

**Miklós Banai – Béla Lukács**

# **The unity of the Carpathian Basin**

**Why did it disappear? Can it be restored?**

(Abridged English version)



**Helikon Kiadó**

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## Foreword

I am happy to present the abridged English edition of yet another book by Helikon Kiadó. Two friends of mine, Béla Lukács and Miklós Banai have written a book, which is special in that they are both physicists, writing about history. It is a great honour Mr László Tőkés that has contributed a preface to this version of their work. This book has multiple readings. It can be regarded as a history book and food for thought, yet its timeliness and relevance is more considerable than one would imagine. Allow me to establish a few things: NATO is in the process of reconsidering its philosophy which is being created by Madeleine Albright, former US Secretary of State. When people talk politics, they always try to find points of reference, “compared to which” this or that happened. Why is it in the interest of an American to make Central Europe or specifically Hungary strong? What have we got to do with Central Asia? Where are our interests derived from? When talking business and two companies bring together their cultural backgrounds – an example from my own life is talking to Slovak companies as a Hungarian – what invariably comes up is what we have to do with each other. Why? Business interests are one thing, naturally, and having points of reference or roots are another. Consequently, initiatives are not the cause of historians or politicians or economic policy-makers, but of all of us, informed, intelligent and kind hearted people. I believe that every book and every new argument that can be brought up to make people think, will also bring people closer together.

**János Csák, chairman**  
Helikon Kiadó

## **“A visionary book, the manual of restoring unity”**

**Laudation by László Tőkés, Vice-President of the European Parliament**

Congratulations to the authors for this promising book, which I have barely had the time to leaf through. Needless to say, owing to the pressure of time and my lack of expertise, I am unworthy of the honour of writing about this book; however, allow me to share my impressions with respect to what I believe this book to be about.

I consider “The unity of the Carpathian Basin” a perfectly timely title that works well, since it is my personal endeavour to think in terms of the Carpathian Basin – branded by Slovak politics – and restore its unity. For the sake of association, I have brought along a copy of *Trianoni Szemle* [Trianon Review], suspecting that over the centuries we have been subjected to a great many underlying Trianon processes that run deeper than “our” Trianon.

The Introduction, for example, speaks of a “first” Trianon with regard to the fact that, from a civilisational and the cultural point of view the Polish–Lithuanian region and the Polish–Lithuanian Kingdom was dissolved in 1772. Every historical and political event or action that disrupts the organic unity of an area – “political geographical unity” is the term the authors use in the context of the Carpathian Basin or geographical unity of Central and Eastern Europe, a sovereign territory of Western Latin culture – can be called “Trianonian”.

Recently I was talking to Archimédes Szidiropulosz (he is, I believe a member of the editorial board) of *Trianoni Szemle*, and he was telling me about the Greek Trianon, namely the process by which Greek areas in Asia Minor were cut off Greek culture and the Greek mainland. We nowadays speak of Trianon in the context of Dobrudja – the Romanianisation in Romania’s Dobrudja. However, presumably the world is brimming with Trianon-like events or assaults – and Huntington’s idea comes to mind – and in this respect we might ask this: what does the clash of civilisations, the existence or respect of civilisational and cultural boundaries mean, what is, in geopolitical terms the clash and struggle of civilisations?

I would call this book a visionary book. There are many books in the world that enrich our knowledge and contribute to our understanding in one way or another; however, this book is quite revelatory. A book about the unity of the Carpathian Basin presents us a different perspective. Having read it, we shall take a completely different view of our history, of Eastern and Byzantine Christianity and its relationship with Western Latin Christianity, or of the penetration of Islam and Turkish occupation into Central and Eastern Europe. Allow me to add – although I did not find any reference to it in this book – that the present spread of Islam could, *mutatis mutandis*, entail some equally profound consequences when considered in the light of this book.

The Introduction speaks of two bastions. One is the cultural bastion that was the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom that broke off the political geographical unity of Central and Eastern Europe. Also, it mentions the Polish–Lithuanian bastion, the easternmost stronghold of Western Latin Christendom. Braşov [formerly Brassó or Kronstadt, now in Romania] comes to mind, which is in a different way, the easternmost bastion of Gothic art and Western Europe.

Considering things further in a European context, in my capacity as a Member of the European Parliament, I have made it a personal cause to represent – in keeping with the ideas set out in, and the message, of this book – this fragmented area, subjected to so much controversy, such as the debate over the *raison d’être* of Central Europe to mention but the most familiar one. This region is particularly helped by this type of in-workshop team work. I mean it sets one thinking: how could we use it in the context of accession to the European Union, and what does European accession in

the good sense mean to us, free of the side effects of EU accession, namely the fact that Western Europe still seeks to push us to the peripheries? Accession is a truly difficult matter. Very often we feel we – recently joined post-Communist states – are being dealt with unfairly.

If we could only think so coherently in the context of the whole union or the accession of the Central and Eastern European region, I am convinced the politics of the European Union and the politics of European re-unification could be filled with serious content, and would not be confined to mere opportunism or the exploitation of economic circumstances.

The opening of the Subcarpathian Express in Subcarpathia and the Partium areas of Romania was a great experience the other day, I am sure you have heard. The name of the village of Nevetlen [literally, “Nameless”] caught my ear, the train has a station there. The Central and Eastern European region has become such a nameless rural area worthy of a better fate. It is tragicomical that today we are having to argue for the Slovak Academy of Sciences to graciously permit the use of the term “Carpathian Basin”.

This book has been truly illuminating and I now believe we are heading the right way with the approaching elections. While in recent years some sixty branch lines have been closed, and instead of seeking to rebuild the detached railway network of Subcarpathia that was cut off à la Trianon, we are still suffering from a government whose activity is limited to the management of a crisis that it caused itself, and to the disintegration of not only branch lines, but also the remaining ruins of what was once an organic whole that we inherited from the past.

Let us, like the authors say, endeavour to revive and restore this dilapidated region, this dilapidated political geographical unity in keeping with the demands of a new age. To that end, the present book by Miklós Banai and Béla Lukács on the unity of the Carpathian Basin and published by Helikon Kiadó can be used as a manual. And I greatly respect it.

Read on 29 March 2010 at Helikon Kiadó’s book-presentation ceremony of *The unity of the Carpathian Basin. Why did it disappear? Can it be restored?* by Miklós Banai and Béla Lukács.

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## Introduction

A foreigner travelling around Lake Neusiedl, which straddles the Austrian-Hungarian border, and observing the built environment there, notices two things. The past of the villages and towns around the lake present an architecturally uniform face. But as he crosses the border from west to east, he notices that the condition and quality of the built environment suddenly and strikingly deteriorates. Moving further east, the architectural style that betrays a past shared with Burgenland is still apparent everywhere, but so is the deterioration, and this constantly comes to his attention. Wandering around the historical Upper Hungary (now Slovakia) or Transylvania, he is sadly forced to admit that relics of a highly-cultured past find themselves in a humble present. What could have happened in the Carpathian Basin, he asks, that could have dragged the cultured world of the past into such a state of decay?

This book attempts to give an answer to this question, delving through successive ages and centuries, like an archaeologist uncovering one layer after another, drawing on purely factual, objective findings to reconstruct the past, and picking up on the details of the journey that has led us to the present.

To illustrate the answer we have arrived at, we have chosen maps of Central and Eastern Europe in different eras from the *Történelmi Világatlasz* [Historical Atlas, Cartographia, 1998]. The political geography of the Carpathian Basin through the ages has been one of the defining forces behind the built environment and civilisational achievements of its peoples, and the political geography of Central and Eastern Europe, with its various forms of state and zones of civilisation, has also been influential.

The book summarises, in an accessible form, the research and studies the authors have pursued in this area and their accumulated knowledge of the subject. It to some extent follows from a previous book of essays published by Dartmouth in 1995 [Banai and Lukács 1995], and draws on our travels to various parts and historic towns of the Carpathian Basin in recent years. These have included Nyitra (Nitra), Kassa (Kosice), Selmecbánya (Banská Štiavnica), Körmöcbánya (Kremnica), Lőcse (Levoča), Késmárk (Kežmarok), Besztercebánya (Banská Bistrica) and Eperjes (Prešov) in former Upper Hungary (Slovakia); Nagyvárad (Oradea), Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), Segesvár (Sigișoara), Székelyudvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc), Csíkszereda (Mercurea-Ciuc), Brassó (Brașov), Fogaras (Făgăraș), Nagyszeben (Sibiu), Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), Déva (Deva) and Arad in Transylvania (Romania); and Fiume (Rijeka), Zára (Zadar) and Tengerfehérvár (Biograd na moru) in Croatia.

The political geographical unity of the Carpathian Basin lives on in the Hungarian memory. One might mention the sticker in the outline of Hungary-Croatia which is very commonly seen on car bumpers. This book will therefore definitely be of interest to Hungarians, but it also has something to say to all peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, especially those with Latin Christian (*filioque*) roots. It also speaks to all Europeans who believe in the independence of Europe, and who believe that the 500 million European citizens are capable of once again forming Europe into a form of state that is a cultural-civilisational and economic centre of the world.

The authors agree that there are three principal community-forming religious-transcendental ideals which, along with the communities and societies they have given rise to, have defined and will continue to define the political geography of the Carpathian Basin:

1. Latin (Western) Christianity
2. Greek Orthodox Christianity,
3. Islam.

The permanent political geographic unit, in the form of the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom, was established when Latin Christianity was adopted and the church system built up in the eleventh century. The administration of the territory itself was aligned to the church organisation through dioceses and bishoprics. The Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom became the south-eastern frontier, the bastion, of Latin Christendom.

The Ottoman Turkish Empire, which took Islam as its organisational basis, interrupted the unity of this political geographical entity for a century and a half in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During that time, hardly any of those in the occupied territories changed their religion (“apostates”), and neither was there any fundamental change in the customs of law and property.

After the fall of Byzantium, the centre of Orthodox Christianity shifted to the Grand Duchy of Moscow. This essentially marked the birth of the Russian empire and the start of its expansion. The empire adopted Orthodox Christianity as its transcendental ideology, and its property customs were defined by the Slav village community. The communities and state organisations which developed from these foundations were therefore divergent in nature from those based on either Latin Christianity or Islam.

The fundamental distinguishing feature of Latin Christian civilisation is that it provides the means of survival of the community by constantly building upon human cognitive appreciation and scientific advances, and most of all it improves living standards through technical invention and not by unrestrained extraction and exploitation of the natural and human environment.

The fundamental reason for the break-up of the political geographic unity of the Carpathian Basin in 1918–1919, in the wake of the First World War, was the Western expansion of the Slavic Orthodox empire. The Russian Empire thus struck the second serious blow to Latin Christendom after the dissolution of the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom in 1772, the last eastern bastion of Latin Christian civilisation.

Although the Empire only reached the Hamburg-Vienna line in 1945, the dropping out of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was undoubtedly the consequence of expansion to the west and south-west launched with the dissolution of Congress Poland in the first half of the nineteenth century, continuing with the Balkan Wars in the last quarter of the century and culminating in the outbreak of the First World War. This process was clearly perceived by Count Gyula Andrassy in the second half of the 1800s.

While moving to dissolve Poland, it attempted to take the southern and south-eastern areas of the Carpathian Basin by setting up dependent states. Thus the hitherto non-existent state of Romania was created out of the Wallachian and Moldavian Principalities, and Serbia and Bulgaria were established on the former Balkan lands of the Ottoman Empire.

Although the military defeat in the First World War at the hands of the German/Austro-Hungarian alliance set off a civil war in the Empire in 1918-19, the new militant elite that came to power as a result was even more despotic than the Russian Empire. In the Second World War, by then rechristened the Soviet Union and helped by the United States, the Empire it took revenge for its defeat in the First World War and pushed its border out into Central Europe, up to the Hamburg-Vienna line.

In the following half-century, the “Eastern Empire”, with its deep foundations in the Slavic village community and rooted in the Greek Orthodox religion, held one sixth of the world in its yoke and pursued a civilisational struggle against the Latin Christian-based “Western Empire”, allied under NATO, for repartition of the rest. Since the Eastern Empire built its despotic system on the unlimited exploitation of natural and human resources, the depletion of these resources inevitably caused it to fall behind the organically-developing Western civilisation, built as it was on broad application of surplus knowledge. Having expended its internal energies in the civilisational struggle,

the Eastern Empire collapsed in 1990. It was obliged to relinquish the acquisitions it had made in Central and Eastern Europe between 1772 and 1945, and to loosen its despotic regime.

In the 18 years since then, the Western Empire has been gradually integrating the liberated Central and Eastern European lands via NATO and the European Union.

We have reached the conclusion that only a more coherent, less dispersed political geography, one that is more efficient than that born of the “divide and rule” principle, can defend itself against the strengthening Eastern/Russian Empire and its reviving expansion ambitions – and against Islamic civilisation. This realisation could be the basis for the revived political-geographical unity of the Carpathian Basin, in a confederative arrangement which would be stabilised and strengthened by a more cost-efficient member state structure.

This does have a chance in the long term: the striking historic parallels suggest that NATO, under the leadership of the United States, might be called the New Roman Empire. The Western Roman Empire would correspond to North America and the Eastern Roman Empire to the European Union. In this respect, the Eastern Roman Empire would have a greater chance of survival, just as its precursor did.

It is also clear from history that the break-up of the Western Roman Empire did not result in completely mutually independent states, but a set of states (loosely) held together by the Christian church. This was a loose confederation which, until the Reformation, was held together by the institution of the Papacy, and its costs were met by Papal taxes. The Reformation, including the formation of the Anglican Church, weakened the unity, and thus the defensive capabilities, of Europe. Besides all of its positive effects and achievements, Protestantism paradoxically assisted the expansion of the Islamic-based Turkish Empire. One of the slogans of the movement launched by Martin Luther was refusal to pay “Turkish taxes”, which undoubtedly weakened the regular military forces that could be sent to, or raised in, Hungary to wage war against the Turks. The Thirty Years’ War also prolonged the Turkish occupation of Hungary. Ultimately, the expulsion of the Turks from the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom was launched only by the resolute intervention of the Polish King John Sobieski in 1683<sup>1</sup>.

It is also a fact that the time of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and thus of the Thirty Years’ War, when the peoples of Latin Christian Europe were at war with one another, saw the rise of the Grand Duchy of Moscow, which for centuries had been of insignificant power, a vassal to the Golden Horde. First it conquered the East European region under the Ural Mountains, and then, by the end of the seventeenth century, Siberia. It thus built up an empire of contiguous lands of enormous extent, a hinterland endowed with almost unlimited natural resources.<sup>2</sup> This put the Russian Empire in a position to make its successful attack on Christian Europe in the eighteenth century. The dissolution of the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom in 1772-94 had a decisive influence on the defence of Latin Christian Europe. Until then, Central and Eastern Europe, with its civilisation advantage, had a mobilisable population that could balance that of the Russian Empire. After 1772, this balance tilted in favour of the Russians. This had consequences which the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe bore for the next two hundred years, the ruination of lives and prospects over several generations.

*The lesson to be drawn from this is the need to reinforce the transcendental foundations of the “Western Empire”, the power which holds together Latin Christian civilisation. This must involve restoring our connections with the historic Latin Christian churches. This is what the people of Western civilisation expect from us, as the only way to defend ourselves effectively against civilisations based on Islam and Orthodox Christianity.*

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1 This act is done justice by a painting of monumental proportions in one of the central halls of the Vatican Museum.

2 The Russian Empire is usually described as a colonial empire, but the contiguity of its territory distinguishes it from the European (British, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German and Italian) colonial empires, with vast oceans separating the parent countries from their colonies.

It may also be stated that in 45 years, the Russian Empire had a deeper effect on the society of the Carpathian Basin than the Ottoman Turks had in 150 years. The thousand-year history of integration of the Carpathian Basin into Latin Christian civilisation slid further than it ever had down the scale relative to Western civilisation. The Russian Empire fundamentally transformed Carpathian Basin society, ended private property – one of the pillars of Western civilisation – and thus put people’s means of living at the mercy of the Empire’s administration. It also tried to transform the basic apparatus of religion and community life. Unlike the period of Turkish rule, when a negligible proportion of the population in the occupied areas changed their faith to become apostates in the service of the Turkish imperial administration, the Russian Empire managed during its 45-year presence to make a huge section of the population, reduced to existential dependence, change their “religion”, or ideology, and become “apostates” at the beck and call of the imperial administration. The social hierarchy in the Carpathian Basin that had formed along the Latin Christian value system was taken apart and replaced by the imperial hierarchy. This transformation of the hierarchy was, in its effect on a value system based on Western civilisation, like the disturbance of a clarified glass of wine, when the sediment is flung up to the top.

The Empire achieved particularly far-reaching changes in the province it christened the People’s Republic of Hungary, where, prompted by the 1956 uprising, it effected a more systematic transformation.

The political geographic unity of the Carpathian Basin was personified by an elite, the peak of a social hierarchy which evolved under the Latin Christian value system and drew its legitimacy from it. Employing the *divide et impera* principle, the Russian Empire prepared its expansion in the south-western direction with ideological and financial support for separatist movements threatening the political geographic unity of the Carpathian Basin. In the matter of ideology, it offered representatives of the Czechs and Serbs the concept of Slavic origins and offered representatives of Romanian separatism a community of faith in the Orthodox Church. Dazzled by the attraction of short-term material gain and advantage and failing to look around them, they took not notice of what had happened to Slavic-speaking Poland, and were indifferent to Moscow’s intention to do the same to the communities they were inflaming as they had done to the Poles. This mesmerising, diversionary activity resulted in the weakening of the Carpathian Basin elite, and invasions by Czechs in Upper Hungary, Romanians in Transylvania and Serbs in southern Hungary and Croatia. Ultimately, the arrival of their patrons – the conquerors – in 1945 brought about the physical and material destruction of the entire elite. When the liberation of the Carpathian Basin came in 1991, it lacked a historically-embedded elite selected by the criteria of the value system of Latin Christian civilisation. Apart from the existing personnel of the Empire’s administration, only the historical churches had an organisation and leadership on a national scale.

An essential condition for restoration of territorial unity in the Carpathian Basin is the re-establishment of a social hierarchy based on the value system of Western civilisation, with a legitimate elite capable of re-conceiving the political geographical unit, the principle of “together we can do more”, rediscovering the natural truth that “we can pursue our interests more effectively in a European Union that is progressing towards confederation – a ‘United States of Europe’.”

Part of this process is the re-strengthening of the Central and Eastern European zone formerly constituted by the kingdoms of Poland-Lithuania and Hungary-Croatia. This can now only be achieved if all peoples with Latin Christian roots who live here – the Poles, Lithuanians, Western Ukrainians, Slovaks, Romanians, Hungarians and Croatians – rally together. To join forces is not only in the natural interest of these peoples, it is the key to the long-term independence of Latin Christian Europe.

Each chapter of the book looks at a different aspect of the historical developments and intellectual currents that have decided the fate of the Carpathian Basin, pointing out the occurrence of the *divide et impera* principle in the unfolding of events and the appearance of different ideologies and ideas.

Owing to space limitations, the book does not give a fully-detailed chronology, but it does go into the detailed history of critical periods which the people of the Carpathian Basin and the wider

Central and Eastern European region either have little awareness of or have been taught with distortions added to suit the conquerors. In these cases, we have attempted to point out contradictions and outline possible explanations, drawing on a broad set of sources.

We will see that the Carpathian Basin, although it has been a self-contained unit at least since the formation of the Avar state in 568 – cannot be understood purely in its own terms. The Carpathian Basin is the southern half of a region. The northern part has, since 1386, mainly been known as the “Polish-Lithuanian region”. Despite the close links between the two regions, however, no single name for them has come into general acceptance, at least in Hungarian. They are often referred to as Eastern Europe, but geographically this should include everything up to the Urals. Following the poet Endre Ady, we might call it the “ferry region” (*komp-régió*), because it resembles neither countries such as France or Germany, nor Moldova and Russia; although Ady was not thinking about the north of the region. We cannot call it Central Europe, because that we would have to exclude the Czech Republic, Austria, Switzerland and the consistent proclaimer of the *Mittel-Europa* concept, Germany. Nowadays, Hungarian intellectuals sometimes say “Eastern Europe”, but more usually “Central and Eastern Europe”, which is brief but does not refer to the centre of Eastern Europe. In terms of the society discussed in this book, Europe basically divides between West and East, and we are a Latin Christian-based society at the eastern side of the West.

The reader will learn from the book how the region in question – which we will refer to as Central and Eastern Europe – was the basis for the similarities among our societies.

The book is arranged into chapters as follows:

Chapter 1 summarises nineteenth century ideas and movements concerning origins, language and concepts of society. The following four chapters draw on the present scientific consensus to summarise what we know about the origins of European man, the origin of the languages spoken in Europe and the development of the cultures and societies which prevailed in Europe at the end of the Western Roman Empire, and how they developed subsequently in the centuries up to the first millennium. A separate chapter is devoted to the development of the equestrian nomadic life, the Andronovan Bronze Age culture.

