of war.

On 4 July this year, they launched an assault on the German armies to force a full-scale assault to force a decision. Orel Kursk Bjelgorod are the three Russian villages whose names will be remembered very often in world history and military history. It was in this area that the

a battle that the Soviets intended to be decisive, but which failed to achieve its goal and ended in failure. He had to use his pushing and attacking strength in exhausting operations that consumed man and beast, material and nerve, he had to fight an enemy that always forced him into battle but which he could only beat, never defeat, and which inflicted inhuman bloody losses on him but which he could not inflict, which taught the exhausted master of retreat and evacuation how to really retreat and evacuate in such a way that the retreating enemy would be destroyed, which taught the Soviet leadership that it could only advance as much and as far as the retreating enemy wanted. For three months this bloody grinding of the Soviet army lasted. In three months, the Soviet army had covered a distance that the German armies had covered in less than three weeks in 1941.

Then he arrived at the Dnieper and began again the battles that decimated his armies. Since the beginning of October this year, the Soviets have been besieging the Dnieper line. He is making desperate efforts to defeat the Germans in a decisive battle. In fact, where the Germans accept the decisive battle, the Soviets suffer a huge defeat, but where they do not want it, the Soviet will is defeated.

However, it can also be said that the Soviet plan was not based on a well thought-out military plan, but was dictated by the general situation. The Soviets had to attack, not because they decided to do so, but because they were forced to do so primarily by their internal problems. What these might be, we cannot know, but that they exist is undeniable, because it is impossible to assume that the Soviet command would be so bloody stupid as to want to strike a decisive blow at the Germans completely alone, without any planned cooperation with the Anglo-Saxons. The Soviets must attack out of internal necessity until the front line either bleeds to death or faces a crisis on its internal front. The point will certainly be put on the Soviet war plan by the German soldier.

An argument could be made in favour of the Soviet military decision and plan for 1943 that its leaders knew for certain that Italy would collapse, and that the German leadership would inevitably face a serious crisis. And this anticipated crisis had to be exploited by the Soviets for a massive offensive operation, lest they miss a favourable opportunity that would never return. This line of thought may be very appealing, but it is not correct. The Soviet leadership knew that the bulk of the Italian army was no longer a factor, and it also knew that the German leadership was equally and even more aware of this fact, so that its countermeasures could either be taken or they could be put in place in a way that could not harm either front. The greatest mistake is to assume that the enemy will make a mistake which will enable him to be conveniently defeated, to take this mistake as a fact and to base military plans on it.

And if the Soviets did launch an attack, they should have done so in the fullest harmony with the Anglo-Soviet command, which had always sabotaged them, and from which they should have demanded lightning-fast action, especially the invasion of Italy, the prerequisites for which were given, as events later proved, and which were as certainly known to the Soviet command as they were to the Anglo-Soviet command. However, this did not happen. The German leadership was thus given the opportunity of an internal military line, which it used with lightning speed and which it nipped in the bud as the Soviet and Anglo-Saxon plans were being developed.

8 September: the situation created by the Badoglio armistice was the last opportunity for the Soviet leadership to formulate its military plan as it wished. It must have known with certainty what was going on in Italy since the beginning of the year, and especially since August, since the Anglo-Saxon press had been proclaiming loudly that Stalin was being kept constantly informed by his allies of the situation in Italy. On 8 September the plan, which had failed on 25 July because of mutual short-sightedness, could have been repeated and a lightning attack could have been launched.

both Soviet and Anglo-Soviet forces could have been ordered, as there was almost a month and a half to prepare for this operation. However, the Anglo-Saxon kufar campaign and the Soviet slaughterhouse campaign were once again shaking hands, not in south-eastern Europe, but through their mutual failure. The failure of the Italian plan, which was a complete failure and a laughing stock, was the reason why the Soviets did not recognise the Anglo-Saxon initiative in Italy as a second front, but the Anglo-Saxons sourly admitted that they had only set up a third front in Italy and not a second.

It is not far from the truth to suppose that the Moscow Conference was called for by the Soviets in particular to discuss ways of putting an end to the series of military failures and to put an end to the unplanned conduct of their war. But we are perhaps not far from the truth that the Soviets have realised the naked reality that the Anglo-Saxons will never be able to tie down Germany and Japan to such an extent that the Soviets can use it to strike a mortal blow against an enemy whose very presence is a mortal threat to the very existence of their system.

It can only follow that he launched the Soviet offensive on 4 July only so that he could reap the rewards in Ukraine. He urgently needed the Ukrainian harvest.

However, it failed to achieve its imperative and compelling aim of launching its attack too early. The Germans either harvested the crops or destroyed them completely, so that nothing fell into the hands of the Red armies.

However we examine Soviet plans, even the layman can conclude from the facts that there was no comprehensive, well thought-out Soviet military plan, developed independently of the enemy's will, planned, reasoned and executed with purpose; the Soviets were only capable of carrying out operations that were determined and forced by the needs that arose from time to time.

Taking stock of the military plans and their results in the Eastern theatre of operations, it is safe to say that the military initiative has been firmly in the hands of the German leadership since 21 June 1941. As an undeniable achievement so far, the German leadership can point to the fact, which has already decided the war, that the Soviet empire of nearly 200 million men, with all its forces, is being fought on three fronts by the Soviets, despite the fact that the Soviets are fighting on only one front, while the Germans are fighting on three, not only did it keep it at a distance from Europe, not only did it inflict irreparable losses on it by its crushing victories over it, not only did it bloodily refute the myth of the Soviet inexhaustibility and inexhaustibility, not only that he has overcome the immensity of the Soviet Empire's territory and turned it to his own advantage and profit, but that he has created by his purposeful, rational and planned military plan all the prerequisites for striking a decisive and deadly blow at the Soviet army, decimated in moral, intellectual and material strength, when and where and how the German leadership deems it most timely, most appropriate and most useful.

#### THE WESTERN AND SOUTHERN THEATRES OF WAR

The first half of the 20th century is characterised by the struggle of a morally, spiritually and materially bankrupt humanity to overcome its self-destruction and to establish a much-needed new world order. This self-bankruptcy of the war of ideologies because without it the cultural revolution of our globe and Europe as a leading continent would be destroyed.

They call for a new world order in two directions. One is the materialist Judaism, the bankruptcy movement itself; its objective is to secure the power and domination of Judaism once and for all, world Judaism. This experiment is carried out in two main directions: the bottom-up Marxist experiment and the top-down plutocratic experiment. This initiative is already being discussed today

can be said to be bankrupt, despite the fact that they did their utmost to avoid bankruptcy and establish their rule for all time with the wars of 1914-18 and 1939. It was bankrupted because its practical foundations: its morality was a kiss, its spirit a smudge, its material life gold. This is the most fundamental cause of his failure.

The other main direction is the spiritual-popular, life itself; its aim: the equitable distribution of all the wealth of our globe among the peoples, the welfare of the people of the world. It has also shaped its foundations of life accordingly. Its moral basis is the family, its spiritual basis is justice and its material basis is prosperity. There is no doubt which will prevail in the struggle between kiss and family, between smut and truth, between gold and wealth. This spiritual-popular mainstream is represented by four initiatives on our globe. The first initiative was taken by Fascism from 1919, the second by Turanism, also in the same period, the third by the Volkische Bewegung from 1923, the fourth by Hungarism

From 1930. These initiatives are both bottom-up and top-down. From below as the will of the people, from above as the will of the people and the will of the leader acting for the people.

Both the World Jewry and the World Welfare Initiative are racially constructed. But while the former has placed its own race exclusively at the centre of the globe, proclaims its divine election, establishes through it the legitimacy of its autocracy, and thus shows the highest degree of racial intolerance in the practical system it has so far implemented, this one is based on racial ennoblement. It eliminates from the life of the people all races which could destroy the racial integrity, purity and health of its basic composition, and the organic unity of its moral, spiritual and material life, and therefore seeks to purify the racial composition of all peoples from the racial poison of the Jewish race first, most quickly and most completely.

The two world initiatives are, of course, seeking to dominate our globe alone. The most fundamental reason for the series of wars that have been waged from 1914-1918 and 1939, and the political, economic and social struggles fought between the two, is therefore to establish and establish a definitive and secure order for our globe. The old foundations of the old world have reduced our whole globe to a moral, spiritual and material colony. It is therefore no longer a factor of force in the formation of the globe. But he is unwilling and unable to acknowledge his timelessness, he clings to his perceived power and believes that the combined strength of the international churches, the international aristocracy and international Jewry is still sufficient to control and guide our globe at will. However, they have done their calculations without God, without the people and without the globe, and therefore they must fail sooner or later. The peoples of our globe simply want to enjoy the fruits of their bloody and bloody toil and struggle within their property and possessions, they simply will no longer tolerate the usurpation of everything by certain so-called chosen ones, who in turn keep them in total moral, spiritual and material bondage, exploitation and misery. For this reason, all the vital and living peoples of our globe have united and allied themselves with one another, just as the three international world imperialists did when they conspired against the peoples, putting God, his will and wisdom before them as a shield, which the other quite ordinary mortals cannot, but only they can understand all the more, because they alone, the chosen ones, are in the enviable position of being able to tell the peoples when they are doing what is right according to God's will. The nations will not spy any more of this blatant deception and will finally eradicate the false chosen ones along with their false gods.

Our globe is the lifeblood of peoples. It has been usurped by the undeserving, excluding all peoples from it. The clash between those who usurp the right to life and those who claim it has become inevitable. And so it happened.

The final dismantling, reckoning and liquidation of the old land-grabbing brigade was immediately preceded by a struggle with political, economic and social weapons. This

lasted from 1919 to the end of August 1939, for twenty years. It brought an indecisive victory to the German, Italian and Japanese peoples. During these twenty years, however, it was definitively decided that the real and final decision could only be imposed by force of arms alone and without exception. The corridor in Poland has indeed become a corridor, with the old world standing guard at its entrance and the victory of the new world at its exit, and in it there is a struggle between kiss and family, between obscenity and truth, between gold and prosperity, between meanness and heroism.

The first trains of this great world war took place in the western and southern theatres of war of the European military landscape. The campaign against the Poles was only a prelude. Perhaps it is the physiological touch on the amniotic membrane of a world that is about to be reborn, which has initiated the greatest labour of history and from which the new world order, humanity reborn in a new truth, a new freedom and a new reality, must emerge.

This is the root cause of the current ideological war. All other alignments are wrong, false, purposeless.

The British world empire is the soul and backbone of the plutocratic Marxist J udaic old world system built on class rule. Its heartland is the island of England itself. England, from the 17th century onwards, turns completely away from Europe, building its foundations outside Europe. Consequently, and as a result of centuries of Euro-indifference and Euro-denial, it feels that a united Europe is a threat to its survival. It is therefore doing everything in its power to thwart European unity. He calls this century-old endeavour a policy of balance, which in Hungarian means a policy that benefits only England. His war against Europe is a constant and all-out war.

In peace, mainly with economic weapons. There was no commodity imported into or exported from Europe whose price on the world market was not ultimately fixed by the English stock exchange, which was not directly or indirectly in English hands, and from which it did not derive its most profitable profits. To him Europe was as much a colony as any other on the globe. He made a life and death alliance with the Jews of Europe, and through them kept Europe in a state of political, economic and social entanglement which he then called liberty, equality and fraternity, and which was in fact nothing more than Judaism disguised and camouflaged by English hypocrisy and statehood. He also conspired against National Socialism, because he knew that this world view would really bring about the European community so much desired and demanded by the peoples of Europe.

It is in the periphery of mainland Europe that we must look first and foremost for the areas through which Britain has kept Europe completely in its grip, the areas in which it has primarily acted against Europe when it believes that the European balance has been upset. In these areas, England also used her own military forces to ensure that decisions were always enforced under her armed supervision. Its armies in Europe therefore fought at all times on the seabed, under the protection of its warships, ready to leave the solid ground of Europe quickly in the event of failure. This periphery was for England the first and mainland pillar of attack and defence, the English wall which England had built against Europe for centuries.

This is why we find that these peripheries are also home to England's staunch and staunch allies. Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Albania, Greece, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Egypt: all have been in political, economic and social forced coexistence with Britain for generations.

Whenever regime changes have been prepared or implemented in any of these states, England has always intervened, never resting until the issues were resolved as she wished. England's death throes were thus always fought on the periphery of Europe. So far, it has managed to win life, because it has always held the fringes untrammelled,

and still owns it through his gold.

England took the lion's share of the globe's wealth for herself, and left the remainder to be owned and transferred to the peripheral states of Europe. In so doing, it placed their colonists, to the exclusion of all others, under its direct or indirect economic and political control. This is the best explanation for the huge colonial empires of the Netherlands, Belgium and France, their existence and their existence.

Germany has been very poorly favoured in the distribution of the wealth of the globe, although it has always been the most powerful nation in Europe. It was England who deliberately prevented Germany from being able to take a position of strength, knowledge, ability, qualitative and quantitative excellence in the management and leadership of our globe. He did this because he saw and knew in him, precisely because of his excellence in every field, his greatest adversary. For centuries, therefore, Germany was deliberately and deliberately kept either in a state of war or in a state of permanent political, economic and social enclosure, which he then called, with emphasis, the policy of balance. This equilibrium was, in his view, broken whenever Germany claimed its right and place. On such occasions, he always organised a European armed conspiracy of the peoples dragged into the Judaic conspiracy against Germany, and he did not shrink from the most despicable means to destroy his greatest enemy, or at least to paralyse him to such an extent that he lost his desire to claim his right and place for a long time.

England's plans against Germany always present the same picture: taking advantage of Germany's central position in Europe and her millennia of friendlessness, she attacks her from all sides with mercenary nations, while at the same time she disintegrates her internal resistance, relying on the one hand on the totally incomprehensible Anglicophobia of the Germans before us, and on the other on the honest credulity of the people.

In the face of this eternal English plan, Germany can have no other plan than to break forever the moral, spiritual and material ring which England has forged around her body, to make it impossible for ever to forge it again, so that she may occupy the place in the life of our globe which her qualitative and quantitative value deserves. This is the objective which it must achieve in its struggle for national socialist freedom. This war is the last chance, but also the last means, which England

Shylock's greed made him reach. And that his goal can only be achieved within the hemispheric community and not outside it, i.e. in a concerted and not imperialistic way: the British Empire and its fate should remain a historical example and a lesson for him.

But for once, England's tried and tested recipe for centuries has failed. From 1922 onwards, the English wall on the European continental periphery began to open up huge gaps, first in its southern Roman bastion: Italy and Spain threw off their English tutelage and went their own way. Then the western periphery wall also crumbles and crumbles: in Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, powerful popular movements develop, which are given a very strong foundation in German national socialism. Until 1939, England did everything in its power to avoid being pushed back from the periphery of Europe, but to no avail. Events have already begun, which are no longer controlled and exploited by her, as they have been, but by four new powers:

Germany, Japan, the USA and the Soviet Union.

Britain must cease to exist in its present system, because the constant threat of war in Europe, the destruction of Britain, is Europe's vital, self-defence. England has been the prodigal son of Europe. It must be forced back into the European community or permanently and permanently removed from it so that it can never be a liability again. England must be either in or out at gunpoint for all time. This is the core of the Western and Southern theatres of war, of invasion and retaliation, of the overall cooperation of the German-Japanese military leadership.



This is the question which all the military plans drawn up and intended to be implemented by the National Socialist military leadership must resolve.

The military plans in the Western and Southern theatres of war will be discussed on the basis of the ideas set out in this introduction.

## 2. THE WESTERN THEATRE OF OPERATIONS

By June 1941, Britain's plan to defeat Germany was to bleed Germany and weaken it with the peoples of the European periphery states, so that the British army would only have to deliver the coup de grace. The pretext for armed action against Germany was supplied by Poland.

Until June 1941, his people fought a succession of death struggles. After Poland, it was Denmark, Norway, then the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and lastly Yugoslavia and Greece that fell victim to the British war plan, without Britain achieving its first great objective: the bleeding and weakening of Germany. Its troops, sent to the fringes to help its allies, left the coast after a series of disastrous, short-scale landing operations. Their operation, intended to be a serious one in France, ended in a bloody failure that foreshadowed the timelessness of Britain and its world empire. If the twilight of Spain's world power began with the world-famous ruin of her world-famous Armada, it is now rightly said that the twilight of England's world power began with the ruin of Dunkirk. The third of the parks cut something.

By June 1941, the German command was destroying the British perimeter wall of Western Europe with the impregnable execution of its plan, which had been built up to an unparalleled degree. Having been given a free hand by his diplomacy through the German-Soviet treaty of August 1939, he invades Poland in the autumn of 1939, prepares his great strike against the Anglo-Saxon wall on the western mainland in the winter of 1939-40, and in the spring and summer of 1940 completely and utterly crushes it politically, economically, socially and militarily, turns it against England and, after clearing away the ruins, builds the Atlantic Wall militarily against the Anglo-Saxon world plutocracy until 1943. The Western Wall, built and fortified for centuries under British leadership, collapsed, permanently and fatally for England. In its place, for the time being only militarily, was the Atlantic Wall, built under German leadership, permanently and also fatally for England. By June 1941, Germany, with the implementation of its first military plan, had destroyed the western arc of the centuries-old ring of death that the British had strapped around its body, and was ready to strike at the gates of England.

In fact, Poland, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium and France played only a minor role in this fight. They were incapable of playing the major role that the British had intended for them. They were merely stumps thrown between the legs of the German army to be overthrown. After the failure to overthrow them, the stumbling blocks who had failed in their mission were fated to be kicked. So did the one who should have failed, so did the one who threw them in vain. For the people who took on the role of the stumbling block, the greatest lesson to be learned from all this was that Europe cannot be turned against with impunity. In the months of April, May and June 1940, the destiny of these peoples was fulfilled: they ceased to be military power-brokers.

