

THESES OF THE PH.D. DISSERTATION

**FROM THE CONCEPT TO PROTECT THE
HUNGARIAN RACE TO NATIONAL DEMOCRACY**

Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's political concepts for the revival of
the post-Trianon Hungary
(1918–1932)

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Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky was one of the key political personalities of Hungarian history in the 20th century. His career was strongly associated with the history of the Horthy

Era. He was a counter-revolutionist, an advocate of the concept to protect the Hungarian race. Towards the end of his career, he acted as the leader of the military organization struggling for the prevention of external perils, the revival of the country.

This dissertation discusses the period in Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's life from the dominance of the concept to protect the Hungarian race to the emergence of the thought of national democracy, i.e. the political struggles and ideas from 1918 to 1932 for the political revival of the post-Trianon Hungary. The reasons underlying the selection of this topic briefly is that the early period of Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's life work has not been thoroughly revealed and documented, yet. Researches tend to focus on the second period of his career (second half of the 1930s, period of the Second world War), whereas studies are less apt to unveil the start of Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's career, his early counter-revolutionist years.

In presenting the period from the concept to protect the Hungarian race to the emergence of the notion of national democracy, the study relies on Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's extremely abundant publications. Historiography has just taken the first steps in giving an insight into his publications. His books have been made available to the wider public. His rich legacy of manuscripts that scholars have published apart from a minor portion is kept in the National Széchenyi Library.

Bajcsy-Zsilinszky worked as a newspaper editor, as well. He was editing *Szózat* [Appeal], *Előörs* [Espails], *Szabadság* [Freedom] and *Szabad Szó* [Free Word] for years. In the period discussed by this study, his writings were published in *Budapesti Hírlap* [Budapest News], *Szegedi Új Nemzedék* [New Generation of Szeged], *Szózat* and *Magyarság* [Hungarians], yet these pieces have hardly involved into the scope of researches by historiography. *Előörs* also used by this dissetation is the most known in this respect. The dissertation also relies on Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's works that still have not arrived at the mainstream of researches (*Militarizmus és a pacifizmus* [Militarism and Pacifism], *Német világ Magyarországon* [German World in Hungary]).

The dissertation presents the first phase of Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's career as grouped around four main issues.

1. It gives an overview on the current status of researches. It presents how the “contemporaries”, the public of the day, as well as the “after-world” in the second half of the 20th century evaluated Bajcsy-Zsilinszky.

Hungarian historiography has had significant achievements in presenting Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's character, career. The same applies to Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's start-up, his activities as a journalist, newspaper editor.

The keynote to Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's historical evaluation is determined by *idealizing approach*. The evolution of this attitude has also been driven by his influence on politology. The advocates of this approach tend to split his career up to several small (4–6 year) phases. According to them, his ideological–political development was unbroken from rightist radicalism through national democracy to alliance with social progression. Due to his age, lack of experience, the career-starter Zsilinszky did not have a firm ideology, he did not create a coherent political program (*Szózat*-period, 1919–1926). After a short transitional period, in the later phases of his career (“*Espails*-period”, 1928–1932, period of the National Radical Party) he ultimately broke off with his past that can be characterized by the dominance of the notion to protect the Hungarian race. In those times, with his anti-Swabian and anti-German approach, struggle for the economic, social, cultural and political rise of farmers he contributed to the establishment of a “people’s front-type” alliance. This process was also affected by the intellectual influences originating from the emerging popular movement and the civil left wing. From this time, he was walking and unbroken path to his alliance with leftist forces that was finally concluded by his martyrdom.

However, this idealizing approach has cause some disproportionateness in research, which roots in the fact that historiography has failed to pay sufficient attention to Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's departure, his publications released in 1917–1928. In line with his race-protection mentality, he was deeply concerned with the associated issues – national unity, protection of the Hungarian race and people, aversion to large farming estates and large capital, xenophobia, land reform (rise of farmers), the problems related to governmental power (dictatorship or democracy) – up until the second half of the 1930s.

