



OTTO VON HABSURG FOUNDATION

Annual Report

2023

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OTTO VON HABSBURG FOUNDATION

Annual Report

2023

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Foreword

I first met Otto von Habsburg in New York in 1969 when he gave a lecture at the Hungarian House. Following my departure from Hungary in 1966, I had been living in the United States for a year, where I had made many personal connections with the émigré communities of my compatriots. The visits of Otto von Habsburg were always significant events, and his addresses on world politics and the plight of Hungarians were highly popular. Although there were several factions within the diaspora, the presence of the former Crown Prince was a unifying force: regardless of religious or political background, Otto was an unequivocal authority for everyone. It was not, or not only because he was respected as a potential monarch, but rather because of what he had to say and how he would speak. With vast knowledge, experience, political acumen, and great empathy for those who remained in the motherland.

We would see each other again nearly a decade and a half later, in the 1980s, this time in Europe, in the Swiss Alps. As a Member of the European Parliament, he was spending his winter break with his family in the mountains, where I had the pleasure of accompanying him on many of his long walks. He was clearly exhilarated that he could not only comment on events now but also shape them as an active politician—with no shortage of ambition. It also became apparent at that moment how much responsibility he felt for the people living behind the Iron Curtain, especially the Hungarians. He kept abreast of developments in socialist Hungary, knew exactly who was who, and how signs of détente were showing in the communist system. We crossed paths several times during the period of regime change as well. He considered it a special blessing to witness the political changes and the reunification of Europe.

When discussions began in 2016 with representatives of the Government of Hungary on establishing the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, the memories outlined above were of invaluable guidance in defining the Foundation's mission. It was evident that, in addition to preserving and processing the many documents and photographs, great attention should be devoted to caring for the intellectual legacy.

Five years on from when the Otto von Habsburg Foundation started its active work, I am delighted to discover that browsing through our website and our book *99 Years—99 Photos* brings to life my youthful conversations with our namesake, the atmosphere of a packed auditorium in New York, and the enthusiasm of the European politician.

On behalf of the Board of Trustees, I would like to thank the Prime Minister's Office and the Bethlen Gábor Fund for their support. I also thank the Foundation's team for preserving, processing, and making accessible Otto von Habsburg's material and intellectual heritage, thereby evoking the spirit of this remarkable figure for those who never had the chance to meet him.

ISTVÁN NAGY
Chairman of the Board

Introduction

The photograph across the page captures a moment that, although an ordinary scene, is of profound meaning for the activities of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation. On the wall of our office hangs a painting by Mariska Klammer, a lesser-known but prolific genre painter of the first half of the 20th century, which was gifted to our collection by Tamás Kieselbach in the spring of 2023. The donation was prompted not only by the generosity of the renowned art dealer, but also by the fact that the painting depicts a full-length portrait of four-year-old Otto von Habsburg by Gyula Benczúr—a picture within a picture—on the wall of a salon in the Buda Castle. This piece of cultural history reminds us day after day that in the kingless Kingdom of Hungary, in the Horthy era, the character of the last heir to the Hungarian throne was present beyond the legitimist circles, while Otto was at that time residing in Spain and Belgium, cultivating his knowledge with the help of Hungarian teachers, and professors in Leuven. One member of the group facing back to the photographer was an unexpected guest: David Henrie, a famous American actor and director, visited us with his entourage, who are planning to make a movie about the life of Emperor and King Charles and the young Otto. A historical archive such as ours has to excel in philological accuracy and the topicality of its events—nevertheless, it was a pleasure to witness that the news of our efforts over the past five years has even reached Hollywood.

As the young Crown Prince, the genre painter, the art dealer, and the notables of the contemporary cinematic world come together in this fleeting encounter, we are reminded of the impressive and diverse networks that Otto von Habsburg developed throughout his life. Through the various documents and photographs we have already processed, new historical, personal, and private connections are revealed, which we strived to present in 2023 as well, in conjunction with anniversaries and other occasions. Our namesake was fond of recounting his family's centuries-long influence on the history of Europe, always highlighting how this dynastic experience had shaped his way of thinking. This sense of the continuity of history became evident numerous times throughout our events, whether we held discussions on the anniversary of the signing of the Élysée Treaty, the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty, Central European cooperation, the 100th anniversary of the birth of Henry Kissinger, or the 250th anniversary of that of his great inspiration, Prince Metternich. Otto von Habsburg's correspondences, articles, and essays on each topic trace a greater arc that, through historical context, helps us understand the contradictions of contemporary Europe.

It was a great pleasure and an honour for me and our Foundation that in 2023, many distinguished Hungarian and international scientific and political personalities contributed to our work and actively participated in our programmes. We are grateful for the support of our Board Members, and I am particularly thankful that my colleagues' working pace, diligence, and enthusiasm are verging on that of Otto von Habsburg.

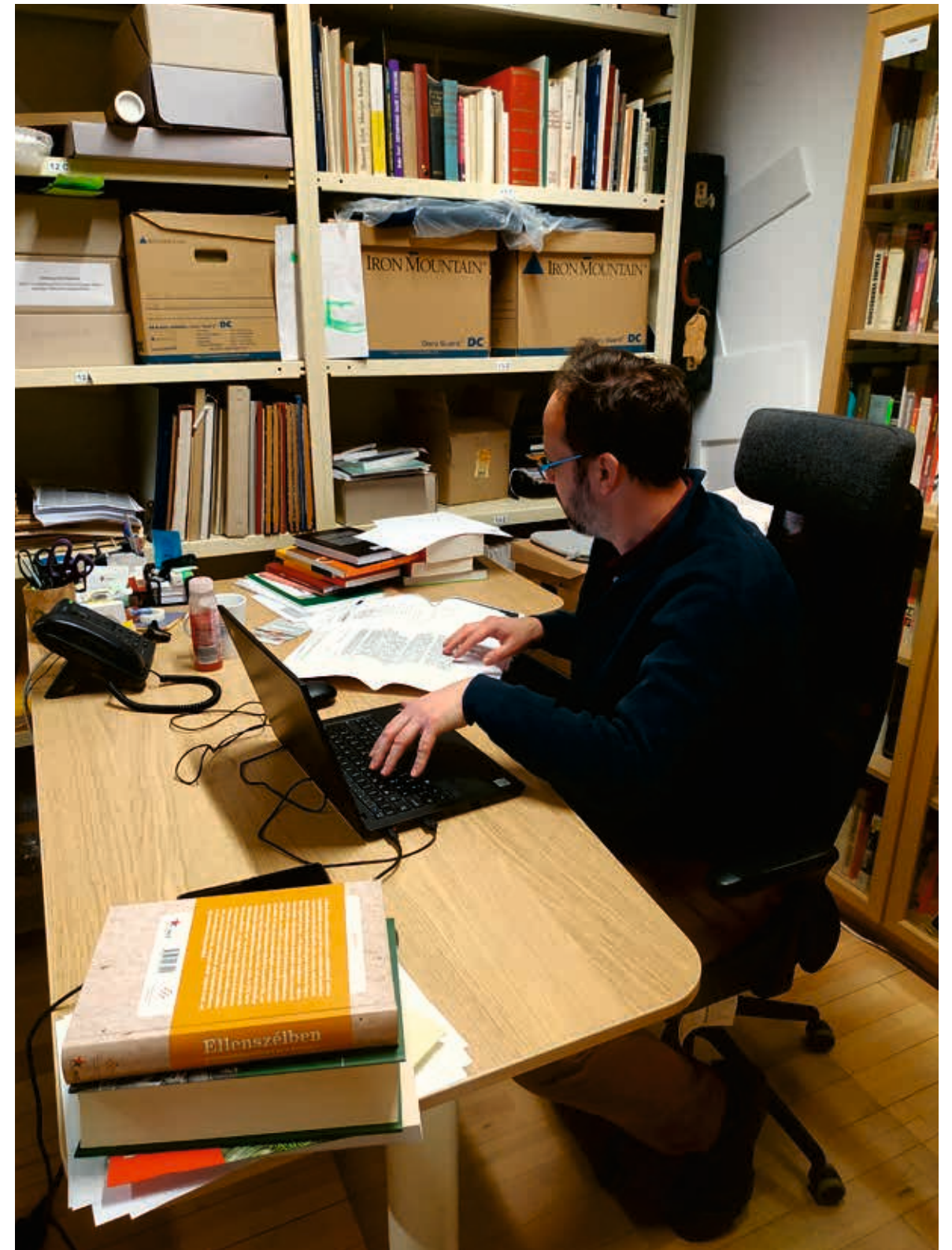
GERGELY PRÖHLE
Director



THE COLLECTION

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE

The Otto von Habsburg Foundation was established in accordance with Act XCIX of 2016 (adopted unanimously by the Hungarian National Assembly) with the aim of preserving and promoting the oeuvre, legacy, and memory of Otto von Habsburg, last heir to the Austro–Hungarian throne and Member of the European Parliament. The tangible heritage, comprising more than 100 linear metres of documents, 11,000 books and 30,000 photographs, arrived in Hungary in autumn 2018. The primary task of the Foundation is to process, digitise and make this material accessible. Over the past five years, we have developed the operational structure, and our colleagues explore each part of the collection with great philological precision and, at the same time, with an interest in the larger historical context, making it available to the broader public.



Exploration and Cataloguing

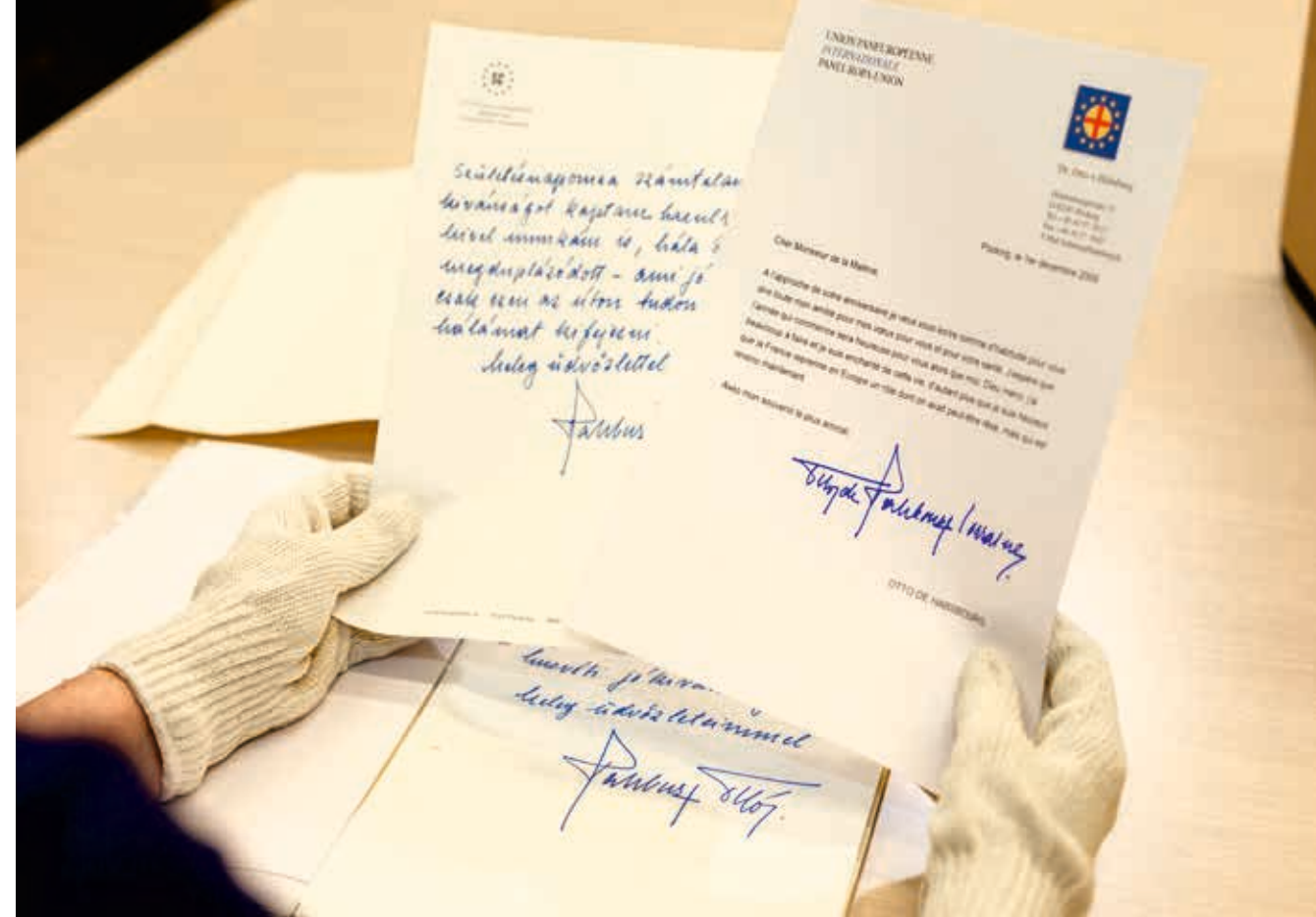
In 2023, the processing of documents, photographs and objects held by the Foundation continued. The arrangement of the material, considering archival criteria, required some deviations from the 2021 plan, both in terms of processing and digitisation. The dossiers have been reorganised on several occasions, and the dating and classification of the documents have been clarified in a number of cases. When gaps were detected during the sorting process, they were registered separately, while duplicates were removed.

As a result of the archival work of 2023, the articles, studies, and conference presentations, as well as interviews and media coverage, several researchers and professors approached our Foundation. The regulation effective from 1 January 2022 applies to the research in our collection; we provide access to the documents in digital format after consulting with the individuals and family members concerned.

Website 2.0

Our website has been upgraded this year. We sought to improve access to our content for those interested in our activities and to give a broader account of our achievements since our establishment.

The webpage has become more user-friendly, with a more transparent interface for the collection and separate sub-pages for the different sections, such as the archives, the library and the photographic collection.



In addition, the Foundation is committed to preserving the intellectual legacy of its namesake through publications and programmes that relate to his thoughts. To ensure that those interested are always kept informed on these matters, dedicated sections in the header of our homepage, were created. We hope that these modifications will also serve as a useful tool for research on Otto von Habsburg's oeuvre.

From the beginning of 2023, parts of the material are gradually being made available to the public on our new online platform, the Digital Archive.

Terms of Use of Published Material on the Otto von Habsburg Digital Archive

The collection database of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation is constantly expanding. Visitors can access the records from the homepage either by simple or complex search. In the latter case, keywords and subject headings can be used to browse through photographs and documents with text recognition. The content in the database is based on the registers of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and are under copyright protection. When using or quoting them, the general rules of internet citation must be followed.



ARCHIVES

Processed Collection Units

The work carried out in the collections area was supervised monthly, and tasks were allocated according to the established practice of previous years. Collection meetings were held regularly in 2023 to discuss professional matters. However, due to precise professional coordination and the excellent work environment, there is an ongoing dialogue on the organisation, digitisation, and processing of the collection.

Compared to 2022, nearly 25% more collection units have been partially or fully processed. The digital content management system, which is an electronic library, archive and publication system, is being continuously upgraded, and an increasing quantity of digitised units are becoming available to researchers on the web. By the end of 2023, 2649 catalogued volumes, 30,127 indexed pages and 94 kilometres of searchable text could be accessed from our website. For higher data security, the completed catalogues are stored in Excel spreadsheets.

Under the lease agreement concluded in 2022, part of the library material of lesser historical value (77 boxes, 3579 items) will remain in the Hungarian National Archives of Pest County, where we can access the material at any time after prior consultation.



Organising, Processing and Digitising the Collection

The “Hungarian-language correspondence of Otto von Habsburg 1988–2011” (reference: HOAL I-2-c), which was processed entirely last year, has an item-level catalogue, and the digitisation of about 49,000 pages has been ongoing since 2022. While sorting the other parts of the fonds, additional records belonging to the unit mentioned above were discovered and assigned to the correct sections. Before finalising the work and preparing it for digitisation, a verification sort was carried out on the whole material.

The list of Otto von Habsburg’s known Hungarian correspondents between 1988 and 2011 has been completed and is now available on our website to researchers and others interested in the subject. By identifying nearly 5,500 names on the list, we were able to map out his network of Hungarian connections.

As a continuation of the work that begun last year in the digitisation workshop of the Archabbey of Pannonhalma, in 2023, we entrusted them with the electronic reproduction of nearly 10,000 pages of documents from our archives.

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. The recovery of these papers has continued, and the pages were transcribed into Word format.





Furthermore, we released another substantive part of Otto von Habsburg’s analyses, written in English, French and German between 1952 and 2009 (HOAL I-7). In 2023, from the approximately 10,000 pages of material, including the front pages, the articles produced in 1953 became publicly available.

The processing of Otto von Habsburg’s general correspondence with individuals and organisations—formerly known as “Secretariat papers”— (HOAL I-2-b) has taken on a new impetus. We inventoried 33 boxes (3.96 linear metres of records) this year. The material, which is catalogued in alphabetical order, has been preliminary sorted chronologically from 1953 to 1970, during the course of which a further 1135 correspondents’ records were extracted, placed in palliums and sorted at the item level. A total of 2235 new partners have been identified from that period.

Concurrently, the exchange of letters from 1950 to 1958 was ordered chronologically (3.44 lm), and an index of names was created to facilitate searching, with the addition of 1000 new correspondents.

We compiled the entire correspondence of some of the most relevant figures associated with Otto von Habsburg. These include Henry A. Kissinger, who passed away on 29 November 2023 and whose letters from 1969 to 2009 in the care of our Foundation amount to 428 pages. Also worth noting are Otto von Habsburg’s exchanges with the Mont Pelerin Society and its members (Friedrich August von Hayek, Ludwig von Mises) and the prominent leaders of the Bavarian Christian Social Union (CSU).

Moreover, we consider it essential to gather the surviving correspondence with members of the Hungarian emigration. In addition to the individuals we already know (Tibor Eckhardt, György Bakách-Bessenyei), we should mention such important correspondents as Margit Slachta, the first Hungarian woman elected to the Diet of Hungary; the influential businessman Ferenc Chorin; István Hedry, who was the temporary head of the Hungarian Embassy in London; historian Ede Neumann, and the diplomat Móric Czikánn-Zichy. We have digitised their correspondence with our namesake and made portions of the files available on the public platform of the Digital Archive. At the same time, we also began to classify the “Speeches, Interviews” (HOAL I-4-b) collection.

The sorting and organisation of the archival material formerly held in 46 containers as “Private Family Correspondence” (HOAL I-1), which began in 2021, continued. Based on the classification plan, the documents have been categorised into 17 main themes, with more than 12,395 pages sorted at the medium level and additional units organised at the basic level. The index of the correspondence of Otto von Habsburg, Robert von Habsburg and Heinrich von Degenfeld from 1951 to 1973 has been completed. Similarly, an inventory at the basic level was compiled of the congratulatory messages received in 1961 on the occasion of the birth of the current head of the former ruling family, Karl von Habsburg-Lorraine. Moreover, all damaged records (1951–1955) found during the course of the work have been catalogued and prepared for restoration.

The transcription, annotation, and preparation for publication of the diaries of Countess Viktoria von Mensdorff, Marie-Therese Schmising-Kerssenbrock, and Heinrich von Degenfeld (HOAL I-1-d), written between 6 December 1922 and 20 August 1924, were carried on.



LIBRARY

Otto von Habsburg's collection of books, newspapers and articles is an invaluable part of the material entrusted to our care. The assemblage includes books by our namesake, his writings that appeared in print throughout the decades of his public career, the literature he used for work—at least part of it—, the volumes he received as gifts from admirers and friends and the newsletters and documentation sent to him in his numerous positions in various organisations. The periodical publications are also comprised mainly of press products related to him; some of his articles can be found in them, others in the form of newspaper clippings.

Bibliography Developments

A comprehensive bibliography of Otto von Habsburg's books was compiled, drawing on the electronic catalogues of several national libraries as well as from WorldCat. We are constantly gathering and scanning the partial documents (studies, prefaces, etc.) in the volumes of our namesake and of our collection.



We also began to prepare a bibliography of Otto von Habsburg's articles. Starting from 1969, the related material will be available by year and by page and will be searchable on our website, partly in digitised form. We plan to present, in the course of 2024, a bibliographical publication on Otto's political journalism in periodicals dating from the 1960s.

Moreover, we are constantly monitoring updates to the relevant increments added to the Arcanum and Hungaricana databases.

Acquisition of Holdings

In 2023, our collection was enriched by biographical volumes and writings supporting our conference preparations, books gifted to us, in addition to the material on the history of Hungarian legitimism, which was handed over for copying and scanning by researcher Péter Hartl.

Content Analysis

During the past year, after having completed the full mapping of the articles written by our namesake, we have also studied the content of some of them. These include parts of the press products entitled *Új Európa* (Munich), *Magyar Nemzet* and *Magyar Hírlap* (Budapest), as well as *Vorarlberger Nachrichten* (Bregenz), which were uploaded to the Tripont collection management system. A total of around 850 writings are continuously being made available in digitised form.

Book Processing

In continuation of the work that began last year, we have entered 815 volumes from the library of Otto von Habsburg into the Qulto Collection Management Database, while also adding keywords to the records created.

Writing, Translating, Proofreading

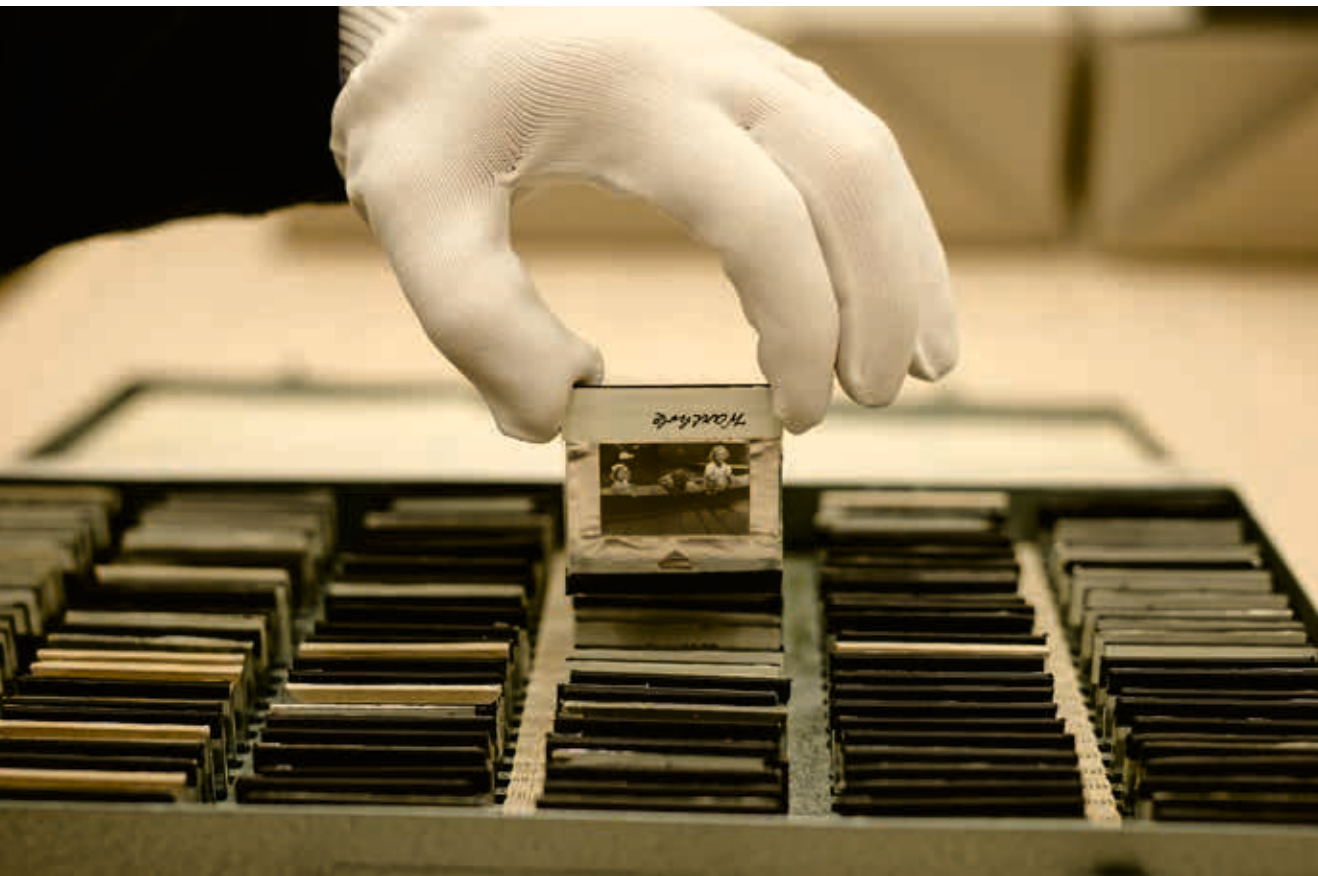
Alongside the official tasks of a librarian, our colleague FERENC VASBÁNYAI contributed to our publications: Annual Report 2022; János Martonyi: *La Continuité de l'Histoire; 99 Years—99 Photos. Photographs from the Life of Otto von Habsburg* (comp. and ed. Szilveszter Dékány), *Trianon Encyclopaedia* (ed. Balázs Ablonczy et al.)—by proofreading, editing, and translating parts of the texts. In addition to the above, he reviewed and copyedited the articles published on our website.

PHOTOGRAPHIC AND AUDIOVISUAL COLLECTION

The photographic archive of around 30,000 pictures accounts for a significant part of Otto von Habsburg's bequest. The collection contains a broad spectrum of photographic techniques of the 20th century, from glass negatives and *cartes-de-visite* ('visiting cards') through transparent slides, black-and-white negatives, and polaroids to digitally captured images developed on paper—over 100 years of photographic technology.

In 2023, the processing of the photo collection (HOAL I-5-a and HOAL I-5-b), which started in 2019, continued. We also revised a substantial part of the imagery from the 2000s (Box 15, HOAL I-5-a 10/I-5-b 10). Erroneous annotations were corrected, and new items were catalogued. Similarly, new units were added to the material from the 1990s (Box 13–14, HOAL I-5-a/I-5-b 9) and the 1970s (Box 11, HOAL I-5-a/I-5-b 7). Overall, 1650 items were included in our photographic inventory. Box No 19, containing a diverse range of material, is currently under arrangement. Inside are photographs related to Otto von Habsburg and the Habsburg family, although for the most part we find in it a collection of photo albums of mixed years and themes, many of which were received as gifts. It also includes postcards sent to the family, which are being sorted into a separate section.

In January, an inventory of 305 items was drawn up for the slides of the “Glass plates, glass negatives assets” (HOAL I-5-c). Some of the transparent slides portray Franz Joseph on his various official programmes. However, the majority of them feature photographic material relating to family events, visits to the front by Emperor and King Charles I (IV), and Otto von Habsburg's childhood.



We added metadata and have completed uploading images from our collection to the Digital Archive (archivum.hoal.hu), which was launched at the beginning of the year, making a total of around 600 images available in our online database. Following on from the thematic digitisation project started last year, this year, a digital version of the 1960s photographic material has been produced, a selection of which is accessible online. In addition, the digitisation of photos from the 1950s, which has been organised since the 2022 processing, has also been carried out.

Digital Archives /
Photo collection



Concerning the material from the 1980s and 1990s, we strive to align the photos with the archival holdings in our collection and, therefore, always cross-reference them with the records of the Hungarian language correspondence of Otto von Habsburg. Whenever the sender of a picture or series of photographs is identified, if possible, we match it with the related exchange of letters and indicate that in the catalogue as well.

A substantial change occurred in terms of location: the Photographic and Audiovisual Collection moved to a separate room with excellent storage conditions, equipped with two workstations and a closed shelving structure.

SZILVESZTER DÉKÁNY and ZITA LŐRINCZ carried out the processing of this collection unit.

EXPANDING PROFESSIONAL RELATIONS

While the processing and digitisation of the nearly 700 boxes of material entrusted to us is underway, our Foundation also works to further the cause of greater understanding and promotion of the oeuvre in additional ways. Whether it is through articles and essays, interviews with Otto von Habsburg's contemporaries, mapping the materials of domestic and national archives related to our namesake, or welcoming the representatives of academic community to our archives, we endeavour to follow the example of the last Hungarian heir to the throne, who built up his network of contacts with great perseverance throughout his life, by carrying out our tasks in cooperation with an extensive range of partners, seeking opportunities for meetings and open dialogue.



GROWTH OF THE COLLECTION

Since its establishment, the Otto von Habsburg Foundation has sought to acquire objects and documents relevant to its namesake. We discovered several significant items this year as well.

Hidden Photographs from an Unusual History Lesson

The Director General of the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, István Monok, sent us a digitised copy of records of the guest book of the Comenius Teacher Training College in Sárospatak, along with the corresponding images, which feature the namesake of our Foundation and his signature.

The pages found among the documents that were to be discarded during the renovation of the University of Tokaj-Hegyalja's premises reflect the atmosphere and enthusiasm of the first years following the regime change. It was 33 years ago, on 6 February 1990, when Otto von Habsburg paid a visit to Sárospatak and gave an extraordinary history lesson to the hundreds of people gathered in the hall of the Árvay József Primary School. He was accompanied to the event, organised by the Sárospatak Students' Association, by his daughter, Archduchess Walburga, and Bernd Posselt, secretary to Otto von Habsburg, member of the Pan-European Union and later MEP.

Among the guests of the event was László Tőkés, a leading figure of the Romanian revolution, whom the eponym of our Foundation first met in person on this occasion. László Tőkés later became Member of the European Parliament as well.

The events of 5 February 1990 were chronicled by Gábor Bolvári-Takács in the 1999 Yearbook of the Kazinczy Ferenc Society.

We thank Director General ISTVÁN MONOK, who preserved for posterity the previously unpublished stories and photos hidden in the College's guest book and, at the same time, enriched the collection of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation.



A Gift from Eugene Megyesy

Our Foundation owes a lot to an outstanding representative of the Hungarian American community, DR EUGENE (JENŐ) MEGYESY, a lawyer, living in Denver. He facilitated the attendance of Edwin J. Feulner, founder of The Heritage Foundation, at our 2022 Otto Dinner and was instrumental in establishing contacts with several North American institutions important to the international relations of our collection. This time, he brought us to Budapest some interesting documents of Otto von Habsburg's visits to Denver and his network of contacts there.

Eugene Megyesy left Hungary with his parents and sister in 1956. After spending several years in Austria, the family settled in the United States. He has been living in Denver since 1967, where he has built up a vast network of contacts both with representatives of the American political and business community and with members of the Hungarian residents. The photographs show Etienne Perényi, a prominent figure in the Hungarian colony in Denver, and his family. Otto von Habsburg was certainly in contact with Perényi from the early 1940s, who had moved to the USA in the mid-1930s and had already become a well-known and successful bank manager. As Perényi was a committed legitimist, he organised Otto von Habsburg's lecture at the renowned Old Denver Club in 1941.

The photos are from Ambrose Balajthy Júlia, whose mother was the sister of Etienne Perényi. Having worked as a dentist in Denver for many decades, Julia—or as she is more commonly nicknamed, Julika—is well known in the community. She is pictured as a little girl with her uncle in the von Richthofen villa, where Otto von Habsburg was a guest. Etienne Perényi bought the mansion in 1946, which had been built in the 1880s by the Prussian-born Walter von Richthofen and was one of Denver's most illustrious palaces. As early as December of that year, Perényi hosted Queen Zita and her daughter, Princess Elisabeth. In the following decade, the palace became a frequent meeting place for Hungarian and Central European notables in exile. After the Second World War, Otto von Habsburg visited Denver several times: together with Perényi, he helped the integration of 1956 Hungarian refugees in Colorado, and in 1968, he made a substantial contribution to the creation of a statue park in memory of the heroes of the Revolution.

Otto von Habsburg had an excellent relationship with the Perényi family, as demonstrated by the photographs, documents, and greeting cards handed over to us, as well as by the correspondence in our collection spanning several decades.



PICTURE IN PICTURE

Mariska Klammer: The Salon of the Royal Castle of Buda with a Painting by Gyula Benczúr

On one occasion we were particularly fortunate: on the website of the Kieselbach Gallery, we discovered a painting showing a part of a salon of the Royal Castle of Buda, hanging on the wall of which a full-figure portrait of child Otto by Gyula Benczúr, depicting the heir to the throne in his coronation gown designed by Benczúr (today: Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery). In response to our enquiries, the owner of the gallery not only donated the painting to the Foundation's collection but also had it restored. One of our archivists, ESZTER FÁBRY, investigated the story.

Based on a photograph (Csiky photo) from the 1930s, which we hold in our collection,¹ it was apparent that the painting depicted the Rose Salon (or as it is also called: the South Hall of Mirrors) of the Royal Palace in Buda, even though the painter had recomposed it without the claim of being topographically accurate. Instead of the rose-patterned wallpaper, the walls are plain blue, the upholstery of the furniture, originally in brocade, is undecorated, and the painting of Benczúr, depicted in broad strokes, was moved from the right side of the door to the left, where, according to the photographic record, the coronation portrait of Queen Zita once hung.

The painting is signed (bottom right), but its creator is not among the artists who are nowadays considered to be worthy of recognition, although back then her works were regularly exhibited at the National Salon. The portrait of Mariska Klammer is yet unknown, and the few biographical data available do not provide detailed information about her. Her date of birth is also uncertain: besides 1873, 1877 is often mentioned. If we take into consideration that on the website of the Hungarian Royal Drawing School and Art Teachers' College—now the Hungarian University of Fine Arts—she is listed among the students attending the institution from 1891 to 1906, then the first date is more likely to be accurate. According to *The Lexicon of Hungarian Resurrection*² published in 1930—presumably based on information from the artist herself—she was not only



a student of Lajos Deák Ébner in Budapest but also studied in Munich and Paris, and her teachers included Anton Azbe, Hans von Hayek, Lucien Simon and Emil Blanche; she also made her debut in several European cities. Her activities in the Association of Hungarian Women Artists (from 1908), of which she was one of the Vice Presidents when founded, were considered of great merit. Still, she also promoted the recognition of women in other fields.

¹ Reference no.: HOAL II-3-c F2

² *Magyar feltámadás lexikona*. Ed. by Géza Szentmiklósy, Budapest, 1930.

She regularly participated in the annual exhibitions of the National Salon, and the Museum of Fine Arts bought two of her paintings in 1909. She operated a painting school, organised workshop exhibitions with her students, and donated some of her artworks to charity. She was primarily known as an interior and still-life painter; her figurative works were often less successful. The critics of her debuts generally praised her art, but she received little more than a few sentences in the reviews of the collective exhibitions.



The catalogue of the exhibition at the National Salon in May 1924 includes eight paintings by Mariska Klammer. Among them are painting No. 120, entitled *Blue Salon in the Royal Palace*, oil on canvas, and painting No. 122, titled *Interior in the Royal Palace*. The first may be the same as our picture (size data are missing), which may give us the date of the work: the portrait of Benczúr was painted in 1917.

It appears not only from the above catalogue that the artist made several paintings of the interior of the palace in different colours, some of them simplified or combined elements of the palace's furnishings, and most of them identical in size to the painting in our collection from the Kieselbach Gallery. The details of the compositions (of which we have detected five so far)—chandeliers, stoves, pieces of furniture, wall decorations—support this assumption, however, the exact date of creation of the paintings is yet to be identified.³

Mariska Klammer appeared in exhibitions year after year, her name was known and popped up in the press regularly. So much so that when the news of her mother's death was published (18 January 1937), the Hungarian Telegraphic Office noted: "*Painter Mariska Klammer mourns her mother in her passing*". In the years of the Second World War, when Hungary was increasingly suffering, her name vanished: in June 1943, she was still included in the exhibition of the National Salon, and the next time she was mentioned was in 1947 when her painting *Peonies* was the only one displayed in the August exhibition of the National Salon—possibly it was her last appearance.

We are grateful to TAMÁS KIESELBACH for donating the painting to our Foundation, thus recalling the noble gesture of patronage that was much more common in Mariska Klammer's time.

³ For example, the stove in the so-called Small Salon of Buda Castle appears in two paintings by Mariska Klammer, and the salon suite is very similar to the ensemble of armchairs in the Rose Salon. Cf. Mariska Klammer: *Interior* and *Castle Interior*.

List of Items Obtained during the Year

- TAMÁS KIESELBACH
An article on the Pan-European movement: *What made the Pan-European movement necessary and relevant?* 29 September 1930.
- GABRIELA VON HABSURG
3 pcs of archive photos on paper and 1 pc of flash drive with 2058 digital photos, 1919–2010.
- LÁSZLÓ LUKA
2 pcs of CDs, Otto von Habsburg's lecture in the Banquet Hall of the University of Zurich, in front of Hungarian students and emigrants, in two parts, 18 June 1960.
- EUGENE MEGYESY, JULIA AMBROSE BALAJTHY, ETIENNE PERÉNYI
18 pcs of photographs, various family photos: Otto von Habsburg and his children. Julia Perényi, her daughter Julia Ambrose Balajthy, and Otto von Habsburg are in the von Richthofen Villa in Denver. Etienne Perényi, Queen and Empress Zita and her daughter Elizabeth. Copies of greeting cards, monochrome photocopies on photo paper. 2 pcs of copied letters, 1948–1970s.
- HANS-FRIEDRICH FREIHERR VON SOLEMACHER
1 pc of postcard with palm tree, 1 pc of a signed portrait photo, a philatelic envelope, a photocopied article, six pages on the Order of the Golden Fleece, 1977, 1997, 2010.
- LAJOSNÉ SOLYMOSSI
Recollection of Otto von Habsburg's visit to Kübekháza on 15 March 2000, 9 pages in Hungarian, 2000.
- MAYOR'S OFFICE OF SZIGETHALOM
2 pcs of DVDs, *Szigethalmi Krónika 2007*, Otto von Habsburg in Szigethalom, 23 February 2007.



Material Collection: Photographs, Postcards

- Sketch drawing of the coronation medal designed by Fülöp Ö. Beck, along with an invitation and the correspondence with Tamásné Major.
- Franz Joseph, Charles I (IV) and First World War collections in interior pictures, location unknown.
- Half-length portrait of Otto von Habsburg, dressed in Hungarian ceremonial attire, on the occasion of reaching his majority. Steenokkerzeel, Belgium.
- Otto von Habsburg and Empress and Queen Zita, sitting with a book in their hands, presumably in the salon of Ham Castle in Steenokkerzeel. Signed on the reverse to Dávid Angyal: „Als Erinnerung an Angyal David bácsi am 22. Oktober 1929.”.
- Postcard with a portrait of Charles I (IV), Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, framed with black and yellow textile fringe.
- Rotatable postcard with the portraits of Charles and Zita, Otto von Habsburg, Adelheid, Robert and Felix.
- Postcard of Archduke Charles in officer's uniform and Archduchess Zita.
- Postcard depicting three generations, Emperor Franz Joseph with Charles and Otto, on the reverse a fragment of handwritten text.
- Zita with her children: (l-r) Otto, Robert, Elisabeth, Charlotte, Felix, and Adelheid, in the front, Rudolf and Carl Ludwig.
- Emperor and King Charles I (IV) is leaving the church of St Germain. Brijuni, Croatia, 1917.



- Charles I (IV) presenting the Military Order of Maria Theresa in the presence of his officers on 17 August 1917, in front of Wartholz Castle.
- The 6 April 1922 issue of the *Nemzeti Újság*, with an article on the main page about the funeral of Charles I (IV) in an obituary frame.
- Newspaper issue of *Érdekes Újság*, published on the occasion of the coronation of Charles I (IV) and Zita, 30 December 1916.

We are grateful for the help of KLAUDIA PALÁNKI and BALÁZS KÁDI in enriching our collection.

EXTREME RESEARCH, CREATION OF DATABASES, AND PROFESSIONAL NETWORKING

ORAL HISTORY

No tangible memory can tell a story as well as someone who personally knew Otto von Habsburg. Consequently, the Foundation seeks to interview former colleagues and acquaintances of its namesake about their recollections of the last Hungarian heir to the throne.

Recollections of Hans-Friedrich Freiherr von Solemacher

Otto von Habsburg's public career in Germany formally began as a foreign policy adviser to the Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSS). In this capacity, his first colleague was HANS-FRIEDRICH FREIHERR VON SOLEMACHER, who for many years assisted the Bavarian Christian Social Union, in particular its President Franz Josef Strauss, and the former Crown Prince, who advised the party's political foundation. Their paths crossed several times later on as well, first in Brussels, where Otto von Habsburg, as a member of the European Parliament, and his former colleague, by that time head of the HSS representation in Belgium, worked together in a number of areas. Later on, during the Archduke's visits to Hungary and Croatia to facilitate the democratic transition and Western integration of the Central and Eastern European countries, which were liberated from the communist shackles, he was greatly supported by von Solemacher, who was then in charge of the Budapest office of the party foundation.



The interview covered Otto von Habsburg's activities as a foreign policy adviser, the 1979 European Parliament elections, the internal and external attacks on the Archduke, who was trying his hand at democratic politics, as well as his later involvement in Europe. We also heard intriguing details about our namesake's activities in Central Europe after 1990 and his travels in Hungary and the region.

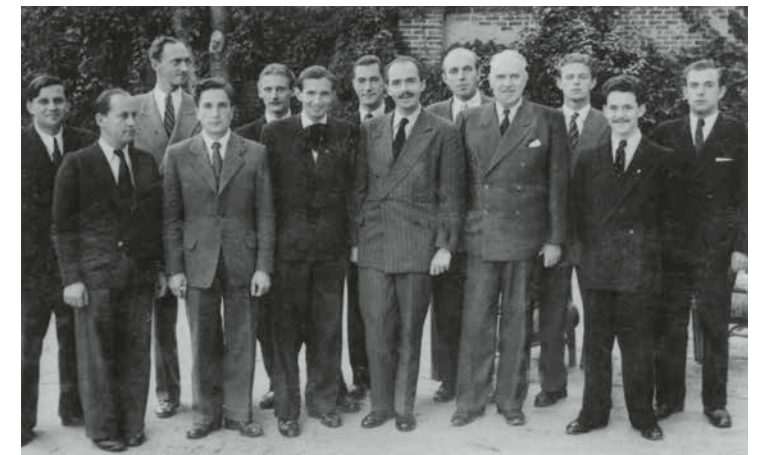
Key Witness to European Integration—Conversation with István Mustó

The former politician and university professor, ISTVÁN MUSTÓ (STEPHAN MUSTO) was in contact with the namesake of our Foundation during his years in Madrid; his visit to our Foundation was a remarkable event. Below is a report by GERGELY PRÓHLE.

I have known the former politician and university professor, who is now in his nineties, for over thirty years, as he was the Hungarian representative of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation from 1989 to the end of 1992, of which I later assumed the directorship. The daily political turmoil of the years following the regime change has been largely forgotten, and many figures of the era are no longer with us. István Mustó returned permanently to Hungary with a wealth of experience, and his biography is rich in twists and turns.

He was born on 17 July 1933 in Derecske, Hungary. The family moved to Germany in 1945. From 1951, he studied in Madrid, where he became acquainted with Otto von Habsburg and the activities of the Royal Hungarian Embassy in Madrid, as well as with several members of the Hungarian emigration. In 1957, he obtained a degree in political and economic science. He earned a political science and economics doctorate at the University of Berlin in 1959. From 1957 to 1962, he was employed by Radio Free Europe. From 1963, he worked as a researcher and lecturer and, later, as a professor. In 1972, he obtained a doctorate in sociology. In the 1980s, he served on numerous occasions as an expert for the Bonn government and the European Commission. In this capacity, he was involved in the preparation of the Iberian enlargement of the European Community. In 1989, at the request of the German government, he took over the management of the Budapest office of the liberal Friedrich Naumann Foundation, a post he held until the end of 1992. In 1970, he became a member of the German Free Democratic Party (FDP). In the 1994 parliamentary elections, he received his seat from the thirty-fifth place on the Hungarian Alliance of Free Liberals (SZDSZ) party's national list. In the legislature, he served on the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, and European Integration. After the end of his parliamentary term, he resumed his international academic career and has been living in Budapest for a few years.

At the time we met, I was unaware that during his years in Madrid, he had interacted with the namesake of our Foundation; we discovered this through a photograph while studying the relations between the Hungarian Royal Ambassador Ferenc Marosy and Otto von Habsburg. During his long career, Mustó followed closely the history of European integration, the lessons of which continue to influence today's political events. These are, therefore, worth exploring from as many perspectives as possible. We are delighted and honoured that István Mustó accepted our invitation to share his experiences.



Interview with the Great-Grandson of Archduke Joseph of Austria, Palatine of Hungary

On 12 April 2023, Archduke MICHAEL OF HABSBURG-LORRAINE was the guest of our Foundation, with whom our colleagues conducted a nearly two-hour interview. In the course of this, he talked about the short time he had spent in Hungary during his childhood, the family's escape, and the decades he had lived in emigration. His memories of his youth in Portugal, his friendship with István Horthy, and his descriptions of the exiled European ruling families living in Lisbon were particularly intriguing.

The conversation provided valuable new information about his relationship with Otto von Habsburg, which dates back to the 1960s. Mihály Habsburg was a great help to our namesake in arranging family events, and, from the 1970s, in organising the Pan-European Union, while from the period of the regime change, he was an important assistant to him in handling Hungarian matters. In the early 1980s, he returned to Hungary with a visa he had applied for in West Germany—and his account of the situation in his homeland and the everyday life of the people living there can still provide many lessons.



The importance of the Mindszenty Foundation, of which Michael of Habsburg-Lorraine had been president for more than twenty years, also came up. At the end of the discussion, there was a mention of the historical role of the “Hungarian branch” of the House of Habsburg, the legacy of Palatine Joseph and the consistent and enviable openness of Otto von Habsburg in his life, who was always available to those who approached him in person or by letter.

Revisiting the Past with Knut Abraham

Speaker at our V4 conference on 6 June, KNUT ABRAHAM, a former colleague of Otto von Habsburg, CDU Member of the Bundestag, visited our Foundation during his stay in Budapest.

Knut Abraham became an associate of Otto von Habsburg, then Member of the European Parliament, in 1986 in Bonn and Brussels as a trainee, and gradually took on more and more responsibilities.

He led the EP election campaign, directed the work of the German youth branch of the Pan-European Movement, worked as Otto's assistant in Pöcking, and knew well the members of the inner circle who played a fundamental role in the period (Bernd Posselt, Eva Demmerle, Stephan Baier) and, of course, family members. Abraham, whom Regina referred to as “the Viking”, was involved in coordinating the funeral of Empress Zita in 1989 and helped Walburga in the background to prepare the Pan-European Picnic. Our guest recalled many anecdotes from later times as well about his work with Otto von Habsburg. In the spirit of reminiscing, Knut Abraham met TAMÁS SÜLYÖK, then president of the Constitutional Court and currently president of the Republic of Hungary, as both had been members of the Pan-European Movement at the dawn of the regime change.