The operations of the campaign in the peripheral areas of the Western theatre of operations can be summarised in this way four years later:

1 .) Operation against Denmark and Norway; first period: march against them; second: invasion of Denmark, invasion of Norway; third:

The military exclusion of Norway and Denmark from the further course of the war, and the averting of the British pledge operations; fourth: the final military occupation of Norway,

organisation-technical construction, consolidation; fifth: the integration of Norway and Denmark into the Atlantic Wall as its northern cornerstone. Operation period: from April 1940 to the end of 1943; six weeks of fighting.

2 .) Operation against the Netherlands, Belgium and the united French and English armies; first period: march against them; second: military exclusion of the Netherlands and Belgium from the further course of the war; third: separation of the united French and English armies, destruction of the English army. Operational period: from March 1940 to June 1940; three weeks of fighting.

3 .) Operation against France; first period: march against it; second: the destruction of the French army north of the Seine; third: the pursuit of the French army south of the Seine and the destruction of the Maginot Fine; fourth: the blockade of France from Switzerland, the attack of the Italian army on south-eastern France; fifth: France's request for an armistice, the armistice, the military exclusion of France from the further course of the war; sixth: the invasion of France, the construction of the Atlantic Wall. Operation period: from May 1940 to the end of 1943; eight weeks of fighting. The first major phase of the campaign in the western theatre of operations ended with an armistice. Its first objective was fully achieved. In the space of less than twelve weeks from April 1940, the German army swept the entire three-year-long Western European crusade of plutocratic-Marxist-Judaic bloody intrigue off the stage of history in a rush unparalleled in world history, with an equally unprecedented and unique effort in world history, built and completed the nationalist and socialist perimeter wall, at the base of which the vile conspiracy and bloody rebellion of the plutocratic Marxist-Judaic regime against the peoples of our globe will be crushed to death.

It is very difficult to work out the English French war plan. No matter how hard we search for its existence, it cannot be found, and only three can be identified:

first, the whole English plan of war was based on the idea that the land allies should bear the brunt of the fight, while the English armies should remain absent and untouched; a plan which was, of course, vigorously denied and concealed, and even attacked and suspected by their allies of a desire to triumph over the enemy by the blood of the English soldier; secondly: the sole military plan of both the English and French leadership was based on the fact that the Germans were so infamously equipped, their leadership so inexperienced, primitive and unskilled, that they could not conduct a campaign; thirdly, the French were convinced that the Maginot Fine was impregnable because it had cost billions of francs, believing that the amount of money invested was in direct proportion to its defensibility.

Only this criminal and foolish vomit can explain the total lack of planning and lack of planning with which they carried out their plans in 1939 and 1940. The performance of the Belgian army stands out and contrasts sharply with this whole catastrophic, pretentious lack of spirit. Along with the leadership of the entire French and British Armada, it can hide in shame from him and take him as an example of how to defend the homeland, every bit of land, with blood and honour, even if it had to take up arms under duress for the wrong and false purposes.

From September 1939 to April 1940, the British French command had an uninterrupted period of seven months to move from the Dutch border with Belgium to the French border, with the Ems-Rhine as its first objective, and then to cross the Rhine and force the German army to fight a decisive battle in the Elbe in the summer of 1940. It cannot be excluded that this may have been the plan. However, its execution was so poor that it was a poor example. Besides, the execution of such a plan requires total preparedness and determination, which the Belgian army alone, and only under the latter condition, showed. The German command had reckoned with this as the only correct

the only dangerous military plan for the EU. Proof of this is the lightning-quick advance by which he destroyed in a matter of days all its military prerequisites and foundations in Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium in the most perfect manner, and then dealt a final and decisive blow to the army which the plutocratic Marxist-Judaist circles of Europe expected to be anything but destroyed within six weeks.

There are preconditions for generosity: first, it must be practised on someone who deserves it, second, it must be accepted in the first place, and third, and most importantly, it cannot be imposed on anyone. If it is wasted on the undeserving, on someone who does not want to acknowledge it and yet they want to force it on him, the one on whom they want to practise it will not see in him generosity, but weakness, helplessness, helplessness, which they are forced to hide behind the mask of generosity. Generosity misused always takes its revenge because it is always abused. But let it be a law for ever: whoever commits the slightest offence against generosity towards him must be dealt with mercilessly, with the utmost ruthlessness.

The armistice, which is forced upon the defeated by the recognition and fatal consciousness of defeat, can only serve the purpose, from the victor's point of view, of making the further belligerence of the defeated impossible in any respect and of providing a favourable basis for the continuation of the war, conducive to its speedy conclusion. From these two points of view, we shall consider the German-French armistice of 1940 very briefly and only in substance.

The French leadership and the overwhelming majority of the French people saw the German generosity in the armistice as a weakness. Therefore, they accepted it only in form, which was expressed in the formal acceptance and signature of the points of the armistice treaty. They never wanted to implement it, they only wanted to buy time and still want to buy time. Hence the fact that the armistice treaty was respected only by the Germans, making it a one-sided treaty, while the French leadership was not concerned with its implementation but with passive resistance to it. Three years on, it is already glaringly obvious that neither the French leadership nor the majority of the French people deserved the generosity of the Germans. Nor did they accept it, they rejected it, in an attitude which will remain a disgrace to their history as long as French events are recorded by chroniclers. That they saw and see the Germans as an enemy is all right; that they fight against them is all right. But that this struggle is fought with the weapons of dishonesty and meanness cannot be excused, not even by the unrelenting hatred of Germany, the patriotism to the point of martyrdom, and the unbridled desire for freedom, so much solemnly proclaimed. No matter how bloody, merciless and ruthless the slaughter, the final battle must always be fought on the field of honour.

There is only one honour for everyone: for man and nation. There is no defence against the laws of honour, for that which is manifested in honour and expressed in action is eternal morality itself. And it cannot be defended against without punishment.

Uninhibited leaders have brought dishonour on the very nation which, as the first and only one in Europe, had as its banner its own honour.

Could it have been foreseen at the time of the armistice that generosity would be wasted on them in vain? The answer must be a resounding yes. The manner in which they have launched the war, the manner in which they have torn and rotted their peoples, who had been previously plunged into war, the manner in which they have conducted their diplomacy and their war without any inhibition, has already manifested a picture of moral, spiritual and material blindness, of lack of character and hatred, which is now utterly incomprehensible to all higher human values and sentiments. But if this is so, how is it possible that the Germans have treated and still treat so generously this all-capable and all-determined enemy, who has never been able to become an adversary to Germany?

There are two explanations:

first: the Germans, by this infinitely great patience and generosity, can prove more clearly than ever that their enemies can only be vile; and thus they have the moral right, before all moral people, to deal with vile with ruthless severity;  
secondly, the strength and self-confidence to know that there is no surprise they cannot overcome in a short time.

The most interesting background to the military part of the armistice is what is missing from it, what is not included in its provisions. And that is the military fate of French North Africa. It is believed that this was also provided for in the part of the armistice treaty dealing with France's colonies. However, these provisions had no practical effect, they remained theoretical and of the same value. Indeed, with the entry of Italy into the war in June 1940, North Africa acquired an important role and weight which could not be ignored from a military point of view. This importance increased even more in June and December 1941, when, with the entry into the war of the Soviet Union on the one hand and Japan and the USA on the other, Germany and Italy's war of self-defence became an unmistakable war of world outlook and world reorganisation. Of secondary importance is whether or not Italy, as the party most seriously affected by this issue, could have fulfilled its military obligations. What remains essential is that military preconditions should have been created on the North African periphery of the Mediterranean which could have at least strongly cushioned the enemy's military surprise. This could only have been achieved if Germany and Italy, either already by virtue of their right under the armistice treaty of June 1940, or at the latest with the entry of Japan into the war at the end of 1941, had, in common agreement, temporarily occupied French Morocco, Algeria, Tunis and Corsica with the help of the emerging French nationalist and socialist popular forces, with the help of the war administration and military forces. It is not at all important that, despite all this the invasion of North Africa by the Anglo-Saxons, because even if it had happened, it would not have happened in the way that it did and has happened since November 1942. There are many who believe that this natural and expected military step was not taken because it was feared that the French navy and air force, despite the armistice treaty, would have behaved in North Africa in a way that would have made it impossible to carry out the said plan and would have tied up so many forces, especially on the German side, whose size would have been out of proportion to the results that could actually be achieved and maintained until the end of the war.

This apparent shortcoming of the armistice treaty can perhaps be explained by the following: the Axis powers could have decided in their military plans to abandon Africa, not to waste unnecessary force on it, and to fight to gain time there until its evacuation had to be carried out under the circumstances. If France able and willing to defend his North African colonial empire, and the Anglo-Saxons do not harm him, this struggle to gain time may be continued until the victorious conclusion of the war; if France is unable or unwilling to do so, and the Anglo-Saxons attack her, France will lose everything, paying for it in the first place, while the attacking Anglo-Saxons will suffer only very heavy material losses and delays in sailing around Africa, the effects of which will inevitably be felt in the course of the war. The evacuation of North Africa by the Axis powers, on the other hand, is only temporary, because the certain victory of the war will also decide the fate of Africa, a fate which will be forged not in Africa but in the east and west of Europe. This could perhaps be one possible and plausible argument to explain the objectionable part of the German-French armistice and its implementation. On this basis, however, we can no longer speak of incompleteness or military superficiality, but only of military foresight.

On 22 June 1941, Britain's war aims and the associated military

Hello. He thought that by the Soviet entry into the war he would kill two birds with one stone, so that the Soviet, incited by world Jewry against Germany, whose victory over Germany was absolutely certain, would crush National Socialism and destroy even its own core, but would itself be destroyed. It was believed, or at least Churchill believed, that these two giants would embrace each other to the death, and then only the coup de grace would be given to both.

From 22 June 1941 to the present day, the whole of England is in a state of suspense. Day after day, they wait for the two giants to collapse. Their wish is only half fulfilled, only one of them is slowly but surely crumbling: the Soviet. To this fall of the Soviet as it returns again and again,

the repeated dirge of the second line of sight is a shrill and earnest, ominous and anguished lament. The Western theatre of war is characterised by the imperative need, and the very few opportunities, to establish a second front from the outbreak of the German-Soviet war to the present day.

The question of the establishment of the second front presents a very interesting picture in its development: as a first stage, it can be noted that Britain could probably offer it to the Soviets, but the Soviets could not really accept it, trusting that they could defeat their enemy alone

defeated, and thus also victorious over Europe, he could carry out the Bolshevization of Europe's living space without any alliance ties, without any obligation of reciprocity, from Gibraltar to Narvik, from Paris to Constantinople and from Casablanca to Aden; he was in this first stage in the summer and autumn of 1941 ;

From the winter of 1941 onwards, the Soviet, realising that its calculations had made an irreparable and irremediable mistake, visited its ally again and declared the rejected offer accepted; but the ally, seeing the Soviet's great defeat, refused to be at its disposal, promising to set up a second front, but without the slightest intention of complying; this was the case in the winter of 1941 and the spring of 1942;

entered its third stage in the summer of 1942, during the German invasion of the Caucasus and Stalingrad, when the Soviets threatened the already allied Anglo-Saxons that if they did not establish the second front within a short time, they would act at their discretion, with serious consequences for the further course of the war; this lasted until the end of 1942; interestingly, it gave birth to Britain's first attempt at Dieppe, and, by exploiting the horror of the Katyn find, Britain acknowledged to the Soviets that it regarded its air raids against Germany as a full-fledged second front;

The fourth stage is characterized by the harsh fact that the Soviets could not regard the British air raids against Germany as a second front, because they brought them no relief, and so demanded, relentlessly and without restraint, direct Anglo-Saxon intervention in the ground fighting; this state of affairs lasted until 10 July 1943, the landing in Sicily; the Anglo-Saxons, with their long-prepared plot in Italy, are seeking to satisfy the Soviets' furious demand for the establishment of a second front; their plan is to break Italy out of the triple power system and thus force Germany to re-enclose much of her southern European defences, which have been torn up by the fall of Italy, with troops from the east, if she does not collapse in the meantime; this stage was reached up to the Tehran Conference;

the complete failure of the Anglo-Saxons in Italy has brought the whole question of the second front to its present sixth stage; the Soviets do not accept the Anglo-Saxon operations in Italy as a second front either, and are thus forced to set up as the Soviets demand; there is a final urgency to relieve the Soviets of the burden, not only of the Germans, which they have probably already missed, but above all of their own inertia and bankruptcy, into which the greatest and most ineffectual offensive in the history of war has plunged them; this sixth stage is what the enemy calls invasion, a flood of impatient

Anglo-American siserehada and retribution in the New World Order. However, in this matter we can also note the serene fact that the second front was set up by the Soviets in favour of the Anglo-Saxons all this time, namely: with its winter offensive of 1942-43, which enabled the Anglo-Saxons to take possession of North Africa, and with its summer offensive of early July 1943, which facilitated the Anglo-Saxon landings in Sicily and then in southern Italy. The total failure of the second front is evident. The reason and explanation: the German command had divided its forces in such a way that the Anglo-Saxon operations could no longer have any influence on the eastern theatre of operations, the forces deployed there and the military plans being implemented. The whole question of the second front is therefore in reality the orange peel on which the entire plutocratic Marxist-Judaic cronyism will slip and snap its neck.

### 3. THE SOUTHERN THEATRE OF OPERATIONS

The most ancient southern theatre of war in Europe, consisting of three regions of varying importance and importance according to the degree of development, let us say cultural circles, and organically interconnected, is the area of Europe south of the Nantes Eyon Alps Sava Alduna line of the military habitat of Europe, and forms the point of contact with the world continent, which, with the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, encloses the Mediterranean Sea, a key area of world transport. Marathon and Salamis, the battlefields of Greco-Europe and Persia-Asia; Cannae and Carthage, the decisive battles of Roman Europe and Semitic-Pun Africa; the Rubicon, which Julius Caesar crossed, throwing the dice, and Pharsala, on whose battlefield Caesar established the system of this region based on the principle of one will, one goal, one leader; Xeres de la Frontera, where Western Gothic Europe loses the battle of the against Semitic-Moorish Africa, and an alien culture exploded into Europe; Poitiers, where Western France defeats Semitic-Moorish Africa and begins to expel the alien influence and spirit of Europe from South-West Europe; Constantinople, where Eastern Christian Europe and Islamic Turanian Asia met and Eastern Christian Europe lost the battle, sealing the moral, spiritual and material life of South-Eastern Europe for centuries; Lepanto, the scene of the destruction of the Mediterranean domination of Islamic Turanian Asia, which had the effect of destroying the The final annexation of the Mediterranean to Europe's sphere of life, and Europe could gain leadership on both shores; Abukir and Trafalgar, where this region regained the weight and importance it had unjustifiably lost for centuries with the discovery of America and the Latin fever of exploration: all were the scenes of bloody clashes of geographic collision, where battles and destinies were decided, the results of which affected all three continents and rippled out as far east as the Indus, south into the Sahara desert and north into the Germanic-Turanian regions of the Rhine Alps Carpathians. The southern theatre of operations consists of three regions:

1 .) The southern periphery of Europe, from a line south of the given line to the Mediterranean Sea, including: southern France, the Iberian peninsula with Spain and Portugal; the Appennine peninsula with Italy; the Balkans with Croatia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Greece and part of Turkey. The interesting feature of this area is that the Iberian, Appennine and Balkan peninsulas are very strongly isolated from the European mainland, the Iberian by the Pyrenees, the Appennine by the Alps, the Balkan by the Danube Sava. This means that they are completely closed and isolated until an invader from the south to the north reaches the northern frontier of this theatre of war. The attacker from south to north is therefore forced to form separate peninsular groups, each of which must be strong enough to fight its decisive battle alone. The northward attacker will also face Europe's strongest natural defensive wall, which is almost impossible to breach.

It has no main supply area because it is backed by the sea and the resource-poor coastline of North Africa, so it has to resupply everything from far away by cumbersome, intermittent transport. In the event of a blowback, disaster could easily ensue due to limited options for retreat. However, the defender has the possibility of beating the three attackers in separate groups, one in the Garonne or Ebro, one in the Po; the third in the Danube. Behind it is a resource-rich region of Europe, with transport facilities such that it can rapidly redeploy its forces from the south of France to the Black Sea as the situation requires. However we look at this area of southern Europe from a military point of view, it is completely useless for the establishment of the second front, which is rightly understood, demanded and actually wanted, and for the successful implementation of the invasion.

2 .) The second area is the Mediterranean Sea, with its archipelago, its whole rump-like world, which both feeds and digests at its exit and entrance through the Gibraltar and Suez estuaries. The Balearic Islands and the Pitiusas, Sardinia, Corsica and Sicily, Malta, Crete and Cyprus: islands and stepping stones between Europe and Africa. This area is narrowed between Sicily and Tunis, which is the most important key military area after Gibraltar and Suez, and which the British are trying to dominate with the island of Malta, the French with Byzantium and the Italians with the Cagliari Pantelleria line of force.

3 .) The North African periphery, the third area of this theatre of operations, extends as far as the rock and sand belt of the Sahara, including French Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli and Egypt. It forms a land bridge between the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans; but the bridge is still very rudimentary, not yet fully constructed, so that the maritime connection between the various parts of the land is still vital. Much more powerful is its sister bridge south of the Sahara, but this will not be discussed because it is not yet part of the European military arena, but of the Anglo-American-French conflict of interests.

The southern theatre of war is one of the key areas of the economic life of the plutocratic-Judaic world system, which also gives it its importance and significance. For this reason, Britain's military centre of gravity, as long as it exists in the present system, must always be sought in the southern theatre of war in Europe. England has always sought to keep the peoples and states of this theatre of war politically, socially and economically dependent on it, whether by fine words or by force. Hence the fact that the British influence in this area of Europe is the most powerful and the most violent. Liberty, autonomy and independence, democracy, parliament and constitution, are only tolerated so long as they are complementary to or serve the purpose of world power in relation to Southern Europe, and are interpreted, lived and practised as it finds good and acceptable.

