

**János Sáringer**ORCID: 0000-0002-6492-7564  
saringer.janos@uni-bge.huBudapest Business School  
Institute of Social Sciences and Pedagogy  
Hungary

## **The realignment and staffing of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 1945 and 1950**

Przekształcenie i obsada stanowisk w Ministerstwie  
Spraw Zagranicznych Węgier w latach 1945–1950

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**Abstract:** On March 19, 1944, under the German occupation, Hungary lost its sovereignty. Due to the Second World War and the fighting in Budapest, the building and organization of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs were in ruins. After the war, the reorganization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs began with the employees of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs operating between 1920 and 1944. The Ministry followed the previous organizational and operational principle. Diplomats and ministry workers gained their foreign experiences before the war. In parallel with the takeover of power by the communists in Hungary, many diplomats and foreign workers emigrated due to the removal of old specialists and the open takeover of power by the communists. The communist-led Ministry of Foreign Affairs had a huge shortage of staff and specialists, which were replaced on the one hand by communist cadres of working and peasant origin, and on the other hand the Foreign Academy was established whose curriculum consisted of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. In 1950, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was reorganized, and a horizontal and vertical operating structure was established.

**Keywords:** Reorganization of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, diplomacy, Hungarian diplomats, communist takeover

**Abstrakt:** Węgry 19 marca 1944 r. utraciły suwerenność i znalazły się pod okupacją niemiecką. W wyniku II wojny światowej i walk w Budapeszcie zarówno budynek, jak i organizacja węgierskiego Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych zostały zrujnowane. Po wojnie rozpoczęła się reorganizacja Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych z udziałem pracowników węgierskiego MSZ działającego w latach 1920-1944. Ministerstwo kierowało się dotychczasową zasadą organizacyjno-operacyjną. Dy-

plomaci i pracownicy zdobywali zagraniczne doświadczenia jeszcze przed wojną. Równoległe z przejęciem władzy przez komunistów na Węgrzech, wielu dyplomatów i urzędników wyemigrowało. Liczni specjaliści zostali też usunięci z pracy. W kierowanym przez komunistów MSZ brakowało więc kadry. Starych specjalistów z jednej strony zastępowano komunistycznymi urzędnikami pochodzenia robotniczego i chłopskiego, z drugiej zaś – powstała Akademia Zagraniczna, której program nauczania ukierunkowany był na marksizm-leninizm. W 1950 roku Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych zostało zreorganizowane i utworzono poziomą oraz pionową strukturę operacyjną.

**Słowa kluczowe:** reorganizacja węgierskiego MSZ, dyplomacja, węgierscy dyplomaci, komunistyczne przejęcie

### **The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the last months of World War II**

During the Second World War, Hungary gradually became an area of military operations. The German troops ended the sovereignty of Hungary by occupying the country on March 19, 1944<sup>1</sup>. The Hungarian foreign administration, which was established and consolidated between the two world wars, ceased to exist. Staff of the Foreign Ministry fled to the countryside or abroad in fear of their lives, some of them seeking refuge in cellars in the capital. Due to the German occupation, the diplomats serving abroad resigned and formed the Committee of Ambassadors, which later wanted to be the foreign government organization of the emigrant Hungarian government. Governor Miklós Horthy<sup>2</sup> was detained by the Germans in Klenzheim.

In 1944, the Red Army appeared on the territory of the country as another occupying force after the German troops. At the end of September, Soviet soldiers reached the southeastern part of Hungary, and by mid-December, a significant part of the Trans-Tisza region came under their authority. At the end of 1944, in the middle and western parts of the country, some power was in the hands of the Germans and their ally the Arrow Cross, while the eastern part of the country was already ruled by Soviet comman-

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<sup>1</sup> Due to the occupation of German and then Soviet troops, Hungary's sovereignty had only been restored by June 1991 with the departure of the last Soviet soldier.

<sup>2</sup> Miklós Horthy (1868–1957) was a naval officer of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, between 1909–1914 auxiliary wing of Emperor Franz Joseph and governor of the Kingdom of Hungary between 1920–1944. He was the dominant figure of 20th century Hungary.

ders. The leaders of the Hungarian political parties who had their trust in the democratic transformation of Hungary formed the Hungarian National Independence Front in Szeged on December 2, 1944. They assigned the exit from the war and the fight against fascism as the main elements of their program. With the consent of the Allied Powers, the parties on the common front held the inaugural meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the Provisional National Assembly in Debrecen on December 14, 1944, and then the Provisional National Government was formed. Three communists, two social democrats, one from the peasant party, two from the smallholder party and four non-partisan politicians took their seats in the government, and János Gyöngyösi<sup>3</sup> from the smallholder party was appointed as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Representatives of the Provisional Government and the Allied (Soviet) High Command, Marshal Kliment Vorosilov<sup>4</sup>, signed the ceasefire agreement on January 20, 1945, in Moscow. Until the conclusion of the peace treaty, an Allied Control Commission (ACC) was set up in Hungary under the chairmanship of the Allied Command, with the participation of representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States<sup>5</sup>.

One of the important moments of the military events in Hungary was the siege of Budapest from the end of 1944 to February 1945, during which the Soviet forces bombed the capital. After the fighting, the building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Disz tér laid in ruins<sup>6</sup>, and other offices in Budapest did not function either. The Foreign Office led by János Gyöngyösi was therefore located in the building of the Debrecen Financial Authority. The staff of the institution, which initially employed only a few people, was later expanded: according to the census of 2 April 1945, twenty offi-

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<sup>3</sup> János Gyöngyösi (1893–1951) was a member of the Independent Smallholders' Party. Hungarian-Latin teacher, journalist. During World War II, he was a military officer and foreign minister from December 22, 1944 to May 31, 1947.

