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Processes of Diasporization: The Past and Present of the Hungarian Diaspora[1]

Abstract: This paper provides a comprehensive overview of the processes of becoming a diaspora through a specific case, namely through the formation and institutionalization of Hungarian communities dispersed around the world. Accordingly, I seek answers to the following questions: From what time period can we talk about diasporic Hungarian communities? What migration processes contributed to their formation and subsequent growth? What kind of reception did the successive Hungarian emigration waves receive in the host-states? What change did they bring to the organizational life of the Hungarian diaspora communities already living there? How did their relationship with Hungary develop? It is important to emphasize that the Hungarian diaspora does not have a single, generalizable, universal history. Each of the Hungarian communities scattered around the world has developed under different circumstances, shaping its institutional framework according to local needs. Without claiming to be exhaustive, the existing data, historical documents, scientific dissertations, and personal experiences on the operation of several organizations of the target groups make it possible to outline those events and social processes that contributed significantly to the development of the current forms of these geographically dispersed communities and their institutional systems. To reach this goal I will examine the Hungarian diaspora's historical evolution in four phases, according to the nature of the emigration processes in different time periods and the impact on the already existing diaspora communities. The first phase marks the period before the First World War, the second relates to the twenty years between the two world wars, the third to the years after the Second World War and the time of Hungarian state socialism, and the fourth relates to the period from the end of the bipolar world system to the present.

1 This study is a modified and expanded version of a paper previously published in Hungarian for a foreign readership. See: Dániel Gazsó, "A magyar diaszpóra fejlődéstörténete," *Kisebbségi Szemle* 1, no. 1 (2016): 9–35. The English version was created in collaboration with Pálma Pásztor, who also translated the quotations appearing in the text, taken from Hungarian sources, unless otherwise indicated.

Conceptual frameworks

The reasons of the development of larger and smaller Hungarian communities in different parts of the world can be traced back to Hungary's historical evolution in the modern age. Millions of Hungarians got outside Hungary's borders (either in minority or immigrant status) due to the changing of borders in the 20th century and the waves of emigration triggered by the wars which affected the Carpathian Basin, the successive political regimes, and economical crises. They and their descendants preserved their Hungarian national identity, and passed on from generation to generation the request to maintain ethnic boundaries depending on the effects of the social environment surrounding them. These communities now have an extensive institutional system with a long history.

As we could see above, Hungarian communities abroad can be divided at least two main categories. There are *autochthonous* minority communities, which were formed due to changes in state borders, and *allochthonous* diaspora communities, which were formed due to migration. This study focuses on the latter type. To clarify the conceptual framework, we call diasporas those 1) geographically dispersed macro communities of migratory origin that are 2) integrated into the society surrounding them, but not fully assimilated, and 3) have a symbolic or even pragmatic relationship with kin communities living in other areas, but perceived to be of the same origin, and also with their real or imagined ancestral homeland or kin-state.

In addition to this general definition, it is important to note, on the one hand, that migratory origin as a fundamental criterion of diaspora does not primarily refer to actual migration, i.e. migration experienced personally. It rather means the presence of the event of emigration in the collective consciousness, and its symbolic, community-forming power. For diaspora communities, this serves as the foundation for their existence as a distinct ethnicity. Therefore, what makes a diaspora so "different" from the social and cultural environment surrounding it is that it derives its origin from elsewhere, even when the members of the given community did not personally experience the process of migration.[2] On the other hand, regarding the term kin-state, following Rogers Brubaker's interpretation, I also consider that a state becomes a kin-state for its diaspora when the political elites assert that co-national communities living abroad belong to the same nation and that their interests must be promoted by the state.[3] Furthermore, the government of this state takes action in

2 For more information about the etymologic roots and semantic development of the term diaspora, with the criteria of its scientific definition, see: Dániel Gazsó: *Otthon és itthon. A magyar diaszpóra és anyaországa* (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2022); Dániel Gazsó, "An Endnote Definition for Diaspora Studies," *Minority Studies* 18 (2015): 161–182; Rogers Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 1 (2005): 1–19.

3 Rogers Brubaker: *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

the name of promoting or protecting the interests of these communities, as is the case with the current relationship between the Hungarian government and the Hungarian diaspora communities scattered around the world.

The presence of the Hungarian diaspora

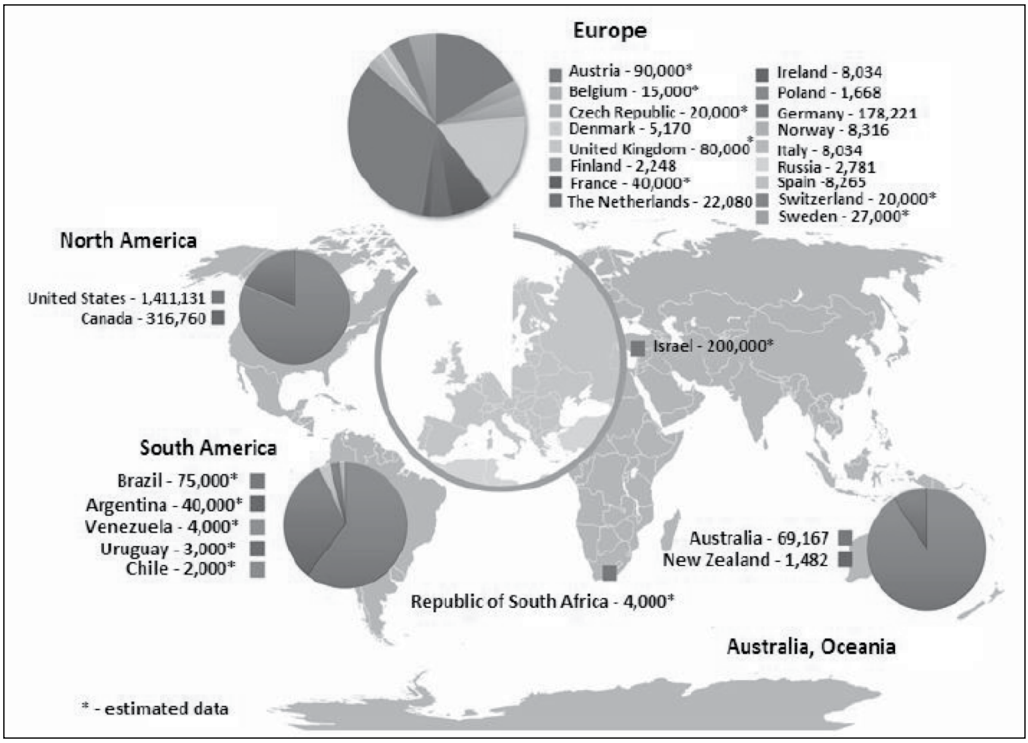
The quantitative approach, as a legacy of positivism, still plays a dominant role in diaspora research. When we start studying a specific diaspora, we are almost expected to provide the number of the community under study, at least by estimation. However, the exact quantification of the Hungarians scattered around the world is complicated by several factors. On the one hand, in a large majority of the host-states, the ethnicity or nationality of the enumerated people are not asked during censuses. In this respect, only the place of birth and citizenship are taken into account. Under these conditions, the descendants of emigrant Hungarians are nowhere to be registered as Hungarians, despite the fact that many of them proudly claim their Hungarian identity. On the other hand, the questionnaire used to collect statistical data might contain questions on ethnicity or nationality, but they may not be answered by everyone. The possibility of ethnic hiding exists for all large-sample queries, especially in case of communities which developed due to migration. In these groups, mixed marriage and the resulting multiple ethnic binding is a common phenomenon. This also makes it difficult to determine the number of Hungarian diaspora. Thirdly, we do not have exact data on the number of Hungarians who left the Carpathian Basin during the various waves of emigration. Before the First World War, the waves of emigration from the historical Hungary were ethnically mixed. Host-states put Hungarian immigrants and other nationalities from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the same category. Most of Hungarians who emigrated between the two world wars were originated from not Hungary but one of the neighboring successor states which were established after the dissolution of the Monarchy. So they were registered as citizens from another country. Consequently, whichever way we try to determine the number of Hungarians living in the world, we will never receive scientifically acceptable and verifiable results. In this respect, we can only rely on professional estimates, which can be really different due to the complexity of the methodology.