England has been softening this region of Europe for centuries, and with very good results. Churchill's decision to launch the decisive attack on Germany from southern Europe was the right one, because he really expected the greatest results. He therefore had to make use of the opportunities and capabilities which his predecessors had created and prepared for decisive use over centuries. He therefore dared to claim that he would set up the second front through Italy. Southern Europe really is the soft underbelly of Europe. But only because it is inhabited by soft peoples. And it was only soft. Not any more. Since September 12, 1943, it's had a core of steel. This steel core has stiffened the Spanish and Turkish members of the soft lower body.

The hostilities in this region can be divided into four periods: the first: from June 1940 to December 1941, from the entry of Italy into the war until the entry of Japan; The second: from December 1941 to July 1943, from the entry of Japan into the war until the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Sicily;

the third: from the landings in Sicily to the armistice of Badoglio, from 10 July to 8 September 1943;

the fourth: from 8 September 1943 to the present day, or more precisely, until the beginning of the German retaliation, because from that date onwards, on every theatre of war in our globe, operations will take place with a completely new face, which will introduce, characterise and mark the new era of military history.

We will briefly trace the events of these four periods, and from them, in retrospect, we will formulate and evaluate the military plans implemented by both sides.

All along, the British could only have had the plan to take possession of the whole Mediterranean, because it was obvious that this was the only way to secure the vitally important shipping routes in the Mediterranean and to best and most effectively attack Germany's southern defences.

In the first period, the Axis powers had only one task: to prevent the English from using the Mediterranean without hindrance. This objective of the Axis Powers may seem narrowly defined, because the question arises: why did Italy not rush the British strongholds in the Mediterranean at a single stroke, and thus implement a military plan that would have ensured its absolute domination of the North African coastline from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean as early as 1940 or, at the latest, 1941? It is true that we received the only correct and unambiguous answer to this legitimate question four times in succession, very belatedly, but four times in succession: on 10 July 1943 from Sicily and on 25 July from Rome, then on 8 September from Palermo and on 12 September from Gran Sasso. The British had already tried to drive the Italians out of Tripoli in 1940, and would probably have succeeded if the Germans had not rushed to the aid of Italy. In these battles, the African troops under Rommel's command outdid themselves. Despite their bloody efforts, the British were unable to achieve their objectives, and British shipping in the Mediterranean was completely paralysed. Rommel will deservedly be awarded the badge of honour Africanus by history, for he far surpassed Scipio Africanus, who had gloriously preceded him on the road of the North African armies for more than 2,000 years. Also because of their failure in North Africa, in the autumn and winter of 1940 and in the spring of 1941, the British rebelled against the Axis powers in the Balkans, which were economically and politically dependent on them. After the unsuccessful Italian military initiative in the winter of 1940-41, the Germans, in the space of two weeks in the spring of 1941, broke up this totally senseless and unjustified bloody enterprise, which served only British interests, and, in a display of unparalleled spirit and military prowess, took the British

in front of a gun turret on the island of Crete. Thus, the first British attack on Europe from south-eastern Europe was radically and quickly eliminated by German operations in the Balkans. The outbreak of the German-Soviet war in the meantime brought temporary uneventfulness, and a futile effort on the part of the British in this theatre of war.

Japan's entry into the war in the first third of December 1941, and its astonishing results for the whole world up to May 1942, had a very strong impact on events in the southern theatre of war, however much some may deny it. For the Anglo-Saxons, united for war, had to reckon with Japan being in a position to attack the very basis of the British world empire, the pre-India, and to destroy British world domination by liberating it, at the latest in the summer of 1943. They had therefore to do everything in their power to release as many forces as they could in each theatre of war by the given date, so that they could all be brought to the pre-Indies in time for the decisive battle with Japan.

Therefore, it was obvious that the united Anglo-Saxon military plan from the entry of Japan into the war could only be the rapid and complete conquest of North Africa.



and to tie up Italy and Germany to such an extent that they could not formulate and execute a joint offensive plan of operations with Japan until the conquest of North Africa. The plan was carried out, but not militarily.

and their ability, because they have completely abandoned their service in this respect, but above all because of the diplomatic steps that have been taken to

The result was the moral and spiritual disintegration of the entire Mediterranean basin.

The Axis powers also clearly saw that Japan's entry into the war and its successes, as well as the war in the Far East, which ended in May 1942, had greatly increased the importance of the southern theatre of operations. It was obvious that a military plan could be devised which could crush the British Empire's Mediterranean and Middle Eastern bases in the same way as the Japanese invasion of the Far East had done. A joint operation on this subject between the German, Italian and Japanese armies could not have been ruled out. The periphery of North Africa was thus greatly increased in military-political weight, since the thrust could be most surely led from here to the Suez Canal and then through the Islamic block of the Middle East to the Persian Gulf as the decisive military main line. Such a huge military plan, however, has just such huge prerequisites. The most important of them: the German army must first reach the Volga, so that the Soviets cannot interfere in any way;

France-Morocco must be securely Axis-armed, the Atlantic Wall must therefore be extended to Africa; the Islamic bloc from Agra to Morocco and the Pre-Indies must be placed entirely on the side of the Triple Powers, with the guarantee of their freedom, independence and independence, and of their secure release from British world tyranny; there must be no lack of supply; and finally Turkey, Spain and Portugal must be brought into the great plan.

Both sides saw the point. A huge diplomatic struggle was launched to prepare the ground for a military plan. For the British, the stakes were no less than existence or non-existence. A serious struggle was on the horizon on the main artery of the Anglo-Saxon Empire: from the Azores to the Socotra Islands, from Gibraltar - Malta - Suez - Aden.

If you prune this artery, you will prune the British Empire out of the globe, but also out of world history.

With the notorious lack of inhibition of British diplomacy, he threw away his honour, his prestige, his power, his everything, to save his world empire. He believes that it is only a temporary renunciation anyway; once the mortal danger has passed, he can regain his honour, his prestige and his old power. He throws the whole of Europe to the Soviets, in order to provoke a final stand or an all-out attack on the Germans. To the United States, he throws his world empire to draw it away from the Far East and lure it into the Mediterranean. The Islamic bloc and the pre-Indies will be subjugated. In Spain, Portugal, Italy, south-eastern Europe, Turkey, he bribes, rapes, intrigues and scheming, he sows treason and disloyalty to win cheap victories. In this way he believes he can secure the prerequisites and the foundations which will enable him to eliminate the southern theatre of war, but above all North Africa.

The diplomacy of the Axis powers could not follow the ways and methods of the enemy's diplomacy, but had to follow the path of reasoned persuasion. It was not at all his fault that his great work was in vain in the early days. Eater on, but by no means too late, his methods bore fruit with interest.

The results of the first round of this diplomatic battle, like all diplomatic action, were sudden. In November 1942, the Anglo-Saxons landed

In French Morocco, as well as in several parts of Algeria, they occupy all of French North Africa except Tunis without a sword. The Axis Powers intend to use common sense and reason to engage France in the necessary

as a prerequisite for their grand military plan, could not be implemented at all because of the secessionist Darlan cronyism of the French government and the treasonous, traitorous, and disloyal Darlan. Germany is forced to occupy all of France and temporarily evacuate North Africa. Preemptively relying on the land triangle of Tunisia, Sicily and Sardinia, the Axis powers fight to buy time to build up the Mediterranean's European perimeter for protection, like the Atlantic Wall. The Anglo-Saxon overwhelming force attacking the Axis troops from Egypt and Algeria failed to destroy Rommel's forces, leaving Europe undefeated. The Italian army, with few exceptions, could no longer play a major role in the entire heroic struggle, its disintegration had begun and it could no longer be stopped. The Anglo-Saxons achieved the first objective of their military plan. North Africa was in their hands. The second and more difficult objective of their plan lay ahead: the establishment of a second front in Italy to directly aid the Soviets. Moscow could accept their plan, but with reservations, because its acceptance of this Anglo-Saxon operation as a second front depended on its actual success and effectiveness.

In early 1943, the campaign to break up Italy began. The Italian people were softened up by every means of diplomatic and war violence. In these they were neither picky, nor squeamish, nor sentimental. Much depended on whether the first leap against Europe succeeded or failed. Much was at stake. But at last it was rejected, and all the achievements of twenty years of Italy's beautifully built up country fell in ruin to the bottomless dishonesty of some of its leaders.

On 10 July 1943, the Anglo-Saxons cross from Africa to Sicily. Sicily surrenders. With its immeasurable impact, if the Italian army holds its ground in Sicily, it will defeat an enemy much weaker than itself and throw it back to the coast of Africa. In this connection, one might ask why the Germans did not do everything they could to drive the Anglo-Saxons out of Sicily with the German troops they had brought there. Psychologically, they could have had a huge success. After all, everything depended on the Italian people being able to cope psychologically with what was happening in Sicily, so they would have had to back up their resistance with a huge blow to the Anglo-Saxons while they were still in Sicily. The reasoning is justified. However, it may be assumed, quite rightly, that even if the Italian defence of Sicily had held, that the Italian command, then in dishonourable hands, would have allowed the Anglo-Saxons to land elsewhere. This may explain why the Anglo-Saxons stormed Sicily with a relatively small force and why the main force was not withdrawn until a good week later. They were waiting to see how the ten or so Italian divisions defending Sicily would behave in the face of the six or so Anglo-Saxon divisions that had landed. Only after the Italian forces had surrendered did they land the next block of at least ten divisions, which would surely have landed somewhere in the area of the Italian forces that were surely surrendering in southern Italy, if the Italian troops in Sicily had not happened to surrender. Besides, the German command could already see that the bulk of the Italian army was completely useless, that the people's resistance was completely broken, and that the sympathizers with the enemy were ready to leap to effect the unconditional surrender of Italy.

For the Anglo-Saxons, 8 September 1943 is a day of opportunity fatally missed. It was their last chance to prove to the world that Italy really did belong in the soft underbelly of Europe. It was the day that would have really set the stage for the complete removal of Italy from the Alps. 8 and 9 September 1914 are known in military history as the Miracle of Mamei. On 8 and 9 September 1943, a miracle also took place, but this time in favour of the Germans and Fascist Italy. The Anglo-Saxon military leadership had failed utterly, unable to take advantage of the golden opportunities offered by its diplomacy, but began to re-conquer the

has already laid Italy at its feet. He wanted to take a bigger bite than Salerno, but he realised that he was no longer biting into a soft body, but into a core of steel, created by Mussolini's loyalty and the heroism of the German troops. It was into this bite that all his false teeth were broken.

Two thousand years of historical experience prove that the fate of Italy has always been decided in northern Italy and never in southern Italy. That is why we must take it for granted that those who invaded Italy from the south were also trapped in the south, while those who came from the north poured down to its southernmost corner and even spilled over through Sicily to the coast of Africa. That is why Hannibal, Caesar, Narcissus, the House of Savoy, which, however, forgot the historic iron law of Italy in its last representative, and Mussolini, succeeded, and why the Belizeans were crowned with only temporary partial success;

the Vandals, the Normans, the Popes, and the initiatives of the dual Sardinian kingdom of southern Italy from the south. The Anglo-Saxons were to have made a decisive landing at Genoa on 8 and 9 September, breaking through the relatively low and narrow Appennines into the Po plain, with every opportunity to do so, for a miracle was waiting for them there, while at Salerno they were alone and only for the Germans, who immediately took the soldier's luck by the scruff of the neck and did not let go. This miracle represents the destiny, the future, the vocation, the vocation of Fascist Italy in a region and history of the Mediterranean that has seen so many miracles.

The Anglo-Saxons failed to achieve the great goal of establishing a second front in Italy. They were forced to admit their failure to the angry outcry of the Soviets. Churchill, in his obsession, called it the third front and added that the second would definitely come, but that many questions, especially those concerning the post-war period, had to be cleared up first. The Soviets cared little about these diversion operations.

Required. Ruthlessly, without sentimentality and without inhibition, just as the Anglo-Saxons had done with Italy before the 25th of Savoy. In their great distress, they helped the problem for the time being by electing the Soviets to the Mediterranean Commission in Algiers and the Europe Commission in London, and by granting them preferential treatment in Iran which made their access to the Persian Gulf dependent on their convenience. Meanwhile, more than half a year has passed and the Anglo-Saxon troops are still in southern Italy, while the chroniclers of military history are debating what to call this military oddity of military history: a snail offensive or millimetre offensive.

By 1944, the plutocratic Marxist-Judaic World Alliance had probably already laid down its decisive diplomatic and military military plan, and is today trying to secure the preconditions for its implementation. If this plan fails or is not carried out this year, it will no longer have the opportunity or the means for armed rebellion against Europe. During 1943 Germany fought exclusively defensive warfare in the southern theatre of operations. Until 25 July, the joint plan of Hitler and Mussolini was to withdraw the remaining usable force of the Italian army step by step to northern Italy, where it would continue its decisive defence until it could begin, in agreement with the German command, to liberate Italy and reconquer the territories of the Reich which it had temporarily abandoned. In July

The events in Italy on the 25th and culminating on the 8th of September have for the time being removed from this plan the basic conditions and thus the possibility of a decisive use of the Italian army. The serious Italian martyrdom was radically and rapidly resolved by the German command: it took over the gap of more than 3,000 km from Marseilles to Rhodes, resulting from the loss of nearly 200 Italian operational units, and in it rebuilt the defences of southern Europe, which had completely collapsed; eliminated the total moral, spiritual and material confusion of the collapse of Italy over an area of some 500,000 square kilometres; disarmed the dismantled Italian army, large parts of which had joined the partisans; prevented Italy from

and the invasion of the Balkans by the Anglo-Saxons; countered the effect of the events on the neutrals in southern Europe and, in addition, conducted war-deciding defensive battles against the Soviets. And it did all this. It did it on its own, without any help from anyone else, and with the indifference, incomprehension, gloating, derision and insolence of certain European circles. From 25 July to 13 September 1943, Germany gave a testimony of moral, intellectual and material strength, ability, knowledge, talent, responsibility, qualitative and quantitative value and power which its enemies and their malignants had never been able to do in their entire history. Or, at least, they have been very secretive about their abilities until now. It is by no means an exaggeration to say that Germany won the war in this great storm of labour, but also the unique right to lead the European Community. And we must also state that, despite all this, the Germans still managed to blow up the English tire that had been strangling them for centuries, southern European arc, and by their behaviour and achievements they were able to make the hitherto non-European peoples of southern Europe European-conscious.

The question may arise whether the possible invasion of the Iberian, Appennine and Balkan peninsulas by the Anglo-Saxons would not put Germany in a serious situation. Not militarily at all. The explanation is that these peninsulas, together with all the states on them, have always been politically and economically dependent on the British Empire. The present war has severed all these centuries-old artificial links, so that these states are suddenly dependent on Europe alone, especially economically. However, Europe, which is united in the national socialist order, has not yet been able, because of the great travails, to adjust its economy to meet the needs of all states and peoples. Hence the fact that During the war, the peoples of southern Europe found themselves in a very serious and difficult situation, which Germany tried to help as much as she could. Germany therefore gave, and always gave, but received very little from them. If it gave up these territories, it would certainly be relieved of a great burden, and the care of them would be transferred to the Anglo-Saxons. There would, of course, be limits to this diplomatic and military surrender. While, in our opinion, in the south-west he might as well give up the whole Iberian peninsula and southern France, he

In Central and Southern Europe, it could only withdraw its forces as far as the Po, but in the Balkans, if not the whole Balkans, it would need at least somewhere along the Bulgarian-Turkish border between Scutari and Salonika, to find a northern strip of temporary military defence.

From a military point of view, all this can be done. The only question is what psychological impact such a German decision would have. We can say with a clear conscience that the German people are such an example of moral and spiritual strength that we need not fear that they would be broken spiritually by such a military situation. And in the other nations of Europe there are nationalist and socialist popular forces which, by their enlightening work and by their conduct and example, can set a definite course and a firm course for all events in the life of their people. We are convinced that such a huge and radical surrender of territory will not take place, because events, at least for the time being, are developing in a completely different direction.

#### 4. THE INVASION OF RETALIATION

We say from the outset: there will be an invasion, but we doubt its seriousness and its success, and rightly so. But we are also saying from the outset: there will be retaliation, but we are all the more justified in believing in its seriousness and success.

By invasion, we mean the operation which the Anglo-Saxons promised the Soviet Union to carry out and which the Judaic World Alliance forces

wants to defeat the German army in open battle in order to end the war on the European theatre of operations. It is also known as the landing or second front, or the flood. Whatever it is called. The point is that it is intended as a decisive military move by the enemy. And it can only be considered a decisive move if all the weapons of moral, mental, material and physical violence are brought to bear, if the decisive factors of force are quantitatively and qualitatively magnified to the utmost, and if all their forces are thrown into the decisive battle at the right time, in the direction that really decides the war, in their entirety, in a planned and purposeful manner, simultaneously and by surprise. We have to assume that the enemy's general staff is as aware of this basic military law as we are and is not prepared to do anything foolish for our sake. Assuming and knowing all this, the basic plan of invasion that would best meet the requirements discussed above might be as follows:

Germany must be attacked from all sides at once, as is the old English custom. The main attack from the west would be led by the united Anglo-Saxons with the aim of After the invasion of Western Europe, they want to fight the decisive battle under any circumstances, and in the Rhine-Main-Saale-Elbe river quadrangle. At the same time, the Soviet main offensive from the east, after reaching the Alduna-Carpathian-Vistula line, will force the opposing German armies to fight a decisive battle in the great Vistula gorge, which flows eastwards.