<sup>4</sup> Kliment Yefremovich Vorosilov (1881–1969) was a Soviet communist politician and soldier of Russian nationality. From 1941 he was commander of the Northwestern Army of the Soviet Union. In Hungary, he oversaw the takeover of the Communists between 1945 and 1947, and was chairman of the Federal Control Commission from 1945 to 1947.

<sup>5</sup> *Hungarian Corpus Juris 1943–45*, ed. G. Vincenti, L. Gál, Budapest 1946, p. 73–77.

<sup>6</sup> The reconstruction of the building did not take place up to this day.

cials<sup>7</sup> and sixteen lecturers, honorary officers, non-commissioned officers, drivers and heads of offices<sup>8</sup> the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was set up<sup>9</sup>.

On behalf of János Gyöngyösi, the preparation of the move from Buda to Pest was supervised by György Petravich<sup>10</sup>, who from 5 February assigned as the seat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the second floor of the house without door and window frame at 15 Szabadság square, District V. He drew the attention of ministry officials and other staff to apply for urgent cleaning and tidying work on the new headquarters in full number. As a result of the preparatory work carried out in Budapest, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was able to move back to the capital from Debrecen on 11 April.

### **Organizational structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1945–1946**

Based on documents, we can reconstruct the organizational structure of the Foreign Service at the end of April 1945, according to which the ones operating were the Cabinet of Ministers, the Peace Preparatory Department, the Presidential Department, the Protocol Department, the Ceasefire Department, the Political Department, the Social Policy Department, the Economic Policy Department, the Archives and Science Department, and the Press Department. Also the Procurement Group, the Office of the Directors-General, the Audit Office, the Legal Group, the Housing Office, the Office of the Construction Manager and the Telephone Center operated<sup>11</sup>. Comparing the organizational structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in early 1944 and April 1945, there are some similarities: the Cabinet of Ministers and the Political, Presidential, Protocol, Social Policy, Economic Policy Offices, and the Office of

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<sup>7</sup> National Archives of the Hungarian National Archives (hereinafter MNL OL) XIX – J – 1 – k – Mixed – 1945–64. Box 4 Without page number.

<sup>8</sup> At the same place.

<sup>9</sup> For more on what has been said, see: J. Sáringer, *Documents on the History of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1945–1950*, Publisher Négy Árbóc, Szeged 2013.

<sup>10</sup> György Petravich was a diplomat in the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs between the two world wars, and continued to serve in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 1945 and 1947. He was removed from his position in 1947.

<sup>11</sup> MNL OL XIX – J – 1 – a – IV – 7–1945. Box 31 Without page number. Date: April 30, 1945.

the Director General. The Archives, Science and Press Department was set up in April 1945, which can be interpreted as the combination of the former Press Department and the Culture and Science Department back in early 1944. The effacement of the legal aspects of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also indicated by the fact that even though in 1944 four departments dealt with matters of international law, by the beginning of 1945 a single legal group had been set up to deal with it. In addition, it became necessary at this time to set up a Procurement Group and a Construction Management Office, which can be explained by the difficult proximity and the dilapidated condition of the building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A new element is that at the beginning of 1945 the Peace Preparatory Department could be formally functioning, which during the Second World War – from the summer of 1942 – was only a covert, informally established group of a few people within the Political Department<sup>12</sup>.

By the end of 1945, the organizational structure of the central service had changed somewhat, and four working groups had been set up under the direct authority of the Minister: the Cabinet of Ministers, the International Legal Advisory Division, the Ceasefire Division, and the Economic Control Office. In addition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was divided into two other larger units. One of them operated under the name of Political Group and consisted of seven departments: the Department of Peace Preparations, the Political Department, the Department of Culture and Science, the Department of Economic Policy, the Department of International Labor<sup>13</sup>, and the Department of Documents, Archives and Libraries. The other larger unit received the name of Administrative Group, within which three subsystems operated: the Bureau Subgroup (Audit Office, Treasury, Office of the Directors-General, Courier, the Translation Office under organization – temporarily carried out by the Ceasefire Department- and the Supply Office, which was operated by the Procurement Group), the Protocol Department and the Encryption Department, which was also being organized.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>13</sup> The Department of International Labor also temporarily performed the duties of the Department of Hungarian Affairs Abroad of the Legal Subgroup of the Department of Social Policy.

The Legal Subgroup included the Legal Department (the Prisoner of War Office and the Passport Office) and the Department of Consular Administration, then known as the Prisoner of War and Complaints Office. The Department for Affairs of Hungarians Abroad formed the third unit of the Legal Subgroup, whose duties were performed, as of November 1945, by the International Labor Division, which operated under the name of the Department of Social Policy and was part of the Political Group. From 1 December 1945, two departments were formed from the Department of Social Policy. One of them was the Department of Hungarian Affairs Abroad. The other organizational unit was the International Labor Department<sup>14</sup>.

By the beginning of 1946, the new case management of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was completed, which followed the structure of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs between the two world wars, i.e. the center was still organized on the basis of the basic concept of a vertical structure<sup>15</sup>. The departments and working groups under the direct control of the Minister were: the Cabinet of Ministers, the Political Department, the Peace Preparatory Department, the Press Department, and the Ceasefire Department.

