

In Holland one can hear Jews praised for their role in making Amsterdam what it is. Similar expressions of appreciation are less likely to be encountered in Hungary. But Száraz did notice a widespread feeling of guilt in Hungary among those who witnessed the events of 1944. Unfortunately, guilt easily blocks reconciliation. Summing up present Hungarian attitudes, the author had to concede that a barrier separating Jews and Gentiles still remained. One manifestation was the irresponsible telling of cruel and tasteless jokes. "One can survive anything. See, some people survived even Auschwitz." The myth lives on.

Bibó wrote his essay while the survivors still mourned, while wounds were fresh, and while injuries were vividly remembered. Bibó's voice was statesmanlike and his indictment seemed harsh. Thirty years later, in a different, more consolidated Hungary, the mood understandably must be different, though neither less committed nor less passionate. Száraz's voice does compel the reader to face the shame of this "conspiracy of silence" which had made the tragedy possible.

*In the Wake of a Prejudice* is a candid and courageous book, 50,000 copies of which were sold out immediately — an unprecedented sale for a study of this kind. Száraz's work begins with the epigraph from Mária Ember's *Hairpin Bend*: "The Jewish fate is not the subject of this book. The subject of this book is Hungarian history." One can only hope that this timely work will find a sensitive and appreciative audience.

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*The Baranya Dispute 1918-1921: Diplomacy in the Vortex of Ideologies.* By Leslie Charles Tihany. Boulder: East European Quarterly, 1977. Distributed by Columbia University Press. 138 pp.

Leslie Tihany's second book, unlike his first — an ambitious undertaking encompassing the history of Central Europe "from the earliest times to the age of the world wars," concentrates on a very small, self-contained, and largely unknown episode: the Yugoslav occupation of the greater part of the Hungarian county of Baranya and its capital city of Pécs between November 1918 and August 1921. The Yugoslav troops arrived in Pécs three days after the Belgrade Military Convention established an armistice line on Hungary's eastern and southern borders. Although the Treaty of Trianon later fixed the political border between Hungary and Yugoslavia in this particular region farther south, the Yugoslavs refused to leave. It took considerable pressure from the

Great Powers to convince Belgrade that neither economic nor political arguments could change the *status quo* laid down in the final treaty. The book is about Yugoslav efforts during the three years of occupation to remain permanently in Baranya and Pécs.

*The Baranya Dispute 1918-1921: Diplomacy in the Vortex of Ideologies* is an elegantly written little essay with a well-formulated and internally consistent thesis. Tihany's interpretation of Yugoslav policy is tight and convincing. In the beginning, when a communist regime ruled Budapest, the occupying forces cooperated with the local members of the *ancien régime*, who were grateful for the protection the presence of the occupying forces offered. When, however, the Béla Kun regime fell, the Yugoslavs changed tactics; they relied on the local left which were no longer sanguine about being incorporated into a now white Hungary. Their final and desperate act, only a few days before the evacuation, was the establishment of the Pécs-Baranya Republic. Tihany's corollary thesis, however, is less convincing: the Allies took Hungary's side in the dispute because of their fear of Bolshevism and because of their strict adherence to the notion of the *cordon sanitaire*. In reality, Hungary's future borders had been decided by April 1919, i.e. during the existence of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, and the Allies' insistence on adhering to their original decisions simply reflected their reluctance to change the existing treaties (a move which would have opened a veritable Pandora's box since none of the small nations was entirely satisfied with its new borders) and their unwillingness to reduce further the size of Trianon Hungary.

Having given due praise to what is admirable in this book, one must mention its very serious shortcomings. The problem is quite fundamental: it is underresearched. To start with the documentary evidence, Leslie Tihany's claim that it was "the opening of long-sealed archives by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1972" which made the appearance of this book possible is not really accurate. All the Entente Powers were involved in the Baranya dispute, and accordingly all their archives are rich sources for the subject. The Pécs Municipal Archives have very few documents (most disappeared in the chaos of evacuation), but Tihany did not even use those which were published a few years ago in two volumes. Even more startling is his neglect of the National Archives in Washington which has considerable material on the first Allied fact-finding mission dispatched from the Allied Military Mission in Budapest. Although Tihany consulted the published State Department documentary series on the Paris Peace Conference, he failed to use

the British series on the interwar years in which he would have found the proceedings of the Conference of Ambassadors which dealt with the whole problem at length. In vain one looks for General Harry H. Bandholtz's valuable diaries during his stay in Budapest as the American member of the Allied Military Mission. If Tihany could not use the Yugoslav archives, at least he should have read Vuk Vinaver's article, "Jugoszlávia és Magyarország a Tanácsköztársaság idején," published in *Századok* (1971) which is based on Yugoslav archival material. He might also have supplemented the limited secondary literature on Pécs politics (a volume of memoirs written by one of the participants almost forty years after the events and a collection of articles by local historians) with research from local newspapers.

*The Baranya Dispute* is based on a woefully inadequate bibliography of secondary sources. For the period as a whole, the available historical literature both on Hungary and on European diplomacy is enormous, but most of the material was ignored by the author. Although one could cite title after title, perhaps enough is said if one mentions that the memoirs of Mihály Károlyi's wife is Leslie Tihany's only source for Hungary's first democratic revolutionary period. The communist interlude does not fare much better; besides a reference book (*Magyar történelmi kronológia*) Tihany bases his evaluation on a rather specialized volume in English on the role of the Communist Party in the regime's coalition government.

The research methods employed by Tihany are also questionable, and at times they lead to inaccurate data and information. A good example of this kind of problem is the first chapter on Baranya and its people. By using the 1911 edition of the *Révai Nagylexikon* instead of the actual census figures, Tihany is convinced that there was such a thing as a 1911 census. Moreover, since the 1911 edition of the *Révai Nagylexikon* was published almost simultaneously with the statistics of the 1910 census, the encyclopedia's figures — and Tihany's — partly reflect the 1900 census (for the county) and partly the 1910 statistics (for the city of Pécs). By using the census, Tihany could have avoided another erroneous statement: that the population of Baranya "was decreasing owing to overseas emigration, mostly to the United States." The census data prove just the opposite: between 1900 and 1910 the population of the county (including the city of Pécs) rose by five percent. Prior to that date the increase was even greater. The population of the county in 1910, by the way, was not 299,312 as Tihany claims, but 352,478 out of which only 1,114 people lived abroad.

It is fortunate that the Baranya dispute was rescued from oblivion. One only wishes that the rescue operation had been undertaken with greater historical apparatus. If Tihany had done so, he would have written an excellent book on an interesting topic.

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