Comparing the various sources, it can be said in general that approximately as many Hungarians live in diaspora as in the so-called *autochthonous* minority communities which have been formed as a result of border changes (about 2 million people).[4] The official data source

4 According to the data of the latest census and also demographic estimations, the population of the so-called *autochthonous* Hungarian communities (which were formed due to the border changes) are the followings (rounded to the nearest thousands): 1,002 thousands people in Romania; 456 thousands people in Slovakia; 184 thousands people in Serbia; 100 thousands people in Ukraine; 10 thousands people in Croatia; 6 thousands people in Slovenia; and 7 thousands people in Burgenland, in Austria.

of Hungarians outside of the Carpathian Basin is a world map which was created by the Hungarian Science Abroad Presidential Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 2011. Later, it was up-dated by the State Secretariat for Hungarian Communities Abroad in 2016 (see map 1). However, we must emphasize that the estimated population of the diaspora all over the world does not correspond to the number of people who are actively involved in community's life. My own research experience and the related studies also show that only 5-15% of the Hungarians living abroad are active participants of the diaspora's organizational life.[5]

Map 1: Estimated number of Hungarians living in the diaspora by country



Source: Hungarian Diaspora Policy. Strategic Directions[6]

5 Attila Papp Z., "A nyugati magyar diaszpóra és szervezeti élete néhány demográfiai, társadalmi jellemzője," *Kisebbségkutatás* 19, no. 4 (2010): 621–638; Gyula Borbándi, *Emigráció és Magyarország. Nyugati magyarok a változások éveiben 1985–1995* (Basel – Budapest: Európai Protestáns Magyar Szabadegyetem, 1996).

6 The general document entitled *Hungarian Diaspora Policy. Strategic Directions* (which was presented at the 6th session of the Hungarian Diaspora Council on the 30th November in 2016) can be downloaded from the website of the Research Institute for Hungarian Communities Abroad: www.npki.hu.

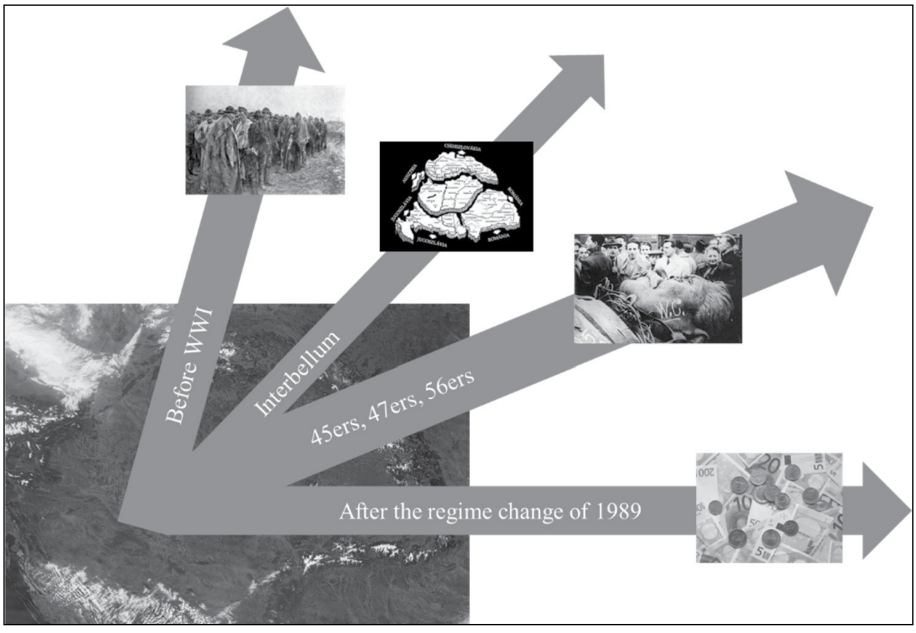
Although we do not know the exact population of the diaspora communities, we know many other important issues: in which countries they form larger groups, where their cultural centers are, and in which settlements their institutions are concentrated. Undoubtedly, the most populous Hungarian diaspora is in the United States. Most Hungarians live in California in the south-western part of the country; and also in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio member states in the north-eastern region. Their most important cultural centers are: Los Angeles, New York, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland. The Hungarian community in Canada is much smaller, but—compared with other countries—it can be still considered as populous. Nearly half of it lives in Ontario (which is neighboring with the former mentioned, north-eastern member states of the USA), mainly in Toronto and its vicinity. Moreover, significant Hungarian communities can be found in the western part of the country, for example, in cities of Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver. In Latin America, Hungarians live mainly in Brasilia and Argentina, but smaller groups are also found in Venezuela, Uruguay, Chile, Costa Rica, Paraguay, Peru, Colombia, and Mexico. In this region, Hungarian cultural life is concentrated mainly in the cities of São Paulo and Buenos Aires. From the Caribbean region, we must mention Caracas, which was a probably less significant but still determining key location for life of Hungarian organizations in Latin America for decades. Hungarian community life which was concentrated in the capital city of Venezuela was made impossible by the decline of Hugo Chávez's bolivarianism. This head of state was famous for his scandalous revelations and centralizing of power. After his death, Nicolás Manduro became his successor, and during his presidency, the political and economic crisis in the country assumed considerable proportions by the mid-2010s. As a result, there was a mass exodus from Venezuela: mostly to the neighboring countries, mainly to Colombia. Many members of the local Hungarian community also decided to emigrate. The Hungarian government opened the border for them: their immigration to Hungary and later also their settlement was supported by the state.[7] In the southern hemisphere, still many Hungarians live in Australia (mainly in the cities of Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide), in New Zealand, and in the Republic of South Africa, besides the region of Latin America. In Europe, approximately a half million Hungarians live in diaspora: mainly in Germany, Austria, the United Kingdom, France, and Sweden. In this respect, Israel is also significant.

7 The admission of Hungarians fleeing from Venezuela was already discussed in 2017, at the session of the Hungarian Diaspora Council. However, it received greater attention only in 2019, after an article which was published in the *Index* online newspaper on the 21st February 2019, *"Hundreds of Venezuelans have been secretly accepted by the government, but no a special immigration tax is paid"*. English version: https://index.hu/english/2019/02/21/venezuela_hungary_refugees_secrecy_immigration_tax_malta_charity_government/; accessed 20 November, 2024. This article provoked strong reactions on social media.

The Hungarian diaspora's historical evolution

In the followings, I will examine how these communities of migratory origin developed. How far can we trace Hungarians' presence back overseas? From what time period can we talk about diasporic Hungarian communities? What migration processes contributed to their formation and subsequent growth? Who, from where, and to where migrated with the various waves of Hungarian emigration? How many were these emigrants? What kind of reception did they receive in the host-states? What change did they bring to the organizational life of the Hungarian diaspora communities already living there? How did their relationship with Hungary develop? In this paper, I seek answers to these questions. I will examine the Hungarian diaspora's historical evolution in four phases, according to the nature of the emigration processes in different time periods and the impact on the already existing diaspora communities. The first phase marks the period before the First World War, the second relates to the twenty years between the two world wars, the third to the years after the Second World War and the time of Hungarian state socialism, and the fourth relates to the period from the end of the bipolar world system to the present (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Phases in the historical development of the Hungarian diaspora



Source: Gazsó, Otthon és itthon, 79.

Here, at the very beginning, it is important to emphasize that the Hungarian diaspora does not have a single, generalizable, or universal history. Each of the Hungarian communities dispersed around the world has developed under different circumstances, and shaped their institutional framework according to local needs. Therefore, we cannot describe the evolution of the Hungarian diaspora in a factual way. Ignác Romsics historian said: *"an absolutely objective historiography is unthinkable. It has never existed, doesn't exist, and never will exist."*[8] Without claiming to be exhaustive, the existing data, historical documents, scientific dissertations make it possible to outline those events and social processes that contributed significantly to the development of the current forms of these geographically dispersed communities and their institutional systems. This is the main aim of the present study.