His intellectual renaissance can be originated from changes in the correlation of certain elements of his ideas, as well as in his xenophobia. At the beginning of the 1920s, his programming works were dominated by the national concept, whereas by the end of the decade the agrarian (social) thought became prevalent. It was around that time when his latent anti-German attitude did run into open anti-Swabian and anti-German thrust, and in the framework of a longer process his view of the world metamorphosed (“Fascism–Hitlerism, protection of the Hungarian race and people, Danube confederation). This study sets the following theses against the above-described idealizing approach.

THESIS/1

Such interpretation of the career can be challenged by the following statements:

- *From the end of the 1910s, Zsilinszky had coherent program for the protection of the Hungarian with strong commitment to rightist radicalism (front ideology, national revival and the press).*
- *At the end of the 1920s, he broke off with the race-protection movement, but not the race-protection thought, and therefore changes in his political mentality embraced a longer of time.*

THESIS/2

- *His career can be divided into two phases, i.e. from 1918 to the middle of the 1930s covering the development from the notion of the protection of the race to national democracy and from the middle of the 1930s to 24 December 1944, the period of struggle for national independence, the creation of co-existence with other people in the Danube Valley and the civil democratization of the country.*

2. Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's political career started in the 1910s (1912–1918). His career started as a typical gentry course of life, and was turned around by the Great War when he opted for political activities. The question is whether it was his family background, the development of his personality that were a driving force behind these events, or the peculiarities of his system of ideas, life experience, frontline adventures that played a key role in the change?

This study gives an overview on the start-up of Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's career in the above approach. Bajcsy-Zsilinszky came from a declassing gentry family of Slovakian–Hungarian origin. Therefore, he was personally concerned with the gentry issue; it was also a significant factor in the evolution of his thinking (nationalist advocate of independency, agrarian, neo-conservative, rightist radical values). As a consequence of his choice of values, he can be characterized by rightist modernization efforts.

THESIS/3

Special characteristics of Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's system of ideas:

- *The key to the interpretation of the life-work can be found in the permanent elements of his methods of social studies, system of ideas.*
- *He created a categorical national program based on generations and carrying optimism.*
- *His political ideas surfaced in the critical periods of Hungarian history: First World War and revolutions, economic crisis of 1929–1933, Second World War.*

- *His works of historical politology were suitable for keeping national identity alive, the foundation of national progress on the virtues and mistakes of the past, the examination of national characterology.*
- *His right-wing modernization program can be grouped around the national and agrarian (social) ideas with the additional issue of the governmental system.*
- *The national idea focuses on the mutual relationship of the Hungarian and Central Europe surrounding the Hungarian state, as well as the wider Europe. It also covers issues associated with independence, the relationship with other peoples. It embraces the problems connected with the existence of the state.*
- *The agrarian (social) notion is a special internal projection of the national concept. It refers to tasks to be attended by the national economy and social policy. It is in fact the complexity of problems related to the creation of national existence, the material, intellectual (cultural) enrichment of the Hungarian, as well as the settlement of land issues, the social, cultural rise of the farmers.*

One of the determinant experience of Zsilinszky's life was the First World War. His adventures at the front, the final outcomes of the war were all serious inward burdens to him. Soldier or civilian, patriot or revolutionist, militarism or pacifism, fatherland and progress were such pairs of notions, moral categories in his thinking whose positive meaning he found in Christianity. It was an event affecting all his life that in the summer of 1917 he joined the right-wing radical group formed around *Budapest News*, and contributed to the framing of the national program, the so-called front ideology that still has not been studied by historiography.