Memories of Bernd Posselt

BERND POSSELT and his colleagues visited our Foundation on 26 October 2023 before the conference at the Ludovika University commemorating the 250th anniversary of the birth of former Foreign Minister and Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, Klemens von Metternich. The former colleague of Otto von Habsburg, who later became a member of the European Parliament, talked about his life, his relationship with our namesake, the past decades of the Pan-European Movement and his experiences in the European Parliament. The conversation shed light on several moments and processes that are not, or only tangentially covered in monographs on Otto von Habsburg and in sources on the work of the European Parliament.

The interview provided a remarkable insight into the developments in Bavarian, German and European politics over the past decades, as well as a valuable contribution to a more comprehensive understanding of the functioning and internal power relations of the European Parliament. It also served as a useful addition to a broader grasp of Otto von Habsburg's political profile. The former Crown Prince and his late colleague, who made great efforts to promote European integration, were working towards the same political agenda in many respects and were particularly concerned with improving the situation of national minorities, predominantly the Sudeten ethnic minority.

VOLUMES OF ESSAYS AND JOURNALS

Writings by our colleagues related to Otto von Habsburg were included in various publications throughout this year.

Book Chapter on the Benefactors of the Exiled Royal Family

On 22 November 2023, the volume of studies entitled *A Lónyayak eltűnt és felfedezett világa* (The Lost and Discovered World of the Lónyays) was presented to the public at the Ráday Library in Budapest, in which, among other topics, we can read about the relations of Prince Elemér Lónyay and his wife, Princess Stefania, to the Habsburg family, and the ways they supported our namesake.

The study collection was compiled from lectures given at conferences organised in the course of the commemorative year dedicated to Menyhért Lónyay, Minister of Finance and later Prime Minister of Hungary, born 200 years ago. The volume features essays about him and his extended family, including writings on Elemér Lónyay, the nephew of the former Prime Minister, who was born 160 years ago and was granted the title of prince by Emperor and King Charles I (IV).

Among the 46 studies, on pages 485–500, is a piece entitled Episodes from the History of Relations between Elemér Lónyay and the Habsburgs by GERGELY FEJÉRDY, Deputy Scientific Director of our Foundation. The study details the close ties the diplomat had with Otto von Habsburg and his family. Elemér Lónyay and his wife were regular guests in court circles, and after the death of the last Hungarian monarch, they provided financial support to the young Crown Prince and his siblings in exile. They had already met Otto as a child in Vienna and later visited

him when he was living in Belgium. They were considered benefactors of the Habsburg children, often sending them presents and money—as evidenced by the diaries of Count Heinrich Degenfeld, held in our Foundation. Queen and Empress Zita also corresponded with Princess Stefania.

The connection endured beyond death: in 2011, the heart urn of Otto von Habsburg was placed next to the tomb of the Lónyay couple in the lower church of the Pannonhalma Archabbey.



Cato Magazine

The German conservative political magazine *Cato* is prominent among the foreign journals, and two contributions from our Foundation were selected for its columns this year. The first essay, written by GERGELY PRÖHLE and BENCE KOCSEV, entitled *Sohn des letzten Kaisers. Otto von Habsburg war ein europäischer Glücksfall* (Son of the last emperor. Otto von Habsburg was godsend to Europe), was published on pages 16–20 of issue 2023/4 and focuses on Otto von Habsburg’s remarkable network of contacts. While the study of Bence Kocsev *Mohnstrudel und Doboschtorte. Überlegungen zu Richard Wagners Buch Habsburg. Bibliothek einer verlorenen Welt* (Poppy seed strudel and Doboschtorte. Reflections on Richard Wagner's book Habsburg. Library of a lost world), on pages 16–20 of issue 2023/6, examines the legacy of the Habsburg Empire from a contemporary perspective.



On the Pages of the Archival Review

Senior Collection Fellow SZILVESZTER DÉKÁNY has had two articles appear in the Hungarian journal *Levéltári Szemle* (Archival Review) this year. The previous one was published in our 2022 report *Készen állunk a mesterséges intelligenciára? – Beszámoló a „Kép és kutatás” című nemzetközi konferenciáról.* (Are We Ready for Artificial Intelligence?—On the “Image and Research” International Conference. 2023/1, pp. 78–80).

In issue 4, 2023, a detailed account of our Foundation’s online presence is provided from its beginnings to the present day, covering topics such as the website, newsletters, social media and digital archives. *The Otto von Habsburg Foundation’s Online Presence and Digital Communication Platforms* is featured in the “Workshop” section of the paper.



EXTERNAL RESEARCH

As Otto von Habsburg had to spend his early years in exile, and later became a lecturer and a member of the European Parliament, he got to visit many parts of the world. Consequently, we can find references to our namesake in countless places abroad. Our Foundation deems it important to explore the material of other collections in order to gain a more complete understanding of the network of contacts and remarkable life of the last Hungarian heir to the throne. To this end, our colleagues embarked on several research trips in 2023.

In the Homeland of Regina

In 2021, we commemorated the 70th anniversary of the wedding of Otto von Habsburg and Regina of Saxe-Meiningen. Whilst the bride's family was mentioned in relation with the jubilee, we were well aware that Regina's family history holds further historical and cultural interest, with more than one Hungarian connection. The Director of our Foundation, GERGELY PRŐHLE, traced these links.



I had long planned to visit Meiningen, a small town of just under 30,000 inhabitants that historically had been part of Franconia but was later annexed to Thuringia and, therefore, became part of the Soviet occupation zone of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) after the Second World War. As the town was located on the border during the Cold War, it could only be visited with a special permit, which I did not even attempt to obtain during my university days in the nearby city of Jena. This isolation, however, also prevented the typical "achievements" of socialist urban planning from appearing, and the town retained its traditional 18th–19th century character, including the Elisabethenburg Palace, built in the late 1600s.

This was the ancestral home of the Saxe-Meiningen family, with all the traditional characteristics of small German principalities and, perhaps most importantly, with a cultural ambition far exceeding the size of the settlement. The epitome of this was Duke George II (1826–1914), whose commitment to the dramatic arts not only prompted him to build a modern theatre, but also, as an aristocrat of many talents, to make a significant impact as a costume and set designer, and, innovatively, as a director. Theatre history owes him the creation of the foundations of modern theatre, known as "Meiningenism", which inspired such leading theatre artists as Konstantin Sergejevich Stanislavsky and Max Reinhardt. George II gathered the best musicians to his court: Franz Liszt gave concerts in Meiningen, Johannes Brahms and Richard Wagner were regular guests,

and the orchestra of the theatre was conducted by Hans von Bülow (Liszt's student and son-in-law), while for a year the young Richard Strauss stood at the conductor's podium. George II's company toured regularly throughout Europe and made several appearances in Hungary, with performances of Shakespeare and German classics, as well as works by Schiller and Kleist. Regina, born in 1925, was the great-granddaughter of the theatre's founder. Although the family's history was not without tragic turns, the inspiring environment proved to be a decisive influence on the future spouse of Otto von Habsburg.

Following a guided tour of the partially restored building by PHILIPP ADLUNG, Director of the Meiningen Museum, we agreed to organise an exhibition in 2025, on the 100th anniversary of Archduchess Regina's birth, which will focus on the life of Princess Regina and the relationship of the ducal house to Hungary. The attachment of Otto von Habsburg's spouse to her homeland is also reflected in the fact that, after her coffin was laid in the traditional Habsburg burial place, the Capuchin crypt in Vienna, Regina's heart urn remained in Heldburg Castle, next to the ashes of her siblings and parents.

The building took on its present form during the reign of the 'duke of theatre', George II, with its historicist towers and salients resembling a knight's mansion, evoking medieval times. The castle was Regina's favourite place growing up. In her former bedroom, an exhibition on the Saxe-Meiningen family is now on display. The building was used as an orphanage during the communist dictatorship, then burnt down partially; after the regime change, it was renovated, and a few years ago, it became the home of a modern exhibition on German castle architecture.



With the Director of the Castle, BJÖRN CHILIAN, we considered the prospects of commemorating Regina in Heldburg in 2025, potentially in conjunction with the 35th anniversary of the fall of communism and Hungary's role in opening the borders. Björn Chilian, who was born and raised in Heldburg, pointed out that there are still a few elderly residents of the town who could give an account of their relationship with the ducal family and of the attention with which they followed the life of Regina, who would become an "imperial, royal consort".

Based on this experience, cooperation with Meiningen will bring a wealth of intriguing additional historical, political, and cultural information to broaden our knowledge of our namesake and his family.

Source Collection at the Diplomatic Archives in Brussels

GERGELY FEJÉRDY, Deputy Scientific Director of our Foundation, carried out research and collected sources in Brussels in the Diplomatic Archives of the Kingdom of Belgium's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Among the diplomatic records pertaining to the history of Belgian—Hungarian relations in the 20th century, he uncovered documents primarily connected to the Habsburg family, particularly our Foundation's eponym.

While researching archival sources, I came across thousands of pages on Otto von Habsburg and his family. The documents confirm that Belgian diplomacy was closely following Emperor and King Charles I (IV)'s months in Switzerland, his attempts to return to the Hungarian throne, as well as his exile in Madeira. It came to light that the Holy See had counted on the help of Belgium—from a member of the Council of Ambassadors—to help turn the fate of the Habsburg family in a positive direction; however, Brussels was careful to align itself with the French position on all the issues raised.

Specific files testify that during Otto von Habsburg's stay in Belgium between the two wars, especially after he came of age, certain Belgian political circles were concerned about his international activities, especially his opposition to the Anschluss. Empress Zita and her children enjoyed the hospitality of the Kingdom of Belgium between 1929 and 1940. However, the official authorities expected the family to renounce any public activity. This promise was often rather challenging for Otto von Habsburg to keep in a Europe where the threat of Hitler was becoming increasingly worrisome. On several occasions, the Belgian aristocracy stepped in to ensure that the activities of the former heir to the throne remained undetected.

A fascinating dossier in the Belgian Archives of Foreign Affairs deals with the history of diplomatic passports granted to the former royal family. These documents, issued in Brussels, were more than once the target of Otto von Habsburg's political enemies, for example, when the emigrant Czechoslovak government insisted on their withdrawal during the Second World War.

All in all, the findings in the Belgian Archives will be of significant help in processing the collection of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation. Furthermore, in some cases, they add new information to our knowledge of the oeuvre of the former heir to the throne. The examined papers testify that in the 20th century, the region of Low Countries, once under Habsburg rule, continued to be of particular importance for the last monarch of the Austro—Hungarian Empire and his family.

VILLE DE BRUXELLES
BUREAU DES ETRANGERS
N° 4772/18
DEMEURE : Rue de la Vierge, 47
(chez Sr. le Comte d'Ursel)
M. - Monsieur S. Ruffe, s. a. - Bruxelles
F. RENSEIGNEMENTS
NOM ET PRENOM : Sebastian Ruffe
DATE ET LIEU DE NAISSANCE (1) : Autriche, le 20 novembre 1918
OBSERVATIONS CONCERNANT L'ETAT CIVIL DE L'ETRANGER :
C. Profession :
D. Date de l'arrivée en Belgique (2) : Le 19 octobre 1938
E. Date de l'arrivée dans la commune :
Date que dessus.

Conducting Research at the Historical Archives of the European Union

“At least here one have the feeling of working towards a worthwhile cause.” At the end of October 1979, Otto von Habsburg concluded his letter to Friedrich August von Hayek with this sentence, informing the renowned economist, who had received the Nobel Prize in Economics by then, that he would continue his political activities as a member of the first directly elected European Parliament from the summer of that year. In addition to their frequent exchange of letters, they were in close contact through various forums, including the Mont Pelerin Society.

Otto von Habsburg was active in politics from a young age, and as a close associate of Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi, he was involved in the activities of the International Pan-European Union from the interwar period, and from the 1950s onwards, he organised and shaped the work of several conservative, Christian Democrat and strongly anti-communist groups. Nevertheless, his formal political career began by gaining a seat in the European Parliament as a member of the Christian Social Union in Bavaria (CSU). Throughout his two-decade parliamentary tenure, he creatively put his political talents, experience, and extensive network of contacts at the service of European integration and became one of its most prominent visionaries. Although he was not part of the generation of the “founding fathers” and never held a position of the highest rank in European politics, he played a significant role in promoting the advancement of European integration.



However, until now, the analysis of Otto von Habsburg's role in the European Parliament has too often been confined to specific aspects of his parliamentary activity, overlooking its versatility and diversity. In contrast to this approach, BENCE KOCSEV's three-week research aimed to comprehensively reconstruct the Archduke's political role, priorities, and activities in Europe from a European and transnational perspective and place them in the broader political context of the late 20th century.

Our Foundation's archives include a wide range of material relating to our namesake's parliamentary work, yet they are preserved most comprehensively in Florence, in the Historical Archives of the European Union. The documents provide insight not only into the details of Otto von Habsburg's political career after 1979 and his work in the Parliament and the European People's Party but also offer interesting information about the time prior to his election as MEP when his candidacy received great deal of attention considerable resonance within the Federal Republic of Germany and beyond its borders.

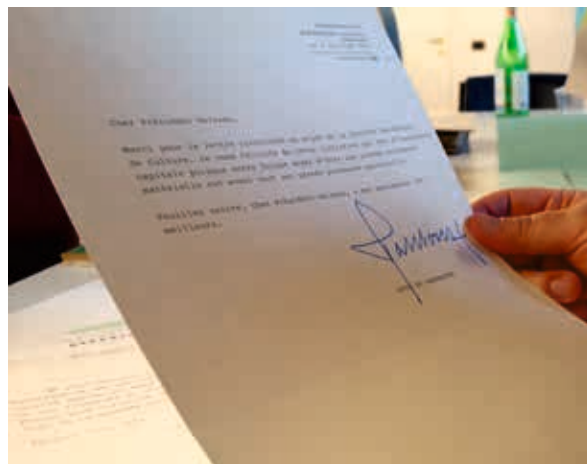
It is also clear from searching the archives that the political and social context in which the first direct elections took place and in which Otto von Habsburg's parliamentary career began was exceptionally intriguing. The 1970s were a decade of profound changes when technological, cultural and social transformations radically altered everyday life and the established practices of political publicity. The emergence of critical social movements (environmental and green politics, women's rights and civic initiatives) also considerably altered the framework of European politics. The events of the early 1980s (the second oil crisis, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Martial law in Poland) and the twists and turns of the later part of the decade and the 1990s had a substantial impact on the political agenda of our eponym and, to a large extent, on the political path he had to follow.

The documents in Florence paint a picture of a consensus-seeking politician, willing to engage in dialogue with his political opponents while remaining true to his principles, a man who had entered the European political arena during the Euro-sclerosis and then worked to promote a Christian, united and social Europe during the turbulent period of regime change and throughout the euphoric era of the 1990s and the Maastricht Treaty.

Among the various speeches, motions and propositions by Otto von Habsburg, the best known are those concerning the dismantling of the Iron Curtain, the political transformation of Central and Eastern Europe (including the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia), the unification of the two German states, and especially the enlargement of the European Union to the East. On the subject of expansion, however, he was far from confining himself to supporting the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, taking a firm stand in favour of the enlargement rounds of 1981 (Greece), 1986 (Portugal, Spain) and 1995 (Austria, Finland, Sweden) stating that each accession had stimulated integration and strengthened the entire European project.

Nevertheless, his political spectrum was far broader, encompassing a wide range of issues beyond enlargement. His pragmatism and realpolitik approach were particularly evident when it came to promoting solutions to European security issues and encouraging the creation of common European institutions. Beyond politics, he was concerned with economic, social, and environmental matters.

In conclusion, the examined documents provide valuable input for a more differentiated understanding of Otto von Habsburg's political profile and influence on public life, as well as for a more thorough definition of his role in shaping European politics. A publication presenting the results of the research, complemented by the findings of the archival research in Munich in September 2023, is planned for release in English and Hungarian in 2024.



On the Trail of Otto von Habsburg in the Bavarian Capital

In mid-September, two colleagues of our Foundation, SZILVESZTER DÉKÁNY and BENCE KOCSEV, went on a five-day research trip to the Hanns Seidel Foundation's archives in Munich with the aim of finding written and audiovisual material related to Otto von Habsburg.

Otto von Habsburg's life and career were intertwined with Bavaria, as the state was not only his chosen residence but also his political home. From the end of the Second World War, he was in close contact with the leading figures of the Christian Social Union in Bavaria (Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern, CSU), and in the mid-1970s, he became a member of the Hanns Seidel Foundation (Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, HSS), which was affiliated with the party. In his latter role, he focused on strengthening the party's European and global network and provided foreign policy analysis to support the work of Christian socialist leaders. His democratic political career also unfolded within the CSU: he ran as the party's candidate in the 1979 European Parliament elections, coming third on the list, thus becoming a member of the first directly elected EP, and for four terms, he was a prominent figure in shaping the continent's political future.



Although Otto von Habsburg's public career and his professional activities in Bavaria can be traced in the archives of our Foundation, in many cases, the material is incomplete, both in terms of documents and photographs. Thus, our colleagues' primary goal for the five-day research trip in Munich was to fill these gaps by exploring the sources in the archives of the Hanns Seidel Foundation (Archiv für Christlich-Soziale Politik).

The research focused mainly on Otto von Habsburg's work as a foreign policy advisor to the Hanns Seidel Foundation and his correspondence with leading CSU politicians such as Franz Josef Strauss, Alfons Goppel, Josef Müller, Hans Klein, Theodor Waigel, and Fritz Pirkel. These documents, on the one hand, provide an insight into the details of Otto von Habsburg's political career after 1979, and on the other hand, offer interesting information on his networking and policy-making activities before he won his seat in the European Parliament. The correspondence between our namesake and the future Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss is particularly instructive: while it gives valuable and intriguing account of significant events in German and international political history, it also bears witness to the commitment of both politicians to a united and free Europe.



The reports on foreign policy affairs written by Otto von Habsburg reveal a captivating overview of the events of the 1970s and demonstrate that the Archduke's political skills—and the global network of contacts he had built up by then—could be relied on with confidence both within the party and the Foundation.

The photographic collection in the Archives—as uncovered during the review of the material—contains approximately 2300–2500 photographs related to Otto von Habsburg; additionally, the archival collection of documents comprises 350–400 of such images. A significant part of the material is digitised from flat films, 35 mm negatives and transparent slides, and a good number of documents are on paper in the various units of the collection. A considerable part of the pictures was taken at congresses, party meetings and small political gatherings.

At these events, Otto followed the proceedings mainly from the audience, continuing to build the network of contacts he had developed over the decades. He was captured at these events with political actors, Bavarian government representatives, and public figures. A captivating section of the collection is the selection of Otto's portraits spanning several decades, the material from the serial "Sudeten German Day" celebrations, the documentation of his visits to Hungary in the early 1990s, and the photographs relating to Franz Josef Strauss—taken during their joint trips, events and conversations—bearing witness to a close working relationship.

The materials examined and the copies produced will serve as a helpful source for further research and academic work. Furthermore, these documents provide valuable input for a more differentiated understanding of Otto von Habsburg's extensive network of contacts, his political profile and his influence on public life, and also help to define his role in shaping post-war conservatism and Christian democracy as well as German, European and global politics.

The idea for the research trip was supported by the Hanns Seidel Foundation's Budapest office, which generously provided the necessary funding. The help and support of the specialists working in the Foundation's archives in Munich were also essential to the success of the research trip.



Visiting Gabriela von Habsburg

The travels of Gergely Pröhle in the spring prompted the organisation of an exhibition to mark the 100th anniversary of the birth of Regina of Saxe-Meiningen, the spouse of Otto von Habsburg, on 6 January 2025. The commemorative events would take place in Meiningen, nearby Heldburg and later, towards the end of the year, in Budapest. In preparation for this and to formulate a possible concept, on 27 September 2023, we visited our namesake's daughter, GABRIELA VON HABSBERG, who accompanied her mother on several occasions to her homeland after the fall of the Iron Curtain. The meeting took place in her house on the shores of Lake Starnberg, not far from her parents' home in Pöcking, and was attended by PHILIPP ADLUNG, Director of the Meiningen Museum too.



Along with a wealth of personal memories, Archduchess Gabriela holds numerous objects, documents and photographs that help to shed light not only on the personality of Regina but also on the historical and cultural role of the Saxe-Meiningen dynasty. In the outlined exhibition, in addition to presenting the relationship and marriage of Otto and Regina, we intend to focus on the cultural activities of Regina's ancestors—some of which, in fact, extended to Hungary—and on how this love marriage embodied Otto von Habsburg's ideal of Europe. In contrast to the Prussian—Austrian hostility that culminated in the Battle of Königgrätz in 1866, their marriage was an example of how the Habsburg Empire could work as an ally with Bismarck's united Germany and the smaller ruling houses it comprised.



Gabriela von Habsburg is a renowned sculptor. Her inventiveness and talent are a manifestation of the artistic sensibility of the Saxe-Meiningen dynasty. We had the chance to see some of her works in her studio, and she gifted our Foundation a small cross inspired by the so-called *Kruzifix-Urteil*: this controversial court ruling from 1995 in Bavaria regulated the placement of crosses in public buildings. Archduchess Gabriela also donated some previously unknown photographs from her family collection.

Preparations for the exhibition in Meiningen are ongoing. We are delighted that the Habsburg family continues to support our work, and we want to thank Gabriela von Habsburg for her contribution!

Grand Master in Hungarian Regalia and the Collar of a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece

In the summer of 2022, we published a report based on a photograph of Count József Cziráky taken in 1957 and its adventurous journey. As a result of the research this autumn by our colleagues ISTVÁN GERGELY SZŰTS and SZILVESZTER DÉKÁNY, we can now fully reconstruct the history of the photo, but also of Cziráky's collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

On 8 November 2023, we had the opportunity to explore the surviving fragments of the Cziráky family collection in the Győr-Moson-Sopron County Archives of Hungary. One of the boxes revealed a photograph with a note of congratulation from Otto von Habsburg, taken in 1932 in Belgium, on the occasion of József Cziráky's admission to the Order of the Golden Fleece.



"To my new knight of the Order of Golden Fleece, Count József Cziráky."
(source: National Archives of Hungary
GYMS County Sopron Archives)



At the initiation of new members of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Otto, as Grand Master of the Order, stands in the centre in his traditional Hungarian ceremonial attire, József Cziráky, third from the right, wears the collar of the Order with the Order's insignia badge on it: A golden ram's skin hanging from a blue enamelled flame-spreading firestone (1933)

When Otto came of age, in 1930, he became Grand Master of the Knightly Distinguished Order of the Golden Fleece. Founded in 1429 to defend the Christian faith and the Catholic Church, the Order's history was intertwined with that of the Habsburg dynasty, and its members were Catholic nobles and royalty. The collar symbolised the fundamental ideals of equality and fraternity between the members of the secular order, values, which only together form a complete whole. Members regarded their affiliation to the Order of the Golden Fleece as a strong, explicitly sacred bond.

During our research trip, on the same afternoon, we conducted a nearly two-hour oral history interview with LÁSZLÓ ERDŐDY, a member of a noble family with many ties to the Habsburgs, who, in the course of the conversation, suddenly began to recount the story of József Cziráky's neck ornament. According to him, his father, Ferenc Erdődy, took the photograph in 1957 of the old Count ("Uncle Cziráky") that we previously published. Furthermore, according to family memoirs, he even played a part in smuggling the ornament out of the country. László Erdődy's father, who had emigrated to Germany in 1956,

occasionally was granted permission to travel abroad from 1960s. On one of these occasions, he smuggled out the collar of the Order of Golden Fleece and handed it over to Otto von Habsburg in Munich.

The story of collar has survived in two versions: the widow of Cziráky wrote down the events immediately after they had happened, while the Erdődy family kept them in their memories. It is plausible that the neck chain was taken across the border by Ilona Andrassy, the widow, while Ferenc Erdődy delivered a different memorabilia to Otto von Habsburg, one belonging to the Cziráky family and linked to the ruling family. Over time, these events have become a single story in the family's recollections.

The research trip to West Hungary and the new insights uncovered and learned are prime examples of the significance of investigating and interpreting an event from as many perspectives and sources as possible.

PROFESSIONAL ARCHIVAL RELATIONS

The main focus of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation's work is the processing of the heritage of our namesake. We are committed to achieve this objective by adopting the most advanced methodology and by meeting the highest professional standards.

Our Colleagues at the Annual Meeting of Archivists

An important forum for professional cooperation is the travelling conference organised by the Association of Hungarian Archivists, which, in 2023, was held in Lakitelek between 24–26 July.



Five colleagues of our Foundation, SZILVESZTER DÉKÁNY, ESZTER GAÁLNÉ BARCS, PIROSKA KOCSIS, ZOLTÁN ÓLMOSSI and GERGELY ISTVÁN SZŰTS, participated in the event.

The annual congress has been a flagship event of the archivist profession since the Association's re-establishment in 1986; it is one of the prestigious highlights of the Open Archives national programme. Held for the 35th time this year, the travelling meeting was attended by nearly 200 participants, including Hungarian archivists

from abroad and leaders of other archivist associations in Europe.

In Lakitelek, the central topics were the relation between archives and statehood, and the Hungarian archival system, which was created 300 years ago. We celebrate this year the law King Charles III passed in 1723, which, at the request



of the orders, stipulated that the public records of the country should be deposited in the country's archives (Archivum Regni). The law establishing the County Archives also dates from the same year.

The event was opened by ISTVÁN KENYERES, President of the Association of Hungarian Archivists, SÁNDOR LEZSÁK, Vice-President of the National Assembly, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Lakitelek Folk High School Foundation, and MÁTÉ VINCZE, Deputy State Secretary of the Ministry of Culture and Innovation. Traditionally, the awards are presented before the plenary session: this time, the outstanding performance of professionals was recognised with the Dóka Klára Award, founded by the Association, and the Osváth Lajos Award, established for the preservation of the work and memory of Lajos Osváth by his family in 2021.

The second day's morning included international sessions, as well as sections on topics like source publication, information technology, conservation, economics, and the history of education and science. Cultural and sports activities followed in the afternoon. We also visited the recently built warehouses and research rooms of the Research Institute for the History of Regime Change (RETÖRKI) and the impressive central building of the National Institute of Culture. Furthermore, the football cup competition of the Association of Hungarian Archivists attracted great interest. The final day featured presentations to mark the 150th anniversary of the unification of Pest and Buda.

In addition to the official programmes, our colleagues had valuable discussions with national and international archival community representatives. Many participants recalled our January event, "Start to the year in the collection", where we presented our work on processing the heritage of Otto von Habsburg to the professional audience. Our account of the event can be found on page 58.

COOPERATION

Collaboration with national and international public collections supports the Foundation's primary purpose; we have maintained close ties with some archives for many years. Among the Hungarian institutions, the most noteworthy are the Hungarian National Archives (MNL), the Budapest National Archives, and the Pest County Archives.

Moreover, we would like to emphasise that the Royal Palace of Gödöllő has been a dedicated and generous supporter of our work for many years, and we remain grateful to the Archives and Library of the Benedictine Archabbey of Pannonhalma. From abroad, we must mention our partnership with the Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal and our long-standing and unchanged good relations with the Austrian State Archives in Vienna.

We continue to expand the network of our Foundation's professional partners year by year, striving to develop closer links with prominent institutions in Hungarian and foreign public collections. In 2023, we established connections with the Archives of the Diocese of Szombathely and the MNL Archives of Sopron and Vas County, among others.

Investigating Those Who Were Monitoring Otto von Habsburg



At the beginning of the year, on 11 January 2023, we hosted the Director General of the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security (ÁBTL), DR GERGŐ BENDEGÚZ CSEH and the Head of the Research Department, DR NÓRA SZEKÉR. We presented our collection, in particular our processing and digitisation activities.

On 20 March, GERGELY PRŐHLE, Director of our Foundation and Dr Gergő Bendegúz Cseh, Director General of the ÁBTL, signed a cooperation agreement. The aim of this is to work together on processing all—currently

available—state security records, reports and related documents on Otto von Habsburg and his immediate environment, as well as the relevant files held in our collection. This will reveal the methods used by the communist state authorities to monitor the activities of our namesake. It will also allow us to reconstruct the network of not only the heir to the throne but also the Hungarian emigrants and emigrant organisations closely connected to him. Another significant pillar of our cooperation is the scientific processing and publication of sources and the organisation of joint professional events.

Following the signing of the cooperation agreement, a delegation from our Foundation had the opportunity to observe some of the reports on Otto von Habsburg and, afterwards, led by the Director General of ÁBTL, visited the archives and the institution's permanent exhibition.

The Director of the National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco at Our Foundation

MOHAMMED EL FERRANE, Director of the National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco, accompanied by the Ambassador of Morocco to Hungary, KARIMA KABBAJ and ISTVÁN MONOK, Director of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, visited our Foundation.



Otto von Habsburg maintained cordial relations with the North African countries. Along with Henry Kissinger, he was a member of the Royal Moroccan Academy, founded in 1980, where he frequently gave speeches on various topics. He had close ties with King Hassan II and his son, the current ruler, Mohammed VI. These historical links were also discussed during the visit.

The guests were shown the collection, including letters and photographs relating to Morocco in the bequest. They were delighted with our proposal to bring our roll-up exhibition on the life of Otto von Habsburg to Rabat. They promised to help enrich the legacy in our care with documents and pictures relating to our namesake from the Moroccan public collections. Her Excellency, the Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco, stressed that the oeuvre of Otto von

Habsburg is significant for Hungarian—Moroccan relations, therefore, she is particularly supportive of any event that highlights this lesser-known relation.



Meeting with King Mohammed VI of Morocco. Rabat, Morocco, 2002

Pieces of Our Collection at the “Hungarian Bride” Exhibition

On 13 December 2023, the Hungarian National Museum opened a magnificent and unique exhibition entitled “Hungarian Bride”, with contributions from our Foundation.

The wedding gift list of Otto von Habsburg and Regina of Saxe-Meiningen from 1951 and a photograph of their wedding are included in the exhibition from our collection, in addition to a portrait in digital form of Queen Zita as a bride that we loaned to the museum as well. Our colleague BEÁTA VITOS-MERZA, archivist and museologist, shares the story of Regina and Zita in the exhibition guide. The “Hungarian Bride” is displayed from 14 December 2023 to 25 August 2024.



Visits

- GERGŐ BENDEGÚZ CSEH, Director General of the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security; and NÓRA SZEKÉR, Head of the Research Department
- CHRISTIAN SCHMIDT, High Representative of the International Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina
- PETR MAREŠ, Executive Director of the International Visegrad Fund
- MICHAEL GEHLER, Head of the History Institute at the University of Hildesheim
- HANS-GERT PÖTTERING, Former President of the European Parliament and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation
- SEBASTIAN KĘCIEK, Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to Hungary
- MOHAMMED EL FERRANE, Director of the National Library of the Kingdom of Morocco
- KARIMA KABBAJ, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco to Hungary
- ISTVÁN MONOK, Director of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
- ISTVÁN MUSTÓ, former politician and university professor
- ANDRÁS HELTAI, journalist
- HANS-FRIEDRICH FREIHERR VON SOLEMACHER, Former Regional Director of the Hanns Seidel Foundation; and his daughter, SOFIA VAN DER VEGT VON SOLEMACHER, Director of the Christian Democratic Institute
- JULIA GROSS, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Hungary
- MICHAEL OF HABSBURG-LORRAINE, Former Chairman the Hungarian Mindszenty Foundation and head of the Palatine branch of the Habsburg family
- EDUARD OF HABSBURG-LORRAINE, Ambassador of Hungary to the Holy See
- JUDIT VARGA, Minister of Justice in Hungary
- KEVIN ROBERTS, President of The Heritage Foundation
- JAMES CARAFANO, Vice President of The Heritage Foundation
- ERIN WALSH, Senior Research Fellow for International Affairs, The Heritage Foundation
- DIETER SCHLENKER, Director of the Historical Archives of the European Union
- BALÁZS MÁRTONFFY, Head of the Institute for American Studies of the University of Public Service
- KNUT ABRAHAM, CDU Member of the Bundestag, Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs
- JANNE HAALAND MATLARY, Professor at the University of Oslo, Former Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Norway; and her husband, ÁRPÁD MATLÁRY
- ANTHONY B. KIM, research fellow at The Heritage Foundation
- ŁUKASZ LEWKOWICZ, Senior Analyst at the Institute of Central Europe in Lublin
- ERIC-ANDRÉ MARTIN, Fellow at the French Institute of International Relations
- PATRICK HETZEL, Member of the French National Assembly
- JEAN-NOËL JEANNENEY, Director of the Bibliotheque National de France
- CLAIRE LEGRAS, Ambassador of the French Republic to Hungary
- ANDREAS SCHEUER, Member of the Bundestag and former Secretary General of the Christian Social Union in Bavaria
- ALFONSO DASTIS QUECEDO, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Spain to Hungary
- DAVID HENRIE, actor, writer and director; his brother LORENZO HENRIE; and the politician and entrepreneur AUSTIN WRIGHT)
- BERND POSSELT, former colleague of Otto von Habsburg and former MEP
- EVA DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Ambassador of the Czech Republic to Hungary
- Students of the Kőrösi Csoma Sándor High School in Budapest
- BENITA FERRERO-WALDNER, Former Federal Minister for European and International Affairs of the Republic of Austria
- NOËLLE LENOIR, Former Minister for European Affairs in France
- JEROEN VERGEYLEN, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Belgium to Hungary
- WOLFGANG SCHÜSSEL, Former Chancellor of the Republic of Austria



PROGRAMMES

Alongside the processing and preservation of the heritage, the identification and acquisition of additional documents, and the expansion of professional relations, we consider the cultivation and promotion of Otto von Habsburg's intellectual legacy paramount. With this aim in mind, we have organised numerous exhibitions and conferences at home and abroad this year.



Our Foundation Reached a Milestone The Heritage of Otto von Habsburg Becomes Digitally Accessible

We started the year with an important event; on 23 January, on the Day of Hungarian Culture, our Foundation presented its collection and launched its online archive platform, making the legacy of the last Hungarian heir to the throne accessible for research. While a substantial part of the collection is Otto von Habsburg's written legacy, the unique photographic material and several hours of film footage form an equally valuable part of the documentation, and can be found among the continuously growing content of our online database.



GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director, recalled that the Otto von Habsburg Foundation started to process the heritage in 2019. Since then, we have developed the order of cataloguing, the basic structure of the archival system and created the methodology for digital access. He pointed out that, in addition to caring for the collection, we also need to be able to convey the intellectual legacy of our eponym. He assessed the Foundation's international appearances as a significant development in 2022, which were met with many positive feedbacks. He referred to what the Hungarian language and culture had meant to Otto von Habsburg: in several documents he mentions his Hungarian ties, considering Hungarian as his second mother tongue. He would read the works of Dezső Kosztolányi and Sándor Márai, as well as the poetry of Endre Ady, Sándor Petőfi, Ágnes Nemes Nagy and Sándor Weöres.

In his welcome speech, GERGELY GULYÁS, Minister of the Prime Minister's Office, emphasised that the oeuvre of the last Hungarian heir to the throne is still remarkable *“for all who are interested in our present, which is forming out of our past”*. He highlighted that the work of the institution responsible for the legacy had reached a milestone: the time had come for the intellectual heritage to be made available on the World Wide Web in an accessible form to everyone. Gergely Gulyás, praising the life of Otto von Habsburg, stated that the heir to the throne *“even with his changed status—or regardless of his*



status—followed the legacy and the best traditions of his ancestors, duty and service, and chose the struggles and fighting that these entailed. He fought against the dictatorship and totalitarian ideals of National Socialism and communism for a Europe living in liberty and peace. This struggle was often hopeless in the 20th century, yet the victors and those who were right were those, like Otto von Habsburg, who believed in freedom and in the unconditional respect for human dignity”.



The Foundation, which is funded by the Prime Minister's Office, could also promote Otto von Habsburg's values for a Christian Europe—resumed Gergely Próhle, Director of the Foundation. He recalled that last year, in 2022, we had organised a diverse series of events to mark the 110th anniversary of the birth of Otto von Habsburg and the centenary of the passing of his father, Emperor and King Charles I (IV).

The Hungarian public became better acquainted with the figure of the last heir to the throne through the documentary film *Isten Akaratából* (By the Will of God), the most viewed Hungarian movie of 1989. One of the creators of the documentary, GÁBOR HANÁK, shared the story of the film's production.

Along with the digital platform, our latest publications were also highlighted, while our colleagues presented the progress they had made in processing the various collection areas—the archives, the library, the photographic and the object collection. ZOLTÁN ÓLMOSI, Senior Archivist, recounted the research and scientific results on Charles I (IV) and Otto von Habsburg prior to the establishment of the Foundation. GERGELY FEJÉRDY, Deputy Scientific Director, briefly presented the collection's journey from arrival to the current processing state. ESZTER GAÁLNÉ BARCS, Senior Archivist, spoke about Otto von Habsburg's Hungarian-related correspondence, which had been assigned first to be processed and is now gradually being made digitally accessible. ISTVÁN GERGELY SZŰTS, Senior Archivist, drew attention to the conclusions from investigating the networks of contacts that had played a significant role in Otto von Habsburg's oeuvre and are today of great benefit to our Foundation's efforts. Archivist ANETT HAMMER-NACSA provided a glimpse into the process of exploring the German





journal *Zeitbühne*, while FERENC VASBÁNYAI, Librarian, described the structure of the book collection, the most interesting autographed volumes and Otto von Habsburg's literary interests. SZILVESZTER DÉKÁNY, Senior Collection Fellow, presented the photograph section, emphasising that the pictures, taken using various techniques, cover a wide time frame. Archivist BEÁTA VITOS-MERZA spoke about the memorabilia of our namesake. Lastly, ESZTER

KARDON-FÁBRY, Archivist, presented the diaries that had been donated by Archduchess Walburga and our exhibition at the Royal Palace of Gödöllő.

ANTAL MOLNÁR, Director of the Institute of History at the Eötvös Loránd Research Network's (ELKH) Research Centre for the Humanities, delivered the closing remarks and spoke about the cultural and historical significance of the building in which we were gathered for the event, and which serves as the Central Administrative Office of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hungary. This is the building that currently houses the collection of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, but it also gives home to the Podmaniczky-Degenfeld Library and the Esterházy Péter and Gitta Library.

The database, which is available online, will gradually provide access to Otto von Habsburg's correspondence, photographs, studies and publications. It has already become apparent from the database organisation that Otto von Habsburg was in contact with many thousands of people; from the second half of the 1980s, the number of his correspondents in Hungary alone was estimated at around six thousand. The collection also includes a large number of photographs of him and his family, several hours of video footage and audio interviews, a library of 11,000 volumes in English, German, French and Hungarian, and a multilingual collection of articles comprising 7,000 documents.

The first elements of the heritage to be made available digitally on the newly launched online platform includes his Hungarian-language secretariat correspondence, part of his photographic collection and excerpts from video interviews conducted by Péter Bokor and Gábor Hanák in the 1980s.



Photos by Tamás Totisz

Exhibitions

Memorial Exhibition of Charles I (IV)

In 2022, we commemorated the centenary of the passing of Otto von Habsburg's father. However, our exhibition for the occasion was still open to the public at the beginning of 2023 at the Royal Palace of Gödöllő, and immediately after the closing ceremony, another venue expressed its interest in hosting the exhibition.

Rubicon-Evening on the Life of Blessed Charles von Habsburg

On 31 March, at an event organised jointly with the Rubicon Institute, we commemorated the life of Charles I (IV), the former King of Hungary and Emperor of Austria, with a discussion and the finale of our exhibition *Exiled in Madeira* in the Royal Palace of Gödöllő. A large audience attended the programme, and several institutions indicated that they would like to display the exhibition about the last months of the former monarch and his family in Madeira.

GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of our Foundation, expressed his gratitude to TAMÁS UJVÁRY, Director of the Royal Palace of Gödöllő, for hosting the exhibition and the event. Afterwards, GÁBOR PÉTERFI, a senior research fellow at the Rubicon Institute, had a conversation with ESZTER FÁBRY, one of the curators of the exhibition, and GERGELY FEJÉRDY, Deputy Scientific Director of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation. Eszter Fábry first recalled the family's visit to Gödöllő between 22 and 26 October 1918 (the children had remained in Gödöllő with their caretakers until 31 October), based on the diaries handed over to the Otto von Habsburg Foundation by Archduchess Walburga Habsburg-Douglas.

Our colleagues then recalled the adventurous journey of the royal



couple to Madeira and outlined some of the most significant episodes of their months on the island. This gave the audience an insight into the events of the few years between the accession of Charles to the throne and his death. The panel discussion shed light not only on the political intentions and decisions of the monarch but also on his personality, that of a man who turned with humility to God, his family and his fellow human beings.



Photos by Csaba Rusznyák (Gyulai Hírlap)

In November 2022, we presented two publications at the opening of the exhibition in the Palace of Gödöllő, which offer a broader insight into the times that were recalled during the conversation. These publications, the archival sourcebook *Száműzöttként Madeirán* (Exiled in Madeira) and the collection of essays entitled *Jó szándék és balsors* (Goodwill and Misfortune), were both available for purchase at the Rubicon-Evening. Those who missed the opportunity can still buy them at Libri bookshops or in limited numbers at the Royal Palace of Gödöllő.

At the end of the evening, Gábor Péterfi asked one of the most crucial questions about Emperor and King Charles, who had been beatified in 2004: “*What is the message of his life for the people of today?*” In their answer, the colleagues of our Foundation emphasised Charles’ humility, faith, great openness to other people, and constant search for the common good.

After the discussion, the audience had the opportunity to take part in a final guided tour of the exhibition, with our colleague BEÁTA VITOS-MERZA, the other curator of the project.

Our Exhibition of Emperor and King Charles Debuts in Gyula

The exhibition, created in collaboration with the Regional Archive and Public Library of Madeira and presented first at Gödöllő, opened in mid-April at the Almásy Castle Visitor Centre in Gyula.

The exhibition’s opening in the castle chapel took place on Saturday, 15 April 2023. The first speaker at the event was JÓZSEF KOVÁCS, Member of the National Assembly of Hungary, who welcomed the guests and commemorated the reign of Charles I (IV) and his efforts for peace. He was followed by ERNŐ GÖRGÉNYI, Mayor of Gyula, who emphasised in his welcome speech that in addition to the permanent exhibition at the Almásy Castle, they had always strived to enrich the cultural life of the city with temporary exhibitions; thus, they are pleased to announce this

opening and to welcome the Otto von Habsburg Foundation as a new professional partner. To conclude, GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of the Foundation, opened the exhibition; highlighting the legacy that Charles I (IV) had left to his son Otto, who had considered his father a role model throughout his whole life.

After the speeches, the guests were invited to view the exhibition that was to be open until 29 May 2023.



Discussion About the Last Hungarian King at the Almásy Castle in Gyula

A book launch and roundtable discussion were organised jointly by the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and the Almásy Castle in Gyula on 24 May in the historic town on the southern Great Plain. It was also the closing event of the free university series of the local Erkel Ferenc Museum.

At the site of our commemorative exhibition, our colleagues, GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director; GERGELY FEJÉRDY, Deputy Scientific Director; and ESZTER FÁBRY, Archivist, answered questions from the host, ANDRÁS LISKA, in front of a large audience. During the discussion, the professional leader of the Erkel Ferenc Museum asked the discussants about the historical events of the reign of Charles, his family life, his two unsuccessful attempts to return to Hungary, his exile, his tragic death and its consequences, inviting them to reflect in particular on the impact of these events on the life of Otto von Habsburg. The programme included the presentation of our volumes *Jó szándék és balsors* (Goodwill and Misfortune) and *Száműzöttként Madeirán* (Exiled in Madeira)—both published in 2022—and a brief introduction to the work of our Foundation.

The event, originally announced as the closing ceremony, eventually only concluded the free university series of the Erkel Ferenc Museum. Due to the great interest—at the request of the management of the Almásy Castle in Gyula—the commemorative exhibition had been extended by a month, and closed only at the end of June.



Travelling Exhibition in Hungary

Our first exhibition, “Otto von Habsburg—Life and Heritage”, remains very popular. We strive to create site-specific roll-ups for each site so that visitors can learn more about the connection of the last heir to the Hungarian throne with the town that hosts the exhibition.



Our “Life and Heritage” Exhibition Arrived at Eger

The roll-up exhibition opened in Eger on 19 May 2023 and was on display in the renovated Archbishop’s Palace and Visitor Centre until September.

This stop of our travelling exhibition was unique in several aspects: among the places where our namesake had been granted the title of honorary citizen, we had so far visited settlements with a smaller population, but this time, we were invited to the seat of a county, into the centre of an archdiocese. Otto von Habsburg and his wife, Princess Regina, visited the city close to their hearts on several occasions, and, as the Archduke often mentioned both in interviews and in his correspondence, his spouse particularly had fallen in love with Eger.



In his welcoming address, Archbishop Csaba Ternyák stressed the significance of our historical, Christian-Catholic roots, which nourished the ideals and spirit of Otto von Habsburg, who considered himself European as well as Hungarian until the end of his life. It should also be remembered that it was not by chance that the sanctity of life and Catholicism were so prominent in Otto von Habsburg’s life since the example of his father, Blessed Charles I (IV), was always before him, the Archbishop recalled.

Gergely Pröhle, Director of our Foundation, said that we are all heirs of Otto von Habsburg’s legacy, which is important both in Europe and in a global context. The life and work of the last Hungarian heir to the throne sought and offered a response to the seemingly inexorable modernisation and secularisation of the 20th century. His example proves that an active, constantly renewing Christian approach to life is not an impossible undertaking in our time either. Otto drew strength from his faith and never ceased to be grateful for it. He was convinced that a Christian Europe was not just a hypothetical fantasy but a tangible reality—even if a long and persistent struggle preceded its birth.



After the welcoming speeches, the vast audience was treated to three presentations. Gergely Fejérdy, Deputy Director of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, gave a lecture entitled *Episodes in the relationship between Otto von Habsburg and the Catholic Church*, which highlighted events from the life of our namesake.

BÉLA BARTÓK, Associate Professor at the Eszterházy Károly Catholic University, spoke about local legitimacy in the period between the two world wars (The Otto-masses and the characteristics of legitimism in Eger between 1920 and 1944), while ISTVÁN BALÁS, former Director General of the Heves County Government Office, spoke about the years after the change of regime in his lecture entitled Recollections of Otto von Habsburg's visits to Eger, enriched with his personal experiences.

Photos by Péter Nagy, Róbert Federics (Szent István Television)



Fragile History—The Habsburg Family and Herend

Our newest exhibition, which opened on 30 June at the Herend Porcelain Museum, presented the links between the Habsburg family and the Herend Porcelain Manufactory.