The departments under the supervision of the Administrative Head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs included: the President's Department, the Translation Office, the Office of the Director-General, the Courier Office, the Procurement Group, the Budget Department, the Protocol Department, the Economics Department, the Cryptography Department, the Culture Department, the Department of International Labor, the Department of Archives and Science, the Department of Care for Hungarians Abroad, the Legal Group, the Department of Travel and Passports and the Department of Prisoners of War.

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<sup>14</sup> MNL OL XIX – J – 1 – a – IV – 7 / Bé – 1945. Box 31, p. 2-3. Date: 14 November 1945.

<sup>15</sup> MNL OL XIX – J – 1 – k – Vegyes – 4fc – sz. n. – 1945 Box 21, p. 1-12. Date: February 1, 1946.

## **Who worked in the Ministry on Szabadság Square?**

In their program, the Hungarian National Independence Front envisaged the arrest and trial of war criminals. Those working in the public administration, including those who applied to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were subject to a so-called certification procedure, for the implementation of which certification committees were set up<sup>16</sup>. According to a statement made in 1945<sup>17</sup>, one hundred and forty people were inspected by May 25, 1945, from whom one hundred and twenty were certified, and the others were classified into different categories. At that time, most of the staff of the Ministry was ministry workers before the German occupation of Hungary. After the German occupation of Hungary, in April the then diplomats who had resigned abroad formed their so-called Ambassador Commission, but the Budapest government did not demand their services. However most of them did not even show much willingness to return home. It is probable that these foreign ministers followed the domestic political events in Hungary and waited out.

In the senior positions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Szabadság Square, we find people who have gained experience in foreign affairs administration between the two world wars. Thus, the Ministry, reorganized after the Second World War, initially served as foreign workers before 1945, and others were included based on their qualifications and language skills. But they also relocated people from other ministries who were familiar with administration and were experts in a particular field. Self-nominees offered themselves, and people of different backgrounds also appeared with the recommendation of some political parties, in other cases the given political party asked for their candidates to be admitted in a letter sent directly to János Gyöngyösi<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> *Magyar Közlöny*, February 5, 1945; *Minutes of the Council of Ministers of the Government of Miklós Béla Dálnoki (Provisional National Government) 23 December 1944–1945 November 15*. Volume “A”, ed. L. Szűcs, Budapest 1997. p. 143. Cf. G. Papp, *Retaliatory Proceedings and Retaliation for War Crimes in Hungary after 1945*, “Aetas” 2009, vol. 24. No. 2, p. 162-179; P. Pritz, *László Bárdossy before the People’s Court*, Budapest 1991.

<sup>17</sup> MNL OL XIX – J – 1 – k – Vegyes – 1945–64. Box 4 Without page number.

<sup>18</sup> MNL OL XIX – J – 1 – u – Gy.J. – 1945. Box 23 pages 1-2. Date: October 13, 1945.

For the newcomers to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a course was organized in early 1945. The training took place within the framework of the Hungarian Institute of Foreign Affairs, and twenty people, including a lady, took part in the first course. The first examination took place in August 1946 and participants had to give account on their knowledge on subjects such as diplomatic history, public international and social policy, economic policy (in French or English), international law, particular international institutions and organizations, private international and criminal law, consular law and foreign administration, and current foreign policy issues<sup>19</sup>. After passing the exam, students were able to take the oath of office to Almighty God<sup>20</sup>.

In April 1947, the Presidential Department provided in-service training for officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with a total of forty-five participants. In September 1947, at a hearing lasting for several days, the qualifications of the candidates from each head of department were first reviewed on the basis of one year's work, followed by a written and oral examination. The competition began orally – with private and criminal international law, in French, and then continued in writing on the following subjects: economic policy, social policy, diplomatic history, translation from Hungarian to Russian, and translation from Hungarian to English. The second block of the hearings was held orally again: international law (in French), current foreign policy issues, social policy, economic fundamentals, political and economic geography, diplomatic history, foreign affairs administration, maritime law, protocol (in French), Russian and English language<sup>21</sup>. Training was also provided for those performing administrative work, the main subjects of which were stenography and typing, registration, and foreign affairs administration.

Based on Decree No. 5000/1946 M. E., dated May 9, 1946, the number of employees in the public administration was to be reduced by ten percent compared to the financial year 1937/1938.

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<sup>19</sup> J. Horváth, *The Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From Dísz square to Szabadság square. Memorandum on the Foreign Service 1936–1948* (Manuscript), p. 113-125; I. Del Medico, *My life. The testimony of a citizen today*, Budapest 2006, p. 39-71.

<sup>20</sup> Horváth, *The Ministry...*, p. 125.

<sup>21</sup> MNL OL XIX – J – 1 – k – Vegyes – 1945–64. Box 23 p. 85-90.



The task of the so-called List B committees was to identify those who did not serve the “democratic transformation”. As a result, by the end of 1946, personnel had been reduced to such an extent that workers were unable to perform their duties properly, and nepotism and political parties had a say in personal affairs<sup>22</sup>.

In 1947, the Communists took power in Hungary, forced the Prime Minister to resign, and appointed their own candidate. As a result, most diplomats abroad have resigned. After the Second World War, it was then that the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs began to go abroad, which was commonly called defection in the era, and the dissidents – and often their family members as well – became stigmatized people. The other major wave occurred in 1948, when eighty-six of those dismissed under Government Decree No. 600/1948 left the country or remained abroad. According to a statement made on January 25, 1950, a total of 132 people defected<sup>23</sup>. As a result, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has struggled with a huge shortage of staff and, let us add, a shortage of specialists. The vacancies were filled with cadres loyal to the Communist Party, so the ministry's staff was significantly diluted.