This decisive attack from two main directions must be accompanied by complementary operations. The most important of these are:

the operation in the north to destroy the Scandinavian bastion, which the Anglo-Saxons must carry out from the area of Trondheim and Narvik in Beigen, with the inclusion of Sweden, while in the east the Soviets must carry out parallel operations to completely overrun Finland in the directions of Helsinki, Tomea, Petsamo, Kirkenes, in order to unite with the Anglo-Saxon troops from the west;

operations to the south of the main attack, generally from French territory to Switzerland and the Upper Danube region, to help open the passages of the Alps to the north for the Anglo-Saxon forces advancing from Italy, and, after their unification, to form the southern flank of the great catastrophe battle against Germany;

operations against south-eastern Europe to break off the German resistance system in the Balkans and the Danube basin, vital areas for crude oil and bauxite, carried out by the Soviets, the Anglo-Saxons and the Turks.

In addition to this, the revolt of all the peoples of Europe against Germany by all means and weapons of anarchy, destruction and sabotage.

We must take it for granted that they have all the means, especially in shipping space, to carry out a plan that will decide the war. Operations must be conducted and conducted at the overwhelming speed of aircraft and airborne troops.

Of course, we must also assume that the parties have determined by full diplomatic agreement, in particular, the line of demarcation on which their victorious armies will halt as they pour from west to east and east to west, lest they should, out of misunderstanding or indulgence, pour into each other, or, God forbid, against each other, for disaster would result and only some useless third party would take pleasure in it. To help them in this, we also give them this frontier line, of course with Benes's consent, on the line Trondheim - Stockholm - Oder - Western Carpathians - Bratislava - Rijeka - Ruschuk - Varna.

But this overarching plan has many preconditions. These, however, are either not yet or can no longer be fulfilled by either the Anglo-Saxons or the Soviets. The Anglo-Saxon satanic warfare and the Soviet butchery cannot undertake such a task, because they lack the moral, intellectual and material preparation and ability to do so. For it is no less than the fact that they should

to take possession of the Frisian islands in their main area of attack and, at the same time and in parallel, the coastal strip between the Scheldt and Elbe, at least twenty kilometres deep, in order to establish their decisive operations in the heartland of Germany, surrounded by the rivers Rhine, Meuse, Saale and Elbe. This main offensive should be carried out with at least 150,000 divisions. Europe would need a total of at least 250,000 Anglo-Saxon divisions, while the Soviets would need at least the same number of unconquered operational units. Even with the greatest effort, they can no longer put these most necessary forces into combat, because they simply do not exist and will only be available after ten years at the most. By then, Roosevelt may not even be elected for a fourth term.

If the main attack were to be launched from the west coast of France, from the Scheldt-Saône shore line, they would immediately after a successful landing be faced with a massive series of landings before they could develop into a decisive battle. France's geographic position makes it an excellent defence against an attack from the west. The most important parts of this series of interlocks are as follows:

the Scheldt - Somme arc;

the Meuse - Sambre - Oise - Seine

arc; the Meuse - Eangres - Loire

arc;

the Rhine - Moselle - Saone - Auvergne -

Dordogne arc; the Rhine - Rhone arc.

If the decisive offensive were launched from the Mediterranean through France, the situation would not change, because a series of latches would also make it impossible to build up to a decisive battle. Such interlocking positions include:

the Garonne - Cevennes - Southern Alps arc;

the Dordogne - Auvergne - Swiss border arc;

the Loire arc and so on up again to the Rhine.

The prerequisite for the main offensive from the Balkans is the seizure of the Aegean islands, followed by an offensive on the Danube line together with Turkey, and the Soviet to the Danube basin. The defence against this attack is no doubt most recently in the Carpathians and the Rliodope Mountains.

The same would be the case with a major attack from Italy or the Iberian peninsula, the former collapsing at the southern foot of the Alps, the latter at the southern or northern foot of the Pyrenees.

The question arises: did the Anglo-Saxons already have the opportunity to land and force the Germans into a decisive battle? They did. The possibility of invasion existed for the British:

September 1939, during the Polish campaign; spring

1940, during the Norwegian campaign;

In the summer and autumn of 1941, during the first German onslaught against the Soviets, it was closed until December;

by the Anglo-Americans: from April 1942 to March 1943, during the great summer offensive of the German armies, the events in Stalingrad and the greatest period of depression in Germany, which was preparing for total war.

All these opportunities were missed by the Anglo-Saxon leaders. And now, just when Germany is fully prepared for invasion, do they think they can force Germany and defeat her? It is a frivolous thing. So the invasion is also expected to be frivolous. It is therefore perhaps most obvious that they will continue to flirt with their favourite idea: to create a military situation in which the German and Soviet armies would beat each other to death, while all they would be left with is a triumphant invasion of a doomed but judaically jubilant Central and Eastern Europe. If, however, the invasion is carried out in a frivolous manner, i.e. with no decisive aim, the Soviet final march will be

may be prolonged, but he cannot avoid his death, which will be the more terrible the longer his death lasts.

We have no intention whatsoever of belittling the enemy's plan to invade Europe in 1944, which was imposed on him by force. Very serious battles, fought with great bitterness and ruthlessness, are likely to take place. But we cannot imagine that they will have the success that the world Jewish alliance expects of him and for which he prepares his readership and his audience with great enthusiasm, but also with harshness, probably in order to avoid the sudden great joy of a disaster.

We must assume that the enemy is aware of the fate that awaits him if his attack fails, but also that the German army will not remain idle after their attack has been repulsed, or even below it, but will take a very unpleasant initiative. It is possible, though highly doubtful and risky, that in 1944 the enemy will only want to carry out the first part of the invasion: the approach to the walls of Fortress Europe, the clearing of its apron, and will only make the decisive assault in 1945. Everything can be assumed. The German army and its command are, of course, prepared for everything, but in no case will they play the role that the Judaist wish and desire has assigned to them. It seems to be waiting with a fearful silence to take on once and for all the enemy which it has never been able to defeat on the open battlefield and whose decisive defeat is the only guarantee that it will be able to leave behind the legacy of the many hundreds of thousands of German heroes who died in the 1914-18 world war:

"God punish England!" "God punish England!" for the well-being and security of Germany, but also for the well-being and security of all Europe and our globe.

The punishment and punishment of England is retribution. But also, through it, the punishment and punishment of the whole plutocratic Marxist-Judaic old world. If it fails to do so, National Socialism would lose its moral right to be the basis of the New World Order. Such shocking crimes of bestiality, inhumanity, and meanness, such unprecedented, uninhibited and unqualified excesses, must be punished in an exemplary manner, so that they will be and remain a deterrent for all time, and their memory will never fade.

Retaliation is that part of the military plan for the destruction of the Judaic world alliance which the German leaders have made a binding promise to their people and to the cultural superiority of our globe, and which will break the resistance of the Judaic world alliance forces and bring the war to a victorious conclusion on the European theatre of war.

The retaliation will be carried out by the surprise deployment of warlike devices of hitherto unknown design and effect, which are likely to paralyse suddenly and completely the enemy's will to war and his ability to resist. We can assume that there will be a causal link between invasion and retaliation. The invasion will probably trigger the retaliation.

But we do not believe that an invasion could take place if retaliation happened to precede it. The retaliation may not even be against the invading armies, but against the civilian population. It will retaliate with the Judaic moral law: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. A war of nerves strikes back at its initiator with the knowledge of the inevitability of retaliation. I wonder what those who have hitherto watched with sneering incredulity from what they thought to be a safe haven of inviolability and invulnerability this impending, blood-storming calming of the ideological war would say if the war of nerves were to culminate in the Far West's metropolises: the Jewish empire of the globe: New York, the centre of its intellectual leadership: Washington and the bottom metropolis of its materialistic life: Chicago, were to fall into ruins on a day of world historical upheaval and then call on the British, who live only a few kilometres away, to throw off their plutocratic Marxist-Judaic system within a short time, or would they meet a similar fate?!

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The surprise and impact of the retaliation will more than likely be exploited by the German command. Thus, there is also the possibility that, in connection with the retaliation, Germany would now carry out an invasion against England, the ultimate aim of which could be to reconnect the British island nation from its long centuries of isolation in Europe back to its natural habitat: the Germanic community of life, companionship and destiny based on European solidarity. Even the German military leadership's military plan against the invasion will be, how retaliation will be integrated into it: let us leave it to the German military leadership. Even without our explanations, it knows very well what kind of interplay of forces, united in time and space, it must plan and execute in order to make the initiative of the world satan and the world character planned for 1944 impossible and to prevent them from having any further opportunity to sell off and sell off the world's wealth of goods and to murder the world's culture.

And the enemy's plan to revolt the peoples of Europe against Germany will break to pieces the steel wall which the nationalist and socialist movements of the peoples of Europe have built out of their faith, loyalty and determination. And the rebellion of the Judaic hirelings would be answered by the liberation struggle of their nation.

### 5. THE JOINT COOPERATION BETWEEN THE GERMAN AND JAPANESE MILITARY LEADERSHIPS

A common war aim is a prerequisite for the joint cooperation of the Allied command. A prerequisite for the realisation of the common war aim is the coordination of political, economic and social forces in the practical life of the Allies. The prerequisite for this coordination is the separation of moral, intellectual and material interests, and once separated, their unification in order to achieve the war aim.

Only those with a common purpose in life to be achieved can be considered allies. If there is no common purpose in life: there is no alliance, but only a friendship of interests, the value of which is exactly equal to the pure intention with which it is concluded as an alliance.

Allies always win or lose wars together, building together the cause for which they sacrificed their blood. But any buddy can jump out of the alliance of convenience at any time and sacrifice his buddy to save his own skin. The German-Japanese-Italian trinity is an alliance, the Anglo-American-Soviet trinity is a cronyism.

The life purpose of the German-Japanese-Italian alliance is: to develop and build a nationalist and socialist world order which will enable the equitable distribution and enjoyment of the moral, spiritual and material wealth of our globe and thereby ensure the well-being and security of life of the peoples of our globe. For its realization, the following practical foundations are intended to be or have been put in process of being organized:

all peoples share in the wealth of our globe according to their vital needs; peoples derive their prosperity and security of life from their natural communities of life, companionship and destiny;

equitable distribution and effective sharing, the well-being and common security of peoples are the factors that will determine the freedom, independence and sovereignty of peoples in the new world order;

the task can only be solved by organic globe management, which is binding and must always serve the welfare and security of peoples;

the responsible vocation and duty of globe leadership; its duty and its authority, accepted by the peoples, must be assumed by the German and Japanese leaderships out of natural and imperative necessity.

This great human purpose in life is the basis of every plan of the German Japanese Italian war leadership to be implemented. And the implementation of these plans can only be achieved with the strictest and closest cooperation of the German Japanese military leadership. The question



is this: whether the responsible leaders of the German and Japanese people are aware,

1.) that they must create the new world order out of imperative necessity;  
2 .) that they must destroy the old world order within a 40 000 km radius, because only on a completely new basis can the new world order be built;

and

3 .) that the enemy clearly sees and knows what is at stake, and will therefore do everything in his power to make the establishment of a new world order impossible.

If this is clear to them, they must involve all those who share their views in the creation of a new world order within their borders, outside their borders and in the territory of their enemies. If, on the contrary, they do not see their historic vocation in this way, they should reconsider their objectives and the means to achieve them. We can be reassured that the leaders of the two peoples have also adjusted their military leadership to the development and purpose of the new world order.

However, we must examine whether the German and Japanese people have the necessary means to achieve the goal of life and whether the ends and means are commensurate. The means consist of moral, spiritual and material forces. We begin with the material and end with the most important, the moral.

The point in examining the material means is to see whether the stock of raw materials immediately at their disposal is sufficient to meet the full needs and requirements of war and warfare. In the great material battle of war, the needs of the entire armed nation for shelter, food, clothing, means of production and the weapons of warfare must be provided in quantity and quality, regardless of the enemy's incursion. What is important in this matter, therefore, is not what percentage of the world's raw material resources are in German Japanese hands, but only whether what is available can be adjusted and is sufficient to conduct the war smoothly on the material plane. It can be seen from the available statistics, which were compiled at the time in accordance with plutocratic Marxist-Judaic interests, that both Germany and Japan are materially equipped and can meet the requirements of the war. On the working front of the internal theatre of war, the sensitively interlocking course and timing of the use of raw material resources, available manpower and war production possibilities were organised and coordinated in accordance with the manifold material requirements of the war. In this, the exemplary interlocking of the working people, who provided the means of war, and the military leadership played a very important role. This was particularly evident in 1943, when the temporary shortage of material to meet the material surplus requirements of preparing for all-out war and the necessary adjustments was bridged in each theatre of war by the setting up and implementation of decisive military defences. Many millions of tons of material, and even millions of ton-kilometres and the material needed for these, could thus be put to better use, while at the same time a military situation was created which would enable the German Japanese command to re-launch its decisive military offensive of its own accord, independently of the enemy's will, in the knowledge of its greatest success.

From these principles we can conclude that, on the material plane, ends and means are proportional.

The political pact of September 1940 and the economic pact of January 1943 of the three powers of one goal and one will formed the intellectual basis of the overall cooperation of the German-Japanese military leadership. The world-historical step initiated by the German-Japanese leadership could and can be joined by all peoples who see in it the next imperative stage and the practical goal to be achieved in the natural development of mankind. The task of diplomacy is to create the intellectual prerequisites and basis; but to make them conscious is the responsible

is part of the job.

For more than two years, from the publication of the political treaty of the Tripartite Pact of September 1940 until the signing of the economic treaty in January 1943, the treaties were accompanied by different explanations and clarifications from friend and foe. In particular, the objectives that could be inferred from them, or rather, explained into them, were discussed with great vigour. However, only the positions of the three contracting parties can be authoritative, and that is why we will deal only with them.

On the German side, it was stressed that the aim of the war was the final elimination and abolition of the plutocratic Judaic, and later Marxist, system on our globe, while the Japanese leaders stressed that the aim of the war was the destruction of the Anglo-Saxon world power and the construction of a welfare space for Greater East Asia. The leaders of Italy, on the other hand, remained silent, not explaining the spirit of the tripartite political treaty. This might have led good friend and foe alike to conclude that there were differences of opinion as to the objectives. This was emphasised very strongly on the enemy side, especially from the summer of 1942 onwards, when the German armies reached the Caucasus and the Volga at Stalingrad, but the Japanese army nevertheless did not move against the Soviets. In the winter of 1942-43, until about the end of February, the Japanese army's inaction on the pre-India was also attributed to these alleged disagreements.

The following line of reasoning was used to explain and support all this: the German leadership declared that it only wanted to destroy the plutocratic Marxist-Judaic system. It was inferred from this that it actually wanted to preserve the present territorial and power endowments of our globe, that is, it did not want to abolish and abolish the Anglo-Saxon world empire, but on the contrary, it wanted to retain its territorial possessions in their full unimpaired state, and merely to eliminate the wants to destroy the ruling system and replace it with a national socialist system. The Japanese, on the other hand, claimed that their aim was the destruction of the Anglo-Saxon world empire, and so they were in sharp contrast to the German conception. But they could not set any other war aims, because they could only build a Greater East Asia by the de facto and de jure destruction of the Anglo-Saxon world empire on the site of its cleared ruins. It could therefore be inferred from all this that the Germans' aim in planning the construction of Greater East Asia must have been to divert the Japanese in their territorial claims to the north-west, towards the Soviet territories of Lake Baikal, in order to divert them from their chosen direction of development, towards the south and south-west, that is, from their desire to conquer the territories of the Anglo-Saxon powers in the Far East. Italy was silent on this point. Its silence, however, could be explained by the fact that it could not speak because, if it had to take a stand, it would necessarily have to side with the Japanese view, because the realisation and satisfaction of its vital needs was as much at the crossroads of the Anglo-Saxon world empire as it was of the Japanese.

All these explanations, speculations, worries and misinformation were put to rest by the German-Japanese diplomatic reciprocal moves in 1943. This threefold, integrally linked action removed all doubts and clarified unequivocally the supposed outstanding issues. These diplomatic steps can be summarised as follows:

On January 20, 1943, the economic treaty of the Tripartite Pact is concluded, the most interesting fact of which is that, to the best of our knowledge, no economic expert was involved in its conclusion and signature, and that it was concluded for the same duration as its political counterpart; it may be assumed, therefore, that its economic aspect contains a primarily political core; the political

but the core of the issue could be the welfare of the European Great Plains and Greater East Asia; at the end of January 1943, it is officially announced on the German side that all

a prerequisite for waging total war and achieving total victory.

on the enemy;

also at the end of January, Hitler's address to the German people is read, in which he announces and sets out the goal of the German people: the realisation of a Germanic state for the German nation;

In late February 1943, Mussolini and Ribbentrop meet in Italy;

formally establish that the European metropolitan area will be organised under the leadership of Berlin and Rome, for the welfare and security of all the people living in this metropolitan area;

In March 1943, Hitler and Mussolini meet in Germany and formally confirm what they had declared in February, but add that the European great space includes Europe and Africa, that their armies will fight together and equally in Europe and Africa, and that they will not lay down their arms until the armies and mercenaries of the Anglo-Saxons are destroyed;

In the summer of 1943, following the inhuman terrorist attacks of the Anglo-Saxons, the Germans declare that the Anglo-Saxon Empire must be destroyed, because its existence is a permanent threat to the peace and culture of mankind;

In the autumn of 1943, the Japanese, then the German leadership, recognise Chandra Bose's formation of a government and his initiative to liberate pre-India; Japan offers Chandra Bose its help in liberating pre-India, which Bose accepts.

With these great and unique diplomatic steps, the rumours of conflicting German and Japanese objectives were simultaneously silenced. Everyone was clear about what was at stake and what the goal was. This clarity was not dampened by the 25th Savoy in Italy in 1943, when Germany, Italy and Japan declared that events in Italy had not changed their objectives, nor by the statement by Japanese diplomats in Turkey in early 1944 that the course of the war in Europe would not affect the

war in the Far East, and Japan would continue the war even if it happened to be left alone, because this statement has only theoretical significance. Germany and Japan see things perfectly clearly, judge correctly and act quickly, which is why they do not fight separately, but always in unity of purpose and will.

