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THE UNITY OF THE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND THE CITY OF PÉCS AGAINST THE TRIANON PEACE TREATY DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD

In the Horthy era, the maintenance of irredentist goals became crucial among university students. The youth were socialized in a completely different life situation than the adult generation because they had lived through the First World War and the Trianon Peace Treaty as children. In this way, the desire for revision had to be constantly kept alive among youngsters because many of them had grown up without remembering Great Hungary. The aim was also to reinforce the feeling of offense that they did not accept the immutability of the borders. Due to this policy, the government and local city councils wanted the youth to dominate in spreading revisionist ideas. During my present study, I will describe how the city administration of Pécs, and the students collaborated in expressing irredentist purposes. The city council expected the youth not just to take part in various national holidays such as the Heroes' Memorial Day, the celebration of March 15, or the commemoration of the martyrs of Arad, but also emerge as a key factor in the organisation of ceremonies. In addition, the students regularly participated in the demonstrations, which were organized by the Pécs Group of the Hungarian Revision League and the Pécs-Baranya Circle of the Hungarian National Federation. However, from the beginning of the 1930s, the students started to be more and more active in propagating irredentism, so it also became common for them to hold their revision meetings.

Keywords: youth associations, the celebration of March 15, the commemoration of October 6, the Heroes' Memorial Day, The Mourning Day of Trianon, Hungarian National Federation, Hungarian Revision League, revision, protest rallies against Trianon, "town and gown" research

AZ EGYETEMISTÁK ÉS PÉCS VÁROSÁNAK KÖZÖS FELLÉPÉSE A TRIANONI BÉKESZERZŐDÉS ELLEN A HORTHY-KORSZAKBAN. A Horthy-korszakban az irredenta kultusz fenntartása és a revíziós célok hangsúlyozása az egyetemisták körében kulcsfontosságúvá vált, mert a fiatalság teljesen más élethelyzetben szocializálódott, mint az akkori felnőtt generáció, ugyanis ők gyermekként élték át az első világháborút, az utána következő forradalmakat



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és a trianoni békeszerződést. A hallgatókban így folyamatosan életben kellett tartani a revízió iránti vágyat, mert sokan már úgy nőttek fel, hogy nem is, vagy alig emlékeztek/emlékeztek a Nagy-Magyarországra. Cél volt továbbá, hogy a diákokban felerősítsék a sértettség érzését, annak érdekében, hogy ne törődjének bele a határok megváltoztathatatlanságába. A kormány és a városi vezetők, így kifejezetten támogatták a diákok a revízió érdekében folytatott tevékenységét és kezdeményezéseit. Jelen tanulmányomban bemutatom, hogy a városvezetés és az egyetemista ifjúság milyen területeken működött együtt az irredenta célok megvalósításáért. A városi tanács egyfelől kifejezetten elvárta a fiatalok részvételét a különböző nemzeti ünnepeken, például a március 15-i és az október 6-i megemlékezéseken, a Hősök Napján, illetve a Trianoni gyásznapon. A hallgatóság azonban nemcsak megjelenésével tiltakozott a békeszerződés területi rendelkezései ellen, de rendszerint a szertartások megszervezésében is kulcsfontosságú szerepet töltött be. A diákok másfelől rendszeresen csatlakoztak a Magyar Revíziós Liga Pécsi Szakosztálya és a Magyar Nemzeti Szövetség Pécs-Baranyai Körének szervezésében megvalósuló tiltakozó gyűlésekhez. Az 1930-as évek elejétől az egyetemisták kezdeményezésére megvalósuló revíziós tiltakozások és felvonulások is egyre általánosabbá váltak, miután egyre aktívabban propagálták a revízió ébren tartásának szükségességét.

Kulcsszavak: bajtársi egyesületek, Március 15-i ünnepség, Október 6-i megemlékezés, Hősök ünnepe, Magyar Nemzeti Szövetség, Magyar Revíziós Liga, revízió, Trianon ellenes tiltakozó gyűlések, „town and gown” kutatás

The spirit of revision in the Horthy era

The foreign and domestic policies developed in Hungary between the two world wars were determined by the peace treaty signed in the Grand Palace of Versailles on June 4, 1920. The territorial, military, and financial passages of the agreement caused substantial economic, political, and social changes in the life of the Hungarian state. The deep resentment, sorrow, and hatred of the society towards the contract are still essential parts of the Hungarian national identity. It is well illustrated by the expressions that the Hungarian society uses to this day such as *‘the Trianon trauma’*, *‘the national catastrophe’*, or *‘the mutilation of the country’*. After the Great War, the entire Horthy era was permeated by the sense of injustice, the complete rejection of the peace settlement, and the desire for revision as well.¹ Moreover, the acceptance of the *‘Christian-national’* political thinking and the support of the irredentist claims became a basic expectation among the wider public discourse. Voicing any different views could provoke the disapproval of the Hungarian government and political circles.²

In addition, social politics during the interwar period consciously did not pay enough attention to promoting a healthy processing of the loss after the First World

¹ ZEIDLER Miklós, *A revíziós gondolat* (Budapest: Osiris, 2001), 159–160.

² KEREPESZKI Róbert, „A tudomány »fellegvárából« közéleti »csatátér«. A két háború közötti egyetemi politizálás dualizmuskori előzményei”, in *Klebsberg és kora tanulmánykötet*, ed. LENGVÁRI István and PILKHOFFER Mónika. Expected publication in 2024.

War. Contrary to the situation, the members of the governing party rode the feeling of despair and emotional misery of residents to create a kind of *'pain cult'*.³ The state directly manipulated the society with the help of education, propaganda, and social organisations to never forget the tasks before them, especially in achieving Historical Hungary's restoration. Therefore, between the two world wars, there was no area of public and private life where irredentist slogans and symbols did not infiltrate.⁴ In this case, revision goals became part of the official cultural policy to preserve the social status quo in interwar Hungary.⁵

The political elite supported the need for the Trianon Peace Treaty's modification with several arguments. Already during the negotiations that ended the First World War, the delegation tried to influence the peacemakers by illustrating the economic, historical, and natural geographical unity of Great Hungary to preserve the territorial integrity of the country.⁶ Next to emphasizing the organic whole of the state, leading public figures wanted to support the legitimacy of revision efforts by highlighting the dangers of losing the country's role as the most significant bulwarks of Western Christendom.⁷ According to them, a wounded and weakened Hungary could not fulfil its thousand-year-old protective function. The necessity of re-establishment of the once strong nation was shown as a pan-European interest. The Western culture without the protective arms of Hungary was exposed to the idea of Bolshevism.⁸ Finally, they combined all of this with an element that cast doubt on Hungary's ability to prosper within the new borders.⁹

Although the political elite agreed on the importance of emphasizing the peace revision, they did not represent a unified position on its exact purpose.¹⁰ The government accepted the idea of the partial revision because it wanted to get the largest territory back which was possible within the framework of the actual foreign policy. The idea of the ethnic revision was supported by left-wing, moderate conservative, and liberal legitimist circles who aimed only at reintegrating those areas where most of the

³ SZABÓ Ildikó, *Nemzeti tematika és politikai szocializáció. A politika szerepe az identitások formálódásában Magyarországon 1867–2006*. (Academic doctoral thesis. 2006), 86, 95.

⁴ ZEIDLER, *A revízió...*, 50, 162.

⁵ STEVEN B. VARDY, "The Impact of Trianon upon Hungary and the Hungarian Mind: The Nature of Interwar Hungarian Irredentism", *Hungarian Studies Review*, 10, Vol. 1. (1983): 21–42, 37.

⁶ HAJDÚ Zoltán, *Magyarország történeti államföldrajza. Korszakoként változó államterület, határtörténet és határpolitika*. (Budapest: Dialóg Campus, 2019), 116–123.

⁷ HORVÁTH Csaba, "A revíziós törekvések és a nemzetpolitika tükröződése Baranyában (1935–1937)", in *Baranyai helytörténetírás 1985–1986. A Baranyai Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve*, ed. SZITA László, 575–602 (Pécs: Baranya Megyei Levéltár, 1986), 576–577.

⁸ SZABÓ, *Nemzeti tematika...*, 92, 118.

⁹ NAGY Zsuzsa, "Trianon a magyar társadalom tudatában (1987)", in *Trianon*, ed. ZEIDLER Miklós, 828–847 (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 831.

¹⁰ ROMSICS Ignác, "A Horthy-korszak teljesítménye", in *Velünk éltek Velünk élnek. Fejezetek a magyarországi és a Pécs-baranyai zsidóság történetéből. Konferenciakötet*, ed. NAGY Mariann, 9–27 (Pécs: PTE BTK TTI, 2015), 24.

