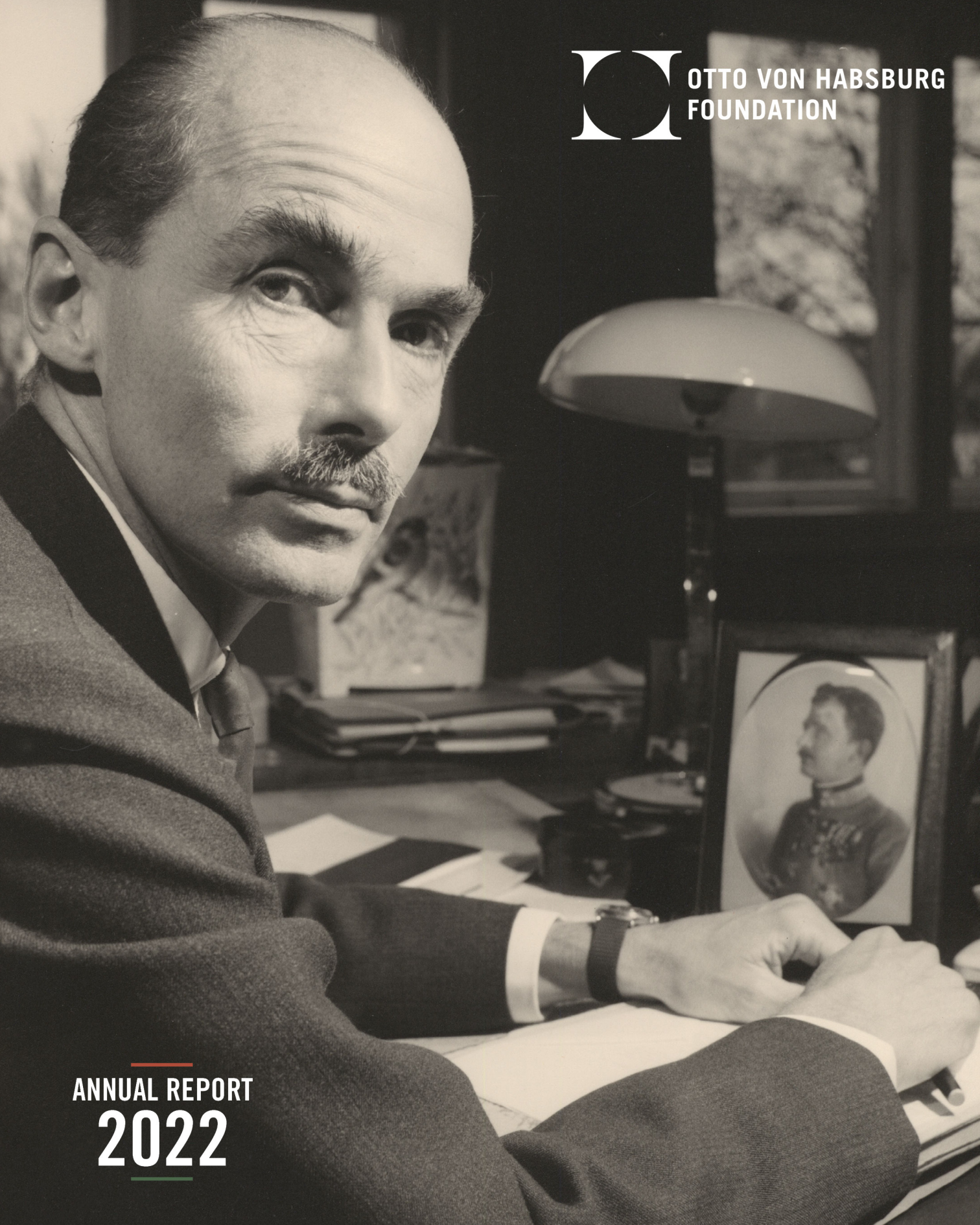


OTTO VON HABSBURG  
FOUNDATION



ANNUAL REPORT  
**2022**

**OTTO VON HABSURG FOUNDATION**

Annual Report

2022

Publications of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation 9.

Edited by Ferenc Vasbányai  
Image Editing and Design by Szilveszter Dékány  
With the contribution of Lili Herczeg  
Translated by Laura Balázs and Lili Herczeg  
Proofread by Thomas Sneddon  
Published by Gergely Próhle

Archive photos:  
Otto von Habsburg Foundation, Otto von Habsburg Collection,  
Photo and Audiovisual collection, HOAL I-5

Event photos by Márton Ballagó, Zoltán Szabó, Tamás Totisz

ISSN 2732-3366

ISSN 2939-5453

Printing and binding by Prime Rate Ltd.  
Managing Director: Péter Tomcsány

All rights reserved.

Otto von Habsburg Foundation  
Address: H-1088 Budapest, 51 Szentkirályi Street  
Webpage: [www.hoal.hu](http://www.hoal.hu)  
E-mail: [info@hoal.hu](mailto:info@hoal.hu)  
Phone: +36 1 522 2050



Funded by:



# OTTO VON HABSBURG FOUNDATION

Annual Report

2022





# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Foreword</b> .....	8	Other Events .....	62
<b>Introduction</b> .....	11	Chantal Delsol, a Fellow French Intellectual – Paris .....	62
<b>Save</b> .....	12	Rubicon-Evening .....	63
The collection – Principles and practice .....	12	Are We Ready for AI? International Conference of Photographic and Audiovisual Archivists .....	64
Research Policy of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation .....	13	<b>Unfolding Collection</b> .....	67
Archives – Exploration and cataloguing .....	14	Studies and articles .....	67
Processed archival collection units .....	14	Eszter Gaálné Barcs – Beáta Vitos-Merza: “The last grand wedding in the Habsburg empire” .....	68
Organising, processing and digitising the collection .....	15	Piroska Kocsis – Zoltán Ólmosi: From Baja to the Black Sea .....	73
Library .....	19	István Gergely Szűts: The Last Portrait of a Legitimist – József Cziráky .....	80
Photographic and audiovisual archives .....	20	Eszter Gaálné Barcs: About '56 – 56 Years Ago .....	82
<b>Paste</b> .....	22	Beáta Vitos-Merza: “I practically always stay at the Gellért” .....	86
Development .....	22	Lectures .....	91
Enrichment of the material legacy .....	22	György Szapáry: In memory of Otto von Habsburg .....	92
Professional networking, external research, database development .....	24	Alain Lamassoure: The Role of Otto von Habsburg in Forging the European Idea .....	96
Cooperation .....	26	Gordan Grlić Radman: “Europe is unthinkable without Croatia” .....	98
Austrian State Archives .....	26	Csaba Török: The Drama of the Insignificant/Meaningless Prophet .....	100
Visitations .....	28	Niklaus Peter: Christianity in Pluralist Societies – Switzerland as a Not-So-Unique Case .....	105
<b>Share</b> .....	30	Edwin J. Feulner: The Continuing Legacy of Otto von Habsburg .....	110
Exhibitions .....	30	Jeffrey O. Nelson: Russell Kirk’s Europe and the American Conservative Renaissance .....	116
Photo Exhibition On Otto von Habsburg, Who Was Born 110 Years Ago .....	30	Cirill T. Hortobágyi OSB: What Did Otto von Habsburg Learn from the Benedictines? .....	125
“Europe Is Unthinkable Without Croatia” – Zagreb .....	32	Markus Ferber: “More Otto would be good for Europe” .....	128
The Life and Heritage of Otto von Habsburg – Brussels .....	33	Theo Waigel: Otto von Habsburg and His Significance for Europe .....	130
Exhibitions Across Europe .....	34	Helmut Wahnout: The Son of the Emperor Reconciles with the Republic of Austria .....	134
Prayer Breakfast in the Parliament .....	35	<b>Charles 100</b> .....	139
Discussions .....	36	From Gödöllő to Gödöllő .....	139
On V4 Cooperation – In Difficult Times .....	36	Gödöllő, 25 March .....	140
Quo Vadis, Bosnia and Herzegovina? .....	40	Vienna, 21 March .....	141
Otto von Habsburg Within the “Community of Hungarian Benedictine Students” .....	42	Lisbon, 24 March .....	141
“1 Thank God That I Am a Member of the European Parliament” – Florence .....	44	Madeira, 31 March – 1 April .....	142
Positioning Christianity in Today’s Europe .....	48	Madeira, 27 June .....	144
Otto von Habsburg and His Significance for Europe – Munich .....	50	Porto, 6 December .....	145
Conservative Minds – Otto von Habsburg and Like-minded American Thinkers .....	52	Gödöllő, 28 November .....	146
The “Blue Apponyi” .....	57	Exiled in Madeira exhibition .....	149
Birthday Commemoration – Otto von Habsburg 110 .....	58	<b>Publications</b> .....	150
Otto von Habsburg, a Dedicated European, Was Born 110 Years Ago – Paris .....	60	Klaus von Dohnanyi: National Interests .....	150
The Future of Europe – The Legacy of Otto von Habsburg – Vienna .....	61	Good Will and Misfortune .....	154
		Exiled in Madeira .....	154
		<b>Outlook</b> .....	157
		<b>Team of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation</b> .....	159



# Foreword

This is the third edition of the annual report of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation. Evaluating the work we have done is a priority for the Board of Trustees, as we are responsible for the use of budget support. While the numbers and factual accounts give an idea of the complexity of the work carried out to preserve the legacy of our namesake, this report, which we are making available to the wider public, gives a much more colourful and detailed picture of the Foundation's activities. Especially so this time, as the printed pages are sometimes accompanied by QR codes leading to electronic sites.

In the year 2022, the range of the activities of our Foundation expanded significantly. This was mainly due to the double anniversary: the commemoration of the death of Emperor and King Charles I (IV) 100 years ago and the celebration of the 110th anniversary of the birth of Otto von Habsburg. We considered it important to highlight that our namesake valued his paternal heritage throughout his whole life. It is also no coincidence that Count György Károlyi, whose grandfather personally helped the royal family in exile, is a member of our Board of Trustees. The commemorations of the tragically early death of the last Hungarian monarch have opened up several opportunities for further research and networking. At the same time, the enthusiasm of the members of the Habsburg family for their dynastic heritage and, thus, for the work of our foundation has been revived.

International interest in the written and intellectual legacy of our namesake has grown significantly on the occasion of the round anniversary of his birth. The Board of Trustees greatly appreciates the success of the Foundation in establishing partnerships with a number of renowned institutions, research centres, scientific experts and politicians, which facilitates not only learning more about the legacy of Otto von Habsburg, but also understanding his thoughts and ideas and adapting them to our current situation. Two decades of work in the European Parliament provided him with a wealth of experience that can serve as a compass in shaping EU policy today. The significance of his extensive network of contacts in the United States is illustrated by the words of Ed Feulner, founder of The Heritage Foundation, at this year's Otto Dinner and the 110th-anniversary conference. For a better understanding of the transatlantic relationship and to revive the historical and ideological context of this cooperation, we can still benefit from the views of Otto von Habsburg, who interpreted all events from a world political perspective.

An annual report can only give a glimpse of the vast wealth of documents in our collection and the thorough work that the staff of our Foundation do to process them. The year 2022 certainly marks a milestone in the sense that the task set out in our Founding Statutes, namely to make the legacy available to the public, is now being realised not only in the domestic but also in the international scientific community.

I hope that our report will arouse the interest of our readers in the activities of our Foundation, but even more so in Otto von Habsburg, an exceptional historical personality and political thinker.

István Nagy  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD



*Emperor and King Charles and Crown Prince Otto (c. 1917)*





Charles and his children (from left to right) Adelheid, Otto and Robert fishing on the shores of Lake Geneva (1920)

# Introduction

The Otto von Habsburg Foundation was established with the dual aim of preserving the material heritage and cultivating the intellectual legacy of its namesake in a dignified manner. These two efforts are mutually intertwined: based on the extraordinarily rich archival and library collection and the results of its processing, the Foundation aims to uphold the intellectual legacy of Otto von Habsburg and at the same time reflect current trends in world politics and European integration.

The year 2022 dramatically confronted us all with the fact that history, contrary to all the illusions from the hopeful era beginning in 1989, not only has not ended, but is still unfolding based on the mechanisms and intentions of past millennia. The Russian-Ukrainian war that broke out in February – following the Covid-19 pandemic, and the summer drought – was an ominous reminder of the most devastating periods in European history. It is no coincidence that during the year, a number of writings and film clips appeared on social media, the contents of which clearly showed that Otto von Habsburg regarded current political events with a wealth of historical experience. For example, as early as the beginning of the 2000s, he was already warning of the danger the expansionist ambitions of Putin's Russia could pose.

The conclusion of the 2022 programmes shows there is more to it than a thorough knowledge of history. The 100th anniversary of the death of King Charles IV has drawn our attention to a context that is crucial to understanding and processing the life's work of our namesake: the formative influence of the father, who died tragically young, on the life of the young heir to the throne. Károly Forgách's photograph on the front cover of this volume is a vivid illustration of this: Otto looking up from his work, with a portrait on his desk of King Charles, constantly in his field of vision as he writes. Our Foundation is grateful to the members of the Habsburg family, who enriched our collection with additional documents and photographs on the occasion of this sorrowful anniversary.

In this respect, it is essential to highlight that we have an increasing responsibility towards the archives maintained in Budapest – no greater proof of this than the growing interest of historians both at home and abroad. We will continue our efforts to process the legacy entrusted to us according to a precise work schedule, using methods compatible with national archives and with international accessibility in mind. This year's report includes a more extensive printed summary of our events and the essays of our colleagues, supplemented by several photographs that are presented to the broader public for the first time.

The thematic emphases of the past year – be it on Central European cooperation, the prospects of the V4, the position and dilemmas of European Christianity, or the future of transatlantic relations – may have helped to navigate the rather complex environment by evoking the thoughts of Otto von Habsburg.

As he writes in remembrance of his father, *“God does not expect people to bring him victory reports. He is the one who gives success. He only expects us to do our best.”*

I commend our report to your attention in this spirit.

GERGELY PRÖHLE  
Director



# SAVE

## THE COLLECTION – PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE

In January 2022, the archivist ESZTER GAÁLNÉ BARCS joined the collections team. Processing continued uninterrupted despite the partial closures caused by the Covid-19 pandemic. The new colleague settled in quickly, bringing her professional knowledge and experience to the processing of records, as well as to the preparation of the heritage entrusted to our Foundation for digitisation and future research. In 2022, we were able to double the number of items processed compared to preceding years.

Following the previously established base structure of the collection this year, we continued our efforts in the step-by-step exploration of the documents held in our care. In the course of the sorting process, in some instances, we have had to deviate slightly from the 2021 plan, both in terms of processing and digitisation, in consideration of professional archival standards. Consequently, the contents, the year range and the classification of the documents in the individual files have been clarified in several areas. As part of this organisation, duplicates will continue to be culled. This year, new gaps have been identified in the news agency, secretarial and family records during the sorting process.



As a result of the archival work of 2022, and the articles, studies, conference presentations and interviews that have followed, our Foundation has been contacted by an increasing number of researchers, academics and journalists from the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Austria, Switzerland and even Japan. Generally, we request patience from researchers and only grant access to certain documents in digital format after consultation with the individuals concerned or family members.

### Research Policy of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation

Last year, the Research Regulations of the Collection were drawn up, taking into account the Hungarian laws in force and the national public collection models, and its reprographic points were approved by the Board of Trustees and the Prime Minister's Office. Accordingly, from 2023 onwards, research, mainly for scientific purposes, will be possible in the already sorted documents and books of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation.

The regulations also take into account the particularities of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation: access to records and photographs will be granted primarily in digital form, however in exceptional and substantiated cases, an inspection of the original sources will also be permitted.



## ARCHIVES – EXPLORATION AND CATALOGUING

### Processed archival collection units

The monthly monitoring of the work carried out in the collections area and the allocation of tasks continued, following the established practice of the previous year. In 2022, four collection meetings were held to discuss professional matters. Outside these occasions, there is an ongoing dialogue on the organisation, digitisation and processing of the collection.

Compared to the corresponding period of the previous year, a significant number of collection units have been partially or fully processed. We have also started to upgrade and upload to our digital content management system in line with the new archive structure – as yet, exclusively for internal use. All completed catalogues are stored in an Excel spreadsheet to ensure greater data security.

In the first quarter of 2022, part of the library material (77 boxes, 3579 items), which had already been processed and is of smaller historical value, was placed in an air-conditioned, rented storage room of the Pest County Archives of the National Archives of Hungary. Under the terms of the contract with the Archives, we have access to the material at any time by prior arrangement.



### Organising, processing and digitising the collection

This year, we completed the palliumisation and item-level cataloguing of the “Hungarian-language correspondence of Otto von Habsburg 1988-2011” (reference number: HOAL I-2-c), which was started in 2019. In parallel with this, while sorting other parts of the collection, we found new documents that belonged there, so they were classified in the appropriate place. Before completing the work and preparing the documents for digitisation, we carried out a verification sort of nearly 49,000 pages. In the course of this project, a list of the – so far known – Hungarian correspondents of Otto von Habsburg between 1988 and 2011 was compiled. We have identified a significant proportion of the more than 5,300 names on the list, and an abridged index was also produced for digitisation.

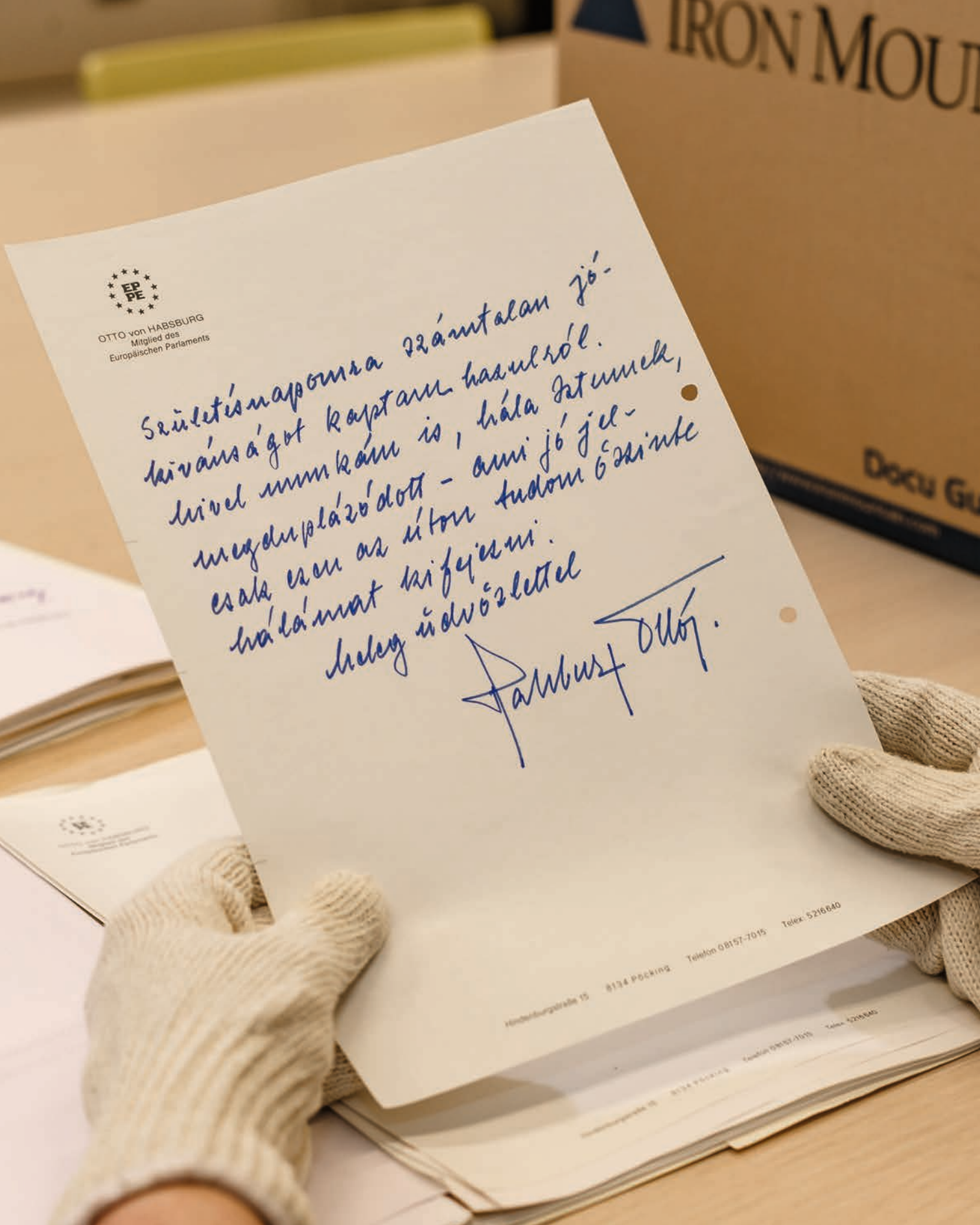
In the second half of 2022, the digitisation workshop of the Benedictine Archabbey of Pannonhalma started the digital copying of the HOAL I-2-c units, of which about 10,000 pages have been completed.

Among the HOAL I-2-c documents, the condition of the fax papers from the 1980s and 1990s is deplorable, with many having become almost illegible. Therefore, the recovery of these papers has begun, and the programme, which started in September, has already copied 83 pages of text into Word documents.

In 2022, we continued the processing of the material formerly labelled “Country Reports”, now registered under the title “Reports on Foreign Policy Affairs (1952-2009)” (HOAL I-7). While arranging the material, duplicates, which comprise at least a quarter of the total material, were separated.







OTTO von HABSBURG  
Mitglied des  
Europäischen Parlaments

Születésnapomra zártalan jó-  
kívánságot kaptam hasulról.  
Nivel munkám is, hála Istennek,  
megduplázódott - ami jó jel-  
es az az íton tudom ősszinte  
hálaímat kifejezni.  
Mely üdvözléssel

Habsburg Ottó.

Habsburgstraße 15 8134 Pöcking Telefon 08157-7015 Telex 5216640

The mid-level cataloguing and digitisation of the so-called “*Dispatches*” batch from 1952 to 1995, along with the 2084 items sorted this year, has been completed. A geographic aid was also produced based on the former classification by Otto von Habsburg.

In addition, 1771 pages from the period 1970–1989 were sorted in the *Weltpolitische Analyse* batch, and duplicates were again set aside. Smaller units such as *Global Politics 2005–2007* and *Fakten und Analysen zur Weltpolitik 2008–2009* were also completed. The thematically sorted analyses by Otto von Habsburg are still to be assembled, but a significant part of this documentary material has been completed.

The “*Reports on Foreign Policy Affairs (1952–2009)*” contain analyses written by Otto von Habsburg in English, French and German. Along with the front pages, about 10,000 pages of “*Dispatches*” items have been digitised. This data section is expected to become partially available in 2023, following the enactment of the Research Policy.

Among the other unit parts, detailed item-level cataloguing of the exchange of letters between Otto von Habsburg and Kenneth de Courcy (HOAL I-2-b-Kenneth de Courcy), directly related to the foreign policy reports, is underway. So far, a precise catalogue of 485 sheets of correspondence from 1952–1954 has been compiled, and 35 pages have been added this year. (During the processing of this section, significant gaps in the correspondence became apparent.)

This year, we resumed processing of the general correspondence of Otto von Habsburg with individuals and organisations – formerly known as the Secretariat papers – (HOAL I-2-b). Working chronologically, a preliminary sorting of the period 1953–1967 has been carried out, which has involved the extraction of nearly 1,100 correspondents’ files from some 43,000 reviewed documents, and have been placed in palliums and catalogued at the mid-level. The total amount of processed documents is 42 boxes and 4.62 linear metres of records.

Out of the correspondence partners, we are gathering the complete correspondence of 50 pre-selected individuals of particular importance for their relationship with Otto von Habsburg. These include, among others, Konrad Adenauer, Winston Churchill, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, Russell Kirk, and leading figures of the Hungarian émigré community such as Tibor Eckhardt and György Bakách-Bessenyei.

The sorting and organisation of the archival material, which started in 2021 and was previously held in 46 containers under the name of private family correspondence (HOAL I-1), continues. Based on the classification plan, the documents were divided according to 17 main themes, of which more than 11000 pages were sorted at the mid-level and 9500 at the basic level. A classification of the documents relating to the history of the Habsburg family (1816–1987) was completed (HOAL I-1-a), and a detailed inventory was made of the records of Queen Zita (300 pages) and the beatification of Emperor and King Charles (2000 pages), in addition to the wedding of Otto von Habsburg and Archduchess Regina.





## LIBRARY

In the reporting period of 2022, we focused on two tasks in the area of library work. Otto von Habsburg's political career was inextricably linked to his journalistic work. The fruit of this is the almost incalculable number of newspaper articles he wrote during his long life – especially from the early 1950s when he began working as a political analyst. Many of his volumes can be seen as a collection of these writings, a coherent train of thought formed from transcriptions of the texts. Mapping, sorting, organising and registering the excerpts of articles in the Foundation's collection is an absolute priority.

This year, we have carried out an almost complete assessment of this type of document – of the proportion within our collection. As a result, the data on our namesake's writings from 1969 to 2003 will soon be available on our website.

Breakdown by language and quantity:

- in German (*Allgemeine Zeitung, Deutsche Tagespost, Dolomiten, Finanz & Wirtschaft, Luxemburger Wort, Österreich Konservativ, Sudetendeutsche Zeitung, Voralberger Nachrichten, Westfalen-Blatt, Der Wochenspiegel*) around **6200** articles;
- in English (*China Post, The Indianapolis Star, The Saturday Evening Post, The Texas Catholic, To the Point*) around **800** articles;
- in Spanish (*ABC, Ya*), around **350** articles;
- in both French (*L'est Républicain, La Meridional, La Metropole*) and Portuguese (*O debate*) a few dozen writings.

About **7500** articles in total.

This figure is not definitive; the papers still latent within the collection – or their data – will be brought closer to completeness by examining databases that provide repertories and/or display the full text of periodicals in the language area in question.

Our next undertaking is to help researchers by exploring the content of the articles. In addition, we are continuously monitoring the growth of national databases (Arcanum Digital Library, Hungaricana) to ensure that all sources on Otto von Habsburg are included.

Another key task was to move part of the collection, **3 579** volumes (77 boxes), to an external storage facility to make better use of space.



## PHOTOGRAPHIC AND AUDIOVISUAL ARCHIVES

In 2022, the processing of the photo collection begun in 2019 (HOAL I-5-a and HOAL I-5-b) continued, with 4,000 photos catalogued and sorted this year. In November 2022, around 3000 photo positives and negatives were digitised in the highest quality and are now being prepared for future public release.

To enrich our photographic collection and illustrate our 2022 publications, we have contacted several international visual archives: the Library of Congress (USA), Rijksmuseum (Netherlands), Deutsche Fotothek (Germany), Bildarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Austria), The Madeira Photography Museum (Vicente's) (Portugal), Historical Archives of the European Union (Italy), European Parliament Multimedia Centre (Belgium), and in Hungary the Fortepan and the Historical Photo Department of the Hungarian National Museum.

Our audiovisual collection has been expanded with digital copies of footage from the Austrian Film Archive (Filmarchiv Austria): Die Hochzeit von Erzherzog Otto von Habsburg in Nancy 1951; Geschehen der Woche Patent-Doku-Zentrum, Mondgestein, Paneuropa; Interview Otto von Habsburg und Taufe Fox Tönende Wochenschau; Parlamentsdebatte um Habsburg; SPÖ Parteitag 1961; SPÖ Parteitag 1963.



In January 2022, the Foundation received valuable family photographs and documents from ANDREA VON HABSBERG, the eldest daughter of Otto von Habsburg. The Countess of Neipperg has assembled a small collection of precious items from her family archive, which she thought should be housed in our collection. The unique family photos and records portray the last years of Emperor and King Charles, who died a hundred years ago, and the life of Otto von Habsburg and his siblings' childhood and youth.

About 300 photographs of members of the extended family were also donated to the Foundation by Archduke SIMEON VON HABSBERG.

In 2022, our colleague SZILVESZTER DÉKÁNY graduated from the DigiArchive digitisation specialist training, launched for the first time within the framework of MOME OPEN. The course introduced the latest techniques and state-of-the-art digitisation solutions to the audience. To further his professional development and international networking, he also participated in the International Image and Research Conference – Antoni Varés Conference 2022, held in Girona, Spain, from 16–19 November 2022, aimed at archivists managing audiovisual archives. The event, sponsored by the International Council on Archives (ICA), discussed the topic from a broad perspective and covered a wide range of disciplines, including the study of historical photography. (Read our colleague's full report on page 64 of our publication)

ZITA LŐRINC, collection fellow, participated in the organisation and cataloguing of the photographic collection relating to Charles I (IV) and the photographs taken between 1950 and 1980.





# PASTE

## DEVELOPMENT

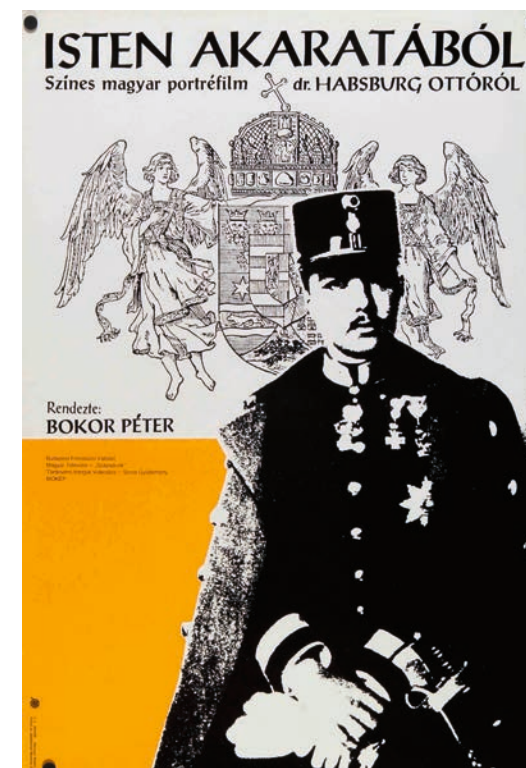
In addition to collecting digitised copies in 2022, the Foundation has remained committed to further expanding its collection of written, visual, aural and material objects related to Otto von Habsburg.

### Enrichment of the material heritage

- Commemorative medal with a portrait of young Otto von Habsburg. 1916. (HOAL II-3-a 2022.1.1.)
- Propaganda badge with the Hungarian Holy Crown and a portrait of Otto. 1920s (HOAL II-3-a 2022.2.1.)
- Propaganda badge with the Otto II symbol. 1920s (HOAL II-3-a 2022.3.1.)
- Badge with the Hungarian Holy Crown and a portrait of Otto. 1920s (HOAL II-3-a 2022.4.1.)
- Commemorative medal for the 18th birthday of Otto von Habsburg. 1930. (HOAL II-3-a 2022.6.1.)
- Medallion-converted war relief coin with the portrait of Otto von Habsburg. 1930s (HOAL II-3-a 2022.7.1.)
- Propaganda badge with the Otto II symbol. 1920s (HOAL II-3-a 2022.8.1.)
- Propaganda badge with the Otto II symbol. 1920s (HOAL II-3-a 2022.8.2.)
- Hat badge with a childhood profile of Otto von Habsburg. 1924. (HOAL II-3-a 2022.9.1.)
- Medal, obverse with the letter 'O', depicting the Austrian Imperial and Hungarian Holy Crowns, reverse with the date of birth and death of Otto von Habsburg. 2011. (HOAL II-3-a 2022.11.1.)
- Commemorative coin with the portrait of Charles IV and the small emblem of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. 1916–1918. (HOAL II-3-a 2022.12.1.)
- Commemorative coin of the coronation of Charles IV. 1917. (HOAL II-3-a 2022.13.1.)
- Commemorative coin showing the coronation of Charles IV. 1916. (HOAL II-3-a 2022.14.1.)
- A poster for the movie *By the Will of God* by Péter Bokor. 1989. (HOAL II-3-b 2022.4.1.)
- Irredenta plaque. 1920s (HOAL II-3-b 2022.5.1.)
- Typed and signed letter from Count János Esterházy to historian Dávid Angyal. 1937. (HOAL II-3-b 2022.6.1.)
- 20 Heller lottery tickets with a childhood portrait of Otto von Habsburg. 1916. (HOAL II-3-b 2022.8.1.)



- Certificate of Appreciation with the coronation portrait of Charles IV, Queen Zita and Otto von Habsburg. 1917. (HOAL II-3-b 2022.9.1.)
- Film poster for the movie *By the Will of God* by Péter Bokor. 1988. (HOAL II-3-b 2022.10.1.)
- Plaster bust depicting Charles IV, Queen Zita and Otto von Habsburg. 1917. (HOAL II-3-b 2022.7.1.)
- Large group photograph at a Hungarian emigrant event (Chicago, Ides of March 1941) with the signature of Otto von Habsburg (HOAL II-3-c F1.)
- Postcard of the Buda Castle's Rose Salon interior. A painting of Queen Elisabeth and Otto von Habsburg on the wall. 1930. Csiky photography (HOAL II-3-c F2)
- Otto von Habsburg with rifle in hand, on the reverse the stamp of the court photographer, Béla Halmi (HOAL II-3-c F3.)
- Visit of Otto von Habsburg on 31 October 1991 in Csongrád, photo series (13 pieces) (HOAL II-3-c F4-F16.)
- Vintage Otto von Habsburg press photos (7 pieces) (HOAL II-3-c F17-F23.)



Individuals and institutions who (or which) have contributed with donations to our collection

- Hotel Gellért – commemorative plaque, framed photograph, wreath, biography of Otto von Habsburg, room name plate (HOAL II-1-b-1)
- ANDREA VON HABSBERG-LOTHRINGEN (von Neipperg) – 10 items, 110 pieces (HOAL II-1-a-7)
- SIMEON VON HABSBERG – 300 photographs
- PÁTER HARTL (ELKH BTK TTI), copies of articles and writings on Hungarian legitimacy
- GUSZTÁV HITTIG – 18 items, 40 pieces (HOAL II-1-a-9)
- JÁNOS HORVÁT – 1 letter from Otto von Habsburg (HOAL I-2-c)
- TIBOR SZATHMÁRY – 2 documents from Otto von Habsburg (HOAL II-1-a-10)

Special thanks to KLAUDIA PALÁNKI and BALÁZS KÁDI for their help in expanding the material collection.



## Professional networking, external research, database development

Further research to support the processing work continued, mainly among domestic and partly in foreign public collections. In February 2022, three colleagues of the Foundation took part in a short research trip to Vienna, where they searched the Austrian State Archives for documents relating to Charles IV and his family. In addition, an excellent relationship has developed with the archives delegate of the National Archives of Hungary in Vienna.