The German actions in Italy in 1943 proved crystal clear that the German leadership could not have had the intention and purpose of building a world empire by its globe-trotting Germanic ruler, with the German people as the sole beneficiaries. However, it is also unmistakable that the prosperity of the Greater East Asia under the Japanese regime will include the Indian subcontinent and Australia, and that the nationalist and socialist European order will be based in Europe and Africa and the neighbouring Asian regions. The division of our globe into large areas has therefore been carried out on the basis of the imperative necessity of life and not on the principle of imperialist usurpation.

The differences of opinion that have emerged in relation to these apparent contradictions have been the subject of very frequent discussions. Their purpose was unmistakable:

either to destruct or as a balloon test to reach a firm official position on sensitive issues.

There has been talk of special German-Soviet peace talks at the initiative of Japan. There was talk of German-British special peace talks. There was talk of a Japanese-Soviet alliance treaty in the event of a settlement between Germany and the Anglo-Saxons. They talked about the fact that there would be no invasion, which we believe, but there would be no retaliation, which we do not believe, and that on the basis of the principle of mutual non-intervention, the Germans and the Anglo-Saxons would agree to keep Japan out of the war, deserved and necessary for its survival, the Germans will get the Japanese to give up the Pre-Indies, Australia and Oceania, and the Germans will have a free hand against the Soviets to finish them off once and for all. And much more was and still is said.

Statements by the Germans, Italians and Japanese all blow these rumours away like fluff and

they have retained what was and remains their essence: the fear and consciousness of losing the war in the enemy camp.

The moral basis and factor of the German-Japanese cooperation is their world view, their example and conduct based on a heroic outlook on life, and the fact that they want to build the globe on a moral basis in which freedom, independence and self-reliance will be given their true, pure, noble meaning and reality. This is assured by the holy blood sacrifice of the two leading peoples and by their wisdom in seeing that the rebellion and struggle for freedom of the peoples of our globe will not cease until they have obtained the freedom, independence and self-reliance on which they can build their moral, spiritual and material well-being and security of life.

It is this elevation of their moral outlook and practice that makes the Germans and the Japanese invincible. Morality always decides and has the last word and the right to live. It strengthens you if you go with it, but protests and fails if you raise arms against it. The Volkische Bewegung, Fascism and Turanism; faith, loyalty and wisdom; the intertwining of family, factory and plant in sacrifice, self-sacrifice, perseverance, untiring national service; the heroic lives and example of the warriors; the consciousness of the possession of unconditional and irrefutable truth, the world-historical service of its commands and demands with a pure vitality; the naturalness of sacrifice and the fearlessness of death; the unconditional faith in and adherence to the absolute Person, the only revealer and affirmer of all that is Beautiful, True and Good: forces whose simple touch will shatter the prison walls of folly, meanness and ignorance which have been erected for centuries against the beautiful, just and good life of the peoples.

If in the examination of the material and intellectual means we have already established the fact that they are in harmony and in balance with the end set by the Germans and the Japanese, we must, in the final consideration of the moral forces, establish that they are not only in balance, but that they are one with the end itself. And if the end and its most important factor can be so intrinsically intertwined, the end is assured. This was and remains the greatest and first practical law of life.

In the end, and in conclusion, it is fair to say that the German and Japanese leaderships have the fullest moral, intellectual and material means at their disposal. With their help and their willingness to fight, the goal of life will be achieved. Enemy propaganda is doing its utmost to portray the German and Japanese objectives, efforts and forces as inadequate. If it cannot do otherwise, it steals their objectives, writes them on its own pirate banner and presents them as its own to the people, who are not at all willing to be amazed, and who already know very well which way the true wind blows and which way the false wind blows. He is particularly fond of creating the impression that Germany is completely alone, because Japan is so far away that it can be regarded as practically non-existent from Germany's point of view. He is probably playing the same game in his Far Eastern propaganda, only in reverse, and is cracking the death knell of aloneness over Japan. His efforts have been fruitless and futile, causing confusion only among those who forget that physical contact itself is not necessary for all cooperation, but that the amazing technical achievements of the link and, not least, the clarity of purpose and the path to it, which the enemy lacks completely, are sufficient.

It is our conclusion, but it is also our conviction and our consciousness that the foundations and preconditions for joint cooperation between the German and Japanese military leaderships are in place, and that joint cooperation is indeed and really taking place.

Retaliation will, in our view, be a huge military surprise. In this organic context, both the German and the Japanese military leaderships have already worked out the joint military plan which they intend to implement and will implement in the event of retaliation.

We find it inconceivable that two of the finest military leaders in our hemisphere should leave unused the kind of military surprise that retaliation will and can provide. What these plans will be, we cannot know, but we can be sure that their direction and impact will be decisive. Such decisive directions may be in Japan's contemplation in the Far East, among others: Pre-India, Persian Gulf, Strait of Aden, complete severance or deadly paralysis of the connection between the Anglo-Saxon mainland and their overseas possessions in Africa, Australia and Oceania, which can be achieved by the direct or indirect seizure of Madagascar on the one hand; and the Solomon Islands, New Hebrides, New Caledonia and the island arch of New Zealand, which surround Australia from the east, on the other. German considerations may include the following decisive directions.

The possibility of decisive action in the given directions is determined by the size and value of the quantitative and qualitative factors.

The German Japanese Life Federation selects its fighters from a mass of some 600 million people, some 1300 million of whom have a direct interest in the outcome of its struggle.

To say that they have a thousand or so operational units at their disposal is an underestimate. On the part of the enemy, we can assume perhaps as many. The enemy can outnumber the Germans or the Japanese in globe terms. The USA England Germany Soviet England Asian and Australian empires of China and Australia Chungking China Japan USA globe positioning allows the enemy to concentrate forces against Germany and Japan separately. They are currently doing so against Germany, culminating in the invasion. After the defeat of Germany, they would of course intend to carry out the same plan against Japan, in which the Soviets will most certainly take a role against Japan, because for them the complete defeat of Japan can only mean their entry into the Pacific. It is already stated that the quantity and quality of the manpower will enable Germany and Japan to make this proposed power play of the enemy impossible and impracticable.

Modern army organization must be able to organize on the basis of quantity and quality if it is to meet and satisfy the requirements of total war. So we cannot do only quantitative organisation, still less only qualitative, but we must combine the two. The art of modern military organisation lies in its ability to ensure that, in its training objective, there is no unbridgeable or unbridgeable gap between quality and quantity, but that the value of quantity is as close as possible to that of quality. Both the German and the Japanese armies have achieved this: the values of quality and quantity are very closely and organically linked. In the Anglo-Saxon and Soviet armies, on the other hand, it is undeniable that there is a huge gap between quality and quantity which makes it impossible for both the war and the military leadership to formulate and implement plans which are in accordance with the laws, requirements and conduct of war, and for quantity to be able to set and exploit the decisive situation created by quality as a decision. This explains the inhuman losses of the Soviets, the over-consideration of the Anglo-Saxons, and the inability of both to fight, which is reflected in their failure so far either to win battles or to win decisive battles. It is therefore true to say that the German and Japanese leaderships have organised and trained in their nations a morally, spiritually and materially irreproachable fighter, while the enemy is still only holding on to the soldier whom liberalism and Marxism, by their very constitution, have created and tolerated. The military cooperation between Germany and Japan is obvious, imperative, cannot be ignored, and is there. The two premier military powers of our globe therefore have joint plans for a decisive strike, and their implementation depends on their free will.

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and no longer obstructing you.

And somewhere in the world continent of Europe, Asia, Africa, the armed German, the armed Italian and the armed Japanese will join hands to build a new world order born in blood and iron, in faith, loyalty, wisdom and comradeship, to the glory, greatness and happiness of all the good-willed peoples of our globe.

### AUTHENTIC STENOGRAPHER'S REPORT

THE PEOPLE'S COURT IN THE CASE OF FERENC SZÁEAS1 AND OTHERS

Filed February 25, 1946, at 9:20 a.m. "I HAVE ALWAYS SERVED THE TRUTH"

Szalasi: Dear People's Court. I will present the dry facts quite coldly. I would ask the gentlemen of the People's Court to give me the same opportunities that the gentlemen of the prosecution have been given. I would like to emphasise that I cannot be influenced by like or dislike, I have always been influenced by one thing in my life, and that is the truth.) I have always served the truth, I have always sought to place that truth at the service of my dearly beloved nation, and I have always been convinced that it is through the realization of that truth that I can best, most beautifully, most truly serve the glory, greatness and happiness of my nation.

Before going into the most intimate motives that have led me in my life so far and that have led me to this day, I would like to make a few brief general remarks without any implication, just to record the impressions I have received. If these impressions are wrong, I have received them for reasons beyond my control; if they are right, I shall have the means and the opportunity of being treated in accordance with the truth, as I may in good conscience ask and demand.

One of the gentlemen of the prosecution explained that I had been given every opportunity to defend myself. There is a mistake. I did, but not all the opportunities, and throughout the trial I felt and had the impression that I had not been given the opportunities to really explain in a clear conscience all the details of the events that had transpired.

Moreover, one of the representatives of the prosecution also said that he was speaking to me in the voice of the Hungarian people, the Hungarian nation, and that he was making the accusation. In this connection, I would just like to say that I have been travelling around the country for many years, I have led and conducted tours for almost a decade, and I have got to know the people of the country, I have got to know them in every aspect, in every manifestation of life. I have slept in a peasant's hut, I have slept in a palace, I have got to know the whole country, from Sfântu Gheorghe to Sombathely, from Kôrôsmezô to Csaktornya, from Kassa to Novi Sad, every kind of good and bad. I do not think there is another person in this country who has known his nation so well in his daily life. But for this very reason I dare say that in the most serious accusation no member of my Hungarian nation and people has ever used such a tone as was used and applied against me.

President: Silence!

Szalasi: I have the feeling that the voice that was raised about me and my person was not the voice of my Hungarian people and my nation. In this connection, I would just like to say that the accusation is not so much unproven as it is a denigration of my person. This makes my task easier, because I am not concerned with my own person. The great destiny of our nation is at stake here, and from this point of view it is absolutely

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I am insensitive to what they vomit, what they throw at me.

As I have said, I have always stood firmly and firmly in the service of justice, and I have viewed all events through that lens, even when my person was most severely portrayed before my nation. I must also state that most people look at the events of two years ago through the eyes of today. It is, of course, very difficult to get an objective picture of things in this way, because a series of events that took place two years ago would actually have to be presented and examined from the perspective of two years ago. I am unable to look at things through the glasses of today. I will present strictly and quite objectively the events of two years ago, regardless of the conclusions that today allows us to draw. Nor do I wish to put events in a conditional mode. I do not want to examine what would have happened if this or that had happened. I will strictly and firmly base myself on the facts of the time, and I will base all the decisions and choices I had to make on the basis of the facts of the time.

The prosecution and the defence have raised some very valuable ideas when considering whether someone can be held liable if that particular law was not in force when the act was committed. My understanding of this issue is perhaps that there are certain laws of life that remain unchanged, whether or not they are summarised in written law. So there are certain absolute laws that cannot be changed even if those absolute laws are written down. They can be amended, of course. On the other hand, whoever modifies these laws must also assume moral responsibility before the world order which merely recognises these absolute laws of life.

I have the feeling that what was the foundation of a state two years ago cannot be a sin or a vice today. I find this absurd, simply because in every state, in every civilizational manifestation of the state, there are certain foundations on which its whole life is built. If, therefore, two years ago there were definite, established foundations, then these must be taken to mean that certain events started from these foundations, and certain series of events arose from these foundations, which naturally always and under all circumstances always had the interests of the nation at heart, because I simply cannot assume that there should be a leadership in this country, a legislature in this country, a prime minister in this country, who did not have the welfare of the nation, its security of life and its livelihood at heart.

Furthermore, it is my feeling that precisely because the individual bears the responsibility for all his actions, there can be no collective responsibility, and that is why I take responsibility for all that I have done in my own person, in the sure knowledge, as I have already explained, that I am in the service of justice and that through this I am only serving the interests of my nation. I have also made it clear that here my co-defendants could not share this responsibility with me, because they had to act according to their own individuality, their own responsibilities.

The third and perhaps most important point I would like to make in this reflection is the following. An interested party cannot be a judge in its own case. A political trial cannot be a matter of self-judgment. I am of the opinion that, in such a case, if this happens, it is the most serious crime and sin that we commit against moral justice in general. My view is that he cannot be interested in his own case by an accuser, judge, executioner, and perhaps not even by the highest moral forum that will then exonerate him for his actions. But this is not just a statement made here. I have a strong feeling that this is a fact in principle, a truth to be acknowledged in all circumstances, on all sides of life. My understanding is that these lawsuits can only be

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can be settled fairly and genuinely in such a way that moral good can result, at least for humanity as a whole, if they are conducted before judges who are really in the best position to judge the events that have taken place. If I may be permitted to concretise this idea, I have the feeling that the international tribunal should be composed of nations which did not take part in the war, for there are such nations.

Grand Prosecutor: Which are fascist nations? !

President: Silence, please!

Szalasi: In my view, this whole case should end before these judges, before this court. This is my opinion, and I am convinced that conducting the trials on this basis will give a much clearer picture of all the internal motives that either led to the war, or to the continuation of the war, or led to where the whole of Europe is today. I hope that all those present are in the knowledge that they would take the opinions and convictions here emphasised and accept responsibility for them even if they happened to be on the losing side or if there were a change of fortune. (Laughter.) For if not, they have no moral authority to pass judgment on me, my conduct and Hungarism. And if they do, I can ask them to honour and respect my convictions just as I have done and do to others. (Interjection from the audience: Stupid! Noise.) President: Silence, please! Silence!

Szalasi: In 1931 I had my first clash with the state and social order, which finally fell on 15 October 1944. I was brought before Gombos, who was Minister of Defence at the time, and before whom I was brought because I was denounced as a military revolutionary. On that occasion, in the presence of my immediate superiors, Gombos, the Minister for Defence, told me not to get involved in politics, because I would soon find that the old politicians would twist me like a lemon and throw me aside, because I had to realise that politics was a dirty business. I said to him at the time: you have to realise that politics is not dirty, politics is an art, the art of running a community, and it only gets dirty in the hands of dirty people.

That's the perception I've had all along. I believe that politics is the art of community leadership. I confess that politics is the opportunity and the fact in the life of every nation that a nation must enter into its great life, enter into its goal, follow the path that leads to its goal and take the means to fight its way to its goal.

The representatives of the prosecution dealt extensively with a part of Hungarian history, namely the question of the Hungarian-German partnership and community of fate, and this part was emphasized very strongly. As I have said, this is only a part of Hungarian history, because whatever part of the world we go to in Hungarian history, equally serious statements can be made about the East, the North and the South. It does not follow, however, that our Hungarian nation and people have only suffered serious disappointments. These images are presented in this way, and that sounds very nice, but if one examines the history of the Hungarian people itself, one must come to quite different conclusions.

Having illuminated the historical part of things, I want to illuminate the innermost motives of human actions, because through them I can best justify all the actions I have taken or performed over time. My conception of life is that there are eternal life factors, force factors, which always remain the same in quality and magnitude, but which are always in different relationships to each other over time and to man in different relationships.

From these relationships and positions, world views emerge, and as a



a people, a nation, practically projects this world view through its own endowments, the ideology of that people, that nation, is born. So it has an ideology, the way it sees the world, the way it is influenced by the world view, and the way it can influence the world view. What we mean by the practical political, economic and social projection of this ideal is the practical life of that nation.

What these eternal factors in man consist of, I want to touch upon briefly, because it is very important for the understanding of the Hungarist ideology and through this, for the understanding of Hungarism as such, how and how it saw the events before October 15, 1944. My view is that the human self has three main forms of manifestation. One is that this self wants to subjugate everything. This is his egoism, where he wants to set everything he can produce with the work of his two hands to his own ends. This is the ego.

The other form of its manifestation, which is also born with it and will be born with it as long as man exists on this earth, is that of running into the community, seeking community, by natural instinct. He is therefore not only an individual, but also a person who subordinates himself to the community of his own free will.

The third form of manifestation is when it seeks a relationship with the absolute. These are the three basic and eternal factors in man. This cannot be eliminated by any kind of education, we must take note of it. And, because this is so, we must take note of the fact that these inner basic factors are integrated in the great inner life of the community into facts which we must also take note of. The ego with its egoism is integrated into nationalism in the community. The desire to be in the community, to be aware that he must work and labour in the community, that noble socialization is necessary so that he can really live as a man with his fellow man, is integrated in the community into socialism. And his wish and desire to relate himself to the absolute is manifested in the community as his moral conception.

These three basic factors and basic facts must be present in each and every community if that community really wants to live a healthy life, if it really wants to live a beautiful, good and just life. If one of these is missing, then the life of the community is already distorted, and it is precisely for this reason that, in my view, nationalism can never remain nationalism if it is accompanied by a lack of socialism and a lack of a moral absolute understanding of the universe. This nationalism becomes chauvinism, and likewise socialism becomes materialism if the other two factors of life are absent, and my moral conception becomes state dogmatism if I refuse to take into account the fact of nationalism and socialism.

So, if I want to build a healthy community, I have to bring these three factors of life, which cannot be stolen from the community because it is born with them and dies with them, into practical coherence with life, I have to practically build them and through them I have to ensure the well-being, security of life and livelihood of the community. My conception of life, then, is that humanity has hitherto lived solely and exclusively by the knowledge of the material facts of the world. It was through the organisation of these facts that community life was thought to be conducted, and through this that the materialistic world-view and world-conception was born which has influenced humanity for millennia and has been the basis of all world-views, on whatever side, for millennia. So whether we take liberalism, whether we take Marxism, whether we take Bolshevism or their forms of rule, whatever creation, whatever system of rule, they were all based on materialism. Marx then gave expression to this in his historical materialism.