Hungarian population lived. Compared to these, far-right circles and related youth associations fought for a total or integral revision, especially for the restoration of former historical Hungary.¹¹

Political leaders also disagreed on which methods and devices they should apply to achieve irredentist aims. The governing party and national associations stressed that the peaceful revision was the only option to end the fragmentation of the country, so they demanded the requirement of a new decision-making process over the fate of Hungarian and non-Hungarian inhabited areas by referendums. To implement this plan, they continuously monitored the statements of foreign politicians, public figures, and publicists regarding the amendment of the Trianon Peace Treaty. They tried to produce a kind of contrast between the situation of Hungarians who became minorities and the *'exemplary Hungarian minority policy'* by regularly reporting on the merciless persecution of Hungarians in the successor states. Furthermore, they accentuated the inability of the neighbouring countries' state formation referring to the impossibility of incorporating the annexed territories into a new organic unit.¹²

On the other hand, parties and organisations associated with extreme right-wing ideology did not shy away from the probability of recapturing the attached regions with weapons. The highlighting of the 'warrior' revision was also found among the declarations of youth associations. Students' ways of expressing their opinions often differed from the methods in which the political and intellectual elite shared their views. Thanks to adults' greater life and political experience, they could mostly interpret public and social issues in a deeper context. While the younger generation generally represented a more radical point of view.¹³

The university youth knew the generation gap between them and the older generation. In October 1933, the members of Turul, the most significant youth association with far-right ideology in the Horthy era, in the columns of their local paper, *'Nemzetvédő'* pointed out that youngsters were brought up in a completely different life situation as a consequence of the post-Trianon economic and social environment. They thought that while adults could 'whistle like carefree wanderers on well-known, well-trodden paths of vanished beautiful worlds', university students *'as a generation crossing the borderline of a new era'* were dropped *'right in the middle of a primeval forest, under giant, dark trees, in a mass of intertwining thorny bushes'* where no one had gone before. They regarded themselves as the *'orphans of Trianon'*, who did not even receive a *'single decent piece of clothing'* as an inheritance from their ancestors. They felt they had to take care of everything alone because there was no *'paved road, [...] comfortable gate or secure bridge in front of them'*. *All of this meant the management of public life in the new conditions could not be ensured based on the 'principles of a bygone era', which are 'useless'*

¹¹ ORMOS Mária, „Politikai ideológia a két világháború között”, in *Társadalom és kultúra Magyarországon a 19–20. században*, ed. VONYÓ József, 75–86 (Budapest–Pécs: MTT-Pro Pannonia, 2003), 78–86.

¹² HORVÁTH, „A revíziós törekvések...”, 575–576.

¹³ KEREPESZKI, „A tudomány »fellegvárából«...”.

in the changed framework.¹⁴ The youth therefore started their life with a sense of loss, and they were unsure how to jump over the obstacles in front of them.

University students not only identified with the idea of irredentism but often appeared as initiators. Accepting the faith of the older generation, youngsters believed that the re-establishment of historical Hungary could only be realized under their leadership.¹⁵ From this perspective the objective of this paper is to analyse which kinds of platforms the city administration of Pécs and the youth organisations appeared on together for the revision, in which events the students were indispensable actors, and how they became the creators of propaganda against the Trianon Peace Treaty from the 1930s.

The revision and the public life in Pécs

After the First World War, Pécs appeared as a symbolic place of revisionism in more ways. As a forced border city and a seat of Baranya, it was directly affected by the territorial and economic impacts of the Trianon Peace Treaty. The settlement was also under Serbian occupation for three years (1918–1921), which is why the population, based on their previous experiences, believed that they were fully aware of the vulnerable situation of Hungarians who lived in the annexed areas.¹⁶ From 1923, Elizabeth University also found a home in the township after being forced to leave Pozsony (Bratislava) because the Czech military entered the city. In addition, the higher education institution defined itself not as the University of Pécs because it did not renounce the chance of returning to Pozsony until 1940.¹⁷ All of this perfectly fitted into the prevailing irredentist political discourse during the Horthy era when the government's ideological orientation was determined almost by the 'Christian-national' thinking.¹⁸

The city administration of Pécs and the local press (Pécsi Napló, Dunántúl), following the current political policies, considered the peaceful revision as a method of the restoration of the historic Hungarian unity. This concept included the return

¹⁴ BARANYAI Aurél, "Against a mutilated generation", *Nemzetvédő*, October 1933. 6–8. In the case of Turul's local press, for example with *Nemzetvédő*, it often happens that the concrete date of the publications has not been indicated.

¹⁵ TÓTH Marcell, „A revíziós tüntetések és a szegedi hallgatók”, in *Trianon és a magyar felsőoktatás IV.*, ed. UJVÁRY Gábor, 9–107 (Budapest: Veritas és Magyar Napló, 2021), 100–102.

¹⁶ "Krisztics about the revision and the nature of internal national development", *Pécsi Napló*, 5 June 1934. 2.

¹⁷ SZABÓ Pál, *A M. Kir. Erzsébet Tudományegyetem és irodalmi munkássága*. (Pécs: Magyar Királyi Erzsébet Tudományegyetem, 1940), 50–51. In 1940, the Faculty of Humanities of Elizabeth University was transferred partly to Szeged and partly to Kolozsvár (Cluj). Accordingly, the university took the question of returning to Pozsony (Bratislava) off the agenda, since the institution could only hope to restore the taken faculty if its headquarters remained in Pécs. FEDELES Tamás and LENGVÁRI István and POHÁNKA Éva and POLYÁK Petra, *A pécsi felsőoktatás évszázadai*. (Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem, 2011), 75.

¹⁸ KEREPESZKI, „A tudomány »fellegvárából«...”.

of the Hungarian-inherited areas and claimed a decision about the fate of the non-Hungarian-inherited territories by referendum.¹⁹ From the point of the state and the city council, the maintenance of irredentist goals became significant among university students.²⁰ The aim was to reinforce the feeling of offense among them to not acquiesce in the immutability of the borders.²¹ As a consequence of it, the city leaders and local newspapers explicitly supported the initiations of students and expected them to play a dominant role in spreading revisionist ideas.

University events were not free from political manifestations either. The professors at Elizabeth University regularly dealt with the probability of the Trianon Peace Treaty's modification in their speeches during the opening or closing ceremonies and in their statements to the local press.²² Similarly to the governing party's view the lecturers and rectors also believed in the peaceful revision. Camillo Reuter, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, in his opening speech of the 1925/26 academic year, accepted Kuno Klebelsberg, Minister for Culture and Religion's theory about cultural dominance which acknowledged *'the educational superiority'* of Hungarians as the most important tool of the amendment of the peace settlement. However, this leading cultural role in the Central European region could only be provided by the universities.²³ All of this highlights that in the Horthy era higher education institutions, especially the universities which were forced to change their centres, became the symbol and the advertiser of revisionist claims.

Other lecturers mainly focused on the negative consequences of the peace contract. In March 1931, Gyula Prinz, professor of geology, in his article, published in *'Pécsi Napló'*, approached the *'Trianon problem'* from the perspective of public administration. He emphasized that the new state borders did not adapt to the ancient county and municipal boundaries, to the internal division of the state, and even to private estates. With the newly created border zones, the established traffic and rail network was also damaged. All of this enhanced the central position of Budapest and the so-called *'water head'* of Hungarian administration. In addition, after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the country fell out of the framework of a large federation, so it isolated economically, commercially, and politically.²⁴ József Halasy-Nagy, head of the Philological Institute, mentioned the emergence of insoluble hatred between the Central and Eastern European countries as the most serious effect of Trianon. As a result, these states could not develop into an effective internal economic union. After the First World War *'the peace agreements folded the body of Europe with painful thorns that*

¹⁹ HORVÁTH, "A revíziós törekvések...", 575–576.

²⁰ "The next generation", *Pesti Hírlap*, 10 June 1921. 1.

²¹ "It is okay if the youth look for new forms because the future is in them", *Nemzeti Újság*, 5 February 1930. 5.

²² KEREPESZKI, „A tudomány »fellegvárából«...”.

²³ From the documents of the 1925/26 academic year of Elizabeth University of Hungary, 44–46.

²⁴ PRINZ Gyula, "The geography of our public administration", *Pécsi Napló*, 8 March 1931. 1–2.

could only be removed with new wars. However, everyone was aware that another conflict would mean a revolution where the only winner could be the Soviet Union' – outlined the professor the situation in January 1933 in the columns of 'Pécsi Napló'.²⁵

From the mid-1930s, the lecturers were also increasingly concerned with foreign events, which helped to change the territorial passages of the peace contract. In June 1934, Sándor Krisztics, head of the Department of Legal Philosophy and Politics, pointed out the positive aspects of Germany's foreign policy, but stressed that the success of the Trianon Peace Treaty's amendment depended on the behaviour of England.²⁶ Ferenc Faluhelyi, professor of international law, in his article, which was published on December 25, 1936, in 'Pécsi Napló', thought that the only viable path of revision was if the nation would generate a closer and deeper relationship with Italy and Germany because only these countries were able to put pressure on the neighbouring states to enter into bilateral contracts.²⁷

The professors identified with the spirit of revision as the representatives of Elizabeth University and as private persons. They passed this perspective on to their students and put the ending of the country's fragmentation in the hands of the youth. Zoltán Pázmány, Dean of the Faculty of Law, in his 1930/31 academic year speech talked similarly about this question. He thought that 'youngsters' sacred mission' was to create a better future through the providence of Hungarians' God and cure the economic, political, and cultural consequences of the war.²⁸

The two most considerable organisations which specialized in the dissemination of revisionist propaganda were the Hungarian National Federation (Magyar Nemzeti Szövetség) and the Hungarian Revision League (Magyar Revíziós Liga). During the Horthy era, they willingly worked with the Hungarian university youth, who were usually involved in their various initiatives. With the foundation of Hungarian National Federation in 1919, it preceded the activities of Hungarian Revision League. The primary purpose of the organisation was to produce a spiritual, cultural, and economic integration of the Hungarian society, and also carried out a substantial propaganda campaign to prepare the revision of the Trianon Peace Treaty and the country's territorial reunification among foreign intellectual circles.²⁹ This association wanted to draw the attention of the victorious Great Powers not by using weapons, but by relying on the truth, that '*only a geographically and historically reintegrated, economically strong Hungary will be able to equalize the waves between East and West in its destined stronghold*'.³⁰

²⁵ HALASY-NAGY József, "The sick Europe", *Pécsi Napló*, 1 January 1933. 1.