On the occasion of the centenary of the death of Charles IV, we conducted research on the island of Madeira and also established a collaboration with the local Portuguese Archives and Library (Arquivo e Bibliotheca da Madeira). Several previously unknown documents from the time of Otto von Habsburg and his family on Madeira have been discovered. Copies of the original documents were added to our digital collection. We have

further expanded our relations with public collections in Hungary. We aim to identify all documents and photographs related to Otto von Habsburg and obtain copies for our Foundation.

Keeping in mind the proper processing of Otto von Habsburg's legacy – and with the intention of making it more widely known to the professional community – the representatives of the collections area have continued to place great emphasis on cultivating extensive archival, librarian and museological relations in 2022. Five members of our team participated in the travelling meeting of the Association of Hungarian Archivists in Székesfehérvár, where they had the opportunity to exchange professional ideas with prominent representatives of the Hungarian and international archival field, which was also beneficial for our collection.

Research continued on the relevant documents from the National Archives of Hungary from 1918 to 1945 in the records of the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Prime Minister's Office.



Group portrait with Charles in a rarely seen photograph from the collection of the State Archives of Litomerice.



In addition, we investigated the relations between Charles IV and Otto von Habsburg and the Hungarian Legitimists in the Szombathely Diocesan Archives (records of the secretariat of Bishop János Mikes), the Archbishop's Archives of Székesfehérvár (papers of the parish priest and politician Miklós Griger) and the Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (the estate of Ernő Dohnányi).

We got in touch online and, in some cases, obtained digital copies from the MNL Archives of Győr-Moson Sopron, the Rómer Flóris Museum in Győr (the bequest of József Cziráky, the aristocrat who managed the affairs of the Hungarian estates of the Habsburg family), the Türr István Museum in Baja (exploring the drawings and papers of the painter Ferenc Miskolczy, who worked for the royal family in Lekeitio), and the State Archives in Litomerice, Czech Republic (Státní olbastní Archiv v. Litomericich) (researching the estate of the governess of Otto von Habsburg, Countess Marie-Therese Korff Schmising-Kerssenbrock). We have also contacted Immaculata University in the United States of America (for the investigation of the heritage of Móric Czikkann-Zichy, the American secretary to Otto von Habsburg).



## COOPERATION

### Austrian State Archives

As a logical consequence of the abolition of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the archivists of the successor states are now responsible for the archives of the former commonwealth in mutual consultation. For 100 years, a Hungarian archivist delegate has been working at the Austrian State Archives (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv – ÖSA) in Vienna. To mark the anniversary, HELMUT WOHNOUT, Director General of the ÖSA, visited Budapest at the invitation of CSABA SZABÓ, Director General of the National Archives of Hungary.

We were thrilled that the Director General of ÖSA, accompanied by Csaba Szabó, archives delegate ANDRÁS OROSS and historian-archivist RÓBERT FIZIKER, would also visit the collection of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, as we have already emphasised several times that we want to make the legacy of Otto von Habsburg accessible to the Austrian public by processing and digitising our collection.

Helmut Wohnout came with a meaningful gift: he brought a copy of the photograph of the historic moment on 4 May 1972 when Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky greeted Otto von Habsburg with a handshake. After five decades, the gesture was an expression of acceptance by the political leadership of the Republic of Austria towards the head of the Habsburg family, who had also been an Austrian citizen since 1961.



A detailed presentation of the work of our Foundation was given, highlighting that our professional activities are entirely in line with internationally approved practices and those of domestic institutions.

Director General Wohnout offered his support for research programmes concerning the 's collection. The possibility of carrying out several cultural and public collection projects relating to the shared history of the two countries was also raised, the details of which were discussed in the autumn.



## Visitations

- THOMAS BAREISS, CDU representative in the Bundestag
- ANDREW BREMBERG, Ambassador, Chairman of the Board and Executive Director of the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation
- JEAN-LOUIS BOURLANGES, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly
- JAMES JAY CARAFANO and JOHN VENABLE, Senior Fellows of The Heritage Foundation and RÉKA SZEMERKÉNYI, former Hungarian Ambassador to Washington, D.C., Fellow of the International Republican Institute
- ALVINO-MARIO FANTINI, Editor-in-Chief of *The European Conservative* magazine
- EDWIN J. FEULNER, founder of The Heritage Foundation
- JEAN-DOMINIQUE GIULIANI, Director of the Fondation Robert Schuman (Paris)
- ALEXANDER GRUBMAYR, Ambassador to the Austrian Republic
- ALEXANDER DE HABSBURG-LORRAINE and NATACHA (grandson of Carl Ludwig Habsburg-Lorraine)
- JOACHIM HERRMANN, Minister of Interior of Bavaria
- HITTIG GUSZTÁV, Chairman of the Board of the International Centre for Education and Research Foundation (Budapest), former President of the King Charles Prayer League
- VOLKER KAUDER, former head of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the German Bundestag
- CECILIA KIRK NELSON, Publications Manager, Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal
- ECKART VON KLAEDEN, Vice President for External Relations, Daimler AG (Mercedes-Benz Group)
- MARCUS MECKEL, German SPD politician, former member of the Bundestag, Lutheran pastor
- FLORENT PARMENTIER, Secretary General of the Centre de recherches politiques (CEVIPOF) at SciencesPo.
- URSULA PLASSNIK, former Austrian Foreign Minister
- KEVIN ROBERTS, academics, president of The Heritage Foundation
- DŽEVADA ŠUŠKO, Professor of International Relations at the University of Sarajevo, Head of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Office for International Cooperation of the Islamic Community





# SHARE

## EXHIBITIONS

### Photo exhibition on Otto von Habsburg, who was born 110 years ago

To mark the 110th anniversary of the birth of Otto von Habsburg, our Foundation prepared a series of international events, the first of which featured a photo exhibition on the life and career of the former heir to the throne held in the Renaissance Garden of Várkert Bazár.

GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, welcomed guests to the event. He pointed out that Martyn Rady was very apt when he wrote in his recently published book *The Habsburgs: The Rise and Fall of a World Power* that Otto von Habsburg “was the best emperor the Habsburgs never had”. Our Foundation's collection contains 30,000 photographs, and we have selected many that have never been shown before for the exhibition.

GERGELY FODOR, Government Commissioner for the Renewal of the Palace District of Buda and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Castle Headquarters Integrated Regional Development Nonprofit Ltd., declared that the Hungarian government is repaying its debt to Otto von Habsburg by restoring the buildings and halls of the Buda Castle to their original beauty. He added: “*It is our responsibility to discover, preserve and nurture the intellectual heritage he left us so that the future generations will not forget his memory and legacy.*”



MARTYN RADY, Masaryk Professor Emeritus of Central European History at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London, pointed out in his speech that Otto von Habsburg was European above all else; as the Crown Prince himself put it at the time: “*Europe is for all Europeans, and the right of nationality is for all without exception.*” He recounted that “*with the fall of the Habsburg dynasty in 1918, at the age of six, Otto became a non-person, stripped of his titles and property, and was denied even a passport between the two world wars. This collection of pictures gives us a glimpse into his daily life, showing his love for his mother, Empress Zita, and the modest financial circumstances of their exile in Spain.*” Professor Rady spoke about how Otto earned the Nazis’ unremitting hostility; how he joined the Paneuropean Union movement in the 1930s and became its leader in 1973; and how he was elected to the European Parliament in 1979, where he served for 20 years. He also described how he arranged the Paneuropean picnic on the Hungarian-Austrian border in 1989, which enabled around 600 East German refugees to escape from Hungary to Austria. He concluded his speech with a quote: “*As Jerzy Buzek, the former Polish Prime Minister and former President of the European Parliament, once said, Otto von Habsburg kept alive the flame of hope for the reunification of Europe in the darkest hours of our continent.*”

The outdoor photo exhibition was the opening of a series of events that took place until the end of the year, during which our Foundation organised exhibitions and conferences both in Hungary and abroad.



## “Europe is unthinkable without Croatia” – Zagreb

“We are commemorating the 110th anniversary of Otto von Habsburg’s birth, and on this occasion, we are opening this exhibition on the life of our namesake not only in Budapest but also in several European capitals”, GERGELY PRÓHLE, director of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, said in his welcoming speech at the Liszt Institute Hungarian Cultural Center in Zagreb. We chose Zagreb as the first foreign stop of the “Otto von Habsburg was born 110 years ago” event series because the fate of Croatia was particularly close to the heart of the former heir to the throne. He represented a vision of Europe, an ideal of Europe in which the voice of small nations is heard, recalled Gergely Próhle. His life’s work, marked by goals and deeds interpreted in the context of world politics, is still relevant because national sovereignty and the European idea – despite all political attempts to ignore this fact – are indeed compatible. The importance of the occasion was also reflected by the presence of sixteen, mainly European, Heads of Foreign Affairs, who attended the opening ceremony.

CSABA DEMCSÁK, the Hungarian Ambassador to Croatia, was the first to praise the historical and political legacy of Otto von Habsburg. The audience listened to presentations by the museum and scientific adviser IVAN MIRNIK and by VANJA VINKOVIĆ, the director of the documentary about the former heir to the throne, and a short excerpt of the film was also shown at the event.

GORDAN GRLIĆ-RADMAN, Croatian Minister for Foreign and European Affairs, officially opened the exhibition. The full speech is available on page 98-99. of this publication.



## The life and heritage of Otto von Habsburg – Brussels

In the most visited hall of the European Parliament (EP) in Brussels, we opened our exhibition “Life and Heritage” in collaboration with the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, a foundation close to the Christian Social Union in Bavaria (CSU).

In his welcoming address, MARKUS FERBER, President of the Hanns Seidel Foundation and leader of the CSU Group within the EP, recalled the years in his early career when he worked with Otto von Habsburg in the European Parliament. He paid tribute to his fellow MEP – then well into his eighties – for his dedication, discipline and passion for the issues that mattered to him: first and foremost the fate of Central Europe, and specifically Hungary. Gergely Próhle, Director of our Foundation, recalled the interview in which Otto von Habsburg, when asked about his life and its various, sometimes dramatic turns, gave only this simple answer: *“I thank God that I am a member of the European Parliament.”*

For the significant number of MEPs present, this sentence, which also sounded like an encouragement, expresses our namesake’s optimistic outlook on life. This sentiment was echoed by FRANÇOIS-XAVIER BELLAMY, member of the French Republican Party, and GYÖRGY HÖLVÉNYI, member of the Christian Democratic People’s Party; all are members of the European People’s Party (EPP). They highlighted the importance of ensuring that the values of Otto von Habsburg’s tremendous life experience and dynastic tradition are upheld in the changing world of today’s Europe.





## Our exhibitions across Europe

Our roll-up exhibition on the life of Otto von Habsburg was also on display in *Florence* (European University Institute), (see p. 44), *Paris* (House of Europe) (see p. 60), *Vienna* (Embassy of Hungary) (see p. 61) and *Munich* (Hanns Seidel Foundation Conference Centre) (see p. 50). At these venues, it was exhibited in conjunction with conferences held there. In Hungary, we first visited Nagysztergár with our compilation. We came to Bodrogolaszi through the connection between the Habsburgs and Elemér Lónyay. In the village, we commemorated the memory of the later husband of Crown Prince Rudolf's widow, a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece and one of the most loyal legitimists of the inter-war period. Afterwards, in parallel with our other display on Charles IV entitled "Life and Memory", an exhibition in memory of Count Antal Sigray – the "politician of honour" – was unveiled in Ivánc, Vas County. GERGELY FEJÉRDY, Deputy Scientific Director of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, was among the speakers at the opening event.



## Prayer Breakfast in the Parliament

On 22 November 2022, the Otto von Habsburg Foundation was the guest of the Hungarian Parliamentary Prayer Group, chaired by IMRE VEJKEY, in the building of the Hungarian National Assembly. As part of the event series held to honour the 110th anniversary of the birth of our namesake, the venue was a fitting choice to complement the title of our photo exhibition "From Palace to Parliament", which was opened on 30 September in Várkert Bazár. GERGELY PRŐHLE illustrated the life of Otto von Habsburg with the pictures displayed at the foot of the Buda Castle, complementing them with various stories and anecdotes tailored to the location and the audience's interests.

After Imre Vejkey's introduction, the participants prayed in memory of Otto von Habsburg, who stood up for Hungarian causes as a Member of the European Parliament, and whom we can look up to as a role model of authentic Christian politics in the present. In addition to MÁRTA MÁTRAI and several Members of the Parliament, the event was attended by guests and our Foundation's representatives.

The roll-up exhibition depicting the oeuvre of Otto von Habsburg, entitled "Life and Heritage", was open to thousands of visitors in the foyer of the Visitor Centre of the House of Parliament.





As several speakers pointed out, in the current situation, where the dynamics of collaboration seem to be breaking down, there is a particular need for a proper harmonisation of objectives and interests, and further development of the practice of “respectful disagreement”. However, the recent shocks have not only affected the internal cohesion of the Visegrad alliance but have also prompted a rethink of a number of economic and political issues in its relations with Germany.

In his welcome speech, GERGELY PRŐHLE, Director of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, recalled the intense commitment of the regime-changing intellectuals to Central Europe and how this “imagined community” helped the search for a political path at the time, while also providing an interpretative framework that was able to transcend the grey reality of the socialist bloc and Cold War divisions. He also stressed the importance of frank dialogue in a political situation as acute as the current one, where different focuses on the assessment of the war in Ukraine pose a serious test for cooperation.

ZSOLT NÉMETH, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Parliament, pointed out in his introductory speech that the V4 as a specific Central European cooperation and its partnership with Germany can be considered a real political and economic success story. However, the war crisis significantly transformed the pragmatic basis of these relations. In the politician’s view, the Hungarian position is closer to that of Germany and further away from the Polish and Anglo-Saxon angles. However, the assessment of the situation based on different points of view does not mean there is any disagreement on the perception of the war. Like other member states, Hungary has been and is actively and committedly involved in European sanctions policies. Taking a European perspective, Zsolt Németh said that despite the differences of opinion, the growing European unity of recent months is a cause for optimism.

## DISCUSSIONS

### On V4 cooperation – In difficult times

On 22 April 2022, the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and the Institute for Strategic Studies of the University of Public Service arranged a conference entitled “Common Interests, Common Values? – Germany and the Visegrad Four in a time of new challenges” at the Széchenyi Ceremonial Hall of Ludovika. The main objective of the conference, organised on the occasion of the Hungarian V4 Presidency, was to present the history and broader context of Central European integration over the past thirty years, as well as to analyse the past three decades of the German-Visegrad nexus and its prospects.

Cooperation within the V4 has recently been put to the test by the pandemic, but even more so by Russia, which is working to restore its former influence in the post-Soviet region and is not reluctant to engage in belligerent aggression. Despite the previous intensive cooperation, after 24 February, the internal fractures that had already existed became apparent and, in many respects, rewrote the mechanisms of operation that had become established, including the political practice of careful avoidance of sensitive issues and pragmatic cooperation that had proved effective until then.



In his introduction, MARKUS MECKEL, the last Foreign Minister of the GDR and former Social Democrat member of the Bundestag, drew attention to the common historical heritage of the Visegrad countries and East Germany in going through regime change, as well as the importance of the specific Central European experience. Consequently, the accession of the Central European countries to the Euro-Atlantic community can also be seen as the completion of integration.





He added, however, that the Union is a community of values and rights, which entails obligations for all Member States, including the Visegrad countries. In his speech, the German politician pointed out that the war between Russia and Ukraine has made it more apparent than ever that there is an urgent need to rethink relations within Europe, particularly German-Visegrad relations, which he considers to be of the utmost importance. In his view, this can help build a united European vision based on shared interests and mutual respect.

Evaluating the historical context and background of Visegrad cooperation and its current situation, Iván Bába, former Hungarian Ambassador and State Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Warsaw, spoke about the importance of specific Central European experiences, which were indispensable preconditions for cooperation, and which still form the basis of the V4. In his view, political and social conditions were optimal for developing such a partnership during regime change. Although the intensity of collaboration has been rather uneven in recent decades, it is worth noting that since 2010, the Hungarian government has been placing great emphasis on deepening relations between the Visegrad countries.

András Rácz, a research fellow at the Centre for Strategic and Defense Studies of the National University of Public Service, reviewed Central Europe's relations with Russia and Ukraine, especially in the light of the annexation of Crimea in 2014 and the Russian armed aggression beginning in February. He stressed that the existing fractures in Central Europe, which is fundamentally divided over Russia, have become even more tangible in recent weeks. In his view, managing the consequences intelligently and thoughtfully is our shared responsibility

Analysing the foreign policy context of the situation, Tomáš Strážay, Director of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, and Jakub Eberle, Research Director of the Institute of International Relations in Prague, pointed out that the current circumstances clearly show the diverging interests of the Visegrad countries in many respects, but that a pragmatic partnership around common goals, including further strengthening relations with Germany and building on existing opportunities can help address the problems. However, there is no doubt, both speakers agreed, that the current situation, with its divergent readings, is leading the V4 alliance into a less harmonious period. While not burdened by irresolvable differences, it needs to be addressed appropriately.

Regarding cooperation between the Visegrad Four and Germany, Jürgen Illing, former Managing Director of the German-Hungarian Chamber of Industry and Commerce and Piotr Arak, Director of the Polish Economic Institute, focused on economic aspects. They pointed out that the region has benefited greatly from the diverse economic relations developed over the past three decades and Germany's recent economic expansion. However, the recent changes in value and supply chains, as well as the shift in economic structures, could significantly change the scenarios. The speakers indicated that putting cooperation on a pragmatic foundation is a desirable goal, but at the same time – and this is particularly important in the current situation – moral aspects cannot be left out of political and economic decision-making. In addition, there is a strong need to consider the psychological factors influencing investment confidence.





## Quo vadis, Bosnia and Herzegovina?

It was more than a year ago, on July 4, 2021, that the Otto von Habsburg Foundation marked the tenth anniversary of the death of its namesake with a conference in Pannonhalma, at which leaders of the Abrahamic religions and speakers commemorated the historic occasion. At the final farewell of Otto von Habsburg, representatives of the Christian, Jewish and Muslim communities paid their respects together at the former Crown Prince's bier, on the grounds of their historical past and coexistence in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

HUSEIN KAVAZOVIĆ, Chief Mufti of the Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and DŽEVADA ŠUŠKO, Head of the International Cooperation of the Community's Office, attended the event. The discussions at the time and the developments concerning the situation and future of Bosnia and Herzegovina led us to attempt to get a more accurate picture of the internal state of the country and the challenges the Muslim community is facing.

Dževada Šuško, professor at the International University of Sarajevo, has gained extensive knowledge of the concepts of her country through her studies in Western Europe and her broad network of contacts. In May 2022, she gave two lectures in Budapest, and the Otto von Habsburg Foundation organised both. On these occasions, she explored the dilemmas of interfaith dialogue, the difficulties affecting the Muslim community, as well as current political and social issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Her presentations provided valuable insights in a period when much is discussed about the EU integration of the Western Balkans and the challenges of geopolitics and security policy in the region. The conference jointly organised by the Foundation and the Centre for Diplomacy of Andrassy University Budapest, entitled “Muslims in Christian Europe? The Possibilities of Interreligious Dialogue in the Western Balkans and Beyond” took place on 20 May 2022 in the University's Mirror Room, hosted and moderated by HEINRICH KREFT and GERGELY PRÓHLE.

The guest speaker outlined the history of the Bosnian Muslims, stating that they are one of the few Muslim communities that have been present in Europe for centuries. With the occupation of Bosnia in 1878 and its annexation in 1908, the Austro-Hungarian Empire increased its Muslim population significantly, making the appropriate management of religious diversity a crucial issue for the operation of this Christian-majority state. In an effort to integrate the Muslim population, Islam was recognised as a religious community of equal status in Austria in 1912 and in Hungary in 1916.

Subsequently, Dževada Šuško, while drawing on conclusions from Bosnia, spoke about the many challenges the moderate Islamic community faces while keeping in mind the broader European perspective. Its destiny has been shaped by the denominational diversity in the Balkans, in coexistence with other religions from the very beginning. Therefore, it is no coincidence that one of the most inspiring examples of monotheistic interfaith dialogue is the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo, often called the Jerusalem of Europe, where the *modus vivendi* between Christians, Muslims and Jews dates back centuries.

On 23 May 2022, the University of Public Service (UPS) and the Institute for Foreign Affairs and Trade (IFAT) held an event entitled “Quo vadis, Bosnia and Herzegovina? Religion, Identity and Statehood in Troubled Times” at the Zrínyi Hall of the UPS. Bosnia and Herzegovina has recently returned to the spotlight with the resurgence of tensions in the country.

Although the war in Ukraine has overshadowed the Balkan country's escalating political and social conflicts, the current disputes are increasingly questioning the political foundations of the state and its delicate social cohesion. The situation is extremely precarious, with numerous fractures weakening the already fragile stability of the country and external factors escalating internal discourses to an ever-greater extent, as the speaker reminded the audience. Dževada Šuško sought to analyse and contextualise the role of intersecting ethnic, religious and cultural identities in these processes.

The lecture was followed by a discussion with the participation of LÁSZLÓ MÁRKUSZ, Senior Researcher at the IFAT and former Ambassador of Hungary to Kosovo; JÁNOS HÓVÁRI, Ambassador, Head of the Representative Office of the Organization of Turkic States and former Deputy State Secretary; TIBOR VÁRADY, professor of law, former Minister of Justice of Yugoslavia; JÓZSEF MAKAI, journalist and former Editor-in-Chief of the journal *168 óra*; and PÉTER TAMÁS BARANYI, Deputy Director of Strategy at the Institute for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade.





## Otto von Habsburg within the “community of Hungarian Benedictine Students” Commemoration of the 11th anniversary of his death – Pannonhalma

Archabbot CIRILL T. HORTOBÁGYI OSB celebrated the Holy Mass in memory of Otto von Habsburg and opened the subsequent deliberation. In his welcoming address, he quoted a 15th-century prayer from the Sacramentary of St. Martin's Cathedral in Bratislava, emphasising four leadership virtues: humility, piety, fortitude and social sensitivity. Over the centuries, the text has been recited at the coronation of all 11 Hungarian Habsburg monarchs anointed there. The Archabbot then presented the decision of the monastic community that “*the modern archival-pedagogical hall of the Archabbey's thousand-year-old archives will now bear the name of Otto von Habsburg*”. KONRÁD DEJCSICS OSB, the Cultural Director of the Pannonhalma Archabbey, reported on the intention to realise the planned commemorative place for Otto von Habsburg. He added that they hope to have the memorial plaque ready by 2023.

GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of our Foundation, expressed his gratitude for both initiatives, and recalled the 2019 commemoration in Pannonhalma, the first public event of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation. As he said, Benedictine spirituality has been an essential guiding principle behind our activities, in addition to the close professional cooperation that binds us together.



In light of this experience, we chose as the title of this year's commemoration an excerpt from a lecture by Otto von Habsburg: “...I consider myself henceforth a member of the great and valuable community of Hungarian Benedictine Students”.

Just as the life of the former Hungarian Crown Prince was greatly influenced by the Benedictine teachers who taught him in exile, our invited speakers also look back fondly on their time here. The introductory speech was given by GYÖRGY SZAPÁRY, former Vice President of the Hungarian National Bank and Member of the Board of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation. (The full text of the presentation can be found from page 92. onwards.)

ALBIN JUHÁSZ-LACZIK, OSB Director of the Benedictine High School of Pannonhalma, the moderator of the discussion, evoked the five pillars of Benedictine high school education to the participating former students: academic knowledge, creativity, physical activity, community and the individual search for God. GERGELY DELI, Rector of the University of Public Service, GYÖRGY KRÁMER, Lutheran Pastor and Director of the National Office of the Lutheran Church of Hungary, and ATTILA STEINER, State Secretary for Energy and Climate Policy, recalled their memories in the spirit of these key words. They spoke about what these pillars mean to them and how the years spent here have influenced their professional and personal development and spiritual life.

The commemoration was concluded at the Viator restaurant near the Abbey. After a toast by GEORG VON HABSBURG, the event participants – including SZILVESZTER E. VIZI, former President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and several other distinguished Pannonhalma alumni – were here able to recall their memories of Mount St. Martin in an informal setting.

You can watch the video of the discussion here:







## “I thank God that I am a Member of the European Parliament” – Florence

On the occasion of the 110th birthday of its namesake, the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence organised a joint conference and exhibition entitled “I thank God that I am a Member of the European Parliament”. The event was held on 7 October 2022, on the hills above the city, in the Villa Salviati, a 15th and 18th century building, now one of the university’s premises, with the participation of MEP ENIKŐ GYŐRI and Minister TIBOR NAVRACSICS.

The Historical Archives of the European Union, which brought our Foundation into contact with the EUI, is a valuable part of the Institute which aims to preserve, among other things, the archival holdings of the EU institutions. In his welcome address, DIETER SCHLENKER, Director of the Archives, recalled the previous visit of the delegation of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation last spring, which, in addition to bringing the idea of the recent conference to the table, paved the way for possible future paths of collaboration. He stressed that although Otto von Habsburg’s remarkable oeuvre may be less well known in Western Europe, his European commitment could link the Eastern and Western parts of the continent. He reminded the audience that Otto von Habsburg served four legislative terms as a Member of the European Parliament and that his speeches and other parliamentary materials are preserved in the Florentine archives and could provide additional intriguing insights into the history of the European Union and the concept of European cooperation.

In his opening remarks, Professor RENAUD DEHOUSSE, President of the EUI, explained that one of the aims of the Institute, according to its founding treaty, was to bring together the entire European continent, which was then divided by the Iron Curtain, in the field of science. In this way, the core mission of the Institute resonates well with Otto von Habsburg’s vision of a united and free Europe. Hence, conferences like this can help identify “*how to draw inspiration from what has been done by persons of such a calibre and how we, at our modest level, may stay faithful to their heritage.*”

In his opening speech, GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, emphasised that the work of the last heir to the Hungarian throne and later MEP was characterised not by frustration over the loss of power but rather by gratitude for everything he was granted during his political career. This optimism is also expressed in the conference’s title and can inspire us on the 110th anniversary of his birth. Two of the most important messages of Otto von Habsburg’s legacy—his deep Christian faith and his ability to reconcile modernity with national and European interests—should also be seen in the light of this optimism.

A scholarly analysis of Otto von Habsburg’s activities in the European Parliament (EP) was carried out and presented at the conference by ALINE SIERP, Associate Professor at Maastricht University. She explained that out of Otto von Habsburg’s numerous speeches and motions, those relating to the process of regime change, the transformation of Central and Eastern Europe (including the collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia), the unification of the two German states and the enlargement of the European Union are of particular interest. A closer examination not only shows the significant role Otto von Habsburg played in shaping these processes, but also highlights the increasingly active involvement of the EP in foreign policy matters.







Despite this active engagement, Otto von Habsburg was aware that reactions to the transformation processes in the former Eastern bloc had to be treated with caution, as they could have unintended consequences that might negatively influence the political realignments there. Assessing the twenty years of parliamentary work by Otto von Habsburg, who held a seat in the European People's Party group with a Bavarian Christian Social Union mandate, but enjoyed cross-party appreciation, the lecturer concluded: *“Thank God that Otto von Habsburg was a Member of the European Parliament.”*

The complete speech of ALAIN LAMASSOURE, former French Minister for European Affairs, is included in this publication from page 96 onwards.

Enikő Győri, Member of the European Parliament, recalled that in the 1990s, she had the opportunity to meet Otto von Habsburg personally in the committees preparing the Association Agreements between the European Union and Hungary. At the beginning of her talk, she encouraged us to consider Otto von Habsburg’s suggestion that what divides us Europeans is much less important than what unites us. Referring to the historical introduction by Aline Sierp, Enikő Győri pointed out that the role of the EP has changed considerably in recent times, which also means that it now claims a say in more and more issues that do not fall within its competence. Regarding current developments, she noted that debates in the EP are becoming increasingly polarised, as evidenced by the discussion of the main issues that have particularly preoccupied the Parliament recently (e.g. the right of legislative initiative, the system of top candidates and environmental issues). However, this new context also raises the issue of accountability, as it is unclear who is responsible for the consequences of decisions where Parliament exceeds its mandate. She added that Otto von Habsburg *“would still be very proud, but quite worried whether the present European Parliament is working for the sake of the European citizens and whether it is improving the European Union that would serve the Europeans better.”* With a view to current developments, *“I am definitely concerned”*, MEP Győri concluded her speech.

Tibor Navracsics, former EU Commissioner and current Minister for Regional Development, spoke about the European tradition of the subsidiarity principle and its relevance today. He briefly described the concept, which goes back to the social teachings of the Catholic Church, was incorporated into the legal framework of the European Union with the Maastricht Treaty, and has since become a cornerstone of the integration process. According to the Minister, its popularity lies in the ambiguity of the concept, which has precisely enabled the European Union to function effectively over the last thirty years. He pointed out that Otto von Habsburg’s personal experiences, political socialisation, as well as his insights from the history of the Habsburg Empire, enabled him to recognise ways in which subsidiarity could work in practice. Based on these insights, Otto von Habsburg also believed that the specific historical lessons of the former Habsburg Monarchy could serve as an example for the European Union. The everyday practice of *“common sense subsidiarity,”* created through the *“mutual benevolence and cooperation of the constituent parts of society”*, is one of the most significant achievements of this specific Central European experience. Otto von Habsburg’s legacy made it clear that Europe should be an integration that recognises national, regional and local sovereignties based on different historical backgrounds cooperating to achieve a greater common good. In concluding his address, Minister Navracsics stressed that the future of the European Union must be based on *“trust in common-sense solutions”*, avoiding ideological debates and focusing on practical solutions for living together in Europe.

The discussion was followed by the opening of the exhibition on the life of Otto von Habsburg, entitled *“Life and Heritage”*, in the foyer of Villa Salviati.







## Positioning Christianity in today's Europe

The Otto von Habsburg Foundation and the Institute for Strategic Studies of the University of Public Service organised a conference on 28 October to assess the current position of European Christianity, to analyse the different denominational and national contexts and to examine the future prospects of the European churches. In order to give a more complete overview, we not only aimed to present recent empirical results, but also to give the representatives of the different Christian denominations the opportunity to share their own research and experiences, and to explain the specific aspects that are essential to understanding the current situation. In addition to analyses of social studies and church strategies, the discussion was complemented by political reflections. We considered it particularly timely to reflect on the situation of the churches and the role of Christianity in Europe, at a time when many European countries are conducting censuses to assess, among other aspects, the religious and denominational composition of their populations.

The keynote speech of the conference was given by GERT PICKEL, Professor at the Leipzig University, and was entitled "Church and Religion in Europe: Theoretical and Empirical Considerations". It was followed by reflections on the speech from GERGELY ROSTA, Associate Professor at Pázmány Péter Catholic University. GYÖRGY FÁBRI, Associate Professor at Eötvös Loránd University and Lay President of the Northern Diocese of the Lutheran Church in Hungary, reminded the audience of the various possible statistical approaches to social processes and the risks of each,

clarifying the difference between the terms "de-Christianization" and "secularisation". CSABA TÖRÖK, Parishioner of the Basilica of Esztergom, presented the challenges of the mission of the Church in the 21st century. Finally, theologian NIKLAUS PETER, Pastor Emeritus at Fraumünster in Zurich, used the example of Switzerland to illustrate what tasks Christianity faces in a pluralistic society. (The complete texts of these last two lectures can be found on pages 100 and 105.)

A specific panel discussed the practical feasibility of Christian ethics, lifestyle, worldview and conflict resolution, with a presentation by LAURA BARITZ SAROLTA OP, from the Sapientia College of Theology of Religious Orders. WIM WANDEWIELE from the Catholic University of Leuven called for a positive attitude of Christian churches – and their adherents – towards post-secular societies, pointing out that, besides the undoubted disadvantages, there are also many opportunities to be found in (inevitable) coexistence. GYÖRGY HÖLVÉNYI, Member of the European Parliament, placed Christian democracy in the context of the political power field of our continent and introduced the last speakers of our conference, ROCCO BUTTIGLIONE, former Italian Minister (Istituto de Filosofia Edith Stein, Granada) and JÁN FIGEL', former Slovak Minister, former EU Commissioner and Special Envoy, who presented the future directions of Christian politics to the large audience.







## Otto von Habsburg and his significance for Europe – Munich

On 14 November 2022, the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and the Hanns Seidel Foundation honoured the 110th anniversary of the birth of Otto von Habsburg with a conference and round table discussion. Prior to the event, our colleagues visited the archives of the Hanns Seidel Foundation (Archiv für Christlich-Soziale Politik), where they could view archival documents, images and audio material related to Otto von Habsburg, and discuss possibilities for further research and professional cooperation.

The choice of venue for the conference, held at the Bavarian Foundation's headquarters in Munich, was certainly not a coincidence, as Otto von Habsburg served for four years as Chairman of the Foreign Policy Advisory Board of the Hanns Seidel Foundation and was elected to the European Parliament in 1979, where he served four terms as a delegate of the Christian Social Union in Bavaria (CSU).

You can read the welcome speech of MARKUS FERBER, Member of the European Parliament, on page 128 and the lecture of THEO WAIGEL on page 130.

GERGELY PRÓHLE thanked the organisers in Munich for embracing our initiative, so we can truly consider the intellectual legacy of Otto von Habsburg as a common heritage, and this will also strengthen Hungarian-German relations.

ERNŐ SCHALLER-BAROSS, Member of the European Parliament, underlined that what made Otto von Habsburg remarkable as a politician and a political thinker was his historical experience and the conscious political actions he took based on this knowledge. The speaker also stated that the former MEP had contributed significantly to making Europe an integration that recognises national, regional and local sovereignty rooted in different historical experiences, and applies the principle of subsidiarity to achieve the greater common good, taking into account the context of social justice.

Referring back to Theo Waigel's presentation, the politician pointed out that Otto von Habsburg's oeuvre also clearly shows that he did not conceive of Europe as a mere political-legal construct but as an integration built on shared intellectual foundations. It is therefore no coincidence that throughout his public career, he stressed the crucial importance of Christianity in shaping the political, social, economic and intellectual architecture of Europe, and called for a more prominent representation of these values. While he had an instinctive grasp of the contemporary mentality, he never dismissed the values that were most important to him: despite his openly conservative/Christian democratic views, a great part of Otto von Habsburg's charisma was based on his ability to connect with those who disagreed with him. Highlighting the merits of the former heir to the throne in relation to the enlargement of the European Union to the East, the Commissioner pointed out that when we talk about the founding fathers of the European Union, we mention Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer or Alcide de Gasperi, but from a Central European perspective, Otto von Habsburg is undoubtedly one of them.