TIBOR NAVRACSICS, Minister of Regional Development, said in his welcoming speech that porcelain made Herend famous and recognised throughout the continent and even the world, and the work of the Manufactory, spanning two centuries, is a worthy addition to our cultural heritage. He highlighted that Herend porcelain embodies both European values in Hungary and Hungarian values in Europe.

The CEO of the Herend Porcelain Manufactory, ATTILA SIMON, recalled the prosperous times

and influential leaders following the company's foundation in 1826, who all contributed to a distinctive image that made the porcelain of Herend famous worldwide. The Manufactory is now unrivalled in the market for handmade porcelain and has been a Hungaricum since 2013.

GERGELY PRÖHLE, Director of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, remarked: the Herend brand elevates everyone, creates festivity, radiates spirituality and is rightfully the national pride of Hungary. The title of the exhibition, he explained, refers not only to the fragility of porcelain but also to the history and position of the nations of Central Europe, which demands that the people of the region and its decision-makers act with due caution, as demonstrated by the life and thoughts of Otto von Habsburg.



Presenting the exhibition, ISTVÁN GERGELY SZÚTS, Senior Archivist of our Foundation, stated that the exhibition focuses primarily on the period between the coronation of Charles IV in 1916 and Otto von Habsburg's visit to Hungary in 2007. Among other things, it includes a photograph of the coronation banquet, where Herend porcelain was presumably used to set the table. The archivist noted that Otto von Habsburg lived in exile for 70 years and was not allowed to visit Hungary. However, between 1923 and 1945, each year on his birthday, dinners were organised with the participation of legitimist politicians, at which the tables were also set with Herend Porcelain.



In 1987, Otto von Habsburg returned to Hungary as a private citizen; in 1989, he visited the Manufactory as a Member of the European Parliament, and in 2007, his 95th birthday was celebrated in Herend. These occasions are also commemorated in the exhibition, while some of the items from the Otto von Habsburg Foundation's collection, such as the prayer book, rosary, typewriter, and bowler hat of the Crown Prince, as well as the kneeling cushion used at the coronation of Charles and Zita were on display.

The Habsburg dynasty had a decisive role in the almost 200-year history of the Herend Porcelain Manufactory; therefore, our exhibition also highlighted some crucial connections from the period before the reign of Charles I (IV). Emperor and King Franz Joseph I ordered sets from the factory several times. One for his wife, Queen Elisabeth, to the Royal Palace of Gödöllő with a Chinese-style pattern, which has since become known as the Gödöllő pattern. In the first third of the 1870s, the Emperor also commissioned a monogrammed porcelain set of some 4000 pieces for the Royal Palace of Buda, which could have been seen later by the young heir to the throne, Otto von Habsburg, at his father's coronation.

The thematic exhibition, illustrated by the famous Herend porcelains mentioned above, pays tribute to the Habsburg family's long-lasting and important role in the history of the region while it also recalls the crucial milestones of the life of the last heir to the throne, Otto von Habsburg, to whom his Hungarian identity was just as important as being a committed European.



The exhibition was open until 26 August 2023, and according to the records, was visited by 70 thousand people.

Photos by Herend Porcelain Manufactory Ltd.

Two Sovereign Political Thinkers—Discussion in Győr

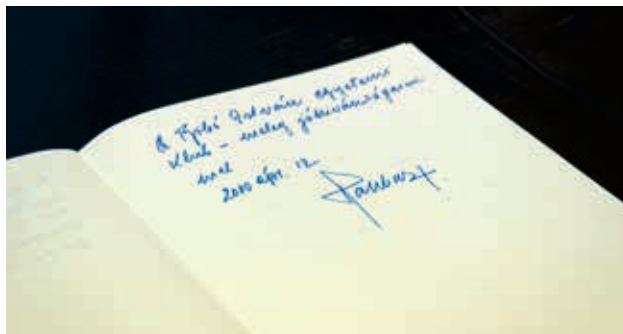
On 28 September 2023, the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and the Deák Ferenc Faculty of Law and Political Science of the Széchenyi István University organised a discussion on Otto von Habsburg's and István Bibó's perception of Europe in the library of the Faculty of Law in Győr. The event included opening our “Life and Heritage” exhibition, which was on display until the end of October.

The discussion aimed to present the vision of Europe of two politicians and thinkers with markedly diverging personalities and vastly different experiences, the thematic parallels and distinctions between their work and thinking, and the relevance of the ideas and thoughts they conveyed. Furthermore, this occasion marked the re-launch of the Bibó István University Club, which Otto von Habsburg had visited in the early 2000s.



In his welcoming address, PÉTER SMUK, Dean of the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences, explained that the club strives to organise discussions beyond the university curriculum and provide a forum for meeting figures with significant impact on public thinking and the ideas they represent. However, these occasions can not only help prepare law students for the public engagement traditionally associated with their future profession, but, from a prospective viewpoint, they can also play an essential role in further building the intellectual community of the faculty and the city.

GYÖRGY GYARMATI, Professor Emeritus of the University of Pécs, pointed out in his introductory speech: the central question of István Bibó's thinking of Europe was how to find a solution to the problems of the post-war period and how to create a framework for peaceful coexistence between the peoples of the continent. He was aware of the potential breaking points and the impasses and constraints that had long marked the history of the continent, in particular, of Central Europe. For Bibó, the idea of Europe was, therefore, a kind of community of freedom, a prospect of establishing the desired peace, stability and consolidation. The restoration of peace in European societies and nations—which is at the heart of Bibó's political thinking on this subject—shares many similarities with the ideas of Otto von Habsburg, even though the former heir to the throne's political vision was unfolding along the lines of a very different world view.



GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of our Foundation drew attention to the fact that Otto von Habsburg, the former heir to the throne, had been able to put historical awareness based on a 600-year-old dynastic tradition into use in political action. For him, the imperial idea (*Reichsidee*), modelled on the example of Charles V's Empire—which was also a decisive influence on his notion of European integration—was the concept of a supranational legal order that recognised sovereignties derived from different historical experiences and was organised along the lines of subsidiarity to achieve greater commonweal. Throughout his public career, the former heir to the throne relied greatly on his father's intellectual legacy, which was based on the pillars of social sensitivity, deep Catholic faith and, derived from it, a sense of responsibility, which ultimately, due to the early death of Charles I (IV), could only be transformed into a coherent political programme and then into concrete political action by his son. Therefore, when we talk about Otto von Habsburg's conservative-Christian democratic political activity after 1945, his efforts to promote the social market economy, and his remarkably exceptional work ethic, this example of socialisation pattern must be taken into account. Gergely Pröhle stressed that Otto von Habsburg, elected to the European Parliament in 1979, owed the real strength of his work and political charisma to his gratitude for all that he was granted during his career, which made the former heir to the throne one of the most respected figures in post Second World War democratic European politics.

Although the two men had very different careers, making it almost impossible to sketch parallel biographies, it became evident during the discussion that Otto von Habsburg and István Bibó shared a historical consciousness and a profound reflection on the deeper structures, the most fundamental interrelations and dilemmas of society and politics, in which particular emphasis was given to analysing the future of Europe and the problems of cooperation and development prospects of the Central European nations.



Their views had a considerable effect on democratic political thinking during the period of regime change. István Bibó's theory of the development of European society—and especially the further elaborated cornerstones of it by Jenő Szűcs—carried a powerful political message against the existing geopolitical realities. At the same time, Otto von Habsburg's endeavours towards a comprehensive integration, including Central Europe, inspired the political actors of the time. Although their concepts of Europe and the region unfolded with vastly different emphases, both were sovereign thinkers who not only recognised the long-term development potential of the continent and the region but whose courage is still able to bring new impulses to thinking and political action on Central European cooperation and European integration. Moreover, their insight and exceptional preparedness are still a source of motivation for those involved in and interested in public life.

Photos by Máté Dudás (Széchenyi University)

Exhibitions and Exchange of Ideas Abroad

In Hungary, we usually bring our exhibitions to places where our namesake was made an honorary citizen after the regime change. Regarding our events abroad, we are looking to visit countries that were of importance to Otto von Habsburg. To complement the existing panels on the life of the former Crown Prince, we created additional roll-ups for each venue, describing Otto von Habsburg's connection to the city or country.



A Journey to Madrid with Otto von Habsburg

The Otto von Habsburg Foundation organised a conference entitled “Spain in Europe—The Role and Significance of Otto von Habsburg” and an exhibition on the occasion of the Spanish Presidency of the Council of the European Union at the Faculty of Humanities of CEU San Pablo University in Madrid.



On 2 October 2023, after several venues in Hungary and Central Europe, the Otto von Habsburg Foundation’s exhibition “Life and Heritage” arrived in Spain, one of the most defining countries in the life of the former Crown Prince. The exhibition opening in Madrid was preceded by a conference where ALFONSO BULLÓN DE MENDOZA, President of the San Pablo University Foundation, welcomed the guests. Ambassador KATALIN TÓTH’s reflections on Otto von Habsburg’s endeavours for a united Europe, which are just as relevant today, were conveyed to the audience by KITTÍ UDVAROS, diplomat at the Embassy.

The Director of our Foundation, GERGELY PRÓHLE, drew a parallel between the life of the former heir to the throne and that of St. Paul, the eponym of the hosting university, highlighting their shared sensitivity towards the needs of the communities they were responsible for their commitment to Christian teaching and the promotion of social ideals that it implies. The apostle Paul and Otto von Habsburg are also connected by their ability to remain optimistic despite great difficulties. The Director expressed his gratitude to Ramón Pérez-Maura for the outstanding organisation of the conference and to the other participants for the opportunity to discuss—for the second time following the 2021 Otto dinner—the Hispanic aspects of the oeuvre. He underlined that Otto von Habsburg was a crucial political actor in Spain’s international opening and later European integration—in which István Mustó played a significant role. Professor Mustó, who became acquainted with Otto von Habsburg in 1951 at the beginning of his university years in Madrid, later became involved in the accession process as a German government official.

The other roundtable panellists—Enikő Győri and Íñigo Méndez de Vigo—are carrying on this political legacy, committed to the future of Europe, Spain and Hungary. The daily activities of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation were presented in Spanish by LAURA BALÁZS, Communications Manager at our institution, who underlined that due to the ongoing digitisation work, more and more documents and photographs are becoming available on the Foundation’s website.

RAMÓN PÉREZ-MAURA, historian and one of the leading experts on the work of Otto von Habsburg and a columnist for *El Debate* magazine, gave a historical overview of the Archduke’s life, from his exile in Lekeitio to his service in the European Parliament. He recalled that Otto von Habsburg had never forgot the country that had wel-

comed him and his family in the turbulent times following the First World War and, as soon as the political situation allowed, had selflessly supported its accession to the European Union. NÓRA SZEKÉR, Head of the Research Department at the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security, outlined the achievements of Ferenc Marosy, who rendered invaluable services to the Hungarian emigration by managing the Hungarian Royal Embassy for two decades (1949–1969).



The speeches were followed by a round table discussion. The central topic was the impact of Otto von Habsburg's legacy on the European Parliament. ENIKŐ GYŐRI, a Hungarian member of the European Parliament, stressed the importance of defending Christianity and maintaining equilibrium between states, as these two factors are vital both in times of peace and of war. ÍÑIGO MÉNDEZ DE VIGO, former Spanish Minister, echoed the MEP's statement and called attention to addressing European conflict situations from within. However, he pointed out that this mentality is a long-term learning process and cannot be acquired overnight.

ISTVÁN MUSTÓ, economist, former politician, and university professor, emphasised the exemplary quality of the country's development. Assessing the current situation on the continent, he mentioned the challenges he believes the European Union is facing: restoring the political power of Europe and dealing with the loss of economic and cultural hegemony while respecting and preserving national identity.

All three speakers agreed that Otto von Habsburg worked to defend Europe's unity. Nothing is more proof of that than his proposal to place an empty seat in the parliamentary chamber during the Cold War, which compelled the members of the continent's foremost decision-making body to consider the fate of the people behind the Iron Curtain on a daily basis.

The exhibition that presents the life of Otto von Habsburg, his childhood in the Basque Country and his subsequent visits to Spain was opened by his granddaughter, SOPHIA (ZSÓFIA) VON HABSBERG. She explained that the exiled royal family's being welcomed in the Kingdom of Spain during the difficult period following the First World War had been a life-changing experience for his grandfather, and recalled their later vacations in Benidorm. Finally, she thanked the Foundation for its work, through which the life and deeds of Otto von Habsburg are becoming more widely known both in Hungary and Europe.

Sophia von Habsburg's welcoming address is on page 160, István Mustó's speech is on page 161, while Nóra Szekér's essay is on page 163.

From Vernissage to Finissage: On the Lands of the Dukes of Lorraine

On 13 October 2023, at the University of Nancy, GERGELY FEJÉRDY, Deputy Scientific Director of our Foundation, gave a lecture on Otto von Habsburg's relations to Lorraine and his commitment to Europe. Our "Life and Heritage" exhibition was opened on the same day at the campus of Sciences Po University in Nancy. The following day, the Hungarian delegation attended the traditional commemorative mass of the House of Lorraine at the Church of the Cordeliers, where Regina of Saxe-Meiningen and Otto von Habsburg exchanged their wedding vows in 1951.



In the capital of the Duchy of Lorraine, with the support of the Honorary Consul of Hungary, JEAN-PIERRE PRUDHON, and Professor YVES PETIT, Director of the renowned European University Centre (Centre Européen Universitaire), established in 1950, our Foundation's Deputy Scientific Director delivered his lecture in the Art Nouveau dining room of the Université de Lorraine. Among the guests were the Deputy Mayor of the city, several university professors, prominent representatives of the local cultural scene, and a great number of university students.

After the presentation, GEORG VON HABSBERG, Ambassador of Hungary to France and member of the Board of Trustees of our Foundation, opened our roll-up exhibition about his late father in the main hall of the Hôtel des Missions Royales, another of the city's landmark buildings from the early 18th century. The property has been the headquarters of the Franco—German campus of the Paris-based SciencesPo School of Political Science in Nancy since 2000. The series of photographs depicting the life of Otto von Habsburg were symbolically placed next to decorations commemorating the fall of the Berlin Wall. Here, Deputy Mayor NICOLE CREUSOT and Director FRANÇOIS LAVAL welcomed the audience. Mme Creusot recalled that the last time



she had met Otto von Habsburg was in Luneville, near Nancy, during the rebuilding of the Ducal Palace of Lorraine, which had burned down in 2003 and the reconstruction work had begun in the presence of the former heir to the throne. Otto von Habsburg also placed a small bottle of Tokaji wine next to the foundation stone to commemorate the fact that the dukes of Lorraine had ordered wine from Tokaj every year.

The exhibition opening was also attended by JEAN-PIERRE PUTON, whose grandfather, Jean Scherbeck, a photographer, painter and graphic artist from Lorraine, had been one of the official photographers at the wedding of Otto von Habsburg. Mr Puton has pledged to make a digital copy available to our Foundation of the images relating to the former heir to the throne from the extensive photographic archive in his family's possession. Among the guests was Professor Károly Kosztolányi, born in 1926, a distant relative of Hungarian writer Dezső Kosztolányi. He had moved to Lorraine in 1957 and, as a 'local Hungarian', had greeted Otto von Habsburg several times during his visits to Nancy.



On 14 October, PIERRE-YVES MICHEL, Bishop of Nancy, celebrated a traditional Mass in the Church of the Cordeliers. It was also attended by the Mayor of the city, MATHIEU KLEIN, and the President of the Lorraine Historical Society (Société Histoire de la Lorraine), founded in 1848, Prince CHARLES D'ARENBERG, and its Secretary General, ETIENNE MARTIN. After the ceremony, Georg von Habsburg and Gergely Fejérdy signed the church's memorial book. They also had the opportunity to descend into the crypt, the resting place of the dukes of Lorraine. This burial chamber under the altar is only opened if a descendant of the House of Lorraine is present.

At the reception following the Holy Mass, HELÈNE BARBEY SAY, Director of the Departmental Archives of Meurthe-et-Moselle, indicated that the institution she heads holds numerous documents relating to Otto von Habsburg. Also present was DOMINIQUE FLON, former President of the Lorraine Historical Society, who had become the curator of the crypt of the Church of the Cordeliers at the request of Otto von Habsburg. Mr Flon told countless anecdotes about the former heir to the throne, whom he had met in person on each of his trips to Nancy.

The Lorraine Historical Society's management raised the possibility of displaying our "Life and Heritage" exhibition in other venues in Lorraine. The Honorary Consul of Hungary in Nancy agreed to help us to realise this plan.



On 11 December 2023, the exhibition, displayed in Nancy, concluded with an event in the library of the Université de Lorraine. After the closing celebration, a conference entitled "Otto von Habsburg-Lorraine, Man of Law, Man of Rights" was held in the university's former great lecture hall. It was organised and opened by MATTHIAS MARTIN, Professor of Private Law, and JULIEN

LAPOINTE, Professor of Legal History. The first lecture was given by Professor JEAN EL GAMMAL, a historian who recalled the events of the conclusion of the First World War, with particular emphasis on Central Europe and the Habsburg Empire.

The Deputy Director of our Foundation addressed the audience online. In his presentation, Gergely Fejérdy underlined that for Otto von Habsburg, the protection of the law and the correct interpretation of the spirit of the law were of particular importance. He illustrated this with numerous examples. Jean-Pierre Prudhon, the Honorary Consul of Hungary in Nancy, also spoke about the former Crown Prince and referred to his European commitment. Lastly, XAVIER PÉCOT of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Lorraine talked about the moral greatness of Otto von Habsburg and how his example inspired him in his daily work. He quoted a famous phrase of the last Austro-Hungarian monarch, uttered to his son before his death in 1922: "You can renounce everything, my son, but never Lorraine." The occasion was well attended, proving that Habsburgs' adherence is still reciprocated by the local citizens.



The wedding of Otto and Regina von Habsburg
Nancy, France, 1951
Photo by Jean Scherbeck

Autumn Days in Ljubljana Evoking the Monarchy

Our travelling exhibition on Otto von Habsburg's life was opened in Ljubljana on 20 October. The joint event of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and the Liszt Institute Hungarian Cultural Centre began with a round table discussion.



ANDOR FERENC DÁVID, Ambassador of Hungary to Slovenia, welcomed the guests. A hundred years had passed, he said, and we now have a different view of a dynasty that had played a decisive role in the history of our countries. Yet we can agree that family, European integration, democratic values and Christianity—the ideals advocated by Otto von Habsburg throughout his life—remain a common ground for us in the 21st century.

LOJZE PETERLE, former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Slovenia and Member of the European Parliament, shared his memories of Otto von Habsburg with the audience. His speech is published on page 170. GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of our Foundation, stressed the responsibility of the nations of today's Europe—especially of Central Europe, including the former Monarchy—to bear the legacy of the last heir to the throne, as his thoughts have not only historical value but also a very relevant and meaningful message for today.

The discussion was moderated by historian PETRA SVOLJŠAK (Academy of Sciences and Arts of Slovenia, Milko Kos Institute of History). She asked the discussants to assess the changing perception of the Habsburgs since 1918. HELMUT WOHNOUT, Director General of the Austrian State Archives, first spoke about the attitude of the Austrians. He reminded the audience that the Social Democrats had unambiguously rejected Otto von Habsburg. From his father's untimely death, through his attempted return at the end of the Second World War, to the long-obstructed grant of his citizenship, their opposition lasted until 1972, when the memorable handshake between the former Crown Prince and Chancellor Kreisky took place. The National Socialists also defined themselves as anti-Habsburg, as evidenced by the fact that the plan to annex Austria to the Third Reich was given the code name *Sonderfall Otto* (Operation Otto) in Berlin.

The attention surrounding the personality of Otto in the 1920s and 1930s remained detectable in Hungarian history up to the fall of communism and even beyond—said Gergely Pröhle.



As an alternative approach to the Habsburg image of the 1988–90s, he suggested that the growing attention devoted to the dualism era was not accidental: the reform-communist politics of remembrance sought to divert public attention from more radical criticism of the system by tacitly tolerating this more innocuous tradition. Nevertheless, the success of the films about Otto von Habsburg proved to be symptomatic.



On the Slovenian side, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes expressed its opposition towards Legitimism, because it considered the issue to be an international one—formulated his answer ANDREJ RAHTEN (University of Maribor, STMA), former Ambassador of Slovenia to Austria. It was only in the 1980s that the resistance and disapproval began to ease, reaching the stage of sympathy for the figure of Otto in the early 1990s. This process is visible from the press reports on the past and the dynasty. The historian, whose research on the subject has recently been published (*V prah strti prestol. Slovensko dožemanje habsburške dynasties v postimperialni dobi*. Celje, 2023. [The throne is crumbling. The Slovenian perception of the Habsburg dynasty in the post-imperial era]) recalled: Otto von Habsburg had visited Ljubljana during the Yugoslav Wars and later addressed the newly formed state's parliament. His gesture brought the idea of a common Europe to the attention of all. He was also an approachable figure, which had a great impact on the perception of the former dynasty. "Although he was not one of the founding fathers of the European Union, he was the founding father of the united Europe", concluded Professor Rahten.

After the discussion, a great number of people visited the exhibition, which we supplemented with a roll-up on the relationship between our namesake and Slovenia.

The following day, on their way home, the colleagues of our Foundation visited Professor Rahten's hometown, Celje. In the third most populous city of Slovenia, the former seat of the Celjski or Cillei family (well-known from Hungarian history), they were welcomed by the Mayor and the heads of the municipality. After a convivial meeting, Helmut Wahnout and Gergely Pröhle wrote memorial lines in the town's "Golden Book"; then they toured the sights of Celje. The plan to bring our "Life and Heritage" exhibition to the city in the spring of 2024 was also outlined.



Conferences

The Foundation's activities are primarily focused on preserving, processing, and making the sources and documents related to Otto von Habsburg's life and work broadly known. In addition to the publications and events reflecting on the oeuvre of our namesake, our programmes focus on international diplomacy, European integration, Christian Democratic politics, and Central European cooperation.



The Élysée Treaty from a Sixty-Year Perspective



Our first conference of the year was organised jointly with the Institute for Strategic Studies of the University of Public Service, commemorating the signing of the Élysée Treaty, a fateful event in the life of our continent.

On 22 January 1963, a historic agreement was reached between the President of France and the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. With the Élysée Treaty, Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer made a commitment that the leaders

of their countries—and in time, not only them but also the political, economic, and cultural leaders—would engage in a permanent dialogue in order to put an end once and for all to the enmity that had defined the history of Europe for centuries.

In his introduction, GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of our Foundation, in addition to recalling the past, asked the participants of the conference to draw lessons from the decision of 60 years ago that are valid today, especially those that can help us to define Europe in the 21st century.

The Rector of the University of Public Service spoke in detail about the institution's relations with French and German universities, research institutes and the European institutional system. In light of this, GERGELY DELI believes that young people building their careers in the European and Hungarian civil service will be committed to the shared values. He concluded his speech with Adenauer's words: *"Looking into the past only makes sense if it serves the future."*

JUDIT VARGA, Minister of Justice, described the Élysée Treaty as a formative initiative, and she saw its significance in the Cold War era in the fact that it had offered an opportunity for cooperation and had set an example for further integration. Its message is that building a strong Europe requires nations with strong identities, which are connected by a thousand threads to the members, bodies and institutions of other countries and nations—and they do so in a spirit of mutual respect. The Minister expressed her hope that the war in our neighbourhood would not escalate and that the ceasefire negotiations—which the Hungarian political leadership had been calling for in all existing forums—would take place as soon as possible in order to achieve peace. Her speech can be read on page 144.



The French Ambassador to Budapest drew a parallel between the years after the Second World War and the present. According to CLAIRE LEGRAS, both periods mark the dawn of a new era in which a shift in the balance of power is forcing and forced Europeans to find a mutual response and a common vision. The sense of security of the 1990s is now behind us, and EU policy faces many threats. The shock of war has raised questions about the unity of defence policy, and there is a reform of EU decision-making on the horizon. The question is what form this will take. The French diplomat is optimistic: French–German cooperation has perhaps never been so harmonious, she noted. Her speech can be read on page 138.



In the words of JULIA GROSS, Ambassador of Germany, the significance of the 60-year-old agreement is that it created an unbreakable bond of destiny between the two nations and established a palpable and lasting openness towards each other. This characterised the recent joint Franco–German ministerial meeting, where all the burning issues—climate protection, European security policy, digital sovereignty, strengthening the energy sector and democracy, the war between Russia and Ukraine, and China’s economic rise—were discussed. Gross compared the European Union to a well-functioning engine that, while not always humming pleasantly, runs smoothly, and its operating temperature does not allow the political climate to cool down alarmingly.

LÁSZLÓ J. KISS, Professor Emeritus at the Corvinus University of Budapest and FERENC GAZDAG, Professor Emeritus of the University of Public Service, put the signing of the treaty in a historical context. ERIC-ANDRÉ MARTIN from the French Institute of International Relations said that the principles set out in 1963 are still valid today but with a broader horizon. The challenges of our time can no longer be tackled by a consensus between two countries: the threat of marginalisation to Europe can only be avoided by involving the whole of the Union. Alsace-born PATRIK HETZEL, Member of the French National Assembly, illustrated the complexity of identity and

belonging through the personal stories of his family, recalling the relief that came with the conclusion of the agreement in his homeland. HEINRICH KREFT, Head of Department at Andrassy University, recalled that there had already been efforts for rapprochement between the two countries in the 1920s, and that a certain role in this was envisaged for Luxembourg by a narrow circle of intellectuals.



The panel discussion was closed by the reflections of LÁSZLÓ TRÓCSÁNYI. The Hungarian MEP, former Minister of Justice and diplomat, drew attention to the different constitutional nature of France and Germany and stressed the decisive role that the personality of individual politicians can play in international relations. However, the "encounter of viewpoints" has played out in the past; the most critical question is what vision the two nations that made history 60 years ago will set for the continent as a whole in 2023.

Photos by Dénes Szilágyi (NKE)

At the Conference of History Teachers

“Historical Past and the Present of History Teaching” was the title of the tenth conference of the Teachers of History in Evangelical Schools on 23 February 2023. This year, the Otto von Habsburg Foundation participated in the organisation of the event, besides the Petőfi Lutheran High School of Aszód and the Institute of Pedagogy of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hungary (ELCH). The Royal Palace of Gödöllő hosted the event.



TAMÁS UJVÁRY, Director of the venue of the conference, welcomed the participants, while MÁRTA VARGA, Head of the Education and Training Department of ELCH, and VALÉRIA VEIZER, Director of the Petőfi Lutheran High School of Aszód, addressed the audience on behalf of the organisers.

The introductory lecture was given by GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and Lay President of the ELCH. On the day before the first anniversary of the beginning of the Russian–Ukrainian War, two days before the Day of Remembrance of the Victims



of Communism, he quoted from the Epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Romans, calling for love without hypocrisy: “Do not be overcome by evil but overcome evil with good.” (Romans, 12:21) Gergely Próhle underlined that our children would only know what to think about war, peace, the European Union, the past and the challenges of the present if they learnt—if we taught them—that the national interest and European integration were



not in conflict, and that the harmony of the two could be ensured by building on the principle of subsidiarity. Teachers in secondary schools are responsible for teaching this. With this in mind, he wished the conference participants a fruitful meeting.

GERGELY FEJÉRDY, Deputy Scientific Director of our Foundation, spoke about Otto von Habsburg's years as a student. His educational pedagogical programme, which was continuously carried out in the often-changing places of exile, was compiled and implemented with a strict agenda and honourable purposefulness despite the early loss of his father. The lecturer presented all this with a rich illustration of photographs and exciting details of the family history. He stressed that Otto von Habsburg's upbringing was based on intellectual values, deep Catholic faith, and the importance of sport. The former Crown Prince did not study to exercise power but to serve others, and he lived up to this ambition.

RÉKA FÖLDVÁRYNÉ KISS, Director of the Committee of National Remembrance, gave information about their programmes for secondary school students. As she reminded us, the persecution of the Church under the Kádár regime and the abuses of power by the party state were not based on the educational principles of the Habsburg children. Teaching about the 20th century is an essential task for contemporary education—this should include a significant emphasis on the events of history that have been deliberately suppressed in the past. The Committee of National Remembrance is helping teachers show their students what it is like when history enters the lives of families through travelling exhibitions, educational publications, worksheets, special history lessons, thematic short films, and quizzes. Now that the period is well understood at the level of basic research, the question is how to make it accessible to the broadest possible audience. By learning about the lives of everyday heroes, a culture of remembrance can be created that shows how people are confronted with choices in the face of heightened historical moments.

ZITA SZILÁGYI, history teacher at the Petőfi Lutheran High School of Aszód, gave a presentation on the project she and her students had carried out together about the Podmaniczky family history. Other speakers at the conference included GÁBOR MÓCZÁR, Director of the National Heritage Institute; ÁRPÁD RÁCZ, Co-President of the Rubicon Institute and founder of the historical journal of the same name; BÁLINT FEKETE, Chief Editor of the *újkor.hu* and MIHÁLY NÁNAY, President of the Association of Hungarian History Teachers. The conference was closed by GÁBOR PÉTERFI, Head of the Textbook Publishing Unit of the Association of History Teachers.



The conference participants had the opportunity to view the exhibition entitled “Exiled in Madeira”, compiled by the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, which was displayed in the Royal Palace of Gödöllő until 1 April 2023. The exhibition, which commemorated the 100th anniversary of the death of Charles I (IV), was presented by curators ESZTER FÁBRY and BEÁTA VITOSMERZA, colleagues of our Foundation.



Our participation in the event for history teachers created an opportunity to bring the activities of our Foundation and the life's work of our namesake closer to the younger generations through the mediation of teachers.

Photos by Márton Magyari (Institute of Pedagogy of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hungary)

Europe Day

Even the galleries were filled at our joint conference on Europe Day with the Institute for Strategic Studies of the University of Public Service, which took place on 8 May.

GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of our Foundation and the Institute for Strategic Studies of the University of Public Service (NKE), greeted the audience. He explained the choice of the theme of the conference with a quote from Otto von Habsburg's book *Damals begann unsere Zukunft* (When our Future Began): “It is only by seeing clearly, by knowing the road we have travelled, that we can focus on what lies ahead and for which we must be prepared. Nothing is more irresponsible than being surprised by historical events. The biblical parable of the wise and the foolish virgins can also be applied to the lives of certain peoples and nations. There is a wealth of experience available to help us develop the right policy for Europe, which, with the right creativity, can be put to good use if we seek to find out what is to come.” He considered it fateful that the conference had been moved from the Széchenyi Hall to the St Ladislaus Chapel to accommodate the enlarged number of attendees. He reminded that the idea of the Union has its roots in Christianity and is accompanied by sacred symbols: the Treaty of Rome was signed near an early Christian Basilica on Capitoline Hill, the Treaty of Lisbon was sealed in the Jerónimos Monastery, and the flag of Europe on a blue field with twelve golden stars is an attribute of the Virgin Mary in Christian iconography.



In his welcome speech, GERGELY DELI, Rector of the NKE, expressed their pride in the institution's wide range of EU vocational training and its network of 42 European universities, which provides students with substantial support for their public service careers.

"Europe will be Christian, or it will not be."—JUDIT VARGA quoted Robert Schuman. The Hungarian Minister of Justice stressed the government's commitment to Christian values and called the Hungarian EU Presidency in the second half of 2024 an unmissable opportunity to present the results of the social policies of recent years as a viable alternative for the EU's nations. She said that the treaties on which European integration is established are based on the principle of consensus, not on the imposition of compliance. On the occasion of our 20th anniversary of EU membership next year, we will be able to share our experiences with the community in this respect as well. The Minister is pleased with the pace of preparation, in which she is expecting the new generation to have a vital role. According to her we need to listen to and engage in dialogue with this generation that has grown up in an EU Member State, and whose finest will be able to participate for the fourth year in a joint career programme of the NKE and the Ministry of Justice, called "Europe of Nations". Equipped with Hungarian aptitude and creativity, we can advance the European ideal of "Unity in Diversity" by embracing our identity.

The exposition of JÁNOS MARTONYI, former Minister of Foreign Affairs in Hungary, was committed to raising questions: his historical, legal, and political statements, which were worthy of further reflection, referred to the principles, causes, nature, and consequences of integration, its creation, development, and crisis phenomena, offering the invited speakers the opportunity to freely relate to what had been conveyed.

The panel discussion following the keynote lecture was dominated by the speakers' diverse political views and disciplinary interests: the participants were lawyers, economists, political scientists and historians who had spent longer or shorter periods in public life and had also built up significant academic careers. In response to BOGLÁRKA KOLLER, Deputy Rector for International Affairs of the NKE, on the integration of the Central European region, ISTVÁN HILLER provided a historical perspective. In his view, what happened after 1990 was merely a restoration of the natural order. This kind of spiritual identity emerged in the early modern period as *Respublica Christiana*, and developed along the lines of humanist mentality and



of the past, and the world seems to be returning to the previous trend, where the East will once again be the engine of change. What is needed is not a single spectacular decision but carefully planned and executed processes and concerted joint work to bring back the successes of the past. To draw the lessons, we must also be able to face up to the negatives, such as Brexit.



ISTVÁN MUSTÓ pointed to global political processes behind the current situation. The former member of the post-war Hungarian Parliament, who had returned from a long period of emigration to the West, said that since 1990, the United States had gone from being a reliable ally to an unreliable hegemon and that although the Soviet Union had disappeared, the threat of the Eastern empire remained with us in a new form. Furthermore, China's emergence on the international political stage is fundamentally reshaping the balance of power at the global level.

Regarding Europe, Mustó believes that the ongoing enlargement is, in some ways, weakening integration; as the process advances, increasingly deep political, economic and cultural dividing lines will separate countries and regions. When asked about the impact of the Russian—Ukrainian War on European integration, the historian said that the conflict had to be brought to an end as soon as possible but that the only way to settle it was by means of *pax optima rerum* (peace is the greatest good); otherwise, we would soon face consequences similar to the "vile" treaties of Paris that had ended the First World War. Navracsics identified the guarantee of lasting peace in the system created on its grounds. The history of the European Union, is one of an unprecedented success story of peace, of which enlargement is an essential element, as evidenced by the handling of the Yugoslav crisis and as can be predicted for the post-Soviet space—he added. All this, of course, has repercussions for the Union itself.

What do the discussants see as the way out of the current crisis? According to István Hiller, everything that has made Europe prosperous and hegemonic over the past 500 years is a thing



culture of behaviour, making the Western and Central regions of Europe inseparable over the centuries. Politics has a duty to serve this ethos because it leads to integration. TIBOR NAVRACSICS, Minister for Regional Development and EU funds, recalled that most Western nations see the accession of the countries of Central Europe as a challenge to their comfort zone. However, they cannot spare themselves the work of understanding because the future of integration depends on it.

of the past, and the world seems to be returning to the previous trend, where the East will once again be the engine of change. What is needed is not a single spectacular decision but carefully planned and executed processes and concerted joint work to bring back the successes of the past. To draw the lessons, we must also be able to face up to the negatives, such as Brexit.



We are living through the painful years of the formation of a new system, and we have to wait and see how the process evolves before we can assess it—Minister Navracsics concluded. The politician expressed that the biggest problem in the current state of integration on the continent was the deficit of democracy, as most of the decisions made by EU institutions lacked the legitimacy of the political community—the European demos.

ALINE SIERP's presentation was about the impact of historical experience in shaping attitudes towards integration. The professor of the University of Maastricht outlined how the EU had moved from the symbolic politicisation of the 1950s to the creation of a teleological narrative in the 1970s to a fact-finding approach to the end of the Cold War, which includes both the ability to confront the Holocaust and the totalitarian regimes of this century. According to Sierp, the Koselleckian approach has since become dominant, questioning the legitimacy of collective memory and instead speaking of collective conditions of memory.

DIETER SCHLENKER, Director of the Historical Archives of the European Union, spoke about the role of the Archives in Florence in the administration and decision-making mechanisms of the EU institutions and how it supported scientific research and shaped the collective memory of European citizens.

The closing lecture of the conference was an overview by HELMUT WOHNOUT, Director-General of the Austrian State Archives, on the half-century journey of his country towards EU integration. He focused on the content of the neutrality enshrined in the State Treaty and the agreement on minority policy for the German-speaking population of South Tyrol, which had led to an exemplary solution to the decades-long conflict. His lecture can be read on page 148.



During the day, the audience heard excellent presentations, which contributed to a broad understanding of the political, social and religious situation of our times.

Photos by Katinka Halápi (NKE)

Drawn by Realpolitik—Henry Kissinger 100

Our Foundation and the Ludovika University of Public Service commemorated the American politician and historian Henry A. Kissinger with a conference entitled “Values and Realpolitik—Kissinger 100” on the centenary of his birth.



On 26 May 2023—one day before the 100th birthday of the former US Secretary of State—GERGELY PRÖHLE welcomed the guests who filled the Széchenyi Hall of the University of Public Service. The Director of our Foundation recalled his encounters with the honouree, describing him as a European-literate, spirited intellectual with an outstanding knowledge of history, on whose ideas generations of politicians had grown up and whose assessment of the state of affairs was still heeded by the world to this day. Kissinger never denied the culture he was raised in. In 1973, sensing the dangers looming over transatlantic relations, he announced the “Year of Europe”, drawing attention to the importance of strengthening Europe’s unity without compromising its relationship with the United States.

JÉRÉMIE GALLON, Director at McLarty Associates’ European division and author of *Henry Kissinger. L’Européen*, published in 2021, focused his presentation on the insights provided by the life of the US politician. The collapse of the Weimar Republic was a cautionary tale of the vulnerability of democracy for Kissinger, who had spent his childhood in Fürth and, as a result of these developments, within a few years his family had moved away from his homeland. Therefore, one of the cornerstones of his later political credo became the kind of strategic thinking that would protect the democratic government from this danger—or at least minimise it. He addressed this problem as early as the writing of his thesis (on the views of Spengler, Kant and Toynbee) and then in his doctoral dissertation, detailing the European great power concert that Metternich had established and which had guaranteed peace on the continent for a century. As a politician and analyst, he put his theoretical knowledge to practical use as an expert on US presidents for



decades, serving the long-term interests of his chosen country. The challenge at the time was to avoid a nuclear confrontation. In Gallon’s view, the most characteristic feature of Kissinger was his ability to maintain a dual focus: his academic and political careers enhanced each other, and he did not fall into the trap of specialisation but retained the ability to be reflective.

ULRICH SCHLIE, Professor at the Department of Security Policy and Strategic Research at the University of Bonn, called the former Secretary of State a man of superlatives in his lecture (*Henry Kissinger und Deutschland: 100 bewegte Jahre*): no one had written a 4,000-page summary of his own tenure before, he was also the most intensively devoted to issues relating to Germany, and his work alone was recognised with the Nobel Prize (1973). Kissinger was well acquainted with the leading politicians of the post-war Federal Republic of Germany—he was captured in a photograph with Helmut Schmidt, Franz Joseph Strauss, and Ralf Dahrendorff, among others—but he was also passionately interested in the nation's past: of the figures who shaped his view of history, after Metternich, he planned to write a book on Bismarck, the father of 19th-century *Realpolitik*, but the monograph, at least as far as we know, is still incomplete. In conclusion, Schlie quoted Kissinger's words to the world today, that prophets had caused more suffering than statesmen, and that the leaders of the West needed (would need) imagination, devotion, and vision to avoid the worst that threatened our time.



Our colleague BENCE KOCSEV reviewed the relationship between the two key figures of the Cold War, Otto von Habsburg and Henry Kissinger, through a corpus of almost 200 letters held in our Foundation. It is not an exaggeration to claim that understanding the international political history of the 1970s and mapping and assessing the intellectual impact of the two is impossible without a thorough knowledge of their networking activities—he suggested. Their career is also an example of how social capital can be converted into political capital and how *homo politicus* and *homo intellectualis* can be compatible—although this privilege is only granted to a very few. His presentation is published on page 153.

The lecture of JÁNOS CSÁK was the first one in the panel, which aimed to define China's geopolitical position in the 21st century. In his data-rich keynote address, the Minister for Culture and

Innovation of Hungary said that gaining insight into the Chinese self-image was crucial to better understanding. According to him, identity, self-determination, and capacity to act are the three most important factors that determine the country's economic, military, and cultural policies, and these explain the still-living tradition of collectivism and authoritarianism, which dates back thousands of years. The result is impressive: China has managed to lift 80% of its population out of extreme poverty in the last 40 years.



What challenges this achievement—and the necessity to sustain it—raises at regional and global levels and how the great powers of world politics respond to this challenge is probably the most cardinal dilemma of the years ahead.

GERGELY SALÁT, Head of the Department of Chinese Studies at the Pázmány Péter Catholic University, referring back to the occasion of the conference, praised Kissinger for his early recognition of the potential of China becoming a great power

in the 1970s. The era of good relations with the United States ended with the Tiananmen Square massacre (1989). Since then, US foreign policy has been characterised by a frantic search for a *modus operandi*. At the end of that process—Gergely Salát referred to the US expert's recently published book on China—the possibility of an armed conflict cannot be ruled out.

TAMÁS MAGYARICS added five statements for consideration to supplement the presented picture of the Eastern great power. The former ambassador and expert on America reminded us that Chinese civilisation was unique—its values, worldview and institutions could not be integrated into the Western world. He also warned against the danger of false historical analogies that would seek examples going back as far as antiquity to model the current situation. He emphasised that to regard today's China as a communist state was a grave mistake, as Kissinger had already articulated in more nuanced terms fifty years ago. It would be equally wrong for the US to revert to the Cold War logic against the Soviets—this “version 2.0” is the worst possible scenario (because it has unforeseeable consequences) that exists. Lastly, the professor echoed the words of the celebrated figure, who had always stressed the role of continuous interaction between the great powers as a means of conflict management. He noted that, regrettably, the last two presidents of the United States had not operated along these principles.

GÉZA JESZENSZKY recalled the shared journey of Hungary and NATO after the regime change, in which he had actively participated as Foreign Minister of the Antall Government and, at the turn of



the millennium, as Ambassador to Washington. Referring to Kissinger, he said that the conclusion of the Russian—Ukrainian War would most likely result in Ukraine's loss of territory with the forced cession of Crimea. Nevertheless, it would be imperative if decisions on the disputed regions were to be made in accordance with the principle of national self-determination (through a referendum?), within the framework of a comprehensive agreement on the protection of minorities.

JANNE HAALAND MATLARY, former State Secretary for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Norway, also took a firm stance on the issue. The Professor at the University of Oslo, accompanied by her Hungarian husband, considers the Russian side's action a textbook example of aggression, violating all existing international legal formulas. Taking into account the impact of the conflict on the global power realignment, the speaker considers it extremely difficult to define what success would mean in the prevailing situation—not only for the belligerent parties but also for the European Union, the United States and China. She said that the eastward enlargement of NATO should also be reconsidered, adding that the right approach would be to “defend but withdraw”.



Putin's revisionist intentions are nothing new; in fact, they can be traced back to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, though it was only in 2022 that the Russian leader felt that the combination of a favourable diplomatic constellation and the technical development of the military could lead to success.

EMIL BRIX, Director of the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, confessed that he failed to understand the Russian president's aim in launching a war against the West, which he had mixed with ideology and falsification of history, following a well-tryed recipe. The former Austrian Ambassador to Moscow believes that the armed conflict is a ploy to replace a missing national identity. Putin refuses to relinquish the claim of the “the colossus of the East” to be a great power, and indeed, the country has been a significant factor in the life of the continent since 1815—in this respect, he follows Kissinger's logic—and in the long term, he is working towards the creation of a multipolar world order.

The final speaker at the conference was a research fellow from The Heritage Foundation. ANTHONY B. KIM spoke about China's growing global influence, the beginning of which had coincided with Kissinger's paradigm shift in foreign policy, the time when the two countries had established relations. In hindsight, he admitted that this move fifty years ago had been a mistake. Assessing the Russia-Ukraine conflict, he noted that it clearly marked the beginning of a new era. While it is welcome that the reaction to the threat has strengthened transatlantic ties, it cannot, if Kissinger's principles are followed, entail a lasting quarantine of Russia (WTO, international organisations, economic sanctions). It may also have the positive effect of triggering a ‘re-configuration’ of the aggressor over time.



Photos by Dénes Szilágyi (NKE)

Central European Cooperation in the Shadow of War

The Institute for Strategic Studies of the University of Public Service and the Otto von Habsburg Foundation continued the reflections of last year's conference, “Common Interests, Common Values?” at our event on 6 June 2023. With our guests, we looked at the current state of our region, its prospects, and the impact of the war in Ukraine in the context of possible ways of cooperation with Germany.



The common past and cultural identity of the Visegrad countries is the basis of a sense of belonging that encourages constant dialogue and joint strategic thinking, the Rector of the University of Public Service pointed out in his speech. GERGELY DELI stressed that we needed this discourse more than ever in the current economic and political crisis. Listening to Germany, a key player in the region is essential to formulate positive messages. He said that our events on the anniversary of the Élysée Treaty and on Europe Day had been held in a continental context, while the current one was looking for solutions in a regional context.

GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of our Foundation, underlined the importance of continuous communication between parties with different views. As he said, being Central European was a cultural and historical narrative of which Germany was an integral part. Awareness of this deep interconnection also gives a different perspective to the current political controversies, with all parties feeling a sense of responsibility towards the region. Otto von Habsburg prioritised the area in his work in the European Parliament and followed the fate of the peoples of the former Monarchy throughout his life.

The first speech of the conference was delivered by BALÁZS ORBÁN, Political Director of the Prime Minister, who had presented a comprehensive strategy for Hungary for the period ahead in December 2022. In his view, since 1945 the world's economic and political system has under-



gone fundamental changes in the last decade. Technological competition appears to be levelling out at the expense of the hitherto dominant West: in terms of productivity, raw materials and energy carriers, demography and research and development resources, the world has caught up with or overtaken the Western civilisation, which only retains—for the time being—a significant edge in the military industry. A multipolar world has emerged in



which the West is or will be indispensable but not the only dominant player. At the same time, Hungary—together with Central Europe—still has an interest in realising its own goals in this “civilisation project”.

According to Balázs Orbán, the dividing line between Hungary and Western thinking today lies in the perception of identity (views on immigration, family, nation, liberalism) and geopolitics (whether it is

advisable to align with the interests of a single superpower). He argues that in current troubled times, it is more important to cultivate common values and interests than to emphasise differences, as it is unity, not fragmentation, that makes us strong. His proposals are the following: as Europe has always been strong in its diversity, the identity of individual states should not be questioned; the enlargement of the Union should be continued (Western Balkans, Ukraine); an independent defence force should be created to protect the region from military threats, even without the help of the United States; it is necessary to increase our competitiveness, including a—prudent—process of transition of the economy to renewable energy sources; finally, in the face of progressive left-wing ideology, we need to hold on to the Christian values that have helped people here to survive for centuries.