First phase: the peasant exodus

> *"Our lords were not slothful, nor dumb*
> *to defend their lands against us*
> *and staggered a million and a half*
> *of our people to the US"* – Attila József[9]

Hungarian diaspora and organized Hungarian communities overseas were formed only due to the waves of migration in the modern age. However, this does not mean that no Hungarians lived in the New World before the 19th century. Naturally, there were Hungarians among the great explorers, travelers, scientists, Jesuit missionaries who preached the Christian faith, and artists and merchants who enriched the societies of colonies that had become independent. However, these people did not move abroad with the waves of emigration: they were motivated by personal reasons, vocation, or love of adventure. In Hungary, the first classic political emigration was triggered by the crushing of the revolution and war of independence in 1848/49. Between the surrender at Világos (1849) and the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867), thousands of Hungarians left the country, fleeing from the political retaliations. Most of them fled through the Balkans first to the Ottoman Empire, and then to Western Europe and overseas. This was the way of the revolution's emblematic figure, Lajos Kossuth, for whom a statue was put up in the American

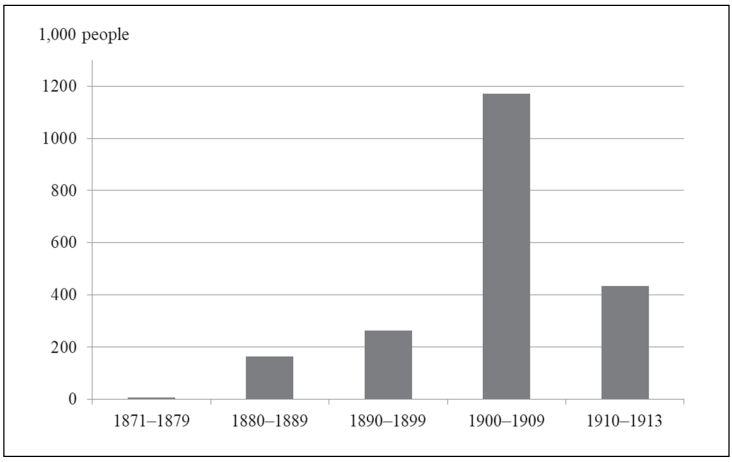
8 Ignác Romsics, ed., *Mítoszok, legendák, tévhitek a 20. századi magyar történelemben* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2005), 24.

9 Attila József, "Hazám," in *József Attila összes versei* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2005): 493–497, 459. English version: https://hungarianspectrum.wordpress.com/2015/01/03/attila-jozsefs-my-homeland-translated-by-sandor-kerekes/comment-page-1/; accessed 20 November, 2024.

Cleveland, just eight years after his death.[10] Therefore, the members of this wave are known as "Kossuth-immigrants". However, Kossuth and his followers considered themselves not emigrants but exiles. This was the first wave of exodus in the Hungarian history which has a significant contemporary literature not only in Hungary but also abroad. Kossuth and his followers hoped long for the outbreak of another revolution in Hungary, and thus for the possibility of returning home. To achieve this, they considered the mapping of exiles essential. This resulted in the first records of Hungarians who had settled in the New World.[11] This was also the time when the first foreign Hungarian newspaper was established: the *Magyar Száműzöttek Lapja (Hungarian Exiles' Journal).* Its first issue was published in New York City, in 1853. However, the Kossuth-immigrants were not numerous enough to create diaspora communities. As I mentioned above, this was made possible only by the migrations which were booming at the end of the 19th century.

From the 1830s to the outbreak of the First World War, more than 50 million people left Europe. The main destination of this migration was North-America; and the population of Central and Eastern Europe joined this process relatively late, just in the 1870s and 1880s. Between 1871 and 1913, nearly 2 million Hungarian citizens migrated overseas, mainly for economic and existential reasons. Most of them left the country in the first decade of the 20th century (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Number of Hungarian citizens who migrated overseas between 1871 and 1913



Source: Papp Z., "A nyugati magyar diaszpóra és szervezeti élete", 622.

10 About the history of the first statue of Kossuth in America, see: Elemér Bakó, *A világ magyarsága* (Budapest: Magyarok Világszövetsége Nyugati Régiója, 1998), 63–66.

11 For more information about the Kossuth-immigrants, see: Béla Várdy, *Magyarok az Újvilágban. Az északamerikai magyarság rendhagyó története* (Budapest: Magyar Nyelv és Kultúra Nemzetközi Társasága, 2000); Contemporary publications (published in the 1800s) on the Hungarian emigration overseas you can find in Péter Torbágyi, *Magyarok Latin-Amerikában* (Budapest: Magyar Nyelv és Kultúra Nemzetközi Társaság, 2004), 11.

Naturally, not all emigrants from the territory of the historic Hungary had Hungarian nationality. According to estimations, Hungarians' proportion just exceeded 25%.[12] Host-states put Hungarian immigrants and other nationalities (German, Slovak, Romanian, Ruthenian, Serbian, Croatian etc.) from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the same category. In Latin America, they all together were called *"austríaco"* (Austrians) or *"austro–húngaro"* (Austro-Hungarians). Three quarters of this ethnically heterogeneous wave of emigration were men whose also three quarters were young (between 20 and 49 years). The proportion of people over 50 years was less than 3%. Most of them originated from regions which were economically underdeveloped and far from the industrial centers. Their vast majority were landless cottars, impoverished peasants, or agricultural laborers. Consequently, this wave of emigration is known as the "peasant exodus" both in the literature and in the colloquial language. As a result of this process, some regions of the historic Hungary became completely depopulated, and Hungarian diaspora communities formed overseas.[13] *"Yesterday*—wrote the poet Endre Ady in his diary on the 5th November in 1907—*the people of a village proceeded through the promenades of beautiful Budapest, among the Sunday passer-bys. They were not staring, they were very serious, and they were hardly noticed. But to those who noticed them and asked, the leader of the travelling group answered kindly: – This is the settlement of Mezőcsát, the whole village, we are going to America. He said this with neither accusation, nor complaint, nor boast, nor joy, nor sorrow. And he showed into the group and added: – We have left no one at home, we are taking everyone, including the Jew. Yes, there was a Jew in the group, the Jew of the village. And they are going to America in good harmony, sharing the common fate of the homeless people."*[14]

At the turn of the century, serious debates were going on in Hungary about whether emigration was beneficial or harmful to society. Initially, the assessment of the process was mainly positive. People thought that emigration reduced the more and more acute economic and national conflicts: it reduced the unemployment, and increased the proportion of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin (because exodus was first experienced in the Slovak settlements in the northern part of the country). But as emigration increased rapidly, this positive attitude was replaced by concerns. *"Since emigration from the northern region has spread to other parts of the country, and it is now taking victims everywhere [...] since the exodus of people has reached almost frightening proportions, because more than 40,000 passports are issued to America every year [...] since then, emigration has ceased to be an interesting phenomenon. It has become a threat to the future of our nation, and also to its economic and social development"* – wrote Gusztáv Thrirring, who was a contemporary expert on the migration

12 Imre Kovács, *A kivándorlás* (Budapest: Cserépfalvi, 1938).

13 István Rácz: *A paraszti migráció és politikai megítélése Magyarországon 1849–1914* (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1980); Julianna Puskás, *Kivándorló magyarok az Egyesült Államokban 1880–1940* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982).

14 Endre Ady, "Mezőcsát megy Amerikába. Budapesti Napló," in *Ady Endre összes prózai műve. Cikkek, tanulmányok – 1907. október–december*, Vol. 9., Chapter 26., Part III.

process and also the deputy manager of the Royal Hungarian Central Statistical Office.[15] As a result of all this, the Hungarian government felt the need to control emigration. However, the government did not manage the causes which induced the emigration (i.e. conflicts arising from ethnic differences and the feudal-type system of latifundia). They tried to limit the emigration itself. So the first domestic laws regulating the migration were created: Act IV of 1903 (by Tisza) and the Act II of 1909 (by Andrássy).[16] New institutions were established to implement the restrictive measures: the Central Committee on Emigration and the Emigration Council within the Ministry of Interior.