²⁶ "Krisztics about the revision and the work of internal national development", *Pécsi Napló*, 5 June 1934. 2.

²⁷ HORVÁTH, "A revíziós törekvések...", 589–590.

²⁸ From the documents of the 1930/31 academic year of Elizabeth University of Hungary, 43–53.

²⁹ ZEIDLER Miklós, *A magyar irredenta kultusz a két világháború között* (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2002), 38.

³⁰ „Development of the Pécs-Baranya Circle of Hungarian National Federation”, *Dunántúl*, 20 April 1927. 4.

The Pécs-Baranya Circle of Hungarian National Federation was organized in January 1922. It had more significant executive presidents. In November 1928, this post was held by József Littke, chief government adviser, while in February 1932 by Sándor Krisztics.³¹ The main activity of this association manifested in holding free academic lectures, organizing concerts, protest meetings, and mourning ceremonies, furthermore publicising peace revision yearbooks.³² In November 1928, a women's Department was also organized within the Circle. The president was Soma Beck's wife, whose husband was a professor of medicine at Elizabeth University. On the other hand, Ferenc Faluhelyi was elected as vice president.³³

Hungarian Revision League was founded on August 11, 1927. The timing was no coincidence because it could join the press campaign initiated by Lord Rothermere, a prominent figure of contemporary British journalism with his article in *Daily Mail*.³⁴ The central leader of the organisation was Ferenc Herczeg, who came from the annexed Banat region, Versec (Vârșet). As a member of the parliament of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, a member of the Upper House, and the vice president of the anti-Trianon association, he became one of the most emblematic figures of the revisionist movement in Hungary.³⁵ The Pécs Group of Hungarian Revision League was established quite late, in April 1931, to respond to the economic crisis. The members of it saw the modification of the peace agreement as the only option for recovery. By eliminating the enmity between interdependent countries, it would have been possible to implement a planned interstate public management.³⁶ The organization's president in Pécs was Tibor Zsolnay Mattyasovszky, the director of the Zsolnay ceramic factory. However, the executive vice president was selected again from the members of the university teaching staff. The post was filled by Ferenc Faluhelyi.³⁷

The primary goal of Hungarian Revision League was to maintain the anti-Trianon public mood in the Hungarian nation and to promote the necessity of the peace contract's amendment. To achieve this aim, the League regularly organized demonstrative

³¹ "The Pécs-Baranya Circle of Hungarian National Federation was established", *Dunántúl*, 26 January 1922. 5.; "The general assembly of the Pécs-Baranya Circle of Hungarian National Federation and the establishment of the women's Department", *Pécsi Napló*, 14 November 1928. 4.; "The revision lectures of Hungarian National Federation begin", *Pécsi Napló*, 23 February 1932. 4.

³² "Committee meeting of the Pécs-Baranya Circle of Hungarian National Federation", *Pécsi Napló*, 23 October 1925. 5.; "The revision yearbook of the Pécs-Baranya Circle of Hungarian National Federation. *Pécsi Napló*, 22 May 1929. 3.

³³ "The general assembly of the Pécs-Baranya Circle of Hungarian National Federation and the establishment of the women's Department", *Pécsi Napló*, 14 November 1928. 4.

³⁴ ZEIDLER Miklós, „Revíziós tervek és irredenta kultusz”, in *A magyar jobboldali hagyomány 1900–1948*, ed. ROMSICS Ignác, 474–505 (Budapest: Osiris, 2009), 485.

³⁵ ZEIDLER Miklós, „A Magyar Revíziós Liga. Trianontól Rothermere-ig”, *Századok*, Vol. 2. (1997): 303–351, 310–312.

³⁶ K. J., "Hungarian Revision League put itself at the peace work service with full enthusiasm", *Pécsi Napló*, 20 March 1932. 1–2.

³⁷ "The Pécs Group of Hungarian Revision League was founded on Sunday", *Pécsi Napló*, 21 April 1931. 1–2.

rallies and tried to win the sympathy of leading politicians and public figures of foreign countries by distributing publications in foreign languages and establishing secretariats, which highlighted the false information about the Trianon Peace Treaty.³⁸ In these works, the organisation primarily denied the anti-Hungarian nationality policy of the successor states, the country's war responsibility, and criticized the peace conference because it was not applying the Wilsonian ethnographic principles in the case of Hungary.³⁹ None of the papers contained specific territorial demands, however, the ultimate purpose was the reshaping of the integer nation. As a result of it, the association voiced the ethnic revision towards the outside world by enforcing the application of nationality and the right to self-determination.⁴⁰

The involvement of the university students to the national holidays in Pécs

During the Horthy period, the observance of national holidays merged with the irredentist propaganda against the Trianon Peace Treaty because the integrity of the country could only be restored if all members of the society were guided by patriotism and national self-awareness.⁴¹ With the commemorations, the city administration of Pécs aimed to generate community collaboration, since *'if just for one day, the social division will be able to fall and Hungarian souls will go to a big, national meeting together to renew/strengthen their national vows, and to announce the unbreakable Hungarian faith'*.⁴² The reunification of the state could only be achieved with the leadership of the youth because without them the idealised Hungarian future could not be constructed.⁴³ The unfolding of positive political, social, and economic processes *'was carried by the power of university students, so cutting them off from the cycle of national life was a luxury which price should had been paid for with the Hungarian success'* – 'Pécsi Napló' expressed the position of the city council in March 1934.⁴⁴ As a result of this, the city management expected active participation from the young generation in the organisation and the conduct of the various local celebrations which facilitated the development of the students' national identity and civic loyalty.⁴⁵

The students played a primary role in accomplishing the March 15 celebrations, which was added to the list of national holidays by the Ministry of the Interior in

³⁸ FALUHELYI Ferenc, "Will be revision? The development of the revision movement and its results", *Pécsi Napló*, 25 December 1932. 11–13.

³⁹ ZEIDLER, "A Magyar Revíziós...", 312–313.

⁴⁰ ZEIDLER, *A revíziós...*, 104.

⁴¹ ZEIDLER, *A magyar irredenta...*, 34.

⁴² "The celebration of March 15 in Pécs", *Pécsi Napló*, 11 March 1934. 2.

⁴³ G., "Thousands of the enthusiastic audience of Pécs paid homage to the memory of the March 15", *Pécsi Napló*, 17 March 1928. 1–2.

⁴⁴ "Festive performance in the theatre", *Pécsi Napló*, 17 March 1934. 4.

⁴⁵ "The celebration of March 15 in Pécs", *Pécsi Napló*, 11 March 1934. 2.

1927.⁴⁶ In Pécs, the celebration consisted of several parts. In the morning, a mass was held in Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and Israelite churches,⁴⁷ and then during the afternoon the population gathered at Majláth Square (today's Kossuth Square) to lay a wreath at the monument.⁴⁸ In front of the Kossuth statue, institutions, associations, members of Levente Institution⁴⁹ and Hungarian Scouting (Magyar Cserkészzet) marched under their flags,⁵⁰ while the audience had to appear in dark clothes, which symbolized the mourning, the national cohesion and the protest the peace agreement.⁵¹



Fig. 1 Majláth Square with the Kossuth statue

Source: Collection of the Local History Department
of Csorba Győző Library

(Csorba Győző Könyvtár Helytörténeti Osztály Gyűjteménye)

During the celebration of March 15, the joining of youth associations and university students was obligatory, even in bad weather. They regularly gathered in front of the building of Saint Maurus College (Maurinum) and then marched in a procession to Majláth Square, to the scene of the commemoration.⁵² The participants had to follow

⁴⁶ "The celebration of March 15 in Pécs", *Dunántúl*, 15 March 1934. 4.

⁴⁷ "March 15th celebration in Pécs", *Pécsi Napló*, 14 March 1936. 4.

⁴⁸ "The holiday on March 15 in Pécs", *Dunántúl*, 16 Marc 1927. 1–2. See Appendix 1.

⁴⁹ Levente Institution (Leventeintézmény) was a specific Hungarian movement. It was brought into existence in December 1921 when physical education became mandatory for boys between 12 and 21 years old. Levente Organisation was created by the government's need to set up a comprehensive youth education institution. After the Great War, when the Trianon Peace Treaty determined the limitations on the size of the Hungarian army the state tried to replace the military training with this association during the interwar period. Consequently, next to sports activities, the program included target shooting, basic military training, and moral/spiritual educational work. VÁRDAI Levente, „A cserkészlet és a leventemozgalom”, in *Magyar cserkészélet (1910–1948)*, ed. TABAJDI Gábor and SZIGETI László, 121–137 (Budapest: Magyar Cserkészszövetség, 2020), 125–127.

⁵⁰ PTE EL VIII.101.a. The University Council's meeting in the academic year 1931/1932. 26 March 1931., 5. point.

⁵¹ "The celebration of March 15 in Pécs", *Pécsi Napló*, 11 March 1934. 2.

⁵² "The entire society paid homage to the memory of the independence war", *Pécsi Napló*, 16 March 1939. 4.

a pre-made parade plan, which was adjusted to the podium.⁵³ During the 1928 and 1929 occasions the delegates of the youngsters were located directly near the Kossuth statue, while the youth organisations were located in the south from the monument.⁵⁴ These positions of the university youth represented their serious role in the program.