A round table discussion followed the presentations, moderated by SUSANNE HORNBERGER of the Hanns Seidel Foundation, with EVA DEMMERLE, former Head of Office and Press Secretary of Otto von Habsburg, STEFAN HABÖCK, member of the Presidency of the Austrian Pan-European Union, Markus Ferber and Gergely Pröhle all sharing their thoughts and memories of Otto von Habsburg.



## Conservative Minds

### Otto von Habsburg and like-minded American thinkers

The participants of the conference, jointly organised by the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and the University of Public Service, were welcomed by GERGELY PRŐHLE, Director of the Foundation. In his introduction, he recalled that the idea for the meeting arose during Edwin J. Feulner's visit to Budapest two years before, when the American thinker was given a letter he had written to Otto von Habsburg in 1965, which is now part of the Foundation's collection. In this letter, the 24-year-old student requested a meeting with the politician who lived in Pöcking. The former heir to the throne replied by return of post then later welcomed him cordially, and thus began a personal relationship that lasted until Otto's death and later developed into a working relationship and friendship.

BALÁZS MÁRTONFFY, Head of the Institute for American Studies of the University of Public Service, assessed the current global state as a unipolar world order, which was born in 1992 with the defeat of Communism and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and has been living its final hours since 2014. This year has seen two events that have profoundly impacted our lives: In Beijing, representatives of more than 50 countries signed a document establishing the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank; and Russia annexed Crimea from Ukraine. The expert believes systemic issues dominate transatlantic relations in the current post-unipolar situation. The United States needs to find answers to three problems. China's revisionist hegemonic ambitions, whose effects are now being felt not only in the region of the Pacific but worldwide, and to which it is trying to respond by the tactic of transferring the leverage of its actions. In the case of Russian aggression, it responds by supporting Ukraine, a country that will soon become an important new pillar in the geopolitical strategy-building process.



Finally, it needs to rethink its role in the world: in the last 30 years, it has considered the politics of interest to be outdated and has abandoned it, but since then, new players have emerged in world politics; its society is divided to an unprecedented degree, and the current generation is faced with the unusual phenomenon of having a lower quality of life than its parents' generation. The combination of these challenges can change the whole conceptual framework.

One cannot live without ideals – as JÁNOS CSÁK reminded the audience in his lecture. Hungary's Minister of Culture and Innovation, and former Ambassador to the United States, said that the American ideals of freedom, equality before the law and justice embody the most beautiful ambitions of man's life on earth, and are the most in harmony with human nature. The speaker, who recently dedicated a book to the "American genius", warned that the founding fathers 250 years ago built the community on a foundation of virtues derived from religion and morality while integrating the classical Greek, Jewish and Roman traditions, as well as the achievements of British and French philosophical and political thought. Disrupting this foundation has fatal consequences: "If we betray God, and he withdraws his support from us, we shall dishonour every true servant of God and be deprived of all we possess", he quoted a preacher from 1630. Csák sees some of today's American conservatives as living under the spell of producing and possessing material goods, forgetting Socrates' admonition, "virtue does not come from money, but from virtue comes money". We (Central) Europeans would nevertheless be wise to follow developments in the American continent closely because "the film about the future of Europe is playing out today".





The consciousness-raising of the intellectual American conservative movement began with the publication of Russell Kirk's book *The Conservative Mind* in 1953. From Edmund Burke to George Santayana, its author surveyed all the thinkers – John Adams, Alexis de Tocqueville, Benjamin Disraeli – from whom the self-identified conservative American of the mid-20th century could learn, gather ammunition and gain encouragement. JEFFREY O. NELSON, Executive Director of the Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal (Mecosta, Michigan) and also the son-in-law of the scholar, gave a lecture reconstructing what Kirk meant by the term he popularised; whom he considered conservative; and with whom he felt a close kinship (among them several European immigrants: Leo Strauss, Friedrich von Hayek and our compatriots John Lukacs and Thomas Molnar). Burke's figure and ideas had the most significant influence on him, so much so that he sought to promote the dissemination of the 18th-century politician's views through the society named after him (in Chicago and later in Salzburg). Kirk's Europe was thus a Europe of European thinkers: their intellectual interaction led to transatlantic ties, with which they shared the discovery and understanding of Christian civilisation, common culture, customary law and transcendence. The speaker wittily concluded that Kirk is immortal not for what he did, but for what he thought.

The conference's panel focusing on foreign policy issues began with a lecture by ANDREW BREMBERG, President of the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation and former US diplomat. His speech focused on the Russian-Ukrainian war, in which he described the assistance to Ukraine as an expression of transatlantic solidarity. On the role of the United States, he said that conservative public opinion is not united in setting the agenda and is only likely to intervene decisively in the diplomatic process when Russia signals its desire for peace.



Bremberg sees traditional American conservative politics returning to the metaphor of the three-legged stool, whose stability can be guaranteed by the principles of economic liberalism, cultural conservatism and anti-communism, which has become topical again in the face of the threat from China.

TAMÁS MAGYARICS addressed the issue of how Europe fits into the changing foreign policy of the United States. The historian-diplomat sees the “Copernican turn” at the end of the Second World War, when the overseas power – breaking with the practice followed until then – did not withdraw from the Old Continent; in other words, they switched from off-shore balancing to on-shore balancing. After 1990, the parties found it difficult to break with Cold War habits, and in NATO-US conflicts, Europe was mainly assigned the role of soft power, which meant encouraging nation-building efforts. But the informal principle of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation has not, unfortunately, lost its validity: keep the Americans in, the Germans down, and the Russians mostly out. The stake of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, according to the expert, is the extent to which Europe can be valued in the eyes of the United States and become an equal partner in the near future.



GÉZA JESZENSZKY, former Minister for Foreign Affairs and diplomat, spoke about our region's path to NATO accession and the challenges of today. Whereas in 2014, during the Crimean crisis, many accused it of inaction, the attack on Ukraine restored faith in the military alliance – best demonstrated by Finland and Sweden's applications for membership – meaning that NATO still has a place in geopolitical thinking about our region.





RÉKA SZEMERKÉNYI summarised the geopolitical lessons of the war not far from our borders. According to the former State Secretary and former Ambassador, in light of events, we must first rethink our earlier ideas about the Russian army (logistics, air force, casualty rates), just as they themselves must do. China's attitude has ranged from initial tacit support for Russia's actions to openly critical comments, including those made jointly with the German Chancellor. In the case of Ukraine, what is most striking, besides the losses, is the identity that has been forged in the face of danger and the awakening to their own strength. As for the European Union, she saw the relatively quick and united action against the aggressor as a great positive. All of this suggests that the transatlantic system has been strengthened and enlarged, and is now able to ally with others, while there has also been progress in the willingness of member states to cooperate.

The guest of honour at the conference was EDWIN J. FEULNER, whose presentation can be found on page 110.

## The “Blue Apponyi”

Within the cooperation between our Foundation and Herend Porcelain Manufactory, limited edition coffee cups were created for the 110th anniversary of the birth of Otto von Habsburg.

The history of the connection between the Herend Porcelain Manufactory and the Habsburg family goes back more than one hundred and fifty years. The first official order was placed in 1855 by the mother of Franz Joseph, Archduchess Sophie. In 1872, a set of 3,300 pieces was ordered for the imperial court in Vienna, and by the turn of the century, the tableware of the Royal Palace in Buda was also made by the artisans of Herend.

One of the popular designs of Herend – in different colour variations – was created in honour of Count Albert Apponyi, one of the most important supporters of Otto von Habsburg in Hungary. Otto von Habsburg visited Herend on several occasions and was a great admirer of the most famous brand of Hungarian craftsmanship. He celebrated his 95th birthday there with his family in 2007.

The Otto von Habsburg Foundation pays tribute to his namesake with this blue Apponyi patterned cup to mark the 110th anniversary of his birth.





## Birthday commemoration – Otto von Habsburg 110

When our Foundation revived the tradition of the “Otto Dinners” in 2019, the aim was not the same as that of the organisers of similar events between the two world wars, namely a demonstration of royalist affiliation, but rather to enliven the intellectual legacy of Otto von Habsburg in an international context by inviting distinguished foreign speakers. After Wolfgang Schüssel, former Austrian Chancellor, Alain Lamassoure, former French Minister and MEP, and last year, Íñigo Méndez de Vigo, Spanish Minister, MEP and a good friend of our eponym; this year’s guest of honour was EDWIN J. FEULNER, founder of The Heritage Foundation, who has led the conservative American think tank for nearly four decades.



We strive to match the music performed to the nationality of the esteemed guest, and this year we were able to acquire a recently found interview in which Otto von Habsburg remarks that his favourite composer is George Gershwin. Accordingly, pianist BALÁZS FÜLEI played the legendary *Rhapsody in Blue*. GERGELY PRÓHLE then read out a few extracts from letters. In one of them, the 24-year-old Feulner asks to visit Otto in Pöcking, in another Otto congratulates him on the establishment of The Heritage Foundation, and in the third, President Ronald Reagan writes to Feulner thanking him for his valuable work in support of the President.

Afterwards, before the meal, the AUER TRIO played the *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 9 (Carnival in Pest)* by Franz Liszt with resounding success, and then the NOÉMI NAGY QUARTET made the evening even more atmospheric by playing jazz classics.



## Otto von Habsburg, a dedicated European, was born 110 years ago – Paris

The event was opened by President MICHEL DERDEVET, who welcomed a number of distinguished guests, including ambassadors, former members of national parliaments and European parliamentarians, and prominent historians. Speakers included ALAIN LAMASSOURE, former MEP and Minister, JEAN-LOUIS BOURLANGES, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly and former MEP, GEORG VON HABSBERG, Hungary's Ambassador to France, son of the former Crown Prince, and GERGELY FEJÉRDY, Deputy Scientific Director of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation.

After a brief welcome, Alain Lamassoure spoke first on the issue of *unité dans la diversité* (unity in diversity). He stressed that this principle was best understood and implemented by Otto von Habsburg. He recalled the friendly relationship between Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, former President of the French Republic, and the former Crown Prince, which he had personally witnessed. The former French Minister for Europe recalled that the son of the last Hungarian King was a very good analyst, who foresaw the fall of the Soviet Union clearly at the beginning of the Cold War. In his view, he was able to use his experience and historical knowledge of the past to understand the present and to help the future. Otto von Habsburg did not believe that the way to achieve political unity was uniformity, but rather the strengthening of different identities (such as national identity), combined with tolerance and subsidiarity. Lamassoure concluded by saying that the spiritual and political legacy of the former heir to the throne, and in particular his quest for unity, were inseparable and could only be understood together.

In his presentation, Jean-Louis Bourlanges recalled his encounters with Otto von Habsburg, when they were both Members of the European Parliament. He mentioned that it was in this role that he had travelled to Funchal and visited the tomb of the last monarch of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, at the instigation of the former Crown Prince. He recalled that during the South Slavic wars he had worked in a delegation with Otto von Habsburg, from whom he had heard extremely wise analyses of the Balkans, and with whom he had shared his fears for Bosnia's future. The thoughts and 'prophecies' he had expressed at the time became reality a few years later.



## The future of Europe – The legacy of Otto von Habsburg – Vienna

The year 2022 is without a doubt one of the most important turning points in the recent history of Europe. However, the current challenging and critical conditions are not unprecedented, which also provides an opportunity to draw inspiration from past experiences. Otto von Habsburg, who was born 110 years ago, lived through many periods of crisis during his long life, but his optimism, deep religious faith, political insight and ingenuity gave him strength in the most difficult times. His far-sighted political thinking and commitment to Europe have many lessons for later generations. This has prompted the organisers of the conference, the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, the Embassy of Hungary in Vienna and the Archabbey of Pannonhalma to recall certain aspects of the intellectual legacy of Otto von Habsburg that could be valuable and instructive for contemporary policy-making. Therefore, the event was not solely a commemoration but also an opportunity to reflect on the current situation in Europe.

The audience was greeted by ANDOR NAGY, Ambassador of Hungary to Austria, ISTVÁN RADDA, former President of the Round Table of Hungarian Organisations in Austria and GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation. In his opening speech, CIRILL HORTOBÁGYI OSB, Archabbot of Pannonhalma, emphasized the significance of the legacy of Otto von Habsburg, which, like that of Saint Martin of Tours, is particularly important because it inspires later generations to think, act and create. At the end of his remarks, the head of the monastic community was pleased to announce that a memorial would soon be dedicated in Pannonhalma in honour of the last Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne and Benedictine student. (The full speech can be read from page 125.)

The highly attended conference included a panel discussion with WOLFGANG SCHÜSSEL, former Austrian Federal Chancellor, GERGELY GULYÁS, Hungarian Minister of the Prime Minister's Office, and Gergely Próhle. They reviewed the intellectual legacy of Otto von Habsburg and discussed the relevance of his vision of Europe for today, while also considering how the realpolitik-minded Otto von Habsburg would have perceived the current global political situation, especially the war in Ukraine.



During the discussion, the former leading politician of the Austrian People's Party pointed out, among other things, the importance of subsidiarity as a key principle of political and social order, and recalled that Otto von Habsburg was also an advocate of a European integration that does not seek to create a homogeneous empire, but one that recognises national sovereignties arising from different historical experiences and applies the principle of subsidiarity for the common good. However, in addition to the need for decentralisation, he also referred to areas (security policy, global economic challenges, environmental protection) where he believed that joint EU action was needed and where, in his view, Otto von Habsburg would have encouraged collective efforts.

The Minister of the Prime Minister's Office said that in a European Union consisting of 27 countries, it is natural that the member states see certain issues differently due to their varying national experiences and histories. Nonetheless, it is important that the European Union as an alliance remains a viable and potent player in world politics. It is therefore crucial to find a *modus vivendi* between the sovereigntist and federalist standpoints. This would result in a community policy that goes beyond ideological debates and concentrates on harmonising divergent positions.

On the war in Ukraine, the former Chancellor said that the military neutrality of Austria should remain beyond discussion but should not be accompanied by a lack of clear political support. At the same time, he admitted that he had also been deceived by the Russian President and was severely disappointed in his thinking on Russian policy.

Presenting the position of Hungary, the Minister of the Prime Minister's Office stressed that since the outbreak of the war in February, Hungary has been carrying out the most significant humanitarian action in the history of the country, which should leave no doubt about the Hungarian commitment.

The event also featured an exhibition on the life of Otto von Habsburg, compiled by our Foundation, which was later displayed at the Collegium Hungaricum in Vienna.

## OTHER EVENTS

### Chantal Delsol, a fellow French intellectual – Paris

On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the birth of the French philosopher Chantal Delsol, on 15 November 2022, the Institut Thomas More organised an international conference on the topic "Concern for Man and the World – The Work of Chantal Delsol". GERGELY FEJÉRDY, Deputy Scientific Director of our Foundation, also participated in the event, giving a lecture entitled: Chantal Delsol in the light of the work of Archduke Otto von Habsburg.

The presentations given at the event will be published in a book by French publisher Cerf in 2023.



### Rubicon-Evening

The Rubicon Institute and the Otto von Habsburg Foundation organised a joint evening on 20 October in the Chapel of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church on Szentkirályi Street in Budapest. The programme was another part of our series of events celebrating the 110th anniversary of the birth of Otto von Habsburg. GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director and GERGELY FEJÉRDY, Deputy Scientific Director of our Foundation, answered questions from GÁBOR PÉTERFI, Research Fellow of the Rubicon Institute, about the work, historical significance and ideological influence of the last Hungarian Crown Prince.

*“In the course of processing archival materials which arrived in Budapest in 2018 and have been preserved for decades in the wooden chests of Codorniu, one of the oldest Spanish wineries, the Hungarian and world political events of the 20th century are given a new dimension: data that until now seemed to have been overlooked or were not known at all are coming to light, and the scale of the network of connections that were painstakingly built up over a lifetime is slowly being unravelled. The correspondence, speeches and articles of Otto von Habsburg reveal the intellectual greatness, extraordinary work ethic, political insight and scope of influence of the former heir to the throne. On another level, the driving forces behind his principles and actions are his Christian faith and his commitment to Europe”* – stated Gergely Próhle. Gergely Fejérdy published an article on the life of Otto von Habsburg on the website of the Rubicon Institute.

You can watch the video of the discussion here





## ARE WE READY FOR ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE?

### International conference of photographic and audiovisual archivists – Girona

A professional conference for photographic and audiovisual archivists was held in Girona, Spain, from 16 to 19 November 2022. From photo restoration, digitisation issues and 3D modelling of the photograph as an artefact to the use of artificial intelligence in collections, the participants discussed issues in a wide range of fields.

The Image and Research (*Imatge i Recerca*) Conference has been held every two years since its establishment in 1990, and this year it regained its presence after the break caused by the COVID pandemic. The main organiser is the Centre de Recerca i Difusió de la Imatge (CRDI), an institution of the Girona City Council, which processes and researches archival audio and visual documents, covering not only material from the municipality but also from individuals, family collections and companies. However, the importance of the archives of this small Catalan town goes far beyond its medieval walls, as it is hosting the international conference named after the Girona-born photographer, poster artist and filmmaker Antoni Varés (1909–1966) for the seventeenth time. The event brings together experts in the field of photographic and audiovisual preservation to discuss the practical, technical and ethical issues of this specialised field and to present the latest developments. Internationality is an explicit aim of the conference, so each session features presentations by experts of different nationalities, and the Centre has the cooperative support of the International Council of Archives (ICA) and other organisations in this endeavour. Our Foundation was represented by SZILVESZTER DÉKÁNY, Senior Collection Fellow, in charge of the photo and audiovisual collection.



Few technological changes in the management of photo collections in recent decades have been as significant as the emergence and potential application of Artificial Intelligence (AI). The technology, which can process large amounts of visual information quickly, can not only speed up the work of organising, but also make visual collections more user-friendly. “AI is coming!” – one could paraphrase the motto of the popular *Game of Thrones* series, which is currently being filmed in several locations in Girona, but in fact AI is already here: just think of Google Lens or, on the domestic platform, the facial recognition viewfinder of ADT.

Is your collection ready for AI? – asked YALEMISLEW ABGAZ of Dublin City University in his opening presentation. The speaker demonstrated through two pilot projects how AI image processing works today, specialised on a specific topic. Instead of the classical physical description of the collection, the focus is on content description using artificial intelligence, but we cannot ignore the cultural aspects that the human, the collection professional, can add, thus controlling the processing procedure. GUSTAVO LOZANO, a photographic archivist at the National University of Mexico’s Institute of Aesthetics, also pointed out that AI is a tool that can be used to improve the quality of access to cultural heritage, but that human aspects and a multifaceted approach to the processing of visual content should not be ignored. Artistic applications of artificial intelligence were presented by DANIEL PITARCH, a member of the Estampa Art Group, who creates visual installations based on the CRDI image collection. Pitarch pointed out an interesting technical aspect of the limitations of AI, in that it was difficult for the system to generate human teeth from the images it created, as the subjects in the processed collection, mainly late 19th and early 20th century portraits, typically had rather sombre faces, so there were no smiling people from which to glean this information.

Although there is professional consensus that digitisation is essential for the management of visual cultural heritage, different countries and institutions have different strategies for managing this process.





The Belgian way was presented by BRECHT DECLERCQ, representing the Flemish Institute of Archives (Meemoo), who began his presentation with a brief outline of the strategy to be followed, with the slogan “Digitize now!”. Meemoo acts as an intermediary between content partners and service providers: it collects and synthesises the material to be digitised and organises the digitisation process. After about ten years of professional lobbying, the Belgian State decided to create and finance this institution. Its effectiveness is demonstrated by the fact that, by 2022, 80% of the Belgian photographic and audiovisual heritage will have been digitised. The holdings are given to the institutions providing them, and the organisation publishes a description and links to them on its website for copyright reasons.

DAMIÁN GONZÁLEZ DOMÍNGUEZ presented a selection from the very rich photo collection of the Geneva-based International Red Cross Archives. This archive is of particular interest to our Foundation, given the strong ties of the Habsburg family with Red Cross institutions.



The presentations were related to the processing and management of the photographic heritage of Otto von Habsburg in several other respects, since the international arc of his career involves numerous collections, and the new technical possibilities presented at the conference may provide useful assistance in mapping the extensive network of contacts of our namesake.

In addition to the theoretical part, the conference also offered practical guidance, as participants could take part in workshops on topics such as natural disasters that can affect archives. For example, the threats posed by climate change, flooding, rainfall, and preparing for damage caused by fires – one may recall the tragedy of the Cologne archives in 2009, for instance, or the fire at the Ráday Collection in Budapest in 2019.

For those interested in visual collections, Girona has another special place to visit: the *Museu del Cinema*, with its permanent exhibition, programmes and searchable collection, offers a comprehensive and exciting overview of the history of photography, cinema and film

# UNFOLDING COLLECTION

## STUDIES AND ESSAYS

Publication of documents held in the HOAL collection or articles related to the life of Otto von Habsburg on our website.



SZILVESZTER DÉKÁNY  
Fake Parties, Fraud – In the Name of the Crown Prince



PIROSKA KOCSIS – ZOLTÁN ÓLMOSSI  
„One more Saint in Heaven...” A Personal Report on the Death of King Charles IV.



GERGELY FEJÉRDY  
“It is very difficult to build Europe with France, but impossible without it.”



ESZTER GAÁLNÉ BARCS  
“Lieber Otto von Habsburg! Dear Otto von Habsburg!” – Children's Letters to Otto von Habsburg



ISTVÁN GERGELY SZŰTS  
The Last Portrait of a Legitimist – József Cziráky



GERGELY FEJÉRDY  
Otto von Habsburg's Concept of Europe (1952)



BEÁTA VITOS-MERZA  
“I practically always stay at the Gellért” – Otto von Habsburg and the Hotel Gellért



ESZTER GAÁLNÉ BARCS – BEÁTA VITOS-MERZA  
The Last Grand Wedding in the Habsburg Empire – The Wedding of Zita and Charles



ESZTER GAÁLNÉ BARCS  
About '56 – 56 Years Ago



PIROSKA KOCSIS – ZOLTÁN ÓLMOSSI  
From Baja to the Black Sea – A British Skipper's Memories of King Charles I



GERGELY FEJÉRDY  
Otto von Habsburg Was Born 110 Years Ago



## “THE LAST GRAND WEDDING IN THE HABSBURG EMPIRE”

Prince Charles of Habsburg-Lorraine, Later Ruler of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and Zita, Princess of Bourbon-Parma, Were Married 111 Years Ago

This year marked the 100th anniversary of the death of the last Austrian Emperor and King of Hungary, Charles von Habsburg, whom Pope John Paul II beatified in 2004. The liturgical memorial day of the saintly king was set for 21 October, which also marks the anniversary of his marriage. With this decision, the Roman Catholic Church wished to draw attention to his exemplary married life and one of the possible paths to sainthood.<sup>1</sup>

Charles was the grandson of the brother of Franz Joseph, Karl Ludwig. His bride, Zita was born a princess of the Bourbon-Parma family. Austrian historian Erich Feigl called the important day of their lives “the last grand wedding of Europe”<sup>2</sup> It is also worth mentioning that it was a marriage of love, not a match dictated by politics. A journalist from the *Budapest* newspaper wrote the following about the ceremony: “*this glorious, fairy-tale wedding is the happy ending of a romantic love story*”<sup>3</sup> With the use of the press of the time and published scientific literature, this article aims to be a brief, pictorial summary of the big day. There is also a wealth of photographs of the event for posterity, as numerous photographers and cinematographers were present that day.

The couple met as children in the Chateau of Schwarzau, owned by the Bourbon-Parma family, but the defining encounter occurred in 1909 at the famous spa of Franzensbad<sup>4</sup>. Two years later, on 13 June 1911, they became engaged in the birthplace of Zita, the Pianore Palace, in a small family circle.

The betrothal was reported in several Hungarian newspapers, and the preparations for the wedding began immediately after the engagement.<sup>5</sup> The couple signed a marriage contract, which the commissioners spent several weeks drafting. During this time, the Princess studied Hungarian and Czech at the Schwarzau Castle and visited Vienna, where she had her wedding dress and trousseau made in a fashion salon on Kärtner Strasse. These were exhibited before the wedding so that the public could inspect them and the press could report the contents of the finished trousseau in detail. Charles was at the Brandeis barracks but visited his bride several times and gifted her a necklace of twenty-two rows of pearls as a wedding present.<sup>6</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Iván Bertényi Jr: Charles IV (the Blessed). *Korunk*, 2016, 8, 56. [http://epa.uz.ua/00400/00458/00550/pdf/EPA00458\\_korunk\\_2016\\_o8\\_o54-o63.pdf](http://epa.uz.ua/00400/00458/00550/pdf/EPA00458_korunk_2016_o8_o54-o63.pdf) (Date of download: 10.10.2022)

<sup>2</sup> “*Le dernier grand mariage de l’Europe.*” Erich Feigl, *Zita de Habsbourg. Mémoires d’un empire disparu*. Traduit par Jacques Denis et Georges-Albert Salvan. Paris, Criterion, 1991, 90.

<sup>3</sup> *Budapest*, 22 October 1911, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Františkovy Lázně (Ferenc Baths) is a bathing place in the Czech Republic.

<sup>5</sup> *Pesti Hírlap*, 6 June 1911, 16; *Pesti Napló*, 15 June 1911, 7; *Friss Újság*, 15 June 1911, 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Az Újság*, 15 October 1911, 6.



To honour the occasion, the Parma family had the castle renovated to make it a fitting venue for the wedding. They refurbished the salons, replaced the benches in the chapel of the castle with chairs to provide more seating for guests, and even installed a special telephone to receive congratulations from those who were unable to attend the event. In the villages around the castle, houses were decorated with garlands and flags, a dedicated post office was set up in the park to receive wedding gifts and telegrams, and chancel arches were placed on the road to the castle.<sup>7</sup>

A separate salon in the castle was used to keep the arriving wedding gifts. Archduchess Maria Josepha presented Princess Zita with a brilliant brooch, while Franz Ferdinand gave her a diamond ring set with rubies. Other gifts included a silver box, a porcelain coffee set, handicrafts, presents from various institutions and a Zita waltz composed by the court conductor. A memorable gift was a bronze statue that was transported by airship from the barracks in Vienna by the young aviation officers, who knew how interested Zita was in flying. Even more joyful was the photograph presented by the Mayor of Franzensbad, which captured the square where the couple had walked so many times after the engagement, and which was therefore named Zita Square by the locals. Often mentioned among the wedding gifts is the one sent by Pope Pius X. The framed picture is a copy of the painting by Leonardo da Vinci depicting Christ, the original of which is in the Maria delle Grazie Chapel in Milan, and the full name of the Princess is Zita Maria delle Grazie.

Some guests arrived several days before the wedding and stayed in the surrounding castles and villas. Among others, King Frederick Augustus III of Saxony, Franz Ferdinand and his wife, members of the Habsburg, Parma, Bragança, Spanish Bourbon, Orléans, Liechtenstein, Saxe-Coburg, Wittelsbach, Württemberg families and descendants of several princely and comital families were present. The Hungarian guests appeared at the event in Hungarian court dress, *'díszmagyar'*. On 20 October, the representative of Pope Pius X, Papal Major-Domo Gaetano Bisleti, arrived. In the afternoon of that day, the guests were entertained by a school choir of 800 people, followed by dinner and a soirée, with music provided by the orchestra of the 67<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment. Afterwards, the villagers held a torch-lit procession and set off fireworks, and the couple then concluded with a short carriage ride around the village. Charles also received his appointment as a Major that evening.

The events of the wedding day were recorded in great detail for posterity. The colourful press reports recorded every detail. *Kaiserwetter*, in other words, bright sunshine, greeted the crowds of guests. The most eagerly awaited attendee at the wedding was the Emperor himself, Franz Joseph, of whom every surviving account has a special mention. The Emperor arrived by special court train and was greeted with a huge ovation, and the so-called 'Emperor's Gate' was opened for the first time in 30 years.<sup>8</sup> The small chapel of Schwarzaau Castle was the venue for the nuptial ceremony. It is noted in several places that seventy gilded chairs awaited the participants, and a massive chair of honour for Franz Joseph was set up to the left of the altar.<sup>9</sup> The representative of the Pope, Gaetano Bisleti, celebrated the ceremony in French. According to reports, the dress of the bride was made of heavy satin (Duchesse) material with a three-metre-long fin, on which were sewn silver embroidered Bourbon lilies and orange blossoms surrounded by myrtle garlands. Zita's four sisters held the long train during the procession to the chapel.



The waist part of the dress was made of the same lace worn by her grandmother, the Queen of Portugal, at her wedding, and a bouquet of myrtles was placed at the bust. The hairstyle of Princess Zita was simple, yet made glamorous by wearing a myrtle wreath with a lace Brussels veil that reached down to the fin. The headpiece was adorned with the diamond tiara that Franz Joseph had given Zita.<sup>10</sup> The groom wore his dragoon captain's uniform, and on his chest hung the Order of the Golden Fleece, along with the military medal and the Order of the King of Saxony. The wedding ring of the couple bore, next to their names, a line from the deeply religious Charles' favourite prayer: "*Sub tuum praesidium confugimus, sancta Dei Genitrix*".<sup>11</sup>

The ceremony ended with the blessing of Pope Pius X: "*In the many bitter hours of life, which will surely not spare you, may your faith in God be your support and may happy family life always be your refuge*".<sup>12</sup> The newlyweds then received their congratulations in the castle, followed by the wedding lunch, where Franz Joseph gave a toast: "*The wedding which has filled us all with joy and which we have gathered here today to celebrate is a great joy and great satisfaction. Archduke Charles has chosen Princess Zita of Parma as his life partner. I salute him and his heart for this choice, and I welcome Archduchess Zita with inward joy as a member of the family of my house [...]*".<sup>13</sup>

The meal is always a crucial part of a wedding ceremony. At the reception, delicacies such as venison dishes, roast lamb and turkey were served on golden platters. The menu was: "*Creamy lettuce salad, wild rabbit puree St Hubert's style, renaissance roast lamb, Parisian-style langoustine, roast turkey, seasonal salad, asparagus with butter, pineapple and strawberry ice cream, cheese, fruits, dessert*".<sup>14</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Pesti Napló*, 21 October 1911, 8-9.

<sup>8</sup> The imperial gate commemorated the Emperor's visit in 1881 and was reopened for the wedding. Emil Csonka: *Zita története. Az utolsó magyar királyné*. Munich, Új Európa, 1975, 56.

<sup>9</sup> *Délmagyarország*, 22 October 1911, 5, *Szamos*, 22 October 1911, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Interesting to note that Zita later presented this diadem to Regina of Saxe-Meiningen, the fiancée of her son, Otto von Habsburg, on their wedding day. For an article on this, see: <https://hoal.hu/en/wedding-a-la-habsburg-70-years-ago/>

<sup>11</sup> We fly to thy protection, O Holy Mother of God. Hans Karl Zessner-Spitzberg: *Kaiser Karl. Salzburg*, Salzburger Verlag für Wirtschaft und Kultur, 1953, 53.

<sup>12</sup> Gergely Kovács: *Fogadd a koronát! Károly magyar király hitvalló élete*. Budapest, Új Ember, 2004, 28.

<sup>13</sup> *Pesti Hírlap*, 22 October 1911, 11.

<sup>14</sup> Jean Sévillia: *Zita, a bátor császárné*. Trans. by Katalin Sóvágó, Budapest, Gabo, 2000, 36.



## FROM BAJA TO THE BLACK SEA

### A British Skipper's Memories of King Charles

Otto von Habsburg received several letters informing him of his father's beatification preparations. We are now publishing one of these sources from the collection of our Foundation. The document is intriguing from two aspects: the accompanying letter gives an insight into the activities of the Prayer League (*Gebetsliga für Kaiser Karl*),<sup>1</sup> an organisation advocating the beatification of Charles I (Charles IV as King of Hungary),<sup>2</sup> as well as an account of the former monarch's journey to Madeira, which reveals Emperor Charles' worldview and personal demeanour.

The future monarch's father, Archduke Otto<sup>3</sup>, was appointed commander of the Sopron Hussar regiment in 1894. When the family moved to Sopron, Charles began his studies there. His receptiveness and openness to the Catholic faith were already evident at this time. Mater Vincencia,<sup>4</sup> the former headmistress of the Ursuline Education Institute for Girls of Sopron, foretold that he would one day become emperor and would need to endure a tremendous amount of suffering. Based on the prophecy that later came true, the prayer group founded in 1895 on the initiative of Mater Vincencia initially prayed for the coronation of Archduke Charles as emperor,<sup>4</sup> which seemed unlikely at the end of the 19th century because of the powerful position of the then heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand. However, the wish became a reality in 1914, with the assassination of the heir to the throne, and after the death of Franz Joseph, he succeeded him as emperor. Charles's reign lasted barely two years, and in 1923, a year after his early death, in 1923, Wilhelm Miklas<sup>5</sup>, an Austrian Christian Socialist member of the National Assembly and State Secretary, raised the idea of Charles' beatification in a letter to Friedrich Gustav Piffl<sup>6</sup>, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Vienna. In 1925, the Prayer League, which had grown in numbers, became accepted in ecclesiastical circles, and from that year onwards, the Archdiocese of Vienna preserved the evidence and testimonies necessary for beatification.

During these years, the Prayer League was led by Baron Dr Hans Karl Zessner-Spitzenberg<sup>7</sup> and Sister Emmy Gehrig<sup>8</sup>, who had been collecting data and proof concerning Emperor Charles for decades.

On 18 March 1938, after the invasion of Austria by Nazi Germany, Baron Zessner was arrested, and on 1 August 1938, he died in the Dachau concentration camp. Emmy Gehrig was also captured, and the secretary of the prayer group, Alphonsa von Klinkowström, destroyed the archives out of fear of the Gestapo.

<sup>1</sup> See on this Habacher, Maria: King Charles Prayer League for the Peace of Nations. <https://www.magyarurir.hu/uploads/content/55790/fajlok/imaliga-maria-habacher.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> Otto of Habsburg-Lorraine (contemporary nickname: "handsome Archduke Otto") (1865–1906), second son of Archduke Louis Charles (younger brother of Emperor and King Franz Joseph I), younger brother of Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand, father of Emperor and King Charles.

<sup>3</sup> Known secularly as Alojzia Fauland (1852–1902), she entered the Sopron monastery in 1881.

<sup>4</sup> This Hungarian prayer group became the origin of the King Charles Prayer League, which later initiated and financed the canonization process, and is officially known as the Charles Emperor (in Hungary as King Charles) Prayer League for the Peace of Nations.

<sup>5</sup> Wilhelm Miklas (1872–1956), Austrian politician and third President of the First Austrian Republic from 1928 to 1938.