My understanding is that mankind was wrong for thousands of years to build its life on this, but this mistake is understandable, because with its brain and senses it knew much better

bring the material world closer to you than the spiritual and moral world. The present great labour on our globe, and I am convinced that it will bring with it the failure of all systems based on historical materialism, and the birth of new systems which build community on the triple fact of nationalism, socialism and the moral world order. From the very beginning Hungarism took the doctrine of Christ as the basis of its moral world-order. (There was a murmur in the audience.) It acted from conviction, simply because it recognized and not only recognized but also confessed that the doctrine and the person of Christ himself constitute the real, the sole basis of the moral world-order, absolute morality.

We affirm that this moral foundation is immutable, and on it we superimpose the spiritual and material foundations which are always changing with the times. It was the task of Hungarism, both in the Party and in the nation-building part, to develop this triple foundation.

I have thought it necessary to explain these innermost motives, for as I shall come to the practical part, gentlemen will be able to judge how things have developed in the way they have, why the decisions have been as we know them, and why we have acted as we have acted.

Our understanding of the progress and development of the world and of humanity is that humanity is moving towards community systems and integration. But, of course, alongside the process of integration there are also differentiations, and in particular differentiations of peoples who are called upon to lead within the community. This whole formation and development of the community system is nothing other than a great new movement of life, which requires an axis, and thus, from the point of view of the community axis, a people comes into view, which, as a leading people, must carry out the great historic task. But whether we are talking about peoples who are leaders in the community or peoples who are only community, we see in all peoples certain basic social strata which have developed out of the imperative necessity of life. The first basic layer is the peasant farmer who provides the raw material, but since such extraction of the raw material is not always consumable, another great layer has arisen to make this raw material consumable, and that is the worker. The work of both, however, must be led and coordinated by someone, and thus the third great basic layer, the intelligentsia, is born. It is from these three basic layers that the community and the foundation of any community is actually born. The family base, and at the centre of it, the woman who benefits from the work. The young man, who provides the continuity and immortality of the community, and as the last, the soldier, who defends the work and the good use of the community. (Laughter and noise in the audience.)

These are the big social strata. I am opposed to these social strata, which are necessary, fighting a sterile class struggle against each other. There has been class warfare from above and from below. From above, nationalism has been used as a slogan to defend birth privileges and thus nationalism has been distorted into chauvinism. From below, on the other hand, it was justifiably desperate with the slogan of socialism, which, however, also, because it was left alone, was distorted into materialism. My understanding is that the time of class struggle is over, my understanding is that these basic social factors must also be put in their place, a sphere of responsibility must be assigned to them, rights and duties must be defined for them, and these basic social strata thus set in rights and duties must be harmonized, so that the nation as a whole may see the good of their universal work.

The peasant, who is in fact the beginning and the heart of the peasant farmer, cannot but be the sole guardian of the land, and cannot but be the guarantor of the peace of the land, in the midst of his great task.

President: Silence!

Szálasi: The worker, in my conception and as I have recorded, cannot be other than the responsible custodian of the means of production and through this, of course, the custodian of labour peace. The intellectual does the responsible work of leadership, and through this, since he must determine and lead the relationship between the peace of the land and the peace of labor, he is the depository of social peace, and thus each of the basic social strata must have its responsibility: the woman's responsibility to the family, the youth's responsibility to cultural peace, and the soldier's responsibility to the maintenance of national peace. These are the real and practical foundations which are the guiding principles of the community formed by the Hungarian people, and which have provided the basis for our struggle by which we have set up our whole nation and our people. It was precisely because our conception of the world was totally at variance with the old world-views that we came into the sharpest conflict with them. It is for the very reason that we have not accepted historical materialism. This in itself implied that there were two worlds, sharply separated from each other. But this sharp separation and separation was only apparent, because we recognized historical materialism from the point of view of eternal immateriality, since there is also a material world, but only as a means in our world view. So the conflict was only in the sense that while one side saw it as an end, we and my understanding that we have the right saw it as a means to serve a community, the people, in that community.

The foundations of the new world, then, in Hungarism, can be stated very briefly as follows: in its moral foundation, the doctrine of Christ; in its spiritual foundation, the unification of self and community; and in its material foundation, the communal ownership of the community's stock of goods. That this must be so, and that humanity must move in this direction, will be one of the powerful means of technology itself. The great achievements of technology have suddenly made the globe small. It is no longer important what happens in Tokyo, Budapest, Moscow, Berlin, Washington or anywhere else in the world, because these events affect the whole world, precisely because of the achievements of technology. Radio can bring the latest events directly to me in a fraction of a second, and I can decide on events that have taken place thousands of kilometres away from me, right there next to the radio. The aeroplane has brought people very close together, so that it is no longer possible to talk about America being four thousand miles away, separated by the Atlantic Ocean, but about it being six or seven hours away, and that in six or seven hours it can tell me the worst or the worst of it.

After these principles, which are generally held to be legitimate and which I feel to be true, and which I feel and know, and firmly believe, to be the direction in which life is developing, I want to say a few words about Europe itself as a sociological foundation, so that I can draw conclusions about our own little foundation from the broadest possible foundations.

The history of any people cannot be understood without a sociological construction of Europe. Very briefly, I will only record the following main points and moments. Before the establishment of the Roman Empire... (Lively laughter and movement in the audience.)

President: Silence, please!

Szálasi:...two events shaped Europe and formed the basis for Europe to remain in its present structure: Marathon and Zama. Marathon was to link it to Asia, and the Battle of Zama was to link it to Africa. After the Roman Empire, interestingly enough, not only military but also cultural frontiers developed, the so-called limes, and it is a historical fact that quite separate cultural circles developed south and north of the limes, which even the higher European culture could not completely bridge. South of this, communities have always been under the

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were born under the authority of the state, always as a total state. North of this, however, popular participation was taken as the basis for the formation of communities. This is very important, because the part of the Danube in particular, where our country lies, was situated at the point of collision of these two great cultural areas, and thus, by historical necessity, it was already a millennium ago that Europe was developing what it is only now, after a long period of labour, coming to realise, namely the fact of the political nation.

In the whole sociological structure of Europe and in the years preceding 1944, there was a marked tendency to bind together into a unity similar peoples living in the same life and in the same destiny. And it is undeniable that this great process of integration has not stopped. By every means possible, events are being driven in this direction, the development of things, and it is for this reason that my view on this great and grave question is that in Europe there must necessarily come into being the Germanic political nation, in the north-east the Slavic political nation, in the south-west the Romanian political nation, and in the south-east the political nation must be formed in its real and more definite form, the fact of which we have already observed from a thousand years ago. I have placed this nation in the ideology as a ETungarist nation.

But because this is so, because technology, with its great achievements, brings people closer together, makes the socialisation of people necessary, and the socialisation of peoples among themselves imperative, it is precisely for this reason that my understanding, which I have also enshrined in my ideology, is that the creation of a European Community is an imperative necessity. In the European Community, the peoples who make up Europe will live according to a common plan. They will have a common goal, they will have common tasks, and each nation will have to take on a share of these common tasks, in accordance with its talents and vocation.

The essential thing, however, is that in carrying out these partial tasks, the people and the Nation should carry them out by their own efforts, free from any tutelage, that is to say, with their own peasants, their own workers, their own intelligentsia, their own resources, because no people in Europe needs to be tutelaried.

What could be the practical purpose of this European Community? Here I just have to start from a broad perspective. We cannot stop now at perspectives that extend at most to the borders of Budapest, or the borders of a district, or the borders of a country, when, as I said, I have all the technical means at my disposal to make a judgment in a globe perspective. Once communities have been created, I am convinced that the organic interconnection of the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia must take place, because if it does not, these bloody labour pains will continue to shake the whole globe. The organisation of this, the organisation of this great continent, must be done, because without it there will be no peace, which every single people of the globe has long desired. Europe must be integrated into this great community with its community, and Hungary must of course also be integrated into it. And the best proof that this is the case is that even before 1944 all the leading powers had already expressed such ideas, and so everything that liberalism had hitherto called freedom, independence and autonomy is being given a completely new assessment. It is the autonomy, freedom and independence of the European Community which must be defended by all means, and within this framework the autonomy, freedom and independence of the individual peoples will then be given within limits which will best support the possibilities of defending the European Community.

Hungary has become a key area in the evolution of the world situation precisely because of the development of technology. Under liberalism, this great artery was protected only by strongholds that linked these four continents and sought to bring them together into a single entity. However, since the advent of the engine and especially the aeroplane, the supporting points have ceased to exist, the accumulation process has ceased and areas have had to be and must be

ensure that the safety of this key transport artery is maintained and can function safely. That is why our country is really a staging area and a processing area for this main artery, because it is the most important place in terms of Gibraltar, Suez and Aden, and that is how we have really and truly become the most serious centre of events, because three world powers have an interest in our country. All three world powers see their right to have their way in this area, and these are the great Slavic tribe in the north-east, the great German tribe in the north-west, and the third world power, which has become involved precisely because of the great technical progress, is the English tribe and world power, which is primarily interested in this area. Yes, our country can be hell or paradise. And we have to realise that our country is in the most serious situation in the whole world, because wherever we look, the forces that control the world are nowhere more at play than here, in the heartland of the Danube. The decisions to be taken here by the Hungarian people are therefore always dependent on the decisions already taken by the world powers. We can at most take note of this, or not take note of it. If we take note of one side, we must take note of the fact that the other two sides will not take note of it.

What does this add up to? From this follows the necessity of Hungarism, that the Hungarian people will really have peace when these three world powers really have peace, but as long as there is no peace between these three, whether there is a war criminal or not, there will be wars between the three world powers. That is why Hungarism, in its whole structure, is apostolic, propagating that these three or four world powers really must be brought together, and that by the concerted will of the three world powers.

Our country, I dare say, precisely because I think I know something of its history, is the most European country in Europe. It gives everything to Europe and receives everything from Europe. Its habitat, however we may laugh at this new expression, has, in the course of history, very interesting boundaries, namely, the Rhine-Rhone to the west, the Eastern Sea to the north, the Dnieper to the east and the line of Constantinople-Rome to the south, a territory on which our people can act and which acts on our people. This is a very important statement, because throughout its history, its historical past, its historical present, has always been in these areas.

What is interesting in this inner area of ours is that South-Eastern Europe, of which we are a leading part, shows a great unity in its geopolitical construction, while its inner content shows a markedly ethnic debris heap.

In Europe, covering an area of around 10 000 000 square kilometres, approximately 25 and of these 10 000 000 square kilometres, 1 000 000 square kilometres in south-eastern Europe are home to 10 out of 25 historical ethnicities. The task of Hungarism was therefore primarily to bring these ethnic identities closer together, because it said that what succeeded with 10 ethnic identities in 1 000 000 square kilometres should succeed with 25 ethnic identities in 10 000 000 square kilometres, because there is no difference in quality, but only in quantity and organisation. I am convinced that the necessary building of a European community will stand or fall on the question of whether the individual personalities of each people can be brought together and their lives aligned with each other and not against each other.

These were the principles by which I constructed the ideology, Hungarism. These are the principles that I have made conscious, with faith and conviction, in every stratum of my nation for a decade. It is from this situation that the concrete image of our country emerged during the war. Here

we, the country, had three main directions, one which was to secure the destiny of the Hungarian people and nation towards the North-East, another which was to secure it towards the North-West, and the third which was to secure it towards the West. All three acted from conviction. All three were convinced that their determination was the right one, that it would be of benefit to their nation. There was only one tendency which did not act from conviction, and it was the only tendency which, from the conjuncture, always attached itself either to one or to the other, and joined in according as and how the arms on each battlefield decided the fate of the battle. Perhaps I could say that this tendency, when Kharkov fell into German hands, was quite taken with glorifying the Germans and vilifying the Jews, and when Kharkov fell into the hands of the Red Army, this conjunctural tendency went to the other extreme. Three tendencies fought out of conviction, as I have said, one towards the Soviets, one towards Germany and one towards England. But all three, without exception, and it must be said this, were for the good of the nation. It cannot be assumed that any of them merely wanted the nation to pay the price. At this time, the conscious aims of the war can be summarised as follows: the creation of a new land mass by the Triple Powers, then the provision of a suitable living space for the German, Japanese and Italian peoples, and, as the third great aim, the abolition of the old world order. In this great war objective, however, there were contrasts between the German and the Japanese conceptions. For the German conception wanted to bring the whole of the English world empire, as it was, with all its crown colonies, colonies and domains, into the great Germanic community, without any loss of territory, while the Japanese conception tended to the view that their living space could only be built and arranged in the way necessary for the Japanese people if the English world empire were to be abolished. These two conceptions were at odds with each other, and they sought to bridge this gap. The conscious aim of the war on the part of the Soviets, as was known to me before 1944, was Moscow's aim, the Soviet aim was: first, to eliminate National Socialism and, second, to build the World Soviet. Among all the war aims, it is here that, as I have recorded, the realization that technology has made our globe so small that there is no way of avoiding a common organization. For the United States, the known war aim was also the elimination of national socialism, the establishment of world democracy and the division of the globe between the Soviet Union and the USA. German propaganda wanted to interfere with this objective, saying that, yes, the Soviets and the United States would help Britain, but only until the German-Italian-Japanese triple alliance had been disarmed, and then they wanted to divide the globe into two spheres of interest, and that this division must of course also accommodate the British concept of the world. For Britain, the known war aim is also the elimination of national socialism and, as a second aim, the free development of the peoples. From these objectives it is already apparent how interesting the differentiations are, and how interesting each belligerent's view of world development and the progress of mankind is. And from the point of view of Hungarism, we have set the objective with the fact of a Hungarist Hungarian Empire as the minimum goal. In Europe, after this war, another war must not break out. As a third goal was the nationalist and socialist European Community. These were the known war aims. When the war between Germany and the Soviet Union broke out, Hungarism and the whole movement took note of this fact with distinct dismay, simply because it believed that with the end of August 1939 not only a simple treaty would be signed in Moscow, but also a great historic opportunity for the burning of the earth would be opened up. Far be it from us to see a second intention behind this. We were so convinced that the two systems, which were based on the Community principle, could eliminate the differences that might still exist between the two parties. I must also point out that, as of 1 September 1943, the supreme circle of the moral world order and

representative, the Pope of Rome, made his voice heard when he addressed the peoples of the world on the day of the outbreak of the world war. In this sermon, we also see an objective, and a very interesting one. I have the feeling that it is an objective towards which humanity is now moving in its development and to which Hungarism, with its three great basic elements, is closest. He has declared that the old world is in ruins, he has declared that a new world is emerging, but we do not yet know the weapons for building this new world. But he did record that this new world will have to take note of the building blocks that will always be there, however the world changes. Of these building blocks, I have noted the following as the most important. First, the building block of Christian culture, then the building block of the sanctity of private property, (There is derision in the ranks of the audience), then the building block of the sanctity of the family. President: Silence, please!

Szálasi: And the building block of socialism. This great guideline, in my opinion, is the strongest and most complete projection of the tasks which must be solved by all responsible actors of humanity if there is to be peace among the people and if there is to be peace in man. My understanding, after having explained the objectives, is that there is a war of ideologies, after which a completely new social order will emerge, and that the old social order or orders or systems that liberalism has built up will all be destroyed, just as absolutism was destroyed when the social order of liberalism was put into practice, just as tsarism was destroyed when the social order of bolshevism was built, and just as the old social order is destroyed completely every time a new social order is built, and will continue to be so. After fixing the aims, I had to establish that:

in the run-up to 1944, I stress once again that the most difficult situation in this war is that of two countries and two nations, Hungary and the Hungarian nation on one side, and England and the British nation on the other. That was the image that was fixed in my mind, that was the great leitmotif that accompanied every speech I made, formed the backbone of every speech and guided every action I took.

I would also like to reaffirm my view that no one can be held responsible for this war. (Applause from the audience.) This war would have necessarily and inevitably broken out even if there had happened to be no Stalin, no Churchill, no Roosevelt, no Hitler, no Mussolini in the world. This war was necessary, simply because an old social system had become obsolete, out of date, and remained as a foreign body in the lives of peoples, which had to be removed by some violent means. If this world war had not broken out, I am convinced that we would have been in a European revolution, because one way or another, obsolete social systems have to be cleared away. The task of cleaning up is either war or revolution, but it cannot fail, it has not failed in the past and it will not fail in the future, because it is so and because it is necessary. That is why it is my view, and I am convinced that it cannot reasonably be said otherwise, that no person can be held responsible for this war. It is also my view that we shed blood in war in vain if that war does not achieve its purpose. We did indeed shed blood in vain in 1914-18, because this war came afterwards to resolve the issues left unresolved in 1914-18. The blood shed in this war was not in vain: it clarified all the issues beyond doubt and, above all, it clarified the path that humanity must take in order to really shape and build peace on the globe. If they cannot achieve this after this war, then it can be truly stated that there are forces that do not want peace on this earth. But only now that everything is so clear, this war has been a watershed, it has opened people's eyes, it has opened people's souls, it has opened

brain, and all you have to do is to really put the truths you see at the service of humanity. It was precisely on the basis of this line of thought that Hungary could not be left out of this war. It was at the centre of the clash of nations. Either here or there, it had to take its stand. I took it for granted, and I still do today, that we took a stand and proclaimed with faith and conviction the side which, from our point of view, meant progress and development, and which side was closest to our world view. But I can also understand that another side, on the other hand, wants a Bolshevik solution for Hungary based on its world view. But that side must also see that we, through our ideology, could only have chosen this path. So I would like to state that we went with Germany not because we wanted to go with the German people, but because we saw and thought we recognised in the German people a world view that was closest to our own. When the German-Soviet war broke out, our opinion was, and our feeling was, that England was in full retreat. From south-east Europe. It showed a lack of interest, and we had the distinct feeling that they were planning for a clash of German and Russian forces in this conflict area, and expected a great weakening of the two great powers after the clash. With the help of this, they then want to reassert their will to take the initiative in south-eastern Europe. When I tried to orient the Hungarian nation towards the North-West with the help of Hungarism, with my faith and conviction, the reason for this was also that recent events had created a psychological situation in the Hungarian people which made an orientation towards the East impossible. This psychological situation arose, firstly, from 1848/49 and, secondly, from the events that took place in Hungary in 1918/19. These were the facts that cut into the flesh of the Hungarian nation and had the most profound effect on its soul and way of thinking. We were unable to gain a glimpse of Bolshevism itself, simply because, as far as we knew, the Soviets themselves had surrounded themselves with an invisible wall behind which they could not peer. Moreover, the propaganda against it made this wall even more formidable and, of course, distorted it. But in spite of its distortions, one has the feeling that Bolshevism is certainly right for the Russian people, perhaps in its fullest extension for the Slavic tribes, but from the point of view of the Hungarian people and the

It remains alien to the other peoples of south-eastern Europe, it cannot be built into their practical life and it certainly cannot be integrated into it. This internal psychological situation became more and more acute and acute when, after the events of 1939, a common Hungarian-Soviet border was established in the northeast.