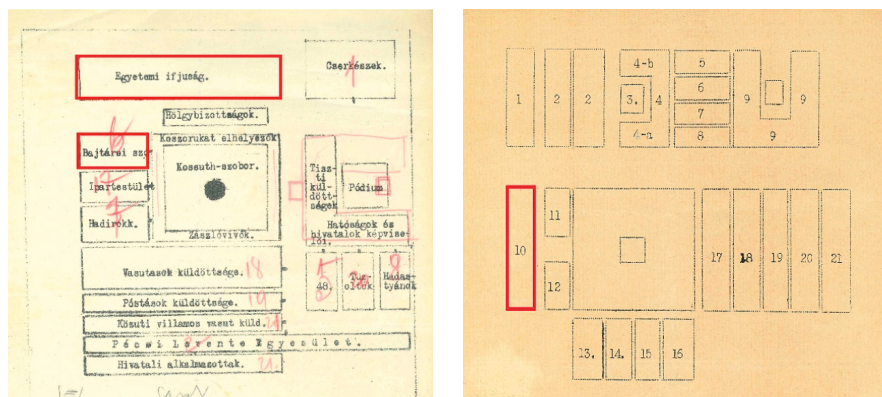


Fig. 2 The pre-made parade plan for the March 15 holiday in 1928 and 1929

Source: MNL BaVL IV.1407.g. E36–75819/1941 The pre-made parade plan for the March 15 holiday. 15 March 1928.; MNL BaVL IV.1407.g. E36–75819/1941 The pre-made parade plan for the March 15 holiday. 15 March 1929.

The members of Turul, the Southern University and College Students' Association (Délvidéki Egyetemi és Főiskolai Hallgatók Egyesülete, DEFHE), and students related to Emericana, the most emblematic Catholic youth organization of the era,⁵⁵ were the central characters of the holidays. After singing the 'Szózat', the national song of the Hungarians next to the anthem, or the *Magyar Hiszekegy*,⁵⁶ a welcome speech and a

⁵³ "The community of Pécs celebrated the birth of Hungarian freedom ideals", *Pécsi Napló*, 17 March 1936. 1–2.

⁵⁴ MNL BaVL IV.1407.g. E151–51/1940. The pre-made parade plan for the March 15 holiday. 15 March 1928.; MNL BaVL IV.1407.g. E151–51/1940. The pre-made parade plan for the March 15 holiday. 15 March 1929. See Appendix 2.

⁵⁵ See more about the activities of the youth associations in Pécs: RAPOSA Vivien Kitti, „Keresztény, nemzeti, antiszemita jelszavak nevében. A Turul és az Emericana pécsi korporációinak tevékenysége a Pécsi Erzsébet Tudományegyetemen a Horthy-korszakban”, in *Annona Nova XI. A Kerényi Károly Szakkollégium évkönyve*, ed. KÖMÜVES Dániel, 153–167 (Pécs: PTE BTK Kerényi Károly Szakkollégium, 2020); RAPOSA Vivien Kitti, „A keresztény és zsidó vallású hallgatók konfliktusai az Erzsébet Tudományegyetemen a két világháború között”, in *Trianon doktorandusz konferenciasorozat tanulmánykötet*, ed. MOLNÁR Dániel and MOLNÁR Dóra, 26–44 (Budapest: DOSZ, 2023).

⁵⁶ During the interwar period, the *Magyar Hiszekegy* was a well-known prayer, that proclaimed the future restoration of Great Hungary. Its text was as follows: 'I believe in one God/ I believe in one country/ I believe in one divine eternal truth/ I believe in the resurrection of Hungary!'. JÓBORÚ Magda, *A középiskola szerepe a Horthy-korszak művelődéspolitikájában*. (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1963), 56.

national recitation followed.⁵⁷ The performance of Sándor Petőfi's poem, the '*National Song*' (Nemzeti Dal) was also an essential part of the commemoration, which was usually presented by a medical or a law student.⁵⁸ The organizers often invited youth leaders and supporting members of the youth associations to hold a celebratory speech.⁵⁹ The next part of the program was the singing of the irredentist Hungarian song, '*No, No, Never*' (Nem, nem, soha!)⁶⁰ and the wreath laying of the Kossuth statue when not just the professors, but the students and the youth organisations placed their wreaths as well.⁶¹ The celebration always ended with the National Anthem and the parade of the youngsters.⁶²



Fig. 3 Festive poster for March 15 in 1929

Source: MNL BaVL IV.1407.g. E36–75819/1941. E151–51/1940.

Festive poster for March 15. 10 March 1929.

⁵⁷ “The holiday of Pécs on March 15”, *Dunántúl*, 10 March 1927. 4.; “The institutions, the associations, and the schools of the city celebrated the 8th anniversary of Hungarian freedom”, *Pécsi Napló*, 17 March 1932. 1–2.

⁵⁸ MNL BaVL IV.1407.g. E151–51/1940. Festive poster for March 15. 9 March 1936.

⁵⁹ “The anniversary of the birth of the Hungarian freedom in Pécs”, *Pécsi Napló*, 17 March 1929. 1–2.; MNL BaVL IV.1407.g. E151–51/1940. March 15 celebration. 4 March 1939.

⁶⁰ “The holiday of Pécs on March 15”, *Dunántúl*, 10 March 1927. 4.

⁶¹ “The anniversary of the birth of the Hungarian freedom in Pécs”, *Pécsi Napló*, 17 March 1929. 1–2.

⁶² “The holiday of Pécs on March 15”, *Dunántúl*, 16 March 1927. 1–2.

During these events, Gypsy and Hungarian music was more dominant because these songs appropriately served the irredentist cult,⁶³ so the invitation of jazz bands was not typical. The music was provided by wind bands and choirs of the settlement and the youth associations.⁶⁴ Next to providing musical accompaniment, the students were responsible for giving a guard of honour at the National Flag particularly from the second half of the 1930s. For instance, in March 1936, at 8 am, the ceremony of raising the flag took place in the presence of the Turul representatives. They stood guard until half past one pm when a musical changing of the guard happened. After that, from half past one to five pm, the university youth of Maurinum stood guard.⁶⁵ In 1937, in addition to Turul, this obligation was also performed by Emericana and DEFHE.⁶⁶

As part of March 15 celebrations, the university students paid homage to the national spirit with a festive program where they wanted to demonstrate ‘the young generation’s never-ending struggles for the true ideals of March’.⁶⁷ The performance was hosted by the National Theatre of Pécs, which started at seven or eight pm.⁶⁸ The youth organisations invited the whole society, regardless of social, religious, or public law differences.⁶⁹ The program usually started with an orchestral overture, or with the singing of ‘*Magyar Hiszekegy*’.⁷⁰ After a short introduction, a theatre play was performed with the participation of the local actors and the supporting members of Emericana and Turul Association. Over the years, the repertoire included all genres, from opera through comedies to historical plays from the pen of Hungarian authors. In 1928, they chose the ‘*Gypsy Baron*’ (Cigány Bátor) from Jókai-Strauss, while in 1936, they decided next to Ferenc Herczeg’s Ocskay Bragandéros.⁷¹

To share their national feelings, the university students had their commemorative events too. In March 1927, for example, a patriotic matinee was organised by the Werbőczy Association, the sub-organisation of Turul, where the membership accentuated ‘*they are ready to exchange the big black hat as a sign of the Trianon tragedy with*

⁶³ VAMOS Eszter, *Szabadidő és szórakozás a két világháború közötti Pécsen (1921–1941). A pécsi középiskola és az alsóbb társadalmi rétegek szabadidő eltöltésével kapcsolatos szokásai és lehetőségei*. Doctoral dissertation. (Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2022), 162–171.; 171–175. https://pea.lib.pte.hu/handle/pea/34512?fbclid=IwAR3UgeZf9HqgH04_pYOFWwHw-5FQNNIVsrLotMWiX-Dmemi27UsLwCE29UI. Access: 29 May 2024.

⁶⁴ MNL BaML IV.1406.g. E150–51/1940. Festive poster for March 15. 8 March 1933.; MNL BaML IV.1406.g. E150–51/1940. Festive poster for March 15. 9 March 1936. See Appendix 3.

⁶⁵ “Guard in front of the National Flag”, *Pécsi Napló*, 15 March 1936. 6.

⁶⁶ “The celebration of March 15”, *Pécsi Napló*, 14 March 1937. 5.

⁶⁷ “The collective celebration of the society in Pécs at the National Theatre”, *Pécsi Napló*, 14 March 1934. 2.

⁶⁸ “March 15 celebration in the theatre”, *Pécsi Napló*, 14 March 1928. 6.

⁶⁹ “The holiday of Pécs on March 15”, *Pécsi Napló*, 11 March 1934. 2.

⁷⁰ “Bánk Bánk – Opera play at the National Theatre of Pécs”, *Pécsi Napló*, 14 March 1939. 7.

⁷¹ “March 15 celebration in the theatre”, *Pécsi Napló*, 14 March 1928. 6.; “March 15 at the National Theatre of Pécs”, *Pécsi Napló*, 13 March 1936. 6.

the blood-red cap of their fathers.⁷² The Association of Hungarian Israelite University and College Students (Magyar Izraelita Egyetemi és Főiskolai Hallgatók Egyesülete, MIEFHOE) held its March 15 celebration in the Jewish faith community's hall in Pécs. Usually, Zoltán Wallenstein, chief rabbi, welcomed the guests, while the task of the celebratory speech was given to the youth president of MIEFHOE. After that, the membership said some recitations and the closing speech was divided between the religious leader and the students.⁷³

The members of DEFHE, Emericana, and Turul also played a fundamental role in the realization of October 6 celebrations as the partners of Hungarian National Federation.⁷⁴ The holiday of the Arad martyrs in Pécs became decisive in the second half of the 1930s when the National Flag was handed over in the square in front of the Saint Maurus College in 1935.⁷⁵ With the inauguration of the monument the ceremony connected with the expression of a unified social protest against the peace contract. In the public discourse, this meant that the fragmented country could only be terminated if the Hungarian society was guided by the kind of patriotism and national self-awareness that once characterized the martyrs of Arad.⁷⁶ Thus, the flag became a *'sacred symbol of resurrection'* whose purpose was to *'awaken the sense of respect for the national colours'*.⁷⁷ With the initiative, the local council's goal was for all members of the community come together to achieve revisionist aims as same extent as they offered donations for the National Flag.⁷⁸

⁷² "The celebration of March 15 in Pécs", *Dunántúl*, 10 March 1927. 4.