After the very broad subject matter of these background chapters, we turn to the Carpathian Basin and its political geography. Starting from the Hungarian Conquest, four chapters proceed swiftly through the entire period up to the Peace of Karlóca, which marked the end of the Ottoman Turkish occupation.

The following three chapters examine the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom, the formation of the Russian/Muscovite Empire, and how the latter started to expand, culminating in Central and Eastern Europe’s first “Trianon”, the partition of Poland-Lithuania, a process which takes us up to the early nineteenth century.

The next chapter presents the Carpathian Basin from the Peace of Karlóca up to the Padua Armistice, the end of the First World War.

The next chapter is a detailed presentation of the *internal* developments which worked to divide the peoples of the Carpathian Basin. It focuses on the issues of Slav/Slovakian affinities from the aspect of the population and languages of Upper Hungary (modern Slovakia).

The following four chapters look at the *external* developments and events leading to the break-up of political geographical unity in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Then three chapters present the detachment of the Carpathian Basin and Central and Eastern Europe from Western civilisation for nearly half a century, and the process of their return, which continues today.

One chapter is devoted to an estimate of the losses suffered owing to the shattering of the political geographical unity of the Carpathian Basin and its being wrenched from Western civilisation, given as averages per family. *It turns out that every family in the Carpathian Basin lost an average of some three million euros over the 80 years after 1918.*

The main text of the book closes with conclusions and dedications, after which four appendices giving the sources which support our position.

Of the main findings of our book, we would like to highlight two.

If we go beyond the nineteenth century pan-Slavic and *übermensch* ideologies the sources tell us that the Czechs are principally of Celtic (Bohemian) origin, and the Slovaks are Teutons of Gepida (Germanic) origin, while the Poles and Croatians can be traced to the Sarmatians.

After the fall of Rome, the European or Western civilisation that had developed from Latin Christian cultures was rekindled by Latin, German and Celtic peoples who rearranged Western Europe into its states, and by Sarmatian and Ugor peoples who arranged Central and Eastern Europe into its states.

## Chapter 13

### State formation in the Carpathian Basin: 1699–1866 and 1867 – 4 November 1918 (Extract)

We can state unequivocally that the independent Kingdom/Republic of Hungary seceding from the Habsburg Empire had no chance of survival as a stable entity in the shadow of the Russian Empire. Once Moscow had broken up the Polish-Lithuanian monarchy, one of its next goals was clearly the conquest of the Carpathian Basin and the Balkans. It would obviously have been able to achieve this goal more quickly against a Hungary left to fend for itself. Neither would the Habsburgs have been able to maintain hold of their territories outside of the Holy Roman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century, and thus their fall – and with this, north German (Prussian) control of the south German (Austrian) domains – would have taken place sooner. It was the recognition of this interdependence and the situation at hand that led to the Compromise of 1867 and the creation of the dual monarchy as an alliance between Austrians and Hungarians. This was followed a year later by an accord and strengthening of the centuries-old alliance between the Hungarians and Croats.<sup>3</sup>

Following the Bach period, which blocked the development of the Carpathian Basin, a phase of spectacular growth was launched under the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy for a good four and a half decades, the best part of half a century. This Central European state of several nationalities, with a population expanding to 52 million, thus became a precursor to today's European Union. The civilizational achievements of this half-century remain clearly apparent today throughout the Carpathian Basin, with the architectural stamp of the period seen not only in the downtown cityscape of Budapest or Rijeka (Fiume) but in almost all the major cities of the region. Public and higher education, health services, the foundations of communication, transport (including the railway network), water management and more all went through a period of defining growth in these decades. If we visit our cemeteries throughout the Carpathian Basin, the burial relics and black granite tombstones of this age are clearly distinguishable from the far more modest memorials of the ages that followed. These were the times of peace, as our grandparents and great-grandparents would say.

Territorial administration also underwent major change. In 1872 the system of counties was nationalized – to use a modern phrase. The noble counties were abolished. The lesser nobility and gentry abruptly lost their social function and role of many centuries' standing. The gentry then appeared as favoured literary types and characters, as nobles proud of their past and pedigree but struggling in a constant state of existential uncertainty, seeking to find their place in a society where the middle classes were in the ascendant. A centralized administration created in the spirit of national liberalism and adapted to the French model, backed by a parliamentary democracy and legislature built on an ever-increasing level of enfranchisement, took the place of the Christian state organization of Saint Stephen, which was a republic of the nobility based on an alliance and social pact between the ruling family and clan leaders.<sup>4</sup> Within this centralized state structure, an increas-

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3 One of the leading figures in framing the compromise from the Hungarian side was Count Gyula Andrásy, who had been sentenced to death in absentia in 1849 by the representative of the other side in the compromise, Franz Joseph of the Habsburgs!

4 Japan underwent similar changes at this time. However, in protecting the Japanese islands surrounded by seas, this change was less fraught with risk than in the case of the Carpathian Basin, then already half-encircled by the Russian Empire and its vassals.

ing role was assigned to Budapest and – in common affairs – Vienna, by means of the ministries situated there. Though clearly perceiving the danger from Russia, Andrassy and his circle did not reckon with the risk that the new administration represented in terms of defence of its territories against that country. What would happen if the centre became unable to function?<sup>5</sup> How would the territory then be defended? In 1872 (and in the four decades that followed) the question was barely placed on the agenda, and thus no answer was found. This led to the collapse of the Hungarian-Croatian historical confederation in November and December 1918.

But why would they have dealt with this question when the path of development was so unparalleled? The standard of living and quality of life, as well as the gross national product per capita, increased on an unprecedented scale. In the company of Great Britain, Germany and France, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy belonged to the club of most advanced states in Europe and the world as a whole [Reden 1989]. Within the Monarchy, the development of the Hungarian-Croatian confederation was even more dynamic than that of the other member countries. Historical economic figures show that gross national income per capita in the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom in 1850 was 58% that of the Austrian hereditary provinces. This figure had risen to 70% by 1913 [Molnár and Tarján 1995].<sup>6</sup> One might ask where the Russian Empire stood in comparison to this level of development at that time; or Romania, newly formed after liberation from the Turks; or Serbia, itself also scarcely freed from the Turkish yoke.

And yet the work of undermining, of resurrecting and inflaming separatist movements, had largely been done already. Following its encircling movement to the north, the Russian Empire set about hemming in the Carpathian Basin by means of expansion into the Balkans to the south. The spread of Pan-Slavism and Orthodox Christianity continued. In New York, the Czech Tomas Garrigue Masaryk<sup>7</sup> called the Monarchy a prison of peoples. This was high-sounding demagoguery, of course. For how would he have described the contemporary Russian Empire, or the British, French, Italian, Portuguese and other colonial empires? Or even the United States, which he was then visiting as a guest, where slavery – having only just been abolished as a legal opportunity – was still alive in practice in the Southern states; where the genuinely native Indians – in contrast to the native Slavic/Daco-Romanian theories of state-employed historians of some newly created states – were forced into reservations, and where, then as now, every immigrant family would abandon its native tongue and switch to English after two generations. By contrast, in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and in the Hungarian-Croatian state within it, every ethnic group was able to preserve both its linguistic and cultural identity – and for a long time its autonomy – across many centuries. Had this not been so, the subject of Masaryk's demagoguery could not have even existed since the Monarchy would then have been a linguistically homogenous dual state of one or two (German, Hungarian) peoples. To put it another way, if Masaryk had been right he would not have been able to even say what he did, since the official language of the Bohemian Czech prince-electoral he would

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5 The seizing of the centre by a small group of terrorists or agents representing external interests is a favourite topic of films these days. Even the makers of these films themselves see such situations being resolved only through the intervention of heroic individuals.

6 Based on the lines of Attila József declaring that “one and a half million of our people staggered out to America,” the popular belief spread that our countrymen fled to the United States to escape difficult living conditions. However, the living conditions that greeted them there were worse beyond compare. No one takes into account the numbers that returned, nor the fact that people were emigrating to America from all across Europe. This phenomenon is by no means unknown in human history. It was standard practice in the Greek city-states as they rapidly flourished and became overpopulated, thus giving birth to the Hellenistic civilization in the Mediterranean. The European civilization of North America is precisely the result of European immigration. Armed with their labour and the expertise they brought from home, they created the American economy and conditions of existence.

7 He took the name Garrigue in honour of the rich Irish family of his wife. It is open to question, of course, whether the honour was in recognition of the family or its money.

have become German during the centuries of the Holy Roman Empire. Consequently, the Czechs' opposition to the dual monarchy could never have even come about.<sup>8</sup>

Even so, there is a huge difference between a territory belonging to Western civilization or to Eastern (Orthodox) Russia. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a good example of this. Pursuant to a resolution of the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the small Balkan country was "occupied" by Austria-Hungary and thus joined Western civilization for 40 years. As numerous documentary film narrators have described it, these 40 years remained in the memory of the country that gained independence following the Yugoslav Wars; uniquely, they also brought a standard of public administration, education, healthcare, rule of law and infrastructure not seen before or since. Unfortunately, we experienced exactly the opposite following the Russian "occupation" of the Carpathian Basin in the twentieth century. Despite this, English-language historical documentaries continue even today to portray the occupation as an expansion of Austria-Hungary into the Balkans which the Russian tsar could not have watched impassively. But what business could the Russian tsar have had with Bosnia and Herzegovina, which lies some 2,000 kilometres from Moscow or Saint Petersburg and which previously belonged to the Turkish Empire for some 400 years (hence the conversion of Bosnians to Islam), having spent another good 300 years before that as a vassal of the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom? Unfortunately this is a question that the makers of these English-language historical documentaries fail to ask even today, clearly betraying their very meagre knowledge of this region.

And yet the answer is simple: It upset the Russian Empire's plans for conquest, which envisaged reaching as far as the Mediterranean and taking possession of the Carpathian Basin and the Balkans (following the ideology of the Third Rome, as the self-appointed successor to the Byzantine Empire). Consciously or unconsciously, Tomas Garrigue Masaryk aided this plan when he described the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a prison of peoples. Pan-Slavism and Orthodox Christianity at that time were thus already serving the principle of "divide and rule," more specifically the conquest of the designated territories.

Let us examine the case of the Felvidék (Upper Hungarian) region and the Slovak people. Taking the 1910 census as a starting point, approximately 2 million people then lived on the territory of today's Slovakia, some 66% of them Slovak and 24% Hungarian-speaking, with the remainder mainly speakers of German and Ruthenian. The current population is 5 million, meaning that there should be at least 1.2 million Hungarian speakers and approximately 3.3 million speakers of Slovak. On the contrary, there are only around 600,000 Hungarians while the rest are almost all Slovak, which is to say that some 600,000 former Hungarian speakers have switched to the Slovak tongue. So where did the current 3.8 million Slovaks come from? In the Hungarian language, the non-Hungarian and non-German speaking population of Felvidék were known as *tót*, just as the non-Hungarian speaking population of the Slavonian region between the Drava and Sava rivers, in what was then known as "Horvát-Tótország", were also known as *tót*. The word *tót* itself derives from the word Teuton. In mediaeval Latin documents the Germans (Germanic peoples) were known as Teutons. Archaeological artefacts show that at the time of the Hungarian settlement there were still Gepid (i.e. Germanic) villages in the Carpathian Basin, as we discussed in Chapter 4. It cannot be ruled out that these were colonized by the Hungarian settlers to serve as borderlands in the Carpathians and the region between the Drava and Sava rivers. Neither can it be ruled out that the Teutonic people located in these border zones adapted to the Indo-European languages of the neighbouring majority peoples, namely the Croats and Wends in the region of the Drava and Sava, and the White Croats in the northern Carpathians and above. Later the language of the White Croats merged with that of the Polish, and then Polish-Lithuanian state, and further east with

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8 It is a fact that the Czechs' struggles for independence over the centuries cannot be compared with the Hungarians' continuous advocacy of their independence. We need only recall the Battle of White Mountain, where the Czechs capitulated without even waiting for the relief troops of Gábor Bethlen. The creation of the dual state, on the other hand, was preceded by a war of independence, demonstrating the military parity of Austria and Hungary in black and white.

Ruthenian. The Felvidék borderlands coexisted peacefully for many centuries with the peoples living to the north and north-east, often in joint confederations. Moreover, the cash-strapped King Sigismund pledged 13 towns to the Polish king. To the West, the people of Felvidék coexisted with the Moravians, albeit not always so peacefully. During the Turkish occupation, many people were forced to flee to the Felvidék region from the one-time “Horvát-Tótország”. These are facts that are unanimously verified by numerous separate written documents and archaeological sources. (To mention one exotic source, this is what the *Turkish* “anonymous from 1740” had to say in “Macar tarihi” [Blaskovics 1982]: “In certain regions of Macaristan, the *tót* people had settled, who earlier migrated from the steppes together with the Magyars [even before the Ostrogoths]... Apart from these, the above-mentioned Saxon tribe remained in Transylvania...” The latter sentence naturally corresponds to the “continuity theory” then prevalent among the Saxons of Transylvania.) Examining the linguistic record of the Felvidék region, as we do in the next chapter, we find that it contains only mixed (Hungarian and *tót*) linguistic remnants. Written documents up to and including the eighteenth century, meanwhile, can be found only in Latin, German and Hungarian (naturally in addition to occasional Polish-language documents from the towns pledged by Sigismund). The three Felvidék *tót* dialects – the eastern, central and western – also point back only to these facts. Until the 1700s, no one mentioned the Slovaks in documents from Felvidék, except for a single instance to be mentioned in the next chapter. Later, as Poland-Lithuania was dismembered in 1772 and the Russian Empire became the neighbour of the Habsburg countries, the “Slavic” ideology began to slowly infiltrate Felvidék.

In the early 1800s, the theory of the Slovak origin of the *tót* people of Felvidék was born. The weak point of the theory is that there are no entirely separate written and archaeological sets of evidence, just as there is no unequivocal linguistic record either. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine such evidence since the current theory of Great Moravian origin must confront the question of where these Moravian Slovaks disappeared to in Felvidék for a good 700 years, or at least 21 generations. The “Slovakization” of Felvidék fired by the nineteenth century Pan-Slavic ideology, with the help of linguistic reform, thus accounted for the *tót* people found there in the 1910 census who became Slovak speakers, but made no mention of how these “Slovaks” could be descended from the people of Great Moravia. For those not particularly interested in how reliably these origins could be proven, the appearance of the Slovaks in Felvidék might have represented a sheer gain as it could be used to weaken the territorial integrity of the Carpathian Basin and to assist the plans of the conquerors. And there were plenty of people thinking this way in the court of the Tsar.

And so while Tsarist agents successfully promoted Pan-Slavism among the Catholic and Lutheran Czechs and the *tót* people of Felvidék, and both Pan-Slavism and Orthodox Christianity among the Serbs, the Russians’ dedicated network of agents among the Romanian populace was made up of Orthodox priests and popes [Wass 2003], even if the poor believed that they were acting in the interests of Greater Romania. Can any realistically thinking person past or present believe or imagine that a Greater Romania could be created in the shadow of the Russian Empire large enough to remain independent and not merely a Russian vassal state? Had Moscow shown any such inclination in the previous 300 years? Was the history of Poland-Lithuania not familiar to all? And was it not common knowledge for every Romanian in Transylvania that Moldavia and Wallachia were “liberated” by the Russians from the Turks, and that Romania was born from the two voivodeships and Greek-administered Turkish feudal provinces with Russia as midwife? Surely they could not believe that Moscow had done so with altruistic intentions in their case?

By 1914, in the wake of the Balkan Wars, the Russian Empire saw that the time was ripe for the conquest of the Carpathian Basin. In Sarajevo on 28 June, the pretext for war was provided – as has become more or less common knowledge since – with the assassination of the heir presumptive Archduke Franz Ferdinand by a young university student, trained for the task by Russian agents, named Gavrilo Princip. Naturally the war would not be limited to only Central and Eastern Europe,

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9 The author makes no distinction between the Magyars and the Huns.

but would grow into a conflict on a global scale. Thus we reach the moment at the Piave Front on 4 November 1918 when General Weber entered the Entente headquarters to sign the armistice on behalf of the Monarchy, which was confirmed two days later at the supreme command of the Entente powers in Paris. Under the terms of the armistice, the territorial integrity of the Hungarian state of Saint Stephen was recognized and accepted by the Entente [Sachslehner 2007]. The Hungarian-Croatian kingdom at that time counted more than 20 million inhabitants, of which more than one million were trained and experienced, eligible men of fighting age able to bear arms, and either already armed or ready to be mobilized – more than enough in terms of numbers to be able to enforce the conditions of the ceasefire by force if necessary. Particularly if we take into account that the Russian Empire, the initial aggressor in the war, recognized defeat and agreed a peace with the German-Austrian-Hungarian alliance.

## Chapter 15

### The gradual encircling of Latin Christianity's south-eastern bastion by the Orthodox empire

Let us then examine the external processes in Central and Eastern Europe that led to the disintegration of the Carpathian Basin's territorial integrity. In this chapter and the three that follow we present these processes step by step, referring to the relevant maps in *The Historical World Atlas*. The reader may be able to follow our arguments by careful perusal of these maps; indeed, what we have to say may be regarded as a written interpretation thereof.

#### 1830–1831: The dissolution of Congress Poland

In Chapter 11 we looked at the evolution of the Russian Empire up until 1812. We saw that in the space of a short 300 years the small Grand Duchy of Moscow grew into a vast and far-flung empire occupying Eastern Europe and Siberia. Its territory expanded at a near explosive pace in the direction of Asia in the seventeenth century. This was possible primarily thanks to its positional advantage and not to its high level of civilization, since while regular armies of 30-40,000 troops battled against each other in Europe in the Thirty Years War, Moscow was able to occupy the sparsely populated Siberia with forces numbering only a few hundred or thousand, largely made up of Cossacks. With the stock of raw materials and particularly precious metals it found there, Moscow acquired a level of financial solvency that brought stability to its despotic power structure, allowing it to grow from a principality self-styled as the centre of the Orthodox faith and the successor to the Byzantine Empire into an imperial power under the rule of the tsars.

In 1812, two centuries after the Polish army of Hetman Zolkiewski, soldiers of Western civilization once again marched in Moscow's streets in the shape of Napoleon's armies. The French emperor wished to break the continental blockade following Admiral Nelson's victory at Trafalgar through a military campaign waged against the Muscovite Empire. His ultimate defeat was less due to Russian military strategy and far more to the disruption of supply lines as a consequence of the vast distances involved, combined with the harsh East European winter. Countless thousands of French soldiers unaccustomed to the latter were frozen to death. As partial redress for the Polish Trianon, Napoleon created the Duchy of Warsaw in 1807, a small rump of the one-time glory of the Polish-Lithuanian monarchy.<sup>10</sup> The territory that survived to 1815 under the name of Congress Poland was then dissolved by Moscow at the earliest available opportunity in 1831 and incorporated into the empire, as we can see in Map 13. The northern arm of the imperial pincers was thus closed around the Carpathian Basin. What kind of life was led by the poor Poles under the yoke of the Muscovite Empire may be discovered by anyone from the biographical novel of the life of Maria Skłodowska written by her daughter [Curie, 1959].

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<sup>10</sup> Napoleon was also mainly occupied with reconstituting the empire of Charlemagne, despite the fact that in the French Revolution that brought him to power the Gauls wished to gain revenge "for their thousand years of oppression" by consigning the Franks who formed the backbone of the French nobility to the guillotine.

## 1877–1914: Expansion towards the Balkans and the creation of dependent states (Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia)

The Russians had already attempted to embed the southern arm of the imperial pincers by occupying Bessarabia, Moldavia and Wallachia in their war against the Turks in 1806–12. However, at that time they were only able to extend their power lastingly to Bessarabia. They tried again in 1849 in response to a request for help from Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph, again without success. Then the Muscovite Empire, which defined itself as the inheritor of the Byzantine Empire, launched a campaign of conquest from the Caucasus in 1854–55 with the aim of seizing the territories of the Ottoman Empire in Asia Minor. This was halted by a joint drive of French and British forces launched through the Crimean peninsula (who could forget the film *The Charge of the Light Brigade?*).

*Map 14* shows that Moscow did not wait long to launch a fresh campaign of conquest only 22 years later, this time in the direction of the Balkans.

In the major offensive of 1877, the empire reached as far as Constantinople, “liberating” Moldavia, Wallachia, Serbia and Bulgaria along the way. On this occasion, their invasion was only halted by an ultimatum from the Monarchy and the muster of the French-British fleet below Istanbul.