At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, courses remained regular, although there were significant changes in subjects and examination questions during 1947-1948. In parallel with the communist takeover, the classics of Marxism-Leninism came to the fore: the works of the Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Stalin, Lenin and Hungarian “governors” of Moscow, e.g. Mátyás Rákosi<sup>24</sup>. In 1948, the Academy of Foreign Affairs was opened, also under the leadership of the Hungarian Communists<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> MNL OL XIX – J – 1 – u. – Gy. J. – 1946. Box 22 p. 21–25.

<sup>23</sup> MNL OL XIX – J – 1 – Vegyes – 4 / fc – sz.n. – 1950. Box 21, p. 1-3.

<sup>24</sup> Mátyás Rákosi (1892-1971) is a communist politician. Between 1945 and 1956 he was the leader of the Hungarian Communist Party and the Hungarian Workers' Party. Between 1949 and 1956 Hungary's all-powerful leader, the founder of the Stalinist dictatorship, and the governor of Moscow. After the Hungarian Revolution and the War of Independence in 1956, he left for the Soviet Union, was not allowed to return to Hungary by Soviet leaders and died in Gorky.

<sup>25</sup> Act LVIII of 1948 provided the establishment of the Academy of Foreign Affairs. The Academy of Foreign Affairs provided two years of education, which was supervised by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in agreement with the Minister for Religion and Public Education.

### **Diplomatic and consular relations after the war**

As a result of the war, most of Hungary's diplomatic relations, with the exception of one or two neutral states, were severed, and much remained to be done in the area of consular relations. Most of the former Hungarian royal embassies were empty, other buildings and residences were guarded by officials who remained in their place. As a result of the democratic elections held in Hungary at the end of 1945, some countries indicated (or made preparatory steps to do so) that they wished to establish diplomatic relations with the Hungarian government. In September 1945, Foreign Minister János Gyöngyösi received Belgian Major Emanuel de Wasseige. The Major "informed the Minister that he had come from Prague to interrogate the Minister for questioning on the direct instructions of the Belgian Government and the Belgian Foreign Minister. In view of the large number of Hungarians living in Belgium, the Belgian Government is now formally inquiring with the Hungarian Government as to its position on the Hungarian consulate to be set up in Brussels to deal with these Hungarians. (...) In his reply, the Minister explained that the Hungarian government would very much like to set up a Hungarian consulate in Brussels and, of course, give its consent to the establishment of a Belgian consulate in Budapest. However, as the Hungarian government does not yet have full sovereignty in this area, the Hungarian government will turn to the Federal Control Commission to obtain the necessary consent"<sup>26</sup>.

According to the report of the telegraph office there, the Swiss Federal Council has decided to prepare for the establishment of diplomatic relations with Hungary. In his Christmas statement, the Polish Prime Minister announced that Poland was ready to establish diplomatic relations with Hungary. According to a report from the Brussels Radio and from Ferenc Rosty-Forgách<sup>27</sup>, the Ambassador in Prague, the Belgian leadership was pursuing a similar intention. The Italian government announced its intentions to re-

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<sup>26</sup> MNL OL XIX – J – 1 – u – Gy.J. – 1945. Box 23 Without sheet number. Date: 14 September 1945.

<sup>27</sup> Ferenc Rosty-Forgách had been the embassy secretary at the Royal Hungarian Embassy in Prague since 1930. Between 1946 and 1947, he headed the Hungarian representation in Prague, then resigned in September 1947 and emigrated.

establish diplomatic relations with Hungary through their ambassador to Moscow. Turkey has expressed its intention to do so through the British Embassy in Ankara<sup>28</sup>. In the middle of January 1946, Pál Sebestyén<sup>29</sup>, the head of the department of the Presidential Department, informed Minister János Gyöngyösi that the Danish delegate, Erik Olsen<sup>30</sup> had made an appearance before him, informing him that “the Danish government would be happy to establish diplomatic relations with Hungary. He stated that József Kristóffy, our former ambassador, had a lively and fruitful activity in collecting for the Hungarians. The Danes would be delighted to entrust him with our representation”<sup>31</sup>.

At the beginning of November 1946, László Bartók wrote to the Minister of Foreign Affairs from Vienna: “Now that Austria is establishing diplomatic relations – partly with Austrian and partly with foreign diplomats – more and more questions are directed to me about why we are not establishing diplomatic relations with Austria, even though Hungary is the only neighbor of Austria with which it has no normal relations. This interest peaked at the Soviet Commander-in-Chief’s soirée yesterday. (...) Our representation already exists here anyway, its transformation into an embassy would only change the name, and it could put an end to many misconceptions and combinations”<sup>32</sup>.

In order to increase its international room for maneuver, the Hungarian government also wanted to settle its foreign relations, and it was in its basic interest for the missions to start and conti-

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<sup>28</sup> MOL XIX – J – 1 – j – Vegyes – 1946–64. Box 5, p. 28.

<sup>29</sup> Pál Sebestyén (1893–1973) lawyer, diplomat, translator. From 1937 to 1941, he was head of the Department of International Law at the State Department. During the Provisional Government, he was involved in the reorganization of the Foreign Service (1945), and from 1946 he was an extraordinary ambassador and an authorized minister. He was a member of the Hungarian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference (1947). Between 1950 and 1954 he was Head of the Department of the Academy of Foreign Affairs, and until 1973 employee of the Institute of Political Science and Law of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

<sup>30</sup> Erik Olsen was an employee of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and accompanied three truckloads of aid to Hungary. In Denmark, the “Save the Children” Association organized a fundraiser, which was also supported by the Danish government.

