



Post-WWII Migration in the V4 Countries

Propaganda Analysis
of Central European Migration Flows

Lucia Heldáková (ed.)



SLOVAKIA
CZECHIA
POLAND
HUNGARY

KOŠICE
OPAVA
WARSZAWA
BUDAPEST

•
• Visegrad Fund
• •

The project is co-financed by the Governments of Czechia, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia through Visegrad Grants from International Visegrad Fund. The mission of the fund is to advance ideas for sustainable regional cooperation in Central Europe.



Post-WWII Migration in the V4 Countries

Propaganda Analysis of Central European Migration Flows

Lucia Heldáková (ed.)

Reviewers:

prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc.

Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Pavol Jozef Šafárik University of Košice, Slovakia

Dr. Leslie Waters

Department of History, The University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, Texas, USA

Authors:

Mgr. Ondřej Kolář, Ph.D., Silesian Museum, Czech Republic

Lucia Heldáková, Ph.D., Centre of Social Sciences, Institute of Social Sciences,
Slovak Academy of Sciences, Slovak Republic

Dr hab. Prof. IFiS PAN Katarzyna Andrejuk, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology,
Polish Academy of Sciences Poland

Réka Marchut, Ph.D., Centre for Social Sciences, Institute for Minority Studies,
Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary

Agnes Tóth, Ph.D., Centre for Social Sciences, Institute for Minority Studies,
Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary

The publication was supported by Visegrad Fund. The publication was released within solving the Visegrad Grant ID 22030354 Post-WWII Migration Flows in the V4 States in the Context of Propaganda Studies.

©

2022 Centre of Social Sciences, Institute of Social Sciences, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Košice

2022 Silesian Museum, Opava

2022 Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

2022 Centre for Social Sciences, Institute for Minority Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest



The publication is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license.
The work can be used as long as the names of the authors are mentioned.

ISBN 978-80-89524-72-3



List of Content

- 1** Post-WWII Immigration to Czechoslovak Borderland
with Regard to Silesia and North Moravia
—
Ondřej Kolář 6

- 2** Building the national state of the Czechs and Slovaks
The return of Hungarian Slovaks to their
“homeland” propaganda
—
Lucia Heldáková 34

- 3** Framing post-war migration flows
in the Polish propaganda.
Towards the utopia of ethnic homogeneity
—
Katarzyna Andrejuk 62

- 4** The Expulsion of Ethnic Germans from Hungary
Considering International Politics
—
Réka Marchut 88

- The Impact of the War and Collective Punishment
on Ethnic German Families
—
Agnes Tóth 111

The Impact of the War and Collective Punishment on Ethnic German Families

B

Agnes Tóth

*Centre for Social Sciences, Institute for Minority Studies,
Hungarian Academy of Sciences*



Abstract

Several consequences of the war – the loss of family members, the lack of a family member who had been imprisoned for a longer period of time – and in some regions the deportation to forced labor affected not only the Germans but also other groups of the Hungarian society. But there is a crucial difference in the measures carried out against the Germans, their abridgement, deprivation of their rights and deportation based on the principle of collective culpability. The Germans were overtaken by several punitive actions in parallel. The deportation to forced labor was hardly over when their mass internment began, nonetheless, their eviction from their homes, then the deprivation of their lands during the implementation of the land reform, the restrictions of their civil rights, and finally, their deportation. These actions that were carried out in parallel or in rapid succession were consecutive, and their effects were mass-produced and had an enormous influence on the lives of several generations. The study presents the life situations that German families had to face during the last period of the war and in the following decades in Hungary. It also touches upon the personal and community strategies that all those who were involved addressed these hopeless situations.

113

Keywords: war, collective guilt, German families in Hungary, transgenerational effects

Life situations

Wars severely affect family relationships and personal life circumstances. Even after World War II, the long-lasting absence of men, the separation, the existential insecurity and the loss of the loved ones negatively impacted the lives of families for decades. The situation was particularly difficult for ethnic Germans in Hungary and the Hungarian minority communities abroad, who were, in the post-war period, also subjected to various punitive actions based on the principle of collective guilt – these included forced labour, confiscation of property, deprivation of their civil rights, internment, and deportation. In their case, the consequences of the war and collective punishment combined, impacting them for a prolonged time, influencing the lives and the life chances of several generations. For example, it had an adverse effect on community ties, still evident today.

In my study, I present the life situations of ethnic German families of Hungary in the last period of the war and in the decades that followed. I will also discuss the personal and community strategies they used to cope with these hopeless situations.

At the end of the war, in the spring of 1945, both ethnic German families and the Hungarian majority experienced fragmentation and existential insecurity. Many of the men had not yet returned home from the war, most of them were waiting for release in Soviet prisoner-of-war camps. The German community was also severely affected by the punitive action carried out by the Soviet-Russian army with the assistance of the Hungarian administration between Christmas 1944 and 2 February 1945, during which some 32,000 ethnic Germans from Hungary (20,989 men and 10,934 women) were deported to Soviet forced labour camps.⁴⁷

As a result of the deportations, the already broken German families lost the young women responsible for running the family farms and preserving the families during the war. In the absence of their husbands, many of them had to sustain their families, raise