THESIS/4

- *Front ideology started to take shape after the second half of 1917, and was amalgamated into a uniform program by the period of the Aster Revolution of 1918. Military officers returning from the fronts also contributed to the formulation of the program.*
- *Rightist radical modernization program to draw up the national path of revival.*
- *It was in fact the forerunner of the Szeged Thought, the ideological-political efforts of the race-protection movement. (It also supports the well-established view in Hungarian historiography that the race-protection stream emerged faster than Gömbös could become a generally recognized leader of the movement.)*

- *With his publications in 1917–1918, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky also contributed to the formulation of front ideology.*
- *Front ideology subordinated politics and society to national interests. It intended to entrust the middle-classes with the control of the state, and grant a leading role to the army and military officers in the reconstruction of the country.*
- *It broke with policy-making on the basis of state law, the liberal values of the Dualism. It wished to rectify economic, political and social troubles with dictatorial means. It called for obedience, the fulfillment of obligations, the assumption of the required responsibilities from each of the country's citizens.*
- *It went against large capital. It planned to sap fortunes made from the war. It stood up against military suppliers risen to affluence during the war, among whom there were a large number of Jews.*
- *It did not intend to eliminate Hungarian historical constitutionality and parliamentary relations, but promised a parliamentary reform corresponding to its ambitions to rise to power.*
- *It went against large farming estates. It promised elective franchise to front soldiers and the lower strata of the society. It was holding out the promise of social and land reforms to army pensioners, war-widows and war-orphans.*

A decision of similar significance on his part was his affiliation to the Home Defense League and the Hungarian National Defense Society, which was a milestone in his choice for a career in political and public life (journalism). It was therefore not surprising that he quitted his dull and monotonous job as a public officer offering on the other hand a steady livelihood. In the summer of 1919, he started to advance the rightist radical race-protection program in *New Generation of Szeged*.

3. Bajcsy-Zsilinszky is the representative of the war generation. In the light of the war and revolutions, he came to believe that it was the “distortions” of the Hungarian development of capitalism that had embroiled the country in the crisis.

Bajcsy-Zsilinszky saw that after 1848–49 Hungarian social development took a peculiar course. The way opened up to industry and commerce, as well as the social groups involved in such activities. On the other hand, agriculture and the development of farmers arrived at a dead-end street. Regarded as one of the greatest successes of 1848–49, the

abolition of serfdom was not accompanied by a land reform. The survival of the large-estate system was a grave obstacle to the modernization of “rural Hungary”.

By the beginning of the new century, Dualism and the Hungarian development of capitalism got to crisis. The *land issue*, *elective franchise*, *state law problems*, the *nationality issue*, as well as the questions arising in connection with *workers*, *Jews* and the *gentry* called for urgent solutions – he explained. As conceived at the beginning of the 1920s, his evaluation of Dualism remained practically unchanged later on.

Owing to the sharpening international problems and the war, the tasks of the turn of the century remained problems to be solved also in the Horthy Era. At the end of the war, these problems could not be circumvented any longer. It was amongst the crisis situations of 1918 when the first attempts were made to settle these issues – when the survival of the nation was at stake, and whoever shouldered reform concepts in Hungary after the autumn of 1918 had to face the dilemma of *fatherland and survival*.

Related to the propagation of his programming activities in Szeged, his study on press politics entitled *Nemzeti újjászületés és sajtó* [National Revival and the Press] stressed the necessity to implement the “scrounged” reforms. This work was in fact Bajcsy-Zsilinszky’s first modernization program, a summary of national politics on the tasks that the country was to attend.

Thesis/5

- *With his work National Revival and the Press, he strived for the ideological establishment of the Hungarian race-protection movement with Dezső Szabó, Béla Bangha, István Milotay and István Lendvai.*
- *Rightist, radical modernization program, the plan of a militant, etatist governmental system. He stood out for complex, quick and deep-rooted changes that could also be interpreted as a process of the transformation of the regime. It served as a historical basis of the race-protection concept.*

In the first half of the 1920s, Zsilinszky became one of the leaders of the rightist radical camp; he was active in public, as well as secret and semi-secret organizations. A newspaper editor and member of the parliament at the same time. He spent most of his time with the formulation and popularization of the notion to protect the Hungarian race. The first

“product” of his programming activities is *National Revival and the Press*, wherein he put down the plan of a militant, etatist governmental system.