<sup>6</sup> Friedrich Gustav Piffl (1864–1932), Archbishop of Vienna from 1913 until his death, Cardinal from 1914. After the collapse of the Monarchy, he resigned from the title of Prince-Archbishop.

<sup>7</sup> Hans Karl Zessner-Spitzenberg, Baron (1885–1938), Austrian jurist. He joined the monarchist group around Prince Johannes Liechtenstein as a member of the Legitimist Party. In 1923, he initiated an expert opinion to monitor compliance with Habsburg law. Head of the beatification proceedings of Emperor Charles I.

<sup>8</sup> Emilie "Emmy" Gehrig (1893–1974), Austrian civil servant and writer. Member of the Executive Committee of the Prayer League from 1947, Executive President from 1956 to 1974. She wrote extensively on religious subjects.



The banquet preceding the wedding was served on silverware. The preserved menu card was written in French, as was the longstanding custom of the courts. The ten-course meal included poultry (chicken, pheasant), veal loin, salmon, trout, artichokes, cheesecakes and fruits, served with a variety of delicious sauces.<sup>15</sup> Immediately after the dinner, the newlyweds sent a telegram to the Pope, thanking him for his blessing and the wedding gift.<sup>16</sup> Shortly after the departure of Franz Joseph, they took a car and travelled to Wartholz Castle in Reichenau, where they spent a few days on their honeymoon.

It is reported that after the event, a limited number of commemorative coins were minted on the orders of Franz Joseph and distributed among the highest aristocracy. On one side of the coin, the newlyweds were depicted with the following inscription: *Carolus Franciscus Josephus Archidux Austriae and Zita Bourbonica Ducissa Parmensis*. The two coats of arms were on the other side, with the inscription "*In Memoriam Felicissimi Matroninii. Biac 21. Octobris 1911.*"<sup>17</sup>

The marriage of Charles and Zita lasted eleven years because the former monarch died on the island of Madeira at the age of 34. The couple had eight children. Their exemplary marriage and devotion to each other endured through difficult times as well as in exile until the death of Charles. For half a century afterwards, Zita, dressed in mourning, raised their children and kept her husband's memory alive.

<sup>15</sup> Erich Feigl: *Zita de Habsbourg. Mémoires d'un empire disparu*. Traduit par Jacques Denis et Georges-Albert Salvan. Paris, Criterion, 1991, 91.

<sup>16</sup> *Világ*, 22 October 1911, 13–14.

<sup>17</sup> *Az Újság*, 22 October 1911, 7



After the war, in 1947, the prayer groups in Austria, Germany and other countries were re-established,<sup>9</sup> and under Emmy Gehrig's leadership, the collecting efforts continued.<sup>10</sup> As part of this work, Arthur Snagge,<sup>11</sup> a Royal Navy vice admiral, was asked to write his memoirs.

A milestone in the case came in 1949, when the first stage of the beatification process was launched in the Archdiocese of Vienna, and on 3 November 1949, Vatican Radio announced the beginning of the beatification procedure for Emperor and King Charles of Austria and Hungary, namely the Holy See's acceptance of the preliminary investigation of the beatification of Charles of Austria. The postulator of the case,<sup>12</sup> Gyula Magyary<sup>13</sup> reported at the end of 1952 that the seven archdiocesan procedures (information phase) on which the Roman Apostolic process was based had been initiated. The status of the proceedings was reported in the Prayer League Yearbooks.

The composition of the presidency of the Prayer League and the participants in the beatification process changed many times. Emmy Gehrig was Executive President from 1956 until her death on 3 November 1974.

Although not closely related to our source publication, the conclusion of the beatification process is also worth mentioning. The 'Decree on the Heroic Virtues of the Servant of God' was issued by the Vatican on 12 April 2003, and Pope John Paul II signed the recognition of the miracle presented during the process on 20 December 2003. This marked the provisional closure of the beatification process. The official publication of the admission of the Servant of God from the Australian House to the beatification of the Catholic Church was followed by the beatification, which took place on the date set by the Pope, 3 October 2004, in a solemn ceremony in St Peter's Square.

The Prayer League has contacted thousands of individuals, both verbally and in writing, to help obtain testimonies for the beatification process. Vice-Admiral Arthur Snagge was asked to report to the Prayer League on his recollections of Charles IV as part of this work. In 1921, as captain and Entente agent, he accompanied Charles IV, his wife Zita, and members of their entourage from Baja to the Iron Gates on the warship Glowworm<sup>14</sup> and from there, by car and train, to the Black Sea port of Sulina. The letter is believed to have initially been written in English, as the German text could be more precise. It is clear from this courteous and respectful letter that Charles IV was highly disciplined in his acceptance of being ordered out of the country and that he sought to abide by the terms demanded by the Entente during the few days he was on board the ship.

The Prayer League made a great effort to inform Otto von Habsburg of the process of beatification that had begun. As a result, a copy of the note, along with the original covering letter from the Sister Emmy Gehrig, were included in the heir to the throne's estate.

<sup>9</sup> According to Emmy Gehrig, prayer groups numbered some 25,000 members worldwide.

<sup>10</sup> The collected testimonies have been kept in the monastery in Lilienfeld since 1947 and in St. Pölten since the autumn of 1994.

<sup>11</sup> Vice Admiral Arthur Lionel Snagge (1878–1955), officer of the Royal Navy. On 19 March 1900, he was commissioned on the ship Redbreast. Lieutenant on 31 December 1900, Commander on 30 June 1913. Commanded the Humber monitor in 1914, serving on it for most of the First World War in Europe and the Mediterranean. British Naval Attaché in Washington in May 1918, Captain on 30 June 1919, transferred to the Naval Intelligence Department in November of that year. In the 1920s, he commanded various ships; from November 1929 to July 1931, he was in command of the Royal Naval Barracks at Chatham Dockyard, after which he was on the staff at the Admiralty. He retired in 1936 with the rank of Vice-Admiral.

<sup>12</sup> A postulator (applicant) is an officer appointed by the competent ecclesiastical magistrate to the beatification and canonisation procedures. His/her task is to gather information about the candidate's life and formulate the reasons for requesting beatification or canonisation.

<sup>13</sup> Gyula Magyary (1901–1988), Roman Catholic priest, ecclesiastical lawyer, university professor, and member of the Order of Malta, who was also the official representative of the House of Habsburg, including Otto von Habsburg, at the Vatican.

<sup>14</sup> A coastal destroyer was launched on 12 December 1906 and sold to a private owner in May 1921.



*HMS Glowworm, anchored at Baja*

Snagge's relatively brief letter accurately reflects the Vice-Admiral's opinion of Charles's human integrity and discipline. In this regard, he precisely quotes the text of the declaration he had forced Charles IV to make at Baja, in which the former ruler promised not to commit any insubordination during the journey, i.e. he would not attempt to escape.<sup>15</sup> Later, when the exiles were already travelling to Orșova in a private car accompanied by the Romanian authorities, he kept his promise to the British officer.

The preceding history of the journey is well known: after his unsuccessful attempt to return from exile in Switzerland, Charles IV was transported by train on 24 October 1921, first to Tata, then to the Benedictine Abbey of Tihany on 26 October, where after several days of waiting, it became clear that the couple would have to leave the country. Moreover, they were not allowed to return to Switzerland, where they had initially been assigned, with the victorious powers seeking a more distant destination, from which any attempt to return would be impossible.

The majority of the politicians accompanying them were detained; apart from the butler and the head maid, only Ágnes Aladár Boroviczényné Schönborn, the Queen's lady-in-waiting, was allowed to follow them as far as the Black Sea (Sulina) crossing.<sup>16</sup> They arrived in Baja on the morning of 1 November and took their places on the battleship Glowworm. On 4 November, they approached the Iron Gates at Moldova Veche<sup>17</sup> but were unable to continue their journey due to low water levels. A long delay ensued. Vice-Admiral Snagge, considering that the safety of the exiled monarch was the responsibility of the British government, intended to cross the straits by motorboat and then proceed by an awaiting British ship to avoid Romanian territory.<sup>18</sup> The Romanians, represented by Major Kirculescu of the Romanian army, on the other hand, wanted to make the journey by car to Orșova and by train from there, and the latter approach eventually prevailed.

<sup>15</sup> The original French version of the statement is published here: *Kaiser Karl. Persönliche Aufzeichnungen, Zeugnisse und Dokumente*. Hrsg. von Erich Feigl. München–Wien, Amalthea, 1987, 420–421. ((hereafter Feigl, E (1987)).

<sup>16</sup> Count Sándor Esterházy, the queen's High Seneschal, joined the queen at Baja.

<sup>17</sup> Meaning (in Romanian): Old Moldova. It is a settlement in modern Romania, in the county of Caraș-Severin, on the left bank of the Danube.

<sup>18</sup> Aladár Boroviczény: *A király és kormányzója*. Budapest, Europa, 1993, 488., for the recollection of Ágnes Schönborn see 435–456.





Copy of a photo sent by Vice Admiral Snagge:  
Behind Charles IV and Queen Zita are Count József Hunyady and his wife, Countess Gabriella Bellegarde

As Kirculescu writes: *“This negotiation lasted nearly an hour. At the end of the discussions, he showed me a letter in French from the former Emperor and King, in which he gave me his word of honour that during the time he was in the custody of Commander Snagge, he would not attempt to regain his freedom.”* Snagge arranged for his sailors to escort the exiles, with a French naval officer and Kirculescu still accompanying them. Interestingly, although the Romanian authorities urged the car solution, the stretch of road to Orşova on 5 November was what they feared most, lest the “Carlists” cause too much disruption. Kirculescu’s report mentioned above states, *“At 12.50 p.m., we arrived in Orşova. This was the most dangerous point of our whole itinerary. Although I did my utmost to maintain the strictest secrecy, nevertheless, thanks to the procedures of our police, whose main activity was to incite the population, a huge crowd of people gathered in the streets, from the centre of which handkerchiefs were waved in greeting from here and there. At last, we reached the railway station at Orşova: now we could breathe a sigh of relief.”*<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Notes of the Romanian Major Kirculescu on the journey of the captive royal couple. *Magyarság*, 25 March 1922, 5-6.

They boarded the train and arrived the following morning at Galaţi,<sup>20</sup> from where they continued their journey by the steamship *Principesse Maria*<sup>21</sup> to board the battleship *Cardiff*, which was waiting at Sulina<sup>22</sup>. From Galaţi, Count Joseph Hunyady and his wife, Countess Gabriella Bellegarde<sup>23</sup>, escorted the imperial party, and Captain Snagge bade farewell to the Emperor at Sulina.

The royal couple set foot aboard the *Cardiff* on 6 November and arrived on the 19th at Madeira, an island in the Atlantic Ocean off the Portuguese coast.

The documents published here are part of the miscellaneous papers in the collection of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation’s Archives, which are currently being processed.

## Sources

IHS<sup>24</sup>

Vienna, 30 August 1953.

Your Majesty,

We have received the attached letter for the beatification proceedings. Vice-Admiral Snagge sent me a photograph, which I have copied, and I enclose a duplicate of his letter. I presume the picture is not in His Majesty’s possession. I have sent the copies and photocopies to Waldstein<sup>25</sup> to all the Majesties with the request that they be forwarded. We are pleased that Mr Snagge’s letter arrived just before the testimony process was completed.

I take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks for the kindly signed photograph.<sup>26</sup> We always look forward to it, and so many of those who come to us are grateful.

With humble greetings

Emmy Gehrig

<sup>20</sup> A port town in the southeast of Romania along the Danube.

<sup>21</sup> A Romanian steamship.

<sup>22</sup> A port town in Tulcea county, Romania.

<sup>23</sup> Countess Gabriella Bellegarde (1890–1945), imperial and royal courtier, second wife of Count József Hunyady (1873–1942).

<sup>24</sup> The initials of Jesus’ name are derived from the Greek abbreviation *Iesou Hominum Salvator* (Jesus, the Saviour of men), which the Jesuits resolved as *Iesum habemus socium*, ‘Jesus is our companion’; *Iesu humilis societas*, ‘the humble society of Jesus’.

<sup>25</sup> Waldstein (Deutschfeistritz, Styria) is the residence of Prince Heinrich von Liechtenstein (1916–1991). His wife, Elisabeth von Habsburg (1922–1993), was the youngest daughter of Charles IV and Queen Zita. The head of the family, Otto von Habsburg, was closely linked to her sister and her husband, as evidenced by their frequent correspondence.

<sup>26</sup> Emmy Gehrig sent greetings on the birth of Otto von Habsburg’s first child, Andrea (30 May 1953), which the couple thanked with a signed photograph



6 Kensington Court Gardens  
London W. 8.  
10 August 1953.

For the Diocesan Court of Vienna

Gentlemen!

I have duly received your letter dated 30 July in Vienna (noted by the Presidency of the Prayer League), and I shall endeavour to inform you as quickly as possible that I am pleased and proud to be able to contribute to the beatification of His Majesty Emperor Charles on the basis of the impressions I have received of the detained monarch on board of my ship (HMS<sup>27</sup> Glowworm)

Although the events of 31 years ago, which led to the capture and surrender of Emperor Charles and Empress Zita, are now history, the journey from Baja in Hungary, along the Danube to Moldova, thence by car and train to Galac [Galați], and then by barge<sup>28</sup> to Sulina on the Black Sea, where I handed them over to the naval destroyer HMS Cardiff<sup>29</sup>, which was coming to pick them up, still lives in me as a clear and vivid memory, where they were transported to Madeira. Just before the Cardiff sailed, a last-minute order of compassion was received to allow Empress Zita to return to Austro-Hungary.<sup>30</sup>

When His Majesty boarded the Glowworm, my first impression was his calm and courageous attitude as he accepted his difficult situation.

He informed me that it was clear to him that resistance was useless because the revolution<sup>31</sup> had just taken place and would cost pointless lives. It was fortunate that he and the Empress could be on an English ship.

I replied that he had been entrusted with a challenging and delicate mission and that I thought the course of affairs would be considerably facilitated, and all concerned would be more agreeable if he would give his word of honour in writing to cooperate fairly. Should he do so, all obstacles would disappear, and I would be proud that he and the Empress would regard their presence on the ship as guests.

Without hesitation, he sat down at his desk<sup>32</sup> and wrote the following in his handwriting:

*"I give my word of honour to Captain Arthur Snagge that during my voyage, so long as I am under his care, I will abstain from any attempt to regain my liberty.*

*I personally swear to Captain Arthur Snagge that I will abide by this promise during the voyage.*

*Charles  
Emperor of Austria  
King of Hungary*

*Glowworm, 1 November 1921."*

<sup>27</sup> HMS: His/Her Majesty's Ship.

<sup>28</sup> It is the steamship called *Principesse Maria*.

<sup>29</sup> The cruiser, also known as the torpedo destroyer, with a water displacement of over 4,000 tons, was built during the Great War and remained in service until 1940.

<sup>30</sup> Queen Zita's freedom of movement was indeed considered, but was impossible to implement, as she did not have a passport, and there was no country that would give her one. Feigl, E (1987), 420-421.

<sup>31</sup> Presumably referring to the mass movements in the autumn of 1918 that led to the collapse of the Monarchy.

<sup>32</sup> The imperial couple were given the captain's own 'suite' and bureau.

Perhaps I am right in thinking that the original of this word of honour is in the archives of Windsor Castle, by order of King George V<sup>33</sup>, the last document signed by the Habsburg monarch.

Before leaving Baja, the next event was the visit of the Papal Nuncio, Msgr. Schioppa<sup>34</sup>, whom the Emperor received in my chambers and, at his request, celebrated Mass for him.

Until our arrival in Sulina, the Emperor did not cause any difficulties, and his behaviour was impeccable.

After he came on board, he changed his uniform for civilian clothes, with the remark that it was not fitting for a prisoner to wear the insignia of rank.<sup>35</sup>

The Emperor spent most of his time on deck while the Empress remained in the cabin. She seemed concerned for her children, who had stayed in Switzerland and had been away from her for a long time.<sup>36</sup>

I often conversed with the Emperor and was fascinated by his intelligence, spirituality and kindness. I was deeply impressed by his love for sports and his keen interest in the many exciting species of birds that flew along the banks or swam in the river as our boat glided downstream with the current.

The Danube water level was exceptionally shallow this year, which prevented us from crossing the Iron Gates.

Therefore, we thought it best to disembark the whole party in Moldavia and continue our journey by car through the Transylvanian mountains to Orșova and from there by train to Galac, where Count Hunyady<sup>37</sup> and his wife joined us.

We made the rest of the way to Sulina on the [Black] Sea without incident.

The King and Emperor under my protection made a strong impact on me, to which I would add that he proved to be a devout Catholic and a role model who accepted adversities with dignity. I consider it the greatest of graces to have known him.

I hope the above description will meet your request and aid you in the process of beatifying Emperor Charles.

I remain your humble [servant]

Arthur Snagge  
Vice-Admiral

<sup>33</sup> George V (1865–1936), King of England, reigned between 1910 and 1936.

<sup>34</sup> Schioppa, Lorenzo (1871–1935), titular bishop, diplomat, apostolic nuncio in Budapest, 1920–1925.

<sup>35</sup> He probably changed out of his uniform on the Transylvanian road section and only switched to civilian clothes on the train after crossing the border into historic Hungary, as Ágnes Boroviczényné Schönborn wrote in her memoirs: "After Orșova, our train passed the old Hungarian border. After leaving this railway line, His Majesty took off his uniform with tears in his eyes. He was now abroad, so he dressed in civilian clothes according to the old customs." (455) Aladár Boroviczényi: *A király és kormányzója*.

Europa, Budapest, 1993. 488; for the recollection of Ágnes Schönborn, see 435-456

<sup>36</sup> The Swiss Federal Council allowed the children, accompanied by Archduchess Maria Theresa and their governess Countess Kerksenbrock, to take refuge in Wartegg with their grandmother, the Duchess of Parma.

<sup>37</sup> Count József Hunyady (1873–1942) landowner, politician, royal chief steward. He was aide-de-camp to Crown Prince Charles and then Royal Chief State Counsellor until the abdication of the monarch in 1918. After the Eckartsau Declaration, he accompanied Charles to Switzerland, played a major role in the organisation of the King's return attempts, and, after his second return, followed the dethroned monarch for a time to the island of Madeira. He was one of the leaders of the Hungarian Legitimist movement. From 1927 to 1942, he was a member of the Upper House.



## THE LAST PORTRAIT OF A LEGITIMIST – JÓZSEF CZIRÁKY

Following the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, a large number of Hungarians forced into exile contacted the last heir to the Hungarian throne. In addition to analyses and presentations of international and Hungarian political conditions, well-documented personal accounts also reached Otto von Habsburg. Some of the letters he received tell the life stories of the unknown victims of the dictatorship and others those of old legitimists, who were always loyal to the king and the kingdom. Of the latter, one figure who stands out is Count József Cziráky, whose life after 1945 Otto von Habsburg must have learned about from the accounts of aristocrats forced to emigrate. Our collection preserves a portrait made in secret in 1957, smuggled across the border and finally delivered to its addressee overseas, as well as a letter written by József Cziráky's wife, Ilona Andrásy in May 1962, which she sent from the free side of the Iron Curtain. The fate of these few documents demonstrates the faith in legitimacy, the remaining links and, not least, the unbroken trust in the heir to the throne.

József Cziráky (1883–1960) was one of the most prominent royalist politicians in the decades between the two world wars. He proved his loyalty on many occasions, for example, in 1921, when the plane of Charles IV landed on the estate of Cziráky in Dénesfa, during the King's second attempt to return to the throne. He was a member of the inner circle of the emigrated royal family, occasionally acting as secretary to the widow and her children in Lekeitio, Spain, and was also the trustee of the royal family's remaining properties in Hungary.

After the Second World War, his estates were nationalised, and he lived with his family in the remaining rooms of his castle in Dénesfa. Afterwards, he rented an apartment in Sopron, and later returned to the village to live in the back of a farmhouse. Cziráky spent a secluded life in Dénesfa, with very few visitors until 1956.

The photograph sent to Otto von Habsburg was taken on 6 June 1957 in Szombathely. The photo was taken by Count Ferenc Erdődy in the room of parish priest Alajos Szokoly. The reason for their meeting is not known, but in any case, the fact that the three of them were present was not without risk during the repression that followed the 1956 revolution. Szokoly was imprisoned in 1948 for his opposition to the nationalisation of parochial schools, while the other two were considered suspicious and even enemies in the eyes of the communist authorities because of their aristocratic background.

It is not known how the portrait by Erdődy crossed the border, as it only reappeared on 30 January 1959. On this day, Count István Révay (Szokoly's brother-in-law), who had emigrated in 1949, enclosed it in an envelope, together with a letter he had written to Otto von Habsburg in New York. With the help of Otto's younger brother, Archduke Carl Ludwig, the photo was finally delivered to the addressee, who praised the old Count's patriotism and loyalty in his reply.



Count József Cziráky  
Szombathely  
(6 June 1957)

József Cziráky died a year and a half later, on 10 August 1960 in Dénesfa. His last days are documented in another letter to Otto von Habsburg. This was written by his widow, Ilona Andrásy, by the time from the free world, from Kohfidisch (Gyepűfüzes), less than ten kilometres from the Hungarian border.

The letter of 25 May 1962 is significant both for its description of Count Cziráky's loyalty to the King until his death and for the fate of the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece. When Otto von Habsburg came of age, he gained the right to decide on the investiture of new members. Thus, in 1932, József Cziráky – the fifth in his family – became a member of the Order as well. After 1945, the establishment of a communist dictatorship and the emigration of his sons meant that the safety of the collar had to be taken care of. On his deathbed, the Count left it to his widow to deliver it to the heir to the throne.

Ilona Andrásy was granted a passport about a year and a half after her husband's death, and left Hungary. While crossing the border, she managed to smuggle out the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece in her pocket, which she handed over to the confidential royal envoys of Otto von Habsburg in Vienna. In these same days, Ilona Andrásy left Vienna for Canada, where she died seven years after her husband, in 1967.

The supposedly last photograph of József Cziráky was discovered after more than sixty years among the documents of Otto von Habsburg, which are currently being arranged by our Foundation.



## ABOUT '56 – 56 YEARS AGO

**“The Hungarian uprising has set forces in motion  
whose full impact is yet to be felt.”**

In 1966, Otto von Habsburg evaluated the events of 1956 in Hungary with the above thoughts.<sup>1</sup>

The president of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation in the USA, Professor Dr András Pogány<sup>2</sup>, asked Otto von Habsburg to write a few lines in Hungarian for their commemorative volume to be published on the occasion of the tenth anniversary. Otto von Habsburg wrote a short review entitled *“It started in Budapest”*.<sup>3</sup> The title itself refers to his well-known view that the Hungarian Revolution decisively weakened Soviet communist power. On the occasion of the anniversary, he reaffirmed his view that the blood sacrifice of the people involved had not been in vain.

The Hungarian article is from the correspondence of Otto von Habsburg and his biographer Emil Csonka<sup>4</sup>, which covers several decades.<sup>5</sup> Part of it is kept by our Foundation and the Collection of Manuscripts of the Petőfi Literary Museum. Emil Csonka, historian and journal editor, was editor-in-chief of the Munich-based political and cultural journal *Új Európa* (New Europe) from 1962 to 1982. Otto von Habsburg frequently published articles in the newspaper, whose editors regularly commemorated the events of 1956. Professor András Pogány himself has written on the subject on several occasions. The title of his article published on the 25th anniversary, in issue 6 of 1981, *Everything started in Budapest... –* may be a reference to the title of the earlier anniversary article by Otto von Habsburg.

On the 66th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, our Foundation commemorates the historic events by publishing the writing of its namesake, Otto von Habsburg.

The English version of the article we present in this volume is from the book entitled *The Hungarian Revolution in Perspective*, edited by Francis S. Wagner and published by the F. F. Memorial Foundation in 1967.

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed account of the activities of Otto von Habsburg in relation to the Hungarian events of 1956, see: Gergely Fejérdy: Habsburg Ottó és az 1956-os forradalom. (Otto von Habsburg and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.) Századok, 2021, 5, 1003-1024. [https://szazadok.hu/doc/szazadok\\_2020\\_05\\_PRESS.pdf](https://szazadok.hu/doc/szazadok_2020_05_PRESS.pdf) (Date of download: 10.10.2022)

<sup>2</sup> András H. Pogány (1919–1995), university professor, President of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Federation.

<sup>3</sup> The text in English can be found in: Francis S. Wagner (edited): *The Hungarian Revolution in Perspective*. Washington, D. C., F. F. Memorial Foundation, 1967. p. 35–36.

<sup>4</sup> Emil Csonka (1923–1982): journalist, historian, colleague of Radio Free Europe. His writings in German were published under the name Emilio Vasario.

<sup>5</sup> Emil Csonka: *Habsburg Ottó. Egy különös sors története*. Munich, Új Európa, 1972

Otto von Habsburg

### It started in Budapest

At daybreak on November 4, 1956, when Khrushchev's armies began their attack in Hungary, there were many in the Western World who secretly or even openly criticized the freedom fighters. They claimed that the Hungarians had been hot-heads, and that they would have accomplished more through “moderation” and “diplomacy”. What had happened was considered to be in part at least the responsibility of those who were crushed by the Russian tanks during those hours.

A time span of ten years separates us from this event. We are slowly beginning to reach a perspective and, for the first time, we have the possibility of formulating a historical judgement of our own. Such an evaluation is possible only over extended periods of time. He who judges events at the time of their occurrence assumes a great risk of committing an error. Keeping this in mind, it is possible today and even more so tomorrow to place past criticisms of the Hungarian uprising in their correct perspective. It will become evident that they were made on the spur of the moment. Those who criticized did, therefore, not recognize the significance of the great historical event which took place in the streets of Budapest.

No matter how hard it may be for the individual, ten years, which in his lifetime represent a tremendous span, are historically speaking scarcely more than a moment. The undulating motion of human development takes place over a relatively long period of time; therefore, the interdependence of cause and effect can only be fully comprehended after the span of a generation has lapsed.

Only thus can the events of 1956 be evaluated within the realm of world history. The Hungarian uprising has set forces in motion whose full impact is yet to be felt.

In November of 1956 a fact was frequently overlooked which today has already become a moving force behind the events. In the statement in which Khrushchev justified the entry of troops into Hungary, he referred to the consent given by the Chinese Central Committee. At that time this was considered to be a normal gesture of Communist solidarity.



In fact, however, it was the first grasp of Asia at Europe. The fact that the Russians had to refer to the Chinese, in order to commit their armed forces for action in the West, marked an important stage in the development of events. From this moment on, the weight of the yellow empire has been pressing down heavily on Soviet policy like a constantly growing mortgage. If such a situation of constraint had not been created by Hungary, it would have taken several years longer until the Russian-Chinese conflict would have assumed those proportions which today essentially contribute to an international relaxation.

Equally important, however, is also a second fact. In the streets of Budapest not only Hungarians lost their lives, but also one of the most important dogmas of the Soviet empire broke down. Until 1956, the Communist rulers of Central and Eastern Europe were thoroughly convinced that they were invincible in their domestic policy. They believed that, once in power, Communism could never be overthrown except by an external war. Budapest furnished evidence to the contrary. From this hour on, the totalitarian dictators were compelled to pay increased attention to the public opinion of their countries. The first step toward polycentrism was taken.

Budapest has decisively weakened the giant empire of the Soviets created at Yalta. If this fact has not produced any major and concrete effects as yet, this is largely attributable to the lack of ideas in Western policy which has failed to avail itself of the tremendous opportunities open to it. In spite of all this, the decline and fall continues, an achievement of the Hungarians and the other people of Central Europe who did not give up their hope for freedom.

If, at some time in the future, history will record the rise and fall of the Communist world empire, one of the most significant chapters might well bear the following title: "It started in Budapest". This can safely be stated today already. In Hungary forces were set in motion which can no longer be halted. Not one of those who fell in Budapest gave his life in vain.



*Otto von Habsburg at home with his children on Christmas 1956*



BEÁTA VITOS-MERZA

## “I PRACTICALLY ALWAYS STAY AT THE GELLÉRT”

Otto von Habsburg and the Hotel Gellért

### The Hotel

Named after Saint Gellért, the secession-style Gellért Hotel and Thermal Baths opened its doors in 1918. However, the 176-room hotel and spa were closed to the civilian public and used for military purposes during the rule of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic. It was not until the late 1920s that things took a turn for the better, when the hotel was extended with additional rooms. In the following decade, the Hotel Gellért made the list of the best hotels in the world, thanks to the famous restaurant of Károly Gundel, as well as the new effervescent bath and the wave-pool.

In January 1945, bombing damaged the building so severely that it took more than a year for the hotel to be able to welcome guests with a mere fifty rooms. Afterwards, despite expropriation, the Gellért continued to develop: by 1972, it had undergone a complete renovation and modernisation to meet the needs of the time, bringing the number of rooms to over 230, and with additional suites, the now world-renowned spa also awaited guests.



*Otto Dinner at Hotel Gellért, Count Albert Apponyi in the middle, Count József Hunyady on his right, Count Gyula Andrássy and Count János Zichy are sitting on his left. (1928)  
Photograph: MKVM*

Over time, the hotel's elegant interior and its restaurant had become increasingly important in the social scene. Conferences, dinners and weddings were held at the Gellért, and many celebrities stayed here, including renowned artists, scientists and politicians such as Kirk Douglas, Weiner Heisenberg, Björn Borg, Richard Nixon, Eddie Murphy and Otto von Habsburg.<sup>1</sup>

### The guest

The name of Otto von Habsburg was associated with the Hotel Gellért as early as the mid-1920s. After the death of Charles IV (1922), the Legitimist groups celebrated a Mass in honour of the then infant Otto on his birthday, 20 November, which was followed by a series of public dinners between 1924 and 1939. Until 1933, the dinners were held under the presidency of Count Albert Apponyi, in the presence of prominent politicians, at the Hotel Hungária, the Vigadó of Pest or Buda, and on several occasions at the Hotel Gellért. The latter was considered particularly suitable for the prestigious event for its modern design and spacious halls.

The first Otto Dinner was held at the Gellért in 1926, with 270 guests attending. Two years later, over 300 people gathered to celebrate the heir to the throne. The daily newspaper *Újság* published a detailed account of the event, describing the guests and the dinner, and quoting from the speech of Count Albert Apponyi.<sup>2</sup> Every year on these occasions, a picture of Otto von Habsburg was placed on a banquet table, and a letter of honour was sent to him (and his family) signed by the guests.

<sup>1</sup> András Rubovszky: *Hotel Gellért*. Budapest, Artunion/Széchenyi Könyvkiadó, 1988, 16–50.

<sup>2</sup> *Újság*, 21 November 1928, 1–2.







St. Gellért Square, Hotel Gellért. The balcony of room 238 is to the right of the entrance to the baths on the Kelenhegyi Roadside (1973)

From 1930 the venue changed, and after that – except for 1936, when they returned to the Gellért – dinners were held mainly in the Pesti Vigadó. The event of 1931 is worth mentioning, as it was that Tibor Kállay made a speech in which he said that the return of a legitimate monarch would be the best thing for the country, but that, Otto von Habsburg did not intend to come to power in the nation by a coup d'état.<sup>3</sup>

The vagaries of history meant that Otto had to wait decades for his return. When the first official visit finally took place in 1988, he arrived in Budapest no longer as the heir to the throne but as a renowned European politician. Recalling this event in an interview given to *Esti Hírlap*, he said: “...I had already decided on my first trip, in eighty-eight, that I would not stay in a foreign hotel. Since only the Hotel Gellért was under real Hungarian management at the time, I came here. I was never disappointed in the place and became a regular guest.”<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, it was here that he stayed on his first trip, and where he took part in the re-establishment of the Hungarian Pan-European Union. Afterwards, whenever he visited Budapest, Otto von Habsburg chose to stay at the Hotel Gellért. Each time, he stayed in room 238 on the second floor, on the side of the building overlooking Kelenhegyi út and the indoor swimming pool.<sup>5</sup> Mihály Vásony, who has worked at the Gellért for more than 57 years and was the guest relations manager of the hotel at the time, said that he was always told in advance when Otto von Habsburg arrived, and he would escort the guest up to his room. He specifically noted that the Archduke was very cordial with everyone, and on a couple of occasions, he had lunch in the brasserie. The Hotel was the venue of the bachelorette party and post-wedding reception for Otto's daughter

<sup>3</sup> *Pesti Napló*, 21 November 1931, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Esti Hírlap*, 7 May 1996, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Noémi Saly: *Gellért 100*. Budapest, Hungarian Trade and Hospitality Museum, 2018, 143. (Hereafter: Saly)

Walburga,<sup>6</sup> and after the wedding of his son Georg, the mayors who wished congratulate the newlyweds were also received here.<sup>7</sup> The latter couple stayed on for a longer period in the Gellért until their own home was ready.<sup>8</sup> According to an anecdote, when a chauffeur once asked the Archduke which hotel he could take him to, he replied indignantly that he would stay at the Gellért, as the Habsburgs always stayed at Hotel Gellért.

Many newspapers reported that Otto von Habsburg gave interviews at the Gellért and attended numerous events at the hotel. In addition, several Hungarian documents in our Foundation's collection prove that letters or parcels were sent to the hotel. There were occasions when an audience was requested with the Archduke while he was staying there by a short note on the headed paper of the Hotel Gellért.<sup>9</sup> Mihály Vásony confirmed that these letters and gifts were always kept aside for Otto and were given to him upon his arrival. The records from the administration show that sometimes the most important documents were collected and forwarded to the Hungarian secretariat.

As part of the chronicle of the close relationship between Otto von Habsburg and the Gellért, the former director of the hotel, Dr. András Rubovszky, gave the Archduke a signed copy of his book *Hotel Gellért*, published in 1988. This volume, a copy of the letter of gratitude for the received gift,<sup>10</sup> and a letter of appreciation to the former director of the hotel, András Szelényi, enrich our collection.<sup>11</sup>

### The Gellért as a memorial site

Throughout its history, it has become a tradition at the Hotel Gellért to name some of its suites (eight in total) after famous, returning guests. That is how Yehudi Menuhin, Richard Nixon, Antal Páger, Maximilian Schell, Ida Turay, Andrew Lloyd Webber and Vilmos Zsigmond became namesakes. Room 238, where he stayed during his visits, was named after Otto von Habsburg.<sup>12</sup> With the approval of the celebrities, the rooms were inaugurated with a ceremonial plaque, and a biography of them was placed in the suites. Otto, despite being a frequent guest at the hotel, was unable to attend this event due to his busy schedule. (He was not the only one – Oscar-winning cinematographer Vilmos Zsigmond was the only one who could attend the inauguration of his own room.<sup>13</sup>)

Later on, another plaque related to Otto von Habsburg was placed on the wall of the hotel. In December 2000, the members of the Hungarian Pan-European Union celebrated the tenth anniversary of their formation and the start of their activities.<sup>14</sup> Though Otto von Habsburg was unable to attend, he sent his greetings to the participants through his son Georg von Habsburg. In his Hungarian correspondence, there is a brief report on the anniversary event by Zoltán Wodianer-Nemessuri, the organisation's president in Budapest.