The Congress of Berlin in 1878 recognized the newly created principalities of Romania, Bulgaria and Serbia as independent states. The independence of these states was only a formality, however, as within the Orthodox religious community Moscow’s controlling role as the centre of the Orthodox faith was acknowledged. Consequently, these peoples liberated from the Turks by the Muscovite military forces could rightly be regarded as subjects of the Russian Empire, and their states as informal vassals of Moscow. The Moldavian and Wallachian principalities controlled by Greek leaders under the feudal tenure of the Turks had already entered a personal union before 1878. Later Serbia and Romania became kingdoms. And yet these kingdoms built on the Orthodox Church and its subjects were in no way comparable to the mediaeval Latin Christian kingdoms formed according to the model of Charlemagne’s state organization. Similarly to Moscow, they were instead mapped out in a certain way along the lines of the Byzantine Empire.

Parallel with its invasion of the Balkans and thereafter, Moscow pursued highly intensive campaigns of conquest in Asia, as can be seen in *Map 15*.

The empire extended and stabilized its power in Central Asia, bringing the northern part of Persia within its sphere of influence just as it did the western provinces of Imperial China and Mongolia. It reoccupied the Amur territories and pressed further south to the coast of the Pacific Ocean (Sea of Japan), taking possession of the island of Sakhalin. In 1900 it also occupied Manchuria, and thus found itself face to face with Japan. In these decades the Empire of Japan was catching up with Western civilization, the benefit of which immediately became apparent in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5. The far more mobile and modern fleet of the Japanese Admiral Togo inflicted a crushing defeat on the Russian imperial fleet in the Tsushima Strait as it arrived from Europe having passed around Africa. On land, meanwhile, Japan exacted a similarly destructive defeat on the Russians at Mukden in Manchuria. Subsequently, as a consequence of the mutiny that broke out in the Black Sea fleet, unrest swept throughout the East European portion of the Muscovite Empire. The court of the Romanov Tsar itself recognized that its dominance of a good one sixth of the Earth’s surface was in vain, as in the face of Western civilization it was a very vulnerable conglomeration indeed.

This requires no special explanation if we only recall the Song of the Volga Boatmen. Here it is not the appalling social injustice which chiefly springs to mind, but rather the question of why, in an empire of such limitless natural resources, barges were being hauled upstream by people and not by animals? The answer is very simple. In an empire built in large part on Slavic peasant communities, human labour was cheaper than that of animals, which – in the absence of private property – were scarcely even kept in such communities. Without real and direct private ownership of land, generating new assets was a very inefficient business indeed in the Muscovite Empire. In peasant communities wallowing in collective ownership for centuries, there was no personal responsibility or assumption of risk. All risk and responsibility was borne by the elusive and unaccountable

community, and in such a community there was no motivating force to incentivize or – more pertinently – force people to manage their resources efficiently.

This was clearly recognized in the Romanov court as well. Accordingly, Prime Minister Stolypin began the Romanovs' last great attempt at Westernization, initiating the creation of genuinely private land in the heart of Holy Mother Russia. In our way of thinking accustomed to Western civilization, this was almost a matter of course.

In the view of some intellectuals defining themselves as left-wing thinkers, this repartition of land was nothing other than the consummation of the “thousand-year desire of the peasantry to possess land.” However, in a world where the collective property of peasant communities was sacred, an attitude that hardened into a religious dogma in the centuries of Orthodoxy, people did not think this way at all. And many would later come to realize this following the 1917 Bolshevik counter-revolution against Stolypin's revolution, as numerous new smallholders who had acquired once collectively owned land as a consequence of agrarian reform were simply beaten to death.

But even while Stolypin made his attempt at Westernization, the inherent character of the Muscovite Empire meant there could be no cessation of its constant conquering ambitions. The conquest of the Balkans and the Carpathian Basin featured among the goals of the empire in the nineteenth century, and yet the twentieth century was now upon us. The Turks still ruled the southern part of the Balkans, and so the invasion of the Carpathian Basin, which belonged to Western civilization, was not yet on the agenda. First the Turks had to be expelled from the Balkans, an end that was served by the First Balkan War of 1912–13, as can be seen in *Map 16*.

Moscow's vassal states Serbia and Bulgaria, in alliance with Greece, drove the Turks from the Balkans. However, as a consequence Bulgaria's territory was expanded to an extent that provoked envy in the eyes of its neighbours – who did not wait long to assuage this envy. In the Second Balkan War beginning in 1913, the newly created Balkan states of Romania and Serbia – allied with Greece and the Turkish Empire, the latter which had only recently been their enemy – attacked Bulgaria and used their combined forces to reduce the country's territory, as can be seen in *Map 17*. This naturally opened an incurable wound in Bulgaria, which would subsequently take the earliest available opportunity to cast off its status as a vassal of Moscow.

By 1914, the two Balkan wars had led to the situation shown in *Map 18*. Looking at this map, Moscow judged that the time was ripe for the conquest of the Carpathian Basin for which they had prepared systematically from the nineteenth century.

## Chapter 16

### The First World War: a defensive war against the Russian Empire

If we remove the retrospective spectacles forced on us by our conquerors and evaluate past events in light of the facts and not in a way distorted or falsified to suit their interests, then it is self-evident that the First World War, from the point of view of Austria-Hungary, was a war of defence against the permanently expanding and conquering Russian Empire. In order to support this it is enough to carefully examine the maps showing the territorial evolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Muscovite Russian Empire from the sixteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century.

In the chapters of this book so far, we have endeavoured to demonstrate the background processes in a factual light, based on traceable documentary sources. Comparing the past history of the peoples that created the states of Austria-Hungary with the equivalent “people” in the Russian Empire as we have presented them in the preceding chapters, two entirely different versions of the past emerge. In the case of the Russians, we cannot talk of a state-building people in the sense that we speak of the Austrian (South German), Hungarian or Croatian people. The East European “Russian” people assimilated the Finnic peoples through the Eastern Orthodox religion to at least as great a degree as they assimilated the peoples speaking the Indo-European Baltic dialects in the past 500-600 years. Of the East European city principalities suffering under the yoke of the Mongol Empire and its successors for centuries, it was eventually the Grand Duchy of Moscow that succeeded in rising above the rest and, armed with its Third Rome ideology as the successor to the Byzantine Empire, stabilized its oriental despotic autocracy through constant and perpetual expansion and conquest. For this reason, our view is that this empire and its oriental civilization might be more genuinely described as the Muscovite Empire, in the same sense as the Roman Empire, rather than the Russian Empire. Consequently, we often use the term Muscovite Empire in this book when referring to the Russian Empire and its successor.

Another very potent ideological weapon of this empire was the dissemination of the artificially created myth of Slavic ancestry in Eastern and Central Eastern Europe. Even the heroic Poles were held in thrall to this myth in great numbers, within the vice of Prussian Berlin and Moscow – as were personalities of such high calibre as Karol Wojtyła, Pope John Paul II himself. By example we need only recall the Polish nobility, descendants of the Sarmatians, who overwhelmed the vast Turkish imperial armies of the ambitious Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa with a frontal cavalry assault at Kahlenberg near Vienna in 1683. The Polish hussars galloped into battle bearing on their backs two flags in the form of a wedge, representing a pair of wings. The intended symbolism of the flags was that those bearing them were the descendants of the great sacred bird soaring high in the blue heavens (in Hungarian the *turul*, in Polish the *orzeł*). This symbol can be traced back to the shared Sarmatian-Ugric Bronze Age civilization of Andronovo. For the unfortunate Poles, under the influence of almost 200 years of oppression by Moscow, this consciousness of an illustrious origin morphed into a consciousness of Slavic origin built on very shaky foundations indeed.

The maps clearly show that for 400-500 years the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, with a small degree of fluctuation, essentially extended over the same Central European region that has become organically integrated into Western civilization over the past thousand years. By contrast, the small Grand Duchy of Moscow crushed one sixth of the world beneath it over the same period, approaching the Carpathian Basin in a slow, seemingly unstoppable surge having first outflanked it through the creation of direct vassal states. For the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and

above all Hungary within it, it became clear – particularly after 1849 – that a confrontation with Moscow was inevitable for our own protection. For this reason, Count Gyula Andrásy initiated and established a (defensive) alliance of Germany and Austria-Hungary. The latter had no designs of conquest over its neighbours, no colonies and no ambitions in this regard either. It achieved its dizzying speed of advancement purely by building on the underlying springs of Western civilization.

For the Austro-Hungarian military command, it could obviously be seen clearly in advance that the assassin's bullets of Gavrilo Princip would in reality provide Moscow with its "casus belli." It was apparent that the punitive war to be launched against Serbia would entail Moscow's pre-planned military mobilization. However, possibly judging that conflict was unavoidable anyway, they may have then decided that it would be best to join battle with Moscow under circumstances where the chances of victory were greater. This could even be taken for granted given that Germany and Austria-Hungary, as part of Western civilization, were far more advanced than the Russian Empire. Moreover, the example of Japan showed that Moscow could be halted militarily.

In Moscow, meanwhile, the assessment of the situation was that the pincers that had been planned for a century around the Carpathian Basin were now in place, and so the time to attack had come. At the same time Austria-Hungary was declaring its punitive campaign against Serbia, the Muscovite Empire launched an attack against the German-Austrian-Hungarian alliance. At stake in the conflict from the European perspective was the question of where the border of Western civilization would be drawn in Central and Eastern Europe. The German-Austrian-Hungarian alliance and the armies of Moscow thus squared up against each other along a front line a good 1,000–1,500 kilometres in length, as can be seen in *Maps 19 and 20*.

In terms of the numbers of people that could be mobilized, the advantage – as we have already discussed – lay with Moscow, while the ascendancy ensured by a technological civilization was on the side of the German-Austrian-Hungarian alliance. The struggle was akin to that of two huge wrestlers in the phase of a bout when they are pushing one another back and forth in the effort to gain a grip. This phase of the war lasted for around three years. Turkey also entered the conflict in the autumn of 1914, implicitly siding against Moscow. Another year passed before Bulgaria also judged that the time was ripe to take revenge on Serbia, and it too duly entered the war on the side of the German-Austrian-Hungarian alliance. With this the occupation of the Russian Empire's Balkan bridgehead was complete by the end of 1915. Subsequently Moscow deployed its Romanian vassal in the conflict in 1916, a move that met with an ignominious end within a matter of weeks.

And so while a lethal struggle was raging in Central and Eastern Europe in defence of Western civilization, a no less lethal conflict was being waged on the Western front over an entirely different, far less significant matter: namely, where the "estate boundaries" should be drawn between the inheritors of Charlemagne's empire. To put it another way, the descendants of Louis the German and Charles the Bald were disputing the shared boundaries of the Eastern and Western Frankish Kingdoms – although it is also true that this dispute between the pillars of Latin Christianity and Western civilization had flared up time and time again over the preceding millennium and always with renewed vehemence. Into this conflict over division of the legacy of Lothair<sup>11</sup> entered the Italian state, the inheritors of Louis II of Italy, in 1915, but not on the side of their allies under an earlier signed pact (i.e. the side of Louis the German's descendants), but unexpectedly on the other side, together with the inheritors of Charles the Bald.

Thus we reach the last quarter of 1917, the third year of the war, and conclude the part important to us in terms of the subject of this book, attaching here *Map 21* which summarizes events in Eastern and Central Eastern Europe in the 100 years leading up until 1917.

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11 See the map on page 28 of the *The Historical World Atlas* showing the state of affairs that came about on the basis of the Treaty of Verdun concluded in 843 [Cartographia 1998].

## **Chapter 17**

### **Military victory over the Russian Empire, the outbreak of civil war within the empire, substituting the elite and changing the form of government**

By the third year of the war in 1917, the Muscovite Empire had been weakened at its foundations by the bloody combat and struggle with the military forces of Western civilization for possession of the Carpathian Basin. Moscow had 260 divisions under arms along a front almost 1,500 kilometres in length, ranged against 146 divisions of the German-Austrian-Hungarian alliance. This essentially despotic and autocratic system with a very low capacity for generating anything new of value had exhausted the power of the elements that bound it together and the entire edifice had begun to crumble. With its last strength it launched one more offensive against the Carpathian Basin in the summer of 1917, known as the Kerensky Offensive, which very quickly ran out of steam. The counter-offensive that followed liberated the entire eastern territories of Poland-Lithuania, which had suffered 150 years of Russian oppression, within four months. Moscow declared its capitulation in December 1917, requesting an armistice and peace, which it duly concluded with the German-Austrian-Hungarian alliance at Brest-Litovsk on 3 March 1918.

With this the alliance fully achieved its aims on the Eastern and Balkan fronts, defeating the attacking Muscovite Empire and its vassals Serbia and Romania. Militarily it secured the eastern borders of Western civilization; indeed, it even pushed them back to their position prior to 1772. For Austria-Hungary, but particularly for the Hungarian-Croatian state within it, the war essentially ended in December 1917. No goal remained that was of concern to the Hungarian-Croatian state in any sense, and in practice Austria-Hungary remained at war only with Italy. After the breakthrough at Caporetto the alliance occupied half of the Po plain in December 1917, thus securing the military advantage permitting an accord with Italy to end the war by peaceful means, entailing the withdrawal of its troops to the pre-war borders and the Italians' involvement in the wider pacification of the Balkans and the resolution of issues related to territorial administration. Let us not forget that at the outbreak of the war Italy was an ally of Austria-Hungary.

We can therefore state unequivocally that by the end of 1917, with the defeat of the Russian Empire and its vassal states and the halt of their westward expansion against Latin Christian Western civilization, the German-Austrian-Hungarian alliance had created a military situation in Central and Eastern Europe that offered an unparalleled opportunity for Western civilization to establish and cement its stable and defensible eastern and south-eastern borders. With the restoration of Poland-Lithuania, the eastern bastion of Latin Christianity and the natural ally of the Carpathian Basin state, a "friendly" state with an innate interest in the latter's stable existence would have appeared once more at our northern and north-eastern borders, in place of the Russian Empire. With the help of Greece, Italy and Bulgaria, the orientation of Romania and Serbia could have been switched permanently from Moscow to the West, and the madness of the twentieth century and the catastrophe of Western civilization in Europe might thus have been avoided. In this way, the borders of Europe within Western civilization – once again being drawn at the turn of the twenty-first century – might have been set in place a century sooner.

This inevitably raises the question of why this did not happen in 1918. Count Gyula Andr ssy unquestionably created the German-Austrian-Hungarian alliance to counter Moscow, as the continuous expansion of the Russian Empire threatened both Germany and Austria-Hungary. Defending against the empire and curbing its permanent conquering ambitions was thus not only in the interests of the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom or Austria-Hungary as a whole, but also of Germany. Bringing Moscow and its vassals to their knees was to the mutual benefit not only of the alliance,

but of Western civilization as a whole. We need only recall how a few decades earlier, in 1854–55 and again in 1877, Britain and France had joined forces militarily against the conquering ambitions of Moscow. Austria-Hungary and the 52 million people living there had no interest whatsoever in the blind struggle between France and Germany, and still less in a war against Great Britain or the United States.

It is a fact that Emperor and King Charles IV initiated the restoration of Poland-Lithuania, which was at first opposed by William II and his circle, but would later have gained their support if it had not already been too late. The unparalleled positional advantage was lost. It must be said that in this regard the main blame clearly rested with Germany. By declaring the immediate restoration of Poland-Lithuania, the wind could have at once been taken from the sails of the mendacious demagoguery spread for decades by Moscow and its agents about Austria-Hungary and Germany, not to mention the stronger position that might have thus been achieved with the addition of a former natural ally. We need only cast our minds back to the siege of Vienna in 1683, when the fall of the city into Muslim hands was successfully prevented only with Polish assistance.

The clear view of Wilhelm II and his government was obviously obscured by the otherwise entirely blind and senseless war with France. In time, perhaps the most terrible consequence of the failure to restore Poland-Lithuania was in the winter of 1932–33, when the new elite in Moscow starved the Western Ukrainians to death after they deemed that their “contamination” by Western civilization rendered them untrustworthy. It was after this that the National Socialist Party came to power in Germany in 1933.

It is our view that in the primary interests of the 52 million citizens of Austria-Hungary, Charles IV, even in the face of German opposition, should have immediately declared that the war was over for the Monarchy after 3 March 1918 and initiated the restoration of Poland-Lithuania. An armistice and peace should have been offered to Italy and its participation sought in the settlement of affairs in the Balkans. It is beyond doubt that the role of monarch was assumed by Charles IV unexpectedly, and for this reason the passivity of an experienced politician such as the Prime Minister Count István Tisza is incomprehensible in this situation. By dint of the vulnerability of the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom, he was more sensitive to the situation evolving in Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>12</sup> In the wake of one of the most rapid half-centuries of development in its history, and perhaps as its crowning glory, the Monarchy and its allies had defeated the Russian Empire that represented its greatest threat while liberating its natural ally for many centuries from the yoke of Moscow. Clear and rapid action was needed in order to consolidate this globally significant success and the results of the massive sacrifice that had been made in the defence of Latin Christianity and Western civilization.

But let us see what was happening in the meantime in the Muscovite Empire. As we already discussed in Chapter 11, when the Norman Varangian chieftain Rurik offered protection to the scattered villages of Baltic and Finnic peoples in the vicinity of Novgorod/Holmgard in north-eastern Europe, in many cases, to prevent mutually destructive battles between them, he made one simple request in return: unconditional obedience to his authority and the payment of a reasonable tax on each village. This social contract essentially worked: Rurik and his descendants provided protection, and in return received unconditional obedience and the payment of reasonable taxes. They would make an example of anyone who failed to comply. This “social contract” resulted in a despotic and autocratic system which, without any other power to counterbalance it, stretched across vast expanses of sparsely populated Eastern and North-eastern Europe. Perhaps the only counterbalance

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<sup>12</sup> For example, Charles IV could have named Count Gyula Andrásy the Younger as foreign minister much sooner, as he might have known that the Monarchy’s interests were not identical to those of Germany in every respect. The idea of German unity and German confederacy had already infected Austrian politicians, and so he should have relied much more explicitly on Hungary-Croatia and its leading politicians, who represented the divergent interests of the Monarchy far more unequivocally. The younger Andrásy, who clearly recognized the Muscovite threat, was one such politician.

might have been provided by the fear of God of Rurik's princely descendants when they adopted the Orthodox faith. Thus was eventually born the Mother Country of Saint Rurik with the emergence of the Grand Duchy of Moscow after centuries of Mongolian fiefdom. As we have discussed before, from time to time the Romanovs tried to introduce Western models in their empire, having witnessed the extraordinary inefficiency of the Slavic peasant community as a form of collective ownership. Their last major effort at Westernization had come in the form of Prime Minister Stolypin's attempt to introduce private ownership of land. However, at this time the tenets of Karl Marx on socialism and communism had begun to find their adherents within the Muscovite Empire. Although, as we noted in Chapter 11, Marx himself had expounded the view in his letters to Vera Zasulich that the Russian Empire was the last place on Earth where communism would take root as the empire would first need to adopt the production methods and conditions preceding communism, requiring at least another thousand years of development, the master's admonitions in this regard went entirely unheeded among the ranks of followers recruited to his teachings in the Muscovite Empire. Among these was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, known in the workers' movement as Lenin. He produced numerous extensive writings on the subject, although these cannot be regarded as works of academic value according to the norms of Western scholarship. Essentially they yield nothing in the academic sense. As regards Marx, we must also note that at a young age he became a prisoner to the Communist Manifesto, the Utopian pamphlet published in 1847, and made it his life's main objective to substantiate the theses formulated therein. Our own opinion, backed by experience, indicates that he failed in this endeavour. During his life's work, he nevertheless did strive to adjust to the scholarly norms as they evolved in Western civilization. And although our view is that his theoretical constructs are unsuited to describing the development of societies, this does not mean that he failed to uncover some partial truths that withstand the test of experience. Among these, for instance, is his approach to the Asian means of production. With his help, we are able to make a clear distinction between the societies of Japan and China, for example. Naturally a critical assessment of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism is not the topic of this book, and for this reason we do not intend to go deeper into the details.