While the government tried to limit emigration by the authorities, first scientific reports about the Hungarians settling down in the New World were published. The afore-quoted comprehensive analysis by Gusztáv Thirring (1904) is one of them. In addition, state-funded newspapers were established: *A Kivándorló (The Emigrant), Kivándorlási Ellenőr (Emigration Controller)* and the Hungarian-Croatian bilingual *Kivándorlási Értesítő (Emigration Bulletin)*. They often showed opportunities abroad in a negative light, in order to discourage people who were considering emigration. Hungarian newspapers multiplied also overseas. Until the outbreak of First World War, more than a hundred Hungarian newspapers were published in the United States alone, although most of them ceased after a short time and had only local importance.

Besides the USA, smaller numbers of Hungarian emigrants found their way to Canada (where land was more easily available), to Australia (which had strong economic relationship with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy), and to Latin America. Early migratory waves to this latter continent had a special feature: besides impoverished peasants or agricultural laborers from the historical Hungary, quite many travelling Gypsies arrived, too. As a result, the Spanish term for Hungarian (*húngaro*) became the common name of Gypsies in this region. This phenomenon was also highlighted by the Norwegian explorer Karl Lumholtz. In his multi-volume travelogue (*Unknown Mexico*, 1902), he described his encounter with Gypsies in this way: *"There were many Bosnians and a sprinkling of Turks and Greeks among the troupe, the latter having bears and monkeys with them; but as most of these people come from Hungary they all are called Hungaros throughout Mexico. [...] They assured me that Gypsies now travel over all the Americas, both north and south, and I noticed that some of the women had twisted in their braids silver dollars from Chile and other South-American countries."*[17] In these countries, the word *"húngaro"* is still used for Gypsies.

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15 Gusztáv Thirring, *A magyarországi kivándorlás és a külföldi magyarság* (Budapest: Kilián, 1904), 108.

16 The full text of both articles can be found at www.1000ev.hu.

17 Karl Lumholtz, *El México Desconocido. Cinco años de exploración entre las tribus de la Sierra Madre Occidental: en Tierra Caliente de Tepic y Jalisco, y entre los tarascos de Michoacán*, Vol. 2. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), 296–299; Quoted by Torbágyi, *Magyarok Latin-Amerikában*, 180. English version: https://archive.org/details/unknownmexicorec02lumh/page/302/mode/2up; accessed 20 November, 2024.

The European migration that flourished at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was not a one-way process. Many people moved overseas temporarily to try their luck, but they hoped to return home later. Resettlements actions and the economic situation in the host-states had a significant impact on the intention to resettle permanently. According to Hungarian statistics, nearly a quarter of emigrants returned to their homeland between 1899 and 1913.[18] In 1907, an economic depression started in the USA. As a result, in 1908, the number of people who returned to their original homes exceeded the number of people who migrated to overseas. Some people made the long journey between the old continent and the New World several times. At the beginning of the new century, these commuters were known as "the birds of the sea."[19]

Second phase: migrating from transborder regions to overseas

> *"Do you want to make a fortune? Are you cold? Are you starving? Don't you have a job? Register at the office for Hungarians who migrate to Cuba..."* – said a pamphlet published in 1922, in the Hungarian-inhabited towns of Transylvania and Southern Czechoslovakia.[20]

Hungarian emigration, which had almost completely ceased during the First World War, was revived with great vigor in the 1920s. However, the proportion of emigrants from the motherland between the two world wars was very low: barely 20%.[21] Most of Hungarian emigrants originated from the neighboring successor states which were established due to the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Treaty of Trianon. So they left their homeland as citizens of Czechoslovakia, Romania, Austria, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1929).[22] Their primarily destination country, the USA, gave up its liberal migration policy, and introduced strict regulations.

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18 Papp Z., "A nyugati magyar diaszpóra és szervezeti élete".

19 Julianna Puskás, "Migráció Kelet-Közép-Európában 19. és 20. században," *Regio* 2, no. 4 (1991): 22–48.

20 Péter Torbágyi, *Magyar vándormozgalmak és szórványközösségek Latin-Amerikában a második világháború kitöréséig* [PhD thesis] (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem, 2007), 109, available at doktori.bibl.u-szeged.hu.

21 Torbágyi, *Magyarok Latin-Amerikában*.

22 The Article 61 of Act XXXIII of 1921 (which enacted the Treaty of Trianon signed on 4th June in 1920) stipulated the loss of Hungarian citizenship and the acquisition of a new citizenship for those living in the regions annexed from Hungary and annexed to the neighboring successor states. *"Every person possessing rights of citizenship (pertinenza) in territory which formed part of the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy shall obtain ipso facto to the exclusion of Hungarian nationality the nationality of the State exercising sovereignty over such territory."* Available at www.1000ev.hu. English version: https://www.dipublico.org/100759/treaty-of-trianon-treaty-of-peace-between-the-allied-and-associated-powers-and-hungary/; accessed 20 November, 2024.

These changes had a significant impact on their choice of destination. On the 19th May in 1921, the Congress accepted the *Emergency Quota Act* (which had ethnic bases). On the one hand, this act quantified the number of immigrants could be allowed into the United States (total 356 995 people annually). On the other hand, for each country (except the Western Hemisphere), it set a quota limit of 3% of the population of the given nationality living in the USA, according to the census in 1910. The *Immigration Act of 1924* meant further limitations: it reduced the total number of annually allowed immigrants to 164 557, and the nationality quota was also reduced from 3% to 2%. Moreover, this act based on earlier data, from the census in 1890. These new restrictions proved particularly drastic for migrants from Central and Eastern Europe, because (as I described before) this part of Europe joined the migration waves of the modern age much later: only at the end of the 19th century. Consequently, at the time of census in 1890, very few residents of different nationalities from this East-Central European region lived in the United States.[23]

These restrictions led to an increase in emigration to other overseas countries, which (unlike the United States) explicitly encouraged the settlement of newly arrived Europeans. Between the two world wars, tens of thousands of Hungarians from the Southern Czechoslovakia, Transylvania and Vojvodina emigrated to Australia, Canada, and Latin America. Within this latter region, mainly to Brasilia and Argentina, but—in smaller number—also to Chile, and to countries which are closer to the USA, such as Mexico, Cuba, and Venezuela. In Brazilian states called São Paulo and Paraná, Hungarian settlements were established one after the other. Probably Árpádfalva, Szentistvánfalva, and Boldogasszonyfalva became the best-known.[24]

Overseas communities from other East-Central European countries created their institutions in host-states relatively quickly, due to the continued support of their kin-states. Meanwhile, for a long time, the Hungarian state watched idly the similar efforts of Hungarians who had passports mainly from Romania, Czechoslovakia, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Initially, the Horthy government tried to contact Hungarians living in Western European countries, partly in order to win them round to the revisionism, i.e. the policy of revising the Treaty of Trianon in order to regain annexed territories. These kinds of efforts already appeared at the Congress of Berlin in 1921 which was held by the League of Hungarians Abroad (found in 1920.) This congress and also the First World Congress of Hungarians (in 1929) grounded the World Federation of Hungarians. This organization was founded in 1938 (the year of the Fist Vienna Award), partly thanks to

23 For more information about the regulations which were approved in the 1920s in the USA and tighten immigration up, see: Julianna Puskás, "Az Egyesült Államok bevándorlási politikája (1890–1990)," *Regio* 4, no. 3 (1993): 151–181.

24 László Szabó, *Magyar múlt Dél-Amerikában (1519–1900)* (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1982); Lajos Boglár, "Énem brazil búvópatakjai," *Napút Online kulturális folyóirat – Utazók, utazások* 1, no. 4 (1999), available at www.napkut.hu.

the initiative of Count Pál Teleki. After the end of the Communism in Hungary in 1989, it continued its working in a renewed form and was considered the largest forum of the Hungarian diaspora until the turn of the millennium. [25]

The cultural, sport, and social activities of Hungarian emigrants (who had emigrated after the end of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and who had mainly left-wing political views) were becoming increasingly popular among the newly arrived Hungarians from the successor states, who had no representation of interests. Only after the leaders of Hungary realized this, the overseas communities received financial support from Hungary.[26] As a result of the supports initiated by the kin-state, new Hungarian associations and organizations were established worldwide. They were free from any Communist conspiracies which were banned both in Hungary and in most host-states. Buenos Aires and São Paulo became the centers of the Hungarian cultural life in South America at this time. Very large numbers of Hungarians gathered in these towns and, partly thanks to the aforementioned support from the kin-state, they created a bustling cultural life. At the same time as the new institutions were established, Hungarian press also appeared in the region: *Délamerikai Magyar Hírlap (South-American Daily Paper), Délamerikai Magyar Újság (South-American Hungarian Newspaper), Délamerikai Magyarság (Hungarians in South America),* and the *Magyar Szó (Hungarian Word)*. In addition to reporting current news, these newspapers placed great emphasis on researching and presenting the history of the local Hungarian communities. They took special care to make it clear to the majority society once and for all that Hungarians (*húngaros*) are not Gypsies (*gitanos*), contrary to public belief. Many feared that if this was not urgently proven, Hungarian communities would face the similar discrimination which travelling Gypsies had to face in the Latin-American countries that hosted them.