In order for Berlin to respond to the challenges of the turn of an era (*Zeitenwende*), it must break with the paradigm of *Ostpolitik*, said KNUT ABRAHAM, CDU Member of the Bundestag. The former diplomat and colleague of Otto von Habsburg described German foreign policy, which had lost direction in the wake of the Russian—Ukrainian conflict and the energy crisis, as one that had recently accumulated a severe trust deficit on the part of Central Europe. In the absence of geographic and historical knowledge—which, unfortunately, is the case for most decision-makers in Berlin—it is difficult to define a strategy, he said. Abraham is also confident that strengthening the continent is unthinkable without reforming the EU institutions—but this must be a shared responsibility of member states, not a task for any one country. It is essential to ensure that the processes are transparent and clear, without which the Parliament will not have the support of the continent’s citizens to carry them out.

In his presentation, ŁUKASZ LEWKOWICZ discussed the potential of diverse forms of regional cooperation to at least partly counterbalance adverse economic and political developments. The Senior Analyst at the Institute of Central Europe in Lublin highlighted the positive aspects



of the Three Seas Initiative (TSI) and the infrastructure investments planned and implemented by the countries of the Weimar Triangle, in addition to the Visegrad Cooperation. He also identified German engagement as a key element, which the region would also need in the political arena—at the regional level, this could complement transatlantic engagement. At the same time, he said it was important that the TSI did not exclude the active involvement of either the EU or the US.



“*Europe begins at home, not in Brussels*”—JÁN FIGEL’, former Slovak Minister, emphasised in his speech. The former EU Commissioner and Special Envoy used the metaphor of the House of Europe to illustrate the primacy of good neighbourliness, but where we must be active in a continuous way, going beyond the consumerist approach, to offer an attractive model to those thinking of moving in. He warned that the three world wars of the 20th century (he included the Cold War) had started on our continent and that we had been on the verge of escalating into another world war. A divided Central Europe would ultimately mean a failure of integration.

A roundtable discussion on the pressing issues of subsidiarity and centralisation, further enlargement of the Union, and security policy followed the presentations.

Photos by Dénes Szilágyi (NKE)

Commemorative Mass and Conference at Pannonhalma

It was the fourth year that our Foundation commemorated the passing of Otto von Habsburg at the Benedictine Archabbey of Pannonhalma. The Holy Mass was offered by Archabbot CIRILL



T. HORTOBÁGYI OSB, this time concelebrated by one of our guests, MARKUS ST. BUGNYÁR, Priest of the Diocese of Eisenstadt and Rector of the Austrian Pilgrim Hospice to the Holy Family in Jerusalem.

Following the Mass, the discussion in the hall named after Otto von Habsburg attracted great interest. GERGELY PRŐHLE, Director of our Foundation, referred to Otto’s heart urn buried in the Basilica, when he emphasised the prevalence

of “concordance”—the harmonious state of the hearts of the celebrants—which opens up to transcendence, as opposed to the concept with the more rational connotations of “consensus”.

After the greetings, the head of the pilgrimage house gave a presentation on the history of the institution, outlining its connection with the Habsburg family, from the visit of Emperor Franz Joseph in 1869 to the stay of Otto von Habsburg and his wife Regina in 1955. Markus Bugnyár shared that our Foundation would publish the Hungarian version of his book *Reise nach Jerusalem* (2020) in the near future and also envisaged further joint programmes.



In relation to this topic, our other foreign guest, WOLFGANG JOHANNES BANDION, Professor at the Academy for Religious Education of the Archdiocese of Vienna, recalled the history of the city with the Habsburg dynasty. He explained that the title King of Jerusalem had been used regularly by the rulers since the reign of Emperor Charles V. Although Emperor Franz Joseph I was the first to visit the land in person in the 19th century, they all embraced the virtue of humility associated with the name of Jerusalem.

Ambassador JÁNOS HÓVÁRI, Head of the Organisation of Turkic States Representation Office in Hungary, outlined the Hungarian aspects of the pilgrimage house, evoking the figures of the Hungarian members of Franz Joseph’s entourage, including Count Gyula Andrássy, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs. In addition to listing its rectors of Hungarian origin, Hóvári’s comprehensive presentation also revealed details of the eventful history of the joint Austro—Hungarian hospice. He concluded by recounting Otto von Habsburg’s tour of the Holy Land in 1955. He gave an account of the audience that had attended the ceremony of the former Crown Prince when he had been awarded an honorary doctorate at the University of Jerusalem in 1990.

LÁSZLÓ ANDRÁS KIRÁLY, Director of the Strategic and Planning Directorate of the Office of the President of Hungary and former Ambassador, referred to the pilgrimage site in Jerusalem as a reinforcement of our Christian identity. He expressed his hope that in the future, more and more Hungarian devotees would visit the Holy City and, within it, the memorial site that helped us experience our collective past.

In conclusion, KONRÁD DEJCSICS OSB presented the plans for the forthcoming Otto Memorial. He stressed that the objective was to encourage visitors to approach the site not as tourists but rather, as pilgrims. Furthermore, the future memorial—the artwork of sculptor ZÉNÓ KELEMEN, who was present at the event—would reflect both the Benedictine roots and the European identity of the former Crown Prince.



Photos by Zoltán Szabó



somewhat if, together with the old sundial of the Hungarian poet Lőrinc Szabó, “we only count the hours of serenity”, so shall we remember. Gergely Pröhle commemorated the renowned historian, diplomat and committed advocate of the Turkish language and culture in the columns of the journal *Országút*.

We had intended for János Hóvári to accompany us to the opening of our exhibition in the Holy Land, which had initially been scheduled for the autumn of 2023, but could not be realised.

János Hóvári’s pilgrimage on earth ended painfully abruptly. Many of the fruits of his efforts will remain with us, but this is of little consolation in the hours of mourning. We have lost a serene man, and perhaps it will ease the situation

Discussion in Gödöllő on the Heritage of the Habsburg Family

On 8 September 2023, the Municipality of Gödöllő organised a conference entitled “The Legacy of the Habsburgs Today” with the collaboration of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation. The discussion was held in the baroque theatre hall of the Royal Palace of Gödöllő and was organised in connection with the exhibition opened on 7 September at the Palace entitled “Highlights of the Schönbrunn Collection”. The lecturers evaluated the Habsburg family’s Central European heritage and its cultural significance from a variety of perspectives.



The conference was opened by GYÖRGY GÉMESI, Mayor of Gödöllő and TAMÁS UJVÁRY, Director of the Royal Palace of Gödöllő. In addition to Hungarian speakers, representatives from the municipalities that once were part of the same state, the Austro—Hungarian Monarchy, and are now Gödöllő’s sister cities (twin towns), gave their views. Thus, the audience heard presentations by guests from Bad Ischl, Laxenburg (Austria), Brandýs nad Labem-Stará Boleslav (Czech Republic) and Żywiec (Poland). Deputy Director GERGELY FEJÉRDY was present at the event on behalf of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation. He spoke about the intellectual and material legacy of the former heir to the throne and his commitment to Central Europe.

Between Constraints and Opportunities—Metternich 250



The Otto von Habsburg Foundation and the Institute for Strategic Studies of the University of Public Service had honoured Henry A. Kissinger, former US Secretary of State, national security advisor and political science expert with a conference entitled “Values and Realpolitik—Kissinger 100” on the centenary of his birth. The event in May was followed by a discussion on one of Kissinger’s most notable heroes, Chancellor Metternich, on 26 October 2023.

“The ideas of Klemens von Metternich, born 250 years ago, can be interpreted not only as a subject of historical reconstruction, but a political legacy that serves as a model even to this day”, highlighted GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of our Foundation and the Institute for Strategic Studies of the University of Public Service. He pointed out that for Kissinger, the historical basis for understanding the multipolar international system had been provided by the patterns of government that Europe’s leaders had developed in the turbulent period following the Napoleonic Wars, above all the political genius of Chancellor Metternich. Regarding Bernd Posselt, the first speaker of the event, Director Próhle noted that he was not only an outstanding expert on Metternich’s life’s work, whose rich professional and political experience could be drawn on throughout the conference, but also a politician who was particularly sensitive to the fate of minorities and who had done a lot for Hungarians beyond the borders.

BERND POSSELT, former colleague of Otto von Habsburg and former MEP, began his presentation by expressing his pleasure in coming to Hungary, a country he had visited several times over the past decades under the auspices of the Pan-European Union and to which he was also connected through his personal family history. The speaker then explained how the Austrian Empire’s former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chancellor’s political socialisation, thinking, and later career had been shaped by the dual identity of his family—Rhineland and Bohemian—his formative years at the University of Strasbourg and his many experiences during the French Revolution. All these factors contributed immensely to Metternich’s realisation that the future appeared to be unfolding along the lines of a liberal, constitutional state structure, while the development of the rights of freedom might easily result in nationalism and the disintegration of the European order—the former MEP underlined.



In the face of these dangers, Metternich regarded the concept of federalism as one of the foundations of a solid European order and an effective and flexible means of conflict resolution. Bernd Posselt stressed that the concept of Metternich had not aimed at perfection but at a balance of great powers. Yet, the durability of the concept is demonstrated by the fact that it offered a sustainable and comprehensive settlement after a major military conflict, which ensured peace in Europe for decades after the fundamental upheavals of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. In the course of the lecture, he had already underlined the idea, which he would further emphasise later, that the only empirical experience of politics came from the contemplation of history and that the system that bore Metternich’s name showed that peace was only possible if we endeavoured to create an order in which everyone had a stake.



The other keynote lecture was given by ZOLTÁN FÓNAGY, Associate Professor at the Institute of History at Eötvös Loránd University, who described the highlights and lessons of Gyula Andrassy’s political oeuvre in a kind of parallel biography. He stressed that the political and diplomatic career of the Hungarian statesman, born 200 years ago, had culminated as being the Prime Minister of Hungary and later Foreign Minister of the Dual Monarchy. His early diplomatic experience and European outlook made him not only one of the leading architects of the Austro—Hungarian Compromise of 1867 but also, subsequently, one of the shapers of the Monarchy’s foreign policy. His prime ministerial career coincided with the economic and social modernisation of Hungary, laying the cornerstones of the rule of law, and as Foreign Minister, he participated in one of the most significant European diplomatic events of the second half of the 19th century, the Congress of Berlin in 1878, which settled the Balkan issue. According to the speaker, Metternich and Andrassy shared the ability to reconcile local identity with imperialism and a coherent vision of Europe.

In the following roundtable discussion moderated by Gergely Próhle, the panellists, PÉTER SZATMÁRI, General and Development Policy Vice-Rector of the Milton Friedman University, RÓBERT FIZIKER, historian, Senior Archivist of the National Archives of Hungary and TAMÁS MAGYARICS, historian, former Ambassador to Dublin, spoke about the political and diplomatic activities of Metternich, Gyula Andrassy and Henry Kissinger, noting that their political legacy could offer new perspectives for understanding and dealing with the events of our time.

Before the conference, Bernd Posselt and his colleagues had visited the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, where he had given an oral history interview about his life, his personal relationship with our namesake, the past decades of the Pan-European movement and his experiences in the European Parliament. This marked the third time this year that a close associate of the former Crown Prince and European politician had come to the Foundation, following visits by Hans-Friedrich von Solemacher in March and Knut Abraham in June.

Photos by Dénes Szilágyi (NKE)

30 Years after Maastricht

The Otto von Habsburg Foundation and the University of Public Service organised a joint conference entitled “From the Pan-European Idea to the Maastricht Treaty” to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the agreement establishing the European Union.

In the Széchenyi Ceremonial Hall of the building formerly known as Ludovika, the Director of our Foundation welcomed the participants. GERGELY PRÓHLE stated that the exchange was aimed both to reflect on the life of Otto von Habsburg and to evaluate the achievements of the thirty-year-old treaty. Our namesake believed in the idea of a united Europe and had sought a political forum for his activities, through which he could have had a say—albeit no longer as a sovereign, but nonetheless—in shaping the continent’s destiny—the Director reminded the audience. The speakers were invited to discuss aspects of the Union’s development and institutionalisation, as well as the current situation and future challenges.



In his opening speech, JÁNOS BÓKA, Hungary’s Minister for European Affairs, said that Hungary accepted the EU’s principles but would always hold the European institutions to account. While the Treaty of Rome (1957) had laid the foundations of the social market economy in the western half of the continent, the keyword of Maastricht was subsidiarity. However, the constantly refining rules put in place by the European institutions are increasingly running counter to the interests of

member states, which are fiercely protective of their sovereignty—and the growing opposition of various national societies is leading to a weakening of the idea of a common Europe. At the same time, there are many other tasks: to expand the current Union, to preserve the freedom of individuals and natural communities, to guarantee property rights, and to represent and implement the idea of social responsibility and social justice. In addition, to find a way to increase economic competitiveness. Do all these things not sound possible? Let us turn to Otto von Habsburg for encouragement, for he once said: “*Those who do not believe in miracles in Europe are not realists.*”

MICHAEL GEHLER, the keynote speaker of our conference from abroad, put the event of 30 years ago into historical perspective. Summarising the history of the 20th century, he noted that many of the initiatives that had been taken between the two world wars had been aimed to prevent another devastating global tragedy. In this spirit, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894–1972) formulated his pan-European concept, which envisaged a continent with 27 states, a customs union, and bicameral decision-making. Kalergi met Otto frequently during his exile in the United States, but the plan remained on paper despite their joint proposal for a European section at the UN in 1945. Nor did Karl Anton Rohan’s (1898–1975) Europäischer Kulturbund, which would have liked to see the political initiative in the hands of Europe’s Christian conservative elite, solve the prob-

lems of the time. Neither the ideas of Wilhelm Heile (1881–1969), the founder the Verband für Europäische Verständigung, nor the plan of Elemér Hantos (1881–1947) and Julius Meinl for a Central European economic community, could be realised. However, the proposal of the German Emil Mayrisch (1862–1928) and the French Pierre Viénot (1897–1944) to form an international crude steel association foreshadowed the later Coal and Steel Community.



The Head of the History Institute at the University of Hildesheim described the Maastricht Treaty as the beginning of the end of the dream for the United States of Europe. After all, “integration was the salvation of the nation-state” (A. S. Milward) because Maastricht would probably never have taken place without German unification. There are areas where there have been no breakthroughs for decades—such as the joint security policy, about which a Belgian politician aptly observed that “*Europe is an economic giant, a political dwarf and a military worm*”—yet, in the long run, unification can only be seen as a success story. Let us add right away: a success story that needs constant adjustment and careful planning. The addresses of the two speakers can be found on pages 172 and 178.

We are all inhabitants of a post-western world, where new centres of power are emerging, and we need a fresh geopolitical approach to understand and manage phenomena and processes such as migration, artificial intelligence, Brexit, pandemics, terrorism and wars—BENITA FERRERO-WALDNER began her speech. The former Federal Minister for European and International Affairs of the Republic of Austria considers that the EU can be enlarged sustainably towards the Western Balkans region and Ukraine and that the conditions are present in the current legal framework without treaty change. However, the European Commission should be rationalised urgently to ensure a smoother functioning; the Councils of Ministers should be divided into permanent



and rotating members, similar to the UN Security Council, and groups of member states should be formed to participate in the debates through spokespersons. The Member of the European Commission believes that qualified majority voting could speed up the decision-making process, and new models for financing the institutional system could be developed (“EU tax” is being considered in addition to

/instead of the current 1% of Member States' GDP). The conflicts currently underway (Kosovo, Macedonia) must be resolved before further accessions can take place. Ms Ferrero-Waldner also thinks that the French President's proposal for a "multi-round union" is worth considering: the western core, the current states, the new member states and other states of the continent (such as the United Kingdom)—40 equal members in total—would form a European political community and reach agreement on security policy, infrastructure development and transport, among others. If we want to become a community of geopolitical weight, we need to decide on these issues as soon as possible—she cautioned.

After Victor Hugo, NOËLLE LENOIR, former French Minister for European Affairs, described democracy as a place where papers and ballot boxes could replace guns. If only the words of the



great French poet were still valid today! However, it seems that if we want to survive the perilous 21st century and save democracy and Western civilisation, we had better break with naivety, face reality, and be ready to defend Europe and the values that represent Europe.

ENIKŐ GYŐRI, Hungarian MEP, spoke with scepticism about the rapid reform of the institutional system based on her experience in day-to-day politics. Instead of putting various theoretical constructs in

competition with each other, she believes that we should return to the common sense of the founding fathers and ask the question they once formulated: what is good for the European citizen? In order to ensure effective decision-making, the priority is to clarify the issue of sovereignty, and only after clearly defined jurisdictions can we move on to the much-discussed improvement of competitiveness, on which we are not doing well at all: it is because of demographic realities are working against Europe, and there is the issue of the sustainability of the high living standards that Europe has achieved in recent decades—something that people from other continents are seeking through migration—and not least the dangers of ideological thinking that has dominated Eurocracy.

In the roundtable discussion that followed the presentations, our guests exchanged views on the current situation of nation-states, the changing role of Central Europe in the EU, expected in the near future, and the meaning and reality of the *Strong Europe* slogan in light of today's global political events.

Photos by Zoltán Szabó

New Beginnings and Continuity

GERGELY PRÓHLE, Chairman of the Board of the Public Foundation for the German Language University Budapest, welcomed the guests in the Mirror Hall of the former Festetics Palace, now home to Andrassy University. The former Ambassador of Hungary to Germany recalled the intent behind the publication of the volumes he had initiated during his service in Berlin—*Újrakezdések krónikája 1867–2001*.

Magyar–német diplomáciai kapcsolatok (The Chronicle of New Beginnings 1867–2001. Hungarian–German Diplomatic Relations) (2001), and *Újrakezdés és folytonosság* (New Beginnings and Continuity) (2002)—and elaborated on the relevance of these notions in the context of the conference. The Élysée Treaty between France and Germany, signed sixty years ago, stipulated that the two sides needed to consult each other regularly. In the light of the fact that the German side had postponed the meeting of the Hungarian–German Forum due in December this year, it would be worthwhile to reflect on the application of the Franco–German practice—this meeting was organised in keeping with this in mind. For a thousand years, the two countries have been in constant dialogue, reflecting on each other's actions and this should not be missing from the diplomatic arsenal of the two sides at times when, as is nowadays the case, there is a perceptible distance in political relations—Gergely Próhle highlighted.

The economic, cultural and political ties that bind the two nations together are far more profound than they could be fundamentally affected by transitional periods such as the current one—said GERGELY GULYÁS, Minister of the Prime Minister's Office. As he reminded the audience, Hungary had been a priority area for German investors for over three decades, and a quarter of Hungary's foreign trade was directed towards Germany, even today. Relations are facilitated by the fact that a large German national community resides in the country despite the expulsions following the Second World War. Even by international standards, these people have a unique opportunity



to learn in their mother tongue, from pre-school education through public and higher education to doctoral level, and to obtain academic degrees. The friendship treaty signed by Prime Minister József Antall and Chancellor Helmut Kohl after the fall of communism provided the framework for this. Even if the perception of Hungary among Germany's policymakers has deteriorated in recent years, this is due in no small part to the influence of biased media.

Although opinion polls show that most Germans still sympathise with our country—Gergely Gulyás pointed out. The Minister claimed there was no reason to worry; maintaining dialogue and the positive examples of centuries could help us overcome the more difficult times.

“*Germans and Hungarians are neighbours without a common border*”, stated URSULA SEILER-ALBRING, former German Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. In her speech, the former Ambassador to Hungary emphasised the positive qualities preserved in the collective memory of the two nations throughout their long coexistence. However, she warned that this favourable perception also came with a responsibility and that each generation needed to do its part to ensure that the sympathy of the past half century, based on shared interests and goals, similar world views or nostalgia, remained a motivating force for the present and the future. Moreover, there is one thing that certainly cannot be allowed between two neighbours—referring back to the opening metaphor at the end of her speech—namely, to stop discussing our mutual concerns. Her speech can be read on page 190.

PÉTER GYÖRKÖS, Ambassador of Hungary to Germany, briefly outlined the cultural topography of the history of German—Hungarian relations and then took stock of the most sensitive issues



of the present: the debates on freedom of the press, democracy, political concepts (liberalism-illiberalism, populism, constitutionalism), and the increasingly divisive—and gradually antagonistic—controversies on migration. The diplomat believes that the prevailing situation will not change significantly before the European Parliament elections next summer and that the political agenda of both countries and all EU member states will be redefined in light of the outcome. The

timing will be crucial for Hungary, which will hold the presidency of the Council of the European Union in the second half of 2024. Regardless of how the future may unfold, those who care about the continent’s fate should never forget Konrad Adenauer’s words: “*Europe shall be the dream of few, the hope of many, and the inevitability of us all.*”

The Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Budapest focused on the common challenges and the problems that could be solved by joint advocacy, which were numerous in German—Hungarian relations. In addition to bilateral ties, JULIA GROSS stressed the importance of the role of networks and alliances, through which European involvement could and had to be repositioned, for example, in the Russian—Ukrainian War or the conflict that had erupted in the Middle East. She underlined that in most cases regarding the principles, there was sympathy in the two countries’ policies. She expressed her hope that in the future, diplomacy would regain its traditional place in building international connections instead or in addition to direct public policy.

In the historical block of the conference, on the Hungarian side, ÁDÁM MASÁT, historian and diplomat, first reviewed the milestones of the decades between 1973 and 2023. Divided into ten phases, he covered the events that, according to him, had begun with the announcement of the Social Democrat Willy Brandt’s Ostpolitik paving the way for meaningful negotiations with the rest of Central Europe by normalising relations between the two German states. One of the results was the establishment of German—Hungarian diplomatic relations in 1973. HEINRICH KREFT, Head of Department at the Andrassy University, presented the original document to the audience—along with a typed report on the diplomatic event prepared by the East German secret service. The lesson to be drawn from their presentations is that, despite the political conflicts of interest, there is plenty of potential for cooperation between the two countries, which would be folly not to exploit.



“*Politik braucht Visionen*”—the words of Bruno Kreisky were quoted by ISTVÁN HILLER in his introduction to the panel “50 Years—Political and Economic Interactions”. The historian and politician analysed the history-shaping relevance of personality, which had been radically transformed since the 1960s and 1970s triggered by the revolutionary impact of mass media. Public figures have “moved into” people’s day-to-day lives, and their influence has grown immeasurably. However, for the current generation, the outstanding figures of the era can serve as role models because they championed the ideas they envisioned with talent and commitment. With this consistency and long-term strategic thinking in mind, while preserving all the positive benefits of existing nexuses, we shall approach German—Hungarian relations—the former Minister of Education and Culture suggested.

During the round table discussion in the morning, the participants first considered the background processes of diplomacy in the second half of the 1980s. PÉTER BALÁZS, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and EU Commissioner, focused on the endeavours in Hungarian lawmaking that had been pursued since 1987, enabling Hungary’s legislation to become compatible with



EU standards. KNUT ABRAHAM, Member of the Bundestag, referred to Otto von Habsburg’s efforts to support Hungary through the European Parliament. At the same time, JÜRGEN ILLING, former Managing Director of the German—Hungarian Chamber of Industry and Commerce, and Gergely Pröhle, moderator of the discussion, evoked the figure of Otto Graf von Lambsdorff.



As pointed out, Lambsdorff’s conscious Central European policy and his proposals concerning economic matters had left a lasting impression on the developments in Hungary after the regime change.

With regard to socio-political issues, several participants suggested that thirty years after the turnaround, it was worth reflecting on the situation of the countries in question today, shaped by the

constraints of ever-present realities, as opposed to how it had been imagined during the euphoria of regime change. This contemplation may also help us to understand better the ongoing quarrels within the forums of high politics: the viewpoints of the proponents of subsidiarity and centralisation, the disparities between economic and political actors, the characteristics of the rise of populist movements—as the Director of the Nézőpont Institute, ÁGOSTOL SÁMUEL MRÁZ, observed.

After lunch, the heads of the Hungarian—German institutions organising the conference answered questions from BENCE BAUER, Director of the Hungarian—German Institute for European Cooperation. ERZSÉBET KNÁB, former Chairman of the Board of Management of Audi Hungaria Zrt., currently Head of the Deutsch-Ungarisches Jugendwerk (Hungarian—German Youth Society), wishes to help the new generation to learn responsible, solution-oriented thinking and to seek consensus in a world of misunderstandings and misinterpretations. ZOLTÁN PÁLLINGER, Rector of Andrassy University, interpreted the phrase “Europa gestalten” on the new logo of the institution: he considers that the time has come for the graduates, trained as Europe experts, to become the true shapers of the continent’s future, equipped with the skills and academic culture they have acquired here. He expects this from the approximately 200 students from 16 countries. ISTVÁN MUSTÓ’s words rhymed with the theme. The economist, who was involved in Spain’s accession to the EU as a German specialist, believes that while the political change of regime can be achieved in 2–3 years and the economic change in 5–15 years, the most crucial thing—a change in the mentality of the people involved—can be measured in a matter of a lifetime.

The conference concluded with unveiling a commemorative coin in 10 cm diameter made of precious metal, the creation of ZOLTÁN ENDRÓDY, issued by the Hungarian National Bank to mark the anniversary.

(The report was also published in German in the *Budapester Zeitung* on 8 December 2023.)

Photos by János Pelikán (AUB)



Additional Events

Otto von Habsburg and the Conservative Networks

GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of our Foundation, gave a lecture on “Otto von Habsburg and the Conservative Networks” in Berlin on 1 March 2023 and two days later in the Saxon capital, Dresden. He analysed Otto von Habsburg’s life and networking practices and formulated relevant and valuable lessons for today’s political environment. Based on the heritage in the care of our Foundation, he reconstructed how the former heir to the throne, despite the collapse of the Monarchy, had been able to make good use of his dynastic legacy and, with unprecedented diligence, transform it into the political and social capital that had made him one of the most influential European statesmen of the 20th century. During the Cold War, Otto von Habsburg was shaping political networks that consistently opposed left-wing ideologies, defended Christian European values and sought to pave the way for continental unification. The audience was also invited to view our “Life and Heritage” exhibition.



Gergely Pröhle Received the Batthyány Lajos Award

On the anniversary of Hungarian Revolution of 1848, 15 March, one of Hungary’s national holidays, GERGELY PRÓHLE, Director of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and the Institute for Strategic Studies of the Ludovika University of Public Service, and Lay President of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hungary, was presented with an award. The Batthyány Lajos Award was handed over by GERGELY GULYÁS, Minister of the Prime Minister’s Office, in recognition of his decades of dedicated service to the public.



Photo by the Prime Minister’s Office

The Last Funeral in the Capuchin Crypt

On 7 October 2023, Princess Yolande de Ligne—the wife of Archduke Carl Ludwig von Habsburg-Lorraine, the fourth son of Charles I (IV) and brother of our namesake—was laid to rest in the Capuchin Crypt in Vienna. Deputy Scientific Director GERGELY FEJÉRDY represented the Otto von Habsburg Foundation at the ceremony.



For 390 years, since 1633, the burial chamber beneath the Capuchin Church in Vienna, located on the Neuer Markt square serves as the principal place of entombment for the members of the House of Habsburg. The Imperial Crypt was founded by Empress Anna of Tyrol, wife of Holy Roman Emperor Matthias. Over the centuries, 12 emperors and 18 empresses have been buried here, including our namesake. The last funeral service in the crypt before this memorial had been held in the summer of 2011 for Otto von Habsburg.

It had been understood that, due to lack of space, there was only one place left in the crypt for the daughter-in-law of the last monarch of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The ceremony took place on 7 October 2023. The spirit of Princess Yolande de Ligne of Belgium, wife of Otto von Habsburg's brother, Archduke Carl Ludwig, who had passed away in 2007, returned to God in Brussels on 13 September 2023. Close family and friends attended the funeral. In addition to the children and grandchildren of the deceased, the Grand Duke of Luxembourg; Archduke Lorenz of Habsburg-Lorraine, who is directly related to the Belgian royal family and head of the Este branch; Archduke Ferdinand Zvonimir; Archduchess Elenora, a member of the Board Trustees of our Foundation; the heirs of Archduke Karl, the head of the House of Habsburg; and Michael of Habsburg-Lorraine, representing the Hungarian Habsburg branch, was present at the farewell celebration.



Maximilian Heim, Abbot of the Cistercian Abbey of Heiligenkreuz in Austria, officiated the heartfelt and intimate ceremony. The memorial service was concelebrated by several Catholic priests, including Abbot Frank Bayard, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Franz Xaver Brandmayr, former Rector of the Pontifical Teutonic Institute Santa Maria dell' Anima in Rome, and Father Johannes Habsburg, grandson of Archduke Carl Ludwig and priest of the Swiss Eucharistein Community.

In his sermon, Abbot Maximilian Heim commemorated the life of Archduchess Yolande de Ligne. The Princess was born in Madrid in 1923, when her father, Prince Eugène de Ligne, was serving as a diplomat in the Spanish capital. As a child, she spent little time in her homeland since the family moved according to the father's places of duty, Spain and later Romania, between the two wars. During the Second World War, the family castle in Beloeil, Belgium, sheltered large numbers of persecuted Jewish children, and Archduchess Yolande took her part in caring for them. Abbot Maximilian Heim emphasised the profound Catholic faith of the departed, which had helped her through all difficulties, and her character traits of courage and the sense of responsibility she had assumed from her youth, which she had considered to be inherent to her social status.

It should be noted that the father of Princess Yolande de Ligne was Belgium's first ambassador to India from 1947 to 1951 and then to Madrid until 1957. In the latter capacity, Prince Eugène de Ligne supported the cause of the Hungarian Revolution from October 1956. He even backed his daughter's brother-in-law, Otto von Habsburg, who was trying to organise aid for the uprising against communism through Madrid. Archduchess Yolande was also regularly informed about Hungary through her husband, Carl Ludwig, who had worked in Lisbon before their marriage between 1942 and 1944 and had risked his life to support Hungary's attempt to exit the war.

A historical era has come to an end. Four centuries of Habsburg and European history are now a matter of the past. In memory of Archduchess Yolande, the Otto von Habsburg Foundation expresses its sincere condolences to the bereaved family and bids farewell to the late Princess with the hopeful lines of the Gospel reading in her obituary: *“Whosoever therefore shall confess Me before men, him will I confess also before My Father who is in Heaven.”* (Matthew 10:32)



Archduchess Yolande, Archduke Carl Ludwig, Otto and Rudolf in 1951 in Tuxedo Park (New York, USA)

Photo: Otto von Habsburg Foundation

Gala Dinner in the Vigadó Celebrating the Birthday of Otto von Habsburg

This year, for the fifth time, we held a gala dinner to honour Otto von Habsburg's birthday. On 18 November, once again, our guests were invited to the Pesti Vigadó.

In 2019, the Otto von Habsburg Foundation revived the tradition of dinners held between the two world wars to commemorate the birthday of the last Hungarian Crown Prince (20 November 1912), remembering and reminding of the European statesman, political thinker and Member of the European Parliament. In 2023, BENITA FERRERO-WALDNER, former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria and NOËLLE LENOIR, former Minister of European Affairs of the French Republic, honoured the memory of our namesake with their presence. The guest of honour was CHRISTIAN SCHMIDT, High Representative of the International Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina since 2021.

ISTVÁN NAGY, Chairman of the Board of the Foundation, opened the event by welcoming our guests. Members of the Habsburg family—Gabriela, daughter of Otto von Habsburg, and her son Severin Meister; Eleonore d'Ambrosio-Habsburg, daughter of the present head of the family, Karl von Habsburg; and Eilika, wife of Georg von Habsburg—were present, as were members of the Foundation's Board and Supervisory Board, diplomats, government officials and many prominent figures from the cultural and artistic scene.

Christian Schmidt, politician of the Christian Social Union of Bavaria (CSU), remembers Otto von Habsburg as someone who always engaged in ongoing debates with absolute dedication. Furthermore, although he was but one member of the small group that determined the CSU faction's foreign policy, due to the historical acoustics of his personality and his incomparable life experience, he soon became an indispensable figure in German—and, it is safe to say, European—politics.

Courtesy of the Herend Porcelain Manufactory, the courses were served to our guests on special, Apponyi patterned plates. The popular decorative design was created in different colour variations to honour Count Albert Apponyi, a leading supporter of our namesake in Hungary and organiser of the Otto dinners held in the interwar years. In between the speeches, pianist GERGELY KOVÁCS performed the Munich-born Richard Strauss's Five Piano Pieces, which the composer had written at the age of 17, before being signed to work in Meiningen, the birthplace of Princess Regina, later wife of Otto von Habsburg.

As a conclusion of the event, Director GERGELY PRÓHLE presented the latest publication of our Foundation entitled *99 Years, 99 Photos—Photographs from the life of Otto von Habsburg*, released on the occasion of the 111th birthday of our namesake. Further information on the book can be found on page 194.

Photos by Zoltán Szabó



UNFOLDING COLLECTION

ESSAYS

Below is a list of articles that have appeared on our website but have not been included in this annual report. The articles are related to the resources available in the Foundation's collection or to the work of Otto von Habsburg.



ISTVÁN GERGELY SZÚTS
The “Invisible” Hungarians of Berlin

ESZTER GAÁLNÉ BARCS

From the Hungarian Correspondence of Otto von Habsburg
on International Holocaust Remembrance Day



GERGELY FEJÉRDY
Otto von Habsburg and the Popes

GERGELY PRÓHLE

Baby Food and European Politics
Claus Hipp and Otto von Habsburg



ESZTER FÁBRY, ESZTER GAÁLNÉ BARCS
“His Majesty’s Confirmation Name is Pius”—A Milestone in the Religious
Upbringing of Otto von Habsburg.

GERGELY FEJÉRDY

On 1956—From a Twelve-Year Viewpoint



ANETT HAMMER-NACSA, GERGELY FEJÉRDY
Should We Fear Russia? —Otto von Habsburg’s Opinion 50 Years Ago

GERGELY FEJÉRDY

AUTHORITY IN CRITICAL TIMES

Last Farewell to Pope Benedict XVI

To commemorate Pope Benedict XVI, who passed away on 31 December 2022, we reflect on key moments in the relationship between the Catholic Church leader and Otto von Habsburg.

The former Crown Prince and Joseph Ratzinger were acquainted in the 1970s, a time when both played significant roles in Bavaria: Ratzinger as Archbishop and von Habsburg as President of the Pan-European Movement and a future member of the European Parliament. Both were dedicated to the cause of preserving Christian Europe. They corresponded for many years and met in person on several occasions. The first letter found in the archives of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation—which are currently being sorted—was sent to the former Crown Prince by Joseph Ratzinger, Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Munich-Freising, in February 1980, in which he briefly congratulated the former Crown Prince on his receipt of the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Gregory the Great from Pope John Paul II a few weeks earlier. Otto von Habsburg wrote in his response:

“The sign of papal grace will inspire me to continue to work with all my remaining strength for Christian Europe, which we must achieve if we do not want to let our continent be subjugated. Your Eminence’s [Joseph Ratzinger’s] great moral authority at a critical time has been a decisive factor in the successes achieved so far.”¹

The letter also refers to the fact that in 1979, when Otto von Habsburg stood as a candidate for the first European Parliamentary elections for the Bavarian Christian Social Union (CSU), the then Archbishop of Munich-Freising stood up for him against his socialist opponent Helmut Rothemund. Among other things, the left-wing politician criticised Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger’s celebration of the Holy Mass before the Pan-European General Assembly held on 12 May 1979 in the Olympic Stadium in Munich. He attributed this event to the masterminding of Otto von Habsburg. Rothemund criticised both the party propaganda aspect of the Mass and the subsequent event and even accused the former heir to the throne of racism. In a letter to the socialist politician, Joseph Ratzinger defended Otto von Habsburg, stressing that the CSU candidate was working for a united Christian Europe and had helped save thousands of Jews from death during the Second World War—and that the accusations were, therefore, unfounded.²

The letters between Otto von Habsburg and the future Pope from 1980 onwards are fragmentary but can be traced through the documents in our collection. The correspondence reveals that the eponym of our Foundation asked Cardinal Ratzinger for his intercession, advice and, above all, his prayers and encouragement on several occasions, especially after the Archbishop of

¹ Otto von Habsburg Foundation, Otto von Habsburg Collection, Correspondence with individuals, institutions, HOAL, 1-2-b, Joseph Ratzinger, Munich (29 February 1980). The complete records of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation are under sorting; therefore, none of the indications given in this study can be considered definitive.

² Baier, Stephan – Demmerle, Eva: *Habsburg Ottó élete*. Budapest, Európa, 2003, 406–407.

Munich–Freising became Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith at the Holy See in 1981. Otto von Habsburg also sent a message to Pope John Paul II through Cardinal Ratzinger. He considered it necessary to inform the leaders of the Catholic Church about research in church history concerning Central Europe and the Balkans.

In 1981, he requested, among other matters, that Cardinal Ratzinger receive Father Klaus Brantzen,³ who had published a study on the history of the persecution of anti-Hitler Christian clergy, especially Catholics. He repeatedly recommended the works of the Slovenian historian Tamara Griesser-Pecar on church history to the prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith⁴. In 1992, he asked the cardinal for help with the Abbot of the Bavarian Benedictine Abbey of Weltenburg’s plan for an association to help Central Europe.⁵ Otto approached Joseph Ratzinger on a wide variety of subjects. In 1996, for example, he recommended Max Turnauer, then ambassador of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta in Prague and later a businessman active in Hungary. A few years earlier, in connection with Pope John Paul II’s visit to Hungary in 1991, he asked the head of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith to ensure that the Holy Father also visited Márianosztra. Additionally, he sought the appointment of Bishop Josef Stimpfle of Augsburg, who had greatly contributed to the Greek Catholics of Transcarpathia and Ukraine, as Archbishop Emeritus.⁶ In October 1993, he wrote to Cardinal Ratzinger about the Macedonian Orthodox Church and its desire to move closer to Rome.⁷

In his letters, he occasionally addressed questions of faith, such as the canonical conditions for the marriage of Orthodox and Roman Catholics⁸ or the Heroldsbach apparitions.⁹

There were times when Cardinal Ratzinger asked Otto von Habsburg for help. In 2003, the Holy See approached the former Crown Prince on family policy issues. Their lengthy exchange of letters led to the publication of an article by the former MEP entitled *“Politicians’ responsibility for the well-being of the family: a matter of life and death”* in the 23 April 2004 issue of the *Osservatore Romano*.

After Cardinal Ratzinger’s election as pope in 2005, the relationship between them remained close. In 2007, for example, Otto von Habsburg sent the following message to Pope Benedict XVI: *“We thank you for all you have done for us and all that you mean to us. We thank God for having chosen you as His Vicar and ask you to continue to support and accompany His Holiness for many years to come. As a much older man, I know how eventful and beautiful these years can be. I would like to assure His Holiness that we will remain faithful to the Church and its Head, as we have done in the past, and that He can count on us.”*¹⁰

³ HOAL, I-2-b, Joseph Ratzinger, Pöcking (15 April 1987). Klaus Brantzen (1914–1993) was a Bavarian priest and member of the Schoenstatt Movement.

⁴ HOAL, I-2-b, Joseph Ratzinger, Pöcking (19 March 1994).

⁵ Ibid, Joseph Ratzinger, Pöcking (7 March 1992).

⁶ Ibid., Joseph Ratzinger, Pöcking (5 June 1990). Otto von Habsburg’s request was granted. In 1992, Pope John Paul II accepted Bishop Stimpfle’s resignation and appointed him titular archbishop.

⁷ HOAL, I-2-b, Joseph Ratzinger, Pöcking (6 October 1993).

⁸ Ibid, Joseph Ratzinger, Pöcking (1 September 1993).

⁹ In the Bavarian municipality of Heroldsbach, apparitions of Mary occurred between 1949 and 1952. On 8 October 1949, at the feast of the Queen of Roses, the Holy Mother appeared to four little girls: Kuni Schleicher, aged 10–11, Grete Gügel, Erika Müller and Marie Heimann. They were later joined by three more girls, Betty Büttner, Antonie Saam and Irma Mehl. On 8 December 1949, 10,000 people saw the miracle of the sun. The news of these phenomena was widely known in Bavaria, von Habsburg was also aware of them. For the letter see HOAL I-2-b, Joseph Ratzinger, Pöcking (7 March 1991)

¹⁰ HOAL, I-2-b, Joseph Ratzinger, Pöcking (16 April 2007)

Otto von Habsburg saw Pope Benedict XVI as a continuation of the spirituality of his predecessor, and he deeply condemned any offensive tone against the head of the Church.

They not only corresponded but also met multiple times. Besides hosting Otto von Habsburg and his family in private audiences on multiple occasions during his papacy, including in 2006 and 2009, they also encountered each other at other occasions, such as at meetings of the French Academy’s Section for Moral and Political Sciences.

On 13 January 1992, Cardinal Ratzinger was elected as a foreign board member in place of Andrei Sakharov (interestingly, the Pope’s chair at this prestigious Parisian institution was next to Otto von Habsburg during formal meetings). On 13 September 2008, he attended as Pope at the General Assembly of the “Immortals.”¹¹

Each had great respect for the other—perhaps even a friendship. Pope Benedict XVI, who was 15 years younger than Otto von Habsburg, bid him farewell in a brief message after the former heir to the throne passed away on 4 July 2011. In this, the head of the Church wrote: *“In a long and fulfilled life, Archduke Otto became a witness to the history of Europe and its vicissitudes. Responsible before God and conscious of an important heritage, as a great European, he worked tirelessly for peace, harmony between peoples, and a just order on this continent.”*¹²

Now, as we bid farewell to Pope Benedict XVI, who passed away a few days ago, let us recall the words of Otto von Habsburg, written to him in 1997: *“I would like to join all those who congratulate you and, above all, thank you for what you have done for our faith and our ideals. [...] I thank you for your commitment and wish you to remain with us for many years to come as a model of authentic Christianity.”*¹³



Pope Benedict XVI speaking at the French Academy, at the assembly of les immortels (the immortals).

Otto von Habsburg (who took over the seat of Dwight D. Eisenhower at the Academy in 1970) has his back to us, being the third in the front row on the right.

Paris, France, 2008

¹¹ “Le pape sous la coupole du Quai Conti”. Agence de presse internationale catholique (apic), 26 June 2008. <https://www.cath.ch/news/paris-benoit-xvi-sendra-a-l-institut-de-france-le-13-septembre/> (Date of download: 03/01/2023)

¹² For the English version of the text, see: <https://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2011/07/exequies-of-archduke-otto-of-austria.html#.Y7VwpHb-M12w> (Date of download: 04/01/2023).

¹³ HOAL, I-2-b, Joseph Ratzinger, Pöcking (18 July 1997)

ARCHDUKE OTTO AND THE IDES OF MARCH IN CHICAGO

In 1941, Otto von Habsburg was the guest of honour at the commemoration of the 15th of March celebration of the Hungarian Americans. A newly discovered photo reveals the prominent figures of the Hungarian emigration in remarkable detail.

From the 1930s onwards, Otto von Habsburg openly opposed the ideology of National Socialism. After the Anschluss, he became a target for the German authorities, facing charges of treason. Hitler personally ordered the confiscation of his property and the Habsburg family fortune he had overseen. Rudolf Hess, the Führer's deputy, ordered the German occupying forces entering Belgium to shoot Otto von Habsburg and his brothers immediately on the spot without further procedure if they were captured. In 1940, the family narrowly escaped the Luftwaffe bombing raid in Belgium and later fled from Paris for Spain and Portugal, where they helped the Portuguese Consulate General to save around 15,000 people, mostly Jews, by providing travel documents. Otto moved to the United States in the summer of 1940, where he remained until the end of 1944. At the same time, Queen Zita and her younger children also moved to the Americas. As they primarily used French during their time in Belgium, they settled for an extended period in French-speaking Quebec, Canada. Upon his arrival, Otto quickly established contact with leading American circles, including President Roosevelt. Otto used his relationship with him and other government officials—at first, effectively—to benefit Austria and Hungary. He advocated for the restoration of a free, independent Austria and sought way for Hungary to break away from its burdensome alliance with Hitler and hence to prevent a Soviet invasion. The American democratic institutional system served as an excellent example for Otto, who was acknowledged for his preparedness and profound European perspective. He conceived the idea of establishing a “Danube Federation”, uniting the nations of Central Europe in a single state as a counterweight to both German and Russian aggression. However, his ambitions were severely hampered by the influence of the powerful anti-Hungarian and anti-Habsburg Czechoslovak emigration and the American supporters of Eduard Beneš.

From the moment he arrived in America, Otto, who had a Hungarian identity, played a seminal role in the political activities of the Hungarian emigration. He visited the cities with the most populous Hungarian colonies, met with representatives of the essential Hungarian organisations and churches, and visited 32 states in the country in one year. The Hungarian—American community was politically very divided at the time, and there were further fault lines within the various ideological groups. Otto, however, was less concerned with these, as his engaging personality, knowledge, clear thinking and eloquent Hungarian speech easily won over sceptics during personal meetings.

The American Hungarian Federation, founded in 1906 in conjunction with a fundraising campaign to install a statue of Kossuth in Cleveland, was the oldest and largest Hungarian organisa-

tion in the United States. The anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848 was traditionally celebrated with a large gathering, and the heir to the Habsburg throne was invited to be the guest of honour on 15 March 1941 in Chicago.

Otto arrived in Chicago a few days before the ceremony, driving his personal car, speaking first to the alumni of the Jesuit Loyola University on the international situation of Catholicism and then giving lectures at Rosary College and the Catholic Saint Xavier University. In 1940, about 18,000 people in Chicago claimed Hungarian as their mother tongue,¹ and a remarkable number of them attended the Ides of March celebrations. A consistent opponent of totalitarianism in all its forms, Otto delivered a speech praising the memory of the 1848/1849 Revolution in Hungary. His main thesis was that “*there is only one kind of freedom, and slavery is also always one kind*”. The editor-in-chief of the *American Hungarian Népszava* wrote in a 1940 article about Otto von Habsburg's attitude to the Hungarian War of Independence: “*By visiting the house of Kossuth, Otto was honouring the memory of the great Hungarian freedom fighter, and could the Hungarian people have received greater satisfaction than to have the head of the Habsburg house pay homage to the memory of Kossuth, whose great-great-great-uncle had taken up arms against the Hungarian freedom fighter and his supporters. (...) The ideals which the young head of the House of Habsburg advocates—and which are today's versions of the great Kossuth's ideals—are not dangerous to the Hungarian nation. (...) No one should fear that Otto might poison the soul of anyone with harmful, false ideas, for Otto is preaching the principles of Kossuth today.*”²

The large photograph recently added to our Foundation's collection is a group photo taken at the ceremony, showing the crowded banquet hall of the Congress Hotel. Otto von Habsburg is seated in the centre in front of the stage, with Auxiliary Bishop Bernard James Sheil of Chicago to his right; the Hungarian flag is held by Pál Zsámboky, the former tutor of Otto; next to him is Heinrich Degenfeld, Otto's teacher and adjutant, and in the centre is János Sinkó, a Chicago plastics manufacturer who was deeply involved in Hungarian affairs. There are also members of various medical or cultural associations, such as the First Hungarian Art and Youth Circle of Chicago, workers in the Chicago manufacturing industry and Catholic priests. The photo by Empire Studio captures the faces of the Hungarian immigrants of the time in fascinating detail, right down to the people in the back rows.