So let us return to Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov. So far we have demonstrated how vigorously Moscow used ideological means for the attainment of its goals from the nineteenth century onwards, as an advocate of Pan-Slavism or the Eastern Orthodox religion, for example. To counterbalance this, the target countries of Germany and Austria-Hungary naturally also endeavoured to employ their own counter-propaganda within the Muscovite Empire. This is how Ulyanov became a paid agent of Wilhelm II's Germany. If we look at the outcome, then we can say that Ulyanov, alias Lenin, was one of the most successful agents in world history. He and his followers stitched the atheistic socialist-communist ideology to their flag and declared the revolutionary victory of the so-called proletariat, under the leadership of the proletarian vanguard of the communists. Of course it was not hard to achieve such a result given that the empire, with its extremely poor level of efficiency in production, had to continuously support 260 divisions in battle at the Western front over a period of three years. Although the state was prepared for conquest from the outset, the effort expended in fighting a fierce battle with two of Western civilization's highly developed states nevertheless weakened the empire at its foundations and in the structure that bound it together. The conditions for an exchange of the elite typical of a despotic autocracy had thus fallen into place in the Russian Empire by 1917. We could list numerous examples of similar changes of the elite and the accession to power of new dynasties in Imperial China. Lenin and his followers the Bolsheviks proclaimed collective ownership from the start, and were thus able to win over opponents of Stolypin's land reform to their side in their counter-revolution against Westernization. With the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Lenin served the interests of both his German masters and his own aspirations to power. The German-Austrian-Hungarian alliance liberated Poland-Lithuania and thus arrived at the eastern borders of Western civilization. There was no sense in going further. The militarily exhausted Russian Empire was clearly incapable of counter-attack, and by signing the treaty Lenin and his company were thus able to create at once the external conditions for the removal of the old elite and their own accession to power. During the bloody civil war that raged from 1918 to 1924, the

communist vanguard eliminated – and to a very great extent physically exterminated – the former elite and set about reorganizing the Muscovite Empire. The last Romanov tsar and his family were mercilessly slaughtered, demonstrating that no sharing of power was conceivable in any form and that the new elite thus intended to concentrate legislative, executive and judicial power exclusively in the hands of a despotic and autocratic system of government. The annihilation of the tsar and his family signalled an end to the over thousand-year dynasty of Rurik and his descendants in the lands of Eastern Europe, and the state named after Rurik and the Rus as the Mother Country of Saint Rurik.

Let us now look at what followed. *Map 22* shows the composition of the peoples of the Muscovite Empire, from which it can be seen that the empire could by no means be termed a nation-state. Moreover, as we have seen, the people known as Russian are very recent in their origins as in reality they are a mixture of numerous peoples of diverse stock (Baltic, Finnic, Uralic, Turkish, Altaic, etc) who adopted a homogenous tongue by adopting the liturgical language of the Eastern Orthodox religion. Moscow's former elite held the empire together with a combination of Third Rome ideology, the state religion of Eastern Orthodoxy, the myth of Slavic ancestry and continuous conquest. The newly emerging elite that aspired to power had to replace these supporting elements with some potent new ones.

Given that the core of the communist ideology was the rejection of private property and its replacement with collective ownership, this would be the starting point for Moscow's new aspirant elite. Starting with the form of common ownership widespread in Slavic peasant communities throughout the empire, they declared the socialization of these communities – in other words, the abolition of private property – and the establishment of state collectives (in industry, trade and services) and collective peasant (kolkhoz) communes in their place.

Every other element that had bound the empire together was categorically rejected and replaced with something new. Besides private property, the transcendental system of Christian beliefs that had hitherto provided social cohesion in the Eastern Orthodox version prevalent within the empire was also rejected. The clergy and the church itself – as a part of the old elite and power structure – were persecuted. The basis for the new elite's exercise of power was thus conceived in total opposition to the fundamental pillars of Western civilization, namely private ownership, Christianity and the related system of values regulating the coexistence of the community's members. The doctrines of atheistic Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism proclaiming the global proletarian revolution thus took the place of the Christian faith and Christian tenets. The new elite, meanwhile, was represented by the vanguard of the proletariat in the shape of the communist party<sup>13</sup> – with the general secretary of the party holding unquestionable power at its head.

As *Maps 23 and 24* show, the aspirant new elite succeeded in turning these new binding elements to their advantage, emerging victorious from the bloody civil war against the old elite.

The Muscovite Empire was also reorganized administratively, as can be seen in *Map 25*.

Besides V.I. Lenin, two other emblematic figures must be highlighted who played a prominent role in the realignment of the Muscovite Empire on these new foundations: namely Lev Davidovich Bernstein (Bronstein), known as Trotsky, and Ioseb Jughashvili, known as Stalin.

In reorganizing the empire on solid foundations, the new elite drew plentifully on the methods of exercising power in the preceding despotic and autocratic systems. A network of agents permeating throughout society was built up, the visible members of which were members of the communist party themselves, while its invisible members were secret agents of one rank or another. The organization encompassing the system as a whole was first the Cheka (All-Russian Extraordinary Commission), later succeeded by the KGB (Committee for State Security). The network of agents had a single task: to secure the despotic autocracy of the new elite, the communist party and its general secretary without division of power within the empire. In their unconditional exercise of power they

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<sup>13</sup> We could also say that the party centres took the place of the churches as the primary organizational hubs within the community.

harked back to role models such as Ivan the Terrible. Concentration and labour camps soon appeared to demonstrate that no alternative to their power could exist for members of society. Their reign of terror was accompanied by the cruel death of many millions of people.

Of course the empire continued to secure the conditions for its existence based on the unrestrained exploitation of human and natural resources, far from the wide-ranging use of surplus knowledge and learning typical of Western civilization.

As opposed to the notion of a Third Rome with its finite expansionary objectives, limitless goals were formulated for conquest based on the tenets of global proletarian revolution. The new empire was conceived in opposition to Western civilization in both its foundations and its goal, which was to defeat Western civilization and conquer the world. The history of humanity had seen an earlier example of a similarly ambitious campaign of conquest based on a new ideology, in the form of the appearance of the Islamic faith in the seventh century and the subsequent explosive series of Muslim conquests in the then known world.

For Christian people and the world that embraced Christian values and principles, all that came about in the Muscovite Empire following the civil war was tantamount to the work of Satan. Thus it was appropriate that US President Ronald Reagan would later come to call the Muscovite Empire rechristened as the Soviet Union the “Evil Empire”<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ronald Reagan, 08/03/1983: “So, in your discussions of the nuclear freeze proposals, I urge you to beware the temptation of pride, the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.” (translator’s note)

## Chapter 18

# The dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the partial conquest of the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom by the Czechs, Romanians and Serbs as vassal peoples of the Russian Empire

Let us now examine *Map 26*, which depicts the partial conquest of the Carpathian Basin and the Hungarian-Croatian state that lent legitimacy to the region's territorial integrity for centuries, as well as the destruction of this territorial integrity *after* the signing of the Padua Armistice declaring the First World War over for the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on 4 November 1918 and its ratification in Paris on 6 November.

As we have already seen, the Russian/Muscovite Empire that initiated the First World War capitulated on 4 December 1917. With this, the war became considerably narrower in scope. Combat activity in Europe was restricted to the front lines at the French-German, Austrian-Italian and Greek-Serbian borders only. The latter front had seen no substantial military action since the end of 1915. In western Asia, in the Caucasus region and Mesopotamia, military action took place between the Turkish Empire and the Russian and British Empires. From December 1917, therefore, the war was in reality no longer global but only a limited set of conflicts in Europe and Asia.

It is an indisputable fact that in the summer of 1917 the United States entered the war on the side of the Entente and deployed 1.7 million (semi-) regular military forces to France. However, this can be interpreted as compensation for help received by France more than a century earlier, as the War of Independence fought by 13 British colonies in North America against Great Britain was settled decisively with French military assistance in 1781. The US led by President Woodrow Wilson aimed to repay the French for this favour by helping them in their war against the Germans, in a war waged between the two successor states of Charlemagne's empire, two states which were the pillars of Western civilization. Far from being a battle of civilizations, it was a mundane struggle for supremacy packaged in terms of resolving the status of Alsace-Lorraine: namely, the question of who would lead the group of states that constitute Western civilization.

We can say it plainly: this childish – or to use a term from Latin, infantile – squabble led to the destruction of Europe in the twentieth century. From our standpoint, the first task of Austria-Hungary after December 1917, but particularly after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, would have been to distance itself strongly from the German-French war in which it had no interest whatsoever. There was far more merit to its interest in the restoration of Poland-Lithuania and the stabilization of the Central and East European region, as the speedy reconstitution of its old ally would have secured the Monarchy's eastern borders. To secure its southern borders, meanwhile, it should have immediately entered into negotiations with its *southern neighbour Italy* and not with the United States. Without doubt the US was a country with vast territories and an immense supply of human and natural resources – but it was several thousand kilometres from Austria-Hungary. Its military was inexperienced and ill-trained compared to the armies of the European combatants, and so in reality the Monarchy could expect no worthwhile assistance from the Americans in the protection of its territorial integrity. As we have said, history shows that it is a state's existing stable neighbours that have the greatest interest in the maintenance of its territorial integrity, and so it is only these neighbours who can be relied upon.

We can safely state that Charles IV had an essentially clear perspective of the situation that had arisen by the spring of 1918 and that he was also conscious of how he might save one of the most advanced nations on Earth, in its territorial integrity and with the 52 million people who called it home, from the forces ranged against it. However, the sum of his actions was calamitous and achieved exactly the opposite effect from the envisaged goal of preserving Austria-Hungary, instead

only speeding its disintegration. First let us briefly summarize the character of this Austria-Hungary that was home to 52 million people at the beginning of the twentieth century.

For centuries the people of Austria-Hungary had lived in the same geographical region of Central Europe, managing the natural resources of the region. They carried out neither expansionary nor colonizing activity, meaning that they did not turn to external territories for natural resources to secure the community's conditions of existence. The community formulated its goals and ensured the living conditions needed to attain them purely by relying on the basic pillars of Western civilization: the values and principles of Latin Christianity and the sanctity of private property.

*In a society formed on this basis, with a given but non-expanding stock of natural resources, improvement in the conditions of existence can only be achieved by acquiring additional knowledge and putting it to good use.*

At the same time, the experience of human history shows that a community can survive with such resources at its disposal only when private ownership is widespread and stable. Only protected private property handed down from generation to generation (as a given but not indefinitely expandable resource) will engender an efficient approach to the management of resources. These resources can then be made yet more productive through renewal and innovation based on additional acquired knowledge, increasing the capacity of the given community to create new value.

*The manifestation of this special capacity is what differentiates Western civilization from other human civilizations. It is only in this civilization that humankind's curious nature was able to develop in such a broad way that the additional knowledge acquired through satisfaction of this curiosity became a surplus resource for the good of the community.*

Within Western civilization over the course of a century, Austria-Hungary demonstrated in an almost unique way the wonderful opportunities inherent in this civilization. Without resort to conquests or colonization, it became a member of the club of most advanced states, created the foundations of modern civil administration, infrastructure, industry, and general and higher education, and – following the example of Bismarck's Germany – the essence of a healthcare and protective social net based on collective risk – of the kind that the United States has still failed to introduce to this day. It was in this country and this environment that a great generation of scientists was born, brought up and integrated into society, making an indispensable contribution to modern sciences in the twentieth century.<sup>15</sup> Their example is an example to entire humankind, for the Earth's resources are finite. Under such circumstances, the big lesson to be learned is how humankind's curiosity can be sustained and how to maintain or create the conditions that allow this curiosity and quest for knowledge to be consummated while permitting humanity to survive and living conditions to be continually improved.

However, in the eyes of those for whom “no price is too much to pay for the acquisition of power,”<sup>16</sup> these admirable virtues of Austria-Hungary meant nothing. Behind the intentions of those who wave the flag of seemingly world-saving utopias, touting demagogic messages, doctrines and ideas devoid of any scientific basis, far more obvious goals tend to lie, which – as it almost always turns out in retrospect – do not involve concern for the welfare of their fellow human beings. The goal is very simple: to acquire power over the targeted community, or more specifically, to acquire the right to control over the treasury and coffers that contain the community's taxes, which they then manage as if they were their own. Siding with these people was undoubtedly Tomas Masaryk,<sup>17</sup> who, speaking in the United States, called the Monarchy a prison of peoples and proclaimed the doctrine known as a people's right of self-determination. Naturally the leaders of countries were happy to support any people's right of self-determination provided it did not pertain to peoples in

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15 For example, the students who graduated from the Fasori Gimnázium secondary school, such as Jenő (Eugene) Wigner, János (John von) Neumann, Ede (Edward) Teller, etc.

16 Quoted from a three-part article written for the daily *Magyar Nemzet* in the summer of 2003 by Viktor Orbán.

17 Later, when Masaryk became president of Czechoslovakia, he was happy to stay in the castle at Topolčany, though nothing tied either him or his lineage to the location, it was not built by his ancestors, and only the sweet pleasure of conquest could have filled his spirit as he relaxed amid the fruits of other people's labours.

their own countries. American President Woodrow Wilson was similarly glad to support the self-determination of the peoples of Central Europe at a distance of several thousand kilometres from the United States, but what about in the US itself? The United States established a two-party system of political power built on the rivalry between those descended from the English (Republicans) and Irish (Democrats). It vigorously pursued linguistic homogeneity, making citizenship conditional on knowledge of the English language, but it did not support the right of self-determination of either Negroes, or those of Hispanic origin, or native Indians – and so neither did President Wilson.

It is difficult to comprehend, therefore, why Charles IV wanted to conclude a separate peace with President Wilson and the United States and not with Italy, and why he was not making efforts to secure his southern borders while proclaiming the independence of Poland-Lithuania in his own zone of occupation and in Galicia. In the first half of 1918, the Monarchy had every means at its disposal to pacify the Balkans jointly with Italy and to ensure the conditions for a stable Balkan peace, bringing Greece into the peace process as well. France and Britain were not at all in a hurry to aid Serbia militarily.

Instead, on 16 October 1918, in anticipation of a separate peace to be concluded with Wilson, the president of a land several thousand kilometres away, Charles IV issued a decree proclaiming the right of self-determination of the peoples in territories of the Monarchy outside the state of Saint Stephen.<sup>18</sup> Of course there was no authoritative executive clause attached to the decree, and it thus served only to pull the rug from under the feet of the Monarchy's administration. Total chaos immediately took possession of Austria-Hungary, as described in accurate detail in the book by Johannes Sachslehner entitled *Collapse [Der Infarkt]*, Sachslehner 2005].

Clearly the three-year life-and-death struggle with the Russian Empire had weakened Austria-Hungary as well. Many on its territory had earlier fallen captive to the Pan-Slavism and Orthodoxy fostered by Moscow, many others to the idea of a Marxist socialist-communist utopia. Of course there were also many who joined the standard-bearers not so much out of ideological conviction, but rather in recognition of the opportunities inherent in a confused and chaotic situation, perceiving the imminent fulfilment of their desire for power in a time of turbulence.

In this situation, when the dual state was showing the unmistakable signs of disorganization, Charles IV committed another grave error when he appointed Count Mihály Károlyi as the prime minister of Hungary, essentially unleashing chaos in the co-dominion as well.

As we have mentioned, the almost 900-year system of noble counties had been nationalized – or in today's parlance centralized – in 1872, in practice dissolving the social contract of Saint Stephen and replacing it with another. Specifically, the higher nobility – or aristocracy, as they were known – substituted the ranks of the lower nobility and gentry with upwardly mobile groups of bourgeois society, allying with them to create a new social contract. There is no question that significant new forces were thus mobilized within society which, by revving the engines of civic growth, produced spectacular achievements in the development of civilized society. However, the new and immature social contract did not make allowances for the eventuality that the central authority of government might become essentially unable to function, lose its control over both legislative and executive power, and find that its provisions were either lacking, impossible to implement, or contrary to the logic of common sense. This is the situation that had arisen in Hungary-Croatia by November 1918, by which time the passing of generations meant that the practice of the noble county system was already only a memory and that action in the new system was expected by all to be organized by the government and its subordinate ministries. Moreover, with his proclamation of the right of self-determination of peoples in the Monarchy, Charles IV had marked down the Croatian co-dominion as part of the South Slav state to be organized within the Monarchy, so that the dual state could be reorganized on a tripartite basis. With this, he more or less officially de-

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<sup>18</sup> The decree was not introduced by Charles in Hungary only because Prime Minister Sándor Wekerle issued an ultimatum threatening to immediately suspend supplies to Vienna if he did.

clared the unfortunate Croats, in all probability of Sarmatian origin, to be a part of the “Slavic sea,” sealing their fate for a good eighty years to come.

With the appointment of Count Mihály Károlyi as prime minister, King Charles IV gave powerful space to highly vocal but socially ill-supported radical civil groups within the Hungary of Saint Stephen, such as the Galilei Circle (whose secretary at the time was Mátyás Rákosi). Although these groups really did have loud voices, they put forward few sound or workable plans or actions. Talents were all but used up in the craving for power, which nevertheless would eventually drop into their laps. The armistice agreement recognizing the territorial integrity of the state of Saint Stephen signed on 4 November brought an end to the war, which for one year had continued in practice only on the Italian front, playing itself out in the month-long Entente offensive at the River Piave. The Hungarian-Croatian state, with its population of 20 million, had more than one million experienced and trained male citizens of military age at its disposal to enforce the conditions of the armistice and protect the territorial integrity of the state. Instead, Károlyi’s Minister of War Béla Lindner, exclaiming that “I do not want to see any soldiers anymore!” (despite his position, and the fact that since the defeat of the Russians he would have seen soldiers in only limited numbers anyway), gave the order for the Hungarian Army to disarm at the country’s borders. Two years later, in return for his services, this same Béla Lindner would receive an appointment as a government official in Belgrade within the newly created South Slav state.

And so the government of the Hungarian state, instead of rallying its defence forces at the borders to protect the homeland, opened the gates to the conquerors, who, essentially armed with the weapons left behind by Austria-Hungary, invaded from the south, northwest and east with armed forces that were significantly smaller in number and militarily inferior to those which Hungary-Croatia theoretically had at its disposal, conquering two thirds of the country in November and December 1918 in the face of practically no resistance.

Two incidents are worth highlighting. On 16 November in Zagreb, the sole elite company of the Hungarian-Croatian state that remained intact and combat-ready, the Croatian staff of officers, was massacred by the arriving Serbs, demonstrating what kind of South Slav state was meant to be created on the territory of Serbia, Croatia, Dalmatia and the Wendish lands.

Meanwhile, no small portion of the corps of former imperial and royal forces of Czech origin which had fallen captive to the Russians ended up fighting in the Russian Civil War on the side of the former elite in the White Army.<sup>19</sup> The Felvidék region was occupied by small paramilitary formations numbering only a few hundred made up of volunteers from the Sokol sports club movement. This was an unprecedented occurrence which would have been simply unimaginable at the time of the noble counties. As we have already mentioned in Chapter 14, the Czechs and Moravians had already attempted incursions into Felvidék at the time of the War of Independence, but had been quickly repulsed by noble insurgents called to arms by the noble counties of the time. In the late autumn of 1918, however, there was no one to call the residents of Felvidék to arms in order to protect themselves against the invading Czech volunteers.

As *Map 26* demonstrates, what the Muscovite Empire had been unable to achieve with 260 divisions in three years of devastating conflict was achieved – to use a term applied to earlier ages of history – by its vassals the Czechs, Serbs and Romanians in scarcely the space of two months, one year after Moscow’s capitulation and essentially without resistance: namely, the conquest of a good two-thirds of the Carpathian Basin. In the eyes of an outsider, what for us is an extraordinarily sad, bitter and tragic story may appear ridiculous instead. How is it possible that a country that had ex-

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<sup>19</sup> This is logical, since the former Muscovite elite had fanned the Pan-Slavism of the Czechs – who, based on their names, were more likely of Celtic (Bohemian) origin than Slavic – and had put them into the service of Moscow’s goals. It was therefore only right that they should attempt to help their patrons against the aspirant new elite. By the same logic, it is also understandable that captured Hungarian troops (and here we emphatically include the Slovaks as well) would fight on the side of the aspirant new elite against the old guard, which had set the conquest of their homeland as its goal.

isted for 800-900 years would passively allow the conquest of a good portion of its territory by forces that were smaller in number and militarily inferior to those it could itself mobilize? Even if in this chapter we have not provided an explanation for this shocking story, we have at least tried to examine the underlying processes and strip away the layers applied by the victors and by the nation's own guilt, which have distorted the knowledge and memories of their descendants.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> It is certainly worth noting here that the no less truncated Austria, Hungary's partner for centuries whether of necessity or its own volition, also took a bite out of Hungary, taking away the western borderlands (Végvidék) that had been inhabited, built up and protected by the clans who settled there, where our ancestors and the Heanzen people had undeniably welcomed the hard-working Swabians arriving from the west.

## Chapter 19

### 1945: The Russian Empire makes the conquest of the Carpathian Basin complete

*Map 26* shows that at the end of 1918 seven divisions faced the conquerors' 18 divisions (which included seven Regat Romanian, five Czech, four Serb and only two former French colonial divisions). On the Russian front until the capitulation, the German-Austrian-Hungarian alliance had 146 divisions under arms against the 260 divisions of the Russians. Of the 146 divisions of the alliance, Germany with its population of 65 million supplied 81, while the other 65 came from the 52 million-strong Austria-Hungary. Of the latter, Hungary-Croatia, with its population of 20 million, provided 25 divisions (and even had to exceed its quota due to the large-scale desertion of Czechs). Hungary-Croatia thus had at least 25 divisions serving on the Eastern Front alone, while simultaneously having to hold its ground in the Balkans and on the Italian front. Between the end of December 1917 and September 1918, there was a ceasefire and then a truce on the Eastern Front, while in the Balkans and on the Italian front no significant combat action took place. Consequently, in light of the facts, the status quo that came about in the Carpathian Basin by the time of the peace agreement of 1920 cannot be explained in any other way than as the result of the functional breakdown of the Hungarian-Croatian state. One of the basic functions of this state, to protect its own territory, it simply failed to fulfil – though potentially it had all the means at its disposal to do so. No one in their right mind could have expected that the Western members of the Entente would defend the territorial integrity of Hungary-Croatia against their formal allies, even if the latter had in effect provided no substantial assistance to France or Britain in their war against Germany.