⁷³ "Jewish university students", *Pécsi Napló*, 17 March 1933. 1.; "The Pécs Circle of MIEFHOE", *Pécsi Napló*, 15 March 1936. 6.

⁷⁴ "The memory of the Arad martyrs", *Pécsi Napló*, 1 October 1936. 5.

⁷⁵ "Minister Fabinyi for the National Flag of Pécs", *Pécsi Napló*, 7 April 1935. 3. The National Flag movement was formed due to the Trianon Peace Treaty. Local communities had to keep the flag half-mast on the guard tree until the country regained its former territories and size. The first one was erected in Budapest, at Szabadság Square, on August 20, 1928. After that, it became a goal-setting to implement memorials in every settlement. However, compared to the capital city and other small and large rural towns, the National Flag in Pécs was established quite late. TEGZES Ferenc, "Egy tér a revíziós politika szolgálatában – A pécsi országházló szerepe a város társadalmi életében", in *Utca, terek, épületek Pécsen. Baranya Történelmi Közlemények* 4, ed. MÁRFI Attila, 267–283 (Pécs: Baranya Megyei Levéltár, 2010), 267–268. See Appendix 4.

⁷⁶ "The National Flag was unveiled in the presence of an enthusiastic audience", *Pécsi Napló*, 8 October 1935. 3.

⁷⁷ "After the inauguration of the National Flag", *Pécsi Napló*, 20 October 1935. 4.

⁷⁸ "The founding certificate of the National Flag has been completed", *Pécsi Napló*, 5 October 1935. 3. The demand of establishing the National Flag of Pécs arose in June 1933 at a meeting of Levente Association, which first wanted to erect the monument at Széchenyi Square. In December 1934, the Pécs-Baranya Circle of Hungarian National Federation undertook the initiative. However, considerable time passed between the idea and the actual handing over because the organisation wanted to raise the necessary amount for its implementation through crowdfunding. It progressed slowly since the more affluent class of Pécs was passive for a long time regarding the case of the National Flag. Although the installation date was changed thrice, the monument was handed over on October 6, 1935. After the inauguration, the National Flag functioned until the first third of the 1940s, when the new political

After the monument was erected, the city management held the ceremony on October 6 in front of the Maurinum, or at the National Flag Square (Országzászlótér) as the local press called this area from 1936.⁷⁹ The leaders of youth organisations made the involvement of the students mandatory. The membership had to gather in front of the Cistercian secondary school to march together to the venue.⁸⁰ The youngsters were also responsible for standing guard in front of the National Flag like during the holiday of March 15. Between ten am and seven pm the membership of DEFHE, Emericana, and Turul undertook this service.⁸¹



Fig. 4 The National Flag in front of the Saint Maurus College

Source: Collection of the Local History Department of Csorba Győző Library

Compared to March 15, the commemoration of the Arad martyrs lasted for several days. Before the official ceremony, the population had closed on October 5 with a lantern parade.⁸² The next day (October 6) started with a musical wake-up, and later in the morning, all religious churches held masses.⁸³ The main program started around eleven o'clock, which was introduced with a horn signal and 'Szózat'.⁸⁴ This was followed by the performance of 'Magyar Hiszekegy' or Hungarian songs which were suitable for the

power condemned its demolition. TEGZES Ferenc, „A Pécsi Országzászló létrejötte”, in *Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből 20. A 2006. és 2007. évi Előadások Pécs történetéből c. konferenciák válogatott előadásai*, ed. KAPOSZI Zoltán and VONYÓ József, 281–295 (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 2009), 281–283.

⁷⁹ TEGZES, „Egy tér a...”, 267–268.

⁸⁰ “The holiday in front of the National Flag will be a parade of the society”, *Pécsi Napló*, 4 October 1936. 5.

⁸¹ “The parade of the national society on October 6 in front of the National Flag”, *Pécsi Napló*, 3 October 1937. 6.

⁸² “The unveiling of the National Flag in Pécs”, *Pécsi Napló*, 22 September 1935. 5.

⁸³ “The order of the National Flag’s inauguration”, *Pécsi Napló*, 4 October 1935. 4.

⁸⁴ “The National Flag was unveiled in the presence of an enthusiastic audience”, *Pécsi Napló*, 8 October 1935. 3.

occasions.⁸⁵ The central elements of the program were the celebratory speech, which was usually given by József Somogyvári, the prosecutor of the Pécs-Baranya Circle of Hungarian National Federation, and the ‘*Trianon memento*’ presented by Turul.⁸⁶ At that time, five students stood in front of the National Flag, and while one of them recited a poem, the other four answered the questions.⁸⁷ The latter personalised the north, east, south, and west annexed territories. After that, the song ‘*Truth to Hungary*’ (Igazságot Magyarországnak) was played.⁸⁸ The ceremony ended with the National Anthem and a procession.⁸⁹

Besides the commemorations of March 15 and October 6, the youngsters regularly participated in the Heroes’ Memorial Day and the Mourning Day of Trianon which were organized by the Pécs-Baranya Circle of Hungarian National Federation. With the first, the local community remembered those heroes who gave their lives for the Hungarian nation in the First World War.⁹⁰ The host jurisdiction could celebrate this event from 1924 when the Hungarian legislature designated the last Sunday of May as the Heroes’ Memorial Day.⁹¹ At first, the citizens of Pécs gathered in the heroes’ cemetery,⁹² however from the beginning of the 1930s, the holiday was held at the Széchenyi Square after that in 1932 two reliefs were placed on the right and the left side of the staircase at the square.⁹³ In the Horthy era, the city administration considered the involvement as a moral duty, so it expected from the dwellers, including the university students, to take part in the occasions.⁹⁴ The membership of the youth organisations had to be in their uniforms, the front fighters wore their badges and awards, while the local society appeared in dark clothes.⁹⁵

⁸⁵ “The celebration of October 6 in Pécs”, *Dunántúl*, 6 October 1937. 3.

⁸⁶ “The holiday in front of the National Flag will be a parade of the society”, *Pécsi Napló*, 4 October 1936. 5.

⁸⁷ “The memory of October 6 in Pécs”, *Dunántúl*, 8 October 1937. 4.

⁸⁸ “The commemoration of the thirteen of Arad in front of the National Flag”, *Pécsi Napló*, 6 October 1936. 1–2.

⁸⁹ “The National Flag was unveiled in the presence of an enthusiastic audience”, *Pécsi Napló*, 8 October 1935. 3.

⁹⁰ “On Sunday, the society of Pécs celebrated the Mourning Day of Trianon”, *Pécsi Napló*, 25 May 1933. 4.

⁹¹ “The community of Pécs celebrated the Heroes’ Memorial Day”, *Pécsi Napló*, 1 June 1926. 1.

⁹² In 1914, the Hungarian Society of Applied Arts (Magyar Iparművészeti Társulat), the Committee for the Perpetuation of Heroic Memorials (Hősi Emléket Megörökítő Bizottság, HEMOB), and from 1922 the Judging Committee for Heroic Memorial Designs of the Fine Arts Council (Képzőművészeti Tanács Hősi Emlékműtervek Bíráló Bizottsága) took the initiative for villages and towns to place artistic statues, and memorial plaques to remember the heroes of the Great War. In Pécs, the military cemetery was established in 1928 on the site of an earlier memorial column. ROMVÁRY Ferenc, *Pécs köztéri szobrai, épületplasztikák, emlékművek, emléktáblák* (Pécs: Kronosz Kiadó, 2014) 297–298.

⁹³ “The unveiling of the two home regiments’ reliefs”, *Pécsi Napló*, 29 May 1932. 2. See Appendix 5.

⁹⁴ g.: “The Heroes’ Memorial Day in Pécs”, *Pécsi Napló*, 24 May 1929. 1–2.

⁹⁵ “On Sunday, the society of Pécs celebrates the Mourning Day of Trianon”, *Pécsi Napló*, 25 May 1933. 4.



Fig. 5 The heroes' memorial statue in the heroes' cemetery in Pécs

Source: Collection of the Local History Department of Csorba Győző Library

The university youth appeared in the cemetery and at Széchenyi Square every year to lay a wreath at the memorial statue and the relief of the 19th and 52nd home regiments' heroic dead,⁹⁶ but this time, they did not join the organisation and the implementation of the programs. The reason for this could be that Elizabeth University had its own holidays to salute the memory of the students, the professors, and the employees who died in the Great War. For example, in 1930, a memorial plaque of the university's heroic dead was unveiled immediately after the academic year's opening ceremony.⁹⁷ On the other hand, the Israelite religious community of Pécs also commemorated their heroic dead, but they did in inner circles. In 1926 and 1929, the MIEFHOE invited all Jewish students to gather in the university canteen, where they marched to the cemetery. There Zoltán Wallenstein, chief rabbi, and a Jewish student gave a lecture.⁹⁸

The idea that the signing date of the Trianon Peace Treaty (June 4) becomes an official national holiday was first raised in May 1926 when the Social Associations Federation (Társadalmi Egyesületek Szövetsége) submitted its proposal to Franz Joseph

⁹⁶ In 1868, the 19th Infantry Regiment was established following the Law on the Defence Force and the National Guard. During the First World War, it was mobilized on July 25, 1914, and was disbanded on November 18, 1918, after suffering heavy losses during the Battle of Piave. The 52nd Infantry Regiment's formation was decided on September 11, 1914. The end of the First World War, October 1918, hit the soldiers on the Italian front. Their memorials consisted of three different parts because on each side of the bronze reliefs there was a marble tablet listing their battles. ROMVÁRY, *Pécs köztéri szobrai...*, 304–306.