<sup>6</sup> Telephone conversation with Mihály Vásony – HOAL, 09.02.2022; further recollections can be found in Saly, 162-167.

<sup>7</sup> *Népszabadság*, 20 October 1997, 27.

<sup>8</sup> *Szabad Föld*, 14 September 2012, 13.

<sup>9</sup> HOAL 1-2-c-Pulvari Károlyné

<sup>10</sup> HOAL 1-2-c-Rubovszky András (Pöcking, 12.01.1989)

<sup>11</sup> HOAL 1-2-c-Szelényi András (Pöcking, 30.08.1991)

<sup>12</sup> Saly, 170.

<sup>13</sup> *Magyar Nemzet*, 6 July 2015, 17.

<sup>14</sup> *Komárom-Esztergom Megyei 24 Óra*, 4 December 2000, 1.



We know from this that nearly 300 people attended the ceremony, including the then President of Hungary, Ferenc Mádl, who was awarded the first Pan-European Cross of Merit. After the unveiling of the sign, a dinner and a gala were held at the hotel.<sup>15</sup> During his stay in Hungary in 2002, the Archduke visited the plaque with his son, and later a framed photograph of this occasion was placed next to the memorial plate.

These memories adorned the walls of the Gellért Hotel and Spa – until 2021, when the hotel reached another milestone in its history: the building closed its doors for renovation and modernisation. When the works began, the staff of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation approached the management and, to further enrich the legacy of our namesake, took the objects related to the Archduke into the care of our collection: the room's nameplate, the displayed biography, the jubilee plaque and the photograph.

Since then, our collection of material related to the Hotel Gellért has been further enriched by a donation of slides, including photographs taken during a visit to the Hotel Gellért in March 1995 by Otto von Habsburg. We are grateful for the generous gift and hope to expand this part of our collection in the future – given that the many sources and the material evidence suggest that Otto von Habsburg was indeed a distinguished guest of the Hotel Gellért.



Memorabilia in our collection from the Hotel Gellért

<sup>15</sup> HOAL I-2-c-Wodianer-Nemessuri Zoltán (Budapest, 27.01.2000)

## LECTURES

GYÖRGY SZAPÁRY

*former Vice President of the Hungarian National Bank  
and Member of the Board of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation  
In Memory of Otto von Habsburg*

ALAIN LAMASSOURE

*former French minister and Member of the European Parliament  
The Role of Otto von Habsburg in Forging the European Idea*

GORDAN GRLIĆ RADMAN

*Minister for Foreign and European Affairs of the Republic of Croatia  
“Europe is unthinkable without Croatia”*

CSABA TÖRÖK

*Parishioner of the Basilica of Esztergom, University Professor  
The Drama of the Insignificant/Meaningless Prophet*

NIKLAUS PETER

*Theologian, former Dean of the Chapter of Ministers – Pfarrkapitel Zürich,  
Pastor Emeritus at Fraumünster  
Christianity in Pluralist Societies – Switzerland as a Not-So-Unique Case*

EDWIN J. FEULNER

*Founder of The Heritage Foundation, political expert  
The Continuing Legacy of Otto von Habsburg*

JEFFREY O. NELSON

*Executive Director of the Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal, Mecosta, Michigan  
Russell Kirk’s Europe and the American Conservative Renaissance*

CIRILL T. HORTOBÁGYI OSB

*Archabbot, Benedictine Abbey of Pannonhalma  
What Did Otto von Habsburg Learn from the Benedictines?*

MARKUS FERBER

*Member of the European Parliament, President of Hanns Seidel Foundation  
“More Otto would be good for Europe”*

THEO WAIGEL

*Former German Federal Minister of Finance  
Otto von Habsburg and His Significance for Europe*

HELMUT WOHNOUT

*Director General of the Austrian State Archives  
The Son of the Emperor Reconciles with the Republic of Austria*



## IN MEMORY OF OTTO VON HABSBURG



Dear Archabbot! Dear Mr President!  
Dear Directors!

Dear members of the family  
of Otto von Habsburg! Dear Friends!

Pannonhalma and the Benedictine ideals played a prominent role in the life of Otto von Habsburg. Although Otto, who lived in exile on the island of Madeira and then in Spain, was unable to attend school in Pannonhalma, the Benedictine monks from Pannonhalma journeyed to teach him. In many speeches and writings, Otto von Habsburg expressed his gratitude to the Benedictine monks of Pannonhalma. In an address to the audience on 2 September 1993, he said: *“People often ask me how, despite not having been able to come to Hungary for seventy years, I have preserved not only the spirit and love of this country but also its language. I owe this to the Benedictines. And that I could take the Hungarian homeland abroad with me at all is thanks to the Benedictines.”*

For 20 years, Otto von Habsburg was a member of the European Parliament for the Bavarian CSU and the only Hungarian-speaking MEP who effectively paved Hungary's path to EU accession as head of the EP delegation that liaised with the Hungarian National Assembly. He was one of the instigators of the 1989 Pan-European Picnic near Sopron, when hundreds of East German refugees were able to cross the border into Austria, eventually leading to the demolition of the Berlin Wall. In the words of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Hungary knocked the first brick out of the Berlin Wall. Otto stated that the enlargement of the European Union was one of the most gratifying moments of his life.

With the support of his Benedictine teachers, Otto von Habsburg deepened not only his patriotism but also his faith in God and his moral fibre. As he noted in his speech mentioned above, *“...the foundation of our entire life is religion and faith in God... it is trust in God that sustains the will in man to keep on living, to keep on working...”*.

If we believe in God, we will be invincible because, according to Otto, *“we will have an ever-clear conscience, and a clear conscience is the most important in every labour”*.

Otto von Habsburg became a Benedictine student through hardship and exile. I, too, had a rocky road to Pannonhalma as a first-year high school student in the September of 1953. During the communist dictatorship, aristocratic families were excluded, persecuted and branded as “class enemies”. The property of my parents was confiscated, and in 1950, my mother was sentenced to ten years and my father to five years on fabricated charges. My father served the five years and then worked as a night guard in a factory in Csepel. My mother was severely affected by imprisonment, therefore, in August 1956, after six years, on account of her health, she was released on parole. My five siblings, together with my father's sister, were resettled in Tiszapolgár in 1951.

After all our property had been nationalised and no decent jobs were available – my father had been a fairground vendor before his incarceration – my parents could no longer support five children, so we were settled with various family friends for shorter or longer periods in the countryside and Budapest. At the time of the deportation, the five children were gathered up and taken to Tiszapolgár. This is how I completed my first eight years of elementary education in seven schools.

A fateful change occurred when, in September 1953, after I had already lost a year of schooling because I was not allowed to leave Tiszapolgár, I was admitted to the Benedictine School of Pannonhalma. That summer, the new Imre Nagy government stopped the resettlement on the condition that the deportees were not permitted to move to Budapest. As a “class enemy”, I would not have been admitted to a state school, but since my family had close Benedictine relations, I was admitted to Pannonhalma. And as with Otto von Habsburg, the time spent in Pannonhalma had a determining influence on my life, mentality, moral values and faith.

And now, please allow me to address the current students by sharing my experience of my years in Pannonhalma. WHO ARE YOU? is how I can summarise the spirit of Pannonhalma. The Benedictine teachers not only imparted knowledge but encouraged us to ask ourselves this question: Who are you? – and seek the answer! What is your goal, how do you intend to achieve it, and what efforts do you make to achieve it? What are your moral values and your faith? How do you relate to your family, to starting a family, to friends? How do you love your country, what can you contribute to it? These questions often arise in life and will appear in your life, too. Here in Pannonhalma, we have learned to find the answers to the questions of who I am and who we are. The American poet Robert Frost told his graduating students not to join too many communities in life but three at the very least: family, alma mater and the Homeland. The family and the Homeland are evident, but perhaps the alma mater is worth a few thoughts. We enter high school at a time when our individuality, thinking and worldview are being formed. These are very productive years in terms of how we will relate to the surrounding world and how we will face the challenges and difficulties that one inevitably encounters in life. We make lifelong friendships in these years. Whoever has Pannonhalma as their alma mater should cherish its ethos and preserve the friendships they have made here.



I first encountered Otto von Habsburg on a US election night in November 1968 in Washington at my cousin's house. Richard Nixon of the Republican Party and Hubert Humphrey of the Democratic Party were vying for the White House Presidency. I had the opportunity to talk to him at length about American domestic and foreign policy and America's geopolitical role during the Cold War. I was able to experience his wide-ranging knowledge of international politics and his particularly wise and prescient thinking. He placed great emphasis on security because economic development is only possible if there is peace and security. A devastating war is raging in our neighbourhood, so let us remember the admonition of St Benedict: "*You must turn from evil and do good, seek peace and follow after it.*"

Following our meeting in Washington, it was not until 2006 that I had the opportunity to briefly speak with him at a ceremony in the Royal Palace of Gödöllő to mark the 90th anniversary of the coronation of Charles IV as King of Hungary. But we still have one more meeting in Pannonhalma. Otto von Habsburg's heart is buried here in the lower church of the Basilica, and I plan to place my ashes here in the Our Lady of Sorrows Chapel beside those of my wife. Until then, I will be carrying the knowledge and spirituality I have acquired here at the Benedictine High School.

Laudetur Jesus Christus

*The speech was delivered in Hungarian at the commemorative conference on the occasion of the 11th anniversary of the death of Otto von Habsburg (Benedictine Archabbey of Pannonhalma, 3 July 2022)*





## THE ROLE OF OTTO VON HABSBERG IN FORGING THE EUROPEAN IDEA

First of all, I want to apologise to the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and the European University Institute for my absence. I am all the more sorry because we had carefully prepared my contribution with my friend Gergely Fejérdy, who paid me a special visit in Paris earlier last month. In the meantime, however, I was unexpectedly assigned to take part in the preparation and follow-up of the first meeting of the new European Political Community, due this very week. A mission I obviously could not escape.

Although this cannot make up for my absence today, I am pleased to be co-hosting an event of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation in Paris on 24 November, at the Maison de l'Europe, in the presence of Ambassador Georg von Habsburg.

I was fortunate to work with Archduke Otto in the European Parliament during the critical period that saw the successive downfall of communism in all Central European countries and the demise of the Soviet Union. It was the difficult struggle of the newly independent countries to leave a very dark century behind, to root out the weeds, ghosts, and nightmares left by the two totalitarian regimes that had ravaged the entire region. And then it was the time to prepare for a future of liberty, democracy, and peace in a close relationship with the European Union.

Even after Otto von Habsburg left the Parliament, he continued to visit us in Brussels, nagging us about how slow the accession process was for prospective new members of the Union.

Let me just recount an emotional anecdote. All those who attended remember his last appearance before the EPP group in the European Parliament, in the early 2000s. He had just come to say good-bye before his true and final retirement. He was 91. Under the pressure of visible emotion, the good-bye message developed into a twenty-minute-long improvised speech, entirely dedicated to the future of Europe. Unfortunately, this unexpected speech, which in a sense represents his last European legacy, was not recorded.

From his engagement in the European Parliament, I would like to highlight three outstanding messages. First, a piece of pragmatic advice. The heir of a multi-centennial dynasty knew that the perfect is the enemy of the good. He was fully aware of the shortcomings and flaws of the Maastricht treaty, but he campaigned for it forcefully. He then deemed the number of commissioners and Members of the European Parliament to be excessive – 17 and 530, respectively; today, the Commission has 27 members and the Parliament has 705 members. He was more successful later, when he insisted on completing the democratic dimension of the European institutions by granting the Parliament the full legislative capacity required.

Secondly, building on the achievements, however incomplete, of the Dual Monarchy, he insisted on the need to clearly distinguish between sovereignty and identity. Transferring competences may come out as sharing parts of sovereignty, but in an entity like the European Union, national identities are fully preserved. Not only protected, but efficiently defended against hostile alien values or the steamroller effect of the world wide web. He liked to remind us that the Holy Roman Empire was the first to demonstrate the possibilities offered by supra-nationality. On this aspect, he was particularly eloquent and convincing at a working lunch hosted in Strasbourg by former French President Giscard d'Estaing in the presence of former Kings Romania and Bulgaria.

Lastly, at a time when the global public opinion was hailing “the end of history”, meaning the end of war and the global victory of western values, he warned us against too hasty optimism. Thirty years ago, he already pointed out the risks of relentless migration pressures, the recurrence of pandemics, or the deterioration of the environment. And he also mentioned new threats of war coming from outside. I have kept in my diary a sentence he told us once: “*A European legitimacy is still in the making. But it will depend on the ability of Europeans to ensure their own security.*” Here we are, in this tragic year of 2022. Never were Otto von Habsburg's lessons more relevant for understanding our time and coping with all its challenges.

I shall read the contributions with the greatest interest and I wish the conference, the Foundation and the Institute all the best for their future endeavours.

*The speech was delivered at the conference*

“I thank God that I am a Member of the European Parliament”  
*(European University Institute, Florence, 7 October 2022)*



## “EUROPE IS UNTHINKABLE WITHOUT CROATIA”

### On the 110th Anniversary of the Birth of Otto von Habsburg

Dear Ambassador Demcsák, dear Director of Foundation Pröhle – dear Gergely!  
Dear Trustees and Experts! Greetings, Guests and Friends!

Who was Archduke Otto von Habsburg, Crown Prince, son of the last Austrian Emperor and Croatian-Hungarian King? Politician, polyglot, highly educated man, innovator, humanist, good Christian and family man. But for us, above all, a great friend.

For all the nations and states along the Danube that emerged from the former common empire, he was a symbol and a herald of the new vision of liberty and European unity – the ideal of freedom based on Christian values.

He could not imagine European unity without Croatia and Hungary, as well as the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. He was a true advocate and builder of the European integration ideals that failed to come to life under the empire, the empire that his family once ruled. He had all the virtues of a monarch but took full advantage of this potential as a politician. His modesty and wit were expressed in his statement that he *“does not regret not becoming a monarch, because as a politician he is free to tell a fellow politician that he is an idiot if that is what he thinks of him”*.

His political activity and resolute advocacy of the accession of Hungary and then Croatia to the EU through the European Parliament and the Pan-European Union organisation have been of immeasurable help to our nations and states. Regretfully, Otto von Habsburg did not live to witness the joining of Croatia to the European Union in 2013.

He considered the Croatians the most loyal supporters of the crown and his family. I would highlight a defining event of his first visit to democratic Croatia and Zagreb in 1990, which again illustrates his greatness and humility. He had the moral strength to pray sincerely at the tombs in the Cathedral of Zagreb for the souls of Peter Zrínyi and Kristóf Frangepán, martyrs of the Croatian Magnate conspiracy, executed by one of his ancestors, Leopold von Habsburg in Vienna in 1671.

From a young age, Otto von Habsburg had meticulously followed Croatia's (often unfortunate) fate. Personally, he believed that with the emergence of the new world order after 1918, Croatia was forcibly torn from the cultural and political environment of Central Europe and the Mediterranean, where it had belonged for centuries. Therefore, as expected, he later became a lobbyist for the Croatian cause and was unequivocally enthusiastic about Croatia's right to self-determination and independence.

During the most critical moments of the war in Croatia, he regularly visited us in the most war-threatened Croatian towns. His experience as a refugee after the First World War and his opposition to National Socialism and Communism confirmed Otto von Habsburg's deep understanding of humanitarian action. We witnessed this also during the Great Serbian aggression against Croatia and in his great sympathy for the suffering of Croatian refugees.

Let us remember how Otto von Habsburg became a stateless person as a child, forced by circumstances, but also how his selfless acts and outstanding life example earned him Austrian, German, Hungarian and Croatian passports.

He was awarded the highest Croatian decorations and was elected honorary citizen of several Croatian towns. He learnt Croatian from childhood and considered himself Croatian, as is evident from his repeated declaration that *“Croatia is my homeland, I was born Croatian”*.

His multiple and, therefore, Croatian identity and heritage are best illustrated by his grandchildren now bearing the names of Croatian monarchs King Zvonimir and Queen Jelena.

Regardless of disputes about the past within the empire, the son of the last Austrian emperor, Charles I or Charles IV, King of Hungary, Croatia and the Czech Republic, Otto von Habsburg-Lorraine and his family have always been and still are at home both in Croatia and Hungary. His close associates point out that it was probably in Croatia and Hungary that he felt the most comfortable in his life.

In conclusion, allow me to emphasise here at the Liszt Institute Hungarian Cultural Centre in Zagreb that this wonderful exhibition also shows that Otto von Habsburg is still an essential link in the friendly relations between Croatians and Hungarians, Croatia and Hungary. For this, too, we owe him a great debt of gratitude.

I am convinced that his concept of the unity and lasting friendship of all nations and countries of Central Europe within the framework of the European Union will remain his most significant and eternal memento. Our solidarity and cooperation as neighbours and friends are especially relevant for Europe in these challenging political, security and economic times.

Thank you for your attention and I hereby open the exhibition.

*The speech was delivered at the conference “Europe is unthinkable without Croatia” (Liszt Institute Hungarian Cultural Centre, Zagreb, 5 October 2022)*



## THE DRAMA OF THE INSIGNIFICANT/MEANINGLESS PROPHET

### The Theological Vacuum of the Reflection on Reality and its Consequences



The period since the Age of Enlightenment has brought Christianity into a radical new position: social, intellectual-scientific and political secularisation, as well as increasing pluralisation, have reshaped the world we live in. The reactions to the changes were very late and unfolded along two main axes: one could be called the “inward movement” and the other the “outward movement”. Extreme versions of both these tendencies have emerged. On the one hand, we have the position that denies and despises the contemporary world, often erroneously called “traditionalism”, a misleading label precisely because tradition is essentially a dynamic and not static reality, since it primarily refers to the process-event of transmission [see *traditio*] and only secondarily to its concrete object [*traditum*]. And the event itself – *tra-dere* – is situated in the force field of the duality of continuous sameness and ongoing change. On the other hand, we have to talk about the system of attitudes and perceptions, also deceptively called “progressive”, which rather reflects the heavily ideological belief in development during

the Enlightenment than the progress that can be understood literally as *e-volutio*, i.e. continuous-consecutive unfolding in its entirety. Some tend to associate these two approaches with the political-ideological terms conservatism and liberalism, but this only confuses the grasp of reality even more. That is because, in this way, they mix public categories, which are themselves increasingly unmanageable and have undergone a great deal of postmodern border shifts and identity liquefaction, with categories of principles of faith, which are also problematic for the reasons mentioned above.

I think that part of the failure of these established models is that they are unwilling to take account of the world in which we actually live, and, referring to the thoughts of the late Wittgenstein, they do not describe *reality*, but rather constrain it. In other words: they are prisoners of their own abstract theoretical categories, and from this prison, they do not step out into the open air, but try to confine reality within the bars and conditions of their narrow, cave-like cell (to use another well-known philosophical analogy).

If there is a real milestone in the Catholic theological awakening of recent decades, it is not to be found in the change of the order of Mass, the transformation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy or other such externalities, but rather in the re-establishment of a relationship with reality. The expression “aggiornamento” of Pope John XXIII already pointed in this direction, but it became programmatic by *Gaudium et spes*, one of the four constitutions resulting from the Second Vatican Council: “...the Church has always had the duty of scrutinizing the signs of the times and of interpreting them in the light of the Gospel. Thus, in language intelligible to each generation, she can respond to the perennial questions which men ask about this present life and the life to come, and about the relationship of the one to the other” (nr 4). This principle of conformity was expressed in a quite radical way by Pope Francis, who, in his first apostolic exhortation, *Evangelii gaudium*, formulated four social principles, one of which reads: “It is dangerous to dwell in the realm of words alone, of images and rhetoric. So a third principle comes into play: realities are greater than ideas. This calls for rejecting the various means of masking reality” (nr 231). Then we are given a whole list of attitudes that put ideas above reality, thus “masking reality”, all of which are well known from the practice and mentality of the church community.

The world church responded sensitively to this address. There are many examples of maturation around the world. Just as the totalitarianism of the 1930s gave birth to the follower theology of Bonhoeffer, or the post-war era to the theology of secularisation and post-Auschwitz existence, and the 1960s to political or practical theology, so in Latin America, aided by synodal impetus, liberation theology, or its Argentine alternative, *teología popular*, flourished. In the meantime, the revival of the former colonial territories gave rise to a movement from the 1980s onwards called, by the directive of being a term of non-differentiated inclusiveness, *Third World Theology*. What unifies this approach is not the theological insights expressed, which show a very colourful palette from Africa to India and the Far East to Oceania, but rather the parallelisms of certain issues, such as political, social and cultural (intercultural) problematics, as well as questions of religion and practising religion (and living as a minority among other religions).

What is the case in our region? Tomáš Halík, writing about encountering atheism, says: “Hasn’t the time come for Therese’s spiritual path, and particularly ‘solidarity with unbelievers’, (the internal struggle for them, not against them) to be an inspiration as a hermeneutic key toward new theological reflection on present-day society, its spiritual climate, and the church’s mission at the present time?”<sup>1</sup> However, as the prominent Czech author points out, while the First and Third Worlds were amazingly energetic in their reception of inspiration and in their reflective search, the Catholicism of the former Second World – that is, of what is now called post-communist East-Central Europe – remained spectacularly and shockingly silent. While in the period before the regime change there were sporadic attempts – for example, in Hungary, György Bulányi’s Piarist search for a new path, which provoked resentment from the official church (and Ostpolitik) – the last three decades have been bleak and empty.

And yet there was plenty to be examined: the history we have lived through, its bitter and sometimes affirming experiences, the social phenomena of transformation, the new worlds of ideas that have unfolded and the intellectual, but rather spiritual (i.e. ghost) systems which, thirty years ago, we would have involuntarily said were

<sup>1</sup> Tomáš Halík: *Patience with God: The Story of Zacchaeus Continuing in Us*, Doubleday, 2009, 36



horrible, extremist, populist, unacceptable, but which are now so firmly embedded in our everyday lives that we regard them as normal elements of the political, social and public reality of our region (woe betide us if our normality becomes abnormal!).

The question is not a marginal one: why is this so? In his book *Freiheit und Populismus: Verwundete Identitäten in Ostmitteleuropa*, András Máté-Tóth draws on the semiotic category of the “empty signifier” [*leerer Signifikant*], and uses it to create a hermeneutical framework for grasping regional contemporary (Christian) religiosity. In this context, he comments on the state of theology: “From East-Central Europe, original theological reflections are rarely brought to the world-wide public of theology. [...] One gets the impression that the critical work of theology in the midst of contextual dilemmas is little practiced, little desired and even less supported.”<sup>2</sup> There are, of course, external and internal pressures, but the description of the situation points in the direction that, on the one hand, the translation of “reliable” foreign-language literature is more important for church leaders than the pursuit of their own reflections, and, on the other hand, theological “linguistic enclaves” (i.e. ghettos) are more comfortable and predictable for those in power.<sup>3</sup> In other words, the churches are still more interested in building, consolidating and defending their socio-power positions than in honestly facing reality. Is a peaceful transition possible? The opinion of Máté-Tóth is firm: “A real breakthrough can only take place through cataclysms, which in theology we call by the Greek word *kairos* [i.e. ‘time of grace’]”.<sup>4</sup>

At this point we get encouragement from an unexpected place. Pope Benedict XVI gave his last speech in Freiburg on his last trip to Germany. This lecture was built around the key concept of *Entweltlichung*, or desecularisation. What does this term mean? “In the concrete history of the Church, however, a contrary tendency is also manifested, namely that the Church becomes self-satisfied, settles down in this world, becomes self-sufficient and adapts herself to the standards of the world. Not infrequently, she gives greater weight to organization and institutionalization than to her vocation to openness towards God, her vocation to opening up the world towards the other.”<sup>5</sup> This is the secularisation – *Verweltlichung* – from which we have to get out – *Entweltlichung*. Hence the positive reading of secularisation: “Secularizing trends – whether by expropriation of Church goods, or elimination of privileges or the like – have always meant a profound liberation of the Church from forms of worldliness, for in the process she as it were sets aside her worldly wealth and once again completely embraces her worldly poverty. In this, she shares the destiny of the tribe of Levi, which according to the Old Testament account, was the only tribe in Israel with no ancestral land of its own, taking as its portion only God himself, his word and his signs. At those moments in history, the Church shared with that tribe the demands of a poverty that was open to the world, in order to be released from her material ties: and in this way her missionary activity regained credibility.”<sup>6</sup> In other words, in the historical events which, from the Church’s point of view, are often seen as negative, God is in fact acting as the Lord of history, forcing his people to become faithful again to their own vocation, if not of their own free will, then by means of coercion, which is thus an instrument of Providence.

<sup>2</sup> András Máté-Tóth: *Freiheit und Populismus. Verwundete Identitäten in Ostmitteleuropa*. Wiesbaden, Springer, 2019, 270

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 294

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Benedictus XVI: *Iter apostolicum in Germaniam: in urbe Friburgo Brisgavorum ad catholicos christifideles rem pastorem curantes. Acta Apostolicae Sedes*, 2011, 10, 676

[https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2011/september/documents/hf\\_ben-xvi\\_spe\\_20110925\\_catholics-freiburg.html](https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2011/september/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20110925_catholics-freiburg.html)

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 677

Reflection on reality in this context is, therefore, not simply the desirable way of theology, but the only methodology that allows us to speak authentically. Paradoxically, an outward adherence to the words of the Gospel or church doctrine (as can be observed in the manifestations of regional Christianity in social debates) is in fact a camouflage for a lack of credibility at the core. We have come full circle: reality is the measure of authenticity, rejecting reality cannot be authentic. Indeed, the Gospel can only be authentically spoken, otherwise, the words become empty and meaningless – this is the realm of the *leerer Signifikant*. That is, when all our attention is occupied with *what* we say, but we do not care *how* we say it, on what basis we say it, we become adrift, incapable of fulfilling the prophetic mission.

This is particularly worrying in an era when, in addition to the rise of virtuality in the original sense of the word, there are also virtual reality substitutes built by fake news (conspiracy theories, parallel realities, interpretations and political visions that are distorted and lack the anchor of objectivity and can therefore be rewritten every year). While in principle, we firmly reject the concept of *duplex veritas*, in reality, it is the only thing we have room for in our hearts. This may explain why, as texts inflate towards infinity, we hardly ever say anything that we ourselves would consider even minimally meaningful. And yet there would be much to talk about.<sup>7</sup>

If the message is considered meaningless and insignificant by the audience, then the prophet has failed. No matter how holy and true the words they may say, those words are not fit for the purpose for which God has sent them and intended them. For we do not talk in order to speak, but in order to set in motion and make ever more fruitful in the fabric of the world the secret (and, in the word of a believer, let me say, gracious) processes in which the Almighty is waiting for us as his collaborators. The principle formulated by Hugo Grotius as a fundamental tenet of international law, “*etsi Deus non daretur*”, as if God does not exist, is now paraphrased in the context of a different critical attitude: “*etsi Ecclesia non daretur*”. We live among an increasing number of people who believe that it is possible to imagine society without the Church – and that such a society would be not worse, but better. The *seekers* have long since converted to nomadic beliefs, but the *dwellers* are also spending less and less time in traditional religious institutions, inside their stone buildings. We like to believe that we are the only ones, there are no alternatives – only no one else thinks so. And if so, this shows that we are no longer signs, as the great Augustine already said: “*Signum est enim res, praeter speciem quam ingerit sensibus, aliud aliquid ex se faciens in cogitationem venire*” – a sign is something which shows itself to the senses and indicates something other than itself to the mind (*De doct. christ. II, 1, 1*). But what happens when the Church no longer calls forth anything different from itself in those around it? When she only indicates herself instead of something, someone else? Is she still needed then? It is a Church that is not a prophet and has no healing message. We as a society “spared ourselves the painful process of reconciliation and healing”,<sup>8</sup> of honest reflection on reality, and this way “society was morally debilitated.” The fact that the Church did the same led not only to a debilitation, but to the abandonment of mission, and thus to meaninglessness and insignificance.

<sup>7</sup> On this, see Máté-Tóth, 294

<sup>8</sup> Halík, 177



If many people today say that theology (and likewise the Church) has no relevance, it is not an attack, but a cry. Not something to be violently overcome or neurotically rejected – but an invitation to finally become ourselves. If we are unable to grasp the true essence of external criticism and social tension, we are implicitly admitting that it does not really matter to those “outside” whether we are still around, since we are already professing two parallel truths of two parallel worlds, while we are crying “ideology” to the outside world, in effect making our own evangelical faith the worst, cheapest ideology. It is no coincidence that a church as empty as such an empty signifier becomes the plaything and ideological manipulation tool of politics, of the profane power.

So, let me ask the question: Do we really have anything more to say, and say it in a significant and meaningful way? If we do, let us say it! If not, then – to follow the words of the early Wittgenstein – let us be silent!

*The speech was delivered at the conference “Positioning Christianity in Today’s Europe” (University of Public Service, Institute for Strategic Studies, Budapest, 28 October 2022)*

PETER NIKLAUS

## CHRISTIANITY IN PLURALIST SOCIETIES – SWITZERLAND AS A NOT-SO-UNIQUE CASE



Ladies and Gentlemen!  
Dear Audience!

The title of our conference is more actively formulated in English<sup>1</sup> than in Hungarian and German,<sup>2</sup> and suggests a more action-oriented approach. The two formulations are, however, related: one is analytical in its approach, since it aims to understand the given situation; the other is pragmatic, and seeks to assess the current situation and, in particular, to identify the possibilities for action.

I would like to address you today in my ecclesiastical capacity as a Swiss theologian, Pastor Emeritus and Dean of the Church of Zurich, someone who is fully committed to the service of our Reformed Church and firmly convinced that Christianity and the Christian churches continue to play a significant role in our societies. At the same time, I have always valued the outsider’s perspective, i.e. the possibilities offered by the sociology of religion.

On the one hand, the title of my speech<sup>3</sup> refers ironically to the self-image of many Swiss people, namely that our situation is special and therefore impossible to compare with that of other countries; on the other hand, it makes reference to the book entitled *Everyone is a unique case? Religion in Switzerland*, first published in 1993, in which a major sociological survey of religion showed that, in this respect, practically every single person is a special case (*Sonderfall*).<sup>4</sup> In fact, the religiosity of the Swiss has changed radically: it has become more individualistic, the attachment to churches as institutions has weakened, and many people have even left them, increasing the proportion of those who do not belong to any denomination. At the same time, the message of this case study was that the fear of God is not diminishing, only the attachment to churches is loosening.

<sup>1</sup> Positioning Christianity in Today’s Europe

<sup>2</sup> A kereszténység helyzete Európában – Die Lage des Christentums im heutigen Europa

<sup>3</sup> Christentum in pluralistischen Gesellschaften (Die Schweiz: kein Sonderfall)

<sup>4</sup> Dubach, Alfred – Campiche, Roland (eds.): *Jede/r ein Sonderfall? Religion in der Schweiz*. Zürich, NZN Buchverlag AG, 1993.



This distancing from the institutions, together with a simultaneous change in religious life, results in a so-called *bricolage*, i.e. an individually “patched together” religiosity.

I referred to this study when I was invited to speak here in Hungary thirty years ago, and I made it clear then that as Swiss Christians – or, one could say, as Western European Christians, since we must again admit that we are not a special case – we are living through a crisis of tradition, and are also experiencing an increasingly serious crisis of self-understanding, of theological identity. We must respond to the reality of pluralist, modern societies with a positive message, but without relativising the situation. We certainly have options, since freedom and individualism are the undeniable heritage of the Christian tradition.

So what is the situation of Christianity in Switzerland today, thirty years after the Sonderfall study?

First of all, it is clear that the process of dwindling church community has intensified. The latest figures from the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (*Bundesamt für Statistik*) clearly show this, especially when the data are viewed in historical comparison.

In 1970, 49% of the Swiss population belonged to the Reformed church, 2% to the Protestant Christian free churches, 47% to the Catholic church and the remaining 2% to the Lutheran church.

By 1990, the time of the Sonderfall study, the picture had changed significantly: only 40% were Protestants, 46% were Catholics, 3% were free church members, and 2% were Muslims, while the proportion of people with no religious denomination was 8%.

Twenty years later, in 2010, only 28% of Protestants and 39% of Catholics were registered, compared to 20% of no religious affiliation and 5% of Muslims.

This, one might say, is the situation of Christianity in Switzerland, or – as Switzerland is not a unique case – in Europe today. But how can this position be explained?

There are three sociological interpretations of this phenomenon.

1. The theory of secularisation, which assumes an “evolutionary” process of loss of religion in modern societies. This is the interpretation of classical sociology, from Auguste Comte through Marx to Max Weber and the modern sociologists of religion who have hypothesised the disappearance of ecclesiastical Christianity. (Yes, at the table of a Prussian pastor, as Heinrich von Treitschke reports, even the following question was raised: will Christianity survive for another twenty or fifty years? Well, that was around 1830. In light of the experience of the period since then, and the worldwide expansion of religion, it is safe to say that this was a profane prophecy, a failed vision of intellectuals.) Nevertheless, in Europe, the commitment to the main churches is on the decline, their loss of ground is becoming increasingly evident, and this process should not be ignored. In view of the above, another approach, the individualisation thesis, has also gained considerable popularity.

2. Modern societies, argue the early coryphaeuses of the individualisation thesis, no longer need a comprehensive “religious heaven” for the community as a whole. The sub-systems of society all have their own logic, and religion’s function in this is to provide individual meaning. All this leads to an intensification of the process of dechurchification (*Entkirchlichung*), the spread of individually “crafted” religiosity and, at the same time, to a transformation of forms of religiosity. The message of this theory is that the situation is not so bad because, although the number of traditionally religious people is falling, they remain, as a Swiss cardinal once inadvertently but rather controversially put it, “incurably religious”... The theory of individualisation, however, ignores the depth of the crisis of tradition and neglects to clarify the question of what individual religiosity should be. And, above all, it fails to answer the question of whether our societies can thrive without churches, religiously affiliated groups (i.e. not just individuals) and institutions that transcend the individual and draw on tradition.

3. Religious economics, the theory of the religious market, provides a third approach. Its proponents are somewhat more positive about the future prospects of religious groups and churches, and less focused on the rise of individualism. However, they also clearly acknowledge the changes, indicating that churches are providers in the market for meaning, where, if they can make attractive offers, they certainly have a chance. But the demands have increased.