¹ Fejős, Zoltán: *A chicagói magyarok két nemzedéke 1890–1940. Az etnikai örökség megőrzése és változása.* (Budapest, Central Europe Institute, 1993)

² Nadányi, Pál: Ottó és az amerikai magyarság. *Amerikai Magyar Népszava*, 19 April 1940, 4. 8.



IDES OF MARCH CELEBRATION - 1941
ARCHDUKE OTTO
OF HAPSBURG PARTICIPATING
CONGRESS HOTEL CHICAGO, ILL

“There is only one kind of freedom, and slavery is also always one kind.”
Otto von Habsburg declared at the Ides of March commemoration of the American—Hungarian Federation.
Chicago, Illinois, United States, 1941

KICK-OFF BY THE ARCHDUKE ON THE BASQUE COAST

An exciting story led to the meeting between the Hungarian football team MTK and Otto von Habsburg in 1923. It took place in the small Basque village of Lekeitio on the Atlantic coast, where the footballers played a friendly match on the beach in honour of the young heir to the throne and the royal family.¹

Following the death of the last Emperor and King of the Austro–Hungarian Empire, Charles I (IV), on 1 April 1922, his widow and children soon left Madeira. With the help of the British monarch, the Spanish King Alfonso XIII managed to convince the Council of Ambassadors to permit the family to move to Spain.² The widow, her children and a small entourage arrived in Madrid in May 1922 and then, in August, to the small Basque village of Lekeitio on the Atlantic coast. The town lies halfway between the two Basque cities of Bilbao and San Sebastian.

Queen Zita needed to ensure that the ten-year-old heir to the throne, Otto, was given all the knowledge and experience necessary to prepare him for his future role as monarch. Being in exile, they were not surrounded by a large cadre of teachers. Nevertheless, they picked the best and most trusted educators and tutors. Once it was certain that they would be able to stay in Spain, the search for suitable teachers began. Count Heinrich Degenfeld,³ one of Otto von Habsburg's most loyal confidants until his death, arrived in Lekeitio in October 1922 as secretary to the Emperor. His person is also important because, like the Queen and her governesses, he kept a diary of his stay. These entries, focusing on day-to-day events, provide previously unknown information about the family's daily life in exile.⁴

The upbringing and education of Crown Prince Otto and his brothers and sisters followed a strict schedule. The diary kept by Count Degenfeld covers not only the curriculum and details of the children's development but also their leisure time. Besides adhering to an almost minute-to-minute study schedule, physical activity played a crucial role in their daily routines. In addition to taking long walks, the children enjoyed playing pelota⁵ and, most of all, football. They mostly played these ball games in the narrow gardens of the castle they lived in and on the beach.

Football has been an increasingly prosperous and popular sport and community event in Spain for decades, especially in the Basque Country. It was not only a game but also part of their national identity.⁶ In the spring of 1922, the most successful Basque club, FC Bilbao, became the first team from Spain to tour Europe after the war, playing a series of matches as guests of Sparta Praha. Equally crucial for Spanish football was the impact of foreign teams coming to play in the region.

¹ Special thanks to the Fradi Museum and the MTK Circle of Friends for their help.

² Fejérdy, Gergely: A Duna partjától Madeira szigetéig. (From the banks of the Danube to the island of Madeira). in Gergely Fejérdy-István Gergely Szúts-Ferenc Vasbányai (ed.): *Száműzöttként Madeirán. Dokumentumok Habsburg Károly életének utolsó hónapjaiból* (Exiled in Madeira. Documents on the Last Months of the Life of Charles von Habsburg.) Budapest, Otto von Habsburg Foundation, 2022, 72.

³ Degenfeld-Schonburg, Heinrich (1890–1978)

⁴ HOAL 1-1-d. Diaries of Heinrich Degenfeld

⁵ pelota: a ball game of Basque origin

⁶ Győri Szabó, Róbert: A baszk identitás és a futball (Basque Identity and Football). *Regio*, 2012, 2, 78–112.



Queen and Empress Zita with her children on the beach
(HOAL 15B 4-4 F14)

As early as January 1922, Rapid Wien toured the country, playing two matches with Sociedad in nearby San Sebastian. Two months later, FC Nuremberg participated in friendly matches in San Sebastian and Bilbao, further contributing to the growth and influence of football in Spain.

After the First World War, Hungarian teams, well-known throughout Europe during the period, also started to organise international tournaments.⁷ MTK had already contacted Spanish teams at the end of 1921, but it was only a year later that they finally travelled to Spain. Between 24 December and 7 January 1922, they played seven matches, including four with the best-known Basque teams, Bilbao and Sociedad. As the Hungarian press had already reported in the summer that the widowed Queen and her children had moved to Lekeitio, the MTK management and players wanted to pay their respects. According to *Az Est*, President Alfréd Brüll intended to invite the family to the San Sebastian match but considered it more appropriate for the host club, Sociedad, to take the initiative. The case soon became known, and the Spanish royal family cancelled the invitation due to political uncertainty.⁸ In other words, contrary to the unverifiable rumours circulating in Hungary at the time, the Hungarian football team had not yet met the royal family.

The news of the upcoming visit naturally reached the parties involved; it is not known whether the event contributed to the children having a *grosse Fußballpartie* in the garden on 26 December, as recorded by Degenfeld. Besides the royal children, almost all the staff participated in this event.

⁷ *Nemzeti Sport*, 19 November 1921, 3.

⁸ *Az Est*, 12 January 1923, 7.

The royal family temporarily left Lekeitio on 6 February and moved to San Sebastian. The children's daily schedule here also followed a precise timetable, with learning and physical exercises. It was during these days that an important figure in the history of Spanish—Hungarian football arrived in the city: Lipót Hertzka,⁹ a former MTK footballer, who switched from Essen and became a successful coach of Sociedad from 1 January 1923 and then of Bilbao from 1926. He thus coached the team in San Sebastian from the New Year onwards.

On 9 March 1923, on his way home from an afternoon outing, the young Crown Prince and his tutor heard familiar sounds on the beach. Otto von Habsburg was riding a pony alongside Benedictine teacher Vendel Solymos¹⁰ when they came across the managers and footballers of another Hungarian club, the FTC on the shore. Their brief conversation revealed that the Hungarians were playing two matches against Sociedad, and to celebrate, Father Solymos invited them to a short audience at their hotel in San Sebastian. The diary of Degenfeld reveals that the Hungarian team was comprised of young students and officials who, according to press reports, were mesmerised at recognising the young heir to the throne on the coast.¹¹

In the afternoon, the FTC management and players were received in the lobby of the Hotel Savoy by Queen Zita and Otto von Habsburg. Vice President Imre Szigeti warmly greeted the Queen and the Crown Prince and presented the club's silk flag on behalf of the visitors. Otto then briefly welcomed the guests and shook hands while the Queen directed a few questions to Szigeti. The details of Degenfeld's diary entry are broadly consistent to the report published in *Az Est*, with an additional comment that he found the ten-year-old Otto extremely articulate but very flustered. As Solymos stated, the Hungarian footballers were clearly touched. Their enthusiasm



Otto von Habsburg with Vendel Solymos
(source: *Képes Krónika*)

was further increased when Father Solymos delivered the celebratory speech at their 15 March commemoration in their accommodation.¹²

The royal family returned to Lekeitio in July, and the diary shows that they were as consistent in their diligence in the education, upbringing and physical training of the heir to the throne and his brothers and sisters as before. By this time, they had already adopted the curriculum that had supported their Hungarian schooling, overseen by the Benedictine Fathers of Pannonhalma. In addition to studying, the excursions, games, and reception of visitors and pilgrims from Hungary and Austria remained an inseparable part of their days.

In the winter of 1923, MTK organised another tournament to Spain: alongside FC Barcelona, they also encountered two Basque teams, Sociedad and Bilbao. The club's man-



The MTK football team, *Mannschaft*, 1921
(source: *Bildarchiv Austria*)

agement was determined to pay their respects to the former Queen and her family, especially as the previous year's audience had been cancelled. Between Christmas and New Year, they scheduled two matches with Sociedad, and in the interval, they were able to arrange a meeting for New Year's Day. The Hungarian team travelled in rental cars to the village some 60 kilometres from San Sebastian.

The audience began at 11:30 in the reception hall of the castle, where the Queen, her children and two ladies-in-waiting lined up to greet the delegation of 26, according to Degenfeld's diary.

MTK president Alfréd Brüll delivered a short speech, followed by Otto's remarks welcoming the Hungarian team. The management then distributed a large bundle of toys and gifts, which the children were thrilled to receive. According to the coverage in *Az Est*, legitimist aristocrats (nobility who have always been loyal to the king and the kingdom) asked President Brüll to deliver their presents to the royal children.¹³ Afterwards, the management bestowed the team's silver plaque with the inscription: "With reverence from Hungary's champion team of many times. 1 January 1924."

The entire staff lined up at the time of the leave-taking, but the MTK footballers did not immediately head back to San Sebastian. In fact, at 2:30 in the afternoon, they played a friendly match before the Royal Family and the hundreds of locals who had come to watch. The only flat area of Lekeitio suitable for a football game was on the beach, but even then, only during low tide. Reportedly, this is why Vendel Solymos planned the match for half past two, as this was the time when the largest usable area of land on the coast was available. The sidelines, the sixteen and the five and a half were drawn in the sand, and instead of slats, the goals were marked with draped sweaters. According to *Az Est*, the royal family arrived shortly before kick-off, and around 500 locals surrounded the field. The team was split into two eight-man groups and lined up at the centre circle. The heir to the throne gave the kick-off, and the match started at the whistle of Károly Frischer.¹⁴ Eventually, the victory was 6–3 for the team in blue and white. At the end of the game, the players, the managers, and Otto von Habsburg and his family sang the Hungarian National Anthem on the Basque coast. Afterwards, the players cheered for the Crown Prince, who, along with his siblings, gave each player an autographed photo.

After bidding farewell to the Hungarian team, Otto von Habsburg returned to the Uribarren Palace and resumed his programme as the daily schedule demanded. According to Degenfeld's entries, football remained a favourite game among the children.

The MTK players and managers left for San Sebastian in the early evening, where a few days later—perhaps due to this encounter—they took revenge for the defeat they had previously suffered from Sociedad.

⁹ Lipót Hertzka (Budapest, 1893 – 1951, Montemor-o-Novo, Portugal)

¹⁰ Vendel Károly Solymos (Schlamadinger) (Nagysároslak, 1893 – 1950, Budapest) was a Benedictine monk and high school teacher. Between January 1923 and the end of 1925, he was a tutor of Otto von Habsburg.

¹¹ *Az Est*, 25 March 1923, 9.

¹² *Sportírlap*, 29 March 1923, 2.

¹³ *Az Est*, 21 December 1923, 11.

¹⁴ *Az Est*, 9 January 1924, 10.

TALES ABOUT THE CROWN PRINCE

Several historical and political writings about Otto von Habsburg's life and career have been published in various languages, while his figure has also been immortalised in many literary fictions. Following the King's coronation in 1916, young Otto inspired a multitude of stories. On the occasion of Children's Day, we compiled a selection from the last year of the Monarchy and the interwar period.

The book *A mi királyi családunk* (Our Royal Family) by Károly Huszár, a royalist politician and later Prime Minister, was published in 1918.¹ In the preface, the author defined the purpose of his work as follows: "It aims to be a brief summary of all that should be known about our royal family by every educated Hungarian".² A whole chapter is devoted to the children of the royal family, in which, among other things, the orderly character of Otto is emphasised. In addition, we can read about the then 6-year-old Prince's favourite game, playing with trains, where he always took on the role of the engine driver, befitting an heir to the throne.³

Some anecdotes about the young Otto von Habsburg have been preserved in newspapers. In the journal *Budapest*, published in the summer of 1918 under the title *The Little Crown Prince*, one can read—with a somewhat didactic overtone—about the deeds of the kind-hearted little boy who gives his shoes to the poor barefoot child and includes in his evening prayers the brothers of his governess who were killed in action during the First World War.⁴

The heir to the throne appears in several of the juvenile novels of Mária Blaskó. In her book, *A kiskirály* (The Little King), published in 1924, the youth of the time could read stories about the life of the young Otto von Habsburg.⁵ The preface to the tale of *Két királyfi* (Two Princes) is a letter containing Otto's message: "With royal affection, he bids every child of his beloved country to follow his example; to study and work diligently and joyfully, so that these children may become the hardworking hands which are destined to raise the future Hungary to prosperity, glory and contentment."⁶ The Crown Prince's lines from Lekeitio were sent to the writer, Mária Blaskó, by Countess Margaret Wenckheim, who, along with her husband Count József Károlyi, had aided the royal family in Madeira and during their exile in Spain.⁷

The oeuvre of Ferenc Móra, an established name in Hungarian youth literature, is also linked to Otto von Habsburg in several ways. According to an enthusiastic article in one of Hungary's oldest newspapers, *Délmagyarország*, published in November 1927, Móra was the best-known Hungarian writer in the world.⁸



Otto von Habsburg, Robert and Adelheid in Reichenau (1917)

Deputy Secretary of State Elemér Czakó, an advisor to the Ministry of Religion and Public Education and General Director of the Royal Hungarian University Press, commented to the same newspaper that the royal children, including Otto, learnt Hungarian from the series of elementary reading books, *Betűország* (Country of Letters), edited by Ferenc Móra and Géza Voinich. Furthermore, the royal household also benefited from the texts, as they provided a better understanding not only of the Hungarian language but also of the Hungarian people.

Ferenc Móra's novel, *Szél ángyó jót akart* (Naunt Wind Meant Well), was published on 25 April 1926 in the columns of the journal *Világ* and later in the 1927 volume *Véreim* (My Brethren).⁹ In it, the writer portrayed the character of his host in Szatymaz.¹⁰ According to the plot, the poor couple wants to send the widowed Queen Zita a letter requesting they take one of the orphans to live with them. They wish to raise the eldest, Otto, because, as the husband says: "He's the most well-off and the quickest to become a man. Even we'd live to see that." They intend to give him their name, their farm, their vineyards, their land, and all their possessions. However, according to Móra, there is a law that the royals shall only pasture golden lambs, thereby thwarting the grand plan. Nevertheless, the story is an intriguing example of the loyalty of the countryside to the royal family.

¹ The volume can be found in the library of Otto von Habsburg and was given to him in 1991 by the Budapest representative of the Hungarian Heart Foundation.

² Huszár, Károly: *A mi királyi családunk* (Our Royal Family), Budapest, Újságüzem Könyvkiadó és Nyomda Rt, 1918, 3.

³ *Ibid.* 187.

⁴ *Budapest*, 14 July 1918, 4–5.

⁵ Analysis of the work by Nagyillés, Anikó: *A száműzött királyfi. Habsburg Ottó alakjának szimbolikus és narratív megformálása*. (The Exiled Crown Prince. The Symbolic and Narrative Formations of the Figure of Otto von Habsburg.) In: Gábor Barna (ed.): *„A királyhűség jól bevált útján...”* (On the well-earned path of royal loyalty...). Szeged, MTA-SZTE, 2016, 457–471.

⁶ Blaskó, Mária: *Két királyfi* (Two Princes), Budapest, Pallas, [1926]

⁷ Count József Károlyi published his memoirs in 1922. Károlyi, József: *Madeirai emlékek* (Memories of Madeira). Székesfehérvár, Fejér Megyei Levéltár – Károlyi József Alapítvány, 1996. (A Fejér Megyei Levéltár Közleményei 20.)

⁸ „Móra Ferenc a legelterjedtebb magyar író a világon” [sic] (Ferenc Móra is the most popular Hungarian writer in the world). *Délmagyarország*, 6 November 1927, 5.

⁹ The narrative "Szél ángyó jót akart" (Naunt Wind Meant Well) is available here in Hungarian: <https://mek.oszk.hu/00900/00974/html/08.htm> (Date of download: 24.03.2023.)

¹⁰ Péter, László: Szél ángyó báránya (The Lamb of Naunt Wind). *Magyar Nemzet*, 27 July 2009, 36.

OTTO VON HABSURG AND SCOUTING

Ezek az évek 1914–1933 (These Years 1914–1933) was the title of the collection of Móra's editorials penned within the indicated timeframe. The writer reflects on the child Otto von Habsburg in his 1927 essay *Szegény kis népcászárr!* (Poor little People's Emperor!).¹¹ He regards the orphaned heir to the throne, the child exiled in Spain, with a sense of both fear and compassion. Contemplating his future, he expresses the hope that if Otto von Habsburg does not succeed as monarch, he will turn out to be a happy and content man, brought up to earn his living by his own labour.

Scoutmaster Kálmán Radványi was a popular juvenile writer in the interwar period. One of the settings of his multi-published book *Cserkészuton spanyol földön* (Scouting Trip on Spanish Soil) is Lekeitio, a Basque fishing village and the refuge of the royal family. The Hungarian Scout Association's newspaper, the *Magyar Cserkész* (Hungarian Scout) of 1 December 1930, described the release of the novel as one of the highlights of the Christmas book market.¹² The work was inspired by an event in 1929 taking place after the the 3rd World Scout Jamboree in England, when the commander-in-chief of the Hungarian troops, Dr Kasszián Mattyasovszky, a Benedictine monk and schoolmaster from Esztergom, left the squad with a couple of boys to attend the Spanish National Scout Camp (*Exploradores de España*) in Barcelona. During their trip, they also visited Otto von Habsburg and his family.¹³ According to the *Magyar Cserkész*, "the part of the book describing the Hungarian scouts' encounters and interactions with the royal family is of particular interest". The chapter "Melegszerű édesanya, nyolc árva" (Warm-eyed Mother, Eight Orphans) describes the meeting between the boy scouts and the royal family. The monthly magazine of the Regnum Marianum Catholic youth community, *Zászlónk* (Our Flag), of 15 October 1929, also published a picture of the park of the villa in Lekeitio, where Otto is seen with his brothers and the Benedictine headmaster, accompanied by the boy scouts.¹⁴ The picture also includes a drawing made on 28 August 1929 in the same place, in the chapel of the Royal Palace. According to the description, Otto was an altar boy during the celebration of the Holy Mass.

In 1931, after the heir to the throne came of age, the collection *Ottó. Az ifjú király élete* (Otto. The Life of the Young King) was published in Budapest, edited by Count Iván Csekonic and Imre Balassa. The richly illustrated volume follows the life of Otto von Habsburg up to the age of 18. The entertaining chapters, written by Imre Balassa, are complemented by reflections on Otto von Habsburg from Pál Zsámboki, Jákó Blazovich, Jób Bánhegyi, Vendel P. Solymos, Erzsébet Bokor, who were all involved in the upbringing and education of the royal children. The chapter also includes reflections written by Lajos Ady, the brother of the famous Hungarian poet Endre Ady, who was present at his graduation.

The works mentioned were written in the twilight of the Monarchy or during the period of the "kingless kingdom", as the state form of Hungary during the interwar period was often referred, and are imbued with loyalty to the royal family and compassion for the exiled. We have yet to determine precisely when Otto von Habsburg read these works, however, they are mentioned in several instances in his Hungarian-related correspondence from 1988–2011.¹⁵ Thoughtful letter-writers drew Otto's attention to these texts and even sent him extracts. Therefore, in these years at the latest, the protagonist himself could become acquainted with the stories about him.

Otto von Habsburg emphasised on several occasions how much he appreciated the activities of the Scout Movement. On the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the 1933 World Jamboree in Gödöllő, we present our namesake's connection to scouting by looking through the heritage entrusted to our Foundation.

The life of Otto von Habsburg is well-known to many people due to his testimonies, biographies and the articles written about him. Our Foundation aims to add new details to this topic through the very colourful legacy in our care.

Our photo collection and archival material provide several references to the relationship between the Archduke and scouting. The world meeting of this important and famous youth movement was organised in Gödöllő ninety years ago.¹ The 4th World Scout Jamboree, which was held from 1 to 15 August 1933 and was a major international event in Hungary during the interwar period, was not attended by Otto von Habsburg, who was then a student at the Catholic University of Leuven. However, he was present at the subsequent meeting in the Netherlands in 1937.²



It was exactly thirty years ago, in July 1993, that an international scout camp was held in Dénesfa, in the county of Győr-Moson-Sopron, where Gusztáv Jäckel, leader of #364 Scarbantia Scout Troop, asked the namesake of our Foundation to become its patron.³ Our collection holds the Scout Certificate issued to the Archduke on 27 January 1996 in Nyíregyháza.⁴ According to the—albeit incomplete—document, Otto von Habsburg is a certified member of the Hungarian Scout Association in the #1947 Szent Miklós (Saint Nicholas) Scout Troop. In addition to these surviving documents, it is mainly from our archival materials that we can learn about the role that scouting played in the life of Otto von Habsburg.

¹ The Jamboree Camp Chief was Count Pál Teleki, who had been Prime Minister at the time when Otto von Habsburg's father, Charles I (IV), had sought to reclaim the throne of Hungary in 1921 (the attempt is also known as the Easter royal coup d'état). The connection between Otto von Habsburg and the Jamboree in Gödöllő is that the #560 King Charles IV (later András Jelky) Scout Troop of Baja participated in the World Meeting. On May 7 1933, the widowed Queen Zita was the "mother" of the flag at the troop's flag dedication ceremony. (In the old days, it was common to appoint a lady to officiate at a ceremonial flag-raising, usually a female relative of a state, municipal or military leader.) Cserba, György: *560. IV. Károly Király Cserkészcsapat emlékei* Baja, 1991. (fényképalbum) (Memories of the #560 King Charles IV Scout Troop of Baja, 1991 (photo album)) HOAL 1-5-b 9-36; *Keresztény Élet*, 20 April 1997, 8.

² The leader of the Hungarian scouts was the Chief Scout of Hungary, Count Pál Teleki.

³ HOAL-1-2-c-Jäckel Gusztáv 16 March 1993

⁴ See picture no. 1

¹¹ The essay in Hungarian can be read at: <http://mek.niif.hu/05200/05283/05283.htm#24> (Date of download: 24. 03. 2023.)

¹² *Magyar Cserkész*, 1930, 23, V.

¹³ Mattyasovszky, Kasszián: *Az angliai cserkészjamboree a mi szempontunkból* (The English Scout Jamboree from our Point of View). *Pannonhalmi Szemle*, 1929, 1, 580–587.

¹⁴ *Zászlónk*, 15 October 1929, 35.

¹⁵ This collection of records has been processed, and the digitisation of the documents is in progress and is partly available digitally on our website.

In a letter dated 16 September 1995, Otto von Habsburg confessed that he had been intrigued by scouting since childhood and its positive influence on young people.⁵ From an early age, the former heir to the throne frequently met several members of the youth movement founded by Baden-Powell. A significant event for him was when he was visited by Hungarian scouts in Spain. This encounter is recorded in Kálmán Radványi's literary book entitled *Cserkészúton Spanyolországban* (Scouting Trip on Spanish Soil). The young-adult fiction writer, who was popular between the two world wars, was himself a scoutmaster. One of the settings of his multi-published book is Lekeitio, the Basque fishing village where the royal family lived in the 1920s. The story goes that, after the conclusion of the 3rd Jamboree in England in 1929, the leader of the Hungarian team, the Benedictine monk Dr Kasszián Mattyasovszky, separated from the troop along with a few boys to attend the Spanish national camp in Barcelona. During their trip, they visited, among others, Otto von Habsburg and his family.⁶ According to the *Magyar Cserkész* (Hungarian Scout) magazine, "a particular sensation is the part of the book in which the Hungarian scouts describe their meeting and time spent with the royal family"⁷



Scouts in Lekeitio, 1929

Later, this article was sent to Otto von Habsburg. In a letter dated 7 January 1991, the former heir to the throne wrote that he was delighted with this book chapter, which reminded him of fond old memories.⁸ The meeting with the scouts is also mentioned in the biography penned by Emil Csonka, a close associate of Otto von Habsburg.⁹ The book mentions, among other extraordinary adventures in Lekeitio, that the Crown Prince climbed out of the window to join the „troop of scouts from home” who gave a serenade to him.¹⁰ This event, recalled by many, is described by Otto von Habsburg himself in his 1981 article on the scouts as follows: "With my mother and my brothers and sisters, we lived within the walls of the Basque fishing village of Lekeitio, on the Atlantic coast at the foot of the Pyrenees. Then suddenly, a Hungarian scout troop came to visit us from the Danube Region, boys and girls my age; we had a bonfire in the garden of our house, and that evening, I felt at home again in the scenery of my childhood, back in Gödöllő, playing again in spirit with my old friends."¹¹

5 HOAL-1-2-c-Gyevay-Grivičić Iván 16 September 1995

6 Mattyasovszky, Kasszián: Az angliai cserkészjamboree a mi szempontunkból. (The Scout Jamboree in England from our point of view.) *Pannonhalmi Szemle*, 1929, 1, 580-587.

7 *Magyar Cserkész* (Hungarian Scout), 1930, 23. The fifth chapter of the book, entitled Warm-eyed Mother, Eight Orphans, is about the encounter between the Boy Scouts and the royal family.

8 HOAL-1-2-c-Boromisza Tamás 7 January 1991

9 Csonka, Emil: *Habsburg Ottó. Egy különös sors története*. (Otto von Habsburg: A Story of a Peculiar Fate). München, Új Európa, 1972, 132.

10 *Ibid.* 132.

11 HOAL-1-2-b-Hoyos János 1981. The royal family visited Gödöllő on 23 October 1918. The visit is described in the *Historia Domus* of the Roman Catholic Parish of Gödöllő. The source records that the royal family had an excellent time. Special mention is made of the kindness of the little heir to the throne and the fact that the King spoke only Hungarian. VPKL Gödöllő *Historia Domus* 1914-1995, 33.

There are photographic records of Otto von Habsburg's presence at the aforementioned World Scout Jamboree in the Netherlands.¹² Although the Archduke did not attend the meeting in Gödöllő, his correspondents sent him several pictures of the event. The Jamboree in the Netherlands was the last one held before the Second World War, and it was also the last meeting attended by Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of scouting. The August 1937 report of the legitimist daily newspaper *Új Nemzedék* (New Generation) made special mention of the presence of the 25-year-old heir to the throne, stating that "the most outstanding event of the camp was the visit of King Otto II [sic!]."¹³ We also found information about this meeting in the correspondence of Otto von Habsburg. Two letter-writers surprised the Archduke with photographs they had taken themselves in 1987 and 1990.¹⁴ In his letter of appreciation, Otto von Habsburg wrote: "I remember fondly and very well the jamboree in Vogelenzang, which I attended with Count Teleky [sic!].¹⁵ Many of my personal memorabilia had been lost during the Second World War, so I was particularly pleased to receive the photographs you sent me."¹⁶ Indeed, Otto von Habsburg's figure cannot be omitted from the published accounts of the 5th World Scout Jamboree. One example is the article by Dr Endre Bánk, which appeared on the front page of the *Keszthelyi Hírlap* in February 1990.¹⁷ At the meeting, which had an informal atmosphere, the Archduke won over the participants—mostly Hungarians—primarily with his language skills and friendly attitude.



Otto von Habsburg at the 5th World Scout Jamboree

Throughout his life, Otto von Habsburg always paid close attention to scouting and was in contact with many well-known people in the Scout Movement. He exchanged letters over many years with the conservative Swedish writer Arvid Fredborg, a scout himself, and with Friedrich von Perko-Greifffenbühl, who was associated with the organisation Europa Scouts.¹⁸ In a Hungarian context, among others, we can mention György Köllely¹⁹, a Catholic priest who led a scout troop in Munich.²⁰ In the summer of 1970, György Köllely and fellow officers from the European Jubilee Camp in Stockholm welcomed Otto von Habsburg.²¹ This gesture shows that the leaders of the Scout Movement were counting on Otto von Habsburg. Another noteworthy example is

12 The photograph is owned by the Photo Archive of MTI Zrt. (Date of download: 21 June 2023)

13 *Új Nemzedék*, 6 August 1937, 7.

14 HOAL-1-2-c-Farkas János 8 June 1990, HOAL-1-2-b-Dr. Dolányi Kovács Géza 9 September 1987

15 Count Pál Teleky

16 HOAL-1-2-b-Dr. Dolányi Kovács Géza 9 September 1987

17 *Keszthelyi Hírlap*, 2 February 1990, 1.

18 The correspondence over the decades between Arvid Fredborg and Otto von Habsburg is preserved in our Foundation's archives. The extensive exchange of letters contains a wide variety of content. Arvid Fredborg was an active participant in Otto von Habsburg's networking activities.

19 Called "Uncle Gyurka" in scouting circles. *Új Európa*, 1982, 1, 19.

20 See picture no. 2 HOAL-1-2-b-Kölley György 25 December 1985

21 See picture no. 3 HOAL-1-2-b-Szabó Ödön 1970

Count János Hoyos, former President of the Hungarian Scout Association, who also maintained close ties with the former heir to the throne.²² In a letter to János Hoyos dated 26 March 1981, Otto von Habsburg wrote that he felt very reassured that the presidency of the Council of the Scout Association was in the hands of the Count.

Further information regarding scouting can also be found in Otto's correspondence with Prince Primate József Mindszenty. In 1972, the Church leader sent him a report on the activities of the Hungarian Scout Association in 1971. In his reply, the Archduke stressed that he was delighted that the Primate was cooperating with the Scouts.²³ After 1989, Otto von Habsburg was invited to numerous scouting programmes in various places in Hungary, and he wrote many letters of greeting to the leaders of the reborn movement.²⁴ Some examples of his participation in scouting events can be found in the Hungarian-related correspondence. In 1989, according to the letters, he was even offered the rank of Chief Scout; however, he eventually refused to accept it because he could not actually take on practical tasks.²⁵ In 1996, to commemorate the 1100th anniversary of the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin, the scouts organised a memorial camp in Nyíregyháza. They asked Otto von Habsburg to be the international patron of the event. He gladly agreed to this and wrote the following in his reply letter to István Horváth Jr., camp organising officer: *"I am thrilled that the Scouts, a movement that has been of great value to our nation, are ready to organise a commemorative camp in the easternmost county to commemorate the 1100 years that the Hungarians spent in the Danube basin."*²⁶ It was in this spirit that, in March 2002, he unveiled the Scout flag on Dugonics Square in Szeged.²⁷

Otto von Habsburg repeatedly stressed how positive he considered the Scout Movement to be in the life of the Hungarian nation. *"I know from long experience what a great value the Scout Movement is to our society"*, wrote Otto von Habsburg, nearly 90 years old, on 12 March 2002 in Kassa, when celebrating the 10th anniversary of the local Ferenc Rákóczi II Scout Troop's initiation.²⁸ He believed scouting served clearly defined, concrete goals and objectives that he valued in his work, such as the reconciliation of the peoples of the Danube basin, the building of international relations and educating young people. He also saw the Scout Movement as an important means of preserving the Hungarian language in the emigrant community.²⁹

Otto von Habsburg summarised his appreciation of the identity-preserving activity of scouting in his publication entitled *Magyar cserkészek örök missziója* (The Eternal Mission of the Hungarian Scouts).³⁰ The draft of the article is in the archives of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation and is presented in Hungarian below.

²² Count Dr János Hoyos (1915–2003), who had survived the Concentration Camp in Reck, emigrated after the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 and worked as a doctor in New York. He was the leader of the Hungarian Order of Malta in America and an active organiser of Hungarian scouting. <http://www.magyarkronika.com/magazin/0219.htm>

²³ HOAL-1-2-b-Mindszenty József 26 May 1972

²⁴ On 27 January 1989, he welcomed the rebirth of Hungarian scouting, particularly scouting in Pécs. *Pécsi Szemle*, 2002, 75.

²⁵ HOAL-1-2-c-Falus Ottó 20 March 1989

²⁶ HOAL-1-2-c-ifj. Horváth István 12 January 1996

²⁷ *Délmagyarország*, 4 March 2002, 1.

²⁸ HOAL-1-2-c-Csajka Tamás 12 March 2002

²⁹ Habsburg Ottó: A 21. évforduló (Otto von Habsburg: The 21st Anniversary). *Új Európa*, 1977, 6, 5.

³⁰ Magyar világ (Hungarian world). *Új Európa*, 1982, 1, 19.

Ján. 1981

Habsburg Ottó

MAGYAR CSERKÉSZEK ÖRÖK MISSZIÓJA

Amíg élek, nem felejttem-el. Spanyolországban történt, amikor még gyerekfejjel voltam emigráns, tizenöttestendős serdülő fiatal-ként száműzött. Anyámmal és testvéreimmel a baszkföldi halászfalu, Lequeitio falai között éltünk, az Atlanti-óceán partján, a Pireneusok tövében. És egyszer csak magyar cserkészcsapat jött hozzánk látogatába a Duna mellékéről, velem egyidős fiukkal és leányokkal táborfüzet rendeztünk házuk kertjében s azon az estén én megint otthon éreztem magam a gyermekkori tájon, otthon voltam G8d8118n, lélekben megint hajdani kis barátaimmal játszottam. A cserkészfiúk csodálkoztak, hogy jól beszélek magyarul s nem titkolom, nekem nagy öröm volt és nagy biztatás ez a csodálkozás, ami elismerés számba ment azoktól, akik mindvégig Magyarországon élhettek. Pattogott a tűz, zengett a magyar nóta, a hegyek felől érkező szélben lobogott az árvalányhaj s mindannyian megindultan énekeltek el, a táborfüzet-záró után még a himnuszt, idegen földön kérve a Mindenhatót : "Isten áldd meg a magyart!"

Az ilyen fiatalkori élmények végigkísérik az embert egész életén. És amióta, a második világháború befejezése után, a magyar nép jelentős hányada lett emigráns, azóta többször találkoztam a cserkészzel és cserkészekkel, s hízélgés nélkül meg kell mondanom: egyházi szervezeteinken kívül nincs még egy magyar intézmény, amely idekint oly sokat tett a magyar nyelv, a magyarságtudat és a szabadságeszme fenntartásáért, mint az emigráns magyar cserkészlet. Erdeme nem csak az, hogy 1945 és 1948 után, mikor otthon betiltották, idekint megalakította a mozgalmat, hanem talán ennél is nagyobb cselekedet, hogy a múlt évtizedeken át is fenntartotta és új, egészen fiatal magyar nemzedékeket kapcsolt be. Aki ismeri - és sokan ismerjük - az emigrációk lélektanát és lélekölő buktatóit, a hosszúra nyúlt emigrációk sok lelki betegségét, a szellemi, erkölcsi és akarati sorvadás veszélyeit, az csodálattal és lelkesedéssel látja, hogy a magyar cserkészlet milyen emberfeletti munkát végzett és végez idekint immár egy teljes emberöltőn át. Egy működés-képes szervezet, amelynek nemcsak múltja, hanem jövője is van. Virtuális Magyarország megteremtője és hordozója a Magyar Cserkész Szövetség.

Aligha volt ennek a századnak az életében sikeresebb magyar ifjúsági mozgalom, amely úgy megtestesítette volna mindazt, ami

keresztény, magyar és nemzetközi kulturánkat jelenti. Nem hiába tanítják a cserkészeket, már farkaskölyök koruktól kezdve az "apostolkodásra". A cserkész, amikor még csak tanul, máris tanít, mert egyben apostol, az emberiség egyik legszebb megbízatásának tesz eleget, az Úr szavának: "Elmenvén tanítsatok minden embert ...". A cserkész a gyakorlati keresztény, az irgalmas szamaritánus, a másokért élés és cselekvés embere, s a cserkész-tízparancsolat szép, jó, gyakorlati kiegészítője a világ legtökéletesebb erkölcsi kódexének, a Tízparancsolatnak. A keresztény apostolkodás szellemében felnőtt magyar ember, magyar cserkész pedig mélységesen és humánusan tud magyar lenni, szelleme, oktatási anyaga, sajtója, könyvkiadása a magyarságtudat állandó művelése, a szó legnemesebb értelmében magyarságszolgálat. A cserkészmozgalom valóban egyik nagy történelmi alakja, Sik Sándor költeménye szellemében ötvözta a kereszténységet és magyarságot. Költészetünk talán legszebb sorai közé tartozik Sik "Bocsásd meg" című verse, pontosabban imája, a fohász, mikor az Úrhoz imádkozva vallja: "Tamásnál, Teréznel szomjasabban lestem az öreg Aranyt..." Vagy azok a sorok, melyekben azt mondja, hogy boldog volt, "ha a zsoltár orgonaszavát is átlophattam paraszt magyar szó furulya-dalára". A magyar irodalom s méginkább a magyar történelem tanításával a cserkészzet magyarságmentő missziót teljesít, mert egy népnek, amely nem ismeri s nem értékeli nemzeti századait, nincsen jövője. A kommunisták, amikor 1945 után a hatalom kizárólagos birtokosai lettek, a magyar múltat ki akarták iktatni s a történelmi múlt igaz ismeretétől azóta is megfosztják az új magyar generációkat. Idekint pedig az ismert problémák nehezítik a magyar betű és magyar történelem terjesztését. Elmondhatatlanul fontos tehát, amit ezen a téren a magyar cserkészzet végez. De a cserkészzet magyarságszolgálatáért is értékes, mert nem sovinizmusbám vagy szüklátókörrű, mellvergető, csak szavakban hangos de tartalomban üres hazafiaskodásból áll, hanem nemzetközi távlatokkal rendelkezik, világszervezet nagyvonalúságával, világjelenség részeként. Nem a "proletár internacionalizmus" osztályharcos ideológiája ez, hanem a mély humánus megtestesülése. Megalakulása óta a magyar cserkészzet az egészséges nemzetköziség hordozója volt, a trianoni bezártságból a magyar kiscserkészek sikerei jelentették a kitörést, a magyarság "rehabilitálását" egy akkor ellenséges világban; ugyanakkor a cserkészzet, például egy Teleki Pál szellemében, olyan magyarságot képviselt, amely európai magaslátokat és távlatokat plántált el a magyar földön.

Hiszen ma is, ha csak elgondolkodunk azon, hogy Stockholmtól Buenos Airesig és Montreáltól Ausztráliáig milyen néven, milyen történelmi személyiségek neve alatt működnek magyar cserkészcsapatok, láthatjuk, hogy a mozgalom mennyire keresztény, mennyire magyar, mennyire nemzetközi. Juliánus barát a kutatókedv és magyarságtudat szimbóluma; Könyves Kálmán a tudásszomj ihletője és sarkalója; Szent László a lovagi erényekre tanít; Mikes Kelemen arra, hogy messze idegenben se tépjük ki szívdünkből magyar földünk szeretetét és vágyát; Lőrántffy Zsuzsanna vagy Erzsébet királyné az asszonyi géniust tárja a leánycserkészek elé; Széchényi a kiművelt magyar emberfő posztulátumával figyelmeztet bennünket; Kodály Zoltán a népi dallamok magyarságmegtartó kincsét adja; Mindszenty a mártíromságig menő kötelességtudat s áldozatokra kész keresztény magyarság példája; s valamennyien együtt arra tanítanak, szinte parancsolják nekünk, hogy el ne feledkezzünk egy dumamenti nép szabadságáról, mindaddig, amíg ez a szabadság nem lesz ismét konkrét valóság. Mert nincs emberhez méltó élet ott, ahol nincs szabadság, s korunk magyar cserkészeinek legmodernebb feladata a szabadság szellemének művelése a magyarság soraiban.

Valamikor, az említett Lequeitio-i években egy magyar cserkész-könyvből tanultam meg a csillagok és csillagképek magyar nevét, ott tudtam meg, hogy a "der grosse Wagen" vagy a "Great Bear" valójában a Göncölszekér, s hogy fia is van, Kincső, a kis Göncöl, hogy van a Kisbéres, hogy a jó kúnságiak nem a Vénuszt látják ez égen, hanem a "Pásztorok gyertyáját"; megtanultam s mint gyerek örvendeztem azon, hogy odafenn végre kigyulladt a vacsoracsillag. Néhány héttel ezelőtt, mint Európa-képviselőt meghívtak Ománba, s bejártam több arab országot. Ott hallottam azt a bölcsességet, hogy ha két ember mindig ugyanarra a csillagra néz, nagy tetteket tud végrehajtani. Nos, a cserkészek csillagnéző emberek, de két lábbal állanak a földön. Mi lenne, ha két, kétszáz, kétezer, kétszázézer, millió és millió magyar mindig arra a csillagra nézne s azon munkálkodnék, hogy a "pásztorok gyertyája" újra szabad magyaroknak világítson?

* * *

WHAT IS THE REAL LINGUA FRANCA?

Otto von Habsburg's Address to the European Parliament in Latin

The European Day of Languages has been celebrated on 26 September for nearly two decades. To mark the occasion, our Foundation presents Otto von Habsburg's speech in Latin at the European Parliament in 1979.

The Council of Europe launched the European Day of Languages in 2001 to encourage language learning across the continent, promote linguistic diversity and further deepen dialogue between nations and cultures. In several interviews, Otto von Habsburg emphasised that multilingualism is the basis of European culture and repeatedly stressed the importance of language skills in his writings and lectures.

Our namesake's competence in languages impressed not only his colleagues but also his political opponents; the polyglot Archduke was fluent in German, French, Hungarian, English and Spanish and had no difficulty speaking Italian, Portuguese and Croatian. However, even despite his excellent command of many languages, it was a particular sensation when, at the plenary session of the European Parliament on 14 November 1979, he responded in Latin to a speech given in this ancient language by his Italian colleague, Mario Capanna. The Italian far-left MEP, who had made a name for himself as one of the leaders of the 1968 student uprisings—and who had undoubtedly practised the language during his philosophical studies in Milan—caused a moment of panic in the interpreters' booths with his short speech. According to the recollection of his former colleagues, only Otto von Habsburg was able to react to Capanna's exposé, which was initially intended as an annoyance. In a few sentences, he stressed that, although he disagreed with the content of his colleague's statement, he was pleased that his fellow MEP had chosen “a truly European language” to express his views.

The considerable classical literacy of our eponym—which he owed primarily to his Benedictine teachers, particularly to Father Jácint Wéber, who taught him Latin—cannot be better demonstrated than by the last sentence of his speech, in which he uses an excerpt from Virgil's Aeneid to entrust the preservation and cultivation of Latin to posterity. A few lines of witty banter attest to Otto von Habsburg's view that intellect and political activity are closely linked, the former, with a touch of humour, being refreshing in the most arid political debates.

However, what made the debate truly special was not its content but the fact that two politicians with very different values and habits on opposite sides of the political spectrum were united, if only for a moment, by our common European heritage, by their knowledge and love of Latin. His speech in 1979, which is reproduced in full here, not only enhanced Otto von Habsburg's reputation among his colleagues but has remained a source of lively interest for linguists and philologists ever since.

Oratiuncula qua Otto von Habsburg respondit honorabili collegae suo Capannae:

Magno mihi gaudio fuit, quod in sententia tua referenda usus es lingua vere Europaea et matre quodammodo omnium nostrum, qua diutius carere in hoc egregio concilio vix possumus. Ita fit, ut, qui in eis, quae dixisti nullo modo assentiri tibi, quem tamen valde gratulum tibi censeam, quod ausus es loqui Latine, quod quam utile sit, nonnullis nostrae aetatis hominibus non liquet propter egestatem cultus atque humanitatis. Ego contra perstandum esse in isto proposito Latinitatis provehendae censeo, praecipue in scholis nostris, quod humaniores nos reddet et sapientiores magisque conciliabit inter se tot gentes, tot nationes omni respectu diversas, beneficio latinitatis tamen coniunctissimas. Cui proposito invigilare, cui operam nostram impendere non pigebit; quod ad effectum perducere nostri non est, sed 'maneant nostros ea cura nepotes'.

The short speech in which Otto von Habsburg replied to his honourable colleague Capanna:

I was delighted that in his statement, he used a truly European language, indeed in some way the mother tongue of all of us, which we have long been sorely lacking in this distinguished assembly. Although I certainly cannot agree with you on the things you have said, I must expressly congratulate you on daring to speak Latin; however, for some of our contemporaries, because of their lack of education and training, the usefulness of this is unclear. On the other hand, I think that we must stand firm in our determination to promote Latin culture, especially in our schools, because it will make us more educated and more intelligent and will bring peoples and nations—which are different in every way, but still linked by their Latin heritage—closer together. We will never cease to be vigilant, to work towards the goal. And although we may not be able to achieve what we aim to do, ‘may that duty await our children's children!’

We are grateful to Chief Archivist Dr László Schramek, Director of the Pest County Archives of the National Archives of Hungary, for his help with the translation from Latin.

BENCE KOCSEV

A CENTRAL EUROPEAN WITH A SWISS PASSPORT

In Memory of Karel Schwarzenberg

On 11 November 2023, Karel Schwarzenberg, the former head of Václav Havel's chancellery and former minister of foreign affairs, passed away at the age of 85. Kníže Karel, or Prince Charles, as he was often called in his homeland, was a formative figure of the Czech(oslovak) regime change and post-communist era and was closely associated with our namesake from the turbulent period of the late 1980s.

Karel Schwarzenberg was one of the last representatives of a generation that experienced the turmoil of the 20th century first-hand in (Central)Europe and whose political and public activities were primarily determined by the conclusions drawn from it. He was born in 1937 as the second child of a princely family with roots in Central Franconia but deprived of its privileges after the dissolution of the Monarchy. He was a one-year-old boy, when the Munich Agreement partitioned his homeland. Both the Nazis and the Communists persecuted his family. The coup d'état of February 1948 eventually led to the family's forced emigration. From an early age, he became a prominent advocate of the Austrian People's Party (Österreichische Volkspartei, ÖVP) but never assumed formal political office in Austria. In the 1960s, he established links with Czechoslovak dissidents and supported the developing opposition movement in the country and later the persecuted signatories of the Charter 77 initiative. His public work became increasingly visible at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s, when, as chairman of the International Helsinki Committee, he led the struggle from his office in his Vienna apartment for the realisation of the rights of freedom beyond the Iron Curtain provided by the Helsinki Final Act.