⁹⁷ PTE EL VIII.101.a. The third regular meeting of the University Council in the academic year 1931/1932. 24 November 1931., 4. point. See Appendix 6 and 7.

⁹⁸ "The holiday of the Heroes' Memorial Day", *Pécsi Napló*, 1 June 1926. 1.; "All Jewish university students were invited by the MIEFHOE", *Pécsi Napló*, 26 May 1929. 7.

University of Szeged. The academic staff of Elizabeth University discussed the request in November 1927, when the Minister for Culture and Religion submitted it as a suggestion. The council of the higher education institution supported the proposal, that the mourning flag would be hung on the university building and facilitated the postponement of lectures and exams.⁹⁹ However, the government did not include the day of the peace agreement as a national holiday until 1932.¹⁰⁰



Fig. 6 The relief of the heroic dead of the 19th and 52nd home regiments at Széchenyi Square

Source: Collection of the Local History Department of Csorba Győző Library

In Pécs the June 4 celebration consisted of several parts.¹⁰¹ In the morning, the pastors of all religious denominations commemorated the influence of the peace settlement. At four pm, the church bells rang to express national mourning.¹⁰² The general assembly was held at the National Theatre. The Hungarian National Federation did not ask to buy entrance tickets, only to redeem the performance price. It was fifty pennies.¹⁰³ The program started with a military orchestral work the '*Rákóczi march*' (Rákóczi induló), one part from a Hungarian opera play '*Bánk bán*', which was followed by the '*Magyar Hiszekegy*'. After the celebratory speech, the playing of irredentist poems, Hungarian songs, and the '*Memento*' could not be missed. The holiday ended with the National Anthem or the '*Szózat*'.¹⁰⁴ The audience had to arrive in dark

⁹⁹ PTE EL VIII. 101. a. The third regular meeting of the University Council in the academic year 1927/1928. 30 November 1927., 15. point.

¹⁰⁰ PTE EL VIII. 101. a. The third regular meeting of the University Council in the academic year 1930/1931. 26 November 1930., 11. point.

¹⁰¹ "June 4 will be a large-scale mourning day in Pécs", *Pécsi Napló*, 30 May 1935. 4.

¹⁰² "Today is the 12th anniversary of the signing of the peace agreement", *Pécsi Napló*, 4 June 1932. 1.

¹⁰³ "June 4 will be a large-scale mourning day in Pécs", *Pécsi Napló*, 30 May 1935. 4.

¹⁰⁴ "Today is the 12th anniversary of the signing of the peace agreement", *Pécsi Napló*, 4 June 1932. 1.

clothes to express the post-traumatic shock of the peace contract and to emphasise the whole community's desire for revision.¹⁰⁵ The youngsters also represented themselves, but they were not involved in the organisation, as was the case with the Heroes' Memorial Day.¹⁰⁶



Fig. 7 The handing over of the memorial plaque of the university's heroic dead in 1930

Source: Collection of the Local History Department
of Csorba Győző Library

The demonstrations of the youth associations against the Trianon Peace Treaty in Pécs

The most visible manifestation of the students' revisionist activity appeared in rallies and meetings organized by Hungarian National Federation and Hungarian Revision League. Among the youth organisations, Turul, Emericana, and DEFHE had the closest relationship with these irredentist associations. The deepening cooperation between them was also facilitated by the involvement of the professors and the positions they held. Several lecturers were members of Hungarian National Federation, including János Ángyán, director of the Internal Medicine Clinic,¹⁰⁷ Béla Entz, head of the Institute of Pathology, Antal Hodinka, director of the Department of the Universal History,¹⁰⁸ and Thienemann Tivadar, head of the German Institute.¹⁰⁹ Next to them Sándor Krisztics was the executive president.¹¹⁰ Hungarian Revision League also had

¹⁰⁵ "The celebration of March 15 in Pécs", *Pécsi Napló*, 11 March 1934. 2.

¹⁰⁶ "June 4 will be a large-scale mourning day in Pécs", *Pécsi Napló*, 30 May 1935. 4.

¹⁰⁷ "Hungarian society for the revision", *Pécsi Napló*, 9 April 1933. 2.

¹⁰⁸ "Creating national forces and cohesion is a social task", *Pécsi Napló*, 15 June 1932. 2–3.

¹⁰⁹ "The meeting of Hungarian National Federation in Pécs", *Pécsi Napló*, 24 November 1926. 3.

¹¹⁰ "The revision lectures of Hungarian National Federation begin", *Pécsi Napló*, 23 February 1932. 4.

several professors from Elizabeth University among its ranks. Ferenc Faluhelyi helped as a vice president, and Géza Birkás, head of the French Institute as a secretary.¹¹¹ The representatives of the teaching staff were also closely connected to the three youth organisations. For example, Ferenc Faluhelyi was the head of DEFHE,¹¹² Béla Entz was the prior of Quinque-Ecclesiensis, Emericana's sub-organisation,¹¹³ while Sándor Krisztics¹¹⁴ and Antal Hodinka were the supporting members of Turul.¹¹⁵

The first major mass demonstration in Baranya, where the university youth participated in large numbers, took place on November 11, 1928, at the initiative of Hungarian National Federation to reflect the peace settlement's consequences. The protest meeting at Majláth Square had both national and local significance. On the one hand, it was close to the '*Hungarian Week*' in November, so the assembly inflamed other larger rural towns and the population of Budapest to organize similar movements.¹¹⁶ In the capital city of Hungary and Debrecen, the revisionist protest rallies were formed on November 18,¹¹⁷ while Szeged held its meeting on November 28.¹¹⁸ On the other hand, with this occasion the society of Pécs connected to the commemoration of the three-year Serbian occupation, since the soldiers crossed the borders of the settlement on November 13.¹¹⁹ The Federation called for the entire community through the local press to attend the event and to share their protest '*the land grabbing activity without a referendum*'. Because with the appearing the demonstration could bring the population closer together and stimulate them to work collaboratively to reach the restoration of the country's integrity.¹²⁰

In Pécs, the next movement happened in the town hall on November 29, 1931, organized by the Pécs Group of Hungarian Revision League. The reason was the outbreak of the world economic crisis and the deteriorating economic situation. Based on 'Pécsi Napló', the League elevated this demonstration to the national level by inviting speakers from Budapest and abroad. Not just Emil Nagy, former Minister of Justice, and Gusztáv Ilosvay, state secretary, appeared at the event, but Alessandro Auguste, Baron Monti as well, the grandson of Colonel Monti, who participated in the War of Independence in 1848. He came to the country to encourage Italian-Hungarian friendship. In honour of the guests, Tibor Zsolnay-Mattyasovszky, the local president

¹¹¹ "The foundation of the Pécs Group of Hungarian Revision League", *Pécsi Napló*, 21 April 1931. 1–2.

¹¹² "DEFHE remembered about its heroic dead", *Pécsi Napló*, 15 November 1942. 2.

¹¹³ "Curial meeting of Emericana's Quinque corporation", *Pécsi Napló*, 16 November 1932. 4.

¹¹⁴ "Honorary camp of Werbőczy Association in Szigetvár", *Pécsi Napló*, 15 November 1933. 5.

¹¹⁵ "Camping of Csaba Association", *Pécsi Napló*, 24 November 1932. 5.

¹¹⁶ "There will be a peace revision rally at Majláth Square on November 11", *Dunántúl*, 28 November 1928. 2.

¹¹⁷ "The delegation of the revision assembly at Jenő Rákosi", *Pesti Hírlap*, 20 November 1928. 3–4.

¹¹⁸ Tóth, „A revíziós tüntetések...”, 97–98.

¹¹⁹ "There will be a peace revision rally at Majláth Square on November 11", *Dunántúl*, 28 November 1928. 2.

¹²⁰ "The participation of associations and institutions in the protest assembly", *Dunántúl*, 9 November 1928. 3.

of the organisation, stressed the common interests of Hungary and Italy in terms of the revision.¹²¹

1932 also resulted a nationwide movement related to irredentist aims. Among the university centres, Debrecen was the first to implement its protest rally on March 20 to celebrate the establishment of a new Hungarian Revision League's sub-organisation.¹²² This was followed by the capital city, where on May 22 the population of Budapest demonstrated together against the Trianon Peace Treaty.¹²³ At the latest, the residents of Pécs organized their meeting on June 4, on the anniversary of the peace agreement's signing day. The revisionist associations' local departments chose the National Theatre as the venue for the assembly. The guests could only attend if they bought the tickets in advance for fifty pennies. The program was highlighted by the appearance of József Sztérényi, member of the upper house, honorary citizen of Pécs, and Zsigmond Perényi, national president of Hungarian National Federation.¹²⁴



Fig. 8 Inauguration of Llewellyn Jones as an honorary doctor in 1933

Source: Pécs University Collection (Pécsi Egyetemtörténeti Gyűjtemény)

In Pécs, one of the most significant revisionist demonstrations took place on May 24, 1933, the honour of György Lukács, Minister for Culture and Religion, and Llewellyn Jones's arrival, English author who came to the country to personally study the situation of nationalities and Trianon borders.¹²⁵ The politicians' reception com-

¹²¹ "Emil Hagy demanded the modification of the Trianon Peace Treaty", *Dunántúl*, 1 December 1931. 4.