Overall, the rate of emigration decreased between the two world wars compared to the peasant exodus, but the number of destination countries multiplied. Consequently, the geographical and spatial extent of the Hungarian diaspora also increased. The overseas communities formed in these two decades were further enriched by the waves of Hungarian emigrants arriving after the Second World War.

Third phase: socio-political divisions

> *"To see what the boy sailor saw from the crow's nest of Columbus's ship when, toward dawn, he began shouting excitedly and hoarsely: »Land, Land!...« (It is possible that this shouting boy explorer abides in us eternally, in every human being; only he sometimes*

25 István Bakos, Balázs Házi and Zoltán Nagymihály, eds., *A Magyarok Világszövetsége „hármas kistükre" (1989–2000)* (Lakitelek: Antológia Kiadó, 2018).

26 Torbágyi, *Magyarok Latin-Amerikában*.

> *falls asleep in the crow's nest. Columbus and his crew were still sleeping when land was already looming in the Light.) I crossed to other side of the Körönd and quickened my pace. How soon would that train depart for the Earth, for land?"* – Sándor Márai[27]

Since the 1940s, the motivations for emigration became increasingly complex. Within just two decades, hundreds of thousands of people left Hungary in three waves of emigration. Each wave differed in time and features. Members of the first wave were soldiers (who had to leave the country during the war, but they did not want to return home), prisoners of war, deportees, and people who were fleeing from the Red Army. The second wave consisted of representatives and supporters of the democratic aspirations during the pre-socialist years. The third wave was triggered by the crushing of the revolution and war of independence (1956) against the Soviet occupation. These three exoduses significantly increased the population of the Hungarian diaspora communities. However, they also increased the communities' inner, socio-political division segregation. The question of political affiliation became crucial after the war, and it led to the fragmentation of Hungarian organizations abroad and also founding of new organizations which were in conflict with each other. In the following part of my study, I will examine this complex and determining phase of the evolution of Hungarian diaspora.

By autumn in 1945, more than 11 million people had become displaced in Europe as a result of the Second World War, the genocide, the forced displacement, and mass fleeing of civilians. Most of them had been repatriated by the summer of 1947, but nearly one and a half million people did not want to return to their places of origin.[28] Experts of the refugee issue in the Allied powers gave these people a special status: they were called displaced person (abbreviated DP). This is the origin of the well-known nickname of the emigrants of the Second World War: "DPs". According to a memorandum of April in 1945 (*SHAEF Plan of April 1945 – Administrative Memorandum No. 39*), DPs who were concentrated in refugee camps mainly in Germany and Austria, were divided into three groups. The first group consisted of displaced people from the member states of the United Nations (*United Nations DPs*). The second group included citizens from the Axis powers (Germany, Austria, and Japan), and they were called *enemy DPs*. Finally, the third group consisted of displaced people from the ex-enemy countries (Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary): the *ex-enemy DPs*.[29] Initially, the governments of liberated countries, the voluntary organizations, and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) handled the issue of refugees. However, the high number of displaced people (it far exceeded

27 Sándor Márai, *Memoir of Hungary, 1944–1948* [original Hungarian title: *Föld, föld!...*, translated by Albert Tezla] (Toronto: Vörösváry-Weller Publishing Toronto, 1996), 389–390, available at https://archive.org/details/maraimemoirofhungary19441948/page/n1/mode/1up.

28 Papp Z., "A nyugati magyar diaszpóra és szervezeti élete".

29 Anna Holian, "The Invention of the Displaced Person," in *Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism. Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany,* ed. Anna Holian (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2011): 29–55.

the calculations of the Allied Powers) and the fact that they refused returning home due to political reasons and other fears caused that the arrangement of refugee issue took longer time than expected. In 1947, also under the aegis of the United Nations, the International Refugee Organization (IRO) was established to deal with the problem. IRO took over the UNRRA's responsibilities in Europe: between 1st of July in 1947 and 31st of December in 1951, it coordinated the settlement of more than a million people.[30]

Ex-enemy DPs suffered from negative discrimination, and many of them decided to leave the old continent. Most of them migrated to the United Stated (360 thousands), but quite many people migrated to Canada (150 thousands), to Australia (200 thousands), to New-Zeeland (10 thousands), and to South America (140 thousands).[31] About 20% of the European refugees were Jewish. Some of them did not return to their native country, and settled in Palestine and in Israel (after the foundation of the Jewish state in 1948). Due to the *Displaced Persons Act of 1948*, mass emigration to the USA became possible again. Although this act did not abrogated the quota system, it allowed the quotas to be filled several years in advance. Moreover, by June in 1950, it stipulated the admission of 202 thousands displaced people and 3000 orphans residing in Europe.[32] The majority of overseas countries also opened their borders to European refugees, but they applied strict selection. Canada favored miners, loggers, and agricultural workers. In Australia, newcomers were contractually obliged to take jobs (mainly physical work) assigned by the government for at least two years. Similar conditions were set by Latin-American countries: visa preference was given to those who were skilled in a shortage occupation.

We do not have precise figures on the distribution of Second World War refugees by nationality. At the time, the results of the censuses were often inaccurate, and contemporary press reports often contradicted each other. According to subsequent professional estimates, in the spring of 1945, there were approximately one million Hungarian citizens in Austria and Germany who had been deported or were fleeing from the Soviet occupation. Most of them resettled to Hungary in the same year, either individually or in an organized way. Those who refused repatriation continued to migrate to Western Europe and overseas.[33] Refugees from Hungary were not eligible for UNRRA relief due to their status as former enemies. In 1945, the Hungarian Refugee Committee was established to handle the demobilization of the prisoners of war and to prepare of repatriations. Its operation

30 Puskás, "Migráció Kelet-Közép-Európában".

31 Ibid.

32 Gyula Borbándi, *A magyar emigráció életrajza 1945–1985* (Hága: Mikes International, 2006).

33 According to the IRO, approximately 17 thousands former Hungarian citizens (who emigrated after the Second World War) were registered in the USA; 16.5 thousands in Canada; and 14.5 thousands in Australia. Various estimates also suggest that around 10 thousands DPs of Hungarian origin arrived in South America. See: Papp Z., "A nyugati magyar diaszpóra és szervezeti élete", 623; Puskás, "Migráció Kelet-Közép-Európában", 106–108.

under the name Representation of Displaced Hungarians in the US Zone also approved by the US Headquarters in Europe. The Hungarian refugees crowded into the camps soon realized that their situation would not be resolved soon. Therefore, they began to organize education for minors with the help of the churches. More and more Hungarian schools were established in the refugee camps. The Hungarian scout movement was also revived with the help of schools and churches. The first Hungarian troops of scouts abroad were also established in refugee camps in Austria and Germany.[34]

Those who continued to migrate to Western Europe and overseas were helped not only by Hungarian organizations and churches, but also by the previous emigrants who had emigrated before the Second World War. They were offered home and work, and in many cases, some previously arrived emigrants took also responsibility for them to facilitate their immigration and settlement in the host-state. However, other people had reservations about them: *"We will see to it that America's benevolent generosity cannot be misused; and that neither Nazis, nor Arrow Cross, nor hardened Horthy villains can smuggle themselves in here in connection with this operation. Keep themselves outside the USA and just remain DP"* – we can read in *The Man (Az Ember)* weekly newspaper, on 22nd May in 1948.[35] The conflicts between the previous and the newly arrived Hungarian emigrants in the second half of the 1940s became even more acute over time.