<sup>31</sup> MNL OL XIX – J – 1 – u – Gy.J. – 1945. Box 23 Without sheet number. Date: January 18, 1946.

<sup>32</sup> MNL OL XIX – J – 1 – u – 16 – fön – 1946. Box 22 Without sheet number. Dated: 8 November 1946. Handwritten at the beginning of the page is “no action required at this time”.

nue working abroad. Pursuant to the ceasefire concluded in January 1945, the ACC also exercised control over Hungary's official foreign relations. As a result, in order to re-establish diplomatic relations, the Budapest government had to seek permission from the ACC.

A special situation developed in Spain, as from July 1946, with the permission of the ACC, the Hungarian ambassador to Paris, Pál Auer<sup>33</sup>, provided the protection of Hungarian citizens there as well, but at the same time, the Hungarian royal ambassador Ferenc Marosy (Mengele)<sup>34</sup> was accredited to the Madrid government. For the accreditation of the new Hungarian ambassador to Switzerland, Ferenc Gordon<sup>35</sup>, ACC granted the permit in July 1946, and he began practicing his office in September. In May 1946, Vilmos Böhm<sup>36</sup>, the new head of the Hungarian embassy in Sweden, presented his credentials to the Swedish ruler. ACC's permission to contact Turkey was also granted in May 1946, and the organizational work of the Hungarian embassy in Ankara, led

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<sup>33</sup> Paul Auer (1885-1978) was a lawyer and diplomat. Between the two world wars, he had a law office in Budapest. In 1923 he became the president of the Hungarian Peace Association, and from 1924 he was the head of the Hungarian department of the Pan-European Union and a legal adviser to the French embassy. He was a member of the Independent Smallholders' Party from 1943. From 1946 he was the Hungarian ambassador to Paris, and resigned in June 1947 due to the communist takeover. He lived in Paris and participated in the establishment of the Council of Europe.

<sup>34</sup> Ferenc Marosy (1893-1986) was a diplomat. His original name was Ferenc Mengele, which he translated into Hungarian. From 1922 he was an employee of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from 1939 he was the first subordinate of the London mission, then the administrator of the Cairo embassy. From 18 April 1939 to 14 April 1940 he was head of the Consulate General in Prague. From 1942 he headed the embassy in Helsinki, and in September 1944 he left for Madrid. In Madrid, with the support of Archduke Otto of Habsburg, he was an ambassador of the Royal Hungarian Embassy between 1945 and 1967, while the kingdom in Hungary ended on February 1, 1946.

<sup>35</sup> Ferenc Gordon (1893-1971) was an economist, diplomat and politician. He was the director of Corvin Áruház between 1924 and 1946. In 1934 he joined the Independent Smallholder Party. Was Minister of Finance from 1945 to 1946, then Bern (1946-1947). He then resigned his job and remained in the West. He later settled in Argentina, where he worked as an economic consultant for Siemens Works until his retirement.

<sup>36</sup> Vilmos Böhm (1880-1949) was a Social Democrat politician and Minister of War. In March 1919, as a result of the communist takeover, he was the commander of the Hungarian Red Army. In August 1919, after the fall of the Hungarian Communist power, he settled in Vienna, joining the work of the international social democratic movement. From 1934 he lived in Czechoslovakia and from 1938 in Sweden. From May 1, 1946, he became the head of the Hungarian embassy in Sweden, and from January 31, 1948, he was accredited in Norway and Denmark. In 1949 he was deprived of his Hungarian citizenship.

by Béla Andaházi-Kasnya<sup>37</sup>, gained new impetus. Pursuant to the ACC permit of January 1947, the organization of the Hungarian political mission began in Austria under the leadership of László Bartók, temporary administrator. It was then that the embassy was set up in Belgium, and Endre Perlaky Kassa<sup>38</sup> arrived in Brussels in March 1947. Representatives of the Hungarian government have been working in London since February 1946, led by Tamás Szabó and István Bede, and members of the ACC's British political mission have been active in Budapest. According to the ACC permit of July 1946, a Bulgarian repatriation mission worked in Hungary. The establishment of diplomatic relations with Chile was officially authorized in January 1947, although it had already taken place between the two countries. In Czechoslovakia, from August 1945, a Hungarian representative, Ferenc Rosty-Forgách, defended the interests of Hungarian citizens in Prague, and his deputy arrived in Bratislava in 1947. In the United States, Ambassador Aladár Szegedy-Maszák<sup>39</sup> handed over his credentials in January 1946, and in the Soviet Union, Gyula Szekfű<sup>40</sup> served from March 1946. From April 1946, Paul Auer served in Paris, as mentioned earlier. The organization of the Hungarian embassy began in Belgrade in October 1946. In Warsaw, from February 1946, the embassy was headed by a temporary charge d'affaires was. In the Netherlands, an agent of the Hungarian government served from May 1946. He was also a temporary administrator in Italy from

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<sup>37</sup> Béla Andaházi-Kasnya (1888-1960) was a painter and politician. Between the two world wars he was Member of the Parliament and a fine artist. In the summer of 1947, he also resigned and emigrated. He settled in Buenos Aires, where he joined the Hungarian National Commission.

<sup>38</sup> Diplomat Endre Perlaki-Kassa (1903-?), Deputy Head of the Peace Preparatory Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1946, then served in the Embassy in Brussels. In June 1947 he resigned and emigrated.

<sup>39</sup> Aladár Szegedy-Maszák (1903-1988) served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 1928 and 1937. In 1937-1942 he was the secretary of the Hungarian embassy in Berlin, then in 1943-1944 he was the deputy head and then the head of the political department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1943, he played a role in the secret negotiation of the Kállay government to conclude the difference. He was arrested by the Gestapo after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944. He returned home from Dachau in 1945. He was an envoy in Washington from 1945 to 1947. In the summer of 1947, he resigned from his post and lived in the United States until his death.