If we want to move from the analysis of the situation to the question of how to position Christianity, how to respond to the current situation, each of the three theories offers a specific answer.

Those who theologially consider the theory of secularisation to be the relevant approach will react negatively to the present situation, since they will interpret the situation fatalistically or belligerently as a separation from the former perfect world, and will speak of it in terms of loss, dispossession, destruction, and will develop corresponding images of the enemy. Liberalism, modernism, enlightenment are to be persecuted in their conception, and they themselves want to fight against these “Antichrists”. I cannot judge the situation in Hungary, but I can see that in Switzerland, Germany and the United States such radical-conservative, rather militant theologies are gaining strength. They are the ones who perceive the new situation and its challenges – namely alternative, non-religious interpretations of reality, pluralism, immigration – only negatively, as a loss and a danger.

Those who advocate the individualisation thesis support theological liberalism, the religious feelings and thoughts of individuals, but seek to minimise the role of the churches in today’s Europe. For them, only private religious individuality is sacred, but they no longer want to talk about creeds, dogmatics, or even the Church as a community in our societies. Unfortunately, this tendency is widespread in our churches and theological faculties. But this kind of theology is weakening and emptying out our churches, and it cannot become a positive, powerful movement.

Those who believe in the third theory, the economics of religion, the theory of the religious market, are more positive, but they have to ask themselves whether it is sufficiently supported in terms of content and theology. At the same time, this theory offers a wider range of possibilities by taking into account the importance of institutions.



Taking all this into account, my proposal is this: let us understand religion as the central, key language of human self-understanding, of internal and external communication. In this way, we can see in Christianity a great, living language, which has a chance for the future if we learn to use it correctly again, and to use its internal coherence, its grammar, and its rich vocabulary well. We are on the right track if we are not frustrated by secularisation, if we do not cling liberally to individualism alone, but become speakers of this “language”, the language of self-understanding, which influences others, and which we Christians also believe is not “invented” by itself, but comes from the Word of God, from his Logos, from the story of Christ.

As I already mentioned, thirty years ago I was invited to speak here in Hungary. At that time I said that we must respond positively to this crisis by developing a theological identity as European Christians that does not look to the past but looks forward. This means that we must not condemn individualism and pluralism itself, as representatives of conservative political currents like to do. They are the ones who portray themselves as the saviours of Christianity against the secularists or agnostics, and who see immigration and intellectualism as the source and cause of all ills, using methods that divide society. These are populist strategies that polarise society and negatively affect the image of Christianity. The freedom of the Christian man, freedom from the authoritarianism associated with coercion – this is indeed a central component of our Christian tradition of faith!

This is why I referred to a study by Robert Bellah on the sociology of religion, *Habits of the Heart*,<sup>5</sup> in which the author used in-depth interviews to examine the religious and ethical language of people in the United States. The research looked at how people express themselves when they talk about their relationships, their hopes and their commitment to community and society. Researchers assumed that middle-class people are central to the future of a society, so they were the ones interviewed. The results were not surprising: almost all the respondents used “individualistic” language when talking about themselves, their goals and aspirations, a mixture of economic, egotistical individualism (what’s in it for me, what do I get out of it?) and psychological individualism (how do I find myself, how do I fulfil myself?). A kind of watered-down Freudianism, if you like. So, when these people talked about how they form marital and friendly relationships, they were talking about investments, because the husband or wife was expected to satisfy their own desires, their need for security, and to provide prosperity or well-being (*Wohlstand*). Nevertheless, when these people were asked why they cared for their child or spouse when he or she was ill, a strangely undeveloped, fragmented, childlike religious language emerged, in which love was presented as something divine, based on the motif of benevolence.

The analysis therefore showed that the religious language of the respondents had become stale and limited. I found this interesting even then, and still do.

It is obvious that religiosity in the United States – and this applies to Switzerland as well as to Western Europe – has become a fragmented, badly spoken language of self-knowledge, and I would venture that we theologians are partly to blame for having arrived at this point.

It is my conviction that Christianity is a highly developed language of humanity, love and ethics, which even in a changed religious context has great persuasive power. The repositioning of Christianity would therefore consist, first and foremost, in learning to rewrite and speak this language of faith correctly.

If I may mention here, without any irony, a specific case from Switzerland, I would cite the example of the well-known theologian Karl Barth, who succeeded in a unique way in the world in freeing himself from the narrowness and linguistic limitations of liberal theology and in fully unfolding the grammar and vocabulary of the Christian faith. This was not a conservative project at the time; Barth was sharply critical of the link between nationalism and Christianity, but also of the dilution of the theological content of our Christian language. I find in him a great rediscovery of the splendour of faith, which is still alive today and which we must continue.

In conclusion, I would like to quote a few sentences from Barth’s 1956 lecture *The Humanity of God*, because it so beautifully illustrates how he managed to combine basic dogmatic themes with dense biblical language: “[God’s] acceptance of man, his free participation in his life, his free standing up for him – that is the humanity of God. It is precisely there that we first understand his deity. Is it not the case that in Jesus Christ, as the Scriptures teach us, true deity is accompanied by true humanity? There is the Father who has compassion on his prodigal son; the King who has compassion on his insolvent debtor; the Samaritan who has compassion on the man who has fallen prey to robbers, and the one who has compassion on him in an act of mercy as unexpected as it is generous and powerful. And this is the act of mercy to which these parables point as examples of the kingdom of heaven.”<sup>6</sup>

Thank you very much for your attention!

*The speech was delivered at the conference “Positioning Christianity in Today’s Europe” (University of Public Service, Institute for Strategic Studies, Budapest, 28 October 2022)*

<sup>5</sup> Bellah, Robert N. *Habits of the Heart. Individualism and Commitment in American Life*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1985

<sup>6</sup> Barth, Karl. *Die Menschlichkeit Gottes*. Lecture given at the conference of the Swiss Reformed Pastors’ Association in Aarau on 25 September 1956. Zollikon-Zürich, Evangelischer Verlag, 1956. (Theologische Studien 48.)



## THE CONTINUING LEGACY OF OTTO VON HABSBURG



Thank you to the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and to the Institute of Strategic Studies for organizing this conference on “Conservative Minds” and the University of Public Service for hosting us.

There have been few conservative minds — or souls, for that matter — like that of the man we remember tonight.

I first met Otto von Habsburg in 1965, on account of that least-conservative of all human impulses: the arrogance of youth. I was a 23-year-old graduate student in Salzburg and the part-time, deputy editor of a small journal nurturing conservative thought on American college campuses. I was too young and foolish to know how presumptuous it was for me to ask an Archduke, one of the great men of the age, to write for my little magazine.

*Being a great man*, though, Dr. Habsburg forgave my impertinence, on the same grounds that ultimately fostered our friendship: his implacable

generosity, and my incurable Americanness. That first meeting in south-eastern Bavaria eventually yielded “*The Effects of Communism on Cultural and Psychological Politics in Eastern Europe*” — a 7,000-word *tour de force* of continental breadth and humanistic depth.

I begin with this story not to humblebrag my acquaintance with the great man, but to affirm the source of his greatness: his elevation of and commitment to the human person.

It is telling that yesterday’s conference was titled, “Conservative Minds,” *plural*. Because conservatism is never one thing. In truth, there are as many conservatisms as there are people in the world. As the British poet and historian Robert Conquest posited, “*Everyone is conservative on the subjects he knows best.*”

But practically speaking, conservative politics tends to take one of two forms. The first, more common in the United States, is what might be called external conservatism. It argues against statist policy and ideology on the question of outcomes. Economic growth and development. Wages and living standards. Technological innovation. Upward mobility and opportunity.

Dr. Habsburg certainly subscribed to many of these arguments, especially during the “long, twilight struggle” of the Cold War. But his conservatism was always deeper — a conservatism drawn not from where society might go, but whence each individual *came*. His politics sought not merely mankind’s freedom *from* government coercion, but each man’s freedom to contribute to the great project of civil society and the common good. What Judaism calls “*tikkun olam*” and the ancient Greeks, “mak[ing] gentle the life of this world.” What Dr. Habsburg’s own Catholicism calls the pursuit of the true, the beautiful, and the good: life lived at a human scale toward a divine grail.

It is this *internal* conservatism of the heart that is Dr. Habsburg’s political legacy. And it is also why this man once dubbed “the first citizen of Europe” and “the first layman of the Catholic world” can rightly be considered “the first conservative of the 21st century.”

To appreciate Dr. Habsburg’s conservatism and its piercing resonance to the West today, it’s essential to understand the man, *his times*... and his enemies.

With every passing decade, the enmity between Nazism and communism appears less like a philosophical conflict and more like two squalling toddlers in a nursery, fighting over a toy train. Hitler and Lenin — *Mein Kampf* and *The Communist Manifesto* — were always two sides of the same wooden coin. The western Left’s characterization of this vain, intramural tug-of-war as a Homeric battle for mankind’s destiny was always false. Today, it seems ridiculous.

With the benefit of hindsight, everyone now can look from Nazi to Bolshevik like the creatures on Orwell’s *Animal Farm*: “from pig to man, and from man to pig,” unable “to say which was which.”

Archduke Otto von Habsburg was one of the few European leaders who saw it at the time. He knew that a choice between National and international socialism was no choice at all. For they were not opposites, but fraternal twins — born of the same lie, the same contempt for God and his most awesome creation.

Prior to Hitler’s accession to the Chancellorship of Germany, the Fuehrer offered to restore the exiled Archduke as ruler of Austria, on the condition that he accept the position as a Nazi. An intermediary suggested the two men meet to discuss the proposal. Dr. Habsburg recalled:

*“It was not easy to convince him that I had no interest in such a political conversation since there was a fundamental disagreement between Hitler and myself and that this disagreement followed directly on our agreement that there could be no peaceful co-existence of religion and totalitarianism — National Socialist or Communist. Then as now, the Christian faith was the great bulwark against totalitarianism’s promise of immediate success.”*<sup>1</sup>

Before the Holocaust... before the Anschluss... before the war... before the West knew even of the Holodomor... Dr. Habsburg resisted the fashionable ideologies sweeping his continent — and the promise of personal advantage through them. Because, at just 22 years of age,

<sup>1</sup> von Habsburg, Otto. “The Divine Right of Minorities.” *Modern Age*, Summer, 1958: page 275.



he saw Nazism and communism not for what they did, but what they were. He knew that totalitarianism was not the wave of the future, but history's undertow — pulling the West away from the Rock on which it was built... back to the void, where “darkness was upon the face of the deep” ... *hic sunt dracones*.

After the war, he resisted totalitarian oppression as heroically as he did before and during it, and again, on the battlefield of first principles. He understood the conflict was not fundamentally about politics or economics or grand strategy, but about human nature and the human soul.

That's why totalitarian regimes invested so much energy and resources into re-creating the human person.

“One thing the Moscow-directed Communists in all these countries had in common,” Dr. Habsburg wrote in that essay I commissioned back in 1965, “was their determination to destroy the traditional cultures of the nations of Eastern and Southeastern Europe, to undermine and completely revolutionize their social order. On the site of the moral and social wreckage, the new system built on Marxist-Leninist foundations was to be erected, and under it a new type of man was to be educated.”<sup>2</sup>

Contempt for the truth, beauty, and virtue of human nature is, of course, what has tempted every tyrant back to Lucifer.

And so, the Kremlin, like the Third Reich, turned the cultural institutions of the peoples they conquered into levers of totalitarian indoctrination. “[E]very conceivable effort was made to change the outward image of these nations,” Dr. Habsburg wrote:

“Soviet stars appeared everywhere. Traditional coats of arms and state emblems were replaced by new ones... even the dress of people were made similar to the Soviet pattern.”

“The new economic order of the Communist regimes [forced] women in most Eastern European countries to” work outside the home. “Mothers [had] little time for the raising and education of their children.”

“Consequently, most children [were] placed in state-operated kindergartens and day nurseries where, at a tender age, they come into contact with the state and the Communist Party. This way, state and party [shaped] and [influenced] to a decisive degree the character, thoughts, and morals of the children in their care.”

“Lastly it must be mentioned that the Communists, immediately after their rise to power, had begun to wage a relentless war on religion.”

The point of all this was to create what Communists — like the Nazis before them — called a “New Man,” whose life, according to Dr. Habsburg, should “have no meaning outside the contact of the philosophical premises of Communism.”

The problem, of course, is that humanity does not need a new man. We already got one, about two-thousand years ago. What He offers is not totalitarian, but total. He does not ask that we become interchangeable, but rather, for the first time, to become fully ourselves and wholly unique.

As the great Christian apologist C.S. Lewis reminds us, “*How monotonously alike all the great tyrants and conquerors have been; how gloriously different are the saints.*”<sup>3</sup>

This Truth, scaled up from the individual person to the family to the community to the nation to the civilization, undergirded Dr. Habsburg's tireless work on behalf of a European Federation.

The mission of Habsburg's Federation was not conformity but harmonization. *Vive la difference*, on a continental scale. Because, in Dr. Habsburg's words, “*the European senses instinctively that variety is the best defense of freedom.*”<sup>4</sup>

It might seem ironic – or perhaps heart-breaking — that this champion for Europe's nations lived much of his life in exile. But as Dr. Habsburg's contemporary, Pope Saint John Paul II said, “*In the designs of Providence, there are no coincidences.*”

The Archduke may have been a man without a passport. But he was never a man without a country. It was G.K. Chesterton who said, “*God bade me love one spot and serve it.*”<sup>5</sup> Well, Otto von Habsburg's “spot” was Europe: and love it, and serve it, he did: through his speeches and writing, his faith and intellect, his dignity and courage, his work in the European Parliament and countless civic organizations, and lest we forget, the utterly satisfying punch he landed on Ian Paisley's face in 1987.

But for all Dr. Habsburg's accomplishments in the 20th century, it is the searing relevance of his ideas to the 21st that demand the attention of all of us, and all conservatives today.

In 1966, Dr. Habsburg wrote of “*the war the Communist overlords wage against religion... with the ultimate aim of destroying all churches and abolishing religion.*”<sup>6</sup> Totalitarianism's new variant today no longer openly seeks to crush organized religion, but to replace it — especially the most organized religion of them all.

As an American comedian used to joke, there are lots of churches, but only one “*The Church.*” It was Dr. Habsburg's fidelity to and confidence in Roman Catholicism that made him, in the words of one admirer, so “*profoundly humane, thoroughly Christian, and annoyingly optimistic.*”<sup>7</sup>

He knew perfectly well how secular the actual European Union bureaucracy wanted to be. Nor did he have any illusions about the trajectory of religious decline across the West. Yet he remained confident about the Federation — about *Europe* — because he knew the real source of its unity was never Brussels, but always Bethlehem. His Church had a habit of dying and rising again, “*for it had a god who knew the way out of the grave.*”<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Lewis, C. S. *Mere Christianity*. Chapter 11. The New Man

<sup>4</sup> Wilhelmson, Frederick. “Otto von Habsburg and the Future of Europe.” *Modern Age*, Summer, 1958: page 271.

<sup>5</sup> Chesterton, G. K. *Manalive*. Cornwall, House of Stratus, 2008, 157.

<sup>6</sup> Habsburg, Otto von: The Effects of Communism on Cultural and Psychological Politics in Eastern Europe. *Intercollegiate Review*, September-October 1966, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Wilhelmson, 269.

<sup>8</sup> Chesterton, G. K. *The Everlasting Man*, Dover Publications, 2007, 244.

<sup>2</sup> von Habsburg, Otto. “The Effects of Communism on Cultural and Psychological Politics in Eastern Europe.” *Intercollegiate Review*, September-October 1966, 11.



And he also knew, from his own experience, that politics and economics are downstream from culture. Though totalitarians could seize the machines and factories of its corporations, they could never conquer its hopes and dreams of its artists.

As Dr. Habsburg noted, *“For more than a century, writers and artists have had a tremendous and widespread influence on the minds of people in Poland, Hungary, and... Slovakia.”* He knew this phenomenon could not be stopped. There is no Gulag for the soul. People made in the image and likeness of God are made to *create*.

Sure enough, the second and decisive half of the Cold War was dominated not merely by statesmen or soldiers, but by poets, authors, and artists. Before the West knew the names of Solzhenitsyn... Brodsky... Milosz... Symborska... or the former actor and playwright Karol Wojtyła, Dr. Habsburg intuited that the totalitarian lie could not withstand artistic and literary truth:

*“The revolt of writers,”* he wrote in 1966, *“reveals the decisive defeat the [totalitarian] system has suffered — a defeat which is no longer directly related to economic success or crises, to foreign policy, or to the strategy of domestic politics. The cause of this defeat, rather, must be looked for in the human psyche which, in the long run, will not tolerate shackles.”*

The European Federation that Dr. Habsburg championed is not a technocratic laboratory. Rather, it is a garden to be kept and tended. In the same way, the shining city upon a hill is not a city. Or a faction. Or even a nation. It is every single soul.

It is for *this* city, on *this* hill of the human person, that Archduke Otto von Habsburg knew the West must stand.

Against Nazism.

Against communism and socialism.

Against totalitarianism of every kind.

With vigour, and courage, and hope, and of course, with absolute confidence in our eventual triumph.

Every era will yield its injustices, its tyrannies, its mephitic ideologies. And each one will, for a time dominate all who oppose it. And yet, the long, glorious history of the West is of the impossible victory of the vanquished: from Thermopylae to Lepanto, from Normandy to the Berlin Wall, from Calvary to the empty tomb.

What was true two millennia ago remains true today. *“It is for freedom that Christ has set us free. Stand firm, then, and do not let yourselves be burdened again by a yoke of slavery.”*<sup>9</sup>

Any who fret that the principles – that the *Europe* — Dr. Habsburg fought so hard for has perished and passed into the hands of the forces he so long resisted should take comfort in this history... this truth that prefigures everything we love about the West, everything that makes the West lovable.

---

9 Galatians 5: 1

I close with Chesterton on the stubborn immortality of the chivalric Christendom that Dr. Otto von Habsburg advocated and embodied:

*“Achilles [too] had some status as a sort of demigod in pagan times; but he disappears altogether in late times. But Hector grows greater as the ages pass, and it is his name that is the name of a Knight of the Round Table and his sword that legend puts into the hand of Roland, laying about him with the weapon of the defeated Hector in the last ruin and splendor of his own defeat. The name anticipates all the defeats through which our race and religion were to pass; that survival of a hundred defeats that is its triumph.”*<sup>10</sup>

Archduke Otto von Habsburg is not defeated. If the history of his life, his faith, and his civilization are any guide, this knight has not yet begun to fight.

*The speech was delivered at the conference “Conservative Minds”  
(University of Public Service, Institute for Strategic Studies, Budapest, 18 November 2022)  
The highlights are from the author.*

---

10 Chesterton. *The Everlasting Man*, 74.



## RUSSELL KIRK'S EUROPE AND THE AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE RENAISSANCE



It is a privilege to be invited by this important Foundation named after Otto von Habsburg and to be with such a distinguished gathering in this historic country and beautiful city. I have been asked to explore the connections between American conservatism and Europe, with a particular focus on Russell Kirk. As many of you know, Russell Kirk is considered the father of intellectual conservatism in America as a result of his landmark 1953 book *The Conservative Mind*. His reputation as one of the towering intellectual figures of the twentieth century has only grown both nationally and internationally since his death in 1994.

Translations of his works from around the world have taken off, in China, South Korea, Turkey, Russia, Japan, Brazil, Romania, Spain, Italy, and many other European countries. His ideas are taught in college classrooms across the country too numerous to mention. He is regularly cited on social media. In a cover story for *The Atlantic* magazine, a prominent younger conservative writer, Matthew Continetti, penned an appreciative essay asserting that one cannot tell the story of the rise of American conservatism without Russell Kirk as a central figure.

Continetti concluded where I will begin by stating: “If we rewrite the standard version of conservative history to account fully for Kirk’s role, a more complex picture of conservatism comes into view: one where the Pentagon and marginal tax rates recede into the background, and religious communities, schools, national and local traditions, literature, and culture come to the fore. Kirk’s writing has much to offer this generation of conservatives—and liberals—as they consider what attitudes to adopt toward artificial intelligence, Silicon Valley, social media, free speech, drone wars, globalization, and entitlement spending.”<sup>1</sup> Kirk’s intellectual afterlife is shaping up to be as consequential as during his lifetime.

Continetti concluded where I will begin by stating: “If we rewrite the standard version of conservative history to account fully for Kirk’s role, a more complex picture of conservatism comes into view: one where the Pentagon and marginal tax rates recede into the background, and religious communities, schools, national and local traditions, literature, and culture come to the fore. Kirk’s writing has much to offer this generation of conservatives—and liberals—as they consider what attitudes to adopt toward artificial intelligence, Silicon Valley, social media, free speech, drone wars, globalization, and entitlement spending.”<sup>1</sup> Kirk’s intellectual afterlife is shaping up to be as consequential as during his lifetime.

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/10/russell-kirk-father-american-conservatism/573433/>

Russell Kirk viewed himself principally as a historian of ideas and literary critic, as an imaginative conservative. He endeavoured “to wake the moral imagination through the evocative power of humane letters.”<sup>2</sup> Throughout his life, he resisted giving conservatism a definition: “Strictly speaking, conservatism is not a political system, and certainly not an ideology,” Kirk believed. “It is a way of looking at the civil social order.”<sup>3</sup> He always viewed himself as a modern reincarnation of an eighteenth-century man of letters. But he was a man of letters, with a moral obligation—a “guardian of the Word” that pointed the way toward first principles. Men of letters, as Kirk understood, were entrusted with the duty to preserve and transmit a shared cultural and intellectual patrimony to the generation in ascendance. They had a “social responsibility” and “the terms on which they hold their trust are conservative.” Such guardians of the Word are, Kirk wrote, “placed in their high dignity so that they may preserve the ideas that make all men one.”<sup>4</sup>

In 1953, recently awarded the D.Litt. degree from St Andrews University in Scotland, Kirk assumed a teaching role at Michigan State College and published *The Conservative Mind*. Soon after, he left academia for good and settled in his ancestral village of Mecosta, Michigan, where he lived as an independent writer for the rest of his life.

It is difficult to imagine what a change Kirk forged out of the then-current landscape of American intellectual life. The conventional view was simply put: America had one tradition and it was the liberal tradition. There was no trace of opposition to challenge the liberal hegemony. But Kirk “tossed into the stagnant pond of intellectualism”<sup>5</sup> his *Conservative Mind* and its ripples are still being felt. It was reviewed widely and by all the main publications and was lauded for providing something conservatives in America seemed to lack, a tradition.

Kirk traced the conservative impulse in America from Burke and the Adams family, to Nathaniel Hawthorne, Tocqueville, Lincoln, Disraeli, Orestes Brownson, Irving Babbitt, and T. S. Eliot, among many others. He quite literally gave the name conservative to a modern political movement that was then still searching for a workable identity.

As George H. Nash, the pre-eminent historian of the intellectual development of post-war American conservatism, recounted: in the pages of *The Conservative Mind* Kirk “demonstrated that intelligent conservatism was not a mere smokescreen for selfishness or privilege. It was an attitude toward life with substance and moral force of its own. After [its] appearance, the American intellectual landscape assumed a different shape. Kirk’s tour de force breached the wall of liberal condescension. He made it respectable for sophisticated people to identify themselves as men and women of the Right. Above all, *The Conservative Mind* stimulated the development of a self-consciously conservative intellectual movement in America....”<sup>6</sup>

Looking back in 1998 on the appearance of *The Conservative Mind* *The New York Times* wrote that “Russell Kirk’s 1953 book *The Conservative Mind* gave American conservatives an identity and a genealogy and catalyzed the postwar conservative movement.”<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Kirk, Russell: *The Sword of Imagination. Memoirs of a Half-Century of Literary Conflict*. Grand Rapids, MI, William B. Eerdmans, 1995, 166. (Hereinafter: *Sword*)

<sup>3</sup> Kirk, Russell: Conservatism: A Succinct Description. *National Review*, September 3, 1982

<https://kirkcenter.org/kirk-essays/conservatism-a-succinct-description/>

<sup>4</sup> Kirk, Russell: Literature and the Contract of Eternal Society. <https://www.clarionreview.org/2014/01/literature-and-the-contract-of-eternal-society/>

<sup>5</sup> *Sword*, 166.

<sup>6</sup> Nash, George H.: *Reappraising the Right. The Past and Future of American Conservatism*. Wilmington, Del., Intercollegiate Studies Institute Books, 2009, 76.

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/1998/04/18/arts/leftist-scholars-look-right-at-last-and-find-a-history.html>



George Nash gives the best account of the ways in which the earliest generation of post-war American conservatives sought to discover a viable heritage for their ideas. He shows how the search for theoretical harmony led thinkers like Russell Kirk to grapple with the relation of their philosophy to America. Some invariably looked to European thinkers. And no writer of that early generation of American conservatives was more inclined than Russell Kirk to look to Europe for ideas and to travel to Europe to foster friendships and important connections. For Kirk's growing influence was felt not just at home, but abroad as well.

Kirk was numbered among the company of the leading literary figures of Europe: The poets T. S. Eliot, Roy Campbell, and Paul Roche; economist Wilhelm Roepke; writer and painter Wyndham Lewis and sculptor Hew Lorimer; novelist George Scott-Moncrieff; the writer Eugenio Corti; philosopher Max Picard; religious thinkers Martin D'Arcy, Canon Basil Smith, and Malcolm Muggeridge; Lord Percy of Newcastle and Earl of Crawford David Lindsay; journalist-philosopher Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn; actor and biographer Robert Speight; philosopher Thomas Chaimowicz (whose last book Kirk would edit, introduce, and publish), and of course, Otto von Habsburg, to name just some of Kirk's European associations. These friendships corresponded to the beginnings of groups and centers dedicated to making international intellectual connections, the Mont Pelerin Society most famously, and Kirk attended many of those early meetings.

Also important to Kirk's European circle were the many European emigres who came to America for a variety of reasons and leavened the conservative movement with their erudition and experiences, mostly of fleeing totalitarian regimes. Included in that group were prominent emigres such as the historian John Lukacs, the philosopher Thomas Molnar, the physicist-theologian Stanley L. Jaki—all three Hungarian émigré friends of Kirk's— literary scholar Pierre Coustillas, philosopher Ludwig Freund, the many figures associated in the early days with *National Review*, as well as towering figures such as Eric Voegelin, Leo Strauss, F. A. Hayek, and the Diplomat Robert Strausz-Hupe.

Through these personal and intellectual associations, not to mention his frequent trips to Europe and residency in Scotland, Kirk's culturally traditionalist brand of conservatism was deepened, and his influence widened. These European connections and intellectual sources help us to understand what Kirk means in his autobiography when he writes, "*His was no Enlightenment mind...it was a Gothic mind, medieval in its temper and structure. He did not love cold harmony and perfect regularity of organization; what he sought was a complex of variety, mystery, tradition, the venerable, the awful.*"<sup>8</sup>

Tradition, not conformity; continuity, not progress; hierarchy, not levelling; private property, not socialism; variety, not uniformity; human dignity, not rational choice; transcendence, not immanence: these ideas and oppositions animated Kirk's *Conservative Mind*. He always possessed a strong prejudice against abstractions and doctrinaire radical alteration, and a correspondingly ardent preference for the wisdom of our ancestors.

Many people are unaware that Kirk is not only a founding father of American intellectual conservatism, but he is considered a chief revivalist of the genre of Gothic horror and ghostly tales. His award-winning fiction opened up non-political audiences to his conservatism. Many of his stories have European ties. In both his non-fiction and "ghost stories,"<sup>9</sup> Kirk championed what he called the "permanent things"<sup>10</sup> against all forms of ideological thinking.

As anybody who has heard of Russell Kirk knows, the key figure to him that theoretically and historically joined Europe to America was Edmund Burke. Kirk argued throughout his life that Burke was the "*founder of the true school of conservative principle.*"<sup>11</sup> Kirk was informed by Burke's understanding of history and his imperial theory that linked Europe to the Americas. Crucially, for conservatives like Kirk and Otto von Habsburg, Burke identified and opposed the distinctive character of modern ideological politics. Especially about ideas aimed at radically transforming every aspect of civil social life, and even human nature itself. Burke was the first to detect something new in the air about the fanatical French proposals and the potential they had to move beyond France and alter the traditional character of Britain, and indeed, to threaten the entire commonwealth of European nations.

Kirk found in Burke an eighteenth-century model for thinking historically about the Atlantic political world and the larger civilization of the West. Burke's politics helped to give shape and substance to Kirk's own conservatism. He began early in his writing career to supplement his writings on contemporary European and American conservatism with intellectual forays into the European past in order to identify beliefs, practices, and institutions that have nurtured the American soul and commonwealth. Burke, in particular, unlocked for Kirk a usable past that connected morality and politics, Europe and America.

What did Kirk take from Burke's meaning of Europe and European civilization? In the mid-1790s, near the end of his life, Burke projected in a series of letters on the "Regicide Peace" in France a striking image of Europe as "virtually one great state" comprised of a "diversity of provincial customs and local establishments."<sup>12</sup>

The "system of Europe" or the "European System," as Burke called it, was united by a common Christian culture, "the similitude...of religion, laws, and manners." Burke viewed the aggregate of nations in Europe as one "Commonwealth," in that it is "virtually one great state" with a shared source for its structures of government, economy, and education. Namely, "*the old Germanic or Gothic customary [law]; for the feudal institutions which must be considered an emanation from that customary law...and digested into system and disciplined by the Roman law.*"<sup>13</sup> This is the basis for his conception of the "Commonwealth of Europe," or what he variously calls the "community of Europe"<sup>14</sup> and, more suggestively, the "Commonwealth of Christian Europe" or the "great Christian Commonwealth."

<sup>9</sup> An anthology of his writings in the genre: Kirk, Russell – Guroian, Vigen: *Ancestral Shadows. An Anthology of Ghostly Tales*. Grand Rapids, MI, W.B. Eerdmans, 2004.

<sup>10</sup> *Confessions*, 4. – although Kirk attributes this to T.S. Eliot.

<sup>11</sup> Kirk, Russell: *The Conservative Mind*. Washington D.C., Gateway, 2016, 5–6.

<sup>12</sup> *Burke's Letters on a Regicide Peace. Letters I. and II.* London, George Bell & Sons, 1893, 74. (Hereinafter: *Letters*)

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid* 152.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid* 96.

<sup>8</sup> Kirk, Russell: *Confessions of a Bohemian Tory. Episodes and Reflections of a Vagrant Career*. New York, Fleet, 1963, 23. (Hereinafter: *Confessions*)



From these roots spring modern political institutions: the “several orders, with or without a Monarch, which are called States in every European country.”<sup>15</sup> And while the economic and political ties that bound Europe together in a community of interest is central to Burke’s notion of Europe, and in a larger context, his theory of empire, an even more foundational glue is, he argued in the Reflections on the Revolution in France, the “antient system of opinion and sentiment”<sup>16</sup> he conceptualized as “manners.” He held that from older notions of chivalry that flourished in the feudal Middle Ages, a code or tradition of manners developed which “softened, blended, and harmonized the colours of the whole.”<sup>17</sup> For Burke, a student of both history and law, manners “are what vex or soothe, corrupt or purify, exalt or debase, barbarize or refine us.” “The law,” on the other hand, merely “touches us but here and there, and now and then.”<sup>18</sup>

While he cherished particularity and regional difference, he nevertheless held that at “bottom, these [European states] are all the same.”<sup>19</sup> And it was Burke’s lifelong aesthetic and philosophical effort to work out the implications of the concept of “sympathy” that brought him to the consciousness that it was familiarity and shared roots that linked the peoples of Europe more than any “instrumental” framework or mechanism. As he expressed it,

“Men are not tied to one another by papers and seals. They are led to associate by resemblances, by conformities, by sympathies. It is with nations as with individuals. Nothing is so strong a tie of amity between nation and nation as correspondence in laws, customs, manners, and habits of life. They have more than the force of treaties in themselves. They are obligations written in the heart....”<sup>20</sup>

Significantly, as Kirk learned from Burke, that way of life, that “correspondence in laws, customs, [and] manners,” those “habits of life” and “obligations written in the heart” extended to European settlements in the Americas—especially, for English-speaking Britain, to colonial North America. As he put it, “I do not know why I should not include America among the European Powers; because she is of European origin...”<sup>21</sup> Burke punctuated his comprehensive and even cosmopolitan image of Europe by identifying Europe as “the grand vicinage”<sup>22</sup> or great vicinity—because, as he put it, “no citizen of Europe can be altogether an exile in any part of it.”<sup>23</sup>

While Burke would lament that the glory of Europe was extinguished with the French Revolution’s attack on “the spirit of our old manners and opinions,”<sup>24</sup> some conservative intellectuals in the mid-twentieth century believed there was yet time for a rear-guard campaign aimed at revitalizing Western ideas and institutions and renewing the cultural supports for them in America and abroad. One of the earliest intellectually conservative architects of that campaign was Fordham University historian Ross J. S. Hoffman (1902-1979) a friend and influential mentor to younger members of the American conservative renaissance, including Russell Kirk, John Lukacs, Peter Stanlis, Thomas Molnar, and Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn among others.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid 74.  
<sup>16</sup> Burke, Edmund: *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. London, Apollo Press, 1814, 77.  
<sup>17</sup> Letters, 74.  
<sup>18</sup> Ibid 66.  
<sup>19</sup> Ibid 74.  
<sup>20</sup> Letters, 74.  
<sup>21</sup> *The Works and Correspondence of Right Honourable Edmund Burke*. Vol. V. London, Francis & John Rivington, 1852, 370. (Hereinafter: *Works*)  
<sup>22</sup> Ibid 308.  
<sup>23</sup> Ibid 306.  
<sup>24</sup> Ibid 482.

For Hoffman, and for traditionalist conservatives like Kirk, America emerged from, and was an extension of, “Western European Christendom.” Burke’s “Commonwealth of Christian Europe” was the specific historical and political reality Hoffman had in mind. In a slim book entitled *The Great Republic*, Hoffman characterized the Atlantic community as “the inner sea of Christendom.”<sup>25</sup> In this view, “Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutchmen and Danes in the early modern centuries made the Atlantic Ocean the inland sea of Western Civilization; they made it an historical and geographic extension of the Mediterranean round the shores of which our civilization began.”<sup>26</sup>

Post-war American strategy, according to Hoffman, ought to be aimed at “fortifying the Atlantic citadel.... Our historical roots, our natural allies, our political civilization and our material fortunes are staked immovably in this citadel.... This is the international community that expressed its deepest instincts and unwittingly described its own nature in the Atlantic Charter.”<sup>27</sup>

For Hoffman and Kirk, the power and potential of the idea of Atlantic history resided in the recognition that as a “community” America was to be counted among the “progeny of Western Christendom.” And in the current state of historical development, they believed it was the peculiar fate of the nations composing the North Atlantic triangle to carry the burden of reinvigorating the body of Christendom in the twentieth century—and in so doing secure the current and future interests of free nations throughout the Western world.