This is how the situation in Europe shown in *Map 27* came about by the 1920s. We can also clearly see the calamitous change that arose from the failure to immediately restore Poland-Lithuania. Instead of the line drawn by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which essentially coincided with the border of Poland-Lithuania, Ukraine and Belarus reverted to the control of Moscow, sealing the fate of approximately seven million Ukrainians. This is because Moscow, witnessing the break-up of the victorious German-Austrian-Hungarian alliance, immediately declared the treaty null and void, before embarking on a belated war with Poland, in which – given that the Poles could not even rely on the help of Hungary-Croatia – it was able to enforce its undeniable superiority in terms of mobilizable numbers against the hurriedly reassembled Polish state.

Observing this map and taking stock of the balance of forces involved, a sober-minded person would immediately realize that Central and Eastern Europe had fallen into the kind of crumbling and divided condition that could only benefit the Muscovite Empire. As a result of its tenacious campaign of incitement over decades, carried out in the spirit of the “divide and rule” principle, the empire was thus able to deliver what it had been unable to attain militarily with 260 divisions. Sensible thinkers among British and French politicians and strategists must also have seen this, all the more so given that a few decades earlier it was only with their combined military intervention that Moscow could be stopped in the region of the Black Sea, the Balkans and Asia Minor (see *Map 20*). It was therefore only a matter of time before the new elite in Moscow would stabilize its power and bring Central and Eastern Europe under its sway.

In its empire that embraced one sixth of the world's territory under the flag of atheism and communism, the new Muscovite elite stabilized its power and its new system of administration at the cost of innumerable human lives. At the same time, it did not neglect to prepare the foundations for its fresh plans of global conquest. Using a wide range of means, it began to bring movements under its influence across the world, and thus also in countries that belonged to Western civi-

lization, which espoused so-called left-wing, egalitarian and largely atheist ideas. Such movements included socialist and communist parties. In this sense, the congress of the Third International (Comintern) held in Moscow in 1935 can be interpreted as a kind of pilgrimage to Mecca.

Germany eventually came out of its war fought on two fronts with some smaller losses of territory. In terms of its political configuration, the monarchy was replaced by a republic. The communist party also aspired to power here. Against it, however, there appeared the National Socialist Party, another extreme force hitherto essentially unknown to Western civilization, which set up a number of paramilitary organizations. At the centre of its ideology it placed the scientifically entirely unfounded doctrine of the Prussian “*übermensch*,” the notion of German superiority. This doctrine essentially divided people into races on an arbitrary basis and propagated racial hatred. It described the Semitic peoples as of a lower order compared to the superior Aryan race, so placing the Jewish people in its cross-hairs.<sup>21</sup> It was an ideology that was clearly alien to the Latin Christian ideas of Western civilization. Even so, the spread of the Nazi movement was accelerated by the effects of a global economic crisis and the ambitions of the communists to gain power. The ultimate showdown between the communists and the Nazis took place at the elections of 1933.

Moscow’s new elite, which defined itself in opposition to Western civilization and its fundamental pillars of the Christian faith and private property (including private ownership of land), saw in 1932 that the time was ripe to exterminate the Western Ukrainian peasantry that had become contaminated with the practice of private land ownership – and thus with Western civilization. Ordering a commissar’s army of 120,000 troops against a population that it regarded as suspicious and untrustworthy, Moscow starved them to death in the winter of 1932–33, naturally also depriving them of their valuable possessions in the last stage of their starvation. The horrible deaths of approximately seven million people took place barely 500 kilometres from Germany, and tipped the scales in favour of the Nazis when they came to battle the communists in elections a few months later. The pathologically anti-Semitic and mentally unbalanced Adolf Hitler became Germany’s chancellor in 1933, and then its Führer (Leader). The Führer and his circle also cherished plans of conquering the world while leading the country out of the global economic crisis by boosting the armaments industry and infrastructural investments. Germany’s technological civilization, and within it the machine industry, had emerged on the basis of private ownership, the fundamental driving force of Western civilization that stimulated efficiency. It was thus able to achieve continuous improvement in efficiency through the innovation gained from surplus knowledge. By means of the acceleration of the armaments industry, the despotic Nazi system was able to comprehensively rearm Germany once more. However, there were fundamental differences between the Führer’s plans for global conquest and those of Moscow. For example, the National Socialist doctrine of German superiority and racial hatred was able to call on the support of a population of at most around 70-80 million, including the Austrians. By contrast, in its proclamation of a proletarian world revolution and its doctrines inciting the poor against the rich, Moscow could count on a significantly greater base of potential supporters.

To state it plainly: the chances of the Führer’s dreams of global conquest reaching fruition against the peoples of the Earth were zero from the very moment of their conception.

The Spanish Civil War proved to be the first site of confrontation between these two despotic systems that harboured dreams of global conquest. On a small field of battle, German technical superiority prevailed. Completely rearmed in the space of six years, Nazi Germany saw that the time had arrived to put its world-conquering plans into action. Just as in 1772, it agreed again with Moscow on the division of Poland, which had gained independence scarcely 20 years previously, and

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21 According to anti-fascist movements of the 1930s, the Austrian-born National Socialist leader Adolf Hitler was himself of partly Jewish descent as one of his parents was born out of wedlock to the head of a rich Jewish merchant family and his chambermaid. This circumstance might provide an explanation for Hitler’s pathological hatred of the Jews, but the question of how a large portion of the German population followed him in his beliefs still remains unanswered.

joined forces with the Soviets in once more brutally overrunning the entirely unsupported country in the autumn of 1939. The Poles could not even count on their old ally Hungary-Croatia, dismembered and territorially isolated as it essentially was by that time. The conquerors mercilessly liquidated the Polish elite that fell into their hands, as dramatized in a recently released film by Andrzej Wajda on the massacre of Katyń. The Hungarians tried to help the unfortunate Poles as much as they could, aiding their escape across the narrow Subcarpathian border zone regained some months before and taking them in to Hungary. And let us not forget that at this time Moscow had once again occupied the Baltic states and attacked Finland.

In 1940, Germany overran the Benelux states and France and launched an invasion against Great Britain by air, and then – after the break-up of Yugoslavia and the occupation of Greece in 1941 – launched its campaign against the Muscovite Empire based on Operation Barbarossa. Having expanded to partially regain the territories lost by the state of Saint Stephen at the end of 1918, Hungary also took part in this war, as did Slovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia and Ukraine, the latter which had suffered the loss of millions of lives: in other words, all the states whose very existence was fundamentally threatened by Moscow. But Italy also now fought on Germany's side on this front, while endeavouring to secure territories for itself in Africa and the Balkans. Although German technical superiority endured for a while, the attack stalled below Moscow, among other reasons because Japan had made a pact with the Soviets and, having occupied China and a large part of the Pacific region, now turned its military forces against the United States. The Soviets were thus able to transfer one million troops from the Pacific coast to protect Moscow. Germany's war of global conquest thus reached a turning point. This phase of European events in the Second World War is shown in *Map 28*.

The United States then entered the war and helped Moscow with arms. The German war machine first stalled in Egypt, and then failed to reach the oil fields of Baku in 1943. Equipped with American arms, Moscow's barbarian armies swung into a counter-attack and forged ahead relentlessly with no regard for loss of life, their elite guard units propelling the ordinary soldiers against the enemy from behind, pushing back the German army and its allies, which could only hope in a miracle or wonder weapon against them. Thus was sealed the fate of Central and Eastern Europe. At Yalta the US acceded to Moscow's demands in the region, requesting its armies in the fight against Japan in return. With this the Poles, who had expended their last remaining energies in helping the English-speaking world, were also handed back to Moscow.

*Map 29* shows this phase of the Second World War in Europe, also demonstrating how Moscow made its conquest of the Carpathian Basin complete.

As we can see, fate also caught up with Prussia, the birthplace of the übermensch ideology and one of the initiators and active executors of the Polish Trianon. They might have realized that, at least in the long term, it does not pay to stab the border guards of their own world and civilization in the back.

Here we should note two events. First, there was the attempt by the Hungarian Army to hold up the flow of Moscow's barbarian armies along the line of Árpád's forts in the Carpathians. Along this section of the front, for example at Gyimesfelsőlök, our fathers bore witness to acts of heroism the like of which we may read about only when it concerns Thermopylae during the Greek-Persian wars. Ödön Sebő, in his book entitled *The Condemned Battalion [A halálra ítélt zászlóalj]*, Sebő 2008] described and immortalized how one battalion of four Hungarian and one German company, numbering around 500 men in all, was able to detain two cohorts of elite guards and a tank division for three weeks at the thousand-year-old Hungarian border between Palánka and Gyimesfelsőlök – until Romania joined Moscow's side and attacked them behind from the south, making their encirclement complete. For every Hungarian soldier there was a minimum 50 Russian soldiers. While our fathers (including the father of one of the authors) were devoting all their strength and sacrificing their lives in the attempt to delay Moscow's barbaric conquering forces in the Carpathians, Nazi Germany occupied our country on 19 March 1944, sealing the fate of hundreds of thousands of our

Jewish compatriots. Our Nobel Prize-winning writer Imre Kertész wrote his eyewitness account of the Holocaust in his novel entitled *Fateless* [*Sorstalanság*, Kertész 1975].<sup>22</sup>

The borders of Moscow's empire were pushed as far as the Hamburg-Vienna line in 1945, as shown in *Map 30*. Central and Eastern Europe was thus cut off from Western civilization and became part of an empire that grew from the Grand Duchy of Moscow, and which had begun its continuous expansion after the fall of the Byzantine Empire. The United States also emerged a winner from this European disaster by being able to assume Europe's role in Western civilization. It was also able to increase its strength with 9,000 tons of German technical documentation which it transported from Germany by way of war reparations. But the US was also strengthened in large part by the wave of qualified personnel from Central and Eastern Europe fleeing Moscow's barbarian armies and system, whose knowledge and expertise represented an injection of human capital into the American economy without the need to provide anything in return. It was this German technology acquired as war reparations, combined with the unreciprocated injection of human capital, which helped the United States to become a leading global economic and military power.

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<sup>22</sup> The Final Solution (*Endlösung*) was declared for the Jewish people crammed into the concentration camps of the Führer's Third Reich after the English-speaking world was unwilling to designate a country willing to receive them. Moreover, the American coastguard even fired cannons on boats that were bringing unfortunate European Jews to safety along the East Coast.

## Chapter 20

### 1956: the regime of the Muscovite Empire in the Carpathian Basin and Central and Eastern Europe

We are still surrounded by reminders of the military, political, cultural and infrastructural apparatus of the Roman Empire. The structure of provinces and the methods by which the local population was integrated into the empire are all well documented. The clear parallels with Soviet Union and the lands it occupied give reasonable grounds for referring to the latter as the Muscovite Empire. In the previous chapters we looked at how Moscow, working on the ideology of the third Rome, built up an empire through permanent conquest and how, after the military defeat of 1917, there was a change of elite and state system of the kind so common in despotic regimes. Our parents, and to a certain extent we ourselves, felt the effects of how the Empire stabilised and regularised its power in its new Central and Eastern European acquisitions.

The built environment – castles, churches and mansions – of the Carpathian Basin were the physical manifestation of communities which were integrated into Western civilisation. These buildings constituted the nuclei around which towns and villages developed, forming the centres of local and central administration, religious affairs and economic activities. These in turn were the pillars supporting the basic structure of society which provided people with a living, ensured autonomy and underpinned the sovereignty of the state. The conquering Muscovite Empire had to destroy, or at least quarantine, these pillars of independence in order to truly conquer the people of the Carpathian Basin and subject them to its autocratic system. Understandably, it set its sights on the great houses and churches. Building on world-conquering doctrines that set the poor against the rich, it easily recruited supporters for the introduction of its despotic system. “Seize the lands and other belongings, even the product of the previous generation’s work, from the great houses and churches, and then you’ll have some too!” And they heeded the siren voices. “Then take the houses as well, drive their owners out, tear them down!” And so the symbols of independence and centres of organisation were physically destroyed, people were encouraged to go further, deeper and wider in dismantling the foundations of Western civilisation. All private property, private producers and providers of services, and all private land, became a target. When that was completed, and churches and religion were shut away into quarantine, the foundations of Western civilisation were utterly removed, and the existential dependence of the community, of the people, was sealed. The fundamental obstacles to installing the despotic system had been pushed aside. The empire’s power-wielding system could now be transplanted into the provinces.

It has been mentioned how the civil-radical Galilei Circle, with the support of Mihály Károlyi, did much to further the disintegration of Hungary-Croatia. It thus provided great assistance to the furtherance of Moscow’s plans of conquest. Moscow also more or less reorganised the political geography of the Carpathian Basin along Trianon lines, with the difference that it attached Subcarpathia to one of its inner provinces, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. It also, of course, further pushed Poland to the west, attaching its eastern lands to the inner provinces, while integrating some minor Prussian and Saxon areas and Silesia to the Polish province. It could now implement the divide-and-rule principle directly, rather than merely through agents.

Mátyás Rákosi, former Secretary of the Galilei Circle, in return for his loyal and productive services, was awarded the viceregal position of General Secretary of the Hungarian Workers’ Party, the province’s equivalent of the Soviet Communist Party. On 20 August 1949, the province was ceremonially inaugurated as the People’s Republic of Hungary, in which the Communist Party, under Rákosi, exercised despotic power through the control of both legislature and the executive. On the

pattern of the KGB, the ÁVH<sup>23</sup> became the Party's fist, the operative body implementing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The conquering regime deported two hundred thousand people to the interior of the empire for its system of slavery known in Hungary as "Malenky Robot", and set up local concentration camps for members of the old elite in Hortobágy and Recsk. The courts and system of prosecution were also transformed and harnessed to the service of Party power. The same was true for the police. Alongside imperial Soviet troops stationed in the province, the provincial forces were integrated into the imperial military machine. The gradual leaching of the province to feed the Empire's plans of world conquest began in the nineteen fifties.

The German, Polish and Hungarian provinces were born and socialised in Western civilisation, and for peoples used to independence, this kind of despotic tyranny was particularly hard to bear. Despite the terror, a mood of rebellion emerged in the mid-nineteen fifties. In the East German and Polish towns there were strikes and action by workers' movements in 1955 and 1956. At the news of these, the Hungarian people arose with elemental force against the Muscovite Empire and its placemen in late 1956.

As once they had done against Rurik's Varangians, setting the rebel villages as examples, Moscow prepared to set up an example to the world. Everybody in the empire, and eventually in the world, would understand the fate of those who rose up against the oppressor of one sixth of the world, the great Muscovite Empire. It deployed armed forces of unparalleled strength, the military power of a dictatorial system which measured its power in numbers of tanks and tank divisions. And with the tanks they brought in a new viceroy, János Kádár. Coming in from all sides, they launched an invasion of a province which maintained only a tiny regular rebel force, and two weeks after the outbreak of the rebellion, its nerve centre, Budapest, was surrounded by a ring of tanks. The attack began on the morning of 4 November, and the invaders mopped up all of the little rebel groups within a few days. Two hundred thousand people left Hungary for the West, joining the wave of refugees from 1945.

A campaign of systematic and merciless terror swept across the province. The captured leaders of the uprising and the Party leaders who had joined it – several hundred people in total – were executed. A great many people were put in prison. The provincial elite, many of whose members had fled in all directions during the uprising, were reorganised under the renamed Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP). By analogy with the paramilitary organisations of the German National Socialists, a paramilitary organisation was set up under the title "Workers' Militia". A system of informers cast a web over Hungarian society, serving the empire and its proxies. This drew its visible members directly from the MSZMP and the Workers' Militia, and recruited agents – its invisible members – by wide range of methods. One of the strongholds of agent recruiting was the military, where young conscripts were recruited into the network by diverse methods.

Peasants were forced into production cooperatives on the pattern of the Soviet *kollektív* collectives. The land register, formerly subject to (independent) courts was abolished and replaced with land office records subject to executive control (the Ministry of Agriculture), the old records in many places actually being destroyed, to achieve the complete disappearance of private property and its documents. In the vice of existential dependence and intimidation, huge numbers of the population bowed their heads and entered the Party, many even the Workers' Militia, in the following years and decades, abandoning their faith, the fundamental tenets of Western civilisation, and stood in service of the empire and imperial administration. The key priority for the province was, together with the other new provinces, to support the empire's world-conquering plans and take a specialised part in the primary means of permanent conquest, the upkeep of imperial military power and armament. (The war objective designated for the Hungarian People's Army was North Italy via neutral Austria. How it would have achieved this is a different question.)

The empire was separated from the Western world by an iron curtain modelled on the Roman *limes*. Its function, however, was not to defend the empire from races of lower levels of civilisation

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23 Államvédelmi Hatóság (State Protection Authority)

who wished to settle there but to prevent the flight of imperial subjects. By the late 1950s, the apparatus of the Muscovite Empire was fully in place in Central and Eastern Europe. The Warsaw Pact presented the face of Its military organisation, and Comecon<sup>24</sup> that of its economic organisation, to the world.

Marshall Tito reorganised Yugoslavia on the model of the Muscovite Empire, although not formally as its province.

We close this chapter with the observation that when the Muscovite Empire, in its attempt to absorb Greece in the late 1940s, launched an uprising by the Macedonians, the Greek leadership found an appropriate label for who were behind the armed rebellion which was ultimately aimed at conquering Greece: they were externally-controlled “Slavo-Communist bandits”. From the viewpoint of the value system of Western civilisation, this was indeed what Moscow represented.

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24 Council for Mutual Economic Assistance

## Chapter 21

### 1955–1990: the struggle between the Eastern Empire and the Western Empire under NATO

After the Second World War, the survivors of the Holocaust settled in large numbers in Palestine, where the British Empire had been permitting Jews to settle since the First World War. In 1947, the United Nations Organisation divided Palestine into Israel and Palestine. The Jews who had settled in Palestine accepted the partition, but the Arab world rejected it. On 14 May 1948, the people of Israel declared their independence. Jewish people from the historic Polish-Lithuanian and Hungarian-Croatian lands were instrumental in the foundation of modern Israel<sup>25</sup>. Israel is a country based on private property and Biblical values with a democratic political apparatus, i.e. affiliated to Western civilisation, in the shadow of the Muslim world and civilisation. In this sense it is not merely the heir of ancient Israel, it is the heir of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the bastion of Western civilisation where it meets Asia and Africa, in the Holy Land.

At the same time as the Muscovite Empire was forming up in Central and Eastern Europe, the North-Atlantic Treaty Organisation was set up (in 1949) in the countries of the West, and led by the USA. Austria returned to the norms of Western civilisation after Moscow withdrew from the east of the country in 1955, in exchange for its neutrality. The sober sections of the French and German elites realised that their reckless wars and, in a certain sense, infantile quarrels had ultimately led to the downfall of Europe (as the struggle between Athens and Sparta led to the fall of Greece). With the Coal and Steel Community, the heirs to the empire of Charlemagne laid the foundations of permanent cooperation. Moscow's brutal intervention in Hungary in 1956 only accelerated this convergence, and the Treaty of Rome was signed in 1957, creating the European Economic Community, the seed of the European Union, on the lands of Charlemagne's empire.

Thus was established, by the late nineteen fifties, the bipolar world. The "Western Empire" embraced primarily the countries belonging to Western civilisation in North America (USA, Canada) and Western Europe, under the umbrella of NATO. The organisation, for strategic reasons, also incorporated Greece and Turkey. The "Eastern Empire" was the Muscovite Empire, embodied by the Warsaw Pact and Comecon.

In the Western Empire, the lives and attitudes of members of society were overwhelmingly governed by the faith and value system of the Latin-Christian world. Their means of living was based on private property and provided by an economy that raised its effectiveness by the broad application of surplus knowledge gained through cognitive appreciation. The political apparatus, political power, had three branches: the legislative, the executive and the independent judiciary. Laws were passed by representatives of political parties representing competing forces in society under mandates won in free elections. Executive power was exercised by the political force which won a majority until the next free election. Society was clearly arranged into a system capable of organic development and self-correction, which aspired to balance with its natural environment, as one of the resources of its means of living.

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<sup>25</sup> Arthur Koestler's book *The Thirteenth Tribe* states that a large part of the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe originated from the Khazar Empire, so they are not ethnically Semitic, but of Turkish origin, i.e. to a certain extent related to the people of the Hungarian Conquest. There is also some evidence in the Hungarian historical tradition that Kabar tribes who split from the Khazar Empire and joined the Magyar tribes also followed the Old Testament in their religion [Koestler 1990].