After the regime change, as head of the chancellery of Václav Havel, he was instrumental in overseeing the post-communist transition. The country's leadership, which had little experience with official politics in the early years, owed much to the Prince, who was well-versed in both political and diplomatic matters and who later invested considerable effort in the country's recovery as a member of the lower and upper houses of the Czech legislature and afterwards as minister of foreign affairs. His charisma, personal charm and political talent made him a great networker, with excellent contacts in European and global politics, including prominent figures such as Helmut Kohl and Henry Kissinger, who repeatedly referred to Felix zu Schwarzenberg, the Prince's ancestor, in his iconic work *A World Restored*.

Noblesse oblige, or nobility obliges, is a well-known French proverb. For Prince Schwarzenberg, this obligation meant daily work and responsibility for his own communities, large and small, and above all, for democracy and human rights. He was an ardent advocate of the unification of the continent and a true Central European who, at critical moments, was able to rise above the often narrow-minded political thinking that resulted from the divisions of the 20th century. He was a *homo politicus*, in the positive sense of the word. In many respects, he was a representative of a political habitus similar to that of Otto von Habsburg, for whom politics was a true vocation, not an endeavour carried out for the sake of power and the prestige associated with it. He remained a sovereign thinker until the end of his life, always consistent in his own views, even on controversial issues, including the political and public debates that unfolded over the Beneš

decrees after the fall of communism. (His unwavering condemnation of the decrees proved to be a politically risky venture, ultimately contributing to his defeat in the second round of the 2013 presidential elections to former prime minister Miloš Zeman.) However, this consistency in policy-making did not imply a stubborn insistence; his willingness to engage in dialogue helped him find compromise solutions in the often confusing domestic and foreign policy context.



Karel Schwarzenberg on the Charles Bridge in Prague, 1989.

Photo: Archiv Murau

Often describing himself as a Central European with a Swiss passport (*Mitteeuropäer mit Schweizer Pass*), Schwarzenberg's political career is an excellent example of how an identity with historically shaped characteristics can be put at the service of regional development and cooperation. Through his family heritage and in-depth political, historical, cultural and social knowledge, he understood the dynamics of the relations between Prague, Budapest, Bratislava, Krakow and Vienna in all their nuances better than anyone else. Furthermore, as a friend of Hungary, with prominent members of the Festetics family among his ancestors, he was instrumental in the search for the remains of János Esterházy, who was being subjected to the show trials of the nascent Czechoslovak communist regime.

We hold in our Foundation's archives the correspondence between Otto von Habsburg and Karel Schwarzenberg, which provides an insight into the turbulent period of the regime changes and the subsequent decade of Central European course-setting as well as into his European politics.¹ Their exchange of letters illustrates that the common imperial heritage and the often overlapping loyalties that resulted from it are not anachronistic obstacles but rather the driving forces behind the Central European cooperation.

During her visit in early November, Eva Dvořáková, Ambassador of the Czech Republic in Budapest, toured our collection and leafed through the correspondence between our namesake and the former Minister of Foreign Affairs with great interest. In the course of the conversation, it was suggested that an oral history interview with Karel Schwarzenberg would be an enriching experience. Sadly, this is no longer possible. Nevertheless, his confidence in sound solutions, his intellectual legacy and the political vision he represented should continue to guide the future of Central Europe and the whole of the Old Continent.

¹ From a historian's point of view, perhaps even more intriguing is the correspondence with the late politician's father, which provides an interesting record of the Austrian and émigré Czechoslovak politics in the first three decades of the Cold War. The letters addressing political issues are often complemented by insightful excursions into social and cultural history. However, the former heir to the throne also asks the Prince for advice on the (political) risks of accepting an invitation to visit the Austrian artist and philosopher Friedensreich Hundertwasser's studio in Vienna. We do not know whether the visit took place in the late 1960s, but in any case, the Archduke must have made a favourable impression on Hundertwasser, who dedicated his work *Für die Wiederkehr der konstitutionellen Monarchie* (For the Return of the Constitutional Monarchy) in 1987 to Otto von Habsburg, who had just celebrated his 75th birthday. We also encounter the artist's name as one of the authors of the *Festschrift*, edited by Walburga von Habsburg and Bernd Posselt in the same year.

HENRY A. KISSINGER, 1923–2023

On 29 November 2023, Henry Alfred Kissinger, former US national security adviser and Secretary of State, who played a crucial role in shaping US foreign policy during the Cold War, passed away at the age of 100.

Our Foundation’s archives hold the written record of Otto von Habsburg’s more than six decades-long acquaintance with the American politician. In May 2023, we honoured his oeuvre with a conference at which we also introduced his relationship with our namesake in detail. The following article provides an extracted outline of their many interactions.

Despite his pragmatism and characteristic realism, Otto von Habsburg’s political beliefs differed in many respects from the ones of Kissinger; still, the two politicians shared similar views on many crucial issues and were happy to discuss matters of world politics despite their differences. The former Crown Prince understood that the American diplomat had a keen sense of the transformation processes and movements that could shape the global political architecture for decades to come, and learned a lot from his insights. At the same time, Kissinger was inspired by Otto von Habsburg’s historical experiences and vision.

Their correspondence of more than four hundred pages is a captivating record of a thinking that is insightful about the tensions between value- and goal-oriented political actions whilst seeking the possibilities of reconciling both. It also provides a valuable source for understanding the nature, dynamics and complexity of the global Cold War and the world order that emerged in its aftermath and hence a valuable stimulus for contemporary political thought and action as well.

After the Nazi takeover, Kissinger, who fled from Fürth, Germany, continued to pursue a European mindset throughout the rest of his life. It is thus not surprising, that one of the most influential sources of his foreign policy approach is to be found in classical 19th-century European diplomacy. Throughout his career, his thinking and political actions were inspired by the constitutional order of post-Napoleonic Europe and the genius of the figures who shaped it. Through the example of Metternich, he recognised that the balance of power between the major political players was the *sine qua non* for maintaining a lasting and stable international order, and he later sought to bear this historical experience in mind as a decision-maker. Although Otto von Habsburg was aware that the balance of power policy in the context of the Cold War was not so much a matter of choice as of necessity, he did not agree with all its manifestations. While he enthusiastically supported the opening up to China, he was vehemently opposed to the efforts at Cold War détente, particularly to the eastern policy (*Ostpolitik*) of Chancellors Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt, who maintained good relations with Kissinger. However, he supported the US politician’s ideas on how to improve transatlantic relations from the outset.

Drawing on the archival sources in our Foundation’s care, it is clear that from the end of the Second World War, Otto von Habsburg assumed a significant role in developing numerous and often overlapping transnational conservative networks. Their primary aim was to repress communism, but their ambition was also to promote European cooperation and, at the same time, to strengthen transatlantic relations. The correspondence reveals little about the first meeting between the former Crown Prince and Kissinger. However, it is likely to have taken place at one of these organisations’ events since the future diplomat, who was still teaching at Harvard at the time, had, peculiarly, several ties to these political groups.



While Kissinger’s policy brought a different quality to European conservative thinking of the 1960s, as it was based on a pragmatic and unpretentious approach, the politician’s efforts to defend the common interests of the “West” and to facilitate the necessary cooperation undoubtedly impressed the participants, including Otto von Habsburg. As Secretary of State, Kissinger did not forget his European roots, as evidenced by the *Year of Europe* initiative he launched precisely 50 years ago. His draft, published in its entirety by *The New York Times*, reveals that Kissinger knew that the balance between integration and autonomy was the central issue in transatlantic relations and that the main challenge was, therefore, how much unity it wanted and how much diversity it could bear.

Kissinger’s insights on the evolution and potential of transatlantic relations remain worthy of consideration, and his foreign policy approach, particularly in the light of the Russia-Ukraine war and US and European concerns about China, is still an interesting lesson to be drawn from. At the same time, there have been few more divisive figures in modern diplomacy than the American diplomat. His critics describe him as a cynical *Realpolitiker* whose decisions led to the deaths of thousands and numerous misuses of power. However, his admirers say he was a practical policymaker who guided the United States through the difficult days of the Cold War while avoiding conflict with China and leading his country into an era of relative peace. Either way—and perhaps it is not too poignant to say this a week after Thanksgiving—he lived a full life that he could look back on with thankfulness. In his final days, he was also granted the opportunity to write the last essay of his career about his former hero, Chancellor Metternich.

LECTURES

CLAIRE LEGRAS

ANNIVERSARY OF THE ÉLYSÉE TREATY



What kind of Europe? It appears that this might be the core question of the conference to which we have been invited today. We are celebrating the anniversary of an event still considered a crucial

“founding moment” in France. Barely eighteen years after the end of the Second World War, France and Germany—through General De Gaulle and Chancellor Adenauer—sought to turn the tide of decades, if not centuries, of fierce rivalry and bloody wars between two nations at the heart of Europe. At that time, it took at least as much clear-sightedness as moral courage while at the same time keeping the interests of the younger generations in mind to forge a common vision of the future.

As Chancellor Scholz and President Macron said, *“The Élysée Treaty was not only intended to declare the renewal of bilateral relations between our two countries but also to set a goal for our peoples: by working together to realise the dream of a united Europe. The rejection of war, barbarism and imperialism was at the heart of this promise of a common future. The lasting peace that our Europe has enjoyed proves that this dream is within reach. In 2022, Russia brought war back to the European continent, and the Ukrainians are enduring unbearable hardships even now.”*

The return of war to Europe is a grave cause for reflection as it will fundamentally change the balance on which our community has been built. How will Europe respond to the numerous challenges we are facing? Will it finally be able to adopt a foreign and defence policy that is sufficiently common for it to exert a real influence on the international stage? How will the prospect of further enlargement affect the current institutional set-up of the European Union?

Oddly enough, the current situation resembles very much to the events of 1947–49: Russia threatens and attacks, the United States is there and takes the lead, leaving NATO as the only credible guarantee of European security. These events were the roots of European construction. Contrary to the persistent legend, they were not the fruit of some federalist dream that united Europeans in their desire to create a United States of Europe. Such thinking certainly existed and was highly influential, although the reality is more complex: Europe is also the ‘daughter’ of Stalin and Truman. Truman quickly understood that Europe would need to be helped to reconstruct itself—first economically, then politically and militarily.

At the heart of the European debate was the so-called “German question”. George F. Kennan, the prominent American diplomat, said in 1948: if Europe is not restored, we invite the Russians to dominate the continent; if Europe is restored without European integration, we must expect its German domination.

Such considerations led to the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community. The Community aimed to integrate Germany by entrusting the management of the coal and steel market—at the time perceived as a symbol of power—to an organisation with genuine supra-national powers (the High Authority). The experiment proved successful.

Afterwards, with the Russian threat still present, they wanted to organise the defence of Europe. To make the operation acceptable to public opinion, they planned to set up a real European army, bringing France and Germany closer to each other. This was the European Defence Community. The refusal of the French National Assembly to ratify the plan in 1954 had severe consequences. From then on, discussing foreign and defence policy issues seriously and concretely was never easy. Although there were a few rather clumsy attempts on the French side (e.g. the Fouchet plan), nothing came of these. Subsequent to the Maastricht Treaty, institutions were established to manage a common European security and defence policy. However, these did not lead to decisive outcomes on the international scene, despite the fact that some operations were carried out in cooperation with NATO. The reality is that many Europeans are confident that the United States and NATO guarantee their security. From a defence point of view, the UK and France are markedly different from our partners because their role as nuclear powers and the commitment of their armies to military operations are at the service of international peace and security.

Europe was built on economic and commercial foundations since the political and military path had reached an impasse. The purpose of the institutions set up by the Treaty was to manage the market, organise competition and implement joint policies in clearly defined areas. The Single European Act of 1987 gave a new impetus by fully liberalising trade in all areas. This venture became a real success story.

However, with Germany, we are much further ahead, thanks to the cultural and civic dimensions of the Élysée Treaty, the investment in relations between our young people and the mutual learning of our languages, as well as the regular joint political meetings that have inspired us to take closer positions on various issues.

The balance in Europe was noticeably disrupted by the events of 1989–1991: the reunification of Germany and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, which liberated the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Europeans concluded that there was no longer a threat in the East, that American domination was unchallenged and that Europe's security was guaranteed. The new world will be governed by the rule of law, Western values and peaceful dialogue. Europe then embarked on ambitious projects: it created the euro, but above all, it took steps towards its own reunification by opening its doors to the countries on its eastern borders.

Enlargement was perfectly justified politically and was, therefore, inevitable. At the same time, it was necessary to tackle a profound reform of the Union's functioning. The Member States were aware of this and were considering strengthening the economic and foreign policy of European integration along with the creation of a Franco–German core. However, it proved difficult to strike a balance between internal political affairs and European aspirations while pushing these issues forward as well.

Following the Maastricht Treaty (1992), three agreements were adopted to enlarge the Union. Amsterdam (1997), Nice (2001) and Lisbon (2009) did not transform the way Europe works. Nonetheless, it is more apparent than ever that any new division of sovereignty would require careful consideration.

Twenty years after the accessions, what kind of reckoning can be made? Undoubtedly, the Union has been strengthened by developing more common policies in the areas where its competencies have been extended. It has overcome several crises. The best example is the Covid crisis. The European Council set up a €750 billion recovery fund from which Member States received grants and loans. This fund is financed by Community loans, which was unprecedented; Germany and its northern allies made a substantial concession in this respect but stipulated that it was for a limited and non-renewable period. The EU also managed to remain unanimous and decisive regarding the Ukraine crisis and, after a lengthy debate, to adopt harsh sanctions. And the sole merit of Brexit was that it discouraged anyone from leaving the EU.

However, these results cannot conceal the challenges ahead. At times, there are deep divisions between Member States, including relations with Russia and China. As demonstrated by the war in Ukraine, there is a potential risk that the US will take the lead and Europeans will follow suit. Europeans are not acting independently in the debates on NATO enlargement, the role of Ukraine, and relations with Russia. Regarding defence, Europe does not have sufficient leverage despite recent advances—primarily supported by France, which has won over its partners to the concept of strategic autonomy. The reason and the consequence of this is that the majority of Europeans perceive themselves as reinforced from the traditional point of view, i.e. that the United States and NATO guarantee their safety.

In this context, it is imperative that Germany and France renew their existing alliance and organise this around concrete European projects.

There is currently much talk about the crisis in Franco–German relations. Particularly in France, these relations are seen romantically, no doubt driven by nostalgia for the Giscard/Schmidt and Kohl/Mitterrand years. In reality, the French and Germans disagreed on many crucial issues discussed in Brussels. Still, they knew they had to find a solution, which the Commission then often negotiated with the other Member States.

This scenario cannot be applied in the 27-member Union in the same way as before. Moreover, we have chosen different paths from an economic point of view, and some very significant decisions have not been coordinated. From a French perspective, we can think of Angela Merkel's decision in 2011 to phase out nuclear energy, her stance on migration in 2015, or the gas agreements with Russia. Furthermore, since the 1963 Treaty of the Élysée—and the Bundestag's amendment of the preamble—there has always been a division of opinion on defence relations with the United States. At the same time, France, for its part, has often wanted to see its own social and fiscal model accepted throughout the continent.

Nevertheless, the dichotomy was exaggerated: Berlin and Paris wielded decisive influence on numerous issues. The most striking example, as we witnessed, was during the Covid epidemic.

Sixty years after the Élysée Treaty, which recognises that cooperation between the two countries is an essential step on the road to a peaceful Europe, it is appropriate and desirable to take stock—as in all partnerships—in order to see the future realistically. Bearing in mind that whatever happens, Franco–German understanding remains a crucial condition for the progress of European integration.

While differences remain, the French and German visions for the future of Europe have never been more aligned. In his speech in Prague at the end of August 2022, Chancellor Scholz underlined the need to give Europe the means to a new sovereignty not only in the fields of energy and the military but also in the economy by outlining the contours of a genuine European industrial policy. This represents a real turning point for Germany. After a protracted stand-off over the concept of strategic autonomy, France and Germany are now moving in the same direction in their efforts to promote a more independent and flexible Europe.

The solidity and credibility of the Franco–German partnership are all the more important now that the prospect of a Union of 35 or 36 countries is on the horizon. Such an entity will be very difficult to govern, and we have every reason to be wary of a repeat of the scenario of the 1990s. Still, enlargement is politically essential, and while we recognise that it will require a revision of the functioning of the institutions, we are not yet committed to this enormous transformation process.

The prospective members' level of economic development is well below the Community average. Support for these countries will require substantial budgetary expenditures, which the Union's 'rich' countries will find difficult to meet. One might also fear a

scenario in which the Union is fragmented into three blocs: the North, the South—which would not be keen to receive less aid—and the countries of the East. Therefore, the consequences of this possible expansion must be taken very seriously.

The functioning of the institutions also needs to be thoroughly evaluated. Our fellow citizens must accept the future development of Europe as well, and it must be implemented in such a way that the Union is seen as democratic and legitimate.

Thus, the question of some kind of a core of Member States capable of providing the necessary impetus and speeding up decision-making will likely arise again. This can only be envisaged if France and Germany are part of this core. The United Kingdom should also be involved in foreign policy and defence matters. It has not escaped my notice that it has left the EU, but I do not believe it has left Europe. Because it was never enthusiastic about European integration, it left the European institutions, whose development did not correspond to its views, and it took this step because of certain internal political disputes. Nevertheless, a foreign and defence policy without the United Kingdom makes no sense. Furthermore, Europe's exclusive reliance on the United States to guarantee its security is the wrong response at a time when the continent's strategic priorities are changing. Let us not forget that the ratification of the NATO Treaty required months of debate in Congress.

The article by Chancellor Scholz in the latest issue of *Foreign Affairs* is very intriguing and instructive. In it, he expresses his enthusiasm for enlargement, which will create a vast internal market of 500 million people and establish rules on trade and climate. Of course, he acknowledges that this 'geopolitical player' will need a rapid decision-making mechanism. To this end, in agreement with the French president, he proposes extending qualified majority voting to all areas, including foreign policy.

I return to the question of institutional reform, which both countries consider fundamental and which is being addressed by a group of independent German and French experts. Without a satisfactory solution to this issue, the risk of disarray, division and indecision will increase. Europe could find itself in a sort of vacuum. However, since there is no such thing in politics, the Union would become an area where several countries would try to define their own spheres of influence, whereas, more than ever, we would need to join forces and bring to life the culture of compromise that is the basis of European integration.

The commemorations of the 60th anniversary of the Élysée Treaty are not meant to erase the differences of opinion and interests between the two countries. The aim is to identify the projects that France and Germany intend to pursue together for the benefit of Europe. For example, we can jointly shape possible scenarios on how to lead Ukraine out of the terrible ordeal the country is going through. Together, we can move towards Europe's strategic autonomy, which includes prioritising investment in its defence industry and critical resources while ensuring fiscal viability. We can also work collectively to keep the EU at the forefront of the fight against climate change and biodiversity loss by promoting a sustainable and autonomous energy mix. Finally, we can jointly push for better control of Chinese investments and to protect the competitiveness of European operators.

While it is not desirable for France and Germany to take the same stance on everything, both powers must prove that they are willing to pursue new European ambitions. Our authorities have just recently firmly and unequivocally affirmed their shared determination to do so.

Thank you for your attention!

Delivered at the event to mark the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Élysée entitled "The Élysée Treaty Sixty Years On".

(Ludovika University of Public Service, Budapest, 10 February 2023)



ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF A HISTORIC RECONCILIATION



Dear
Ambassadors,

Esteemed Member
of the European
Parliament,

Distinguished
Professors,

Ladies and
Gentlemen,

At a conference partly organised by the Otto von Habsburg Foundation, I believe it is fitting to begin my welcome address with a quote from its namesake himself. Otto von Habsburg, who—perhaps not everyone knows—was also a close friend of President Charles de Gaulle, put it this way:

“He who does not know the past cannot judge the future. The past is the ground on which we stand. As our teacher, it shows us what mistakes must not be repeated and what must be done.”

These words could have been the guiding ideas for drafting the Élysée Treaty. They could even have been de Gaulle and Adenauer’s mottos when they were formulating the agreement.

Therefore, when we gather for a conference to mark the 60th anniversary of the Élysée Treaty, I think that we must answer three fundamental questions: What did the Treaty’s conclusion mean for Europe? What interpretative framework does it provide for present-day Europe? What guidance does it offer for the future?

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Great deeds are usually accomplished by great people. So let me borrow a quote from Chancellor Adenauer:

“We all live under the same sky, but we do not all have the same horizon.”

Even in its simplicity, there is immense depth in this sentence.

I wonder whether he, when stating this, thought that someone would use it to praise him in the future. In any case, it is now proven to us, to posterity, that the political horizons of de Gaulle and Adenauer were much more distant than those of their contemporaries. They could see much further into the future and were, therefore, able to take much wiser and more far-sighted steps.

One of these steps is the conclusion of the Élysée Treaty. This agreement played an extraordinarily vital role in reconciliation between France and Germany and, at the same time, managed to shed a ray of hope for the possibility of cooperation under the storm clouds of the Cold War. Moreover, it later became an example, a model for cooperation between countries.

De Gaulle once remarked, with wry humour:

“Politics is too serious a matter to be left to politicians.”

As a politician, I cannot judge whether he was right about this without the shadow of suspicion of partiality hanging over me. But if Le Général (de Gaulle’s nickname) had seen this correctly, the Élysée Treaty would be even more valuable and timeless since even politicians have not been able to spoil its message in recent decades. I hope you will forgive me this little irony...

Honourable Audience,

What message does the Élysée Treaty have for today’s Europe, and what lessons does this lasting partnership agreement provide for European integration?

While I know that this will be discussed in detail during this event, I would like to share with you the three main lessons that I consider the most relevant and should undoubtedly be noted:

First of all, the six decades of the history of the Treaty so far demonstrate that European cooperation is based primarily on honest collaboration between nations. European integration began on a transnational basis, which has guaranteed its success and which must continue to be the guiding principle for the future.

Secondly, regular, high-level consultations between states are essential for coordinated and successful European cooperation and ensuring that national and common interests are aligned.

Lastly, it is evident that cultural and educational cooperation is of enormous relevance for mutual understanding. When our children, the youth of today, can study and experience in an international, dynamic environment, it is not only a way of acquiring up-to-date knowledge but also a decisive factor in learning about and respecting national identities.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The pact between France and Germany of 22 January 1963 set a good example for the world.

After the signing of the Élysée Treaty, a number of events took place in the world that very year, the effects of which can still be felt 60 years later, as they played a decisive role in bringing about reconciliation between peoples and cooperation in world politics. A few examples from the most diverse areas of global affairs: In 1963, Moscow and Washington agreed to establish a 'hot-wire', a permanent direct contact between the Kremlin and the White House, enabling direct communication between the two major nuclear powers.

Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, advocating peace among nations built on truth, justice, love and freedom, was also published this year.

1963 also marked an international and political development of domestic significance when Britain and Hungary raised their diplomatic relations to an ambassadorial level as a sign of the normalisation of ties between the two countries.

Sixty years ago, several events contributed to reconciliation in world politics. Let, therefore, the 60th anniversary also be a year of peace.

We Hungarians particularly desire peace since a war is raging in our neighbourhood.

However, this conflict affects us not only as a neighbouring country but also because a Hungarian minority of 150,000 people live in Transcarpathia. Hungary sees this war also as a motherland that fears for its fellow citizens. Out of a sense of responsibility towards them and to avoid the risk of being drawn into the conflict, we do not permit the transfer of arms to Ukraine through our borders. Nonetheless, Hungary is doing its utmost to alleviate the suffering caused by the war, as we are carrying out the largest humanitarian operation in our history, even at this very moment. Up to now, according to the UN refugee agency, nearly two million Ukrainian refugees have fled to our country. We have sent 3,100 tonnes of aid worth HUF 7.2 billion to Transcarpathia.

Hungary's position on the war has been straightforward from the outset: We are in favour of peace and believe that disputes should always be settled at the negotiating table. Accordingly, the Government of Hungary urges the immediate conclusion of a ceasefire and prompt peace negotiations in all available fora.

Personally, I hope that this war will end soon, and just as we witnessed historic reconciliation 60 years ago, perhaps an agreement can be reached in the near future that will secure peace in Eastern Europe for many decades to come.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As a closing remark, allow me, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the signing of the Élysée Treaty, to quote the joint declaration of the two extraordinary statesmen who concluded it: *"In dem Bewußtsein, daß eine enge Solidarität die beiden Völker sowohl hinsichtlich ihrer Sicherheit als auch hinsichtlich ihrer wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Entwicklung miteinander verbindet,"* *"reconnaissant qu'un renforcement de la coopération entre les deux pays constitue une étape indispensable sur la voie de l'Europe unie, qui est le but des deux peuples,"* and to express my hope that Franco—German cooperation, and in a broader sense, friendly cooperation between the nations that comprise the European Union, will continue to be a prerequisite for a stable and prosperous Europe.

Thank you for your attention!

*Delivered at the event to mark the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Élysée entitled "The Élysée Treaty Sixty Years On".
(Ludovika University of Public Service, Budapest, 10 February 2023)*



AUSTRIAN APPROACHES TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION BETWEEN 1945 AND 1995

When, after seven years of warfare, the weapons fell silent in Europe on 8 May 1945, the Republic of Austria was already reorganising itself in the territories liberated by the Allies. The spiritual and political metaphor of this new beginning was the belief in an independent Austrian identity embedded in a larger Europe. This conviction represented a programmatic antithesis to the ideological perpetuation of National Socialism. Leopold Figl, the first democratically elected Federal Chancellor, underlined the unique European role of his country in his government declaration of 21 December 1945. It has a key position and has always been oriented towards the West while at the same time “welcoming with open doors the important and valuable contributions of the East”. He defined the country’s international role as a “small state”, a “peaceful garden in the heart of Europe”.

It was precisely this small-state role, which developed after the First World War, that Austria struggled to manage during the interwar period, especially when compared to the pre-1918 Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The majority of the political elites remained captive to the idea of a great state, fuelled by the memory of the old empire, even after 1918, and were, therefore, potentially susceptible to the idea of the Anschluss. From a realist point of view, it was more conceivable than any of the plans for a central European federation of the Danube Basin, which, moreover, was met with resistance from the Little Entente and their defender France. Although Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi’s idea of a Pan-Europe had some resonance in academic circles and was explicitly supported by Chancellors Seipel, Dollfuss and Schuschnigg, it failed to make an impact on the broader Austrian population.

The emergence of republican Austria was characterised by a mixture of self-denial and discord, and this characteristic of the First Republic has persisted throughout its existence. The Austrian doubts of the 1920s and 1930s were also reflected in the precariousness of the country’s politics. James Shedel, an American scholar of Austria, once aptly described the country between the two world wars as the ‘Hamlet’ of European states. The country, with its split personality, was searching for its own identity and was uncertain whether to follow the inclinations of its republican or imperial, Austrian or German self.

After 1945, in opposition to this, the Second Republic formulated a definite declaration of belief in its own statehood and Austrian identity. It categorically rejected the Anschluss in all its forms and renounced its territorial claims on its neighbours, excluding the futile attempts to regain South Tyrol. This occurred against a backdrop of limited Austrian sovereignty since the victorious powers had divided the country into four occupation zones, similar to what they had done with Germany.

From 1946 onwards, the more hermetically the dividing line of the Cold War was sealed, the more insistently declared Austria itself as belonging to the Western community of values.

The fact that—against all expectations—the Austrian Communists had secured less than 5% of the votes in the first free elections provided the government with the support of the population and the strong backing of its Western allies, even in the Soviet-held Eastern part of the country.

Another addition that should not be underestimated is the country’s participation in the Marshall Plan, which anchored Austria on the side of the Western value community. The decision in 1947 was far from unequivocal. At the same time, Czechoslovakia refused to join the Marshall Recovery Program. It did so without Soviet troops being stationed in the country and without the Communist Party assuming power in Prague—as subsequently happened in the spring of 1948.

Between 1948 and 1952 alone, America invested around \$13 billion (around \$130 billion at current exchange rates) in the economic reconstruction of Western Europe. Out of that, precisely one billion went to Austria. One could briefly describe the process as the US transferring as much value to the country as the Soviets took out of it. As Karl Gruber, the former foreign minister, prophetically said in 1948: “*Once a Europe with a single currency, without customs borders and with a planned integration into an economic centre has been realised across vast distances, the door to a new progressive future shall be open to all Europeans.*” What this meant for Austria at the time was regaining its freedom, thus ending the four-power occupation. A window of opportunity in 1955 made this possible.

It feels appropriate to reflect in a few words on Austria’s declaration of neutrality in 1955, bearing in mind that, in times of war, the status of neutrality in Europe is curiously called into question quite frequently. First of all, Austrian neutrality was a prerequisite for the advancement of the country’s complete independence after a decade of four-power occupation. However, it is not part of the international legal instrument of the State Treaty. The United States had already declared at the Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers in 1954 that it would only accept Austrian neutrality on the condition that the country would renounce its participation in the military alliance and would not consent to the stationing of foreign troops on its territory. In April 1955, the Soviet Union agreed to this. In the so-called ‘Moscow Memorandum’, Austria undertook to ‘voluntarily’ include an article in the Federal Constitution on Austrian neutrality. Consequently, the 1955 Austrian State Treaty does not mention the issue. Its drafters took the view from the outset that neutrality was purely military, not ideological. “*Neutrality is an obligation on the state, not on the individual citizen. Therefore, there is no basis for imposing ideological neutrality on its people.*” With this precise description, Julius Raab, former Austrian Federal Chancellor, justified his decision at the plenary session of the National Council.

The ultimate test of Austrian neutrality came with the Hungarian uprising and its bloody suppression by the Soviet Union. Austria had already taken a stand on the matter on 28 October 1956, demanding that Hungary “*defend and ensure peace in Europe by restoring freedom in accordance with human rights*”. When the Soviet troops marched in, Austria opened its borders to political refugees and made it clear that it would not tolerate any infringement of its sovereignty by the interventionist forces, even if its defence forces were rather modest.

From the beginning, Austrian neutrality differed from the Swiss model, which was used for the Moscow negotiations. Austria joined the United Nations at the end of 1955, unlike its western neighbour. The accession to the Council of Europe in the early spring of 1956 had political significance for Europe. The latter move further expressed how the country was positioning itself in the free, democratic Western world. In the ensuing years, the Council of Europe became an essential forum for debates on European policy within and with Austria. During the accession process, Foreign Minister Figl expressed his country's intention to join EURATOM and did not exclude the possibility of joining the European Coal and Steel Community as well. However, the idea was not followed up on—not independently of the events in Hungary.

Over the next few years, the Austrian political agenda was defined by its relationship with the European Economic Community, founded in 1957, and by the discourse of varying intensity about its position on the continent. Austria initially hoped for a so-called 'Greater Free Trade Area', but by 1958, the proposal had run aground. In 1960, it joined the EFTA, a purely intergovernmental free trade organisation comprised of non-EEC states. It was in the 1960s that efforts to move closer to the EEC, or even to attain membership status, intensified. After Britain and Denmark had requested accession in 1961, Austria applied to join the EEC at the end of the same year.

Within the two major coalition parties, the Social democrats (SPÖ) and the People's Party (ÖVP), there were diverging views on the extent and pace of integration policy efforts. This delayed the process, as did the cancellation of accession negotiations with Britain. With the formation of Josef Klaus's purely People's Party government in 1966, efforts to achieve economic association with the EEC gained new impetus. However, not only did the Soviets have strong reservations about the proposed move, but even within the EEC, not everyone was enthusiastic about it, particularly France under the leadership of Charles de Gaulle. Moreover, when the conflict in South Tyrol was added to the agenda, the slogan "Going It Alone to Brussels" was ultimately abandoned. The free trade agreement was not concluded until 1972 under the SPÖ government of Bruno Kreisky.

At that time, opposition was easing on another issue. One that was not of a European political nature but was being resolved against the backdrop of crucial European affairs. Allow me to mention this briefly as it relates to one of the organisers of today's symposium. On 4 May 1972, the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Pan-European Union was celebrated in Vienna at the initiative of the Austrian chancellor. In recognition of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, a great European thinker and his movement, Bruno Kreisky and Georges Pompidou, president of France, took on the honorary chairmanship of the event. On this occasion, the historic handshake took place between Kreisky and Coudenhove-Kalergi's designated successor, Otto von Habsburg. The gesture symbolically marked the end of the decades-long conflict between the Austrian Social Democrats and the House of Habsburg.

The discourse on Austria's integration policy was reinvigorated in 1985 with the adoption of the White Paper on the implementation of the internal market, as well as with the accession of Spain and Portugal in 1986, enlarging the organisation to 12 members. In January 1987, a grand coalition with the SPÖ and ÖVP was formed again after more than 20 years, and the advocacy of EEC membership soon became the *raison d'être* of the new cabinet. In April 1989, the government

adopted a collective agreement on the intention to join, which was handed over by Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock in Brussels in July 1989. However, a number of geopolitical conditions had to be met beforehand. During a trip to Moscow in 1988—at the height of glasnost and perestroika—Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Mock succeeded in easing the Soviet restrictions on Austria's accession. The Kremlin's demand was merely to maintain Austrian neutrality.

In retrospect, it was probably a fortunate turn of events that the membership application was submitted before the collapse of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. It is well known that some Western European countries, primarily France and Britain, harboured serious reservations at the outset about Helmut Kohl's policy of rapid and complete unification of the two German states. One wonders how they would have welcomed the accession of another German-speaking country. In any case, Austria's 'foot' was already in the proverbial doorway of the EU when the Berlin Wall came down.

From the perspective of European politics, exciting but less known episodes from the period of the collapse of the bipolar world order are the plans for Central European cooperation in 1989–1990. The first impulse to this end originated in Hungary in March 1989. It was about regional partnership, envisaging a free trade area involving Italy, Yugoslavia, Austria and Hungary. Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock initially saw this as a way of further easing the tensions in the precarious political environment along the crumbling Iron Curtain.

In some regions of Italy and Austria, intellectual movements that were receptive to Central European ideas appeared. However, this could be called an "intellectual exploration" rather than a concrete political vision. The driving force behind this collaborative initiative was the Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis, who sought to strengthen his country's position vis-à-vis the Franco–German axis that was taking shape in the EEC. Here is where things began to get tricky for Austria, as Mock's priority was Austrian membership in the EEC, with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl being the most vocal supporter of this in the organisation. He certainly did not want to jeopardise his goodwill. And due to the dynamics of events, Hungary soon had its watchful eyes cast on Brussels. This left the Quadrangone—later the Pentagonale, and eventually, in 1992, the Central European Initiative—a forum for dialogue between member states without obligations.

The other essential precondition for Austrian accession was the exemplary resolution of the so-called South Tyrol conflict with Italy. Immediately after the end of the Second World War, the Austrians worked intensively to regain the province, which had been annexed to their southern neighbour in 1918, but their efforts had come to a standstill by early 1946. Despite an agreement that year on the autonomy of South Tyrol, the conflict spiralled into terrorist bombings and reached as far as the UN—until Italy and Austria reached an agreement in 1969 on a so-called 'operational calendar'. Foreign Minister Mock was aware of the pressure on the membership negotiations due to the simmering bilateral conflict; however, he found a sympathetic negotiating partner in the Italian Foreign Minister, Giulio Andreotti, who also repeatedly served as his country's Prime Minister. Andreotti fully shared his views on the matter with his political mentor, Alcide de Gasperi, who had conducted the negotiations in 1946.

Like Robert Schuman, the Trident-born De Gasperi came from one of Europe's conflict zones in terms of ethnic policies. Both of them, just like their political epigones, were marked by an approach that Luciano Monzali summed up as *“the promotion of the process of European integration, the belief in the peaceful coexistence of neighbouring states and the conviction that regional and local autonomies would become a peace-building element that would unite the European nations”*. It was in this spirit that, in the early summer of 1992, the model solution was developed for the ethnic conflict involving the German-speaking population of southern Tyrol, which had stood in the way of reconciliation between Italy and Austria for so long. Although Austria's rapprochement with Europe in the 1960s ultimately failed in the face of Italian resistance, settling the dispute in South Tyrol removed another obstacle on the road to Brussels.

The actual accession negotiations began on 1 March 1993. In the same year, the alignment of Austrian neutrality with the shared foreign and security policy was resolved. Since then, Austrian neutrality has been reduced to the minimum: refraining from acts of war and military blocs and prohibiting the establishment of army bases on Austrian soil. Furthermore, Austria is ready to contribute to the foreign and security policy tasks stipulated in the Maastricht Treaty—a solution that has been the guiding principle of Austria's neutrality policy to this day.

Other pending issues, mainly agriculture and transport over the Alpine passes in Austria, were settled after the accession negotiations with Finland and Sweden were concluded at the end of February/beginning of March 1994. The referendum on accession, held on 10 June 1994, was one of the most significant moments in Austria's European history: 2/3 of voters opted for the European way. Membership became a reality on 1 January 1995.

From that day on, Austria took on the role of an advocate for the integration of its Central and Eastern European neighbours, which occurred in several stages after 2004. While a sober sense of reality characterises today's Austrian awareness of Europe, it is beyond doubt that the vast majority of citizens consider themselves part of the EU. The centrality of European consciousness in social dialogue means that it is held in high esteem and has proved resilient in critical times fraught with problems such as pandemics, war and inflation. Following nearly three decades of European integration, the continent's peace and prosperity project has become part of the Austrian identity.

Delivered at the “When the Future Began. Drawing Conclusions from the History of the European Union” conference (Ludovika University of Public Service, Budapest, 8 May 2023)

BENCE KOCSEV

“DEAR PROFESSOR KISSINGER”

Relations of Otto von Habsburg and Henry Kissinger as revealed by their correspondence

Your Excellencies,
Esteemed Professors,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me to begin by briefly contextualising the topic of this lecture. Firstly, I would like to offer a few thoughts on why the relationship

between Henry Kissinger and Otto von Habsburg, or more precisely, the tangible traces of this professional and personal connection, is of such interest and significance to us. Then, I will outline how the two protagonists of this speech, our eponym and the former US National Security Advisor and Secretary of State, became acquainted with each other.

Preliminary Considerations

As has been and is still emphasised in many fora, the Otto von Habsburg Foundation's mission is twofold: to preserve the tangible heritage of its namesake on the one hand and his intellectual legacy on the other. These two are closely intertwined since what we undertake with Otto von Habsburg's intellectual legacy is always carried out with scientific meticulousness based on the written material in our care.

To the extent that our public events, such as this one, which represent a sort of crystallisation point for the care of the intellectual heritage, are preferably supported by this vast library, archival (and not least visual) material. However, this background work is seldom discussed in the same detail as it is today.



These two endeavours are in specific reflexivity with each other, as the source material provides historical context for the Foundation's efforts at any given time, and vice versa, in that events such as today's can bring topicality to the typical historical research being carried out here.

We have talked in several forums about the Hungarian portion of the material in our care; however, I would like to highlight a different part of this vast archival corpus, which I believe —although I am probably just being biased by my profession—is far more significant from a historical point of view. I am referring to the international documents, which includes not only a very extensive correspondence but also numerous articles, books and press reports, and which contains a highly diverse and abundant collection that provides material that is truly unique in Hungary and, therefore, worthy of distinctive attention for understanding the history of the 20th century, but above all, the nature, dynamics and complexity of the global Cold War.

Since I mentioned the Cold War, let me refer to a particular objective of the conference, namely to reflect on the historical events of the 1970s, which were decisive for the public careers of the two politicians. The decade that historians have long called 'historiographical no-man's land' has been seen as nothing more than a period of crisis and the ultimate disintegration of societies. However, a closer look at this seemingly marginal decade reveals that the 1970s were one of the most influential times of the 20th century in social, political, economic and even cultural terms. The detection of these processes through the prism of Otto von Habsburg is a valuable effort.

Allow me to draw attention to another aspect of the historiographical relevance of the documents we preserve and process, which holds further research potential for the present topic as well, namely that it can be an excellent basis for historical research, commonly referred to by the scientific term *entangled histories/histoire croisée/Verflechtungsgeschichte*, that explores the interconnections and intersections between the various actors. One offshoot of this is *biographie croisée*, where several biographies are the focus of analysis, but not in a form of a kind of Plutarchian parallel biography, which is less concerned with comparison but rather with the overlaps and entanglements of the life trajectories under study and the interplay that results from these interactions. The life paths thus interlinked are not analysed in isolation but in their respective social, political, cultural, and ideological contexts.

We have yet to have the opportunity to do this, nevertheless, I think that much of the correspondence between Henry Kissinger and Otto von Habsburg, and of the material we hold, will gain its real significance in such a historiographical illumination.

The beginnings of a beautiful friendship

After the above, perhaps a little far-fetched excursus, I would like to turn to the ties between Otto von Habsburg and Henry Kissinger, which I would like to elucidate in the light of the networks of relations that made their first encounter possible. This year, we already had several opportunities to point out how effective networker Otto von Habsburg was. One of the secrets of his success was his extraordinary personality, and although the former Crown Prince's habitus was undoubtedly a kind of *conditio sine qua non* for this—as Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi has noted

several instances—he also did a tremendous job building these networks. While he had a considerable circle of contacts through his dynastic heritage, his amiable nature, his lectures, meetings, travels, correspondence, and writings enabled this sphere of acquaintance to grow exponentially. He was then able to put all this to political use; or to paraphrase Pierre Bourdieu's theory: he managed to convert his social capital into political capital.

Moreover, Otto's nexuses were far more diverse than mere political contacts and went beyond the confines of European public life. He built up a vast array of American contacts, including not only intellectuals (such as his decades-long friendship and relationship with Russell Kirk, for example, is a particularly important and interesting reference point for transatlantic conservative dialogue) but also political and public figures from the broader society. In addition to Kissinger, he had close ties to, among others, the leading figure in American conservative politics, Barry Goldwater; David Rockefeller, who had multiple connections to the Republicans but never held any formal political office; and William F. Buckley, a brilliant public figure who shaped public discourse through his writings and the *National Review*, which he edited.

Moving back a few years, let me describe the early stages of the European conservatives' post-war relationship-building, not least because it was central to his meeting with Kissinger.

From early on, Otto von Habsburg assumed a prominent role in the crucial and often overlapping contact points of transnational, primarily Catholic, anti-communist and conservative movements, which also aimed to promote European cooperation.¹

So, why were these elite groups significant? First of all, they served as a complement to official foreign policy, a sort of informal or shadow foreign policy forum, enabling the formation of a transnational political-intellectual-cultural milieu that gave new impulses to conservative thinking and, not least, political practice. This has succeeded not only in a European context but also in a transatlantic one.

These organisations were advocates of a strong, united and independent Europe; however, they were also aware of the economic and military difficulties faced by the countries of Western Europe as a result of the loss of prestige after the two world wars, the division of the continent, and the imminent threat of the Soviet Union. Consequently, they understood that the United States was a key partner for Europe and that they, therefore, had to assume a mediating role to improve transatlantic relations. Furthermore, discussions to enhance relations continued not only at meetings of these organisations, but also in informal, smaller meetings.

¹ These were the Comité International de Défense de la Civilisation Chrétienne (CIDCC), founded in 1948; the Centre Européen de Documentation et d'Information (CEDI), formed in 1952; Le Cercle, also established in the same year; and the Institut d'Études Politiques Vaduz, which began its work in 1959. For further information on these organisations, their aims, composition and impact, see Johannes Großmann, „Die Warnung vor dem falschen Frieden. Konservative Elitenzirkel und privaten Außenpolitik zwischen. Europäischer Integration und Liberation Policy“. *Études Germaniques*, 254, 427-437. 2009; Johannes Großmann: *Die Internationale der Konservativen: Transnationale Elitenzirkel und privaten Außenpolitik in Westeuropa seit 1945*. Munich, De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2014.

“We are proud that you stem from our old continent.”²

The American part—including the aforementioned businessman David Rockefeller and Henry Kissinger, who was still a lecturer at Harvard then—undoubtedly brought a very different quality to European conservative political discourse. Their receptiveness to politics without any pathos soon won the approval of pragmatic politicians such as Franz Josef Strauss, who acquired a prominent nimbus in German federal politics by then. Kissinger and Strauss’s ‘elective affinity’, to use the famous term of Max Weber, was no doubt influenced by the fact that the future national security adviser and foreign minister’s birth and language skills in southern Germany made it easier for him to establish contacts with representatives of federal politics, especially Bavarian politics. Otto von Habsburg was pleased to note the intensity and effectiveness of the transatlantic relations established in this manner and did not fail to remark how proud he was that Kissinger came from the old continent.

Here, I would like to underline that the other side was also convinced of the necessity of improving relations. The world political events of the 1960s (Cuba, Vietnam, France’s temporary withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation at the beginning of the decade) had cast a strong shadow over the transatlantic relationship.³ Realising the tensions that were weakening the Atlantic Alliance and the gravity of the situation, Kissinger published his book *The Troubled Partnership: A Re-appraisal of the Atlantic Alliance* in 1965.⁴ Already an active politician, he also announced his ambitious vision for the betterment of transatlantic relations, the so-called ‘Year of Europe’ initiative and the notion of a new Atlantic Charter, which were intended to pave the way for a new constructive era. Kissinger recognised—and this was very much in line with Otto von Habsburg’s vision of transatlantic affairs—that the balance between integration and autonomy was a central issue in this relationship. From this perspective, the main challenge is how much unity this relationship wants and how much diversity it can tolerate.

The correspondence

As I briefly mentioned at the beginning of the presentation, his correspondences preserved in our collection are an indispensable source for processing Otto von Habsburg’s political legacy and his network of contacts. From this perspective—and also taking into account the problematic nature of letters as a historiographical source—the exchange of letters with Kissinger is a particularly valuable part of this archival material.

The correspondence between the two politicians is just over four hundred pages of letters from 1969-2008, an intriguing mix of private and official correspondence. Their exchanges not only contain useful source material for understanding the nature, specificities and complexities of

² HOAL I-2-b-Henry Kissinger, 28 February 1972.

³ Hanhimäki, Jussi: “A Troubled Partnership: The Transatlantic Relationship from the Cold War to the 21st Century”, in: Liebich, Andre – Germond, Basil (ed.): *Construire l’Europe. Mélanges en hommage à Pierre du Bois*. Geneva, The Graduate Institute, 2008, 179-188.

⁴ Kissinger, Henry A.: *The Troubled Partnership: A Re-appraisal of the Atlantic Alliance*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965. By the author’s admission, the book was not an undivided success; however, the politician’s sense of humour is reflected in his belief that the only bookshop in which the volume has been sold has mistakenly put it on the shelf of the relationship advice section. Kissinger recounts this story in his memoirs. Kissinger, Henry A.: *White House Years*. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1979, 78.

the global Cold War and the world order that followed but also provide valuable insights for contemporary political thought and action. In addition to their penmanship, the two politicians consulted in private on a number of occasions beyond the formal opportunities for meetings.