This work focuses on the national and agrarian (social) though deemed as the basic values of the race-protection ideology, as well as the press issue. He used historical connections to analyze political events – the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, war losses, revolutions and counter-revolutions, preparation for the peace pact (the work was written before 04 June 1920). He wanted to set economic life to an agrarian course of development and implement the settlement of land relations with the concurrent restriction of mercantile capital. His concept sees the army in the core of the governmental organization where – with the outplacement of large-estate holders and large capital – the Christian–national middle-class would be given a leading role. This “change-over” should be coupled with political reforms representing the interests of the middle-class. A wider scope of political rights would be granted to farmers, and the obstacles to their rise would be eliminated. In case the working class was willing to break off with Marxism, and at the same time find their national roots, they could count on the support of the system (work safety and health, social legislation).

To have Hungarian people identify themselves with these tasks to solve both in spirit and intellect, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky considered the reform of the press and the restriction of the economic role of Jews as inevitable. *National Revival and the Press* attempts to find solutions for the two major problems of the day: the land reform and the settlement of the Jewish issue. Out of economic considerations, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky encouraged action against Jewish capital and the press controlled by the Jews.

The ideas drawn up in *National Revival and the Press* were then used in the race-protection political fights of the oncoming years.

Bajcsy-Zsilinszky joined the struggle fought for the transformation of the press, the political rise of the race-protection movements, the seizure of the largest possible share of political power and land reform.

In the spring of 1921, István Bethlen was commissioned to establish a government. Bethlen’s concept of the governmental system based on the Dualist traditions, a governing party having proper majority in the Parliament, as well as cooperation with large estate holders and large capital had aversion to all and any radical thought. Therefore, from the time of his appointment he tried to get rid of the advocates of race protection. He strove for implementing the smallest possible change in the economic and power structure, and therefore he also wanted to see Nagyatádi’s small holders out of power.

Until the spring of 1921, the advocates of race protection having been in close cooperation with Horthy since the Szeged events represented such a direction in Hungarian political life that could not be counteracted or circumvented in making decisions on the future of the country. Relying on the international and domestic atmosphere induced by the royal coup and the Trianon peace-treaty requirements, as well as referring to the importance of order and peace (consolidation), Bethlen challenged this race-protection “monopoly”. Upon the announcement of the consolidation program, his relationship with the representatives of race protection quickly deteriorated. Bajcsy-Zsilinszky was also deeply involved in the debate.

Bethlen ultimately broke with the advocates of race protection at the time of the negotiations for the contracting of the governmental loans. The supporters of race protection wanted to utilize domestic resources (property tax, surtaxes to be imposed on war-related and Jewish revenues) for the restoration of the national economy. They urged the settlement of the land issue. On the other hand, Bethlen foresaw that the deranged financial matters of the country could be squared from the governmental loan to be taken with the assistance of the League of Nations, Pengő [the new currency of the country] would be introduced, and the restructuring of the Hungarian economy would be commenced.

Being aware of the potential marginalization of rightist radicalism and perceiving the defenseless position of small landholders within the Unified Party, Zsilinszky called for the alliance of the Christian-national movement, smallholders and the advocates of race protection. Such an alliance would be based on the economic, social and cultural rise of farmers, while the underlying aim was to weaken the position of the government, as well as to enforce the reorganization of the government. Nevertheless, this attempt failed. In August 1923, the representatives of race protection seceded from the Unified Party.

4. After the secession from the Unified Party, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky had no illusions. Bethlen’s consolidation efforts did not need either the services of the advocates of race protection, or his assistance. For some years, he remained a well-known public figure as the President of the Hungarian National Defense Society. From the spring of 1928, he was editing his own newspaper, *Espails*. He openly broke off with the Race Protection Party.