By contrast, in the Eastern Empire, the lives and attitudes of members of society were governed by the atheistic Communist doctrine and value system. The means of living were provided by an economy based on common property, which does not raise its efficiency by building on the broad application of learning. On the contrary, it assumes the limitlessness of natural resources, and squanders them. The political apparatus was not distributed, all power being held in the hands of the elite, the Communist Party, and there was neither an independent judiciary or free elections. The Eastern Empire was thus a despotic system in which power was naturally concentrated at the top, and the final decision was made by a single person, the despot.<sup>26</sup> This arrangement of society is rigid and only capable of self-correction within a very narrow framework because of the extremely strong subordination and vertical dependence which prevails in it. It is fundamentally built on the profligate consumption of human and natural resources, in a way which in every sense can be described as “exploitation”. Such despotic systems naturally tend to constant expansion and conquest to provide them with a constant supply of resources, both human and natural, and using their ever-increasing reserves to prove their power to their subjects and to stabilise it among them (see Appendix 2).

Since the Western and Eastern Empires embodied societies arranged along sharply distinct lines, they represented two divergent human civilisations, the Western and the Eastern.

The struggle of civilisations between the two empires intensified in the nineteen fifties. Moscow had been proclaiming and organising the communist world revolution since the thirties. After the defeat of Japan, the followers of the atheistic communist religion were also victorious in China, under Mao Zedong, and the communist system became established there, too, with the proclamation of the Peoples Republic of China in 1949. In 1950, the Korean War broke out, the first postwar military clash between the Western and Eastern civilisation. It involved direct combat between the armies of the USA and China, and ended with the partition of Korea in 1953, the northern part being assigned to the communist world and the southern part to the West.

Moscow also attempted to make headway in Europe by influencing left-wing and communist movements, launching the “progressive forces” and “peace struggle” movements, and supporting armed communist partisans in Latin America. In Cuba, very close to the USA, it won a victory when Fidel Castro’s communist forces fought their way to power. As it put in place a communist tyranny, Cuba became a base for Moscow in the direct vicinity of the USA. The spectre of world war re-emerged in 1962 when Moscow’s cargo ships set off for Cuba loaded with missiles, and the threat of direct military strike loomed over the USA. Presented with an ultimatum by President Kennedy, Moscow ultimately called its ships home.

The United States profited from the Second World War in two respects, firstly reparations – in the form of access to a large part of German industrial technology – and secondly an inflow of highly qualified labour from Central and Eastern Europe, a gain of human capital for no outlay. It thus became the leading power of the Western world in both the military and economic fields, and was able to assist the recovery of Western Europe via the Marshall Plan. This also prevented Europe’s destabilisation by political forces supported by Moscow. Particularly strong among the latter were the French and Italian communist parties, which represented a constant threat to the democratic apparatus in France and Italy.

As the European colonial empires – the French, Portuguese, Belgian, Dutch and British – gradually broke up, Moscow set every former colony in its sights as a potential satellite. Thus in Indochina, after the French defeat and withdrawal, Moscow’s influence strengthened, leading to the Vietnam War. In that highly backward society, Moscow’s ideology and methods proved much more effective. These, together with the fact that human life there was of incomparably lower value than in the West, led to the USA’s military defeat in the nineteen seventies.

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<sup>26</sup> It is well-known tale that after Stalin’s death, Krushchev forced the Politburo at gunpoint to elect him General Secretary. The scene was repeated later. Looking back at the history of Moscow, however, it might be look on as a natural procedure there.

On the strength of income from Iran's oil reserves, the Shah, Reza Pahlavi, set out on a large-scale plan of westernisation in the nineteen sixties and seventies. This went against Moscow's interests. The Islamic clergy, fearful of their unrestricted influence among the Persian people, launched an uprising against the Shah, forcing him to flee. Ayatollah Khomeini introduced a political apparatus providing the Islamic clergy with unlimited power in ancient Persia. This change served Moscow's interests well in the civilisational struggle.

It attempted to influence Western civilisation via the supply of fuel for the internal combustion engines on which Western motorised society was built. Having secured a position of influence over the Arab members of the oil-producing countries, it attempted to squeeze the economies of Western countries via the production and price of crude oil. The failure of this offensive by Moscow is a good indicator of the fundamental difference between the two civilisations. The response of the West, drawing on the fundamental wellspring of its economy – knowledge-based innovation and improving efficiency – was to introduce engines with catalysts, which both consumed less fuel and were less harmful to the environment. In the end, Moscow's oil war led to lower oil consumption and a better environment in the West.

In Africa, Moscow deployed invading forces of its Cuban satellite in the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola to seize control of these countries, and intervened directly to conquer Afghanistan.

In the meantime, however, severe cracks appeared among communists on the world stage. A common atheistic religion was not enough to bridge the natural differences of interest between Beijing and Moscow. Beijing also aspired to a leading position in the Third World and appeared in several places as Moscow's competitor. For a country struggling with overpopulation and an extremely inefficient economy, the sparsely-populated lands of Siberia were a natural target for expansion. These conflicts of interest, based on natural, real foundations, generated a serious risk of military conflict. There were several armed border incidents between Moscow and Beijing along their several thousand kilometre-long common border during that period. Indeed, Moscow's satellite Vietnam even fought a war with China.

At the centre of the struggle between Western and Eastern civilisation, however, was the arms race. As has been mentioned, the Muscovite Empire subordinated all of its human and natural resources to the needs of military might. It maintained enormous forces in arms in all conventional branches of the military – land, sea and air – and constantly increased its armaments. In the field of nuclear weaponry, it expanded its nuclear strike capabilities almost without limit. To deliver the missiles, it developed and expanded a fleet of nuclear submarines and long-distance bombers (such as the "Backfire", the long-range warplane Tupolev Tu-22M), to be able to reach the USA directly. It also constantly expanded its arsenal of intercontinental ballistic missiles, also mainly targeted at the USA, by such means as the use of multiple warheads (like the SS 20 missiles). Space research was, for Moscow, a means to serve the development of missile technology and spy satellites. It had innumerable military spy satellites circling the Earth, feeding information to the Red Army.

The arms race placed an enormous burden on the inefficient, wasteful economy of the Muscovite Empire. Added to this, the acquisition and maintenance of new Third World satellites posed a further burden, because they were of no economic benefit to Moscow and did not even substantially increase its resources. After the death of Brezhnev, there were also signs of a leadership crisis among the increasingly aged circle of potential despots – the candidates for General Secretary. Cracks also appeared among the ranks of the Party's secret police, the KGB, as the idea of an independent Ukraine took hold among KGB leaders from the Ukraine, weakening their loyalty.

This situation was perceived in the late 1970s by a group of NATO generals and their advisers under the leadership of Sir John Hackett, who wrote a book outlining the danger of how a limited war could lead to a third world war in 1985 [Hackett et al, 1980]. The book gives a full description of Moscow's enormous conventional military presence in Central and Eastern Europe, ready to invade Western Europe, like the Tsar's 260 divisions ready to attack the alliance of Austria-Hungary and Germany in 1914.

Then in 1981, America elected President Ronald Reagan, who proved to have a natural political talent. With direct, straightforward words, he described the Muscovite Empire as the “evil empire”. Together with that son of Hungary, Edward Teller, he promoted the “Star Wars” plan and announced its launch. Edward Teller was the physicist who, after the Second World War, had built on the development of the atomic bomb to produce the hydrogen bomb, a weapon which mimics the nuclear fusion responsible for generating the sun’s energy. Born in Austria-Hungary, he knew from his childhood that Western civilisation was threatened not just by Hitler’s Nazi Germany, but also by the Muscovite Empire, as became apparent to the West very soon after. The essence of his Star Wars plan was that American satellites would assess the trajectory of intercontinental ballistic missiles, and laser cannons mounted in space would shoot and destroy them before they reached their targets. Such a defensive umbrella, almost a hundred per cent effective, was in principle possible. But its costs were astronomical, and depended on a highly efficient background industry based on advanced technology. With this, the son of Hungary made a direct hit on the weak point of Moscow’s Evil Empire, the Eastern civilisation<sup>27</sup>. By announcing the implementation of the plan and later successful demonstration rocket launches, the USA won the arms race by a knockout. The Evil Empire, based on unrestrained exploitation of human and natural resources, reached the ends of its reserves in that stage of the arms race. It had no answers to the Star Wars plan, because it could not enter a competition with such high costs, and it fundamentally lacked an efficient background industry based on advanced technology developed from the broad application of knowledge. Faced with the defensive umbrella provided by Star Wars, its nuclear arsenal was worth nothing. Its conventional forces were also on the point of disintegration as the internal energy of the empire was used up. Moscow’s war machine had ground to a halt in Afghanistan against the nomad Afghan tribes, which America supplied with efficient portable weapons.

Moscow made another attempt to save its empire. It elected as General Secretary the youthful Mikhail Gorbachev, who, like the last of the Romanovs, started to reform the empire with a movement he termed *Glasnost*. The empire, built on unrestrained exploitation of human resources, was stricken by alcoholism. Gorbachev attempted to remedy this by decree. His experiment, like the others, was without result. The exercise of power, based on subordination and vertical dependence, had minimal flexibility and a very low self-correctional capability. To retain the internal lands of the empire, Gorbachev withdrew his forces from Afghanistan, and at a meeting with Reagan’s successor George Bush in Malta in 1989, agreed to relinquish his Central and Eastern European provinces, and gradually withdraw his forces, essentially to the Brest-Litovsk line, i.e. the borders of traditional Poland-Lithuania.

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<sup>27</sup> It might even be said that Teller’s Star Wars plan was Austria-Hungary’s revenge against the Muscovite Empire, which had caused its destruction.

## Chapter 22

### The Eastern Empire relinquishes its Central and Eastern European acquisitions: 1990-91, the Western Empire gradually integrates the relinquished areas

The Vatican was also struggling against the Evil Empire. On 16 October 1978, Cardinal Karol Wojtyła of Cracow, Poland, was elected Pope under the name John Paul II. Addressing the oppressed Latin Christian peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, John Paul said: “be not afraid!”<sup>28</sup>

And in the nineteen eighties, these peoples started to make their voices heard. At the forefront once again were the people who had felt the oppression of Moscow for more than two hundred years, the Poles. The Solidarity trade union formed in Gdansk in 1981 under the leadership of Lech Wałęsa. Moscow acted against this fast-spreading movement by deploying its province’s own military forces, with General Jaruzelski declaring military rule in December 1981.

When Moscow realised it had lost the arms race with the West and the civilisational struggle for hegemony throughout the world, it had to withdraw its forces from Central and Eastern Europe to safeguard its internal provinces. The lands it had acquired in 1945 were swept by independence fever between 1989 and 1991. Elections in Poland elevated Solidarity to power. Hungary first opened up the Iron Curtain and let East Germans through to Austria, then held a referendum which abolished the sixty thousand-strong Workers’ Militia. At the same time, the proxy elite, the MSZMP, was abandoned by most of its 800,000 members, but reconstituted itself as the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP). At multi-party elections in spring 1990, a coalition of newly-formed and revived parties acquired a majority under the leadership of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), the others being the Smallholders’ Party and the Christian Democratic Party. The Prime Minister was József Antall, son of the former Smallholders minister, also József. In the Romanian province, the heroic persistence of Reformed Church pastor László Tőkés led to an uprising against the despotic rule of the “genius of the Carpathians”, Nicolae Ceauşescu and his wife Elena, which ended with the murder of them both. Mass demonstrations broke out in the towns of the East German province, one of which prompted Gorbachev to declare that he would not defend his proxies in the province. People started to demolish the Berlin Wall with their own hands, and Erik Honecker fled. Germany was reunited. Czechoslovakia, the pan-Slavic creation of Masaryk and Benes, split into the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The other creation of pan-Slavism, the southern Slavic miniature Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, also fell into its component parts. The clear beneficiary of pan-Slavism, Serbia, launched a bloody war against Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. This war made it utterly clear that supposed Slavic origins did not indeed forge these peoples into a brotherly union, the Latin Christian (Catholic) Croats and the Orthodox Serbs having no fraternal feelings for each other, but a civilisational gap in values divided them even if Ludevit Gaj, born as a German and maintaining good relations with Moscow, had instructed the poor Croats to regard from their three dialects the one closest to Serbian, and spoken by the fewest people, as their official literary language in the nineteenth century.

Moscow ultimately withdrew its forces from the Carpathian Basin and Central and Eastern Europe in 1991. With the independence of the Baltic States, Ukraine and Belorussia, the historic Poland-Lithuania and Hungary-Croatia were liberated from Russian occupation, and the countries of Europe took the borders as shown on Map 31, the arrangement which still prevails today.

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<sup>28</sup> Moscow immediately reacted to this step and via its Bulgarian satellite made an assassination attempt against John Paul in May 1981 which, thanks to God, he survived.

The Central and Eastern European region opened up again to Western civilisation, restoring and re-introducing Western norms. The defence umbrella and economic organisation of the Western Empire gradually spread to the region, and its countries began to integrate first into NATO and then into the European Union.

In all of the liberated countries, the former proxies of the Empire, the communist party elite, in some way came to a settlement, a sharing of power, with groups who assumed the political representation of the oppressed population. The depth and breadth of changes in the former provinces as regards restoration of the norms of Western civilisation may be characterised by three laws passed at that time. These were:

- a) restitution (return of title to expropriated private property unless a third party had obtained title in good faith),
- b) lustration (exclusion of the conquerors' proxies, i.e. the representatives of dictatorship, from positions of power over the liberated population),
- c) "secret service activities" law (exposure of agents of the occupiers and the dictatorship, sanctioning their activities, excluding them from holding positions of power)

If we rank the liberated countries of Central and Eastern Europe in terms of the passage of such laws, i.e. we determine the extent to which the norms of Western civilisation have been restored, we reach the following conclusion: these laws, and thus the restoration of Western civilisation, were implemented to the fullest extent in the East German province after the uniting of West and East Germany, and to the least extent in Hungary, which was more systematically reorganised after the 1956 rebellion. This explains the fact that Hungary missed the planned date for the introduction of the euro, at a time when the country's debts reached astronomical proportions. As a result, Hungary, in terms of restoration of Western civilisation, has fallen behind the countries admitted to the European Union at the same time.

The present authors share the view of Cardinal Péter Erdő, Primate of Hungary, on the pattern of property ownership which has arisen in Hungary since 1990 [Magyar Nemzet 2006]. Justice has not yet been properly done in Hungary, "there has been no full, direct restitution, only partial compensation," giving rise to a pattern of property ownership which diverges from that in economically advanced EU countries. The groups who undertook the political representation of the oppressed people failed the country when it came to making these laws, permitting the dominant groups of the proxy elite to preserve their power<sup>29, 30</sup>.

The pillars of Western civilisation are the Latin Christian value system which governs the life of the community, and private property, which delivers and assures the efficiency of the economic activities which provide their living. Only if these are both in place can we say of a community that it belongs to Western civilisation. In Hungary, we cannot claim that both of these pillars are in place. As already mentioned, the failure to effect restitution has resulted in a structure of property ownership which cannot be compared with that of advanced Western countries, and the same can be said of the adoption of Latin Christian values in Hungary. The country at present operates under a peculiar mixture of Eastern and Western civilisation. A political superstructure has taken shape where

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29 The Constitutional Court brought a peculiar judgement in relation to restitution in 1991, when it set the capacity of the state against a two thousand year old legal principle. In our opinion the restoration of land register title where a third party has not obtained title in good faith has no effect on the capacity of the state. The protection of private property under law, and the structure of private property, however, has a somewhat greater effect on the efficiency of the economy!

30 The authors of this book worked as experts alongside the economist and statistician Dr István Varga and the parliamentary Smallholders' Party in 1990-91 to draw up that group's restitution proposals and back them up with rational arguments and calculations. They personally experienced how most of the groups who set themselves up as representatives of the people went against one of the pillars of Western civilisation, private property, and the legal principle of restitution, which has provided the defence and stability of that principle since the Romans.

the system of commission agents, which under normal circumstances acts as a catalyst in economic affairs, has taken on a disproportionate scale in the pursuit and retention of power. Lobbying agents working on commission are naturally interested in maximising the volume of their transactions without regard for their content or subsequent effects. Consequently, where this activity exceeds its natural proportions, instead of catalysing economic activity, it results in the opposite, and instead of economic growth and prosperity, we have stagnation or contraction. The increase in Hungary's debt well illustrates the presence of these negative processes in the Hungarian economy. The political superstructure which holds executive power lives officially on fixed state remuneration, but secures its financial base for the struggle to obtain and retain power by approving transactions – brokered by commission agents – which damage the country's economic resources and inhibit their efficient utilisation. In consequence, one fundamental aspect of Western civilisation, and its principal motive force, has not been allowed to prevail in the last twenty or so years: improvement of efficiency embodied in innovations and their constant, wide-ranging application. The political machine, blindly granting favours for commission, inhibits innovation and ruins what is one of the country's fundamental resources, the ability of inventive spirits to be realised. It also renders impossible the emergence of the free market. The political superstructure was formed out of the remaining conquerors' elite and groups who arbitrarily put themselves forward as representatives of the people in a sharing of power. In this system, the opportunities of a market with 500 million people and high added value, in the new economic environment created by the European Union, has remained unattainable. These could only be grasped in free-market circumstances through innovative products and services having high knowledge content and competitive price/value ratios. The secondary manufacturing and contract-labour markets, with their low income fraction, clearly do not make up for the failure to develop this segment.

## Chapter 23

### What material losses did the people of the Carpathian Basin suffer between 1918 and 1990?

As physicists, we are used to giving quantitative descriptions, measuring things in figures. So before the closing chapter, we will attempt to estimate in figures – monetary indicators – the losses that people living in the Carpathian Basin suffered after Moscow caused the region’s political-geographical unity to be broken up and its link with Western civilisation cut off between 1918 and 1990, i.e. how much our grandparents, parents and children, and we ourselves, lost in the twentieth century.

To summarise the previous chapters, the Hungarian-Croatian state held together the Carpathian Basin for nearly a thousand years before the Trianon Treaty redrew the borders. Its territory covered an area of 325,411 km<sup>2</sup>, and it had a population (as measured in the 1910 census) of 20,886,487 [Reden 1989]. After the Compromise of 1867, Hungary enjoyed equal rank with Austria within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The Monarchy was a multi-ethnic state, and included the equally multi-ethnic Hungarian-Croatian state. Historians, such as Ferenc Glatz<sup>31</sup>, have come identified the integrated administration and single internal market of the Monarchy as being behind the relatively rapid and balanced socio-economic development enjoyed by the people of Central Europe. Many European politicians regard the Monarchy as a model for the European Union.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Turkish occupation disrupted the rapid and balanced growth which had characterised the history of the Hungarian-Croatian state in its first half-millennium.<sup>32</sup> Development resumed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This development accelerated after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, and approached the more advanced level of Austria. This is demonstrated by the figures in Table 1, showing the per capita GDP of Austria and Hungary in 1850 and 1911-1913 [Molnár and Tarján 1995]. Hungary’s GDP was 62.2/107 or equivalent to 58 per cent of Austria’s in 1850, but the gap narrowed in the subsequent period, and in 1911–13 the figures were 360/517 or 70 per cent. The wealth of the Hungarian-Croatian state thus closed up on that of Austria by 12 percentage points 1850 in 50-60 years.

*Table 1*

GDP per capita [korona]	1850	1911-13
Austria	107	517
Hungary	62.2	360
Ratio	0.58	0.7

Many historians have come to the conclusion that the peace treaty which ended the First World War was directly responsible for the events which led to the Second World War, and for the economic and political weakening of Europe to the benefit of the USA.

<sup>31</sup> See the documentary by Gábor Koltay, *Trianon*, part 13, with Ferenc Glatz.

<sup>32</sup> Anybody can find out with their own eyes what level of economic development was attained by historical Hungary-Croatia in the Middle Ages. This involves no more than visiting the free royal towns of former Upper Hungary or Transylvania (Besztercebánya [Banská Bystrica], Selmecbánya [Banská Štiavnica], Lőcse [Levoča] in Slovakia) and compare the historic centres of these towns with old towns in Italy. The built environment of historic Hungarian-Croatia is immediately apparent, without influence by political interest or “historian’s assessment”.

Historians (including Ferenc Glatz, who stated his views in the film referred to in note 1) consider that the peace treaty at the end of the First World War lacked the political wisdom and far-sightedness that were strong features of, for example, the Treaty of Vienna at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The guiding principle of the latter was the safeguarding of the state of balance that had prevailed for long centuries in Europe.

This principle did not prevail in the drafting of the 1920 peace treaty, but some attempt was made to replace it with the principle of setting up “nation states” coinciding with the vernacular language, and this served Moscow's long-term interests well.<sup>33</sup> The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy had fallen to pieces at the end of the war, and despite having provided stability to the multi-ethnic Central Europe for four centuries, and prosperity in the last two centuries, the peace treaty did not reassemble the pieces. It was a fate shared by the Hungarian-Croatian state, which had been a single unit for a millennium.