The convergence of Burke and Atlantic history can be traced coincidentally to the very day that Franklin Roosevelt died, April 12, 1945, when Ross Hoffman founded what was in retrospect an influential Edmund Burke Society at Fordham University. The purpose of the Society was to “recall the principles, values, and traditions which are the heritage of the political and international society of Christendom.”<sup>28</sup>

Hoffman later recounted the international flavor of the Society’s events, which included figures such as Hugh Gibson, Herbert Hoover’s great friend and former Ambassador to Belgium; Carleton Hayes, FDR’s Ambassador to Spain, Catholic publisher Frank Sheed, historians Geoffrey Bruun and Walter C. Langsam, former Hungarian statesman, Tibor Eckhardt and many others, including Evelyn Waugh. Fordham’s Burke Society was interested in establishing new transatlantic intellectual connections as much as it was in scholarly examinations of Burke’s philosophical and political career. The results, however, were scholarly and political, including Hoffman publishing an influential new anthology of Burke’s political writings.

Whereas the New York Burke Society fostered American and European connections, Russell Kirk aspired to do so in the pages of a new journal he launched in 1957, *Modern Age: A Conservative Review*. Kirk’s journal, still in publication today, had a civilizational orientation. By conservative, Kirk said that he meant “a journal dedicated to conserving the best elements in our civilization; and those best elements are in peril nowadays.”

<sup>25</sup> Hoffman, Ross: *The Great Republic. A Historical View of the International Community and the Organization of Peace*. New York, Sheed & Ward, 1942, 162.  
<sup>26</sup> Ross Hoffman, J. S.: Europe and the Atlantic Community. *Thought*, 1945, 1, 25.  
<sup>27</sup> Ross Hoffman, J. S.: Peacemaking after Ideological Wars. *Thought*, 1945, 3.  
<sup>28</sup> *A Symposium on Alexis de Tocqueville’s Democracy in America*. Ed. Schlaerth, William J. New York, Fordham University Press, 1945, in the foreword of the book.



*Our purpose is to stimulate discussion of the great moral and social and political and economic and literary questions of the hour and to search for means by which the legacy of our civilization may be kept safe.*<sup>29</sup>

He was true to his word, during his notable five-year tenure as founding editor of *Modern Age* Kirk published essays by or about Wilhelm Roepke, Ortega y Gasset, Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, Bela Menczer, Rudolf Allers, Helmut Schoeck, Bertrand de Jouvenel, and, of course, Otto von Habsburg. By publishing such thinkers on a regular basis, Kirk argued he intended “to bring Americans a reminder of the importance of...the work of... European philosophers and men of letters.” Through the pages of his new journal, Kirk would, like his hero Burke, “attest the rising generation.” And that in doing so, “his voice would be heard not merely by the generation that is passing, but also by the young men and women who are seeking some certitudes in this age.”<sup>30</sup>

Three years after the founding of *Modern Age*, Otto von Habsburg, in November 1960, wrote to Russell Kirk with news of the founding of a Burke Society in Salzburg for Austria with objectives similar to those of its American counterparts. Otto reported to Kirk that thanks to their mutual friend, Thomas Chaimowicz, the society was approaching a stage “where it can do something really constructive for the cause of political thinking”<sup>31</sup> in Austria. It was conceived strategically to be an alternative to the Austrian Socialist Party, which had set up and controlled a school for political science at Linz. The Burke Society established itself at the University of Salzburg and had a library there as well as the center. Otto told Kirk that: “the importance of this is very great. Hitherto all our political science—the very notions of democracy, law, etc.—have come exclusively from France. Our democracy is Jacobinic, our law has nothing in common with Natural Law. There is absolutely no cognizance of the masters of America and England. Hence the deterioration of our public life. All this could be changed if the action of the Burke Society could be made rapid and expanding,” A few months later Otto wrote to Kirk to let him know that “the first public lecture of the Austrian Burke Society in Salzburg has just taken place and has been a great success.” “The communist press,” Otto happily noted, “is already reacting violently which is all to the good.”<sup>32</sup>

Kirk viewed his European friends and allies as fellow men of letters turned “tailors in the West, doing what they might to stitch together once more that serviceable old suit variously called ‘Christian Civilization,’ ‘Western Civilization,’ ‘North Atlantic Community,’ or ‘the free world.’ Not by force of arms are civilizations held together, but by the threads of moral and intellectual belief. In the hands of the Fates are no thunderbolts: only threads and scissors.”<sup>33</sup>

One of Kirk’s later works, and arguably his most popular, was *The Roots of American Order*<sup>34</sup>. That book traced the origins of the American tradition of constitutionalism and its roots deep within Western Civilization through Hebraic and Christian belief, classical philosophy and Roman law, British political experience, and the ideas and institutions of colonial and early-republican America. Kirk explored the various civilizational inheritances that America’s founders drew on to forge the American experiment in ordered liberty. Out of that patrimony, Kirk created a tale of five cities and the pillars or key concepts that sustained them.

- From Jerusalem comes the American inheritance of religious faith, Hebraic and Christian: the foundation of our moral order.
- From Athens comes the American inheritance of philosophy and beauty: the foundation of reason in modern civilization.
- From Rome comes the American inheritance of law and political administration: the foundation of justice in the Western world.
- From London comes the American inheritance of representative government: the foundation of the American political system.
- From Philadelphia comes the American great constitutional achievement, the reconciling of authority and freedom.

Kirk wrote *The Roots of American Order* to awaken the imaginations of students to the great achievements of Western and American civilization, to teach them that reconciling the claims of order and liberty has been America’s unique achievement, and to instill in them a greater allegiance to the moral and social order that supports a free, just, and prosperous society. His belief was that “if the roots of an order are healthy, that order may be reinvigorated and improved. If its roots are withered, the dead tree gives us no shelter.”<sup>35</sup> Reinvigorating the patrimony of the West and the American experience within it was a felt urgency for Kirk throughout his life, as it has been for most conservatives ever since.

It was not obvious that American conservatives would embrace European intellectual sources. Many conservatives argued that they were tired and failed ideas and traditions. That they were incompatible with the novus American order. Kirk was a key figure in settling that debate within American conservatism in favor of seeing the American constitutional order as part of a larger civilizational story that marched forward, if imperfectly, toward ordered liberty.

Drawing to an ending here, it seems appropriate to recall that Russell Kirk and Otto von Habsburg were, as their long correspondence demonstrates, fond friends and self-consciously men of the West. They were fellow tailors, as Kirk said, stitching together through their writings and activities the fabric of the old order of Burke’s Commonwealth of Christian Europe. They worked tirelessly on both sides of the Atlantic to promulgate a patrimony, not an ideological program. Kirk wrote that Otto “was better informed about events of the times than was any other man Kirk ever met.” And that “the power of his political imagination surpassed any American or British public figure of that time.”<sup>36</sup> The genius of Christianity, Otto believed, “was such that it could yet be the great bulwark against totalitarianism.”<sup>37</sup>

Dr. Edwin Feulner, with us at these 110 birthday celebrations, agreed with Kirk that Otto possessed a “keen perspective on liberty” and “focused his life on the betterment of Europe, and a fervent opposition to communism” and to freeing people “from the chains of despair that dictators and tyrants continue to impose around the world.” Otto was, Feulner wrote, “a defender of freedom and a friend of liberty in Europe and around the world.”<sup>38</sup>

29 Kirk, Russell: Apology for a New Review. *Modern Age*, 1957, Summer, 2. <https://isiorg.b-cdn.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/apology.pdf>

30 Ibid 3.

31 In the archives of the Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal.

32 Otto von Habsburg Foundation, Otto von Habsburg Collection, Correspondence with individuals and organizations, HOAL 1-2-b, Russell Kirk, [Pöcking], (16 January 1961).

33 *The Sword*, 197.

34 Kirk, Russell: *The Roots of American Order*. Washington D.C., Regnery Gateway, 1991

35 Kirk, Russell: *The Roots of American Order*. Washington D.C., Regnery Gateway, 1991, 10.

36 *Sword*, 207.

37 Habsburg, Otto von: The Divine Right of Minorities. *Modern Age*, 1958, Summer, 275. (Hereinafter: *Divine*)

38 <https://www.dailysignal.com/2011/07/05/otto-von-habsburg-1912-2011/>



Russell Kirk agreed and believed that the best piece he published while editing *Modern Age* was Otto's essay, "The Divine Right of Minorities." High praise given the quality of contributors to *Modern Age* at that time. In that essay Otto wrote:

*"It is characteristic of a generation that has lost its sense of historical perspective and become so self-centered that it no longer sees the continuity of which it is a part. In rejecting its past, it has renounced its future, and sometimes its erratic and futile measures in the present convince one that these are the desperate activities of those who truly anticipate annihilation. The perspective of history has been lost because history gives up its meaning only in the perspective of eternity."<sup>39</sup>*

Otto's son Karl travelled to Michigan in the mid-1980s to reside for a time with Russell Kirk in Mecosta to be mentored and to be a fellow and assistant. It seems appropriate to leave the final word here to Karl von Habsburg who spoke in Prague, on the occasion of the Czech translation and publication of *The Conservative Mind* in the year 2000. As Karl reflected:

*"I was first introduced to the book, The Conservative Mind, by a professor of mine in Salzburg, Professor Thomas Chaimowicz, who introduced me to the thoughts of Russell Kirk in the mid-70s. This was for me around the same time when I was getting very much interested in political activities and political thought. Russell Kirk definitely had a great influence in another way also on Europe. Russell Kirk's The Conservative Mind does not only convince through its contents but also definitely through the language it is written in. In this way Russell Kirk not only through this book but also through his other books has set a milestone for English prose. In this context, I am quite sure of it, and I don't think I am going wrong when I predict that his books, but particularly his book The Conservative Mind, will in the future be considered on one level with books like, let's say, Tocqueville's Democracy in America or Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France. In his early years, Russell Kirk has written a book on Edmund Burke which is called A Genius Reconsidered, and the first chapter is called "How Dead Is Burke?" And he comes to the conclusion -- and I am quoting here: "This book will be concerned, in part, with party struggles and burning questions of the eighteenth-century; yet Burke transcends these. Suspicious though he was, from first to last, of abstract doctrine and theoretic dogma, Burke has obtained his immortality not for what he did, but for what he perceived." And I would very much like to change the last sentence a little bit by exchanging the names and say that Russell Kirk has obtained his immortality not only for what he did but for what he perceived."<sup>40</sup>*

I cannot do better in this setting than to end these remarks with those reflections by Karl.

*The speech was delivered at the conference "Conservative Minds"  
(University of Public Service, Institute for Strategic Studies, Budapest, 18 November 2022)*

<sup>39</sup> *Divine*, 284.  
<sup>40</sup> <https://kirkcenter.org/audio-and-video/karl-von-habsburg-on-russell-kirk/> → <https://vimeo.com/72159710>

## WHAT DID OTTO VON HABSBERG LEARN FROM THE BENEDICTINES?



Otto von Habsburg said 29 years ago, in 1993, in our Benedictine school of Győr: "People often ask me how, despite not having been able to come to Hungary for seventy years, I have preserved not only the spirit and love of this country but also its language. I owe this to the Benedictines. And that I could take the Hungarian homeland abroad with me at all is thanks to the Benedictines."

Ladies and Gentlemen!

I come from the monastery whose Benedictine monks raised the last Hungarian crown prince. This is the same monastery whose Benedictine monks educated the first Hungarian crown prince, Saint Emeric. And this is the monastery where in the 13th-century altar church lies the heart of Otto von Habsburg, born 110 years ago. The Benedictine monks of Pannonhalma took the Hungarian homeland abroad to Otto, and he brought his heart home to the Hungarian homeland, to the Benedictines in Pannonhalma.

We are bound by the legacy of Otto von Habsburg and by our thousand-year educational heritage. I asked my monastic brothers what kind of image we have of Otto von Habsburg. Two images of a diptych appeared in their answers. The first image is drawn from personal relationships. Our community's oral tradition has personal stories linked to Otto von Habsburg as well as stories related to his Benedictine tutors. We recall his first visit to Pannonhalma, the lunch we shared with him, the celebration of his golden wedding, and countless personal conversations. We know that some former Benedictines were given their first names by their parents after Otto von Habsburg. One of our most personal stories: on a visit to Pannonhalma in 2002, he wrote in the guest book: "With grateful remembrance, a Benedictine student". "... a Benedictine student" – this sentence's modesty, generosity and dedication define the current perception of Otto von Habsburg in the Benedictine community.

On the other side of the image we have in our minds of Otto von Habsburg, his responsibility for Europe and our country within outlines itself. After all, we know very well that throughout his life, he stood for what he had learned from Benedictine Jákó Blazovich: nations are not each other's enemies.



We all know and appreciate how much he did for the unification of Europe and Hungary's accession to the EU. We are aware of his great effort to make our country, on which he has left his heart, a responsible and serious player in Christian Europe.

In light of this, our monastic order has launched a community project to raise a worthy memorial in the courtyard of our monastery, in front of the relief of the first prince, Saint Emeric, in honour of the Hungarian Benedictine student and European Christian statesman Otto von Habsburg. This evening, I am delighted to announce that we have asked the Mihály Munkácsy Prize-winning sculptor Zénó Kelemen to draw up the plans for the memorial site in collaboration with our monastic community and the Otto von Habsburg Foundation. I hope that in a year, I will not only be able to present the plans to you, but we will also be able to celebrate the completion of the memorial together.

Allow me also to make a request: if you have the opportunity, please support us in the realisation of the monument and the maintenance and preservation of the resting place of Otto von Habsburg's heart. The Abbey of Pannonhalma will be 800 years old in 2024. We would be delighted if we could collectively contribute to making this magnificent house of God, including the resting place of Otto von Habsburg's heart and the memorial site of Otto von Habsburg, worthy and beautiful on this celebration: it will welcome pilgrims from home and abroad to Pannonhalma.

Ladies and Gentlemen!

May I raise my gaze now to the saint whose heart rests close to the bone crypt of Otto von Habsburg in the magnificent 800-year-old Basilica. I may lift my eyes to Saint Martin, a native of Pannonia and patron of Pannonia's Holy Mountain, Pannonhalma.

Even though the patron saint of our monastery passed away 1625 years ago, his memory remains fresh, and his personality, life and deeds inspire us to think, act and create. Today, we need Martin's eloquence, courage, and relentless struggle for humanity, love, purity and clean solutions. "*The Lord has entrusted him, on whom no one has mercy!*" – we read in his biography relating the tale of sharing of the cloak. Martin recognised the one the Lord had left for him, even though "*He had no beauty or majesty..., He was rejected by mankind... Like one from whom people hide their faces.*" (Is 53, 2-3)

This is the sense, the essence of Martin, that we should master! It is his spirit that we truly need! How can we develop a spirit within ourselves? Martin would answer: in the daily encounters that you participate in.

"*All real living is meeting*", writes Martin Buber. And an encounter is nothing other than when you open yourself to all that surrounds you, be it a phenomenon of nature, an object, but above all, a person; you open yourself to all these things in such a way that you embrace and experience the meeting with your whole being.

Our monastery on Mount St. Martin is one such meeting place! A gathering spot for the memories of the past and the life of the future, where over the years, "*something had surged in us, out of muscular pain, wounds, mud, snow, the wretchedness of our life and its miracles; something tasting of bread, something without which we could no longer really live.*"<sup>11</sup> as Géza Ottlik describes.

We have to adopt the spirit of Martin! The spirit of listening to man, to others!

Legend has it that King Solomon's reputation for wisdom spread far and wide, prompting a young prince to go and learn from him! He asked how he could acquire and preserve wisdom in the world so that he could rule well. Solomon handed him a spoon, dripped three drops of precious, fragrant nard oil into it, and said to him: *Walk around my palace, observe all you see, discover the beauties of the palace, and at the same time, keep the oil in mind.* When he returned, the young man talked enthusiastically about the dazzling riches of the palace *but had forgotten about the oil, and it all dribbled out!* Solomon again added three drops of oil to his spoon and forewarned him to be mindful of the oil and that he should now go and explore the south wing of the palace. When the young man returned, he was showing from afar that he still had the oil, but this time, as he was only paying attention to that, he did not discover anything from the south wing of the palace. But that is wisdom, Solomon advised him, to preserve the oil and to perceive all that is important in the world simultaneously!

The essence of Martin's spirit: he kept wisdom and was aware of everything important around him, whether it be a beggar, *rejected by mankind ... from whom people hide their faces!* Although this year marks the 1625th anniversary of Saint Martin's death, his memory remains fresh. His personality, life and deeds inspire reflection and action.

The nature of enriching places and people are not just a flash in the pan. Saint Martin has been prompting acts of love for 1700 years, and Pannonhalma has been encouraging the same for 1000 years. I believe that Otto von Habsburg stands in the same line.

Thank you for coming!

Thank you for your kind attention!

*The speech was delivered at the conference "The Future of Europe – The Legacy of Otto von Habsburg" (Embassy of Hungary, Vienna, 24 November 2022)*

<sup>11</sup> Géza Ottlik, *School at the Frontier*. New York, Hartcourt, Brace and World, 1966, 371. (Translated by Kathlen Szász).



## "MORE OTTO WOULD BE GOOD FOR EUROPE"

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Dear friends at the Hanns Seidel Foundation!

In the 1990s, Otto von Habsburg said of the European Community: *"In ten years' time, the Community will have reached the Urals. Sweden, Austria, Finland, Slovakia, Hungary, the Baltic States, Poland and Ukraine will be among them!"* It was more than a vision of a passionate European, it was almost a promise. His work and the ensuing influence that his spirit still has on the foreign policy of Europe today are evident in this vision.

But before I get into that, I would first like to welcome you, Ladies and Gentlemen, as guests of the Hanns Seidel Foundation on this Monday evening to pay tribute together to Otto von Habsburg, to his life's work, and to the remarkably vital role he plays for all Europeans to this very day! Otto von Habsburg would have been 110 years old next Sunday, 20 November. This is more than a good opportunity – particularly today – to reflect on Otto von Habsburg and his vision of Europe in such an excellent company. And for this evening, we have found some truly outstanding speakers and panellists!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

The words I quoted from Otto von Habsburg in my introduction have essentially become a reality. And the fact that the European Union granted candidate status to Ukraine on 23 June this year makes his remarks all the more prophetic.

For Otto von Habsburg, a staunch European, it was crucial not only to establish a free, united and sovereign Pan-European Union but also to expand it in order to create security and peace in Europe. In his view, everyone who professed to be European "had a right to Europe". He was also convinced that for this Europe to remain stable and safe, all Union stakeholders must exchange views, regardless of their political leanings or where they come from. He was leading us by example in this.

We proudly recall his contribution to our project work in Hungary and Croatia between 1994 and 2010. Continuing his tradition, we now support the Pan-European Union in Ukraine through our project office with an information campaign on the war's course.

For Otto von Habsburg, all that mattered was that every vested interest represented their intentions honestly. Their moral compass had to be firm and purposeful, and under no circumstances could they be driven by ulterior or even false motives. The same applied to whether they were genuinely working for reciprocal transformation and the betterment of the Union because change is only possible through cooperation.

During difficult times such as these, it is not only important but also appropriate to reflect on this mindset and value system so we can meet the challenges ahead together. Perhaps a return to these values would benefit us all. Not only in remembrance of Otto von Habsburg but moreover because nowadays it has become commonplace to ignore or even slander political opponents rather than seeking mutual dialogue and compromise, thereby initiating real change, despite, or perhaps because of, the differences of opinion between the participants. For a better, more united Europe, in the spirit of Otto von Habsburg!

Even if the Russian aggression makes the EU act in unison, which has not been the case for a while, there are still enough internal political problems in Europe to divide politics and society. And this must be prevented at all costs! Otto von Habsburg forewarned us of the imminent great challenges and perils and urged us to be always prepared for all that may happen. In the future, we will once again increasingly need political figures and characters who share Otto von Habsburg's vision and values. A little more 'Otto' would indeed be good for Europe and the European Union: a united Europe based on Christian values and characterised by democracy and constitutionality.

And we, the Hanns Seidel Foundation, remain fully committed to meeting this expectation, strengthening solidarity and unity in Europe and ensuring that the vision of the most distinguished European politician of our time, as mentioned earlier, will one day be realised.

With these words, I wish you all a wholesome, enjoyable evening and an intriguing debate.

Thank you very much!

*The speech was delivered at the conference  
"Otto von Habsburg and his Significance for Europe"  
(Hanns Seidel Foundation, Munich, 14 November 2022)*



## OTTO VON HABSBURG AND HIS SIGNIFICANCE FOR EUROPE

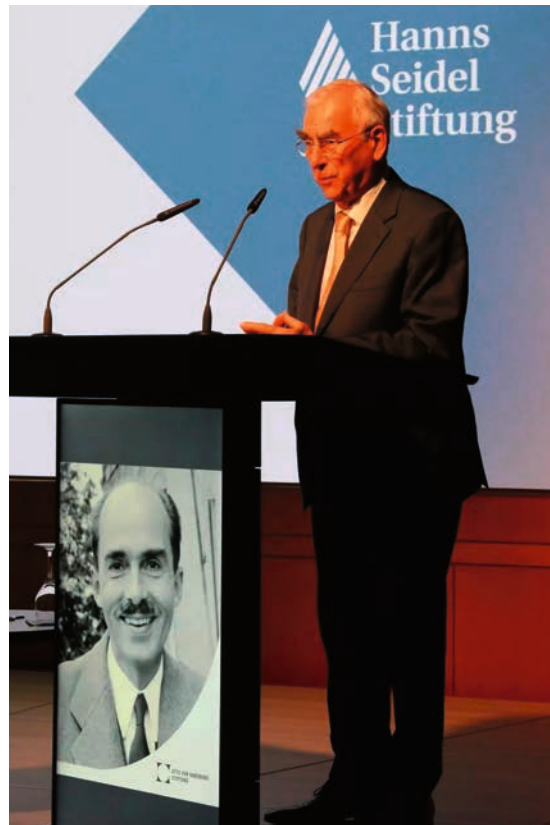
In Memory of Otto von Habsburg, on his 110th birthday

The Hanns Seidel Foundation is an ideal place to commemorate Otto von Habsburg on his 110th birthday. The Foundation and this unique figure in Europe made contact in the 1970s. What a providential idea this was on the part of the then President of the Hanns Seidel Foundation, Fritz Pirkl, acting in agreement with Franz Josef Strauss. It was also fortunate for the CSU that it had won over this witty man, this passionate European. In this way, the Foundation became the basis and the bridge of a unique life linking a dynasty, diplomacy, politics, Europe and the global world.

When Otto von Habsburg stood up in the 1969 Bundestag (German federal parliament) election campaign for CSU Bundestag representative Konstantin von Bayern, it was also a political meeting of two dynasties that played a decisive role in the history of Bavaria and Austria.

It was a moving day for me and my family that we were able to be present at the intimate gathering celebrating this man's 93rd birthday on 20 November 2005. His daughter Walburga notified me of this wish of the patriarch, and I gladly accepted the invitation.

Pöcking became his second home, and from this humble place he expanded his worldwide activities. The place reminds me of Wörishofen, where Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky used to holiday regularly. Of this Swabian town he used to say: "Here I am no longer in Austria, and not yet in Germany." Appearances and pomp were never important to the descendant of the oldest dynasty. It was in his modest living conditions that the ideas and actions of his global operation were born. I recall with gratitude the birthdays he celebrated in Andechs, this fateful place of the Benedictines, who are also the oldest "European players" of the continent.



His journey is extraordinary: from being the representative of the oldest European ruling dynasty, through asylum in two continents, the deprivation of rights in his homeland, via Bavaria and Germany, he entered European politics. Yet there were also critical voices in the CSU, and when it came to his candidacy for the European Parliament in 1979, not everyone who later celebrated and praised him agreed with his ambition. When he was elected to the European Parliament on the national list of the CSU, a unique political career began.

For my presentation, I owe important references to the book by Countess Walburga Douglas. For one thing, I found in it an article I wrote for Otto von Habsburg's 85th birthday. Of interest to the present topic is an article by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl from 1997 entitled *Der Paneuropäer* (The Paneuropean). It says: "NATO remains a pillar of European security. The EU's enlargement to the East and the opening of the North Atlantic Alliance to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are closely linked. NATO and the EU are the cornerstones of the future Pan-European security system." These sentences from 1987 alone refute the thesis that there was no intention to expand the EU or NATO towards the Central and Eastern European states. We very much in need of Otto von Habsburg today, who could resolve the differences between a country so important to European history and the European Union. Hungary showed its commitment to Europe in 1956 with its unforgettable fight for freedom. Hungarian politicians, together with Otto von Habsburg and his daughter Walburga, cut the fence separating the two worlds and enabled the people of East Germany to find their way to freedom. About 20 years ago in Budapest I met Gyula Grosics, the Hungarian goalkeeper in the 1954 final. He was still sad about Helmut Rahn's goal a few minutes before the end of the match. Gusztáv Sebes, the Hungarian coach of this legendary team, said on his deathbed: "We lost." To which I reply: "No, you won." Hungary had fought for its freedom and sovereignty and had become an important state in the centre of Europe. The fact that Otto von Habsburg was highly respected in Hungary is one of the happy moments in recent history.

I will never forget the day in 1992 when the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development was founded in London. The languages of the conference were English, French, Russian and German. I wondered which speaker would give his speech in German? It was József Antall, the Hungarian Prime Minister, who spoke in German. I will never forget that!

The issue of dual citizenship in Austria proved to be difficult. This dispute was resolved by Governor Andreas Maurer (ÖVP), who declared that it was in the interest of the Republic to retain Austrian citizenship. Otto von Habsburg received his German passport in Pöcking, his place of residence, on 8 June 1978 and thus became a German citizen. Prime Minister Alfons Goppel presented Otto von Habsburg the Bavarian Medal of Merit, saying that as a bearer of a great name he had tirelessly stood up for the European idea. As early as 1978, Otto von Habsburg expressed his conviction that Austria would eventually become a member of the European Union. It was mainly thanks to the tireless efforts of Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock that this happened in the 1990s.



The social-liberal government behaved shabbily during this period and Willy Brandt, of all people, who had been forced to leave Germany because of Nazi rule, did not think it necessary to stand by Otto von Habsburg, who had suffered a similar fate. Unfortunately, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt also used the wrong tone.

A decisive vote was taken at the CSU delegates' meeting, and Otto von Habsburg won 120 out of 169 votes. Max Streibl was among those who stood for the nomination. Otto von Habsburg began his parliamentary career at an age in which I myself had long since retired from the political stage. He was concerned with both small and big issues: the agenda was no less important to him than global foreign policy and the big European questions. His brilliant command of languages gave him cross-party friendships. When an Italian MEP made a speech in Latin, the translator and the President of the Parliament gave up. Only Otto von Habsburg was able to reply, also in Latin. Otto von Habsburg became a member of the Political Committee and a deputy member of the Committee on Development in 1979. From this time comes his saying that a good politician spends 20% of his time doing good and 80% preventing mischief. This is also in line with his statement that the peoples in a state are then politically satisfied to a certain extent if they feel that they are being treated badly on an equal basis. Otto von Habsburg was one of the first to explicitly warn of the imminent Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Already in the early 1980s, Otto von Habsburg was concerned with the situation in the Baltic States. In the European Parliament, he called on the foreign ministers to raise the Baltic issue in the UN subcommittee. On the 25th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution in October 1981, he drafted a resolution to this effect with the support of his friends. Thus, the Parliament had committed itself to solidarity with the peoples beyond the Yalta Line. For decades, Otto von Habsburg had advocated Spain's accession to a united Europe. He helped to open the gates for Portugal and Spain. He was the driving force behind the European elections held in Spain and Portugal after accession. We need European patriotism! How right Otto von Habsburg was to make this statement. He fought tirelessly for a European passport and also succeeded in creating a flag for Europe. When the subcommittee on fascism and racism was set up, Otto von Habsburg ensured that the extremes of the left were also taken into account in this context.

However, the always distinguished and polite aristocrat also knew how to defend himself and use his strength when necessary. When he was accused of slapping a speaker who had interrupted Pope John Paul II's speech in Parliament, he denied the charge but considered the blow from a colleague to this disruptor to be deserved. However, he admitted to having been actively involved in the expulsion of the man. He could also use very unambiguous language when the situation required it. He once used the unpronounceable F-word about a disfavoured CSU politician, and did so three times in a row!

In 1989, Otto von Habsburg once again threw himself into the European election campaign with all his might to stop the Republicans from gaining ground – the CSU eventually held on to its seven seats.

The establishment of a Political Union and the eastward enlargement of the European Union were particularly close to his heart. *“A single day of war costs more human suffering and economic destruction than the cost of maintaining peace for a whole year.”* This is how he justified the necessary expenditures for the political and economic development of Central and Eastern European countries. This also applies today to support Ukraine and its path to Europe. In his political commitment to a united Europe, he held at heart the crucial role of Christianity, both for the past and for the future. Without its Christian tradition, he said, Europe would be giving up on itself. No one pointed out the danger of war in the former Yugoslavia like he did. He was an early advocate of the right to self-determination and international recognition of the oppressed former republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Otto von Habsburg, as a devout Christian, urged dialogue with Islam. He was a member of the Academy of the Kingdom of Morocco. He pointed out that the Arabs had enriched European culture, and warned against a purely defensive attitude, calling for closer cooperation with states in which the Muslim religion was predominant. His vision was that of a supranational order of all European peoples, a community of values based on a higher idea. He refused to confine Europe to borders drawn by force and violence after the war.

Otto von Habsburg therefore remains a visionary of Europe, a man of idealism and ideas, goals and principles. The construction of a United Europe would have been unthinkable without him.

*The speech was delivered in German at the conference  
“Otto von Habsburg and his Significance for Europe”  
(Hanns Seidel Foundation, Munich, 14 November 2022)*



HELMUT WOHNOUT

## THE SON OF THE EMPEROR RECONCILES WITH THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA



No photograph is more befitting of the reconciliation between the Republic of Austria and Otto von Habsburg than the historic handshake on 4 May 1972 between Bruno Kreisky, the Social Democratic Federal Chancellor in office from 1970 to 1983, and the Emperor's son. The meeting occurred at an event in Vienna celebrating the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Pan-European Union, at which Chancellor Kreisky gave a speech.

When, at the beginning of last summer, I visited the Foundation's archives in Budapest at the invitation of Ambassador Gergely Pröhle, after a moment's reflection, it became clear to me that the photograph of the meeting of the socialist Kreisky and Otto von Habsburg would be a very meaningful gift to the Foundation.

This handshake marked the end of the then Socialist Party's decades-long feud with the Habsburgs and Otto as head of the house. Ironically, this was repeatedly referred to as 'Habsburg cannibalism'<sup>1</sup>.

Interestingly, as long as the Habsburg monarchy existed, relations between the imperial house and Austrian social democracy were not so bad. The Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDAP) was loyal to the imperial house at the outbreak of the war in 1914 and regained its freedom of action with the reconvening of the Imperial Council (Reichsrat) in the spring of 1917 after Emperor Charles came to power. Charles had signalled his rapprochement with the Social Democrats, not least by granting amnesty to Friedrich Adler, the son of the party's founder, Viktor Adler (in 1916, in protest against the war absolutism of Emperor Franz Joseph, Friedrich Adler had shot the Imperial and Royal Prime Minister Graf Stürgkh and was sentenced to death for his actions). Even if the young Emperor's efforts to integrate social democracy were ultimately too hesitant and faltering – as was his entire reform programme – and the SDAP remained “the unused reserve power of the empire” (Anton Pelinka) until November 1918, Emperor Charles retained the possibility of dialogue with moderate party leaders such as Viktor Adler and Karl Renner.

Charles's relations with the SDAP only took a sudden turn for the worse when, after his resignation from the state on 12 November 1918, he refused to resign formally, and even at the beginning of 1919, he made no effort to leave the castle in Eckhartsau, where he moved after 12 November, in order to go abroad. British mediation was necessary to ensure that Charles would leave the country in the spring of 1919, still, he only departed after he withdrew his abdication of the throne at the Austro-Swiss border. In response, the parliament decided by a constitutional majority to deprive him of his property and expel him from the country. The Habsburgs had become the main enemy of social democracy, and this remained unchanged even after the death of Charles on Madeira and for a while after 1945.

At a meeting between Julius Raab and Otto, Charles' eldest and then head of the family, at the 1960 Munich Eucharistic Congress, the Federal Chancellor made it clear to the Emperor's son that his return to Austria would only be possible if he submitted a “declaration of renunciation” in accordance with the Habsburg laws adopted in 1919. Otto complied and, in May 1961, signed a document renouncing all claims to power deriving from his belonging to the House of Habsburg-Lorraine and declaring himself a loyal citizen of the Republic. Although the Austrian Social Democratic Party (SPÖ) acknowledged the formal correctness of the statement, it claimed that it was not a sufficient sign that Otto's attitude had changed and that he had become a loyal citizen of the Republic, and that, as the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) was a coalition partner in the government, it had prevented recognition of the announcement. This was due to the fact that government decisions in the Council of Ministers could only be passed unanimously. Otto then took legal action and appealed to the Austrian Constitutional Court (*Verfassungsgerichtshof*), as he had never formally received a decision rejecting the declaration. The Constitutional Court reacted evasively and replied that it had no jurisdiction in the matter – which was highly questionable from a legal point of view. Otto then appealed to the Administrative Court of Justice (*Verwaltungsgerichtshof*), the second highest court, with a complaint against the federal government for failure to comply. In June 1963, the Administrative Court then recognised Otto's letter of resignation as sufficient. This escalated the political controversy. The SPÖ called it a legal coup, and the ÖVP insisted on respect for the rule of law. In the summer of 1963, an extraordinary meeting of the National Council (*Nationalrat*) passed a resolution against the government majority for the first time in the history of the Second Republic. The reason for this was that the SPÖ, along with the only opposition party at the time, the Freedom Party (FPÖ), had adopted a proposal for a decree, tabled by the FPÖ, that Otto should be deemed ‘undesirable’ in Austria. Consequently, the (pan-German) national-liberal third camp, represented by the FPÖ, has also taken an anti-Otto position. The months-long ‘Habsburg affair’ (*Causa Habsburg*) became a heavy burden for the already faltering grand coalition of the ÖVP and SPÖ.

When the ÖVP replaced the then Federal Chancellor Alfons Gorbach with the “reformer” Josef Klaus in February 1964, the SPÖ refused to agree to the change of chancellor until Klaus made it clear in a government statement issued when he took office that Otto would not be allowed to enter Austria. For Klaus, this was unthinkable – after all, his entire political activity was based on the premise of objectivity and the rule of law.