The charge against me, in the first part, is that I gave a secret to a foreign power. My conviction remains unchanged to this day that Germany was not a foreign power. (There was laughter in the audience.) My conviction remains unchanged to this day that Germany was not a hostile power, and my conviction remains unchanged that it was an ally, an ally which for many years, with the knowledge and consent of the Hungarian governments of the time, had built into its political, economic and social exponents the political, economic and social exponents guaranteed by international treaties. But it was also the closest of military cooperation. Not to point out anything else, the Hungarian and German general staffs have always, from the post-World War 1 period onwards, had the closest exchange of intelligence. I would also point out that crimes against secrecy against Hungarian or German interests were known to have been committed in the Hungarian and German General Staffs and judiciary.

So, when I have had contact with any of the Germans, whether official or unofficial, I have done so in the knowledge that they are firm and explicit allies, who have always been officially informed of the official



Hungarian circles about events, and I have always done so in a way that has never gone beyond the boundaries and frameworks that define the relationship between the Allies. The governor's intentions were not a secret at all, and he did not want to treat them as a secret at all, since he told his advisers that he did not want to commit treason against the ally. During his interrogations of high-ranking persons, the Governor declared that Hungarian history had never known a Hungarian head of state who had betrayed his ally, and he did not want to be the first head of state to refute this historical fact by his conduct. For his part, therefore, the correct understanding that all decisions concerning inter-allied relations must be communicated to the appropriate factors was indeed manifested in his decisions.

But I must also point out that we could not have violated the secret which is the essence of this accusation, because the relevant factors were already known to us, and everyone else knew from the beginning of 1943 that the situation on the battlefield had changed. Moscow, London and Washington had taken the military initiative, and the German leadership was fighting to gain time in military terms. It was undeniable. And this military struggle to gain time cannot, in my opinion, be fought with men or bodies, because then they would be destroyed, but must be fought with territory. And there was enough territory that could be given up, and where these great military battles could be fought to gain time. Precisely because it did not affect me in any way, because it was a basic military law, and I passed on my faith and conviction to the broadest strata of the nation. And he continued this fight to gain time, as I later confirmed during my visit in December 1944, so that he could reorganise and rearm his entire army, produce new weapons and thus regain the upper hand over the enemy in terms of quality.

However, the other side, the enemy side, knew this very well and did everything in its power to ensure that the German command failed in this great objective. So, diplomatically too, it did everything it could to break out of its allies those who really could not stand this upright, crumbling fight for time. And here we must add what we already established at the time, that the choice of the time was of course very fortunate and clever, that the diplomacy of the other side became active at the very time of the military retreat and did everything possible to convince the German allies of the hopelessness of the war by presenting them with practical facts.

So the question, the question of victory, was at the tip of the knife. Each side, on one side as well as the other, was doing its utmost to achieve its great goal. Now London and Washington were anxious to crush Germany before she could implement the new armament, and Germany was anxious to maintain her military advantage by implementing her new organization and carrying out the evacuation.

I definitely had a sense of certain victory. I passed this consciousness on, as I have already said, to all the social strata of our nation, and I would like to point out just a few things about the basis on which this was based.

We had definite knowledge of the new aircraft and the new explosives. The neutral and then hostile military literature wrote long and in-depth articles on these issues, and not articles which would have led us to conclude that these new weapons would not be available. The official German statements from the mouths of officials further confirmed this. The decrees issued in Germany that it was forbidden to talk about the new weapons, the strict prohibition, which made it a crime of treason for anyone to even touch on the subject, all led to the conclusion that, yes, there was a serious, major reorganisation going on.

But we have been most strongly influenced by what British statesmen have said about the continuation of the war. As to the ordeal of the English people,

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that the war must be ended in time for the English people, for if it is not, dark days will come upon the English people, unknown in their history. Moreover, the official statements which have come from Hitler's own lips are his statements at the meeting where he said that the situation was serious, but that he was convinced that this crisis would be overcome by the tenacity of the German people, and that then would come the last 14 days of the war, in which the new weapons would be used, and which would certainly end in German victory after 14 days. He even ended his speech by asking the Eord only to forgive him for these last 14 days of the war. (Noise and movement in the audience.) Also official German circles before 15 October 1944, including Veesebmayer, told me that yes, we have the weapon that will turn square kilometres into dust and ashes. This was also what Mussolini said.

So, from a human point of view, there was every basis, practical and factual basis, for me to stand by Germany with the fullest faith and conviction, as I said, not because of Germany, but because I believed it carried the new world view.

I have, of course, done my utmost to ensure that the Hungarian nation is united in this faith and conviction, and I have taken every step to underpin this unity by the common will of the Nation and the Head of State to bring the nation more fully into the new worldview.

I had to find, however, that the group which I had designated as the fourth group, and which had conjunctured all the other fundamental groups, had also conjunctured itself to be at the disposal, under all circumstances, of the diplomatic offensive and initiative which the diplomacy of the former enemy had launched. From Ankara all the way to Vienna, he wanted, and succeeded, in breaking up the southern military front. When I became aware of this, and when I became aware of the fact that the Governor wanted to do it in a coup d'état, because he could not do it any other way because of the opposition of the Nation, that is when I made the decision, that after I was most fully convinced of the German victory and most fully convinced that our Hungarian nation was most fully on my side psychologically, I would consider it in the interests of the Hungarian nation under all circumstances to remove this attempted coup d'état from the life of our nation. The only important thing for me was to minimise the internal shock. In this determination, however, I had to face a serious new positive which, in the end, created the impression that the Hungarist movement had forced a foreign power to interfere in the internal affairs of our country.

After the incredible successes of the 1940s, an imperialist wing emerged in Germany which wants to organise the whole of Europe on the basis of imperialism, and its slogan is perhaps that the border of the German Reich ends where the bayonet of the German soldier reaches. It was with this German imperialist group that Hungarism had its most serious clashes, because of differences of principle, and, besides, because we had the independence, freedom and sovereignty of the Hungarian nation in view, for we saw in the Hungarian people the leading nation of Southeast Europe, around which all other nations could rally by popular organization. For this reason alone, therefore, we put the question of sovereignty in the sharpest terms, which naturally met with a great deal of opposition on that side. It was this imperialist group which wanted to settle matters here by means of the German army.

I won't go into what this clarification would have meant. I just want to make one point. Everyone here has been asked how much the German troops might have been affected if the Hungarian troops had resisted and, together with the Red Army

go against the Germans, how long could the continued occupation of Hungary have lasted? Opinions have been expressed here ranging from a month to a few weeks. My opinion is different, it would have lasted at least as long as it did. Why? As we learned in the main hearing, 25 divisions were given in succession by the German command in this situation, so that the Hungarian nation decided in favour of Allied loyalty. If it had not so decided, it would not have given these 25 divisions in succession, which were available just as it was, whether we went with it or broke away, but would have brought these 25 divisions here all at once. I am convinced that it would have lasted at least as long, but with much more terrible consequences. (Movement and noise in the audience.)

Here I would like to emphasize once again that the Hungarian nation and its leadership, looking at things before October 15, 1944, were indeed faced with a fateful decision. He had to choose between the East or the West. My decision and my resolution, as I have explained, could not have been other than what the gentlemen have just heard, namely, that we must hold out, because there was a struggle to gain time, precious time, and whoever won that time had won the war.

However, under all circumstances I had to strive to ensure that there should never be a momentary gap in Hungarian autonomy, freedom and independence, either in terms of continuity or in fact, which would allow either a good friend or an enemy to break it and call into question the vocation and mission of the Hungarian people in South-Eastern Europe. I have done everything in my power to force the Germans into a completely passive attitude and have only ever asked them to give me a supreme decision from their point of view which would allow us to unfold the great question with our backs free. The fate of the Iron Guard was always before my eyes. I did not want to expose the movement to the fate that befell the Iron Guard when it carried out its most serious step and task in the life of the nation, that it was the Germans in Romania who disarmed it and took its leading men away.

This has been the basis of everything I have done. There was no other basis. Nor would it make sense to give any other basis for my decisions, because I would be in total contradiction with the ideology to which I am, to use the expression of one of the representatives of the prosecution, stubbornly attached. Yes, I do, because I am so keenly aware of the truth of this ideology, and I know so well that its realisation alone is the only way to ensure a beautiful, just and good future for the Hungarian people. This is my conviction. That I am convinced of this is not a sin. That I can only live it with conviction cannot be a sin, because if one wants what is beautiful, good and just for one's nation, it cannot be a sin. It may be clumsily carried out, but it can never be a sin.

The German position was ultimately that they would give us a free hand, but they would take the appropriate steps to protect German interests. From my point of view, however, I could not object to this in any way, because, after all, there is not a foolish ally in the world who, knowing what action his allied partner is about to take, will stand by and watch this action being taken. Because, if he stands idly by, he deserves to have it done to him.

In these difficult decisions, I got the impression that the Germans were going to settle the matter under any circumstances. It was precisely in the service and interests of our nation that I wanted to settle the matter. I do not deny that. In particular, just as I did not deny it in the General Conference, I considered it to be in the interests of our nation that I would take the firmest stand against any attempted coup by the Governor or anyone else.

I was, however, firmly convinced that our Hungarian nation would take a negative position against the coup d'état, which it did. (Contradictions in the audience.) I say this not to construct a support for

but out of practical conviction.

I also made a tour of the country in the summer of 1944, and then I became convinced of the great faith, trust and love in which the Hungarian nation at large surrounds all that is Hungarism (Audience applause) and all that we do within the framework of this world-view. This is undeniable. Those of you who were in the Transdanubian region at the time, especially on its south-western periphery, were witnesses to the thousands and tens of thousands of people who accompanied me on each of my country tours.

I don't want to deal with the facts or the events themselves, only with the more important points, because they were the subject of quite a bit of discussion during the main hearing, pro and con, and I will also come to the point at the end that we can decide the truth.

One of the interesting aspects of this series of events is the incomprehensible behaviour of the governor, who first behaves in a completely hostile manner towards the Germans, and then in an incomprehensible manner asks the Germans for shelter and protection. It is a contradiction, but one that can be explained.

First of all, it can be explained by the fact that it did not happen exactly as the witnesses testified here, because as many witnesses as there were, they modified and varied the events. One witness contradicted himself three times, and the 45 witnesses always came to the opposite conclusion, so that the President of the Council had to reconcile these contradictions. The fact is that, at the time, this group did not know what it wanted; and that is why it was at odds with the facts and at odds with each other.

My understanding is that the governor sought and received protection from the Germans because he feared the nation first.

Already on October 15, 1944, in the afternoon, the Prime Minister reports to him that everyone has left him and separated from him, so he sees that he is left all alone with his squadron of bodyguards, otherwise everyone would have left him. He was also afraid for his nation because the man who had taken a stand against Bolshevism in 1919 as leader of the counter-revolution was so strangely at odds with himself that now, in 1944, he was taking the first proactive step towards the Bolshevism that the entire Hungarian nation feared.

Secondly, he put himself under German protection because he must have thought that if the Germans lost the war and I was under German protection, I would be in the hands of the Anglo-Saxons and not the Soviets, who had to answer to me. This fact itself is regarded by him as a compulsion. It was this compulsion that led him to take the step of meeting the demands of the enemy's diplomacy in a coup d'état, because if this fact had not been a compulsion, he would not have taken this step.

But he must also have known very well that from 1919 to 1923 he was the instigator of a series of acts which left behind the ugliest memory, either of the Nation as a whole or of a part of it, for which he should also have been responsible. And in the end he must have known very well that even if the Germans had won the war, he would no longer be in his place by the will of the nation.

It is clear from all this that I did not ally myself with the Germans against Horthy or against the Hungarian nation, I did not force them, because this would have happened even if I had not taken a step to take power.

There was no need for me to call in any outside help, because during the trial all the witnesses testified that the entire army, especially the general staff and the police and gendarmerie, were entirely in our hands. So why should we have needed any help, if only not from the point of view of what I said, so that we would not really be consigned to the fate of the Iron Guard.

Because what the witnesses have told us here was also a conspiracy from this point of view, a so-called coup d'état, which was also a built-in and deliberate conspiracy, but which was not possible with the

had nothing to do with each other.

And here again I want to say to the President of the Council and to each and every one of the people's judges that they should take note that this was not a civil organisation, where everyone chats and chats at the green table. (Laughter in the audience.) This was a people's movement, a serious, large movement, which, like any other movement on the face of the earth, had set up its organisations for every eventuality and which could really keep its mouth shut.

Pol. prosecutor: They even set him up for treason! (That's right! That's right! In the audience.)

President: Silence, please!

Szâlasi: In the course of history, every such great movement that transforms society has had and will continue to have two great forms of expression: an open one, represented by the party, and a secret one. This cannot be denied. This is right and proper. The greatest social movement, the movement of Christ, with its centuries of movementism, is showing martyrs in the open and, besides, continues to organise in the catacombs. Or take liberalism: it has parties to impose its will, its great ideological objectives, but it has a secret society of men, Freemasonry, which drives it.

So, yes, every single party, every single worldview, every single ideology moves on these two planes, and that is why it is not at all strange that neither Mr Lakatos, nor Mr Janos Vôrôs, nor the other gentlemen knew what was going on here. And it would have been wrong if they had known. (Applause in the audience.) They themselves wanted to keep this great idea of theirs a secret, but a civil secret. They talked about it, they held family councils, and naturally there is always an ear next to the family councils that hears the same things that are talked about in the family councils.

I have never denied this great attitude, and this great attitude was necessary to translate into practical life the great ideas of principle which were necessary in the service of our nation.

I just want to point out the incredible discrepancies that exist between the testimonies of the various witnesses. I don't want to go into details because they are fresh in my memory, but that these contradictions still exist is quite certain. And it is precisely because these enormous contradictions exist that I have requested, and maintain my request, that in order to clarify this matter satisfactorily, Mr. Miklos Horthy should be heard as a witness.

I want to put on record the fact that I have been separated from my co-defendants since May last year. They were interrogated by the Americans, I was interrogated by the political police, everywhere, and when I listened carefully to the testimonies in the main trial, I was able to record the image in my mind that the testimonies essentially covered what I have just presented here. However, the testimonies also show terrible contradictions, terrible contradictions.

I don't want to point out that there are certain people who are afraid, and I don't want to point out that there is a certain stratum which lives constantly in an ideology of fear, which is afraid of Bolshevism, which is afraid of Hungarism, which is composed of fear, and for which it is only important to be able to present itself in such a way that it is seen as courageous and just, while being afraid. I can have no regard for this, nor am I, therefore I simply state that what these gentlemen have said here, even in spite of the contradictions, has supported and supports everything I said then and say now.

Nor do I want to go into who some of these gentlemen were and what they were before 28 August 1944. Far be it from me. Everyone acts according to his or her conscience, and after all, I am convinced that the truth will most certainly come to light, and I dare to trust in God's divine justice with a clear conscience.

(Noise in the audience.)

I observed that during the testimony of the witnesses, the Governor changed his mind ten times from noon on October 15 to 5 p.m. on October 16, a period of two days, and four times he hesitated. That is a fact. I have taken the liberty of recording this statistic from the record of the main debate. (Applause in the audience.) The whole question, as it lies before us, should, in my opinion, have been brought before the House by the action and initiative of the Governor before 19 March 1944, 1944. After 19 March 1944, any action on the part of the Governor could only have caused the Nation's defeat, because from 19 March 1944 onwards the Allies, seeing the vacillating attitude, seized every means to ensure that no surprise would come to them here in South-Eastern Europe in respect of their great objective.

That it was right for us at that time not to allow things to develop as the Governor wanted is evident from the fact that the Red Army leadership would have made a great mistake if it had decided to stop the Red Army in this key military area of South-Eastern Europe just because Mr. Miklos Horthy asked it to do so. According to my military judgment and understanding, once the Red Army had fought its way through to the Carpathians, there was no stopping place for it except along the Danube, in the military area along the Danube. Any other halt was really only as expressed as a nobilis gesture, which, however, I would not have acted otherwise if necessary, could only have been for two or three days. They were absolutely right from a military point of view: they could not stop in a plain area, they really had to advance to the next military area by all means, whether there was an armistice or no armistice.

On 16 October, I took power in the fullest and surest sense of victory. I had no reason whatsoever to doubt it. (Daughter and noise in the audience.) From the point of view of military judgment, the situation had not yet arisen from which the Non-Aligned Command had not found a way out. All the factual data that had been available up to that time were confirmed even more, so that I could pass on my conviction and my faith in it to all sections of the Nation with the utmost peace of conscience. All my actions were therefore directed towards making our nation aware of this unconditional will to win, all my efforts were directed towards making the nation ready with all means to achieve the final victory, because I was convinced that in six months at the latest, i.e. by the spring of 1945, the military struggle to gain time on the part of the Germans would cease and the military offensive would be launched. Every provision and every law has been made in this spirit, but I deny and must protest in the strongest possible terms against any suggestion on anyone's part that by these laws and regulations we have sought to serve the base instincts of the people.