<sup>40</sup> Gyula Szekfű (1883-1955) was a historian, university professor and a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Between the two world wars, he was one of the main ideologues of the Horthy regime. After 1945 he cooperated with the emerging communist regime and was appointed as ambassador to Moscow.

April 1946. Based on the principle of reciprocity, the members of the Romanian and Hungarian political missions occupied their positions in Budapest and Bucharest in July 1946, respectively. In Germany, from July 1946, there was a Government Commission for Repatriation.

The settlement of Hungary's consular relations also became necessary, since in 1949 we still had consular agreements with only five countries: Italy, Bulgaria, the United States of America, Poland and Turkey<sup>41</sup>. Under international law and bilateral conventions, a distinction was then made between a consulate, a consular office and an honorary consulate. The head of the consulate had an operating license (exequatur) issued by the host state, so he had the right to act before the authorities of the host state, but he could only contact the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the host state through his embassy. If the consul did not have an embassy in the receiving State, he could contact the Foreign Ministry of the receiving State through his own Ministry of Foreign Affairs or through an embassy authorized to do so in another State.

In Italy, there was a consular office in Milan under the name of Consulate General, but after the dissolution of the Registrar Imre Gál, the Italian authorities did not grant a license to operate for the delegate. At that time, Budapest was considered one of the most important consular places in Europe, because a significant number of industrial workers of Hungarian origin lived there. The consular agreement with Poland and Bulgaria was unused, but for political and administrative reasons the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not set up a consulate or consular office. In 1949, the Consulate General operated in New York, USA, and the U.S. side gave its head prior the operating license. There was a consular office in Cleveland called the Consulate General, led by a subordinate of the Hungarian Embassy in Washington. At the same time, Hungary had consulates in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and Romania<sup>42</sup>. In 1949, a consular office under the name of Consulate

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<sup>41</sup> They have made consular agreements with Italy on May 15, 1874 (tc. 1875 / XIII), with Bulgaria on May 31, 1911 (tc. 1912 / XXVII), with the United States on June 24, 1925 (tc. 1926 / XXI. (1938 / I tc) with Poland on 24 April, 1936, and with Turkey on 18 June 1938 (1940 / XXV tc).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. MNL OJ XIX – J – 1 – k – Vegyes – 3 / a – 70651/1947 Box 2. p. 1-5.

General operated in Istanbul and a consular office in Paris. With the consent of the Romanian government, the Passport Office of the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest was set up in Cluj-Napoca, which lasted until a certain period of time, until the citizenship agreement was held. A draft decree had been made on November 1947 on the establishment of honorary consulates, the appointment and operation of honorary consuls. In 1949 Hungary did not have an honorary consul abroad, and in 1950 the system of honorary consulates was abolished<sup>43</sup>.

### **Foreign Service of Other States**

After the Second World War, in several European and overseas country changes took place in the foreign administration and, at the same time, in its structure. This was also experienced by those serving in the operating Hungarian embassies, and Budapest watched with great interest the changes taking place in foreign countries and the reforms that took place in some cases. In addition to the reorganization proposals made by the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the intention of an international perspective, the Ministry requested information from the missions on the current foreign administration of their host country, of which a summary note was also prepared<sup>44</sup>.

“The emergence of an approach to a united and indivisible world and the recognition of the consequences of this approach have been the driving force behind the reorganization and modernization of the foreign service of each state and the large-scale expansion of its material and personal resources. Hungary must also recognize the importance of the fact that our country's foreign organization cannot remain within the old framework if the state wants to fulfill the increased tasks which are the responsibility of Hungary for its integration into the newly organized state society and for its participation in the construction of the new world order, as well as for the representation of the interests of Hungary with due weight”<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup> MNL OJ XIX – J – 1 – j – Vegyes – 1945–64. Box 38. p. 101-108.

<sup>44</sup> MNL OJ XIX – J – 1 – n – 1562–1947. Box 25. p. 293-308. Dated February 28, 1947.

<sup>45</sup> MNL OJ XIX – J – 1 – n – 1562–1947. Box 25. p. 294.

For the financial year 1947, Austria envisaged a large-scale expansion of its foreign service. In the autumn of 1946, Austria had 11 political representations, the number of which was increased by five by the end of 1946. The following year, political representations were to be transformed into embassies and nine more embassies and eight consulates were planned. As it can be read in the summary, William P. Maddox, head of the Foreign Service Study Group in his January 1947 issue of “Foreign Service in Transition”, reports on the transformation of the U.S. foreign service organization<sup>46</sup>. The reform of the U.S. Foreign Service was founded by the Foreign Service Act of 1946<sup>47</sup>, which replaced the Rogers Act of 1924<sup>48</sup>. The article illustrates the ten years of development of the U.S. State Service with the following example: In 1934, the U.S. Embassy in Quito consisted of an ambassador, an embassy attaché, and two office officials. In early July 1946, the Embassy in Quito operated with the offices of ambassador, embassy councilor, ten drafting officers, thirty clerical officers, and naval and military attachés.