The cited weekly newspaper was founded and edited by Ferenc Göndör, a journalist from Bihardiószeg (now Romania), who emigrated between the two world wars. Meanwhile in Hungary, the second phase of the emigration after the war started in 1947. The two waves of emigration differ in time and causes. To distinguish between their participants, we call them 45ers and 47ers. This bulleted general description by Gyula Borbándi shows well the differences. 45ers: *"a) They were foreign forced laborers in the Nazi Germany between 1939 and 1945; or b) they were German prisoners of war during the war; or c) they were foreigners who survived their imprisonment in Hitler's concentration camps (i.e. political prisoners and Jews condemned to extermination). All these people were liberated and saved from further suffering by the Allies. Later, stateless foreigners who had been sent to Germany during the Nazis' regime but then they did not want to return home, or who had fled from the Soviet communist*

34 The reorganization of the Hungarian scouting movement abroad, in an institutional framework, was helped by the Teleki Pál Scout Association, which was founded in 1946. After the Hungarian Scout Association (founded in 1912) was ceased in 1948, and the scout movement was replaced by the pioneer movement, the Teleki Pál Scout Association took the name of the Hungarian Scout Association. For a while, this organization was also known as the Hungarian Scout Federation in Exile. Its head office was established in the United States in 1950. Finally in 1989, it received the name of Hungarian Scout Federation in Exteris. It includes more thousands of Hungarian scouts who live in diaspora communities on four continents of the world. You can find more information on the website of the scout association: www.kmcssz.org.

35 Borbándi, *A magyar emigráció életrajza*, 44.

regime also joined the DPs."[36] 47ers: *"a) In 1945, they refused to leave for the West and stayed at home with the intention of assimilating, however, they played a role in the old public life; b) participated in the resistance against Hitler, welcomed the end of German Nazism and the Arrow Cross's regime, and helped to launch the new political order; c) a significant number of them could have accepted a humane, fair, and patient socialism."*[37] In contrast with the 45ers, people who emigrated after 1947 had personal experiences about the Soviet occupation. They did not leave the country en masse, but individually or maybe with their families; and they were not concentrated in refugee camps. Their reception abroad was more positive, as the Western European governments that came to power after the war did not consider them a former enemy. Most of them had to emigrate due to their political party affiliation, official duty, or behavior against the Hungarian ultra-left organizations. This is particularly true for those who actively participated in the democratic efforts of the consolidation era between 1945 and 1948. István Pap, who was a former member of the parliament, spent most of his life as a gardener in Windsor city, in Canada. In his autobiographical novel, he recalled his own emigration in 1948: *"One of my Communist friends messaged me with my wife that I should be careful. He and some of his comrades tried to cover and protect me although I wagged my tongue, but that is the end of it. So far they've covered me, but they cannot continue this anymore. I should flee as soon as possible. Then I thought that my emigration would not be long: two or three years. It was forty years ago, and I have been still living in a foreign country."*[38]

The leaders of the 45ers and 47ers were cold and unfriendly, sometimes even hostile towards each other. Both emigration groups blamed the other for the events in Hungary. The 47ers mainly accused the 45ers of serving Hitler and thus helping the takeover of the Arrow Cross Party. In contrast, the 45ers accused the 47ers of serving Stalin and accepting the Soviet occupation. As a result of their political disputes, the Hungarian diaspora essentially split into two camps.

As the Hungarian diaspora communities grew in numbers and became socio-politically segregated, Hungary increasingly distanced itself from the emigrants living abroad. As the end of the 1940s was drawing near, they were subjected to increasingly strict procedures. First, they were deprived of their Hungarian citizenship (according to Act X of 1947) and then they lost all their properties in Hungary (according to Act XXVI of 1948).[39] By 1949, strict restrictions on the crossing of state borders put an end to the migration processes from Hungary after the Second World War. In the Soviet-style one-party system, emigration

36 Ibid., 5.
37 Ibid., 53–54.
38 István Papp, *Hol a hazám?* (Győr: Magánkiadás, 1988), 112.
39 The full text of these mentioned laws can be found at www.1000ev.hu

received a new context: it became a political statement. The domestic historiography also redefined its approach to the subject: *"First of all, with the intention of consciously avoiding the words "emigrant" and "emigrate", the term "dissident" was given a new meaning to distinguish emigration that existed before the Second World War from "disloyal abandonment" of the communist Hungary. [...] On the other hand, besides the Rákóczi and Kossuth emigration (officially called political emigration by Hungarian historiography), the left-wing political emigration after the end of the Hungarian Soviet Republic became increasingly important. This latter group had not been mentioned before at all or it had only rarely mentioned."*[40]

The pause in migration after 1949 was interrupted by the revolution in 1956 and its suppression by the Soviet army. As a result of these events, around 200 thousands people left Hungary. It was the largest spontaneous movement of civilians in Europe since the Spanish Civil War. More than half of the emigrants called 56ers crossed the border at almost the same time (in November of 1956), mostly illegally. This wave included mainly young people (circa 25 years old) from cities (more than half of them were from Budapest and 30% of them were from the Transdanubia). Only the third of these emigrants were women.[41] Many of them fled abroad as university students, interrupting their studies. In contrast with the former waves of exodus, causes of the fleeing were more complex and diverse. Namely, between 1956 and 1957 not only the participants of the revolution left Hungary, but also many other people who saw their future hopeless in the Rakosi-period, and they decided to emigrate because they hoped better living circumstances. The latter group outnumbered those who had to flee for specifically political reasons. In the emigration that followed the revolution in 1956, both political and economic motivations had an important role. The situation was similar after the crushing of the Prague Spring in 1968 and also in case of the mass emigration from the East-Central European countries after the declaration of state of war in Poland in 1981.

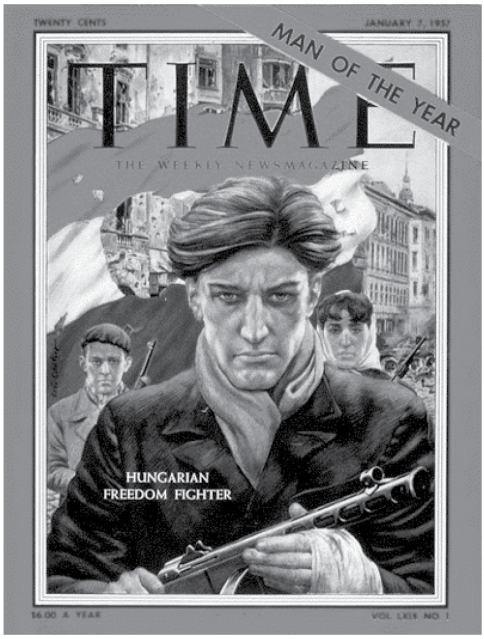
The main destinations of the emigration wave in 1956 were overseas and Western Europe, through Austria and Yugoslavia. Between 1956 and 1957, more than 180 thousand Hungarian immigrants arrived to Austria and almost 20 thousand to Yugoslavia. As for the latter group, most of them left the country in a southerly direction after January in 1957, when the authorities closed the Hungarian-Austrian border. All the other emigrants (circa 160 thousands) continued their migration to other countries of Western Europe or overseas. Most of them ended up in the United States (nearly 40 thousands people). Their admission regardless of the quota system was made possible by immigration laws passed in the early 1950s: *Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 – McCarran-Walter Act, Refugee Relief Act of 1953*. Overseas, many 56ers got to Canada (26.5 thousands people), to Australia

40 Torbágyi, *Magyarok Latin-Amerikában*, 19–20.
41 Papp Z., "A nyugati magyar diaszpóra és szervezeti élete".

(11 thousands people), and to South Africa (1300 thousands people). As for Europe, also many 56ers emigrated to Great-Britain (21 thousands people), to Germany (15.5 thousands people), to France (12.7 thousand people), to Switzerland (12 thousands people), and to Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden (totally 10 thousands people).[42]

The 56ers received significantly more favorable treatment in the host-states than those who arrived in the previous waves of emigration. They were looked up to: they were considered heroes of the war of independence against the Soviet oppression, and glorious veterans of the Hungarian revolution. Among other things, this is confirmed by the issue of the American *Time* magazine published on 7th January in 1957, which chose the *"Hungarian freedom fighter"* as the man of the year 1956.