¹²² "An impressive demonstration will be organised against Trianon" *Debreczeni Újság*, 20 March 1932. 3.

¹²³ "István Bethlen gave a powerful speech in Budapest", *Debreczeni Újság*, 24 May 1932. 3.

¹²⁴ "The common protest rally of Hungarian National Federation and TESz", *Pécsi Napló*, 29 May 1932. 1.

¹²⁵ "Revision assembly in Pécs", *Dunántúl*, 18 May 1933. 5. Llewellyn Jones had a personal reason for visiting Pécs because he was inaugurated as an honorary doctor of Elizabeth University in 1933.

mittee included the representatives of Hungarian Revisionist League, the delegates of local public leaders, and the members of the youth associations.¹²⁶ In addition, the organisers appealed to the university students not just welcome the guests at the train station, but appear at the revision rally.¹²⁷ The climax of the occasion was Llewellyn Jones's lecture in English.¹²⁸

On November 29, 1936, in the spirit of the Italian-Hungarian partnership, the Pécs-Baranya Circle of Hungarian National Federation held a demonstration at the National Flag Square, where not only the front-line fighters, leventes, scouts, and railway workers, but also the students represented themselves, including Turul and DEFHE. The event was introduced by the Anthem and followed by 'No, no, never' (Nem, nem, soha). József Somogyváry, the public prosecutor of Hungarian National Federation, gave the celebratory speech, in which he thanked the Italian nation for its friendly statements towards Hungary. After the 'Magyar Hiszekegy', the meeting ended with a ceremonial procession.¹²⁹

Youngsters did not play a dominant role as initiators during these occasions. They were just one part of the society who attended protest rallies, not participating in the organisation or the implementation of the ceremonies. However, from the beginning of the 1930s, students started to be more active in propagating irredentism by holding their own revision meetings. The most active were the Turulist youth, who willingly joined demonstrations in various cities of the country.¹³⁰ The earliest materialization of this activity in Pécs was on June 4, 1930, as a result of the tenth anniversary of the Trianon Peace Treaty. Ringing bells at noon was an accepted tradition during the mourning day. The youngsters made a parade through the city. The students marched to Majláth Square, passed in front of the university, and then touched the Lajos Kossuth, the King, the Ferenciek, and the Rákóczi streets, where they held their protest assembly. The demonstration was watched from the balcony of the National Casino by Nándor Urmánczy, the president of the National Flag Relic Grand Committee (Ereklyés Országzászló Nagybizottság) and the House of the City by Andor Nendtvich, mayor of Pécs. To share honour the youngsters passed in front of them in a salute. The commemoration was introduced by 'Magyar Hiszekegy', then the participants could listen to the recitations and the commemorative speech of two law students: Dezső Gyalogh and László Asszonyi.¹³¹ However, not just in Pécs was a revisionist movement, but also in many villages of Baranya County and Budapest.¹³²

"Llewellyn Jones, the promoter of Hungarian justice, was inaugurated as an honorary doctor", *Dunántúl*, 23 November 1933. 1–3. See Appendix 8.

¹²⁶ "Llewellyn Jones in Pécs", *Dunántúl*, 24 May 1933. 3.

¹²⁷ "Call to the youth associations", *Pécsi Napló*, 24 May 1933. 4.

¹²⁸ "The hour of action has come!", *Pécsi Napló*, 25 May 1933. 1–2.

¹²⁹ "The society of Pécs demonstrated in front of the National Flag", *Pécsi Napló*, 1 December 1936. 4.

¹³⁰ TÓTH, „A revíziós tüntetések...”, 105–107.

¹³¹ "The Mourning Day of Trianon in Pécs", *Dunántúl*, 1 June 1930. 2.

¹³² "The citizens of Budapest joined the nationwide demonstration against Trianon", *Debreczeni Újság*, 3 June 1930. 1–2.

In several cases, university youth usually reacted violently to the events that happened against Hungarians who lived in neighbouring countries. In November 1932, aggressive demonstrations began in Transylvania and the Partium area in response to Hungarian revisionist propaganda. Romanian students attacked the building of the Hungarian passport office in Kolozsvár (Cluj), tore down the Hungarian inscription, and placed a Romanian flag on it. Thanks to these tendencies, the youth associations held various meetings, for instance in Budapest and Debrecen on December 2 and in Szeged on December 4.¹³³ The youngsters in Pécs spoke out about the anti-Hungarian events in Romania on December 2. The meeting was in the basement lecture hall of the higher education institution. István Magyar, the district leader of Turul, opened the occasion. Afterward, István Kern talked on behalf of the youth, who emphasized that the

‘Christian students of Pécs protested the Romanian atrocities. They asked for the government to use the available most powerful tools to get compensation for the unprecedented injury to the nation. The youngsters were also unsatisfied with Titulescu’s [*Minister of Romania*] regrets and accentuated the need for a solution that provided the existence and safety of their brothers and the honour of the Hungarian flag. At the same time, the students of Elizabeth University, with their unshakable faith in the Hungarian truth, repeatedly pledged to the idea of revision’.

After accepting the above decision, some of the youngsters marched in closed ranks along Király Street, where they organized a public demonstration against Romania, and the anti-Hungarian phenomena.¹³⁴

On December 6, 1932, the Israelite community of Pécs also raised its voice against the constant harassment, the endangerment of their moral assets, and the organized persecution of Hungarians who lived in Romania. The participants were greeted by the president of MIEFHOE, György Kemény, and József Junger, a law student who highlighted that

‘these affairs hurt the Hungarian Jewish community doubly because Transylvanian Israelite citizens had to suffer equally for their Hungarian identity and their religious faith. Despite the events, they looked eastward with pride because Transylvanian Jews were united in soul and culture with Hungarians, so they could not be diverted from their convictions and Hungarian national feelings by threats’.

¹³³ TÓTH, „A revíziós tüntetések...”, 100–102.

¹³⁴ “The youth raised their voice against the persecution of Hungarians”, *Pécsi Napló*, 3 December 1932. 1.

‘Pécsi Napló’ reported similarly about the goal of this protest rally:

‘The youth could not understand the atrocities which happened in Transylvania. They felt that as the successors of the March youth, their task and their sacred duty were to fight for oppressed people or their suffering brothers, and to use every opportunity to demonstrate the unfair procedure, not with fists and aggressive tools as Romanian students did, but with the weapon of law’.

The assembly dispersed after the closing words of the organisation’s vice president, György Bader.¹³⁵

In the autumn of 1933, the measures of the Czech government upset the mood of Hungarian youngsters when it banned the use of the Hungarian language in offices, churches, and schools. The provision was based on the data of the 1930 population census, which showed that the proportion of Hungarians in several settlements, like Pozsony, Kassa (Košice), and Ungvár (Uzhhorod) fell below 20%. Therefore, they were no longer entitled to the privileges provided for in the international minority treaty.¹³⁶ Against the ‘Czech terror’ the leadership of Hungarian Revision League decided to organize protest meetings across the country.¹³⁷ Similar to the demonstrations in Budapest, Debrecen¹³⁸ and Szeged,¹³⁹ the occasion in Pécs took place on October 22, 1933, in the town hall.¹⁴⁰ The initiators hoped that the unified assembly would finally

‘awaken the sleeping conscience of Europe and the Great Powers would use the means at their disposal to ensure that Czechs also fulfil their obligations according to international laws and allow free space for the political, linguistic and cultural development of the nationalities in Upperland’ – *argued the ‘Dunántúl’ in October 1933.*¹⁴¹

During the assembly not just Ferenc Faluhelyi stood for the fact that the Czechoslovak government had been doing everything for the last two and a half decades to deprive the Hungarian minority of its rights, and to weaken them morally or financially ‘*with the help of false fabricated data and ridiculous name analysis*’, but Americana resounded its dissatisfaction as well.¹⁴²

On November 29, 1934, at the meeting of Turul Association in the district of Pécs, the attention of the university youth turned to Yugoslavia after Romania and

¹³⁵ “The Jewish university youth protested persecutions”, *Pécsi Napló*, 7 December 1932. 2.

¹³⁶ “The community of Pécs for Hungarians in Upperland”, *Pécsi Napló*, 22 October 1933. 1.

¹³⁷ “Protest Czech atrocities” *Pécsi Napló*, 19 October 1933. 4.

¹³⁸ “Budapest protests the persecution of Hungarians by Czechs”, *Pesti Hírlap*, 21 October 1933. 1.

¹³⁹ TÓTH, „A revíziós tüntetések...”, 100–102.

¹⁴⁰ “Protest rally against the Czech atrocities in the Upperlands”, *Pécsi Napló*, 21 October 1933. 1.

¹⁴¹ “Pécs protested the Czech oppression on Sunday”, *Dunántúl*, 24 October 1933. 3.

¹⁴² “Pécs protested the Czech oppression on Sunday”, *Dunántúl*, 24 October 1933. 3.