Every army in the world, without exception, secures by every means its rear, its theatre of operations, is guided by a distinct and decidedly military point of view, and has no regard to the fact that this or that measure will create this or that sentiment among the population. Total war was not born after October 15, 1944, but after the 1914-18 World War, when the French General Staff was the first to record that the World War proved that wars are not won or lost by armies, but by the whole people and the whole nation. From that moment on, we in the General Staff have known the fact of total war. We know its philosophical construction from the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century from the work of Clausewitz, who records that the aim of war is the destruction of the enemy, and this is the basis of total war.

Until now, all wars have been fought totally, with whatever means the spirit of the times and the possibilities of the time made available to the commander in chief, but

have been totally led within these means and possibilities. This war too was total, and in this war too all the means available under the present conditions had to be made available to the command and the war service. And this was done by everyone on the face of the earth, by every army without exception.

We have done it, as I said: with the certainty of victory. (Applause in the audience.)

In December 1944 I was on a visit to Hitler. On that occasion Hitler stated, in the presence of many others, that the war situation from 1939 to 1942 was one of German qualitative superiority in the various theatres of war, and that from 1942 to 1945 the enemy had caught up with the Germans in terms of quality, and now they had the upper hand over German weapons, and from 1945 onwards the quality of the German army would again be superior to that of the enemy, and the enemy would no longer have time to catch up with German quality by arming for two years, because by then the war would have been decided.

He declared that he would certainly relieve Budapest of its burden and that the Danube line was the first objective to be achieved in the winter.

He has already set up as much as he could for them to introduce the new weapons. He spoke of new aircraft, new submarines, new explosives of terrible power, a new projectile independent of time and space. He awaits the enemy's decisive attack in the east and west, but he is prepared for both. Besides, he told me that Miklos Horthy, who had been given protection in Germany, had offered him mediation with the British, which he had refused. Ribbentrop said, when he met me at the station, that he assured me that the war, although it would last for a little while, would be won absolutely and without fail.) He has declared that he will not take any diplomatic steps at all, because everything must be done by the army, and he is convinced that whether in the East or in the West the great decisive initiative will be taken by the German military leadership, it will start the disintegration of the alliance of Moscow, London and Washington. (Applause in the audience.) But until such a decisive step and initiative is taken by the army, internal antagonisms between Moscow, London and Washington cannot be expected.

I also had a conversation with Osuna, the Japanese Ambassador (Audience applause), who also stated that he was in complete agreement with the intentions of the German leadership, and he had inquired into the truth of the allegations that the Germans had made peace in Stockholm, and was told that this was not true.

After that talk and visit I came back with even stronger faith and I made the nation even more convinced that the war must not be lost under any circumstances, that it must be endured, because perseverance will bring the fruits of victory.

In order to get a clear picture of what really happened, whether it is really correct whether my opinion on the matter was correct, whether I was correctly informed, and whether my decision was correct on the basis of the information, I consider it necessary to emphasise that the following persons should be examined as witnesses in order to clarify these questions.

From the point of view of the takeover and the transfer of power, absolutely and definitely Miklos Horthy. From the point of view of the description of the situation as it was known to the decisive German factors in December 1944, I consider it absolutely necessary to interrogate Ribbentrop and Guderian, and from the point of view of whether or not new weapons were actually in the possession of the Germans, and whether it was really true that such rearmament had already taken place before 15 October 1944, it is absolutely necessary

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I will hold the interrogation of Minister Speer, because they are the only ones who can really decide whether my decision was based on the right basis or whether they misinformed me.

Furthermore, it is my absolute opinion, irrespective of the further course of the case or its consequences, that this trial cannot in any way be separated from the Nuremberg trial. It was the cause and not the cause of the developments and is therefore most closely causally linked to it. It is precisely for this reason that, if it is not possible to question these persons, the expert opinion of the international tribunal should be sought, so that all judges can have a reassuring picture of this matter.

I am also accused of using my conduct to support... President (interrupting): Ferenc Szalasi, I want to ask you how far you have got now in your whole speech. Szalasi: I want to talk about the Jewish question. President: Then we will take a break, and then we will continue.

(After a break.)

President: I reopen the main debate.

Ferenc Szalasi may continue his speech.

Szalasi: Dear People's Court. I want to deal with the Jewish question briefly, but to the point. I am convinced that the Jewish question is not a Hungarian question, but a world question. This world question existed until the destruction of Jerusalem in Asia, since then in Europe and since 1918 throughout the entire world. This issue must be resolved, and it must be resolved by the honest will of both sides. For it is a historical fact that, when one side has wanted to resolve it, this has always led to distortions in practice.

When the people wanted to solve it independently, the Jews paid for it, and when the Jews wanted to solve it independently, the people paid for it.

It is from this very cold but prevailing truth and fact that the basic tenet of our Hungarism is that both sides must honestly want to resolve the issue. In Hungarism, the following principle emerged from this perspective. The Jewish people must necessarily and necessarily be given a territory in which it can establish its own state, national and people's state in accordance with its moral, spiritual and material endowments and in this autonomy, independence and freedom organize itself into the community of mankind. In the meantime, however, until this question can be settled, the leaders of all the States interested in this question here in Europe should send out a man elected from among the Jews living in the sovereignty of their States to a so-called Jewish European Council, which should settle bilaterally with the individual European States the Jewish questions pending in that State.

But even that is too far-reaching a goal, so the Hungarist ideology had to include a solution that suited Hungary in its nation-building plan, which it did (Move.) This meant that, just as in our plan the individual personalities of the people were given a responsible leader, so too the Jewish people in Hungary must elect a Jewish people-personality leader who will participate responsibly in the political, economic and social leadership of Hungary and who will be responsible for ensuring that the laws and regulations made by the political, economic and social leadership are actually implemented in the body of the Hungarian people through his people's administration. This was and still is the relevant nation-building plan of Hungarism.

In connection with the known situation after 19 March 1944, the Hungarist Movement and its leading men were approached by members of the Jewish people, asking the party to help in some way to remedy the situation after 19 March. At that time, in several information meetings, which I always held before the National Grand Council, I explained the position of the Party on this matter to the officers on a Friday of each month, and this position was officially observed by all.

According to this, no member of the Arrow Cross Party may take part in the de-Jewish



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the way it is done in Hungary. (Murmurs in the room.) Secondly, I stated that the Hungarian nation is not so rich that it can simply donate four million hours of labour to the German Reich every day, because if I count the Jews who were taken to Germany in connection with the labour service as only four hundred thousand Jews who are able to work, even with 10 hours of work a day, this amount of work in a month is already a million hours of work which we cannot do without, since we are in the height of war, when the important factories must be bomb-proofed due to the expected air raids, and we cannot get any other workers for this. And the third was that we most emphatically demanded that the Jewish property be declared national property (Movement) and that the necessary supplies for the Jews be provided from this Jewish property (Movement and serenity) until the question is settled in European and world relations.

In this connection, as the events unfold, I would ask you to state, and as far as possible at some point, how many Jewish people were victims of the atrocities.) After all, we have the means of power and administration to establish, after a year, quite precisely who was taken away, when and where, and who died, so that we can get to grips with this question in concrete terms, because it is absolutely right and must be accepted by everyone that all the atrocities that have been committed in this matter should be rejected and punished in the strongest possible terms. (Movement and mocking laughter in the Chamber.)

President: Silence!

Szalasi: But I must also say that generalisations cannot and should not be made on this issue. We cannot and must not talk about hundreds of thousands of dollars when a witness who was in one of these collection camps from January to April quotes figures that represent at most a small fraction of what was actually said and what is the subject of the accusation. I do not believe that the number of victims is exactly round, but I am convinced that each individual case can be proven to the fullest extent, and only when this factual basis for the figures is established and processed can any court of law pass judgment with a clear conscience. (Murmur in the chamber.)

I have also found that the most serious upheavals occurred during the time when Budapest was surrounded. What could not be established, however, was what triggered these upheavals. I agree that, yes, there were scoundrels who abused the situation (There was a great deal of noise in the room), yes, there were those in whom the most vile instincts really did explode, but it must also be remembered that in a city that is surrounded, or even if it is not surrounded, even before that, internal life is so tense, so excited, so clashing of opposing opinions, that in this state of nerves the slightest gesture can be considered a hostile act. I ask Mr Miksa Domonkos, who has given evidence here, what would his relatives have said if a patrol had caught him walking down the street in an illegitimate captain's uniform and shot him dead? You yourself have admitted that he was illegitimate, wearing a captain's uniform. (Movement.) Well, if he himself admits such things, then no wonder that in such a mood, as I said, in such a state of nerves, everyone should find the greatest hostility in every little step he takes.

President: Silence!

Szalasi: For 2,500 years, from Rome to Dachau, I dare say, the Jewish people have been going from one collection camp to another. (Movement.) For centuries, from the tragic history of the Jewish people, because I consider their history to be so, because I know it very well, I can read it. But I ask the question, and I am free to ask it: how is it possible that for 2 500 years, for which we know these tragic stages, it was always other peoples who were to blame? Isn't there something here that

is driving the Jewish people into this tragic series? I have the feeling that the solution will be good and happy if this issue is resolved from this point in the world, from this point in the earth's marble and if the Jews are really helped to build the country they long for. One of the prosecution's representatives very interestingly contrasted how it is possible that when only one percent of Hungary's population was a party member of the Hungarist Movement, it dared to subjugate 99% of the population and ignored the will of the overwhelming majority. I want to contrast this with the perhaps unpleasant but true fact, and I must ask the question, because it somehow sticks in one's mind, how it is possible that a small percentage of the Jewish people, who make up 6% of the Hungarian nation, dominated the whole of the political, economic and social life of the Hungarian nation for decades. We must take it for granted that, on the basis of such an attitude, and especially under liberalism, the coexistence of peoples became terribly difficult, because the basic principle was that the stronger wins, the stronger imposes its will. Liberalism, and historical materialism in general, was set against coordination, and therefore we should not be surprised that it sought to resolve each and every issue by force, by the strongest. Thus the Jewish question was always resolved in this way.

The new worldview cannot accept such solutions of violence, because it is based on a community system in which all factors work in concert for the well-being, security and livelihood of the community.

Hungarism is criticised for bringing the race issue to the fore. In this respect, Hungarism is about 3,000 years too late, because 3,000 years ago the Jewish people placed the racial question, the question of their own selection, at the centre of their moral, spiritual and material life, and I am in this most fully in favour of the Jewish people, as I have expressed it among my brethren on my tours of the Hungarist movement. (Laughter.) They are right because life does indeed lead the individual races towards the ennoblement of the species, so that if I live a conscious life, I must keep my race, my race noble, which has its proper laws. But if it is a good truth on one side, it is a binding truth on the other side. We, however, in Hungarism, did not stand on the basis of Jewish or German-Rosenberg racial intolerance, but on the basis of racial ennoblement. (Derision.) We declared that while Liberalism ennobled matter, animals, plants, all of them, but forgot to enoble man himself in his moral, spiritual and material construction, the new worldview must carry out this ennoblement of man in his material and physical aspects, so that man, thus ennobled, may place the ennobled matter at the service of noble ends. (Movement and serenity in the room.)

I must also correct the misconception among the Jewish people of Hungary that we have presented our struggle against the Jewish people as against the Jewish people. This is a mistake simply because we have set up our struggle in the interests of nationalism and socialism, and because we are socialists, we have set up our struggle most sharply against profit capitalism. And profit capitalism was entirely in Jewish hands. (Move.) So in our fight against profit capitalism, we understand the enemy to be the one in whose hands this capitalism was. Please take note of this, because it is a fact.

Public prosecutor: bluff!

Szálasi: The laws and regulations published during the previous governments tried to solve this issue, and I think that from this point of view every single member of the Hungarian nation accepted them, more or less in agreement. On the other hand, I am also convinced that every single member of the Hungarian nation rejects, as I do, the way in which it is being implemented in Germany

happened. (Murmurs in the room.)

I must point out that, from the point of view of general moral perception, it makes no difference whether this treatment is applied to one person or to ten or even twenty million people. The view of Hungarism therefore remains unchanged, namely, that the question of the Jews must be solved, that it cannot remain open, and that the best way to solve it is as laid down in our nation-building plan. As long as this question is not solved, both the individual peoples and the Jews will always pay the price.

Social transitions and transformations always have a bloody side. These cannot be avoided, it is inherent to such social transformations. But it should be noted that just because a transition has such a bloody side, the worldview itself, which is implemented as a necessary command for practical life, need not be taken off the agenda. To the bloody labour and to this bloody side belong not only the events which the gentlemen here have witnessed, but also the bloody facts which we have witnessed outside in Germany. When, according to official records, as many people died in Dresden on a single night before the end of the war as there were inhabitants in Szeged, this too belongs to the bloody side of social transformation, of total war. If you like, it was also a necessary thing to hasten the end of the war. But one cannot separate one from the other. The war has lost its brakes, everyone in the war has used every means at his disposal. This has to be acknowledged, however sad, because it is a fact. The emotions that were unleashed caused the excesses and atrocities that are indeed deeply regrettable, but which a later historian will understand in the same way as we understand the Soviet Revolution between 1917 and 1924 or the great French Revolution at the end of the 18th century.

I feel that events are not yet concluded. There are still all the issues for which this great social mourning actually began at the beginning of the 20th century, and which the 1914-18 world war could not close and resolve. Until these issues are resolved, we must always expect the great travail of the globe and of all the peoples living on it. The questions are still completely open, and this has led me to say that I feel that there is no peace yet. It may be that preparations are already under way, but it is more accurate to say that the whole globe is one big military camp in which there is a temporary truce. The great battle of Catalaunum of the 20th century has not yet been fought. That is yet to come. This will decide, in my feeling, as it did its predecessor a thousand years ago, the great question of what kind of cultural circle Europe will be part of, whether Europe can hold its great destiny in its own hands or whether it will be subject to the will of another.

And I would also like to record my opinion that losing a war is not in itself a disgrace or a shame. It only means that my opponent was stronger. The shame and disgrace begin when I remain on the ground and do not want to stand on my own two feet, do not want to start my life as a fighter again. But as long as a Nation is capable of doing so, and I am convinced that my Hungarian Nation is capable of doing so, that it has not lost the war, it will always be on the path of life and will really be able to build its political, economic and social life in the way that its great interests demand and require.

Once again, our nation faces a crucial choice: once again, it must choose between East and West. I have a feeling that our nation will make the right choice...

President (interrupting): Ferenc Szalasi, I interrupt you here. This is not for your defence. You have nothing to do and nothing to do in the field of foresight and foresight. I would warn you that, on this line, in terms of predictions, the nation does not want to listen to your words. You should concern yourself with your own defence. (Applause from the audience.)

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Szalasi: I have the feeling that if you have to choose the great movements for the development and progress of humanity, you have chosen rightly and well.

In this trial, the nation will be the final arbiter. Its judgment will, however, in all circumstances, be based on factual foundations, and the factual foundations, the actual foundations, will only be revealed to it by events. That is why I am convinced that only after many years will our Hungarian nation be in a position to pronounce the final judgement on me.

The Hungarists will not falter, and this is in response to a comment made by a member of the prosecution.

President: this is not your defence either.

Szalasi: It was raised by the prosecution, and since it was raised by the prosecution, I will say in my defence... The President: (interruption).

Szalasi: Yes.

President: Your defence does not include how you see the future fate of your Hungarist Movement, that is for the nation to decide. (Applause from the audience.) I warn you once again: deal with the past, because that is the path of your defence, the future is in the hands of the nation, and Ferenc Szalasi is, thank God, once and for all excluded from it.

Szalasi: I declare, Mr. President of the Council, that I feel restricted in my defence in this respect. (There is derision in the audience.) I will not exempt myself from prosecution and I will not escape from it. (There is derision in the audience.) Everyone knows that everything that has been said about me is untrue and that my personal honour is most seriously affected.

In place of those who have forgotten themselves in the past, I will pursue those against whom they have sinned. But because of them, a tiny group, the others cannot be punished. They cannot be mocked, vilified and pilloried as they do, they certainly do not deserve it. I thank everyone, without exception, for following me on this difficult journey. Thank you all for your faith, thank you for your sacrifice and your commitment (Cheerful serenity.), which has supported your faith and guided you in your actions. I thank tire old, the orphans, the heroic dead, the disabled,...

Ombudsman: They thank you too!

Szalasi:...that they made holy sacrifices for this faith.

Pol. prosecutor: Would you hear their curses! Would you hear that!

Szalasi: With the fullest conviction of my soul, I salute the heroic fighters and the heroic people of the former enemy. I thank them for the manly fight they fought with honour and conviction. I ask the Lord to add to their victorious weapons the banner of righteousness and to give their leaders the wisdom to build peace on the globe as soon as possible in the spirit of a cultural community of free, independent and autonomous working peoples and nations.

My nation and its former enemies should know that I have always trusted and believed in the victory of the Germans, I have never doubted it. If I had doubted it in the slightest degree for a single moment, I would have put all the faith, confidence and love of my dearly beloved Hungarian nation and people, which flowed towards me, with all my strength and talent, unmistakably, unequivocally and without wavering, in the honourable service of the conclusion of an immediate peace.

I know that my Hungarian nation will never shy away from the big questions of life and will always make its decisions as its honour and interests demand. To this end, I want to burn into the souls of all its peasants, workers, intellectuals, women, children, young men and soldiers that it is possible to die in the service of our nation, but

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never get tired. God be with my nation. I am finished. (There was laughter in the audience.) After the replies of the People's Prosecutor Frank and the Pol:

President: Silence, please! Ferenc Szalasi, you have the right of reply. Do you wish to speak? Szalasi: Yes, just one sentence.

President: Here you go.

Szalasi: I have expressed my views on the things I maintain, and I have the right to say the last word, but I just want to say that the truth I proclaim is very great, if there is such great and uncontrollable hatred towards me.