In 1927, he expressly stood out for anti-German ideas, and it was not Dezső Szabó, who influenced him in his anti-Swabian and anti-German attitude. His approach and notions were shaped by the anti-pan-Germanism being present in the concept of the advocates of race protection on foreign policy, the actual international situation, changes in German political

life, movements among German people in Hungary, as well as his evaluation of the role of domestic Germans in state administration.

Historiography tends to identify his opinion on Chancellor Bismarck and the Prussian mentality with Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's inclination for the German, yet these are two different attitudes. Bajcsy-Zsilinszky acknowledged Bismarck and the success of the Prussian state, as well as the Prussian militaristic spirit propagating discipline and a sense of duty, and set them as an example to be followed by the Hungarian. Militarism was regarded as an efficient force for the organization of the society; it determined the basic concepts of public thinking. Nevertheless, Wilhelmian Germany could not be described with such characteristics. He recognized the high-level military value of the German Army, but felt to be bound to this Germany only by way of the loyalty of an allied partner.

THESIS/6

- *In the course of 1927, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky started to announce anti-Swabian and anti-German thought expressly.*
- *He turned against German people as a consequence of the anti-pan-Germanism being present in the concept of the advocates of race protection on foreign policy, the actual international situation, changes in German political life, movements among German people in Hungary, his evaluation of the role of domestic Germans in state administration alongside with the intellectual influence of Dezső Szabó, i.e. the aggregate of all these effects.*
- *Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's positive approach to Germans rooted in his attitude to Prussian development and Bismarck. Nevertheless, the recognition of the values of Bismarck's Prussia was not equivalent to friendliness to German people. He acknowledged Bismarck's successes in economy and politics, as well as Prussian militaristic spirit propagating discipline and a sense of duty. He perceived Prussian militarism as an efficient spiritual force for the organization of the society, shaping public thinking. He was bound to the Wilhelmian Germany by way of the loyalty of an allied party. He recognized the preparedness and high-level military value of the German Army.*

The turn of the 1920s and 1930s meant the years of quest for new relations. It was after the Ady debate in 1927 when he started to establish contacts with various youth organizations and evolving popular movements. The emerging youth tended to evaluate the country's foreign-policy and domestic situation, as well as the agrarian issue similarly to the notion of Bajcsy-Zsilinszky. They were concerned with the future of the peoples in the

Danube Valley. Their approach to these problems also fertilized Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's thinking. Their cooperation was reflected in the intellectual image of *Espails*, and changes occurring in Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's view of the world, his national radical program.

The community and popular movement surrounding *Espails* constituted a loosely organized political and intellectual-cultural group that found its place in between the official Hungary and civil liberals, the so-called urbane movement. Their representatives and followers identified themselves with the interests of Hungary, and in this context those of farmers.

THESIS/7

- *There were a lot of similarities between Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's approach and the goals of the popular movement. The key to the renewal of the system was perceived to lie in the governmental representation of agrarian interests, the economic strengthening of farmers, the land and political reforms ensuring their social rise.*
- *Their concepts were derived from the experience that Hungarian and global history offered, the evaluation of Hungarian reality after the 1867 settlement and the interwar year. They framed a comprehensive program for agriculture and the whole of the national economy to eliminate social under-development and effectuate more social in Hungary.*
- *They fought for the elimination of cultural under-developments with the overall institutional reform of education being in the focus (by making school studies free of charges) in order to allow a large number of talented low-class youth to have admission to institutions of higher education.*
- *The precondition of the modernization, intellectual, cultural and economic renewal of Hungarian society was the democratic transformation of the governmental system and political institutions ("real" representation of the people, universal suffrage with secret ballot, parliamentary reform). However, they were not united in connection with political reforms.*
- *Hungary could rise to her natural rank among the states of Europe and the Danube Valley by means of internal renewal. The reform of domestic politics made up an organic unity with the intent to renew Hungarian goals in foreign policy (Danube Confederation).*
- *As concerning the implementation of this loosely organized, rather framework program (means, mode, schedule of realization), there occurred differences of approach between Bajcsy-Zsilinszky and the popular movement – yet no such disparities could be perceived in the purity, progressive nature and feasibility of the intent.*