This fact and the decision which approved it had two severe consequences for Central and Eastern Europe:

1. The single market which had operated in the territory of the Monarchy ceased. This brought the region into competitive disadvantage with the countries of Europe and other major economies of the world.
2. The balance of power in this region – the triangle between the Holy Roman Empire, the Grand Duchy of Moscow – later the Russian Empire – and the empires of Asia Minor (the Byzantine and later the Ottoman) – was upheld jointly by the Hungarian-Croatian and Polish-Lithuanian states (kingdoms), neither of which could have done so on its own. On its restoration in 1918, Poland could only have provided sufficient strength against German and Russian hegemony in the company of the Hungarian-Croatian state. The end of 1918 and the Trianon led directly to the German-Russian invasion of Poland and then the annexation of Central and Eastern Europe to the even less advanced Russian/Muscovite Empire.

In the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the people of Europe attempted to describe and understand their identity and origins in terms of their vernacular languages. The elites, or sections of elites, used the findings of science and scholarship as the foundations for their ideology of the nation state, a concept which they then used to serve their own interests. In recent years, there have been very rapid advances in biology, particularly genetics. These have provided, and will provide, us with much more accurate knowledge of the origins of the people of Europe. The latest results show that Hungarians are genetically closest to the Poles, Croatians, Czechs and Ukrainians [Semino et al. 2000], and in general the people of Europe display a very close genetic relationship with each other. Our Adam and Eve lived 40-45,000 years ago in Central Asia, in the grassy steppe south of the Aral Sea, and their descendants migrated from this ancient homeland towards Europe in several waves, absorbing to lesser degrees peoples who came from the Middle East before the last Ice Age.

These scientific advances could provide the ideological basis for the political and administrative integration of Europe. In particular, the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, and thus the people of the Carpathian Basin, could also rethink their relationships with each other. What the peoples of the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom and the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom knew about each other “instinctively” (or more precisely, from their traditions), seeing their linguistic diversity as an advantage rather than a drawback for many centuries, is now being confirmed by science and displayed on the flag of the European Union.

Set against this, we will now estimate the price the people of the Carpathian Basin paid for the decisions at the end of 1918 and the following Treaty of the Trianon.

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<sup>33</sup> The war in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s proves the total failure of the ideal of a nation-state identified with the spoken language.

We will look at the hypothetical case that the unitary administration of the Carpathian Basin did not cease, i.e. the unitary Hungarian-Croatian state remained intact. One consequence would have been the prevention, or a much milder version, of the Second World War, and Central and Eastern Europe's escape from annexation by Russia/Moscow. So today, there would be a state of similar size and significance as Poland or Spain with an area of 325,411 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of 30–40 million.

Table 2 shows the European per capita GDP figures in 2003 (calculated at the USD/EUR exchange rate of 0.76) in the countries of the Carpathian Basin and the countries used for comparison: Austria, Ireland and the USA, and the ratios among these. The cases used for the estimate are:

Case 1: The wealth of Hungary-Croatia remains at the same level relative to Austria as in 1910:

$$(\text{GDP per capita (Hungary-Croatia)})/\text{GDP per capita (Austria)} = 0.70).$$

Case 2. Hungary-Croatia approaches Austria economically at the same rate as between the Compromise and the First World War:

$$(\text{GDP per capita (Hungary-Croatia)})/\text{GDP per capita (Austria)} = 0.91).$$

Case 3. Hungary-Croatia comes level with Austria in terms of wealth:

$$(\text{GDP per capita (Hungary-Croatia)})/\text{GDP per capita (Austria)} = 1.00).$$

Case 4. The USA does not become a superpower relative to Europe. Hungary-Croatia and Austria reach the level of Ireland:

$$(\text{GDP per capita (Hungary-Croatia)})/\text{GDP per capita (Ireland)} = 1.00).$$

*Table 2*

Country (2003)	GDP per capita [euro]	USA=1	Austria=1
USA	27754	1.00	1.24
Ireland	26245	0.95	1.17
Austria	22404	0.81	1.00
Slovenia	14910	0.54	0.67
Hungary	11080	0.40	0.49
Slovakia	9862	0.36	0.44
Croatia (estimate)	8772	0.32	0.39
Serbia (Voivodina) (estimate)	7018	0.25	0.31
Romania	5231	0.19	0.23
Ukraine (Subcarpathia) (estimate)	5000	0.18	0.22

*Table 3: scenario 1*

Country (region)	Shortfall	Loss per capita [euro]	Loss per family [euro]
Hungary	0.21	199956	999779
Slovenia	0.03	28565	142826
Slovakia	0.26	247564	1237821
Croatia	0.31	295173	1475864
Romania	0.47	447520	2237600
Voivodina	0.39	371346	1856732
Subcarpathia	0.48	457042	2285208

Tables 3-6 give the losses in each scenario, in euros per capita and for an average family of five. For the 85 years incorporated in the estimate, the lost income due to the gradual relative economic decline (from the time the scissors started to open) is aggregated for each hypothetical case, i.e. the case that assumes steady development over the last 85 years. The shortfall shows how far the pre-

sent level falls below the hypothetical level of wealth which comes out of the scenario.<sup>34</sup> The data from the tables are also shown graphically.

*Table 4: scenario 2*

Country (region)	Shortfall	Loss per capita [euro]	Loss per family [euro]
Hungary	0.42	399911	1999557
Slovenia	0.24	228521	1142604
Slovakia	0.47	447520	2237600
Croatia	0.52	495128	2475642
Romania	0.68	647476	3237378
Voivodina	0.60	571302	2856510
Subcarpathia	0.69	656997	3284987

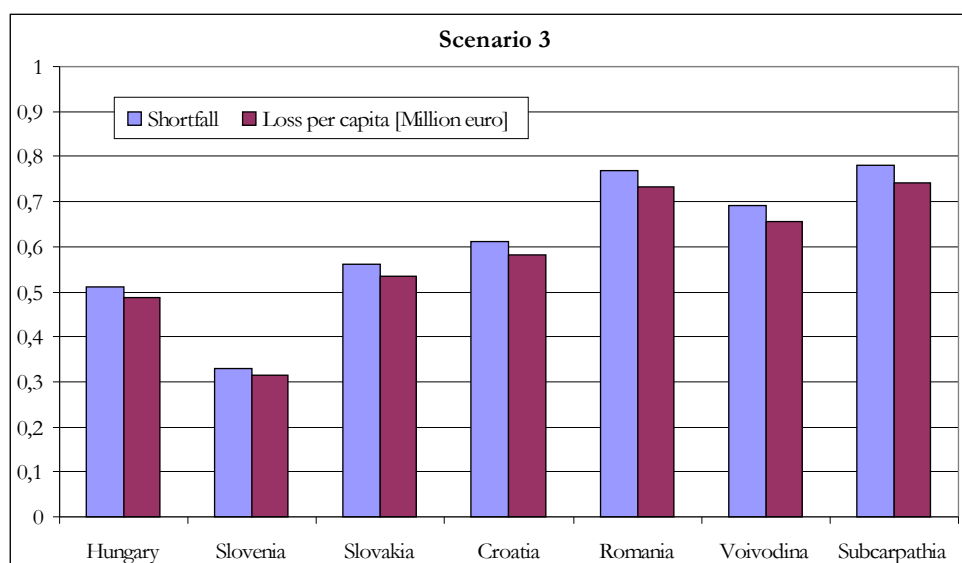
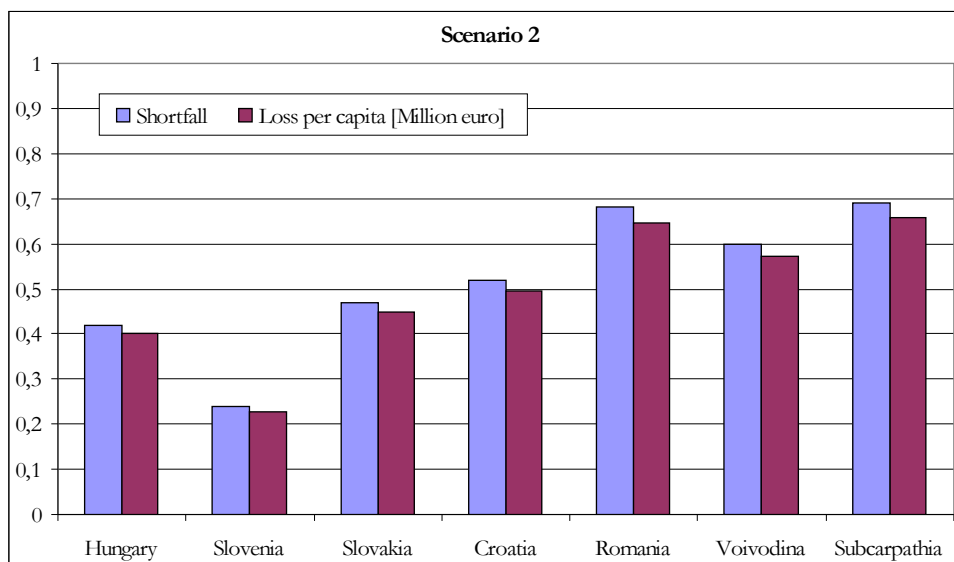
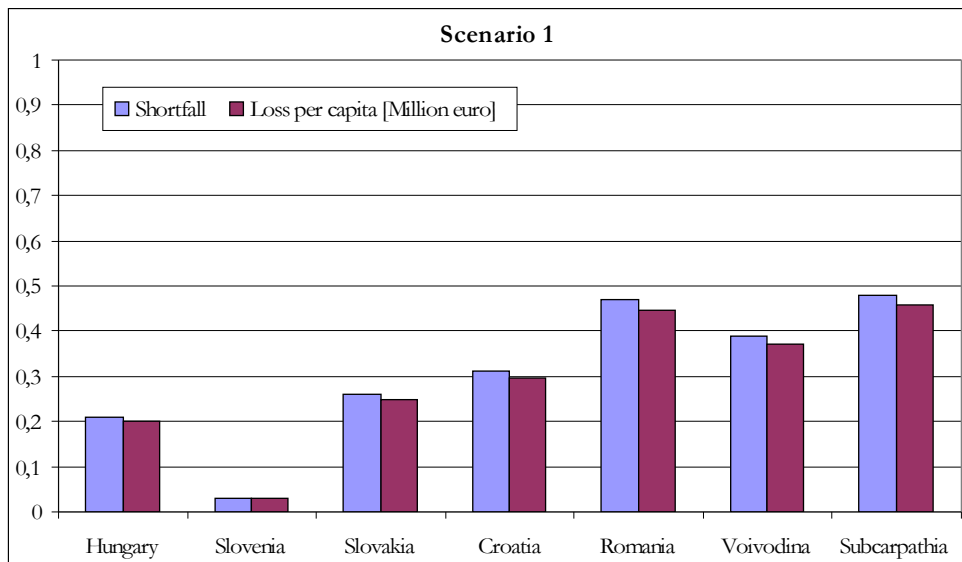
*Table 5: scenario 3*

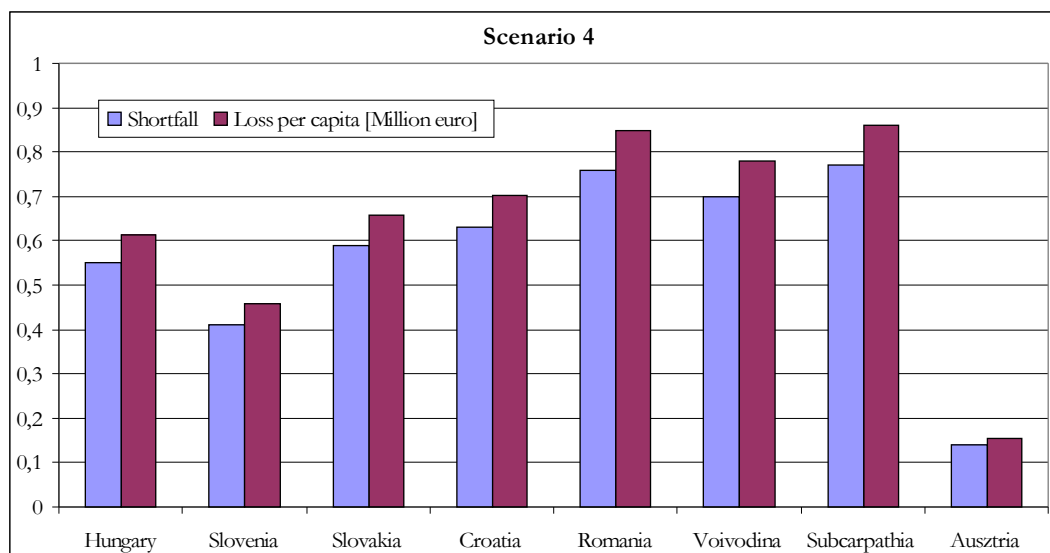
Country (region)	Shortfall	Loss per capita [euro]	Loss per family [euro]
Hungary	0.51	485607	2428035
Slovenia	0.33	314216	1571081
Slovakia	0.56	533215	2666076
Croatia	0.61	580824	2904119
Romania	0.77	733171	3665855
Voivodina	0.69	656997	3284987
Subcarpathia	0.78	742693	3713463

*Table 6: scenario 4*

Country (region)	Shortfall	Loss per capita [euro]	Loss per family [euro]
Hungary	0.55	613477	3067384
Slovenia	0.41	457319	2286596
Slovakia	0.59	658093	3290467
Croatia	0.63	702710	3513549
Romania	0.76	847714	4238568
Voivodina	0.70	780789	3903944
Subcarpathia	0.77	858868	4294338
Austria	0.14	156158	780789

<sup>34</sup> As set out by Molnár and Tarján [1995], per capita GDP in Austria and Hungary diverged from each other along two sides of a triangle starting from the year they were split apart. After the First World War, the two countries kept pace with each other, and in the years prior to the Second World War Hungary even overtook Austria. The real divergence started after the ending of the Russian occupation of Austria in 1955. The estimate uses a right-angled triangle assuming steady decline, the base being the shortfall given in the second column of the tables and the height the 85 years which have passed. The accumulated loss is proportional to the area of this triangle, and equal to the area of the triangle multiplied by the GDP of the target country in 2003. The Great Depression of 1929-33 (whose occurrence or course is questionable given a different peace treaty in 1920) or the Second World War, which would also happened differently, if at all, could in the first approximation be treated by reducing the height of the triangle (the 85 years).





These losses are manifested in the built environment, individual families' wealth (accumulation over several generations) and deficiencies in public services and education of upcoming generations.

The tables clearly show that the level of loss is higher for the peoples of areas originally considered the beneficiaries when they were separated off for reasons of nation-state ideology. Wealth in the Hungarian-Croatian state was geographically evenly distributed. The approximately three million euro loss suffered according to scenario 4 lucidly demonstrates that the Carpathian Basin, in its thousand-year history, lost out to the severest extent after being broken up and detached from Western civilisation between 1918 and 1991.

## Chapter 24

# The prospects and necessary conditions for restoring the political geographic unity of the Carpathian Basin

Both of us are physicists. Our original area of specialisation was theoretical physics, and for one of us it still is; the other is in the field of informatics and related research and development. What prompted us to write this book? It was a feeling of responsibility to the community, the wish to collate our accumulated knowledge so that our compatriots might get a clear view of the enormous problems facing them, or rather us, and perhaps to get closer to resolving these problems. But beyond this honourable purpose, we have been guided by an even more honourable purpose. Both of us have lived our lives in the thrall of finding out, of curiosity, and we have put our talents to the service of this. One of the things we have found out is that not every form of society supports this human passion. It is really only Western civilisation which by its nature gives space to human curiosity and enquiry, granting them recognition and harnessing them as the basic engine of its development. Events in the world around us give many causes for concern, and there are many developments which endanger Western civilisation and its way of life. These developments also pose a direct threat to the curious person, and to human enquiry and the freedom to pursue it. As physicists, people who live by enquiry, we are thus speaking up, via this book, for Western civilisation and its survival.

History, i.e. the story of human communities and our forebears, has always been one of the central elements of enquiry for us. One of us even had an ambition to be a historian when at school, but seeing the enormous obstacles in the way of historians in Hungary at that time – the 1960s and 1970s – he eventually opted for physics, a field offering freer rein to objective enquiry.

History, in our view, is a peculiar branch of learning. It is a later version, when seen in a broader perspective, of the story of our present behaviour, actions and decisions, and the consequences of these. This is a fact which we think all historians should always keep in front of them. What really forms history is the sum of people's behaviour, actions and decisions in each age, i.e. not some external determinant force which impinges on people almost independent of the participants. There is something else which makes the study of history peculiar. This is the personal aspect: history, the story of our own community, is also a record of the behaviour, actions and decisions of our own predecessors and forebears. Our history is also the story of our own families. We have also tried to demonstrate this in the book.

Two fateful events in the last thousand years cut short periods of peaceful construction by the peoples of the Carpathian Basin and left legacies of destruction which persisted for several subsequent generations. Both events involved clashes of civilisations, the consequences of expanding, conquering empires which represented civilisations different from the civilisation here. One was the invasion by the Ottoman Empire, with an Islamic civilisation, and the other the invasion by Russia, or more accurately the Muscovite Empire, with an Eastern Orthodox civilisation. Both of these civilisations diverged from the Latin Christian, or in other words Western, civilisations of the Carpathian Basin. Our forefathers and we ourselves were able to assess these civilisations on the basis of their – and our – own experience; they were not just something from the Tales of the Thousand and One Nights or a set of strange customs in far-away lands. So when we wish to draw the attention of other Latin Christian peoples to the dangers that Islamic and Orthodox civilisations present to Western civilisation, we are drawing on what the Latin Christian population of the Carpathian Basin, our own forefathers, and we ourselves, bitterly experienced through many generations.

The hundred and fifty years of occupation by the Islamic Ottoman Empire left its mark on the built environment of the central part of the Carpathian Basin; the ruins of towns, town centres, churches destroyed or left to decay can still be seen today. That part of the country, built up over five hundred years, the work of so many generations of our forebears, was laid waste. In the same way, as we wrote in our introductory lines, the whole Carpathian Basin bears the consequences of occupation by the Orthodox-based Muscovite Empire: the destruction of a flourishing country which our great-great-grandparents had rebuilt over two hundred years, the period of “peace” following the expulsion of the Ottomans.

The book has pointed out that the destructive consequences of both of these periods followed from specific human actions and decisions which were taken not in distant countries by unknown people, but here in the Carpathian Basin, by our predecessors. The Turkish invasion was not the consequence of King Francis I of France, but of the lost Battle of Mohács. That battle, and the deaths of Louis II and the nobles of the middle third of the kingdom, resulted from a delayed but otherwise well-planned attack. No better proof of this is the military action by the Polish King John Sobieski 157 years later, at the gates of Vienna, who mounted a cavalry charge without delay and mowed down the army of Kara Mustapha, who also had considerable superiority in numbers. The Mohács defeat, then, was not a predetermined failure, but the consequence of human error in the field.

Neither was the Treaty of the Trianon predestined, nor was it the result of advance planning by France. It was the consequence of bad decisions by Charles IV and those around him after their victory over the Russian Empire and its Balkan satellites in late 1917. These were: the delay in restoring the liberated Poland-Lithuania; the failure to secure the north-eastern borders; and the insistence on of a separate peace with the USA instead of with Italy. In pursuit of the latter, a decree proclaiming the right of self-determination of peoples was issued in October 1918, followed by the appointment of Mihály Károlyi as Prime Minister. The later two decisions spelt the functional bankruptcy of the dual state. Although the armistice signed in Padua on 4 November and confirmed in Paris on 6 November by its nature recognised the territorial Hungary of St Stephen, the state of Hungary failed to secure its borders, even though it had every opportunity to do so. It effectively relinquished two-thirds of the territory of the country to Czech, Romanian and Serbian forces who were clearly breaching the ceasefire. These forces were incomparably smaller than the 260 Russian divisions which the Hungarian Army and its allies, with a total of 146 divisions (at least 25 of them Hungarian), had held up for three years and eventually forced to flee right up to the Dnieper. What the Entente did at Trianon was merely to accept the existing situation; it was not going to send its own forces to defend our land for us. This, then, is another instance where we should face the facts and not point at others. That gets us nowhere in any case. It was we who created the mess and we who have to put it right.

We showed that Austria-Hungary, the second-largest Latin Christian European state, could in many respects be regarded as the model state of Western civilisation, a model that could be applicable for many burning questions of today. Without conquest or continuous expansion or colonialisation, remaining within the same geographical area and making use of the same natural resources, it had become one of the most advanced states of the world by the early twentieth century, the home of 52 million citizens speaking many different languages. It did so by building purely on the basic norms of Western civilisation, the Latin Christian value system and the sanctity of private property. This achievement naturally also involved the broad application of surplus knowledge through innovation, that special resource of Western civilisation which drives the continuous improvement of efficiency. It made education, the cradle of surplus knowledge, accessible to every citizen, and protected it with high social prestige. It highly rewarded knowledge and skills, promoting them as one of the main channels of social advancement.