Czechoslovakia. Hungary's indirect role in the terrorist act came up in connection with the 1934 assassination attempt against King Sándor of Yugoslavia in Marseilles. In the League of Nations, the Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs accused the Hungarian government of promoting the development of the Ustaše movement and providing shelter to some of the organisation's fleeing members.¹⁴³ Turul saw the defamation of the southern neighbour as a personal insult and the assumption of a relationship between the perpetrators and Pécs. They disagreed with the inhumane persecution of Hungarian ethnics and the launched slander campaign against the country. *'We who live within the shameful barriers of Trianon, immediately near the Yugoslav border, are not afraid of threats of war, because we have a sacred conviction that justice will triumph over brutal violence'* – 'Pécsi Napló' stressed the words of the university students on December 1, 1934.¹⁴⁴

The revisionist agitation of the youth intensified as a result of the Munich Convention¹⁴⁵ and the Komárno-Hungarian-Czechoslovak negotiations.¹⁴⁶ On September 21, 1938, the university students of Pécs held an irredentist rally at Széchenyi Square immediately after the protest meeting in Budapest. During the spontaneous demonstration, the youngsters demanded the return of Upperland in a peaceful or even armed way.¹⁴⁷ The parade started from the area in front of the Maurinum to the main square, where

¹⁴³ There was no doubt that both Hungary and Italy played a substantial role in the success of the assassination. Although the separatist movement was armed in the territory of the latter country, Hungary had connected indirectly to the terrorist action. Between 1929 and 1934, terrorists planned half of their attacks in Hungary. From 1931, the Ustaše movement also operated a centre next to Jankapuszta in Nagykanizsa, which functioned as a shelter and a training camp. Furthermore, in 1932, an agreement was reached between Mussolini and Gyula Gömbös, Prime Minister of Italy and Hungary, on more efficient support for the group. However, the perpetrators set off from Italy with Italian-made weapons and papers the Hungarian state became the scapegoat due to France's Italian orientation. HAMERLI Petra, *Marseille-t látni és meghalni: Adalékok a marseille-i merényletchez* (Újkor.hu, 6 March 2015). <https://ujkor.hu/content/marseille-t-latni-es-meghalni-adalekok-a-marseille-i-merenyletchez>. Access: 29 May 2024.

¹⁴⁴ "Strong protest in Pécs the Yugoslav accusations", *Pécsi Napló*, 1 December 1934. 1.

¹⁴⁵ The Munich Convention was born on September 30, 1938, in which Mussolini, Daladier, and Chamberlain (Italian, French, and British Prime Ministers) approved Hitler's territorial claims against Czechoslovakia. The treaty, produced as a result of the war blackmail of Nazi Germany, attached the predominantly German-populated Sudeten region to the empire. However, the agreement not only meant a change in the border but also sealed the existence of the first Czechoslovak Republic and provided an opportunity for the Hungarian and Polish demands towards Prague. TARJÁN M. Tamás, *A müncheni egyezmény aláírása* (Rubicon.hu) <https://rubicon.hu/kalendarium/1938-szeptember-30-a-muncheni-egyezmény-alairasa>. Access: 29 May 2024.

¹⁴⁶ The Hungarian-Czechoslovak negotiations took place between 9 and 13 October 1938 in Komárom (Komárno), Slovakia. It eventually ended unsuccessfully because the Czechoslovak state was only willing to transfer non-contiguous areas including Csallóköz, so the required cities, like Pozsony, Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky), Léva (Levice), Losonc (Lučenec), Kassa, Ungvár, Munkács (Mukačevo) would not have been returned to Hungary. The Hungarian delegations refused to continue the negotiations. VARGA Krisztina, „A komáromi tárgyalások és az első bécsi döntés korabeli sajtója”. *Fórum Társadalomtudományi Szemle*, 24, Vol. 2. (2022): 59–82, 61–63.

¹⁴⁷ "Give back the annexed Upperland", *Dunántúl*, 21 September 1938. 5.

the youth speakers and the university professors received the spotlight. The university staff was represented by Sándor Krisztics and Ferenc Somogyi, private tutor who saw a good chance to settle the territorial issues diplomatically. From the youth perspective, Zsombor Zsolt emphasized the uniformity of Hungarian people, while Jenő Prigly thanked the Great Powers' friendship towards Hungary.¹⁴⁸ Only one day later, the students in Debrecen also joined the national demonstration movement.¹⁴⁹



Fig. 9 Revisionist meeting at the Heroes Square in Budapest on September 22, 1928

Source: "Thousands demanded the returning of Upperlands at the general meeting of Social Associations", *Pesti Hírlap*, 22 September 1938. 7–9.

However, in Pécs, not the September protest parade was the only one where the students, together with the city population, fought to get back of the Upperland area. On October 25, 1938, the youngsters chose Széchenyi Square again as the venue for their movement, where besides the front fighters, the secondary school students, the railroaders, and the officials, the professors also marched. The protagonists of the rally were especially the university students because most of the speakers were youth leaders. Zsigmond Zsolt, in the colours of Turul, and Antal Csaba, as one member of *Emericana* held a lecture to stimulate the audience to make a unified action. The impatient young spirit manifested in the speeches, ready to recapture the annexed territories with weapons. Ferenc Somogyi also reinforced that the time for action had arrived. He closed his lecture with the following words: *'It was enough! No longer! We don't bargain!'*. During the lectures, the crowd repeatedly shouted various slogans, like *'Everything back! Long live Horthy! Long live the army! Weapon! Come on to the Upperland! We don't wait anymore!'* – 'Pécsi Napló' outlined the atmosphere.¹⁵⁰ On November 2, 1938, the country and the students' claims were realized through the first Vienna decision. As the effect of it, the youth in Szeged also joined the national movements.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ "Down with Trianon!", *Pécsi Napló*, 22 September 1938. 3–4.

¹⁴⁹ "Thousands demanded the returning of Upperland at the general meeting of social associations", *Pesti Hírlap*, 22 September 1938. 7–9. See Appendix 8. Unfortunately, photographs of the youth movements in Pécs have not been found so far.

¹⁵⁰ L. M., "Everything back!", *Pécsi Napló*, 26 October 1938. 3.

¹⁵¹ Tóth, „A revíziós tüntetések...”, 103–105.

The last manifestation of the revision policy in Pécs was on September 14, 1940, when Turul wanted to express its joy because Northern Transylvania returned to the nation.¹⁵² The organizers welcomed the relatives, the acquaintances of the membership, and the local community of Pécs as well. One day later, on September 15, the society of Baranya County also moved to celebrate Miklós Horthy's entry into Kolozsvár on September 11. Pécs took part in the national holiday with a full-day program series. The day started with a morning alarm, then the city was scattered with the Aero Club's flyers, which warned the citizens about the importance of the day.¹⁵³ At ten o'clock, the youth marched in front of the Saint Maurus College, where they gave a rhetorical speech and held a musical change of guard at noon.¹⁵⁴ Before the general meeting the participants were gathering near Saint Stephen Square, after that they went through Kossuth Square to the National Flag Square. The festive speech was given by Károly Berde, director of the Dermatology Clinic who thanked that North-Transylvania was again part of the state, but pointed out that the country's rise could not depend solely on Italy and Germany. Hungary had to achieve its national purposes with its power. It could only happen with a unified action of the society.¹⁵⁵

Conclusion

During the interwar period, the city administration of Pécs and the youth associations considered reaching Great Hungary's recovery equally important, even if they did not always understand the methods and devices of the implementation. The local government, linked to the dominant political ideology, proclaimed that peaceful revision was the only feasible option in a foreign policy framework. The representatives of the governing party would have been satisfied with the return of Hungarian-inherited areas and with a referendum decision-making process over the fate of the non-Hungarian-inherited territories. The parties and organisations, including university youth, which were related to the extreme right-wing ideology stressed the relevance of integral revisionism, so they were not afraid of the possibility of retreating the attached areas with weapons.

The city council of Pécs and the university students cooperated in several areas to promote revision goals. One form of this was their participation in national celebrations. The city management explicitly expected the youngsters to take part in the holiday of March 15 or the commemoration of the Arad martyrs. These were perfect occa-

¹⁵² "A social dinner was organised by Turul to celebrate Transylvania", *Dunántúl*, 13 September 1940. 5.

¹⁵³ TEGZES, „Egy tér a revíziós...”, 277–278.

¹⁵⁴ "The society of Pécs celebrates the returning of Transylvania on Sunday", *Dunántúl*, 13 September 1940. 5.

¹⁵⁵ "The youth and the society celebrated the entry of Horthy into Cluj", *Pécsi Napló*, 17 September 1940. 3–5.

sions to maintain the irredentist cult among the next generation. The youth not only marched in front of the memorial monuments, but they also became a dominant actor in the programs attending the wreath-laying ceremony, giving guard service in front of the National Flag, saying festive speeches and recitations, or organising a performance at the National Theatre. Although the youth associations and Elizabeth University had their own holidays, the students regularly joined the Heroes' Memorial Day and the Mourning Day of Trianon. However, unlike the commemorations of March 15 and October 6, they did not play a centre role in the implementation this time.

From the 1930s, protests of the Trianon Peace Treaty were more often realized by the Hungarian National Federation and the Hungarian Revision League in Pécs. At these events, the university students were not the main characters of the demonstrations. They just symbolized one part of the local community alongside the leventes, the scouts, the social organisations, and the institutions. These movements usually fit into the national processes because the events in Budapest, Debrecen, Pécs, and Szeged reinforced each other's influence. The protest assemblies generally reacted to the deteriorating economic situation of the country owing to the impacts of the global crisis, the visit of foreign politicians who supported the Hungarian revision, and the easing of the state's foreign policy, or diplomatic isolation.

However, the youth was not content with the secondary role. From the second part of the 1930s, they started to be more dominant to highlight the importance of irredentist purposes. This activity manifested in self-organized city parades where the university students initiated the programs, so they emerged as a key factor. In addition to the fact that the youngsters regularly protested the territorial points of the Trianon Peace Treaty, they reflected on the anti-Hungarian movements and provisions in the successor states. At the end of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s, they celebrated the newly returning areas and the success of the revision policy.