At the end of the 1920s, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky reached back to the evaluation of Hungary's international position and the criticism of "Bethlen's regime" to expose his ideas. He wanted to regain Central European supremacy by making the Hungarian the "*first and foremost soldier of the world*". He associated the need for a radical land reform with restrictions to be imposed on foreign and Jewish capital. Towards the rise of nation, he would reorganize labour movements on national grounds, while place the control of the state in the hands of the middle-class featuring "real human values".

There are a series of similarities between his objectives and the thoughts presented in his earlier writings. In the core of this approach, there lay the problems echoing the times of race protection: national unity, the Hungarian as the first and foremost soldiers of the world, land reform, action against "bankocracy", territorial revision. In the light of the social insensitiveness and anti-agricultural economic policy of the Bethlen Government, as well as the agricultural sales crisis throughout the 1920s, he continued to try to align the agrarian (social) concept with the national thought.

Formal similarities, however, hide material differences in contents. In connection with the economic crisis, he placed his claims into another context. Now, it was not the national thought that was given a priority in Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's concepts, but the agrarian (social) issue. From the turn of the 1920s and 1930s, he was setting up the framework of his approach from internal sources. He looked to the economic growth of the "national society", the improvement of social conditions, moral, intellectual and political renaissance to lead to the betterment of the country's international positions.

He regarded the improvement of the situation of farmers as a part of a well-concerted reform process that was to be inseparable from the transformation of the lending system, tax system, customs policy, school policy, village policy, homestead system, town policy, as well as the prevailing conditions in economy, society and public administration.

As the precondition of the restoration of territorial integrity, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky called for the economic and social, political and cultural renewal of the system followed by making the country attractive to the peoples of the Danube Valley on the one hand, and the establishment of the Danube Confederation on the other.

After his break-off with the advocates of race protection, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky was planning the establishment of a new political party, and he wanted to involve those prepared representatives of the young generation who were committed to the Hungarian cause.

At the end of the 1920s, he returned to the idea of national unity. The re-appearance of the problems of national unity and national society were intertwined. The national society – as

the central, organizing core of the Hungarian national society – embraced farmers constituting the majority of the society, small and medium-sized bourgeois craftsmen and traders, as well as the middle-class having close relations to the people. Initially deemed to be “beyond the scope of” national society, large landholders, large capitalists and the members of the working class were not excluded from the national society, either. However, the precondition of integration was the acceptance of the objectives of the national society – he emphasized.

The program of the National Radical Party is a third-way political program: the plan of a governmental and political system based on farmers in rejection of Western-type civil democracies and totalitarian regimes. It was in fact Bajcsy-Zsilinszky’s second concept for modernization. He drew up the path to renewal alongside with the concepts of *national society*, *national state*, *national democracy*.

He saw the future of the Hungarian guaranteed in the framework of a large, modern *national state*. The national state was indeed an organization conceived to balance out political and economic conditions; to coordinate the activities of the individual production sectors and social groups, the operation of legislation, governmental bodies, local and county governments, as well as professional representative organizations.

The issue of the national state and national democracy were interlinked in his draft. He interpreted democracy as a historical formation. *Practice*: special process for the *arrangement of consensus* and *equalization* (leveling). *Concept*: the spirit of this concept was to penetrate the constitution, legislators and the work of autonomous institutions. In connection with the role of municipalities, he paid special emphasis to direct democracy. Bajcsy-Zsilinszky regarded himself as a democratically thinking and acting Hungarian.

From among the political movements and political parties of the day, it was the National Radical Party that had a program to embrace the whole of the agrarian issue. Accordingly, most of the progressive elements can be found in his proposals for the solution of the agrarian issue.