The beneficiary of the power vacuum in Central and Eastern Europe created by the disintegration of Austria-Hungary was Moscow, which soon recovered from its military defeat of 1917. In 1945, it cut through the tiny and mutually-recriminating Central and Eastern Europe states like a knife through butter, and conquered the whole region.

Moscow had systematically prepared for its conquest since the eighteenth century. After the Polish-Lithuanian “Trianon”, it set out to divide and rule through the intensive use of two ideological weapons: pan-Slavism and Orthodox Christianity. These drove a wedge among the peoples of Austria-Hungary, weakening the cohesion of the state and pushing it towards disintegration.

“Cui prodest?” asked the Romans. Who benefits from the Slavification currently in progress in Slovakia (formerly Upper Hungary)? Who benefits from the building of Orthodox churches in the Latin Christian towns of Transylvania where nobody of that faith lives? For every sober-minded inhabitant of Central and Eastern Europe, laying aside the instinctive fears that have accumulated over the past century, the answer is clear. When Moscow gets back on its feet, it will make good use of actions such as these, which set the inhabitants of the Carpathian Basin against each other.

After 1990, there would have been nothing unnatural in Croatia, Hungary and Slovakia getting closer to each other and rebuilding their links based on several hundred years of common history. A customs union proposed by Croatia in 1993 was, given the long-term interests of the community, surprisingly not supported by József Antall. Nonetheless, Croatian-Hungarian relations are again taking shape in an encouraging way. The same cannot be said of Slovak-Hungarian relations. There the present government seems to be advocating a concept which Moscow used so effectively as a tool of division in the nineteenth century, pan-Slavism. This could be of particular benefit for Moscow’s ideologues, because the separation of historical Poland and historical Hungary could greatly weaken Central and Eastern Europe and present opportunities for Moscow. The book has therefore attempted to focus on this issue through an analysis of a broad range of sources. Both of the authors have some distant and some closer forebears who lived in Upper Hungary. Our resulting personal knowledge and a study of the sources has told us that the overwhelming majority of the population of modern Slovakia descends from people who lived in the centre of the Carpathian Basin. Although the names of forebears have been overwritten on many graves at the instructions of the Czechs, this fact remains a fact. It should also be noted that the present regime in Slovakia has the active support of an ever-decreasing proportion of the population, elections having turnouts lower than anywhere else in the European Union. Election figures show that only about 10% of the population of voting age actually voted for the present government. Slovakia’s current political elite therefore currently has the support of about a fifth of the population, a very strange situation in a state that is supposed to be based on mass democracy, and revealing the low level legitimacy, one might say the rootlessness, of Slovakia’s elite.

Let us turn now to the internal sources of threat to the foundations of Western civilisation. As has been said, the broad application of surplus knowledge by innovation and the resulting improvements in efficiency are the main source of rising living standards in this civilisation. This feature has helped it on many occasions to fend off external attacks, including the most comprehensive, the attack by the Soviet Union as part of its world-conquering plans under the flag of the atheist communist religion. The internal processes most dangerous to Western civilisation are thus those which attack and attempt to undermine this feature by restricting and impeding knowledge, creative activity, the spirit of novelty and broad-based innovation. A typical example is the pursuit of a monopoly in some product or service other than one based on a unique natural phenomenon or accessible only to a very narrow set of people. A monopoly has no use for innovation, and it feels no pressure to provide a more competitive price/value ratio, because its monopoly position relieves it of the need to win the favours of consumers. All it needs is a veneer for communication purposes, an imitation of *l'art pour l'art* developments.

One of the greatest achievements of human civilisation is writing, the making of documents, part of our activities for some six thousand years. The tools which serve this activity are the stylus, the pencil, the quill pen-and-ink, the fountain pen, the mechanical and electric typewriter, and most recently the personal computer with its simulations of the typewriter and squared exercise book – the word processor and spreadsheet program, not to mention a hybrid of these, the presentation program by which we can convey what we have to say to our audience. None of these tools have any natural feature restricting their production to a single manufacturer. The stylus, the pencil, the quill pen-and-ink, the fountain pen, the mechanical and electric typewriter and even the personal

computer can be produced without limit given the right skills. And the right skills are not attended by any mystery that cannot be learned by a person who has possessed some ten billion brain cells since birth. The same may be said about the word-processor, spreadsheet and presentation programs that run on the computer.

Our compatriots have had no small part in the development of the computer and the general-purpose programs that run on it. The computer is the invention of one of the great scientist generation of Austria-Hungary, the man behind many major scientific advances, including the mathematical basis of quantum mechanics, and also a lover of history, John von Neumann. The most widespread word processor and spreadsheet program is the work of Charles Simonyi, a man who has twice been in space. Simonyi's father is the author of a highly successful work of popular science, *The Cultural History of Physics*, professor of physics at the world-famous Faculty of Electrical Engineering of the Budapest University of Technology, founded in Austria-Hungary. Having grown up in this environment and learned his basic knowledge and formed his basic outlook here, he left Hungary in the late 1960s and later, in the USA, developed the highly-successful general-purpose document-processing computer programs. It was largely owing to these programs that their manufacturer became the largest software company in the world. On the rapidly-expanding personal computer market, the manufacturer, exploiting the technical advantage of these programs, achieved a near-monopoly position in the 1990s. After the turn of the millennium, when the capacity of personal computers radically increased, the technical advantage came to an end. Through its commercial policy, however, the manufacturer has maintained its near-monopoly, and even in the last ten years the document program suite has generated a pre-tax profit of more than 70%.<sup>35</sup> These products are based purely on human capital, on the properly-trained capacity of the approximately ten billion brain cells every human being is born with. They contain no raw material which is rare or found only in one place in the world which would generate a natural monopoly. The manufacturer's business policy is being investigated in court procedures in the USA, and in 2004, the European Commission imposed its largest ever fine for its anti-competitive, restrictive practices.<sup>36</sup>

In sum: a single manufacturer is creating the illusion, and comes close to stating, that only it can produce our modern "pen", the word processor. By its business policy, the manufacturer works against innovation, doing harm to the basic engine of Western civilisation. It is thus reasonable to conclude that, in the area of the general human activity of writing and making documents, Western civilisation has been under pressure in the last fifteen years.

Now let us return to the fate of Europe. Map 31 shows the present situation. As we have seen, a settlement between France and Germany set off the unification of Europe. The Treaty of Rome, in laying the foundation for the European Union, re-forged the links among the descendants of Charlemagne's empire. From the tenth to the fifteenth century, Latin Christian Europe expanded

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35 The office software program based on Simonyi's programs accounted for more than 40% of the manufacturer's income in the first years of the millennium, the true flagship of the company. Charles Simonyi, however, owns only 1% of the company's shares. The relation between these two figures well illustrates how the USA has become the beneficiary, for no outlay, of the injection of human capital from Central and Eastern Europe.

36 In Hungary, the manufacturer succeeded in suppressing competition on the office software market via the political superstructure, securing positive discrimination throughout the entire education system and the public sector for an office software application that provides it with 70% pre-tax profit. The government set up the positive discrimination in 2004 by placing the software licences in a priority set of products and clearing purchase via the centralised public procurement system, meeting the conditions of state quotas. It placed only the products of the monopoly manufacturer in the state quota. Our government and public sector thus spends a hundred billion forints more on office software than it would if competition was permitted. The manufacturer has also succeeded in making commercial distributors offer only its products to consumers. Look at any large electronics store and you will find that only this manufacturer's office software is on sale, including the home and school versions, whose prices are about five times those of alternative products, made in Hungary, with equivalent functionality, but not offered by shops or distributors. This is clearly a breach of the basic interests of the consumer, a good indication that the competitive market in Hungary exists only in textbooks.

into Central and Eastern Europe, and the houses of Anjou and Jagiellon, following on from the House of Árpád, forged a close alliance of states with the personal union of the Hungarian-Croatian and Polish-Lithuanian kingdoms, as shown on Map 2. These western, central and Central and Eastern areas of Europe therefore put down roots in Western civilisation. This therefore forms a natural basis for the European Union. It also implies that Ukraine and Belorussia must also be included in this process of expansion, i.e. both must be admitted into NATO and the EU. The successors to the countries of the House of Jagiellon, on the pattern of the successor countries of the empire of Charlemagne, must again settle among themselves and forge closer links, for which the EU forms a natural framework, guiding the peoples of Western civilisation in the direction of confederative co-operation. In the same way, the expansion must be continued to the whole Balkan region.

Asia Minor was historically part of Christian civilisation. The Ottoman Turkish Empire converted its population to Islam. Turkey is a strategic member of NATO and aspires to EU membership. In the view of the present authors, however, Turkey could only integrate and become part of Western civilisation if it returned to the Christian religion and Christian values. This would probably require another individual of the calibre of Kemal Atatürk in Turkey or Asia Minor. The Orthodox religion has long been dominated by Eastern Orthodoxy, centred in Moscow and used by that empire as an ideological weapon of permanent expansion, the primary threat to Western civilisation. Its edge could be blunted by resolute intervention on the part of Greece in re-establishing itself as the principal centre of the Orthodox faith. This could be also achieved by the religious recovery of Istanbul, re-Christianising Constantinople, a development which would naturally deliver a settlement between Greece and Turkey. It would also break the bonds tethering Serbia and Romania to Moscow. Going further, the former Colchis, now Georgia and Armenia, could also be made European Union members, permanently relieving them of Moscow's hegemony. This confederative European Union, based on Christian values and the sanctity of private property, would again become the centre of Western civilisation and the engine of world civilisation. Its natural resource would be the broad application, through innovation, of surplus knowledge born of enquiry. Incidentally, the geographical centre of the European Union would be the Carpathian Basin.

And Moscow? With Gorbachev, the communist elite that came to power after 1917 and the Soviet form of administration formally met its failure. Yeltsin and Putin have relaxed the despotic system and attempted to return to pre-1917 traditions. Moscow/Russia continues to rule nearly one sixth of the world. Eastern Orthodoxy and the Slavic village community have resulted in a civilisation which diverges from Western civilisation, i.e. Moscow is by its nature a self-contained entity and does not on any grounds fit with the European Union. The KGB's organisation remains an integral instrument of power even in the new regime, for which the return to pre-1917 traditions means no more than the renunciation of world conquest based on the world proletarian revolution, but not of the permanent expansion of Tsarist times. A good illustration of this is the propaganda film made for Vladimir Putin, *The Red Tsars*.<sup>37</sup> Putin himself appears in the film. He presents his ascetic lifestyle and his objectives: the recovery of Russia's traditional world-power status, of which the central element is the reinforcing of Russian military power. A good illustration of Moscow's old-new face is the military intervention in Georgia in 2008 and the gas transit dispute with Ukraine, now going on for two winters. Anyone looking at South Ossetia on the map will soon realise why this region is so close to Moscow's heart. The hydrocarbons from Baku and the Caspian Sea could be taken by pipeline to Europe through the Kara valley, avoiding Russia, through either Turkey or the Black Sea. Possession of South Ossetia, which projects into this valley, permits Moscow to threaten this transit route. This implies that its military invasion of 2008 was expressly directed against Europe, whose energy supply it intends to dominate.

Moscow has traditionally built on good left-wing contacts to weaken Europe's efforts at autonomy, as is well illustrated by the role of the former German Social Democratic chancellor, Schröder,

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<sup>37</sup> *The Red Tsars*, Spectrum Television, 2008, a film made for Russian President Vladimir Putin after the turn of the millennium.

in the management of Gazprom, Moscow's "energy division".<sup>38</sup> The obstruction of the ratification of the Lisbon Agreement, setting out Europe's new organisational structure and constitution, also served Moscow's interests. In this it found a certain identity of interests with some American circles, who also look askance at the idea of Europe re-emerging and gaining strength. Several analysts have directly explained the outcome of the Irish referendum of 2008 in terms of the activities of certain circles and organisations in these two powers. The EU-weakening activity of Czech President Vaclav Klaus and British Conservative leader David Cameron in obstructing the introduction of the new constitution was also welcome to Moscow and certain American circles. In Hungary, the suddenly-emerging Jobbik party is also anti-EU, and its leader, Gábor Vona, has made statements in praise of Moscow and the Russian markets. Cui prodest?

There was an opportunity for 27 new EU Parliament members of Hungarian identity from the Carpathian Basin to have joined the European People's Party, drawn from 27 member states, in summer 2009, making up more than 10% of it. That 27-strong People's Party group would have formed a clear majority among members from the Carpathian Basin, defining and articulating in the European Parliament the common interests of the peoples of the Carpathian Basin, on the principle of going further together, instead of supporting external forces that divide these interests and ultimately intend to keep people there at odds with each other. The three Jobbik and one MDF (Hungarian Democratic Forum) stopped this from happening.

Whose interests are served by anti-Semitism? For those of our compatriots who may be slaves to anti-Semitism, we should point out that the infamous *Elders of Zion* document was produced by the Tsar's secret service. Is it not convenient if the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe see their misfortunes not in Moscow's conquering, oppressive, exploiting activities – backed up by an armada of facts – but in a "Jewish conspiracy" based on insidious propaganda, without any actual evidence?

We share and recommend to everyone, regardless of religious affiliation, the eternal ethical rule of coexistence of peoples, groups, communities and people, expressed by Rabbi Banai in his interpretation of the Amalek story, essentially as: *do not be surprised if you bring the anger of your fellow-men on your head if you appraise their wares by false measures.*<sup>39</sup> (See Appendix 3)

*We now come to our proposal.* Our book has examined the political geography of the Carpathian Basin. We found that its political geographic integrity was founded and maintained by leaders, an elite section of society, whose legitimacy was unquestionable. The rights and obligations set out by the social contract at the basis of the political geographic unit were clear and enforceable. The break-up of the political geographic unit was connected with the alteration of the social contract, the strengthening role of central control, which had no alternative means of defending its unity when faced with a crisis, an extreme situation that made the centre unviable. After the political geographi-

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38 At a school event in November 2008, the Piarist monk Father Mészáros, a month before his death, told one of the authors that he knew from a reliable source that there are still some ten thousand KGB agents actively operating in Hungary.

39 *Are Jews still commanded to blot out the memory of Amalek?* Volume 5, Issue No. 7, March 2005, Rabbi Prof. David Golinkin, President of the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem

<http://www.schechter.edu/insightIsrael.aspx?ID=27>

The passage in question is:

"In Pesikta d'rav Kahana (3:4, ed. Mandelbaum, pp. 42–43), there is another explanation of the Amalek story. Rabbi Banai explained Proverbs 11:1–2 to mean that if you use unjust weights and measures, a non-Jewish nation will wage war against your generation:

Said Rabbi Levi: Moses hinted at this in the Torah as well. "You shall not have in your pouch alternate weights, larger and smaller" (Deut. 25:13). If you do, a non-Jewish nation will come to wage war against your generation... and what does it say next? "Remember what Amalek did to you" (v. 17).

According to this midrash, Amalek's attack was a punishment for unethical behavior. Thus, the message of the story is not hatred but repentance. In order to prevent another Amalek, we must behave ethically."

cal unity was lost, first the historic and then the civil elite weakened and were replaced by an elite organised on the pattern of Moscow's own elite. As a result, the events of 1990-91 found the liberated peoples of Central and Eastern Europe without an elite whose legitimacy was well founded and whose interests clearly lay in applying the basic norms of Western civilisation. The capacity to organise nationally was possessed only by the historic churches – which Moscow had kept in quarantine – and the remnants of the Empire's local administration. The social conditioning and worldview of the latter was such that they lacked the basic norms of Western civilisation *ab ovo*. *Political geographical unity, under the principle of "getting further together", can be achieved only if an elite, a leading section of society, emerges whose legitimacy is well founded and whose interests lie in the application of the norms of Western civilisation.* One pillar of this, the historical churches, is already in place. Their consolidation in terms of believers and economic autonomy implies the strengthening of the community in the Western and Latin Christian value system. This is an essential condition for stable, ordered coexistence at social and community level, and for affiliation to Western civilisation. As the value system of Western civilisation gains strength in the region, a secular elite which has an interest in the community's autonomy and independence will be able to establish permanent legitimacy. *In this value system, representation of the community and the public interest is a matter of merit and not predetermination.* The exclusion of a member or group of the community from membership of a body representing public affairs should not be regarded as a punishment, only lack of merit. Anyone who has devoted part of his or her life to the service of Moscow has not earned merit in a community which wishes to stand on its own feet. The Christian faith offers the forgiveness of sins to any of its members. We repeat, *exclusion from power cannot be interpreted in any way as a punishment, only lack of merit!*

A key observation to be made in connection with restoring the political geographical integrity of the Carpathian Basin is that there have been *two Trianons* in Central and Eastern Europe the last two hundred years or so. The second followed almost inevitably from the first. After tipping the balance of population towards Moscow, the part of the region which retained its Western civilisation was able to hold back the Muscovite Empire from its mission of permanent conquest for a while, but not forever. Consequently, the essential conditions for re-establishing a stable political geographical unit are firstly the formation of an elite in whose interest this lies, and secondly the rescindment of both "Trianons". Fulfilment of the latter will require the successors and successor peoples of historic Poland-Lithuania and Hungary-Croatia to join forces and build a common future based on a productive common past. They must take their happiness in their own hands, having seen external powers exploit their divisions and decide their fate over the last two hundred years. The model is there to follow. With the Treaty of Rome, the successor peoples of Charlemagne's empire showed how it is possible to join up again now and take control of their own opportunities and resources. The successor peoples of Poland-Lithuania and Hungary-Croatia must now make their own Treaty of Rome. This is to some extent already in progress, because a large section of the successor peoples and countries are members of the European Union, and even more of them members of NATO. EU and NATO membership must be extended to the other successor peoples and states. In doing so, we must give substance to these organisations so that our region becomes a part of NATO and the EU on equal terms with the others. Defence of the region cannot be left purely to our allies; we must take an equal part in it. Historic experience shows that we can only rely on our allies if we can rely on ourselves! The 100-150 million inhabitants of our region need to join together if we are to pull our own weight and direct it to our own benefit and elevation. Europe can only become strong and take the benefit of its exceptional faculties, its deep roots in Western civilisation (the deepest in the world), if our region becomes an equal-ranking part of the "Western Empire". Therefore, the elevation and integration of Central and Eastern Europe is also fundamental to the interests of Western Europe. We have already been given much help to integrate into these organisations through the provision of resources, but it would be foolish to expect everything from outside. We ourselves also have to act. To achieve freedom of action, we must break the bonds that still tie us to Moscow, otherwise our upward path will be blocked by the Muscovite policy of "divide and rule". Neither may we give them satisfaction by quarrelling with each other.

The natural channel for pursuing and articulating interests on a European scale is the European Parliament. The interests of Central and Eastern Europe dictate that this organisation and its decision-making powers must be strengthened and expanded. Through Parliamentary alliances and the “Central and Eastern Europe group” there, our region will have a say in decisions shaping the destiny of Europe which is equal to that of the 100 million-strong German-speaking area. By further expansion, it will have equal weight with the German and French areas combined, thus guaranteeing the furtherance of its interests in the re-creation of the Latin Christian European confederation, the European Union.<sup>40</sup>

With more than 500 million inhabitants, the European Union, deeply rooted in Western civilisation, may again aspire to being a leading continent, by strengthening in the following three key areas:

1. Independent defence
2. Independent energy policy
3. Independent information technology

Independent defence is an essential condition for a confederative structure and will reduce Europe’s dependence on the United States’ defence capabilities, as well as the latter’s burden.<sup>41</sup> Independent energy policy could reduce Moscow’s potential influence. Independent information technology could reduce America’s disproportionate dominance and strengthen the free market, enhance the broad-based, efficiency-raising application of surplus knowledge via innovation, and ensure that the engine which powers Western civilisation runs smoothly. The latter is also the condition for the survival of Western civilisation and our way of life, and for the happy pursuit of enquiry and curiosity.

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40 The strengthening of the region and the shedding of the bonds with Moscow are essential if Christian Europe is to include in its constitution its Christian roots and values.

41 In the matter of defence, it should be noted that military power, the army, military service and military skills have always been the key to autonomy and independence in human communities which have raised themselves to the level of states. Military training and service have also been indispensable components of building and maintaining the community throughout and the history of our civilisation and statehood. The role of the military is not restricted to defence and combat. A good example is that of the Roman Empire’s legions. In Pannonia, for example, the four centuries of Roman rule incorporated only a few decades of war. It was not uncommon for a legionary to live out his service without being involved in any combat whatever, but expended his efforts in building and maintaining the infrastructure of the province and the Empire. A Roman officer was usually also an engineer, to that the legions were also schools, passing on the accumulated architectural skills of the Empire.

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