<sup>1</sup> A phrase by Günther Nenning (1921-2003), an Austrian journalist, activist and SPÖ representative, uttered during the internal political debate on Otto von Habsburg's Austrian citizenship – referring to the politically divisive nature of the former heir to the throne.



In this situation, the ÖVP had no choice but to send the second man in the party hierarchy, Hermann Withalm, the general secretary and parliamentary group leader, on a ‘Walk to Canossa’ to Pöcking. Withalm asked Otto not to use his right of entry to Austria to save the grand coalition once again, and Otto promised not to travel to Austria for the time being. This paved the way for a compromise within the government.

With the electoral victory of the ÖVP in the spring of 1966 and the formation of an independent government with an absolute majority in the National Council, the situation changed fundamentally. Josef Klaus – in accordance with his interpretation of the law – now permitted Otto to enter Austria. The SPÖ was relegated to the opposition benches and could do nothing about it. The Emperor’s son returned to Austria for a few hours in 1966; and in 1967, during his visits to several municipalities in what he proverbially called the ‘Holy Land’ (Heiliges Land) of the Tyrol, he was triumphantly welcomed by a friendly public. When the Kreisky government took office, left-wing opposition began to degenerate into radical fringe groups.

Throughout the 1970s, Otto became a welcome guest at numerous events in Austria. With his friendly charm, sharp wit, seasoned cosmopolitan eloquence and oratorical talent, he always knew how to captivate his audience. This became even more apparent when Franz Josef Strauß secured him a seat in the European Parliament in 1979 on behalf of the Bavarian CSU, and Otto now had considerable political clout.

I remember well and fondly several personal encounters with Otto von Habsburg, most recently in 2008 at the launch of an anthology on Bosnia-Herzegovina at the House of Industry (Haus der Industrie) on Schwarzenbergplatz in Vienna, where I participated as an author of a paper on the invasion of 1879. I treasure the autograph, which I greatly appreciated, as a lasting memory.

The part played by Otto in 1989 has already – and tonight – been covered in detail. First, this applies to the historic Pan-European picnic under his auspices and his initiatives extending far beyond that occasion. May I add that overcoming the division of Europe was a common goal that bound together Otto von Habsburg and Alois Mock, the second great European politician of the transition period around the annus mirabilis of 1989, with great mutual respect. Both were thinking in larger foreign policy dimensions. Accordingly, Otto von Habsburg supported both Mock’s efforts for the independence of Slovenia and Croatia after the outbreak of hostilities in the former Yugoslavia in the summer of 1991, as well as his policy towards Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. He and Alois Mock’s successor as Foreign Minister, the future Federal Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel, also had a mutual appreciation for each other, especially in the context of the 2004 EU enlargement and beyond.

Lastly, I would like to mention one of Otto’s lesser-known achievements in relation to Austria, namely his support for Austria’s accession to the EU as a Member of the European Parliament. In the European Parliament, Otto von Habsburg, who all political groups respected, was one of Austria’s most committed advocates and campaigned for the highest possible vote for Austria. After the successful conclusion of Austria’s accession negotiations on the night of 1 to 2 March 1994, the European Parliament had to vote on the membership before the national referendum on 12 June 1994. The voting took place in the European Parliament on 4 May 1994. Approval was foreseeable, but not the extent of the result: the overwhelming outcome – 378 votes in favour,

24 against, 61 abstentions – was, along with Austria’s other supporters in the European Parliament, achieved partly by Otto, whose efforts, in reality, were hardly appreciated. The impressive parliamentary vote had a psychological repercussion, not to be underestimated, on the Austrian referendum, whose outcome was still highly uncertain in the spring of 1994.

After his passing in Pöcking in the summer of 2011, Otto’s funeral in the Stephanskirche cathedral in Vienna and his final resting place in the Kapuzinergruft became a state, albeit informal, event. It was a sign of cross-party esteem in his homeland.

As a final note, after Russia invaded Ukraine, two of Otto’s speeches last year received a lot of views and “spread like wildfire” on the internet in Austria for weeks. In the speeches in Bregenz in 2003 and Wolfurt in 2005, Otto cautioned in harsh words and unambiguous terms against Vladimir Putin’s Russia, warning against its political methods and aggressive foreign policy intentions. From today’s perspective, this was a prophetic statement, but we would probably all have been happier if Otto von Habsburg’s words had not acquired the tragic topicality that they have since 24 February 2022.

*The speech was delivered in German at the conference  
“The Future of Central Europe – The Legacy of Otto von Habsburg”  
(Collegium Hungaricum, Vienna, 24 January 2023)*



*The historic handshake between Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky and Otto von Habsburg.  
In the background is Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi. (1972)*



# CHARLES 100

## FROM GÖDÖLLŐ TO GÖDÖLLŐ

Commemorative events on the occasion of the centenary  
of the death of Blessed Charles von Habsburg,  
Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary



*Emperor and King Charles inspecting the troops at the Prater in Vienna (30 April 1918.)*



## Gödöllő, 25 March

On 25 March 2022, a commemorative conference entitled “Good Will and Misfortune” took place in the Royal Palace of Gödöllő, organised by the Otto von Habsburg Foundation in cooperation with the VERITAS Research Institute for History and Archives on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the death of Emperor and King Charles von Habsburg.

The conference presented and contextualised the activities of King and Emperor Charles and their reception in Hungary and internationally from a political-historical perspective, while at the same time it sought to provide an insight into some aspects of the private life of the monarch and his family through personal sources (diaries and photographs). Resonating with the main idea of the conference – that the last Austrian Emperor and Hungarian King’s well-intentioned political actions were mostly overridden by historical circumstances – the presentations raised a number of points that may be worth considering in the process of placing Charles I (IV) in historical memory and reconsidering the image of his career.

In view of the importance of the political principles and legacy of Otto von Habsburg’s father, Emperor and King Charles, as well as the continuity of family and dynastic values, our Foundation pays due attention to his memory. The participants of the conference had the opportunity to view our roll-up exhibition on Charles von Habsburg, entitled “*Life and Memory*”, as well as the one on Otto von Habsburg, entitled “*Life and Heritage*”, which was also presented in Gödöllő for the first time two years ago.

We published the lectures of the conference in a book, about which more later.



## Vienna, 21 March

Organised by the Collegium Hungaricum with the collaboration of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, an Austro-Hungarian academic conference was held in Vienna on 21 March 2022. During the day-long conference, invited speakers shared the results of their recent historical research with the audience. Two renowned Viennese professors of history, MANFRIED RAUCHENSTEINER and LOTHAR HÖBELT, analysed the military and foreign policy of the last monarch of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (their papers, together with those of DAVID SCHRIFFL, are also available in Hungarian in our volume published under the same title as our conference of 25 March – “Good Will and Misfortune”).

CHRISTOPHER BRENNAN, a British historian researching in Vienna, took a new look at Emperor Charles’ attempts to reform Austria, while incorporating the Empire’s nationality policy into his presentation. On the Hungarian side, RÓBERT FIZIKER, chief archivist and historian, outlined the attempts of Charles to return in 1921, while IVÁN BERTÉNYI, JR. evaluated the Hungarian domestic policy efforts of the late monarch. Among the speakers was GERGELY FEJÉRDY, Deputy Director of our Foundation, who presented the last ruler of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy from the perspective of his son, Otto von Habsburg, based on his memoirs.

## Lisbon, 24 March

The Hungarian and Austrian Embassies in Lisbon and the Universidade Católica Portuguesa (Portuguese Catholic University), in cooperation with the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, organised an academic event on 24 March about the last Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, Charles von Habsburg. ISABEL CAPELOA GIL, Rector of the University, greeted the audience, which included a number of ambassadors accredited to Portugal, as well as academic and ecclesiastical representatives. The event was opened by MIKLÓS HALMAI and CHRISTOPH MERAN, Ambassadors of Hungary and Austria, and GEORG VON HABSBERG, Hungarian Ambassador to Paris and Member of the Board of our Foundation. In a personal video message, the grandson of the former monarch shed light on the family and historical connections.

After the introductory remarks, the participants listened to presentations on the life of the last monarch of the Austro-Hungarian Empire from different perspectives. ANDREAS GOTTMANN, Director of the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome, focused mainly on the challenges of the First World War and the final days of the Monarchy. JOSÉ MIGUEL SARDICA, professor of the Portuguese Catholic University, focused on the former monarch’s days in Madeira, while GERGELY FEJÉRDY, Deputy Director of our Foundation, spoke about Charles from the perspective of Otto von Habsburg, the son of the King and Emperor who died 100 years ago. The conference was moderated by LUISA LEAL DE FARIA, President of the University’s academic working group.

Our English-language roll-up exhibition of nine panels, entitled “*Life and Memory*”, was also a great success. The Deputy Scientific Director of our Foundation, together with Austrian historian Andreas Gottmann, also gave a long interview to the editor of the daily newspaper *Diário de Notícias*.



## Madeira, 31 March – 1 April

On 1 April 1922, Charles I (IV), Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, father of Otto von Habsburg, died in Funchal, the capital of the Portuguese island of Madeira. On the occasion of the 100th anniversary commemoration series, our Foundation, in cooperation with the Embassy of Hungary in Lisbon and local organisers, presented a roll-up exhibition of nine panels in English, along with a Portuguese-language version in the form of a brochure.

The collection of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation contains numerous photographs and manuscript diaries documenting the daily life of the royal family during their time in exile. GERGELY FEJÉRDY and our colleagues compiled the text of the exhibition mainly from these sources. We have already presented the Hungarian version of the roll-up exhibition at our conference “Good Will and Misfortune” on 25 March, where SZILVESZTER DÉKÁNY, our colleague in charge of the photo collection, gave a presentation on the material relating to Charles, and ESZTER FÁBRY, archivist of our Foundation talked about the processing of the diaries written in Madeira, which we recently received from Archduchess Walburga Habsburg Douglas, daughter of our namesake. The work of the two of them contributed to the success of the exhibition in Madeira, which provided new discoveries for both local researchers and the descendants of Charles, who were present on the island.

The panels were first set up in the Cathedral of Funchal. The church, consecrated in 1517, was the venue for the 31 March commemorative concert and the next day’s memorial mass. Based on our experience, the exhibition and our publications have been a great help in historical understanding, even for those who knew a little about the history of Central Europe and the Habsburg dynasty, not to mention those who, through the memorial sites and posters, are somewhat familiar with “Beato Carlos d’Austria” – as he is called in Madeira – but know little about his historical role and the reasons for his beatification.



The final destination of our exhibition was the Church of Our Lady of the Mount, in Monte, on the hillside above Funchal, next to the final resting place of the last Hungarian King. There, on the morning of 2 April, we handed the exhibition over to the parish and to the Honorary Consul of Hungary in Funchal, PEDRO FRANCA FERREIRA. This will make it possible in the future for all pilgrims to learn about the life of Emperor and King Charles.

However, our journey served a further purpose beyond commemoration and education. We had already suspected that there might be many interesting photographs and documents in Portuguese collections and in the possession of descendants of the royal family and their entourage. We, therefore, visited the Madeira Photography Museum – Atelier Vicente’s in the centre of Funchal, housed in the former studio of the photographic dynasty that had played an important role in capturing the public and private lives of islanders since the heyday of photography. We agreed with the leaders of the museum to share digital copies of unique photos missing from the other’s collection.

We had similarly important discussions with the management of the Madeira Regional Archives. The diplomatic and political context of the exile of the royal family, the internal consultations of the Portuguese authorities, the often-secret correspondence between the head offices in Lisbon and the authorities in Madeira can shed light on many historical issues that have been unknown to researchers. We discussed this with EDUARDO JESUS, Regional Secretary for Tourism and Culture, and Karl von Habsburg.

We also visited the remains of the former residence of the royal family. Portuguese colleagues are planning to create a museum on the site that will showcase the intellectual currents of the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. A room dedicated to the memory of Charles and his family will be installed here, for which we offered our Foundation’s help.



## Madeira, 27 June

An exhibition organised in collaboration between the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and the Regional Archive and Public Library of Madeira (Arquivo Regional e Biblioteca Pública da Madeira) opened in Funchal on 27 June 2022.

The event, which presented the history of Charles von Habsburg and his family on the island, was attended by NUNO BRÁS DA SILVA MARTINS, Bishop of Funchal, Eduardo Jesus, Regional Secretary for Tourism and Culture, RUBINA MARIA BRANCO LEAL VARGAS, Vice President of the Board of the Legislative Assembly of Madeira, PEDRO FRANÇA FERREIRA, Honorary Consul of Hungary, NUNO MOTA, Director of the Archive, and PEDRO DE ALMEIDA, grandson of João de Almeida, who was a great support to the Habsburg family in 1922. Our Foundation was represented by GERGELY FEJÉRDY, Deputy Director, SZILVESZTER DÉKÁNY, Senior Collection Fellow and LAURA BALÁZS, Communications Manager.

The exhibition commemorating the former monarch, who died 100 years ago, presents a substantial selection of diaries, photographs and press articles from the collection of the local archive, as well as from the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, showing the everyday life of Charles

and his family in Madeira between November 1921 and May 1922. Subsequent visits by family members to Funchal were also included in the exhibition, such as the visit of our Foundation's namesake in 1972. The display presents a number of archival sources that have never been made public before. The event had significant press coverage in Portugal.

As a surprise at the opening, Pedro de Almeida presented the baptismal gown of Emperor Charles, in which Otto von Habsburg and his brothers were later also baptised. As we wrote in a short article on our Foundation's website in 2020, the Almeida family, who are related to the Portuguese royal family, received this gown from Queen Zita in 1923 and they have kept it in great esteem ever since.

Prior to the event, a cooperation agreement was signed by Gergely Fejérdy, Deputy Director on behalf of the



Otto von Habsburg Foundation, and Eduardo Jesus, Regional Secretary on behalf of the Regional Archive and Library (and the Regional Secretariat for Tourism and Culture). In the document, the two parties set out their intention of long-term cooperation. This included the presentation of the exhibition in Hungary, and the publication of a joint volume of documents on the Habsburg family's months in Madeira, both of which objectives were completed during the year.



The photographic archivist of our Foundation, Szilveszter Dékány, also had a meeting with the management of the Madeira Photography Museum (Museu de Fotografia da Madeira – Atelier Vicente's). It was agreed that we could use images from their collection for our planned resource publication in the autumn. Moreover, they discussed the display of previously unseen photographs in Hungary of Charles's family's stay in Madeira and the later visits of Otto von Habsburg.

The roll-up exhibition made by our Foundation entitled "Charles von Habsburg – Life and Memory" continues to be on display until the end of the commemorative year, 1 April 2023, in the building next to the Church of Our Lady of the Mount, the final resting place of the last Emperor and King, on the hillside above Funchal.

## Porto, 6 December

The Embassy of Hungary in Lisbon, in cooperation with the Portuguese Catholic University in Porto, organised a conference on the occasion of the centenary of the death of Blessed Charles on 6 December 2022. Participants of the well-attended conference were greeted live online by Ambassador GEORG VON HABSBERG, grandson of the last monarch, followed by a presentation by religious diplomacy expert MÁRK ÉRSZEGI on the life of Charles IV in Hungary. Other speakers at the event included Professor of Theology ABEL CANNAVARO, Dean of the Faculty of Theology, who spoke about messages of the beatified monarch's life, ISABEL BRAGA DA CRUZ, Director of the University, and Ambassador MIKLÓS HALMAI, who highlighted the influence of Charles on his eldest son Otto.





## Gödöllő, 28 November

The evening, organised by the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and the Royal Palace of Gödöllő, was opened by GERGELY PRÓHLE. The Director of our Foundation emphasised that the principles and example of Charles are significant not only for the understanding of European and Hungarian history, but because the character and mentality of his son can also be traced back to them. ISTVÁN RÁKÓCZI, a researcher on the history of relations between Portugal and Hungary, reminded us that historians had already spun fictitious links between the dynasties of the two countries in the Middle Ages, and that these had become real ties over the centuries as the Habsburgs had taken on a prominent political role.

Moving on to the 20th century, SÁNDOR SZAKÁLY, Director of the VERITAS Research Institute for History and Archives, highlighted the reader-friendly, not overly scholarly nature of the volume, which was compiled from the material presented at a conference in Gödöllő in the spring. He said that, although the discussed events are from a hundred years ago, our perception of them may still be evolving: he cited as examples the value of the source material of forgotten writings published in the 1920s and events such as the meeting between Miklós Horthy and Otto von Habsburg in the 1950s, of which no written record is yet known. Szakály also does not see the debate about Otto's potential later political role in Hungary as closed: in his view, Horthy did not for some time reject the possibility of handing over power to a ruler of his choice (even a Habsburg) – an option left open by the wording of the law on the dethronement of the dynasty.

DÁVID LIGETI, researcher at VERITAS Institute, spoke about the new perspectives offered by the studies. The focus on the person of Charles seems to be important for him, as shown by Gergely Kovács in his article on the beatified monarch. Ligeti believes that our post-1945 historiography is primarily responsible for the negative perception of Charles's political activities.

However, the one-sided view has become much more balanced in recent decades, as has the assessment of so much else that has happened in the 400 years of the common monarchy. It is due to this change that Austrian historians are now more focused on Charles's role as King of Hungary.

GERGELY FEJÉRDY, one of the editors of the volume, praising the corpus focusing on the exiled family's everyday life in Madeira, spoke about the opinions that still exist today but can be refuted based on the documents. Among these, he mentioned the family's total lack of money, which prompted them to move from Funchal to a mountain villa far from the coast (the variability of climatic conditions may have been to blame for the tragedy that occurred.) The Foundation's Deputy Scientific Director explained that the main reason for the move was that the family was fed up with the inconvenience of tourists and had sought a more inaccessible place on the island to live. The notes of the governesses who served alongside the family also offer a new perspective, bringing the reader almost intimately into the lives of the children and their parents, their physical and mental conditions (their illnesses, their toys, their upbringing, and their visits to Holy Masses and their holidays). The diaries can also help to clarify the image of Queen Zita, whose loving strictness, stubbornness and perseverance towards her children were much needed during her life with her husband, but especially during the decades of her widowhood. Her energy never waned as she prepared Otto to rule, and she long believed that she would see her son on the throne.

On behalf of the Portuguese guests of honour, MIGUEL FILIPE MACHADO DE ALBUQUERQUE, Head of the Regional Government of Madeira, thanked the organisers for their work and praised the volume, which was the result of a joint effort. He said that the legacy of Charles had been a part of Madeira's cultural memory for a hundred years (*"the emperor is in the heart of the people"*) for a simple reason: it is the things that are preserved in the culture and in the heart that resist the passage of time.





The First World War, the post-war settlement and the 100 years since then was put in a global and geopolitical framework by Mária Schmidt. The Director General of the House of Terror Museum praised the Habsburgs' brilliant statesmanship, which enabled the Danube Empire to defend Central Europe from German, Russian and Turkish invasions for centuries. However, the crucial international network of their dynasty was dismantled by the short-sighted decisions of the peace treaties around Paris. These things soon led to the region falling prey to the National Socialist and Communist ideologies. The researcher argues that thirty years after the regime change, the current powers in the West are still prisoners of the patterns that were fixed in 1918-20, as if forgetting how the Monarchy's multi-ethnic, multi-cultural kaleidoscope represented a rich, liveable world. *"The wound in the heart of Europe will never heal until it is filled with the mortar of mutual respect, of recognition of common interests and goodwill"* she concluded.

With the book launch and exhibition opening in Gödöllő, the Hungarian events of the year of the double anniversary have come to an end, but the exhibition will still be open in 2023 at several locations, including Gyula.



## Exiled in Madeira

### Exhibition Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the Death of King and Emperor Charles von Habsburg

A selection from the collections of the Regional Archive and Public Library of Madeira and the Otto von Habsburg Foundation

On 19 November 1921, Emperor and King Charles deposed from his throne, and Queen Zita of Bourbon-Parma arrived on the island of Madeira, where they spent a few months of their exile, together with their children who later joined them. The last monarch of the Austro-Hungarian Empire died on 1 April 1922. This was a fateful turning point in the life of the whole family, but above all of the heir to the throne, Otto von Habsburg, who was barely ten years old at the time. In 2022, to mark the centenary of the death of Blessed Charles, the Regional Archive and Public Library of Madeira organised an exhibition of documents from its collection to commemorate the time the royal family spent in Madeira and their relationship with the islanders. The Otto von Habsburg Foundation contributed to the project in Funchal through a cooperation agreement with the State Secretariat for Culture in Madeira, and then presented the exhibition in Hungary, with items from its own collection and some relevant information to the Hungarian public.

Curators of the exhibition: ESZTER FÁBRY and BEÁTA VITOS-MERZA



# PUBLICATIONS

## KLAUS VON DOHNANYI: NATIONAL INTERESTS

A Guide for German and European Policy in Times of Global Changes.



## Learning from History – new book series

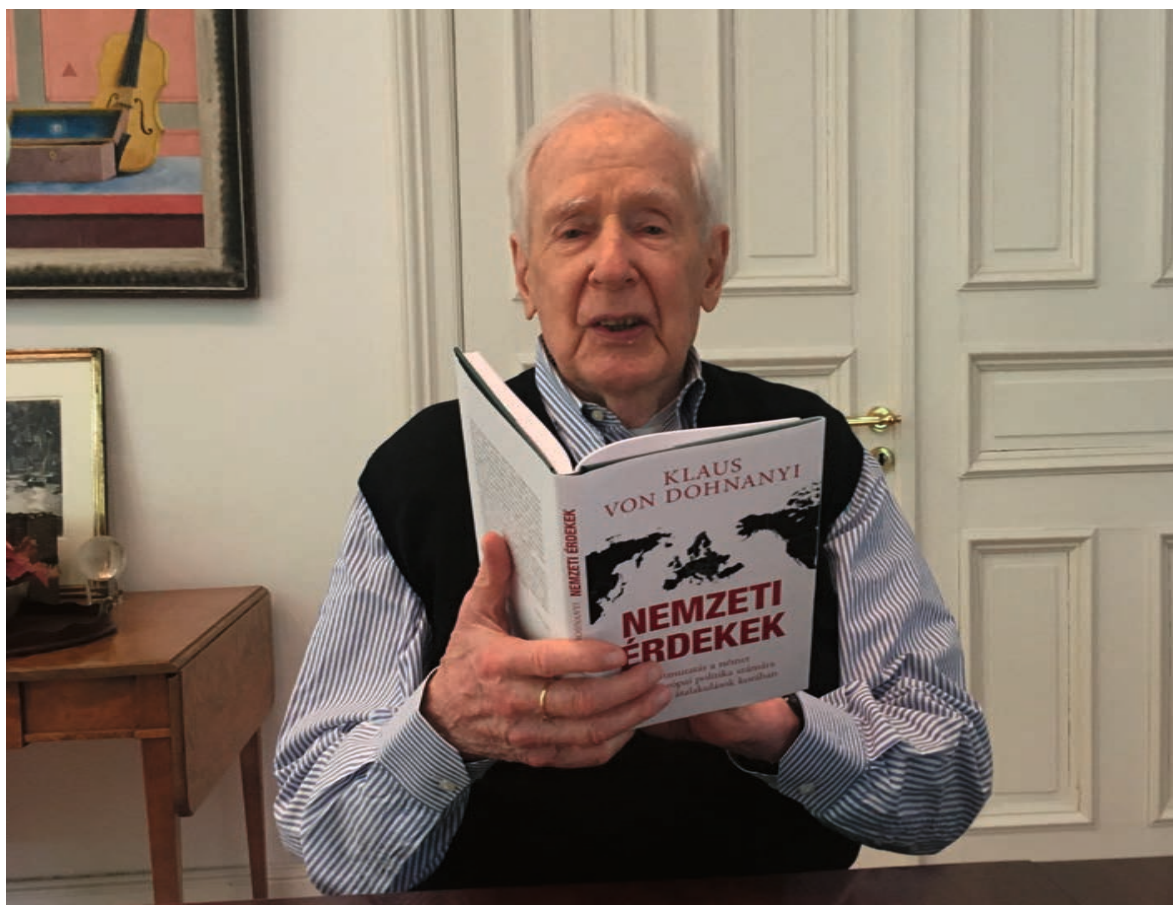
With the launch of our new book series, *Magistra Vitae*, we are publishing a series of historical and political writings that relate to the ideas and concepts of Otto von Habsburg. As with all our other endeavours, we are striving to develop our publishing activities organically, and after careful planning – in addition to the already familiar, album-like volumes, we are focusing above all on the translation of our namesake's writings and on compiling them into a selection of anthologies following present-day topicalities.

Alongside these principles, we are also monitoring the international book market to see if we can find a work that fits in with our Foundation's objectives. This is how we came across Professor Martyn Rady's volume on the Habsburgs long before the publication of the excellent Hungarian version by Helikon Publishers, which led to the author being our guest (see page 30). We are planning further collaboration with him.

The publishing concept took an unexpected turn when, in the autumn of 2021, during a conversation with my good old friend KLAUS VON DOHNANYI (1928), I learned that he was working on a book analysing the political situation in Europe today, which would also set out assignments for the continent's decision-makers. He sent me the manuscript, and after reading the section on the European Union, it soon became apparent that Dohnanyi was clearly in favour of a subsidiarity Europe, in other words, the idea of a Europe acting at the level appropriate to each individual case.







The book was written before the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian war, as well as the decision to publish it in Hungarian. As a result, some of Dohnanyi's statements are put in a new light, since he, like most of us, had not anticipated the Russian military attack. Nevertheless, his vast political and historical experience and thorough knowledge of literature can provide important clues regarding the great powers, the European Union and its Member States' room for manoeuvre and their economic and security policy. This became clear during the discussion at the book launch on 10 June.

The realpolitik approach is often accused of honouring power over values. Klaus von Dohnanyi's thinking is hardly questionable in its inherent value-ladenness, but this never distracts him from the search for the path to realisation.

The first volume of the *Magistra Vitae* series has been a great success in Hungary.

Gergely Pröhle

The assertion of national interests and the idea of European integration are not mutually exclusive; it is only a matter of developing the right mechanisms to manage conflicts of interest. Consequently, we decided to publish *National Interests – A Guide for German and European Policy in Times of Global Changes* in Hungarian a few months after its release in Germany, and it has been at the top of the German bestseller lists for many months.

The author comes from a historical family: his grandfather Ernő Dohnányi (1877–1960) was a composer and pianist, and his father Hans von Dohnanyi (1902–1945) was a lawyer and high-ranking German civil servant, executed for his involvement in the anti-Hitler assassination plot. His mother was Christine (1903–1965), sister of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, an Lutheran theologian whom the Nazis also executed. As a member of Willy Brandt's and Helmut Schmidt's governments, Klaus von Dohnanyi was not only a witness but also a shaper of West German politics during the Cold War years. With a strong transatlantic commitment, yet aware of the significance of national histories, he always took a Realpolitik approach to current affairs, never ignoring the long-term implications.





In 2022 – as the contents of this volume will show – we commemorated a double jubilee: the 110th anniversary of the birth of Otto von Habsburg and the centenary of the death of his father. We explored the fate of the last Austrian emperor and Hungarian king at a conference held in Gödöllő in the spring with the participation of staff of the VERITAS Historical Research Institute and Archives, whilst in the second half of the year, we compiled sources – largely previously unpublished in Hungarian – on Charles von Habsburg's last months in exile. The two volumes were presented to the public on 28 November at the Royal Palace of Gödöllő.

## GOOD WILL AND MISFORTUNE

Could the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy have been saved if the young monarch, who had ascended to the throne a few months earlier, had quit the war in 1917, abandoning his allies? Or was the political system of 'Kakania', as Robert Musil famously termed it, unviable in any case, with a framework that would have crumbled sooner or later anyway, even without a war? Was Charles a clairvoyant but belated reformer or a dilettante helplessly floundering in the face of events? Was there any hope of success in his attempted return to the Hungarian throne in 1921? How did the monarch of Europe's most historic dynasty, dethroned in his last days in Madeira, reckon with his truncated life? What did he bequeath to his children and young widow?

A hundred years after his death in exile, historians and the general public are still evaluating the historical role of the last Austrian Emperor and Hungarian King. The essays in this volume will help to answer these questions and thus shape posterity's perception of Charles.

## EXILED IN MADEIRA

A world war lost, an empire in ruins, a social cataclysm, and a state of civil war. The confiscation of the wealth of a dynasty that had ruled provinces, continents and dozens of nations for half a millennium left the family at the mercy of the victorious powers. This was the reality the last Austrian Emperor and Hungarian King faced after a two-year reign in 1918–1919.

The publication deals only tangentially with major political issues but offers a glimpse into the daily life of an exiled ruling family. Where the trivialities of a relocation override the embitterment of lost power and influence and where the well-being of the seven children – and the unborn eighth – who represent the future is paramount. Where the much-vaunted words of honour and service take on new meanings.

Charles closed his eyes for the last time in Madeira on 1 April 1922, knowing that the people closest to him, at least, did not regard his short life as a failure. He had reckoned with himself and his Creator, and through his fortitude, he had shown his heir, the first-born Otto, how a Christian monarch bears his misfortune, how he leaves this life on earth with humility and reconciliation. With faith and a clear conscience. And that was probably the most important legacy he could leave him.







*Otto von Habsburg at his home in front of a painting of Emperor and King Charles (1965)*

## Outlook

On 24 February 2022, following the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian war, two videos of my father, Otto von Habsburg's lecture and interview about Russia's traditionally expansionist policies and the real intentions of Russian President Putin, attracted increased attention. Many have asked me what explains this political astuteness, this ability to discern real strategic ambitions. My father was well-versed in history, encompassing our family's centuries of experience.

The Otto von Habsburg Foundation's 2022 programmes, the commemorations of the 100th anniversary of the passing of my grandfather, King Charles IV, among other things, highlighted how the last Hungarian King and Austrian Emperor's political ideas and plans – which he himself could not implement – found their way into the political thinking of his son. Goodwill, adherence to values and the tension between true capability and possibility are always intensified in times of crisis – and in the present day.

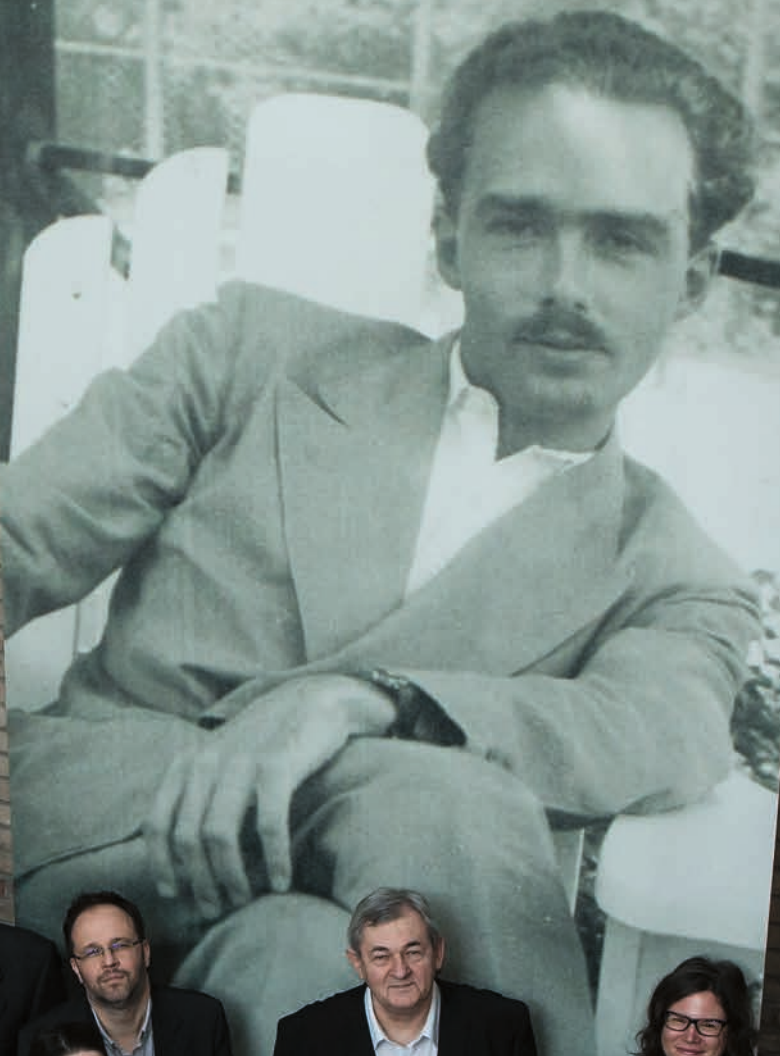
I am glad that the Foundation's 2023 programme will repeatedly ask: what can we learn from the past? In what proportions are continuity and renewal present in history? Does an understanding of history aid our navigation in today's world? Throughout his political career, my father was always concerned about how the world of values and interests can be balanced; and how practical and useful decisions can be made in principle.

I consider it crucial that we are able to seek answers to these questions through the ever-widening knowledge of my father's legacy. The processing of documents and photographs is progressing well, and it is no coincidence that more and more people, both at home and abroad, are taking an interest in the activities of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation. The photo album, to be published in 2023, will follow his life and career from a personal point of view, which is bound to increase this appeal further. I am delighted that members of our family, wherever they may live in the world, have recognised the significance of the Foundation and Archive in Budapest and are seeking more frequently to cooperate and enrich the collection with their donations.

We are grateful that despite the economic difficulties, the Foundation's budget support can remain unchanged in 2023. In my professional life – especially nowadays, as Hungarian Ambassador in Paris – I frequently ask myself how my father would have acted in my place. He can no longer answer that question, but I am sure that knowing his oeuvre will help us find the right path. It is a pleasure that we can still count on him in 2023.

GEORG VON HABSBURG  
Ambassador, Member of the Board





**Team of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation**

Director  
GERGELY PRÓHLE

Deputy Scientific Director  
GERGELY FEJÉRDY

Chief Financial Officer  
ÁGNES PÁSZTOR

Financial Officer  
ÁGNES MARTONOSI

Office Manager  
LILI BARANYAI

Communication and events  
LAURA BALÁZS  
LILI HERCZEG

Senior Collection Fellow  
SZILVESZTER DÉKÁNY

Senior Archivist  
ESZTER GAÁLNÉ BARCS  
ISTVÁN GERGELY SZÚTS

Archivist  
ANETT HAMMER-NACSA  
ESZTER KARDONNÉ FÁBRY  
BENCE KOCSEV  
PIROSKA KOCSIS  
ZOLTÁN ÓLMOSI  
BEÁTA VITOS-MERZA

Librarian  
FERENC VASBÁNYAI

Collection Fellow  
ZITA LÓRINCZ

Office Assistant  
FERENC NAGY