Figure 3: The cover of Time magazine from January 7, 1957.



Source: www.time.com

The positive perception of the 56ers was noted not only in public opinion, but also in the behavior of the authorities and organizations taking action. Scientific life also was interested in them: the New York Columbia University sent a research group to Austria and

42 The figures regarding the wave of Hungarian emigration after the revolution in 1956 vary from one source to another, but they do not show any significant difference. Source of data reported here: Borbándi, *A magyar emigráció életrajza*, 160.

Germany, while the Rutgers University in New Jersey studied the 56-ers communities in the United States.[43] The Hungarians living in diaspora also opened up towards the new arrivals, and were ready to take them in. Despite of the various conflicts and party affiliations between the leaders of 45ers and 47ers, they agreed to deny the Soviet-style political system in Hungary, and recognized the aims of the revolution in 1956.

The wave of emigration in 1956–1957 was the last significant political emigration in the Hungarian diaspora's historical evolution. Its group cohesion force and effect on the Hungarian communities in the host-states were determinant for almost a half century in the organizational life of the diaspora. The emigration from Hungary did not stop after that either, but an exodus of this size and well-defined in time has not been experienced since then. Between 1960 and 1989, a total of 130 thousand people left Hungary. According to official data, in the 1960s and 1970s, the number of the legal and illegal emigrants converged, but in the 1980s, the proportion of illegal border-crossers increased again (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: The number of legal and illegal emigrants from Hungary between 1956 and 1989

Source: Papp Z., "A nyugati magyar diaszpóra és szervezeti élete", 624.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the internal and external perceptions of minority communities of migratory origin changed significantly, especially in the United States. The melting pot concept had been dominant for a long time, but it was gradually replaced by the

43 Ibid.

idea of multiculturalism. This change was also reflected in the legislation. In the USA, the *Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965* abrogated the ethnic- and nationality-based quota system which had been in force since 1921. A half century later, András Ludányi, who emigrated in 1945 and who was the establisher of the Hungarian Communion of Friends (which became determining in America), wrote how he experienced this change as a Hungarian: *"I remember that I got on the BMT underground line with my three or four scout friends, to travel from Queens to Manhattan. We had a lively conversation in Hungarian. Then an old "gentleman" came to us, and verbally attacked us. He said, nearly shouting, that he was fed up with the "foreign jibberish", and we should speak "American". But that myth did not last long. [...] It was clear to everyone that the melting pot was nothing more than a form of Anglo-Saxonisation by another name. Therefore, Americans who still preserved their folk traditions (Jews, Greeks, Armenians, etc.) put a new ideal against the melting pot: a kind of "mosaic" Americanism which based on cultural pluralism."*[44] As the idea of multiculturalism spread, a process that diaspora researcher Khachig Tölölyan called the *"re-diasporization of ethnicity"* began. This contributed significantly to the formation of the current forms of communities of migratory origin scattered around the world and also their institutional systems. Leaders of the various ethnic communities (Armenians, Greeks, Turks, etc.) living in the USA saw the successful lobby of the Jewish diaspora during the six-day war in 1967. Therefore, they formulated more and more often so-called *diasporic commitments*, and they encouraged the geographically fragmented ethnic communities to unite for support of their homeland.[45] For this reason, many organizations were founded, for example: the Armenian Assembly of America in 1972, the American Hellenic Institute in 1974, and the Assembly of Turkish American Associations in 1979.[46] These changes also affected the development of Hungarian diaspora communities overseas. On the one hand, as the principle of cultural pluralism became popular, the promotion of the Hungarian language and traditions, and also the strengthening of the national consciousness revived. On the other hand, in the 1970s, more Hungarian organizations were set up which based on diasporic commitment (although it was not always clearly expressed). In contrast with the above-mentioned examples, these Hungarian organizations did not urge primarily the support from the kin-state, since they condemned Hungary's contemporary political system and government. They urged the protection of the minority rights of the *autochthonous* communities which lived

44 András Ludányi, "Szétszórtsági magyar sors: múlt, jelen, jövő," *Kisebbségkutatás* 24, no. 2 (2015): 113–120, 115–116.

45 Khachig Tölölyan, "Diaspora Studies: Past, Present and Promise," *IMI Working Paper Series* 55, (April 2012), available at www.migrationinstitute.org.

46 For more information about the diaspora organizations listed above, see: www.aaainc.org (website of the Armenian Assembly in America); www.ahiworld.org (website of the American Hellenic Institute); www.ataa.org (website of the Assembly of Turkish American Associations).

in the regions annexed from the historical Hungary.[47] In 1974, István Zolcsák founded the Transylvanian World Federation in São Paulo. He chose Albert Wass writer (who lived in Florida) its president for cooperation with Hungarians living in North-America. Two years later, in 1976, the Committee for Human Rights in Romania was established with the leadership of László Hámos. After undertaking the support of the Hungarian communities in Czechoslovakia, this organization changed its name in 1983, and since then, it has been working as the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation.[48] Albert Wass and his circle primarily tried to stimulate a sense of responsibility for the fate of Transylvanian Hungarians in the local Hungarian diaspora communities. Meanwhile, László Hámos and his followers tried to win the American government and public opinion over to achieving of the human rights of Hungarians living in minority.[49] Concrete actions, activities, and demonstrations to achieve these goals spread across the whole continent, widening the network of contacts of the Hungarian diaspora overseas.

Fourth phase: emigration vs life in diaspora

> *"I admitted to myself: I live in New Jersey. I am a Hungarian who lives in New Jersey. I have realized that we can say it as simply and naturally as we say: there are Hungarians living in Budapest, in Cluj-Napoca, or in Transcarpathia. Moreover, more and more Hungarians live in Bucharest. Other Hungarians live in New Jersey and Buenos Aires. Not for a temporary period: this is their permanent home."* – Tibor Cseh's speech at the conference in Hereford, in September 1972.[50]

Although the signs of fragmentation which developed in the Hungarian diaspora after the Second World War can still be seen nowadays, the resulting conflicts have been consolidated to this day. The fragmentation of the 45ers, 47ers, and 56ers was caused by their

47 Supporting Hungarian communities who lived in transborder minorities in the Carpathian Basin was not a new phenomenon in the Hungarian diaspora overseas. Even in the early 1950s, there were organizations in the United States specifically dedicated to protect the rights of Transylvanian Hungarians. One of them was the American Transylvanian Association founded in 1952, which operated as a member organization of the Hungarian American Association since 1955. Another example is the Transylvanian Committee, which was split off the American Transylvanian Association in Cleveland, in 1956. These initiatives are not surprising if you consider that many of the people living in the diaspora originated from the regions annexed from the historical Hungary. However, this kind of activity of the diaspora revived and took a new form in the 1970s.

48 For more information about the history and activities of the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation, see: www.hhrf.org.

49 Gabriella Hermann, "Az igazság legyőzhetetlensége," *Regio* 30, no. 1 (2022): 44–71.

50 Tibor Cseh, "Nagymagyarország. A világmagyarság összefogása lelki-szellemi alapon," *Itt-Ott* 6, no. 1 (1973): 55–59, 56.

political beliefs, disagreements, and grievances they brought from home. However, it was considerably alleviated by the efforts to bring the Hungarian communities together. Over time, emigration-like character of the Hungarian communities scattered around the world faded, and meanwhile, the intensity of their opposition to the Hungarian authorities or government(s) also reduced. The organizations that were established due to political interests fought each other a lot, and their leaders somehow preserved the actual political situation of the moment of their fleeing. They became obsolete within a few decades, and most of them ceased.