The State Department and the Foreign Service are two separate organizations in legal and administrative terms, but the staff of the Foreign Service is sometimes charged with jobs at the State Department. Those serving abroad are members of the Foreign Service. In 1939, the latter consisted of 800 career diplomats, 2,000 clerical officials and 1,250 other employees. In 1946, the Foreign Service was made up of 11,000 people, 58 ambassadors, 980 Foreign Service Officers, 3,800 other U.S. employees, and 6,200 foreign nationals. By 1948, 420 Foreign Service Officers, 600 Reserve Officers<sup>49</sup>, 1,500 officials and employees, and 2,800 foreign nationals were planned to be recruited. Based on their work done, U.S. State Department officials can fall into seven categories: political, eco-

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. W. P. Maddox, *The Foreign Service in Transition*, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/70571/william-p-maddox/the-foreign-service-in-transition> (Checked: September 25, 2021).

<sup>47</sup> The Foreign Service Act of 1946 is Act 724 of the 79th Congressional Congress.

<sup>48</sup> It organized the diplomatic and consular service of the United States, and also reformed the personnel system of the foreign service. The U.S. Secretary of State has appointed diplomats on the basis of personal aptitude.

<sup>49</sup> The Reserve Officers category was established by the 1946 Act. The members of the staff shall be employed by other authorities or by the private sector and may be called upon to serve for a period of up to four years.



conomic, commercial, consular, informational, cultural, and administrative. An important principle of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 remained that, in the case of career diplomats, promotions should be made on the basis of individual merit. The law divided Foreign Service officials into five main categories, including Ambassador, Foreign Service Reservers, Office Officers, and Foreign Employees. The Foreign Service was under the administrative control of the Director General, who was under the supervision of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The reform of the British Foreign Service was presented to Parliament by Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and made public in 1943. Under the proposal, the Foreign Service is completely separated from the Home Civil Service. The central and foreign service branches have been merged and made into a single foreign service with consular and foreign trade services. The personal insecurity resulting from the alternating domestic and foreign transfers was bridged in such a way that the officials of the Foreign Services, whether serving at the headquarters or abroad, were paid according to their foreign service.

In 1945, 105 of the British Foreign Service staff served in the drafting department at the center and 79 were on a temporary basis. In addition, there were 493 more subordinates in the Communications Departments, 141 accounting officers, 605 middle and auxiliary subordinates, and 201 non-commissioned officers. The special departments had a further 208 drafting officials and 3,400 accounting, auxiliary, contract and other staff. In the Foreign Service, there were 56 ambassadors, 40 councilors, 67 first secretaries, 105 consuls general, 154 consuls, 95 vice consuls, and 37 second and third secretaries, making a total of 554 people. At the end of 1946, the Quai d'Orsay in Paris had 323 officials and 680 commissioned and paid officials. 800 diplomats and officials were employed abroad. To organize the youth, the *École Nationale d'Administration*<sup>50</sup> was set up in 1945, with courses lasting three years. The number of students admitted depended on the vacancies in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs therefore after finishing the

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<sup>50</sup> The *École Nationale d'Administration* was opened by Charles de Gaulle in 1945 to provide high-level training for administrative professionals.

third year at this institution of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs all students would have a job<sup>51</sup>.

In Switzerland, a proposal for the reform of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Politisches Departement) was sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on 15 December 1946. The draft aimed to expand the Foreign Service by setting up a system of social attachés as well as press and cultural attachés. In 1946, the Swedish Foreign Service had 781 employees. Office staff worked next to the 553 honorary consuls-general, consuls and vice-consuls<sup>52</sup>. Of the additional 248 persons, 122 were in foreign service and 126 were in central service. In addition to them, the center had 80 contract employees and 100 employees abroad. The Swedish foreign system therefore placed great emphasis on the honorary consular network, which, as already mentioned, had no burden on the state budget. In Czechoslovakia, in 1946 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had a staff of 1,507, of whom 802 were in central service and 705 in foreign service. Of the drafting professionals, 207 were in central service and 174 in foreign service. The number of Romanian diplomatic and consular faculties in 1946 was 252. In 1947, seven embassies, 28 missions and 30 consulates were planned<sup>53</sup>.

### **Reorganization of the Ministry on a territorial and functional basis by 1951**

Between 20 and 23 August 1948, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs moved from Pest to the Buda side, to 47 Bem Quay (then called Mónus Illés Quay). In 1949, preparations were made for the horizontal reorganization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, based on the territorial principle, and the vertical reorganization of the professional and auxiliary structure connected to the system of each territorial department. A draft of the new organizational structure was completed in 1950, with a strictly confidential classification<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. J. Sáringer, *Mosaics from the History of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1944–1951)*, [http://www.grotius.hu/doc/pub/RSSTJE/2010\\_74\\_saringer\\_janos\\_mozaikok.pdf](http://www.grotius.hu/doc/pub/RSSTJE/2010_74_saringer_janos_mozaikok.pdf) (Checked: December 10, 2021).

<sup>52</sup> Honorary consuls (consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls) are not remunerated for their activities, and the office space and the cost of their work are self-financed.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>54</sup> "Draft of the new organizational structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs". MNL OL XIX – J – 1 – k – Vegyes – 4 / fc – 1951. Box 5. p. 1-28.

By the beginning of January 1951, the reorganization took place, during which the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1951 was formed, which already contained some elements of the structure of today's foreign office<sup>55</sup>.

From June 1949, the Minister of Foreign Affairs was Gyula Kállai<sup>56</sup>, whose eight-member secretariat was headed by the head of the secretariat and was responsible for archiving the secret correspondence of the minister. The Personnel Department and the departments under it, such as the Study Group, the Legal Consular Department, the Audit Department and the Economic Department came under the direct control of the Foreign Minister. Under the Economic Department operated the Budget Department with the Treasury and the Economic Office with the Car Office and Canteen.