The objective of agrarian policy was land reform in association with a new wave of settlement. His land reform foresaw the distribution of three million morgens of land among people in need. The democratic nature of the land reform, as well as his aversion to large estates were reflected in the fact that he proposed to split up “private, church and parochial estates” in excess of a thousand morgens, as well as entails. Bajcsy-Zsilinszky wanted to grant lands primarily to landless villagers and micro-holders, and in addition wished to create viable small and medium-sized holdings.

This national radicalism contained *progressive* and *conservative*, as well as *realistic* and *unrealistic* elements. The notion of the national state can be deduced from the neo-conservative, organic development concept. The civil liberal and Marxist class regime contrast the traditional with the individual, the rights and obligations of certain professional groups (professional orders). That is how it intends to grant a leading role to farmers and the middle-class living in close spiritual–intellectual unity with them.

This combination of realistic and unrealistic elements is rooted in the Italian corporative system, a special amalgamation of historic Hungarian constitutionalism and the highly detailed nature (over-regulation) of the program.

Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's vision of the future's Hungarian social–political setup also contained progressive elements. The most significant ones were universal suffrage with secret ballot, civil liberties (“free communication of thoughts”, “right of free association”) that were regarded as considerable political causes in the 1930s, in Hungary.

THESIS/8

- *National radicalism is a third-way political program, the plan of a governmental and political system based on farmers in rejection of Western-type civil democracies and totalitarian regimes. It undertakes the effectuation of the “change of the political regime” as relying on the national society, national state, national democracy.*
- *The national state had a role in balancing out political and economic conditions, the activities of the individual production sectors and social groups. It was to coordinate the operation of legislation, governmental bodies, local and county governments, as well as professional representative organizations, and thus lead to the peaceful and “idyllic” cooperation of citizens, various social groups and the regime itself within the political sphere.*
- *Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's perception of democracy rooted in history, was a historic formation. On the one hand, a practice: special factor for the arrangement of consensus and equalization (leveling). On the other hand, a concept: the spirit of this concept was to penetrate the constitution, legislators and the work of autonomous institutions. He regarded himself as a democratically thinking and acting Hungarian.*

List of publications

(publications connected with the subject matter of this dissertation)

1. Kiss (F), József: „Felépíteni újból Hungaryot!” Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Endre Előörs korszakáról [*“To Rebuild Hungary” On Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky’s Espails period*]. Alföld, 1986. 6. sz.
2. Kiss (F), József: Bajcsy-Zsilinszky és az Erdély-kérdés [*Bajcsy-Zsilinszky and the Transylvanian Issue*]. Rubicon, Issue 2, 1989
3. Kiss (F), József: „Nem tudok mást adni, mint magamat és erős akaratomat.” Gróf Teleki Pál (1879-1941) [*“I Can Give You Nothing, but Myself and my Strong Will.” Count Pál Teleki Pál (1879–1941)*]. Iskolakultúra, Issue 8, 1993
4. Kiss (F), József: Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Endre és a magyarság sorskérdései a két világháború között [*Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky and the Crucial Issues of the Hungarian Nation in the Interwar Years*]. Tudományos Közlemények 25. sz. Debreceni Egyetem Műszaki Főiskolai Kar. Debrecen, 2000.
5. Kiss (F), József: A pályakezdő Szabó Pál és Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Endre kapcsolata az 1920-1930-as évek fordulóján [*Relationship of the Career-Starter Pál Szabó and Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s*]. 2nd National Conference of the Eastern Hungarian People’s College. Debrecen 2001, pp. 29–31
6. Kiss (F), József: A pályakezdő Szabó Pál írásai Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Endre lapjában, az Előörsben [*Writings of the Career-Starter Pál Szabó in Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky’s newspaper, Espails*]. Bihari Diéta IV. Debrecen, 2003. pp. 99–112
7. Kiss (F), József: Szabó Pál közéletisége [*Public Activities of Pál Szabó*]. Bihari diéta V. Debrecen, 2004, pp. 128–138
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