Moving away from the Carpathian Basin and losing the hope of returning home brought new challenges and opportunities to Hungarians living in the diaspora. Without new waves of mass Hungarian migration, local communities had to face the process of cultural assimilation, which might lead to integration into the majority society, and thus to the disappearance of Hungarian community life outside the Carpathian Basin. To avoid this, it was necessary to develop an institutional framework that would allow for the long-term survival of diaspora communities organized on a national basis, and also the passing on the desire to exist as a distinct ethnicity from one generation to the next (actually, this means the maintenance of ethnic borders). The initial steps to create a new way of living in diaspora took place already in the 1970s. Probably, the first major manifestation of such initiatives was a Hungarian conference in 1972, in Hereford (Pennsylvania). It was organized by the establishers of the aforementioned Hungarian Communion of Friends. Tibor Cseh (whom I quoted above), a key figure of this important event, had the following opinion about the challenges of living in Hungarian diaspora: *"Our dispersal not only creates problems, not only separates us from each other, but also sets new challenges. We need to support our life in diaspora with institutions that create a Hungarian environment around us, and allows us to live in a nice and Hungarian way. […] Instead of a ghetto-style life, we must prepare for life in diaspora."*[51] The *Itt-Ott Conference*, which is one of the most important meeting of Hungarians living in the United States, was founded according to these principles and has been hosted by the Lake Hope State Park in Ohio since 1976.[52]

In the 1980s and 1990s, Hungarian diaspora organizations which formed by fusion of former organizations multiplied (regardless the founding members' political views). After the bipolar world order had ended, the processes of globalization made it possible to widen and strengthen the dynamic and transnational network of connections between geographically fragmented diaspora communities. Since the turn of the millennium, several umbrella organizations have been established to connect Hungarian institutions operating in different

51 Tibor Cseh, "A szétszórtsági életforma lehetőségei," *Itt-Ott* 6, no. 1 (1973): 79–81, 79.

52 For more information about the operating of the Hungarian Communion of Friends and on the *Itt-Ott* (means "here and there") conference, see: www.mbk.org; www.itt-ott.org.

countries at regional level. Prominent examples are the Western European Association of Hungarian Country Organizations (founded in 2001), the Canadian Hungarian Heritage Council (founded also in 2001), the Federation of Latin-American Hungarian Organizations (established in 2004), and the Australian Hungarian Federation (from 2013); just to name a few of the most extensive umbrella organizations.

Regarding the relationship of the diaspora and the kin-state, Hungary opened up towards the transborder Hungarian communities in 1989, after a 40-year period of isolation during the state socialism. This new manifestation of the kin-state's responsibility was not a unique phenomenon in the region. In the majority of countries recovering from socialism and moving towards democracy, the national question became a hot topic again in addition to the idea of Europeanization. By national question we mean the group of dilemmas about of the proper relation between the territorial borders of the state and the imagined limits of the nation. Due to the determining historical, political, and cultural specificities of the region, diaspora engagement practices in the different East-Central European kin-states show some similarities, especially at the legislative level.[53] The constitutional assumption of the kin-state's responsibility, the adoption of benefit laws, which guarantee certain benefits for co-nationals abroad, and the introduction of ethnic preferential naturalization with full or restricted citizenship rights appeared in most East-Central European countries.

In Hungary, the kin-state's responsibility was declared in the new Constitution of 1989 (that was the amendment of the Act 20 of 1949). Initially, successive governments tried to fulfil this by supporting Hungarian minorities living in neighboring states. Laws, forums, programs, and financial supports specifically for diaspora communities living outside the Carpathian Basin were only created after 2010.[54] Because of the diversity of these practices, Hungary's current diaspora policy is aligned with several ideals: it can be considered as both a right-extension and a capacity-building policy.[55] However, we must emphasize that the relationship of the diaspora communities and the kin-state is not permanent but constantly changing. A

53 For more information about the diaspora engagement practices of different East-Central European kin-states, see: Myra A. Waterbury, "Making Citizens Beyond the Borders: Nonresident Ethnic Citizenship in Post-Communist Europe," *Problems of Post-Communism* 61, no. 4 (2014): 36–49; Dániel Gazsó, "Diaspora Policies in Theory and Practice," *Hungarian Journal of Minority Studies* 1, (2017): 65–87; Eszter Kovács, *Elismerés és megszólítottság. Magyar diaszpórapolitika makro- és mezoszintű megközelítésben* (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2023).

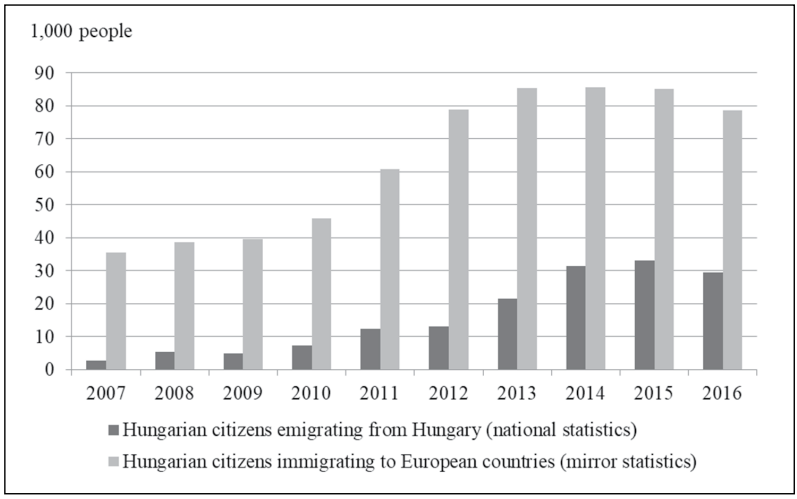
54 For more information about the current practices of diaspora policy in Hungary, see: Dániel Gazsó, "A diaszpóra politikai dimenziói," *Politikatudományi Szemle* 29, no. 2 (2020): 47–68; Zoltán Kántor, *A nemzet intézményesülése a rendszerváltás utáni Magyarországon* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2014); Attila Papp Z., Eszter Kovács and András Kováts, "Magyar diaszpóra és az anyaország. Diaszporizáció és diaszpórapolitika," in *Mobilitás és Integráció a magyar társadalomban*, ed. Imre Kovách (Budapest: Társadalomtudományi Kutatóközpont – Argumentum Kiadó, 2020): 295–324.

55 For more information about types of diaspora policies, see: Alan Gamlen, "Diaspora Engagement Policies: What Are They, and What Kinds of States Use Them?" *Working Paper* 32 (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2006).

shift in the geopolitical landscape, an economic crisis, or a change of government can lead to a complete change of strategic direction in this area.

Finally, compared to the classical waves of emigration, contemporary Hungarian emigration is better distributed over time, and its reasons are rather economic than political. In the last thirty years, Hungary has also become a destination and transit country. According to the national statistics, during this period, the number of immigrants has almost always been higher than the number of emigrants.[56] For the latter, however, mirror statistics show significantly higher values: between 2013 and 2015, more than 85 thousands immigrant Hungarian citizens were registered annually just in the European destination countries (see Figure 5).[57]

Figure 5: Hungarian emigration between 2007 and 2016: national statistics vs. mirror statistics



Source: Gödri, "International Migration", 255.

The wave of Hungarian emigration in the 2010s, also known as the "youth exodus", was mainly directed towards Western Europe, especially Germany, Austria, and the UK. To a lesser extent, the impact was also experienced in Hungarian communities overseas, particularly in the northern hemisphere, while South America was hardly affected. However, we cannot know if the new immigrants will integrate into the society of the host-states, or will continue migration, or will return home later. In case of settlement, will they require

56 Hungarian Central Statistical Office: *Summary tables (STADAT): www.ksh.hu/stadat.*; For more information on migration processes affecting contemporary Hungarian society, see: Dániel Gazsó, "Ki a migráns? A jelenkori magyar társadalmat érintő migrációs folyamatok összegzése," *Demográfia* 63, no. 4 (2020): 357–385.

57 Irén Gödri, "International Migration," in *Demographic Portrait of Hungary* 2018, eds. Judit Monostori, Péter Őri, and Zsolt Spéder (Budapest: Hungarian Demographic Research Institute, 2020): 237–271.

the maintenance of the ethnic borders? Or will they be culturally assimilated during social integration? In sum: Will the recently experienced Hungarian emigration processes increase the diaspora communities scattered around the world in the long term or not? Only time can answer this question.

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