At the Personnel Department, four speakers performed the search for prospective cadres and assisted and oversaw the work of existing cadres, the preparation of new staff, recruitment, dismissals, and the nomination of new staff and the determination of their salaries. Within the Personnel Department worked the Study Group with four people. The Group organized courses and examinations, language teaching both at the headquarters and in the missions abroad. It also performed tasks related to ideological and professional education, the evening drafting course, and the secretary training school. The Group also provided education and dormitory accommodation for the children of staff working abroad. The Legal Consular Department was staffed by one keynote speaker, six lecturers, one assistant speaker, one secretary, three typists, two document managers and two clerical assistants. The Control Department was made up of two speakers and a typist. Within the Economic Office was the Budget Department and the Economics Department.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been headed by the Secretary of State for Political Affairs since the early 1950s, who was

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<sup>55</sup> Cf. J. Sáringer, *Mosaics from...*

<sup>56</sup> Gyula Kállai (1910–1996) was a communist politician, Member of Parliament, Minister and Prime Minister. He has been a member of the Hungarian Communist Party since 1931. After 1945 he was Secretary of State in several ministries and then Minister of Foreign Affairs from 11 June 1949 to 12 May 1951. In 1951, he was arrested on false charges and sentenced to prison. He was released and rehabilitated in 1954. He was Prime Minister from 1965 to 1967.

Andor Berei in 1951<sup>57</sup>. Its secretariat had a larger staff than the secretariat of the Foreign Minister, which shows the weight of the political secretary of state in the contemporary foreign affairs structure. The Political Secretary and the Administration Department came under the direct control of the Political Secretary. The Political Department was headed by Endre Sik<sup>58</sup>, who had two deputies. The Regional Department No. I included the Department of the Soviet Union, the Department of Democracies in Central Europe, the Department of Democracies in South-Eastern Europe, the Department of the Far East and three reports: COMECON<sup>59</sup>, International Affairs and Hungarian Scholars. The Regional Department No. II consisted in the Anglo-Saxon and Latin American Department, the First Division of the European Capitalist Countries, and the Second Division of the European Capitalist Countries, the Department of the Middle and Central Eastern Europe. The Report of the Hungarians Abroad and the Economic Report of the Capitalist Countries were independent ones.

The Administration Department was the administrative body of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which liaised with the Interior and ensured the security of the Ministry's building. The Depart-

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<sup>57</sup> Andor Berei (1900-1979) was a communist politician. He joined the Communist Party in 1919. In 1922, with exchange of prisoners, he got to the Soviet Union, where he worked in the central apparatus of the Internationale. Between 1934 and 1946 he was one of the leaders of the Belgian Communist movement. Between 1948 and 1951, he was the political secretary of state of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and then the first deputy foreign minister. He left for the Soviet Union in late October 1956 and returned home permanently in 1958.

<sup>58</sup> Endre Sik (1891-1978) was a communist politician and diplomat. In 1915 he was taken prisoner by Russia, where he joined the Russian Communist Party. He completed his higher education in the Soviet Union and was a lecturer at Moscow State University from 1938 to 1945. He lived in Hungary from September 1945. From 1947 to 1948, he was an adviser to the State Department, an extraordinary ambassador for ten years from 1948, and an authorized minister, and a Hungarian ambassador to Washington from June 1948 to September 1949. From 1949 to 1954 he was Head of the Political Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Director of the Academy of Foreign Affairs, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1954 to 1955, First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1955 to 1958, and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 15 February 1958 to 13 September 1961 until his retirement.

<sup>59</sup> The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance was an organization for economic cooperation between the socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe during the Cold War. It was founded on January 25, 1949 in Moscow on a Soviet initiative. Its founding members were the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania. It was joined by the German Democratic Republic in 1950, Mongolia in 1962, Cuba in 1972 and Vietnam six years later. Yugoslavia was an associate member of the COMECON.

ment performed its tasks with the following departments and groups: Technical Department, Passport Department, Cryptographic Department, Courier Office, Telephone Exchange, Case Management Group with the Central Publisher, the Central Post Office and the Central Archives. The Inquiry and Reception Service. In addition to the Political Secretary of State, a State Secretariat has been set up in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to oversee the Information Department and the Protocol Department.

According to the structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1951, the areas of personnel, control, study, legal and consular, and management were under the direct control of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The two regional departments (known as Political Departments I and II) operated under the direction of the Political Secretary of State, which carried out the strictly professional work, and the administrative tasks were performed by a separate department, the Administration Department. Domestic and foreign information, archiving, protocol and motor vehicle activities were carried out under the direction of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Thus, the horizontal (departments based on the territorial principle) and vertical (functional and auxiliary departments and departments assisting the work of the territorial departments) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were reorganized. In 1951, 395 people worked in the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, excluding the foreign service. Of the 51 senior officials, forty-one were men and ten were women. In addition, there are a significant number of female employees among case managers<sup>60</sup>.

Due to the German occupation of Hungary, some Hungarian diplomats resigned during the two world wars. The Foreign Ministry reorganized some of the diplomats after World War II from a part of the diplomats who worked between the two world wars. The Communists gradually took power in Hungary, as a result of which some Hungarian diplomats resigned and emigrated, while others were removed. By the 1950s, the staff of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs had become extremely dilute. The professional knowledge of the diplomats did not reach the required level.

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<sup>60</sup> Cf. L.J. Nagy, J. Sáringer, *Les femmes dans la diplomatie de la Hongrie du XXe siècle* In. *Femmes et relations internationales au XXe siècle. Sous la direction de Jean-Marc Delaunay et Yves Denéchère*, Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris 2007, p. 75-83.

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