“I come to you today with a request.”⁵ Otto von Habsburg as a political mediator

A staunch advocate of European unity, Otto von Habsburg worked tirelessly to foster transatlantic relations and promote cooperation between the United States and the nations of Europe. His efforts aimed to bridge the gaps between the two continents, furthering mutual understanding and addressing common challenges such as security, economic cooperation and democratic governance. The former Crown Prince recognised the importance of a strong partnership between the United States and Europe in maintaining peace and stability in the post-war era and beyond.

Through his diplomatic and advocacy work, Otto von Habsburg sought to strengthen relations between the United States and Europe, foster dialogue and build consensus on key issues facing the transatlantic community. His intermediary role helped to advance transatlantic cooperation and solidarity, laying the foundations for a more integrated and prosperous partnership.

At the same time, the former heir to the throne did not pave the way exclusively for German and other Western European politicians in the United States but also sought to influence the case of many Asian and African politicians to find the right connections in Washington. In this respect, Kissinger remained an essential point of orientation for Otto von Habsburg even after his departure from official politics.

“I feel that for us as for your country, it is a tragedy that your realistic views are not sufficiently translated into political facts.”⁶

Despite Otto von Habsburg’s pragmatism and realism, his political approach differed markedly from Kissinger’s, but they shared views on a number of important political issues, including the future of transatlantic relations and the significance and role of China in world politics. The correspondence reveals that the former Crown Prince welcomed the Paris Agreement ending the Vietnam War, congratulated Kissinger on his Nobel Peace Prize for his role in bringing amity to the region, and supported his many diplomatic efforts.

The containment of the Soviet empire was a shared priority. Both recognised that the shortcomings of communism were compounded by structural challenges and economic difficulties that would eventually lead to its collapse. However, they took very different positions on the direction of relations with the Eastern Bloc. While Otto von Habsburg was opposed to any

⁵ HOAL I-2-b-Henry Kissinger, 18 December 1970.

⁶ HOAL I-2-b-Henry Kissinger, 27 January 2000.

rapprochement with Moscow and the communist satellite states (he was also highly critical of the *Ostpolitik* led by Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt), Kissinger was in favour of a détente in US policy.

“You are one of the very few persons in public life who has not only read but also understood history. That is whence your clear vision of the future originates.”⁷

The significance of historical consciousness in shaping foreign policy and international relations was emphasised by both Henry Kissinger and Otto von Habsburg, who built their work drawing on historical analogies, lessons, and patterns.

Here, I want to recall Kissinger’s doctoral thesis. One of the most important sources of Kissinger’s foreign policy thinking can be found in classical 19th-century European diplomacy. For him, the historical grounding for understanding the multipolar international system was provided by the configuration of congressional Europe and the patterns of action and inspiration for its shaping by the political choices and genius of the actors who formed it. It was, therefore, no coincidence that one of the protagonists of his dissertation that he defended at Harvard in the early 1950s was Chancellor Klemens von Metternich, who was from the Rhineland but had made a career in the Habsburg Monarchy at the Danube. Although the parallel between the challenges of 18th and 19th century Europe and those of our time seemed to be rather strange and irrelevant to many, Kissinger drew on the example of Metternich to recognise that a balance of power between great powers was one of the most crucial conditions for maintaining a lasting and stable international system, a principle he later sought to enforce as a decision-maker.

One of the most critical insights of Otto von Habsburg and, in a sense, Henry Kissinger is the recognition that history does not repeat itself exactly; however, it does provide valuable pointers into the dynamics of (geo)politics and the consequences of political decisions. Their exchange of letters also reveals that they agreed that by studying history, policymakers could better understand the motivations of other nations, anticipate potential conflicts and develop strategies to promote peace and stability.

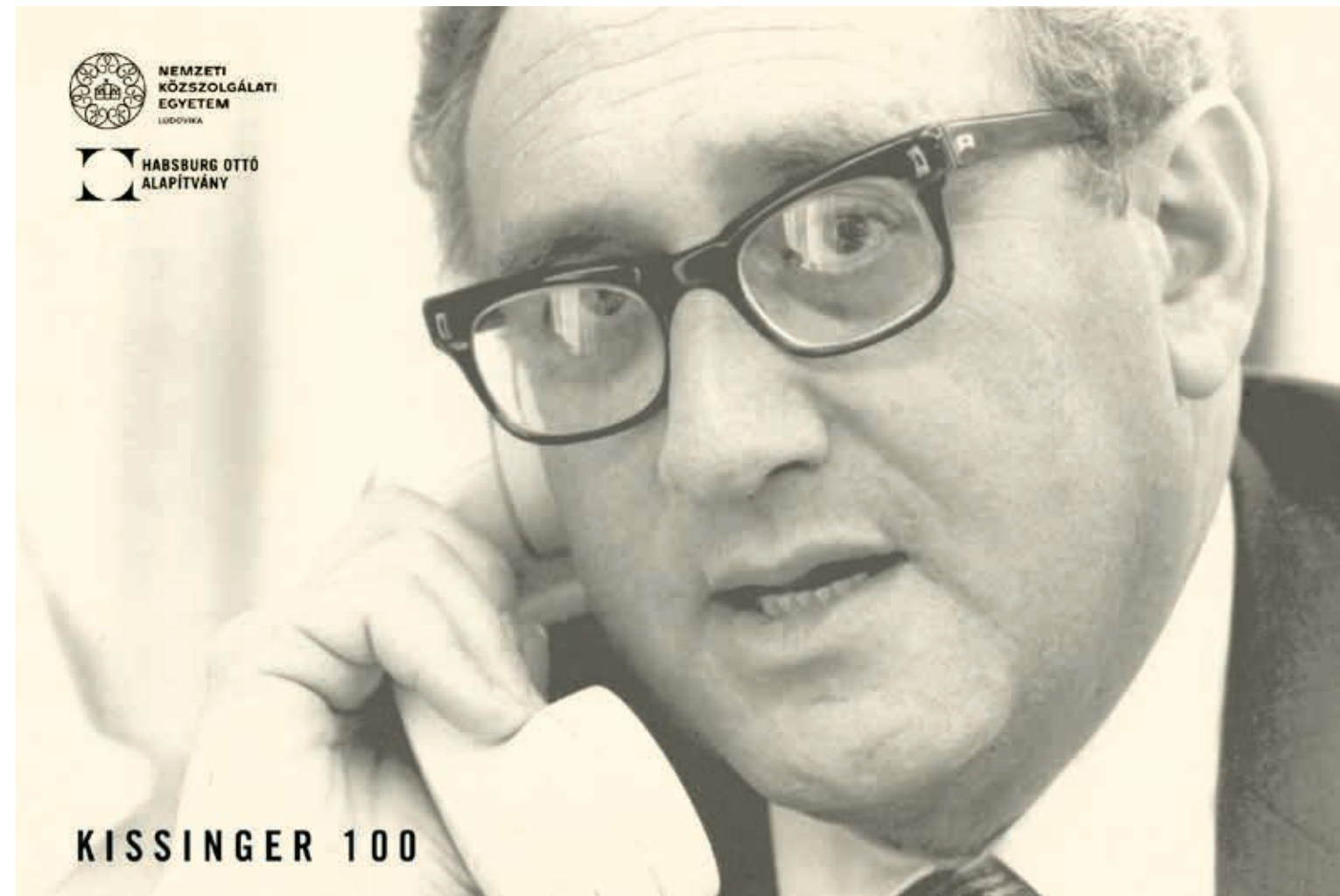
“I always benefit from your insights.”⁸

As we leafed through the letters, it became clear that the discussions on paper were dissecting the complex interconnections between history, international politics and public life. Their correspondence reflected their shared determination to promote peace, stability and cooperation. Even if they did not agree on everything, and thus their relationship is an intriguing manifestation of a way of thinking that seeks to reconcile means and ends, the emphasis on their differ-

ences is rarely expressed in their letters. Their relationship remained close even after Kissinger’s official political career concluded; Otto von Habsburg gladly drew on his analyses and insights, which he frequently forwarded to his fellow MEPs—with the author’s permission.

I could only shed some light on a few layers of the rich correspondence; the deeper research is ahead of us. Nevertheless, one thing is certain: today’s readers can benefit from reading the correspondence and learning from its insights.

*Delivered at the conference organised by the Otto von Habsburg Foundation
“Drawn By Realpolitik—Henry Kissinger 100”
(Ludovika University of Public Service, Budapest, 26 May 2023)*



⁷ HOAL 1-2-b-Henry Kissinger, 21 May 1982.

⁸ HOAL 1-2-b-Henry Kissinger, 2 May 1988.

WELCOMING ADDRESS

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am delighted to represent my family at the exhibition's opening about my grandfather, Otto von Habsburg. My dad would have liked to attend the event in person but was unable to because of his commitments in France.

My grandfather was always very close to Spain.

During the harshest times for my family after the First World War, this country welcomed them with open arms. Many years were spent in the Basque village of Lekeitio, and, as some of you may recall, we also had a house in Benidorm. In a town that has changed a lot in recent years. This allowed my father to spend most of his youthful holidays in Spain, learning Spanish and making many friends.

I want to thank the Otto von Habsburg Foundation for making it possible for the exhibition on my grandfather to travel to Madrid, after having been displayed in several cities in Central Europe. I hope that many visitors will have the opportunity to examine the old photographs on view and that they might discover some people they know.

I wish you a pleasant afternoon and a very successful exhibition.

Thank you all very much!



Ambassador Ferenc Marosy and the children of Otto von Habsburg in Benidorm, on the site of the future holiday home of the family, 1963

AN ENCOUNTER WITH OTTO VON HABSBERG

When I first arrived in Madrid in September 1951 on a scholarship from the Obra Católica de Asistencia Universitaria to study political science and economics at the Complutense University (the faculty was then in San Bernardo Street), another Hungarian student suggested that I should visit the Royal Hungarian Ambassador who lived in Paseo de Castellana and introduce myself.

Royal Hungarian Embassy? I was puzzled by the term, as I was well aware that there were no diplomatic relations between the Soviet-occupied Hungarian People's Republic and Spain. This was true, I was told, but the Spanish government had recognised the exiled Hungarian diplomat Francisco de Marosy (Ferenc Marosy) with an unofficial status among the diplomatic corps as a representative of the interests of free Hungary. The Royal Hungarian Embassy opened its doors in the building of the former Hungarian Embassy, which was occupied before the Second World War.

In that building, I gained a lot of valuable knowledge.

Both the recovery of the former Hungarian Embassy building and the recognition of Marosy as a representative of the so-called "free Hungary" were due to the intercession of Archduke Otto von Habsburg with General Franco and his Foreign Minister, Don Alberto Martín Artajo.

The Archduke visited Spain in 1949. He requested three things from the head of state: the restoration of the embassy building, the authorisation to broadcast in Hungarian on Radio Nacional de España (Spanish National Radio), and the inclusion of Hungarian exiles in the modern military training programmes. A further concession was the admission of Hungarian refugees into Spanish territory, enabling the arrival of students from countries behind the so-called Iron Curtain. This is also how I ended up in Madrid.

There, at the Royal Embassy in the same year, 1951, I had the fortune and honour to get acquainted with Otto von Habsburg. We, Hungarian students, were invited by Ambassador Marosy to a reception and a subsequent lively discussion with the Archduke, who was regarded as the Crown Prince of Hungary and a recognised expert on international politics. The first difficulty for us students was addressing him and choosing the most appropriate title. The ambassador used the word "Your Majesty", which made us students a little dubious, given that this title is reserved for crowned monarchs. I addressed him as "Royal Highness", for which he took no offence.

For better or worse, few among us were primarily interested in international relations. Some were studying medicine, others fine arts, one immersed in the works of Lope de Vega and Calderon de la Barca, and an engineering student researching the speed of odour diffusion. Well, I, a politics and economics major, was the one who asked the most questions, eagerly awaiting the Archduke's explanations.

Now, seventy years later, I cannot recall in detail every issue discussed that evening. The Archduke gave an account of his travels and activities in the United States and European countries and his conversations with prominent political figures during and after the Second World War. He referred in particular to his meetings with US President Roosevelt and to the circumstances which had prevented the formulation and implementation of a more stringent and decisive policy towards the Soviet Union in Central and Eastern European countries.

The Centro Europeo de Documentación e Información (CEDI) foundation in 1952, at the initiative of Otto von Habsburg, among others, was a momentous event. The centre's aim was to support European organisations with a Christian Democratic ethos and to create an international and intellectual political forum to promote Spain's rapprochement with the rest of Europe. I had the privilege of attending one of the CEDI meetings, which took place in El Escorial in 1958.

Otto von Habsburg's biography is well known; therefore, we need not recall all his thoughts, publications and work at different stages of his long and productive life. As he himself once said, his dream was to unite the countries of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire under one roof in a form that could actually be implemented. This dream—as he later had to realise himself—could not be fulfilled because of political and historical developments in Europe. Faced with the new realities of the Second World War, the Archduke had to adapt his approach in order to increasingly contribute to the process of integration of the European nations within the framework of the European Community, the great project of the 20th century.

On one occasion, he was asked what nationality he was, after all.

– European—he replied.

That is perhaps the most important thing I learned from him.

NÓRA SZEKÉR

ROYAL HUNGARIAN EMBASSY IN MADRID, 1949-1957

*“On the 4th of March 1949, after signing the protocols, I officially took over the Hungarian embassy, which had been seized since 1945. My status is a representative of Hungarian interests in Spain. Although we were not included in the diplomatic list and we were not invited to the annual head of state reception in honour of the active corps of diplomats, in other respects we were treated similarly to other diplomats,”*¹ recalled Ferenc (Eugene) Marosy, the “Hungarian Royal Ambassador in Madrid”. The Hungarian Royal Embassy in Madrid is a special episode of Hungarian and Spanish post-war relations. It was created in 1948 against the background of the emerging Cold War tensions, which operated as a Hungarian representation in Spain for 20 years.²

Marosy was appointed to represent the Hungarian interests by the Franco regime, which, due to obvious political reasons, did not maintain diplomatic relations with the communist Hungary. But the Hungarian government that was established after the war did not recognise Franco's Spain either, instead got in touch with the republican government in exile. A royal embassy was opened in Madrid and a republican one in Budapest. So, both the Spanish and the Hungarian official positions considered the other side's politicians forced into emigration and their representative bodies as partners.

The international situation of Spain after the Second World War

The creation of the embassy is a direct result of Spain's post-war international isolation. The inaugural session of the United Nations declared: Spain would not be admitted as a member state. As a severe retaliation, the United Nations asked its members not to close and maintain diplomatic relations with Madrid as long as the regime, which had been created with the support of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, remained in office. Eventually, only Portugal, Argentina and Ireland have represented themselves at an ambassadorial level in Spain. Thus, both the countries in the Soviet sphere of influence and those in the Western world distanced themselves from Franco's regime.³

Spain responded to the West's diplomatic isolation by emphasising their neutrality. The remoteness of the Eastern Bloc was confronted on the Spanish side by extensive distancing and radical anti-communism. Franco announced in an official statement that Spain would suspend all forms of communication with the Soviet-occupied countries after they recognised the republican government; it would break cultural ties, block commercial transactions, and abolish diplomatic and consular activity. At the same time, it supported political refugees from these countries to the best of its ability. They welcomed famous exiles of the pre-war power elite, such as the

¹ Rónai 1987b: 9.

² The most comprehensive history of the Hungarian Royal Embassy is written by Kata Sára Gyuricza and Péter Gyuricza in their Spanish-Hungarian monograph. Gyuricza-Gyuricza 2007. Ádám Anderle compiled a volume from the correspondence of György Bakách-Besseney and Ferenc Marosy, which is the most exhaustive source publication on the subject. Anderle (ed.) 2002. Excerpts from the memoirs of Ferenc Marosy, with commentary, were published by Zoltán Rónai in Rónai 1987a-d.

³ For more details see Eiroa 2010: 77-88.; Harsányi 2006a.; Harsányi 2006b.

descendants of the Bulgarian, Yugoslav and Russian rulers, and maintained a very cordial relationship with Otto von Habsburg. In addition, a number of Eastern European states, such as the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Romanians, Croatians, Bulgarians, and Hungarians, were able to open representations in Madrid, led by emigrants, whom Franco considered as legitimate diplomats.⁴

As the Cold War progressed, when Soviet-American relations became more and more tense, Franco's strong anti-communism eased reservations against the Spanish regime on the West. The assessment of Franco turned from an ideological matter into a strategic matter. Western democracies, even if they were not reconciled to the nature of the Franco regime, could blindly trust his anti-communism, which, as a key aspect in the Cold War, also eased the isolation of Western countries against Spain. In 1950, the UN withdrew its previous decision, and the diplomats slowly returned to Madrid. The American ambassador was appointed in 1951. By 1952, 24 ambassadors and 18 ministers served in Madrid. As a kind of culmination of this process, at the General Assembly of 14 December 1955, Spain was admitted to the UN together with 16 states, including Hungary.

The establishment of the Hungarian embassy also fits in this Cold War playing field

Ferenc Marosy, the diplomat who headed the Hungarian royal embassy was already mentioned in the introductory paragraph, played a crucial role in the establishment of the embassy. From 1920, Marosy was in the service of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, in various positions. As a diplomat opposed to Nazism, he participated in the secret organisation of Hungary's pulling out from the war. Subsequent to the Second World War, however, he witnessed the Hungarian political system heavily influenced by Soviet politics to the extent that the country's sovereignty was compromised, and he did not wish to serve the communist government as a diplomat. After he was offered status at the Law Faculty of the Madrid University, he applied for a visa to Spain and moved his seat to Madrid in 1946.⁵

From 1946–47, the escape of democratic politicians from Central and Eastern European countries under Soviet influence began. During the Cold War, the National Commissions (*Nemzeti Bizottmány*) were formed one after another with the aim of consolidating political emigration from different countries. As part of this process, the Hungarian National Commission was established on 15 November 1947.⁶ This organisation was recognised and financially supported by the government of the United States of America, although not as a government in emigration, but as a representation of the Hungarian emigration. In June 1948, Ferenc Marosy contacted the Hungarian National Commission and offered his services to represent them in Spain. He then requested an audience from the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to officially announce his mandate. However, the Spanish foreign secretary had reservations about the Commission which included politicians of the Hungarian government formed after the war that supported the Spanish republican government in exile against Franco and enjoyed the backing of the American government, which distanced itself from Spain. Finally, he offered Marosy a very special status: the Spanish government would recognise him personally and not the Commission

as the official contact of “free Hungary”, but at the same time, they would not deny him the right to consider himself as a representative of the Commission in New York and cooperate with it.⁷

This did not yet mean an embassy-level assignment. As Marosy said, “*My activities were limited to intervene in the case of refugees and occasionally publishing articles in the Spanish press, in defence of the Hungarian cause.*”⁸ The “spending time in waiting rooms” had already begun for a higher level of diplomatic recognition and the building of the old embassy, but the success was achieved due to the intervention of Otto von Habsburg.

In March 1949, Franco invited Otto von Habsburg to Madrid for a meeting, and his stay was arranged by Marosy at the request of the Hungarian emigration. Marosy remembered this as follows: “*At the gala dinner organised for his honour, His Majesty bid farewell by explaining that Franco will receive him the next day and what should he ask of him for the sake of the Hungarian cause? I immediately proposed three things: transferring control of the seized embassy to me, initiating Hungarian radio broadcasts, and providing refugee students from Hungary with opportunities to study at Spanish universities. ‘Very good’, said Otto. ‘Make a memorandum about it.’ At the end of the meeting the next day, I was called into Franco’s study as well. His Majesty handed over my petition with a few warm words. The Spanish head of state glanced at it and said only this: ‘It’s fine.’—With that, he put his highest signature on it.*”⁹

The operation of the Hungarian Royal Embassy

The embassy opened its doors within a few weeks of the meeting in March 1949. Franco's Spain, the Hungarian National Commission with the diverse Hungarian emigration behind it, and the United States of America formed the “space of power” in which the embassy in Madrid had to operate.

At times, this posed serious diplomatic challenges, as none of the persons involved in this tripartite arrangement had an agreement based on mutual acceptance. Ferenc Marosy enjoyed the support of Franco, who was under the American veto, but he was also the representative of the Hungarian National Commission, which was not accepted by Franco. On the top of that, due to American diplomatic sensitivities, the Commission was worried about the indirect relationship of Marosy with Franco, fearing that this would risk the trust of its patron.

Despite the mutual reservations, however, each party had an interest in this relationship triangle based on the Hungarian emigration and on the American and Spanish political circles. In his correspondence with the leaders of the Commission, Marosy—with appropriate discretion—described the development of Spanish politics, its details known only to an insider, and his reflections on the international situations. This information was valuable to the American circles to which it reached through the Commission.¹⁰

This method of confidential information also worked in the opposite direction. Through

4 Eiroa 2010: 82.

5 Rónai 1987a: 9.

6 For more details see Borbándi 1989: 141–162.; Gyuricza–Gyuricza 2017: 39–41; 75–84.

7 Rónai 1987b: 9.

8 Ibid.

9 Rónai 1987b: 9.

10 For details see Ferenc Marosy's letter to György Bakách-Besseney, Madrid, 22 May 1949, cited in Anderle (ed.) 2002: 80; see also: Gyuricza–Gyuricza 2017: 56–57.

the cooperation of Ferenc Marosy and the Commission, Franco had the opportunity to maintain relations with Western Europe and America, to get an idea of their current position, which was especially beneficial during the period of diplomatic isolation.

Although the Hungarian National Commission was awkwardly positioned due to Franco's compromising personality and the unpleasant royal title in the official name of the embassy, the legitimacy and recognition provided by Franco meant the highest diplomatic rank for the Hungarian emigration at the institutional level, and this was of decisive importance from the point of view of the daily life of the emigration.

One of the significant tasks of the Madrid embassy was issuing passports and visas. From Marosy's recollections, we know that the operation of the "free Hungarian embassy" began with the issuance of a passport. *"No one applied for a week after the opening. Then, one day, a poor, miserable young woman knocked on the door of the embassy. With cropped hair, dressed in worn-out clothes, suffering written over her face. I must give her a passport, she pleaded, so that she could immigrate to her relatives in the United States. 'And what documents do you have?' —I asked. 'I have nothing; everything was taken from me in Auschwitz!' Based on her statements, I issued her a Hungarian royal passport, which the United States embassy accepted without uttering a word. From that day on, it was as if mysterious hands had torn apart the invisible curtain surrounding the embassy."*¹¹

Although visas issued by the embassy in Madrid were valid only in the United States, Canada, Portugal, and those states that did not maintain diplomatic relations with Hungary, this limited validity was also of vital importance. In addition, the embassy represented the interests of nearly 1,000 emigrants living in Spain, provided them with legal assistance, and, if necessary, intervened with the competent authorities. According to the 1952 statement, in that year alone, the embassy issued 95 passports and 92 identity cards, mediated in 124 cases with various authorities, and provided foreign legal aid in 69 cases. Organised by the embassy, 20–25 students were admitted to the College of St James in Madrid every year and were thus able to obtain a diploma with financial support from Spain. Madrid radio, which was one of the three requests of Otto von Habsburg to Franco, provided a 30-minute daily broadcast in Hungarian from 1 February 1949, which was of great significance not only for emigration but also for those who remained at home.¹²

However, perhaps the most spectacular and well-known effort of the embassy and Otto von Habsburg can be linked to the 1956 revolution.

The 1956 Revolution and the Spanish aid

The Spanish world welcomed the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution with great joy. Masses were held across the country's churches, and students organised demonstrations of sympathy. Before the invasion of the Soviets on 4 November, the Spanish government had already explored the possibility of military assistance to the Hungarian resistance, and, after the Soviet attack, it was evident to Franco to provide military aid. Otto von Habsburg also encouraged him in this matter and promised to support the cause in international diplomatic circles.¹³ On the night of

4 November, Franco summoned the council of ministers, where a decision was made to commission a volunteer army. The embassy undertook the organisation of the army. At the news of the Spanish military intervention, thousands of volunteers came to the embassy. 10,000 Spaniards were followed by the Swiss and 2,000–2,000 young people of Hungarian origin applied from Canada and England, but there were many "applicants" from England, France, Germany, and other nations. The secretary of the embassy, Aurél Czilchert, recalled the action: *"The plan was as follows: the planes would have started from Spain, but since they would not have been able to make the trip without supplies, the Spanish General Staff agreed with the US leadership to use the American military airport in Munich. The Spanish planes should have refuelled there and headed for the Hungarian destination. Everything was calculated right to a thousandth of an inch when a phone call suddenly came from the General Staff to interrupt the operation on the orders of the USA."*¹⁴

However, the planned operation was stopped based on the decision of the United States. The US State Department sent a memorandum to the Spanish government and separately to the embassy in Madrid, in which it expressed that although the United States government does share the antipathy to the Soviet military intervention and shares sympathy for the Hungarian independence struggle, but it sees no way to provide military aid without risking a large-scale conflict with the Soviet Union.

Closing the Embassy

After Stalin's death and after 1956, Cold War tensions were eased, that also affected the strategic value of maintaining contacts with Franco. Meanwhile, in 1957, Spain was left out of the Treaty of Rome and hence found itself outside the European Economic Community. This intensified the economic pressure on Spain to open up to the Eastern European markets and settle its relations with these states. However, the emigrant embassies were tense upon approaching the communist governments.

In 1958, the soft movement in the direction of forging trade relations with Hungary also began. As a first step, commercial agreements were established between the National Banks. And from 1969, trade representations with officially delegated diplomats have been set up. On the Hungarian side, however, the prerequisites were to terminate the semi-official diplomatic delegation, the closure of the college founded for emigrant university students providing them with education, and to cease the Hungarian language broadcasts of the Spanish radio. This precondition also marked the end of the Hungarian royal embassy. On October 20, 1969, Marosy handed over the embassy and its equipment to the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He himself took up Spanish citizenship and lived in seclusion from public life for another 16 years.¹⁵ However, Franco did not contribute to the restoration of diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level. Central and Eastern European embassies could only be established after Franco's death in November 1975. The embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic commenced its activities on 9 February 1977, under the leadership of László Perczel.

¹¹ Rónai 1987c: 9.

¹² Gyuricza–Gyuricza 2017: 88.; Rónai, 2000: 305–312.

¹³ For details see Fejérdy 2021: 1003–1024.; Zalai 2017: 102–111.; Anderle 2000: 55–63.; Ferrero 2000: 21–31.

¹⁴ Quoted from Aurél Czilchert's recollection in Ferrero 2000: 31.

¹⁵ Rónai 1987d: 10.

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The three lectures were delivered at the event of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation entitled “Spain in Europe—The Role and Significance of Otto von Habsburg”. (Madrid, San Pablo CEU University, 2 October 2023)



Otto von Habsburg addresses a Hungarian group at the 1952 Eucharistic Congress. Ferenc Marosy is sitting next to Otto. Barcelona, Spain

Reference: HOAL 15A 5-24

OTTO VON HABSBURG AND THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA



Excellencies,
Distinguished
panellists,
Ladies and
gentlemen,

It is an extraordinary honour for me to address you at the occasion of the opening of the exhibition dedicated to Otto von Habsburg.

The first son of the last Austrian em-

peror and Hungarian king deserves our grateful attention and memory. He marked his time as a convinced European with a sense of history and responsibility for the future.

We have known the founding fathers of the EU, but there are also fathers of the reunited Europe. Otto von Habsburg was one of them. Refusing first Nazism and then communism, he dedicated his energy as a member and later as the president of the Pan-European Movement and especially as a member of the European Parliament to the European project.

It was no surprise that he chaired the Working Group on Central and Eastern Europe in the European Parliament for years, and also became the chair of the Delegation to the EU-Hungary Joint Parliamentary Committee.

He was one of the first politicians to establish relations with the new, democratic political leaders in Central and Eastern Europe. It was largely to him that many of them had the chance to address the European Parliament. Slovenian dissident Dr France Bučar was one of them as the first from communist Yugoslavia who presented the bitter truth about it—in January 1988. Of course, he was proclaimed a traitor to the nation after his appearance in Strasburg. Otto von Habsburg supported the democratisation and independence of Slovenia, Croatia, and other former Yugoslav republics.

He had a long, emotional relationship with Slovenia. During the First World War, he became proprietor holder of the 17th regiment—Regiment Inhaber in German—composed mostly of Slovenians. He also learned some Slovenian, but he was not as fluent in it as he was in the Hungarian language.

I was not surprised that he joined us in Gornja Radgona on May 1, when we joined the EU. We celebrated with him, Commissioner Dr Franz Fischler, and the Governor of Styria Mrs. Waltraud Klassnic, on both sides of the Mura River.

When we met for the last time in Innsbruck at a conference on the future of Europe, he advocated his idea of the family voting right: it means as many voices as the number of children.

His political profile was Christian-social; he shared that with Robert Schuman, the Christian concept of man. In his political philosophy, subsidiarity had a fundamental role.

Otto von Habsburg was a man of sincere respect for the others. I consider this an essential part of his political legacy. We have different identities but equal dignity. This is a prerequisite for a common future for Europe, which is, again, facing the concept of the enemy. Otto von Habsburg acted against the ideologies that have tried to “improve the world” by eliminating those who are different.

We saw, together with him, a divided Europe and then its reunification. But an enlarged EU does not mean a truly United Europe yet. It is our responsibility now not to allow a weak Europe. I am sure Otto von Habsburg would agree with that.

He distinguished between the concept of dominant power and the concept of serving power. That is why he was more a man of culture than a man of power. He served United Europe in that sense. I do not consider culture to be just a soft power.

My last point: Otto von Habsburg was a Central European—one of us. Experiences of Central European nations have been different from those of the western part of Europe. That is why we differ when we speak about identity, dignity, culture, religion, minorities, etc. It would be good for the future of Europe if Central Europe were heard more in this regard.

Thank you for your attention!

*Delivered at the opening of the exhibition “Otto von Habsburg—Life and Heritage”.
(Liszt Institute—Hungarian Cultural Centre, Ljubljana, 20 October 2023)*

MAASTRICHT FROM 30 YEARS ON



It is an honour and delight to speak at this special event. As member of the Hungarian government, I deal with day-to-day political and policy issues, in EU jargon: dossiers. In the course of this, the temptation to

overlook what lies beneath and beyond is strong. To quote the famous Hungarian poet, Attila József, “I am a poet—why should I care about poetry itself?” In a similar vein, I can ask myself: I am a minister for European Affairs; what would I care about the European Union as such?

Yet it is this perspective that makes European politics so exciting. It is right and—I would venture—refreshing to pause and recall together the character and thoughts of a man who believed fervently in European unity as well as in the idea that the relations between European and national identities are not a zero-sum game. Instead, they can be growing, mutually reinforcing realities.

In the context of the European Union—as in the United States of America—it is customary to talk about the founding fathers: Schuman, de Gasperi, Monnet, Adenauer... Perhaps the wording is a little controversial, and the choice of individuals is somewhat arbitrary. However, if we accept the existence of such a category, then we can claim that among the founding fathers was a Hungarian, Otto von Habsburg. By the way, his Hungarianness deserves a separate lecture—by a more qualified speaker than myself. Suffice it to say that for him, being Hungarian—just like being European—was not an abstraction but a concrete attachment and love for the Hungarians and the Hungarian language. He always stressed that he had not learned the language but absorbed it as his mother tongue. One of his intellectual and linguistic idols was Sándor Márai,

the European Hungarian writer par excellence, who, in the words of Otto von Habsburg, “*already after Coudenhove-Kalergi but before Churchill’s Zurich speech, urged for European integration*”, and in this, he “*found the recipe for reconciling the idea of unification with the idea of nationality*”.¹

European unity is not the work of a moment and not a coincidence. It had to be dreamed; it had to be thought out. Everyone has heard about the American dream. But there was—and we hope there will be—a European dream as well. More than one eminent statesman of the 19th and 20th centuries, many artists and other thinkers envisioned a Europe whose peoples and nations would no longer wage war but would live in peace and just prosperity, each with its own language, culture and heritage, which they would willingly share with other nations. Part of this dream was that Europe would no longer export war but peace to the world.

The 19th century was the age of Europe. The continent’s demographic, political, military and cultural expansion reached unprecedented magnitudes, with all its glamour and downsides. The 20th century is known as the century of the Americas, but the two Americas are themselves the product of European expansion. In 1913, the last year of peace, one out of four people on the globe was European. Today, less than a tenth are. The UN predicts that by 2050, Africa will account for a quarter.

Then the First World War came. Many people called it by various names: for Pope Benedict XV, it was “senseless bloodshed”. But it was also called a European civil war, a collective suicide, or at least the suicide of European leadership, in the words of Henry Kissinger. Moreover, Europe was exporting its war to distant continents. The by-product of millions of human sacrifices was the Bolshevik Revolution, the collapse of long-standing multi-national monarchies, economic crisis and then reigns of terror by the far left and then the far right. Europe has infected faraway lands with its wars. The injustices and narrow-mindedness of the post-war settlement contributed greatly to the rise of Hitler and the outbreak of the Second World War, which brought unprecedented inhumanity, suffering and destruction. Unlike after the First World War, Europeans have learned their lesson. After 1945, politicians who had suffered war and dictatorships, some of them personally, such as the Italian Alcide de Gasperi or the German Konrad Adenauer, came to the fore. They, along with the French Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, are perhaps the most emblematic in the process that led to the signing of the Treaties of Rome and the founding of the European Community. They were all federalists who sought to guarantee integration by creating supranational, common institutions and to make the process irreversible. But there were others with different visions. Winston Churchill was likewise an advocate of European integration, but only for continental Europe: “*We are with you but not of you*”, he declared in 1948. Then, there was General Charles de Gaulle, Adenauer’s friend and a promoter of Franco—German reconciliation, who was suspicious of the idea of a supranational Europe. He dreamed of a Europe of nations stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. Yet he warned against the admission of England into the European Economic Community because he saw in the island nation a Trojan horse for the Americans. Interestingly, the federalist Monnet, who was in sharp opposition to the General, also supported the Atlantic concept!

¹ Habsburg, Ottó: Egy európai drukker. A 80 éves Márai. (The 80-year-old Hungarian novelist Sándor Márai.) *Új Európa*, 1980, 2, 6. <https://archivum.hoal.hu/node/171?language=hu&fulltext-query=&preview=15749%2F2%2Fsimple%2Fo>

European integration was an economic success story. The Italian and German economic miracles came one after the other, enabling the two wartime losers—in addition to the third, defeated former Axis power, Japan—to find themselves among the five or six most advanced industrial powers in the world by the 1970s. To illustrate this, a rough figure will serve. In 1945, the United States accounted for about half of the world economy's output. In 1980, however, the US and the EC covered twenty-five to thirty percent of the global GDP. In the first half of the 1990s, the EC and, subsequently, the EU, which by then had been enlarged to include developed new members, surpassed their American rival. Today, the share of both is declining as China, India, and others are rising.² Western Europe was experiencing unprecedented internal prosperity, freedom and democracy. To the outside world, it was a beacon of stability and peace. A development aid policy towards the Third World has taken shape to counterbalance the grievous colonial legacy.

However, most of Eastern and Central Europe was more or less exempt from this. (Although the post-war stimulus did, for instance, boost the Hungarian economy from the 1960s onwards.) However, in 1989, another miracle occurred. In the words of the late Polish Foreign Minister Bronisław Geremek, the paradigm that had been in place since 1789, that history could be steered in the right direction only through violence, was disproved. The free world attracted our people. Perhaps not only the superior cars but also the institutions of parliamentary, pluralist democracy, the right to freedom of expression, the political culture, a higher level of realisation of human rights, social security, the disappearance of borders... Europe needed to unite. Our countries became natural candidates for membership in the European Community and later the Union—even if we knew the legal process would be long and difficult. But no one came up with a viable alternative.

Meanwhile, European integration expanded and, by the 1990s, covered almost all of Western, Northern, and Southern Europe. If not the federalist notion, a less radical version of it, the communitarian movement, and advocates of a deeper alliance were prevalent throughout Europe. In their view, economic integration can only remain successful in the long term by fleeing forward to political union.

I am not giving a scientific lecture; therefore, I shall only mention the principal achievements of the Maastricht Treaty. The first is the name itself: the treaty that brought the European Union into being. It merits a semantic debate as to why the proponents of integration thought that 'union' was a closer expression of unity than 'community'. Community has an emotional connotation: we share what we have, at least in part; we participate in each other's lives. Union has a colder ring to it.

A complex construction was formed. The European Community remains, but the adjective 'economic' has been dropped from its name, expressing an ambition for a broadening political integration. This was the first pillar, under which the policies hitherto covering mainly the economic integration of the EU fell: customs union, trade policy, common agricultural policy, etc. In this pillar, the Community method prevailed: the European Commission proposes legislation, which is debated separately by the Council—the governments of the Member States—and the European Parliament, directly elected by the citizens of the EU. However, the proposal will only become

law if both bodies agree on a joint text. The Community method breaks the principle of consensus: majority voting means that a given legislation can be adopted against the will of those Member States that are in the minority. The second pillar is the common foreign and security policy; the third is internal affairs and judicial cooperation. These latter two pillars retained intergovernmental collaboration, and thus the principle of consensual decision-making, without the adoption of a co-decision procedure; meaning that the European Parliament did not have a role on an equal footing with the Council. Unanimous foreign and security policy decision-making has been in place to this day. In the meantime, many of the policies under the third pillar, judicial and internal cooperation, have been shifted to the first pillar, the Community method. One result is the common visa policy: only the Commission can negotiate a visa waiver agreement with a third country. When a third country is selective and does not grant visa-free travel to all Member States, the Commission can also retaliate by withdrawing the visa exemption on the basis of the principle of one-for-all, all-for-one. On the same footing, a joint consular protection and network for EU citizens in third countries could be established—although it is still in its infancy, the legal grounds are there. The security of external borders, dismantling internal border controls, and a shared refugee policy are all developments in the 30 years since the Maastricht Treaty. Today, migration is the dominating topic in public discourse. Few realise that legal immigration policy remains a national competence; the differing refugee policies and the measures to combat illegal migration became largely Community or EU matters. In 1992, the cornerstones of a single European currency and the monetary union were laid, and the (in)famous Maastricht criteria were defined, which, if met, would entitle a Member State to adopt the euro. For Member States that joined after its entry into force, it is no longer optional but an obligation under the accession treaties.

The Maastricht Treaty brought forth the institution of EU citizenship—we are talking explicitly not about nationality, since the EU is not a state—and its transformation into a federal state was not on the agenda either then or since. This Treaty introduced the concept of subsidiarity: decisions should be taken at the closest possible level to the citizen. Consequently, European legislation or other measures are only appropriate if they are more effective at the Community or EU level. Naturally, this is a constant source of debate in practice: EU institutions are always adamant about the justification for EU action, whereas national governments are much less so. However, subsidiarity is not just a compromise introduced into the Treaty to placate Eurosceptics. Otto von Habsburg, for example, saw subsidiarity as a way of ensuring that the institutions of integration would feel close to the people. As he put it in a late interview:

"...we in Europe started with two fundamental principles: the Treaty of Rome, which enshrined the idea of a social market economy, and the Maastricht Treaty, which established the concept of subsidiarity. [...] Europe as an edifice is not built from top to bottom, as some of our bureaucrats would like, but rather upwards from the ground. This would be the best way to preserve individual freedom even in larger units."

Part of the chronicle of the last thirty years is the inception of the single market on 1 January 1993, founded on the principle of free movement of people, goods, services and capital. The Amsterdam Treaty, amending and improving the Maastricht Treaty, was signed in 1997. The euro was born and then introduced as a currency: the latter on 1 January 2002.

² <https://www.intereconomics.eu/contents/year/2016/number/1/article/europes-place-in-the-global-economy-what-does-the-last-half-century-suggest-for-the-future.html>

Parallely, a qualitative leap in integration has been unsuccessfully attempted. Member states signed the European Constitutional Treaty in October 2004 but failed in the French and Dutch referendums—namely, the electorates of two of the founding member states. This treaty would not have bestowed state sovereignty on the Union either, but the mere inclusion of the word ‘constitution’ in the title raised suspicions of such intentions. The momentum of integration was thus broken: it seemed to have reached its limits.

Member States have tried to salvage what they could from the Constitutional Treaty. This led to the Lisbon Treaty and the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, which entered into force on 1 December 2009 and further reformed the EU institutions. Under the treaty, the Parliament is the European Council, which means that the Heads of State or Government nominate, taking into account the results of the European Parliament elections, the President of the European Commission, who is voted on and appointed by the European Parliament. The procedure is reminiscent of the way parliamentary democracies work, where a majority of the legislature can choose a head of government. The co-decision process has been extended to new areas, now called the “ordinary legislative procedure”.

Proposals to amend the agreements have been on the agenda regularly since the Lisbon Treaty. The European Parliament is likely to bring another package of proposals to the table this November. But these are purely intellectual and not political projects—since there appears to be no support behind them to make them a credible political initiative.

So, the current legal and institutional framework will stay with us for the foreseeable future. This is the legal and institutional framework in which Hungary operates as a Member State and seeks to articulate and assert its interests. Since the Maastricht Treaty, the EU has transformed itself from an economic community into a political community. For almost 20 of these 30 years, our country has been part of that process. We now understand better the potential of this integration, but also its limitations. We belong to this political community. We have accepted and still accept its fundamental rules. However, we refuse to relinquish our right to hold the institutions and the Member States accountable and take an active part in shaping these rules.

The Lisbon Treaty did not repeal the Maastricht Treaty; it merely amended it. Therefore, the somewhat enigmatic “teleological” clause, already in the Treaty of Rome in 1955, that the objective is “ever closer union”, as stated in Article 1 of the Treaty on European Union, remains in force. This is to be offset by the subsidiarity provision in the same article. However, there are limits to further tightening of integration. It is vital that the process should advance in line with the political intent and will of the Member States and not solely be driven by the ambitions of the EU institutions. The Court of Justice of the European Union has a crucial role in maintaining the institutional balance. Let us hope that it will exercise this role prudently. What do I mean? The EU institutions, including the Court of Justice, have no jurisdiction in cases not listed in the Treaties as exclusive or shared competence. In such cases, the legislative and executive acts of the Member States cannot be overruled. Nevertheless, situations have arisen in the past and may arise in the future where, by way of interpretation, the Court of Justice will attribute to the EU competence a case that wavers between the EU and the Member States and will rule on it in ac-

cordance with the applicable legislation. If its judgment becomes a precedent, then an extension of jurisdiction has already occurred in favour of the Union without a Treaty amendment.

Institutional disputes exist. Hungary is involved in these and sometimes takes a strong stance. Otto von Habsburg’s pan-European vision, which he summarised in four principles in an essay, could provide a framework for resolving many of these disputes.

The first is the “Greater Europe” principle: Europe cannot end at the arbitrarily drawn borders of Yalta. And this principle cannot be fulfilled until the countries of the Western Balkans also gain membership.

The second is that Europe is the land of freedom. This means not only the exercise of individual human rights and civil liberties but also a legal order based on natural law, where natural communities, such as the family, are free to flourish. It also means subsidiarity: the larger unit cannot arbitrarily deprive the smaller of rights or functions that the smaller is able to perform well. Freedom can be protected effectively in smaller, transparent units.

Freedom of property. Otto von Habsburg formulated this train of thought during the communist era. But the phrasing is far from banal. For him, freedom of property is the guarantee of freedom itself. This also means that he opposed the capitalist, monopolistic concentration of property, but also the handing off of all possessions in the hands of a single owner to the state. Too few proprietors impede the preservation of freedom, and if there remains only a single, state-owned monopoly, that leads to tyranny and the individual’s degradation.

Social responsibility is a principle inseparable from freedom. Social justice means “advocating for those who can least help themselves.” Otto von Habsburg found guidance for this in Christianity and Christian social teachings. For him, Christianity was the *sine qua non* of a unifying and free Europe.³

The 20th century was America’s time. We do not yet know to whom the 21st century belongs. Maybe it is not the point. There are plenty of applicants. The key is for us Europeans to stay competitive, not just with economics and military capabilities but also with ideas and ideals, such as the pan-European concept.

Looking around Europe and the world at large, we may feel that this turnaround would take a miracle. So let me conclude with one of Otto von Habsburg’s favourite bon mots: “*Those who do not believe in miracles in Europe are not realists*”.⁴

Thank you for your kind attention!

*Delivered at the Otto von Habsburg Foundation’s conference
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(Ludovika University of Public Service, Budapest, 17 November 2023)*

³ Habsburg, Ottó: Milyen Európát akarunk? (What Kind of Europe Do We Wish for?) *Új Európa*, 1978, 6, 7–8. <https://archivum.hoal.hu/node/171?language=hu&fulltext-query=&preview=15708%2F1%2Fsimple%2Fo>

⁴ Az igazság órája Európában. (The Hour of Truth in Europe.) *Magyar Hírlap*, 12 April 1997, 3.

FROM IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS TO INTEGRATION

The Long Way from the Pan-European Idea to the Maastricht Treaty, 1923–1993



Introductory remarks

The Europe of institutions—with the European Parliament in Strasbourg, the European Court of Justice and the European Investment Bank in Luxembourg, the Commission, the Council of

Europe, the Council of the European Union (EU), the Economic and Social Committee of the Regions in Brussels, and the European Central Bank in Frankfurt am Main—is a remarkable phenomenon in the course of European history to date.

This biased development is tied to the continent's division and the integration of purely Western Europe after 1945, extending even to Maastricht and beyond. Even today, there are no EU institutions in Central and Eastern Europe, apart from the Warsaw-based FRONTEX (the European Border and Coast Guard Agency), whose choice of location is telling.

These institutions could not have been formed if ideas, initiatives, and concepts had not been conceived in public discourse and intellectual circles before 1945. In my presentation, I will illustrate the progression from the Pan-European idea to Maastricht through selected examples of various actors of this timespan indicated in the title.

I. European plans and initiatives for mutual understanding in the interwar period

1. The post-war order of the fateful Paris Peace Agreements

The arts of conflict resolution in the sense of a negotiated and mutually agreed peace, as represented by the Congress of Vienna in 1814/15, were lost with Versailles, St. Germain-en-Laye, Trianon, Sevres and Neuilly-sur-Seine. Despite the establishment of the League of Nations and

its numerous international sub-organisations, the post-war Paris Agreements of 1919/20 had failed in its aim of ending the war with a comprehensive peace treaty—the war, which continued to rage in the minds of people (Gerd Krumeich). Following the perceived injustice of territorial settlements, dubious border demarcations creating additional minority problems, banned referendums and exaggerated demands for reparations, this new post-war order lacked the support of the affected states. The so-called peace treaties provoked the resurgence of revisionist powers, first and foremost in Germany but also in Italy, where fascism flourished and was succeeded a decade later by the seizure of power by the National Socialists in the German Reich.

2. Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi: Pan-European Union

Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi was driven by the experiences of the end of the war and the subsequent post-war settlement. His father was a diplomat of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Tokyo, while his mother was Japanese. Coudenhove-Kalergi never thought in terms of nations, but rather in continents: his mother represented Asia, his father Europe. Coudenhove-Kalergi recognised that the economic ascent of the USA posed a challenge to Europe; and considered Bolshevism a “European cultural catastrophe”. In the face of millions of war victims, he questioned whether the continent, fragmented both politically and economically, was still in a position to maintain not only peace but also its independence from powers outside Europe—he regarded the Soviet Union as not belonging to the continent—or if Europe would be forced to organise itself into a confederation to ensure its survival. This seemed imperative to him, as Europe could otherwise be “crushed” between the United States and the Soviet Union.

In his 1923 book *Pan-Europa*, Coudenhove-Kalergi included proposals that, a hundred years later, seem more relevant than ever. He urged for a united Europe with 27 countries, from Portugal to Poland—albeit without Great Britain, which he also saw as a non-European world power. He appealed for Franco-German cooperation and stated: “*The Pan-European movement wants to establish the United States of Europe as a European confederation and customs union.*” He literally demanded a “European Monroe Doctrine”: “*Europe for the Europeans!*” — initially inspired by the Pan-American Union. However, he considered the federal model of the US too centralised for Europe. Nevertheless, the “United States of Europe” should develop independently of the League of Nations. He proposed a bicameral system, a House of Nations and a House of States, with 300 representatives for every million people in the former and one delegate from each government in the latter.

The idea of a “United States of Europe”—which is no longer on the agenda but was raised in the debate on the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty as well—will be addressed later.

Coudenhove not only wrote a book but also founded a movement that created 26 sections all over Europe; Mussolini rejected the idea—the first warning sign! The Union was based in the Hofburg Palace in Vienna, and he organised Pan-European congresses there, as well as in Basel and Berlin. However, the National Socialists opposed his ideas and banned his writings. The annexation of Austria on 12 March 1938 marked the end of the Pan-European Union: The office in Hofburg was closed, and

Coudenhove-Kalergi was forced to flee. After sojourns in Prague, Bern and Paris, he spent the Second World War in America, where he taught at New York University with Otto von Habsburg and tried—albeit in vain—to persuade the Roosevelt administration to create a European sub-committee of the forthcoming League of Nations.

Following the end of the war, Coudenhove-Kalergi returned to Switzerland, where he resumed his campaign for a European Parliamentary Union. Coudenhove remained Honorary President of the reactivated Pan-European Union after Otto von Habsburg assumed the position of International President of the movement. Under his leadership, from the 1970s onwards, it developed into an organisation which, in addition to unification aspirations, also focused on Central Europe, which was overshadowed by the East–West conflict of the Cold War.

3. Karl Anton Rohan: Europäischer Kulturbund (International Association for Cultural Cooperation)

Besides Coudenhove, Karl Anton Rohan and the Europäischer Kulturbund, an association for cultural cooperation founded by him in 1924, should be included. Rohan was also the publisher of the journal *Europäische Revue* from 1925 to 1936. The aristocrat was an exponent of the elitist-conservative vision of the “Occident”, which he saw as an alternative to the Pan-European Union, which also led to feuds between him and Coudenhove-Kalergi. Rohan rejected the Pan-European idea as contrived, anti-traditional and rationalistic. Unlike Coudenhove-Kalergi, he was receptive to the National Socialists and was in favour of the Anschluss in 1938, but favoured an independent National Socialist Austria.

4. Wilhelm Heile: Verband für europäische Verständigung

In addition to the Pan-European Union and the Europäischer Kulturbund, the Verband für europäische Verständigung (Association for European Understanding) was founded in 1926, with branches in Germany, France, and Great Britain. The politics of the German association were heavily influenced by the liberal Reichstag member from the German Democratic Party (Deutsche Demokratische Partei, DDP), Wilhelm Heile, who was the first German post-war politician to take up the idea of a “United States of Europe” in the weekly magazine *Die Hilfe*. In competition with Coudenhove-Kalergi, he advocated the formation of a European confederation of states, which he saw as the basis for the pacification of Europe and, therefore, also an opportunity to challenge the peace order imposed on the German Reich by the Treaty of Versailles.

With his concept of future supranational integration in a federal state form, Heile was one of the “most active leading pro-European thinkers in the Weimar Republic” (Jürgen C. Heß) and ahead of his time. Like Coudenhove, he was less inclined towards the Pan-American Union and the USA than towards Friedrich Naumann’s Greater German Central Europe idea, without sharing entirely his hegemonic power political intentions for Germany.

In contrast to Coudenhove’s movement, Heile was open to the League of Nations, which was to provide the institutional framework for European unification. Contrary to “Pan-Europe”, he considered the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union to belong to the Commission.

However, both agreed that France and Germany should be the engines of European reconciliation.

At its party conference in Heidelberg from 13 to 18 September 1925, the SPD was the first coalition party in the Weimar Republic and in Europe to incorporate the demand for the realisation of a “United States of Europe” into its programme, which remained in effect until the Bad Godesberg assembly of 1959, with the following wording: “[The party] advocates the creation of European economic unity, which has become imperative for economic reasons, and for the formation of a United States of Europe, in order to achieve solidarity of interests among the peoples of the continents.”

5. Elemér Hantos: Central European Economic Conference

In the 1920s, Hungarian lawyer, economist, and economic policy expert Elemér Hantos and the Austrian entrepreneur Julius Meinel launched the Mitteleuropäische Wirtschaftstag (Central European Economic Conference) to promote regional cooperation. They aimed for a gradual rapprochement and mutual economic openness between the Danube states—excluding Germany. This brought him into conflict with the German group within the Mitteleuropäische Wirtschaftstag and its representative, Max Hahn, at the 1931 meeting.

Hantos then focused on establishing several new research institutions, which took shape in the Central European Institutes set up in Vienna and Brno in 1929, in Budapest in 1930/31, and a “Centre d’Études de l’Europe Centrale” in Geneva. Hantos proposed the statutes for the Central European Institutes as early as 1926. Despite their publishing work, the organisations had few opportunities to actively influence economic policy in the Danube Basin during the Great Depression. In addition to the opposition of the German group, Hantos met with a lack of interest from Hungary’s neighbouring countries, where he was regarded as a lobbyist in the service of Hungarian banks and large-scale businesses due to his theory of the beneficial role of international cartels. From the mid-1930s onwards, he appeared less and less frequently in public. It was not the time of customs unions in (Central) Europe, although these were already being considered and conceptualised, even if only on paper.

6. Pierre Viénot’s and Emil Mayrisch’s Franco—German Study Committee

One of the founders of the “Franco–German Study Committee” (1926–1938), the French publicist Pierre Viénot, is also noteworthy as a European figure of the 1920s and 1930s who, with his Committee, created a mobile, transnational, intellectually and culturally inspiring platform for dialogue counterposed by the “International Crude Steel Community” (1926) under the leadership of the Luxembourg industrialist and European visionary Emile Mayrisch. Both were founders of the Committee, which facilitated encounters between the cultural elites of both countries and contributed to the detoxification of hostile public opinions on both sides of the Rhine. The Steel Cartel brought together the steel producers of France, Germany, Luxembourg, Belgium and the Saarland, which is regarded as the forerunner of the Coal and Steel Community (1952). In February 1927, steel producers from Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia joined as well.

7. Aristide Briand and Gustav Stresemann and the Locarno Treaties

One year earlier, on 16 October 1925, the Locarno Treaties were signed, guaranteeing France and Belgium territorial integrity while not ruling out a revision of Germany's eastern flank. Berlin gave assurances that it would not alter its western borders by force and would maintain the demilitarisation of the left bank of the Rhine. Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Luxemburg, and The Netherlands assured France of support in the event of a violation of these territorial agreements. The Locarno Pact, the fruit of the efforts of statesmen Aristide Briand (1862–1932) and Gustav Stresemann (1878–1929), is considered a symbol of Franco–German reconciliation.

Great hopes were associated with the Treaty but were dashed in the wake of the Great Depression (1929–1933), as well as the political radicalisation and the collapse of the international system at the end of the 1930s.

II. From the European émigrés in London to Yalta (1939–1945)

1. European governments in exile under the leadership of Władysław Sikorski

The British capital was a haven for continental European political emigration during the Second World War. Plans for the post-war settlement were forged there, and agreements for the future were concluded, which were intended to help overcome the dictatorships of the “Axis powers” and rearrange the European order after the war. The most famous agreement signed there was the Treaty of 5 September 1944 between the future Benelux countries, which led to the Customs Union of 1948.

On the initiative of the head of the Polish government-in-exile, General Władysław Sikorski (1881–1943), the Polish, Czechoslovak, Norwegian, Belgian, Dutch, Luxembourg, Greek and Yugoslav governments-in-exile as well as the “Free France Committee” convened for discussions. The following five points of agreement were reached at the meeting:

- the recognition that an exclusively nation-state perspective has become obsolete;
- the willingness to surrender part of their external sovereignty;
- the creation of internal sovereignty through democratic constitutions;
- the impossibility of establishing a federal Europe without the involvement of the Soviet Union and the USA;
- the realisation that securing peace is not solely a European but a global political issue.

2. The Ventotene Manifesto (1941) and Altiero Spinelli

There were also exiles and emigrants within Europe, such as the Italian prisoners on the island of Ventotene and their manifesto of the same name authored by Ernesto Rossi, Emilio Coloni, and Altiero Spinelli, who later gained a name for himself in European politics. Along with another in Germany, the Kreisau Circle in Silesia under Helmuth James Graf Moltke.

Spinelli argued that the nation-state had not only failed in light of the impact of two world wars, but it also outlived its purpose. Instead, he called for a “radical democratic initiative”, as he termed it, to provide “a single, comprehensive and definitive solution to Europe's problems”. Michael Burgess from the University of Kent considered Spinelli's ideas and manifesto as follows: “Probably the most famous federal documents to emerge during the war years.” The renunciation of the nation-state's fantasies of power laid the foundations for the gradual emergence of a new institutional unification in Western Europe.

3. The Declaration of a Liberated Europe

The Declaration of a Liberated Europe by the “Big Three” of Josef Stalin, Winston Churchill, and Franklin D. Roosevelt at the Yalta Conference held from 4 to 11 February 1945 can be understood as a continuation of the Anglo-American Atlantic Charter of 14 August 1941, and proclaims the right of peoples to self-determination. However, it turned out to be a waste of time in view of the fait accompli created by Stalin's Iron Curtain in Central and Eastern Europe. With the Soviet army present in Central and Eastern Europe, only a union of Western European states with the economic and military assistance of the United States of America seemed possible. However, the political and economic division of the continent and the social, cultural, and economic separation of Central and Eastern Europe from the Franco–German core region, which lasted for over half a century, burdened this. Disintegration and the division of Europe therefore stood in the foreground of the idea of unifying the continent as a whole.

III. The formation of Western European integration 1947/48–1989/91

1. The ERP and the OEEC 1947/48

The European Recovery Program (ERP) was announced by US Secretary of State George C. Marshall in his famous speech at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on 5 June 1947. The programme aligned with the policy of containment advocated by US President Harry S. Truman to curb Soviet communism. As a result, the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), based on intergovernmental cooperation, was launched in Paris on 16 April 1948. It undertook the coordination, organisation, distribution and control of Marshall Plan aid as well as the liberalisation of trade and payment transactions between 17 Western European countries.

The OEEC made no provision for the surrender of national sovereignty, nor was it a Pan-European organisation: it stood for continued dominance of national governments within the framework of Western European integration and the economic division of Europe. The British economic historian Alan S. Milward has labelled this integration of the “European Rescue of the Nation State” heretical. The OEEC, through its embargo policy against the Soviet Union, was also an actor in the Cold War and contributed to the disintegration of Europe.

2. Winston S. Churchill and the Council of Europe as a consultative body in 1949

In his renowned speech in Zurich on 19 September 1946, Winston S. Churchill called for the formation of a “United States of Europe”, for which he considered Franco—German cooperation and the creation of the Council of Europe to be essential. However, in his belief, this unification of Europe would take place without Great Britain. Nevertheless, the speech was an incentive and a glimmer of hope for many Europeans.

The Council of Europe was founded on 5 May 1949 at Churchill’s suggestion but fell short of expectations. Its Consultative Assembly was merely advisory and had no political decision-making powers, especially as these were vested in the unanimously deciding Committee of Ministers. However, the signing of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) on 4 November 1950 (in force from 1953) became binding and compulsory to follow for all members, as was the European Social Charter of 1961 (in force from 1965).

3. Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman

The Frenchman Jean Monnet is considered the “founding father of Europe” because he was the architect, strategist and driving force behind the outlining of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the definition of its institutional profile. Although a businessman, neither an academic nor an intellectual, Monnet was a political inspirer and provider of ideas. The political innovator was not an elected statesman; rather, he operated behind the scenes and enjoyed a reputation as an *éminence grise*. His biography would merit a lecture of its own.

Monnet accurately recognised that the ideal of a European political union could not be achieved with the Council of Europe. When the Anglo-American powers attempted to use the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) as a frontline state in the Cold War against the East, France’s plan to control West Germany’s industrial potential in the form of the International Ruhr Authority was threatened. This led to Foreign Minister Robert Schuman’s proposal of 9 May 1950, inspired by Monnet, to create a federal coal and steel community between France and the FRG, which would be open to other countries.

Monnet laid the foundations of the institutions mentioned at the outset and the organisational structure of future treaties between the Member States, the core of Western European unification. He made many highly controversial decisions that still define the EU today. Franco—German reconciliation required equal treatment for both countries. Therefore, the Schuman Plan aimed at collective control not only of the Ruhr but also of the French coal and steel sector. This meant a commitment to the rule of law through common bodies but was in contrast to the traditional balance of power between states. As a policy for reorganising Franco—German relations, this long preceded the Franco—German Élysée Treaty signed by Chancellor Adenauer and President de Gaulle in 1963.

The idea was to move forward not with the integration-sceptical United Kingdom but with the former wartime enemy, Germany—a staggering decision five years after the war’s end. Monnet

disapproved of Britain’s veto of his proposed measures in 1950, but by the 1960s, he became a supporter of British membership in the European Economic Community (EEC). It was clear: integration should be initiated by a minority of states and should always depend on a particular leading group. Monnet then took the view that practical experience with the ECSC should gradually lead to further unifications and a European federation. At the end of the negotiations, a compromise was reached, which resulted in a model of institutions working together that, despite changes, still forms the core of the system today.

4. Paul-Henri Spaak and the Treaty of Rome

Following the failure to establish the European Army on 30 August 1954 and Monnet’s resignation as High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community, the Belgian Paul-Henri Spaak and the Dutch Foreign Minister Johan Willem Beyen took over the reins and focused on economic integration.

After falling through with creating the European army, the ECSC foreign ministers decided in Messina on 2 June 1955 to “strengthen Europe first economically” and to appoint a committee chaired by the Belgian socialist Paul Henri Spaak to report on “the possibilities of a general economic and an atomic energy union”. While Paris advocated for nuclear cooperation, Bonn supported the concept of a “common market”. Monnet favoured a nuclear community with the Federal Republic, while Adenauer sympathised with a close economic partnership. Both projects were successfully realised. On 19 May 1956, the foreign ministers of the ECSC states approved the “Spaak Report” in Venice with the proviso of opening intergovernmental negotiations.

These decisions led to the establishment of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). The former aimed at horizontal integration, brought forward by the signing of the Treaty of Rome on 25 March 1957, which came into force on 1 January 1958. Their long-term goals were economic growth, an increased standard of living and forging an ever-closer political union of “European peoples”. In contrast, their short-term goals were to dismantle internal tariffs, create a customs union, free trade goods, and eliminate quantitative restrictions. The more far-reaching objectives, such as dismantling all internal tariffs and border controls, and launching a single currency, were not achieved until the 1990s.

In the Treaty of Rome, which entered into force in 1958, Monnet saw the Common Market as a means of reaching a political union. However, with de Gaulle’s return to power in June 1958, Monnet lost his influence in the French government. Nonetheless, he sympathised with de Gaulle’s Fouchet Plan of 1961/62, which called for cooperation between the heads of state and government. The “United States of Europe” Action Committee, initiated by Jean Monnet in 1955, campaigned not only for British accession to the EC but also for an “equal partnership” between Europe and the USA. Monnet also supported the European Council, which was created in 1974 and convened the heads of state and government, albeit not based on a Community treaty. In 1975, at the age of 86, Monnet disbanded the Action Committee.

While not all his initiatives and proposals were implemented in his time, his close colleague Max Kohnstamm later helped Jacques Delors prepare for the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) in the 1980s with a new Action Committee. In this way, Monnet's ideas continued to have an impact. He is, therefore, considered as the "founding father of Europe" and is revered as "Europe's first honorary citizen". A man of action who was not a theoretician but a practitioner. The famous quote that if Monnet could start again with the integration of the continent, he would begin with culture is not only unsubstantiated, but erroneous as well. Once again, the project would have become coal and steel.

5. From Giscard-Schmidt to Kohl-Mitterrand

The consolidation of the European Communities continued in the 1960s—despite de Gaulle's veto policy, which prevented the United Kingdom from joining prematurely—and by 1973, the northern enlargement of the Communities had been completed. The first direct elections followed this in 1979, the establishment of the European Monetary System (EMS) in the same year, and the southern expansion in 1981/86. The EMS was championed by German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

From the early 1980s, France's President François Mitterrand, European Commission President Jacques Delors and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl have pursued a more coordinated Franco—German integration policy.

On 19 June 1983, the members of the European Council signed the "Solemn Declaration on European Union" in Stuttgart, and on 14 February 1984, the European Parliament adopted the draft Treaty on the foundation of the "European Union", named after the Italian federalist Altiero Spinelli, which sparked optimism. Spinelli was the father of the draft constitution. The agreement would enable them "to permanently overcome the claims to power and sovereignty of the nation states". This would set in motion the so-called 'function follows form' process: the specifics of integration would be only formulated after the constitution was established.

The "Monnet method" still has a *raison d'être*. Its core elements included elite decisions taken behind the scenes (covert integration) and the spillover effects of economic integration. However, it generated fewer synergies from the economy for politics. Commission President Jacques Delors nevertheless used this approach to transform the EC into the EU, with the single market at its heart.

On 3 December 1985, the European Council concluded an agreement in principle on the Single European Act (SEA) to extend the EC's treaty foundations in line with the Stuttgart Declaration. The internal market concept "EC 92" was launched by the EEC Commission in 1985; the SEA of 17/18 February 1986, which came into force on 1 July 1987; the report "The Single European Act" presented in 1988 and the "Single European Market" of 17/18 February 1986. The report "The Cost of Non-Europe in the Single Market" by Commission official Paolo Cecchini in 1988 calculated the losses to be incurred by the failure to establish a European common market; the "Delors Package", proposing reform of the financing system, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and

an increase in the Structural Funds, as well as the "three-stage Delors Plan" for the creation of an Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) were all clear signs of the intensified integrationist ambitions.

6. Germany's reunification and the Maastricht Treaty

Preceding the momentous day of 9 November 1989 were the events taking place on the Hungarian-Austrian border. The dismantling of the Iron Curtain from the beginning of May, the "Pan-European Picnic" on 19 August—with Otto von Habsburg acting as co-initiator and patron—and the opening of the border on 10/11 September were the first cracks in the wall that triggered the East-/West German unification process, which led to the reunification of the nation on 3 October 1990. Europe's international community and the other EC partners were alarmed. They were forced to act. At the Maastricht Summit on 9 and 10 December 1991, the heads of state and government agreed to establish EMU and to strengthen the Western European Union (WEU) through the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

Although the economic union did not materialise, the treaty signed on 7 February 1992 provided a firmer framework for the integration of a united and enlarged Germany. The fulfilment of the so-called "convergence criteria" was intended to create the conditions for EMU. These were linked to budgetary restructuring and austerity measures. For this reason, the ratification process of the controversial Union Treaty was delayed, especially in Denmark and France. Once the German Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe had accepted its compatibility with the Basic Law, the Maastricht Treaty entered into force on 1 November 1993.

IV. Lasting historical controversies

Maastricht marked a shift towards renationalisation. For the first time, the tacit public consensus on the integration progress now appeared questionable: in Denmark, Great Britain and France, the imminent renunciation of national sovereignty was hotly debated. Hurdles, therefore, had to be overcome in the ratification process, with referendums in Denmark and France and a constitutional complaint in Germany. As a result, the Treaty did not enter into force until 1 November 1993.

It represented a three-pillar model with the ECSC, EEC, and EURATOM, as well as Common Foreign and Security Policy and Justice and Home Affairs. From then on, European foreign policy was in the hands of the heads of state and government, while the foreign ministers essentially lost their influence. Although the Economic and Monetary Union led in three stages to the introduction of the euro, it was still not an economic union.

Compliance with the convergence criteria (budget deficit below 3% and debt ratio below 60% of GDP) eluded strict control. This fundamental problem was not addressed by the Stability and Growth Pact, which was intended as a complement in 1996 (and entered into force in 1997).

The Yugoslav wars of the 1990s sparked a debate on the future of EU foreign and security policy—with modest progress and little success to date. The CFSP did not live up to expectations because it has not become communitarian and remained a paper tiger due to the possibility of a veto any time. The Belgian Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens, who was involved in the Maastricht Treaty, sarcastically stated, *“The EC is an economic giant, a political dwarf but a military worm”*.

The developments that emerged and transformed after Maastricht highlighted the existing complexity of the contractual matter, as well as its shortcomings. The Treaty of Amsterdam (1997, in force 1999) and Nice (2000, in force 2003) were followed by unsatisfactory attempts at further reforms. The “constitutional turnaround” (Desmond Dinan) with the “Constitutional Treaty” in 2005 also failed. The question arises as to whether the preoccupation with highly complex and deeply controversial institutional issues in the post-Maastricht period undermined the credibility and utility of large-scale treaty reforms. The solution adopted at Maastricht is unlikely to offer a way out of the pile of problems that have accumulated to date. “The fault is in the execution, not in the architects”, said Delors in his *Memoirs of a European*.

V. The ambivalent legacy of Maastricht and the end of the “United States of Europe” (?)

Until the early 1990s, the idea of a “United States of Europe” persisted in academic, intellectual, European parliamentary and association policy discussions in the 12 EC Member States. However, the events of 1989 did not augur well for a promising and favourable future for the concept of a European federal state. That year was to herald the beginning of the end of the dream of a “United States of Europe”—not in a geographical or spatial sense, but in constitutional terms specific to a federal state. The opening up to Eastern Europe and the many new candidate countries presented unforeseen challenges to the supporters and advocates of a European federation. The German Christian Democrats, who had consistently anchored the idea of a “United States of Europe” in their programme, had to rethink their principles. Helmut Kohl emphasised that although he had a federal solution in mind for the EC, this should not be misunderstood as a step towards a “United States of Europe”.

At the third all-German party congress of the CDU, held in Düsseldorf on 25-28 October 1992, the German Chancellor pointed out that during the campaign for the highly debated referendum on the Maastricht Treaty in France on 20 September 1992 (the proposal had only 51.05% support), it was very counter-productive to talk about the “United States of Europe” because the expression was too reminiscent of the United States of America, especially in that particular country. He explained that the situation in the USA was completely different from that in Europe and its various national identities.

Now, 30 years after the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty, we have the historical perspective to take stock and evaluate. This provides a reminder that the assessment of the past always depends on current developments. The decades after Maastricht have been marked by a progression from treaty revision to treaty revision, a legacy that appears inadequate.

The leftovers and their political consequences are one of the downsides of Maastricht, considering the increased pressure for democratic legitimisation and the unprecedented pressures for enlargement to North-Eastern, Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe.

New topics were added to the agenda, which soon revealed the limits of the Maastricht Treaty. The feared ramifications of the so-called “Eastward enlargement” and the increasing rivalry between large and smaller member states in the run-up to the Treaty of Nice (2000, in force 2003) also added to this. By 2009, four new treaties had been signed (Amsterdam, Nice, Constitutional Treaty, and Lisbon), all of which remained incomplete to this day—if you look at the issues of today: asylum, coronavirus, digitalisation, climate change, migration, etc.

In the post-Lisbon era, one of the remaining tasks of the Maastricht Treaty was to carry out a far-reaching treaty reform based on the central importance of the EMU. The prolonged payments and sovereign debt crisis, during which an ever-growing group of experts, onlookers and doomsday prophets warned of the growing likelihood of a collapse of the Euro system, not only had a substantial impact on public awareness of the EU’s recent history but also challenged the first, overly positive interpretations of historical research on the Maastricht Treaty.

As historians, we can compare this with the opinion of Helmut Kohl. When asked what he, who was made an honorary citizen of Europe in 1998 following a unanimous decision by the EU heads of state and government, wanted for Europe, the response was unmistakable: *“That Europe should move forward again. Europe is our future. Europe is our destiny. Europe continues to be a question of war and peace with everything that goes with it: freedom, prosperity and democracy as well as peace.”*

European integration was already highly controversial three decades ago. The question of the ability to authorise European integration began with Maastricht. This was not unprecedented in the history of integration, which, in terms of Arnold Toynbee, followed a pattern of challenge and response, in other words, an alternating relationship between Europeanisation and renationalisation. By way of multilateralisation, the former appears to be the more convincing response to globalisation and a newly forming world order, assuming Europe still wants to play a part in shaping it.

*Delivered at the Otto von Habsburg Foundation’s conference
“From the Pan-European Idea to the Maastricht Treaty”.
(Ludovika University of Public Service, Budapest, 17 November 2023)*

ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF ESTABLISHING GERMAN—HUNGARIAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS



Ladies and Gentlemen,

While preparing this speech, I came across a sentence that, in my opinion, aptly describes Hungarian-German relations: “Germans and Hungarians are neighbours without shared borders.”

Well, that is what good neighbourliness is like: it is built on stable

foundations, there is mutual respect, and people treat each other as friends, which, of course, does not exclude the occasional tensions and disagreements. So, what are the neighbours doing, who are vested in ensuring a fundamentally good relationship and a harmonious coexistence? They communicate and seek solutions that both parties can live with. That this endeavour is, at times—to put it mildly—hardly simple; would anyone dispute that, faced with the problems at hand?

Let us look back at the history and the foundations of this relationship, which has been developing for 50 years through diplomatic relations. The basis and the basic elements of this neighbourhood. Shortly before Hungary’s accession to the European Union in May 2004, the last journey during his tenure took Federal President Johannes Rau to Hungary. As ambassador, I had the privilege of accompanying him and the delegation. At the state reception held in his honour, the President gave a touching and heartfelt speech commending the traditionally good German-Hungarian relations:

“This is the last official visit of presidential term, through which I would like to demonstrate how much our Hungarian friends mean to us. We are linked by a millennium of shared history; an eventful, fruitful, but above all, a thousand years without conflict or contradiction. Germans and Hungarians have always understood each other well, which remains true today. We, Germans, have only positive notions about Hungarians. And this is not self-evident. We Germans tend to search for the better elsewhere—

think of musicality or chivalry, temperament and diligence, wit and performance. And, of course, we associate good food and beverages with Hungary. Yet even with sober criticism, from German soil, the characterisation of the 9th-century meritorious Regino, abbot of Prüm, is the last negative assessment of the Hungarians, whom he referred to in the same breath as the barbarian Normans. And I suspect that the author has never been to your country.”

Then he continued: “And when problems have arisen, our predecessors acted in accordance with the rules of sportsmanship. The victory over the Golden Team in the 1954 World Cup final—obviously not deliberately—did us an invaluable service in regaining our confidence after the catastrophe of the Second World War. But enough of digging up old wounds. The Hungarians forgave us; otherwise, how could their national team have a German team captain?” [At the time, Lothar Matthäus was in the position—translator’s note.]

These were the words of Johannes Rau, to which I will return later.

On the issue of the coach, I should not comment... But it is perhaps worth putting a question mark after one or other of these statements today, even if it is in brackets. Even if—and I say this out of conviction—there should not be any doubt about the stability of the aforementioned foundations of the good neighbourly relations between our peoples.

I do not know if there was a poll in 2004 when ten Central European countries joined the EU, asking which of them the Germans were most happy about. However, if such a survey had been conducted, I am confident that Hungary would have topped the list.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Hungary in December 1973 was a logical consequence of the gradual intensification of political and economic ties between the two countries. One can mention here, for example, the trade agreement signed in November 1963 with the aim of creating bilateral trade between them or the ministerial visits such as those made by former Foreign Trade Minister József Bíró and former Economics Minister Karl Schiller in 1970.

The initiation of diplomatic relations was strongly motivated by economic and geopolitical considerations for both parties, which were underlined and supported by the highly positive development of trade alliances. By December 1973, more than 100 cooperation agreements were in place between businesses of the two countries. For Hungary, Germany is the most important trading partner to this day. And beyond minor hitches, the vast majority of German businesses are satisfied, so much so that 79% would invest in Hungary again.

The favourable view of Hungary among the generations of German politicians who grew into political responsibility in the second half of the 20th century is no longer shaped by the echoes of the World Cup final in Bern. After that fortunate moment, the rousing days of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 in October and November left a lasting impression on the minds of my generation, among others. We Germans had our fair share of traumatic experiences in connection with the suppression of the uprising in East Germany in the summer of 1953. That is why the memory of the Hungarian revolt and the sympathy for it were ingrained in members of my generation.

Other aspects of the German image of Hungary are more colourful and more cheerful—perhaps insignificant to some but just as enduring. The overwhelming success of the Sisi trilogy screened in the mid-1950s—although we know that it bore no relation to historical authenticity—conveyed a vision from Hungary of happy people and picturesque landscapes to a post-war German public yearning for merriment and beautiful scenery. Even today, when most West Germans hear Lake Balaton, they immediately think of the movie from 1955, *Ich denke oft an Piroschka*. The same Balaton that, until German unification, played such an essential role in reuniting East Germans and their relatives and friends in the West on holidays. This brings us not far back to the eventful days of August 1989, which have made my country grateful to yours forever.

The Pan-European Picnic, organised on 19 August 1989 under the patronage of Otto von Habsburg and Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, was intended to promote the idea of a united Europe without borders by temporarily opening the section of the border between St. Margarethen and Sopron, which had been closed for decades. Some 700 East Germans had been waiting in Hungary in the hopes to escape, seized the opportunity, and crossed into Austria. As the saying goes, there is nothing more strenuous to intercept than when the time is ripe for an idea to be put forward—thus, the events unfolded in logical succession. On 25 August, the Hungarian leadership agreed to open its borders to GDR citizens. This promise was fulfilled in the historic radio speech by Foreign Minister Gyula Horn on 10 September, and on the next day, words were followed by actions.

As the news broke, the overcrowded tent in the garden of the church in Zugliget was jubilant, as it had been at the time of Foreign Minister Genscher's famous announcement, or rather at the beginning of it, since no more could be heard from the balcony of the German Embassy in Prague. No fewer than 36,000 East German "vacationers" had made their way to Austria and the FRG in this way from the camp of the Zugliget parish. We remain grateful to the countless volunteers of the Order of Malta's Hungarian Relief Service, represented by Csilla von Böselager and Father Imre Kozma, for their hospitality and care of our compatriots. The Hungarian contribution to the reunification process of Germany was also acknowledged in the "Treaty of Friendly Cooperation and Partnership in Europe", signed in 1992.

Allow me to return for a few thoughts to Johannes Rau's speech in 2004. The President—after his laudation of Lothar Matthäus—addressed more serious topics: *"I would like to underline the epochal impact of the enlargement of Europe for us on the eve of Hungary's entry to the EU. The accession of your country and the region's other states will mark the end of the period from the fall of communism to free Europe. We may not realise it yet, but we are part of a momentous transition. To bring Europe to success, countries and regions must be able to preserve their unique characteristics. Our continent is, and must remain, diverse. People would no longer agree with a Europe whose richness drowns in monotony. We Germans await the audible and resounding Hungarian voice in the choir of Europe."* I must admit, I furrowed my brow a little at that sentence. The President concluded by saying that the Europe of 25 requires a new structure and expertise and voiced the hope that *"we should soon reach an agreement on a constitution that will last into the future"*.

The Federal President's warning that "we would lose our sense of belonging" in a Europe where the inspiring, thrilling and colourful qualities of the Member States dissolve into a uniform "homogeneity" is as relevant today as it was when the words were uttered. However, his hope that the Constitution, which was once discarded and is still pending ratification, would reflect his

concerns and be sustainable in the interests of all the Member States of the European Union has been shattered. The negative outcome of the French and Dutch referendums halted the enactment process, which has not been restarted since.

Today, we watch with concern the erosion of the historical vision of a Union that sheltered its members from external aggression with a haven. At the same time, they are bound together by the unity of diversity, where the weak can count on the strong to stand in solidarity with them, where everyone embraces their individuality, feeling at home because they have a solid foundation of mutually agreed values under their feet.

Such a vision of the Union has been, over time, associated with an unpleasant connotation, namely that "Brussels", or the "Apparatus", is losing touch with everyday life, becoming insubstantial and detached from the needs of the citizens of the Member States. Whether because of bureaucratic overzealousness or its role as a nanny who leaves us with nothing and tries to impose essential standards, who ignores as much as possible or concludes that swallowing a bitter pill is the inevitable consequence of accepting necessary regulations. On the other hand, the Member States are also taking their share of the blame for the disparities in critical policy areas that affect the atmosphere and cohesion of the Union.

I am telling you no secret when reminding the audience that Germany and Hungary today stand in very different positions on matters such as migration and the common foreign and security policy. At the beginning of my speech, I mentioned the good neighbourly relationship and its foundations. One thing is forbidden in coexistence as neighbours: suspending dialogue in times of dispute and not working together to remedy the problems that threaten this good, tried and tested nexus. Well, there is undoubtedly a difference between being annoyed at a neighbour's birch tree for showering its golden leaves on his meticulously manicured lawn in autumn and how one deals with the migration crisis, one of the greatest contemporary challenges. The solution can only be found together, and it does not exclude anyone; it is something that everyone, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, can live with. If this is not the case, the fate of the Union is precarious because the European voice will be less and less audible during the concert of the "big players".

Hungary will assume the presidency of the Council of Europe in the second half of 2024. It is clear that the most heated disputes of the period will revolve around strengthening competitiveness, migration and the accession of the Western Balkan countries to the EU: matters whose weight for the future of the Union can hardly be overestimated. However, the inclusion of a significant number of new members is inconceivable without a fundamental and decisive discussion of structural reforms. Hungary has an enormous task and responsibility in this area concerning the future of the European Union. Regardless of the composition of the German government that will take office next summer, one thing can be stated with confidence: good neighbours help each other. And I am confident that we—Germany—will be there if our company, advice, friendship and solidarity become necessary and desirable.

Delivered at a conference on the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and Hungary.

(Andrássy University, Budapest, 4 December 2023)

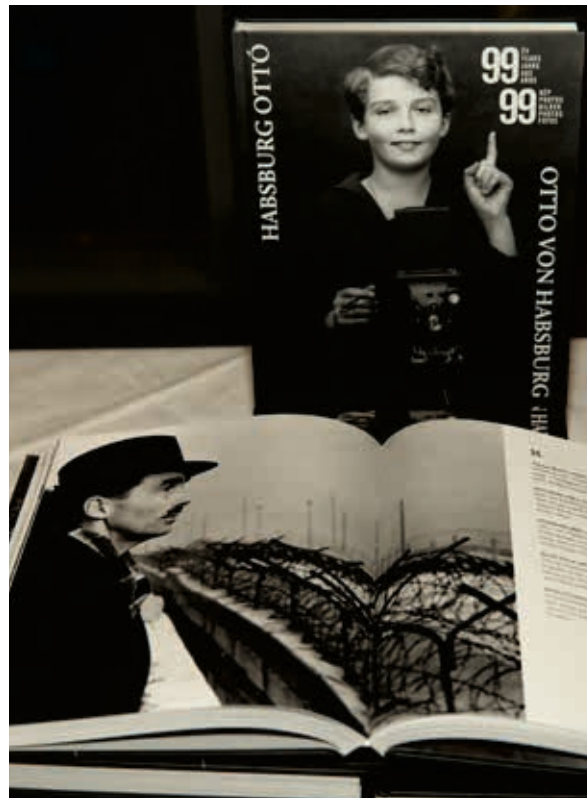
PUBLICATIONS

99 YEARS 99 PHOTOS — PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE LIFE OF OTTO VON HABSBURG

Our Foundation has celebrated the 111th anniversary of the birth of its namesake with a unique photo book, which, featuring photographs and detailed descriptions in Hungarian, English, German, French, and Spanish, traces the remarkable life of Otto von Habsburg, leading the reader to previously unknown places and scenes.

Released by Helikon Publishing on 20 November, the birthday of Otto von Habsburg, the book offers a glimpse into the first years of the “little heir to the throne with blonde locks”, the daily life of the royal family exiled to Madeira, the decades of love and marriage that began in the Hungarian refugee camp in Munich, and the defining moments of 20th-century European history. The selection presents 99 eventful years in 99 pictures, from his early childhood to the end of his life, attempting to document the momentous day-to-day activities of Otto von Habsburg, the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince who became a committed European citizen, the leading figure of the Pan-European idea, a dedicated member of the European Parliament, a politician sensitive to the fate of national minorities, an engaged debater, a globetrotting lecturer, a man of faith, a dynastic head and a devoted father. His oeuvre almost coincides with the tumultuous 20th century and, at the same time, is an insightful record of it.

Through the enduring nature of the photographs that capture fleeting moments, a uniquely colourful career path unfolds, featuring the work of renowned photographers, selected by the editor, SZILVESZTER DÉKÁNY, senior collections fellow of the Foundation. The volume contains photos from 23 countries on four continents, drawing on the collection of approximately 30,000 pictures of our archival collection. An essay by Professor Martyn Rady and a foreword by Karl von Habsburg complement the abundant material.



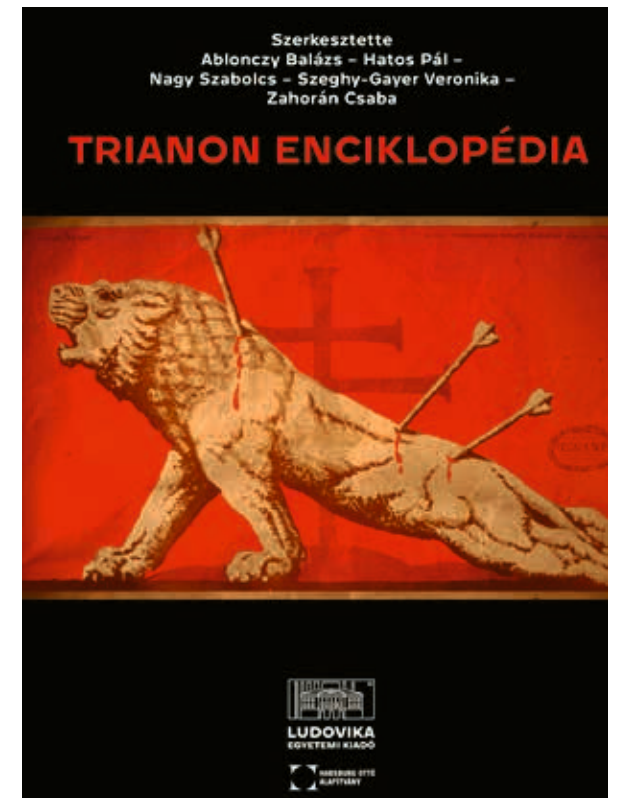
Nevertheless, this volume is not only outstanding in terms of photographic history and art but also an important milestone in our series of publications because it aims to make the deeper connections between the work and rich legacy of our namesake visible and accessible to a broader audience.

TRIANON ENCYCLOPAEDIA

The Central European Research Institute of the Eötvös József Research Centre, the Ludovika University Press, the Trianon 100 Research Group and the Otto von Habsburg Foundation published a study collection together. The book, written and edited by prominent experts, presents a thorough overview of the peace treaty and its domestic and international aftermath and it nuances the academic discourse and public debate on the historical processes and interpretations surrounding Trianon. Articles by our colleague GERGELY ISTVÁN SZŰTS are among the nearly 70 mini-essays that seek to explore this turning point in Hungarian history:

When did the Transylvanian Romanians declare their secession from Hungary? How many notes did Lieutenant Colonel Fernand Vix send to the Hungarian government? Who was the first dictator of Slovakia? Who opposed the foreign troops occupying more and more Hungarian-inhabited areas? How was the Hungarian railway network affected by the Treaty of Trianon? How many refugees arrived in Hungary from the annexed territories? How long did it take for the Hungarian economy to recover more or less after Trianon?

The authors and editors of the Trianon Encyclopaedia strived to provide the public with a handbook that, by focusing on factual material, could aid in orienting and navigating historical processes and their various interpretations and hoped that this volume, at the forefront of contemporary Hungarian historical research, would find a way to its readers, primarily to history teachers and students, and that it would present a coherent, clear, but not simplistic explanation to those interested in these tragic years of Hungarian history. Whether we like it or not, rationality plays a key role in understanding Trianon—the only way to come to terms with the events of a century ago, which continue to affect us today.



Outlook

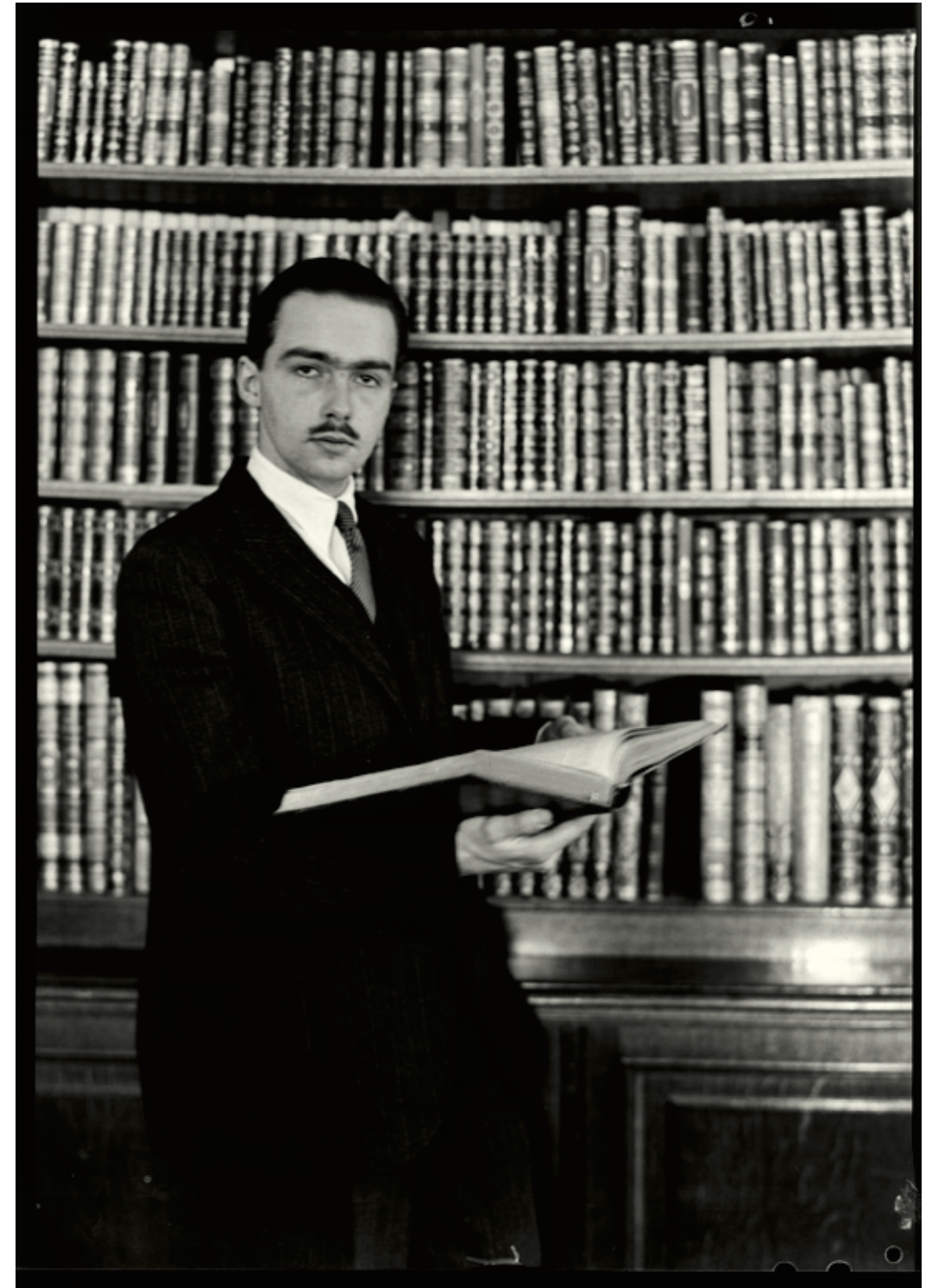
Otto von Habsburg had a full calendar all his life. Lectures, sessions, debates, conferences, meetings. With so many commitments and so much travelling, he nonetheless made time for more solitary, contemplative work. The extensive correspondence was a constant part of the weekly and daily agenda. Moreover, he wrote articles on a wide range of political and public issues (the Cold War, minority protection, geopolitics, youth, the situation of the Catholic Church) and in a quantity that is barely conceivable today, for various newspapers, from the *Kanadai Magyarország* to the *Magyar Nemzet*, from the *Deutsche Tagespost* to *L'Est Republicain*. Taking newspapers and, especially, books in hand, informing himself, and learning new perspectives were likewise part of his routine.

Looking back on the past year, I can confidently say that the Otto von Habsburg Foundation's 2023 calendar has been as varied and eventful as any of my father's active years: exhibitions, conferences, book releases, research and field trips, collaborations, and publications. The less spectacular, "routine" work also progresses apace: the Foundation's reputation at home and abroad is now enabling more acquisitions to our collections.

It is a widespread opinion that the tangible lessons make the study of the past so valuable. I know from my father that it is much more than that. The truth of *magistra vitae* lies in perspective, in expanding our thinking, and in discerning intentions. Even in contemporary affairs, we can only make good decisions with sufficient intellectual ammunition and reliable empirical knowledge. Those who set out with a compass of values are less likely to fall flat on the short-sighted politics of interests. I believe that in our present world, burdened by wars, crises and the lure of one-word explanations, it is strategically relevant not to forego the luxury of analytical exploration.

According to Otto von Habsburg, a generation which loses "its sense of historical perspective" and "no longer perceives the continuity of which it is a part of" will pursue "capricious and futile actions" in the present. I am confident that in 2024, the activities and the preservational and value-creating work of the Otto von Habsburg Foundation will continue to reflect the historical perspective and offer guidance for navigating the events of our time. Because the past cannot respond in our stead, but it can help us to have our own valuable and beneficial answers.

GEORG VON HABSBERG
Hungarian Ambassador to France, Member of the Board



Otto von Habsburg in the library room
Steenokkerzeel, Belgium, circa 1936
Ref: HOAL 15E 4-4 F



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