⁴⁷ For more on the deportation of ethnic Germans to the Soviet Union, see BOGNÁR, Zalán (ed.). *„Egyetlen bűnünk a származásunk volt...” Német és magyar polgári lakosok deportálása malenkij robot-ra a sztálini lágererekbe 1944/45–1950* [„Our only sin was our origin...” Deportation of German and Hungarian civilians to the Stalinist forced labour camps – 1944/45–1950]. Pécs: Magyarországi Németek Pécs-Baranyai Nemzetiségi Köre [Pécs-Baranya Association of Ethnic Germans in Hungary], 2009.; MÁRKUS, Beáta: *„Csak egy csepp német vér”. A német származású civilek Szovjetunióba deportálása Magyarországról 1944/1945* [“Just a drop of German blood.” The 1944/1945 deportation of civilians of German origin to the Soviet Union from Hungary]. Pécs: Kronosz, 2020.; MUSKOVICS, Andrea Anna – RITTER, György: *„Elhurcolva.” Kényszermunka, deportálás és ezek formái a középnyugat-magyarországi régióban, 1944/1945* [“Deported.” Forced labour, deportation and their forms in Central-Western Hungary in 1944/1945]. Budapest: Napkút, 2021.; STARK, Tamás: *Magyar foglyok a Szovjetunióban* [Hungarian prisoners in the Soviet Union]. Budapest: Lucidus, 2006; and ZIELBAUER, György: *A magyarországi németiség nehéz évtizede 1945 – 1955*. [The difficult decade of the German minority in Hungary 1945 – 1955]. Szombathely-Vép: Pannon Műhely Kft., 1990.

their children, and help their elderly parents. After their deportation, these tasks often had to be taken over by their (yet) minor children or relatives, or other members of the communities. A significant number of the deported men were typically those exempted from front-line service due to their age or health. The situation was particularly difficult for families with several deported members.⁴⁸

“There were two of us taken from our family – my sister was 21 and I was 18. I felt it in my guts and I didn’t want to leave, at any cost. Our mother had already died, our father stayed at home with a 7 and a 9-year-old child, in our house at the end of the village. On the way, I went to our grandmother, she told us: ‘don’t go, come back, I’ll hide you in the bed.’ Nobody from our neighbourhood ever returned. However, my sister didn’t dare to stay, so I went after her. I was afraid something wrong would happen to her.”⁴⁹

“Seven of my family were captured at that time, including my father. Five brothers, my sister’s husband and my brother’s fiancée. Three of the 7 died there, 4 returned. My father was among the deceased, he never came home. So, there was my mother, left with 3 small children, as a young widow.”⁵⁰

“When I was 18, I was deported to Russia; three of our family were taken, my father died there and I fell ill.”⁵¹

“My wife and I were rounded up on 2 January 1945. (...) My wife arrived home on 26 August 1947, I returned on 29 November the same year. My parents lived with our son, then 5, at my sister’s house. My parents’ house was confiscated, we had to go to work as servants, we took even our son with us.”⁵²

48 MÁRKUS, B., 2020.

49 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [National Archives of Hungary] (hereinafter: MNL OL), A Magyarországi Németek Demokratikus Szövetsége iratai 1955 – 1995 [Documents of the Democratic Association of Germans in Hungary 1955 – 1995]. (XXVIII-I-1), Memoirs of Mrs. V. G. née M. J. (from Mérk), undated (s.d.). Box 37

In 1990, when the parliamentary debates on compensations began, the National Association of Ethnic Germans in Hungary surveyed the group of persons entitled to compensation and requested the survivors to write their memoirs. These memoirs are retrospective accounts of the recollectors’ lives. They reflect how and to what extent the life of the particular individual was influenced by his or her forced labour or German ethnicity.

50 MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, Mrs. F. N. née K. Sch. (from Mérk/Debrecen); 10 March 1989, box 37

51 MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, Mrs. J. H. (from Nagymányok); s.d. box 46

52 MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, M. D. (from Nagykozár); 5 September 1989, box 46

“Physically weak, I was transported home with the sick. With a broken health, I could work only intermittently. (...) A month later, my father and my sister were also torn out of the family, they were also sent to the Soviet Union, to work in a coal mine, just like me. But it was only my father, who returned home – my sister died in the mine at the age of 23.”⁵³

“My father died on 30 August 1945, in the camp hospital. (...) Back then, his son was still alive. Unfortunately, my brother also died in the same camp on 15 December 1945. (...) I suffered quite a lot from the deportation of my father and brother. I had to work with my mother – at a very young age – to make a living.”⁵⁴

“I was 19 when I was taken away. My father was also deported. He was 44, he couldn’t stand the labour, he died there. My 3 sisters were left at home with my mother.”⁵⁵

In one or two factual, descriptive sentences, the recollectors express how their deportation directly affected their lives at the time. However, looking back from the end of the 1980s, from the moment of recollection, a chain of losses and traumas affecting their entire lives also emerges. These impacts also include the loss of several family members, the deterioration of health in the camp and the difficulties and agonies of starting over after a total existential collapse. It is not possible to draw general conclusions from the hundred or so recollections, applicable to the whole group of people concerned; however, it is striking that there is a large number of families from which several people – siblings, couples, parents and children – were deported together. The vast majority of the deportees were aged between 18 and 45. The exclusion of the young, vigorous age group from the family division of labour meant that the elderly and the minors were left without any support. Originally, it was the generation of the 50-year-olds, who had to look after their still living, 70-80-year-old (grand)parents, to cultivate the family lands, and, in many cases, to foster and raise their grandchildren. In this situation, the only support and help came from the cohesion and solidarity of the extended family and the members of the local community.

⁵³ MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, J. V. (from Kompolt); 1 November 1989, box 46

⁵⁴ MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, F. K. (from Dombóvár); 8 November 1989, box 47

⁵⁵ MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, A. K. (from Bakóca); 25 August 1989, box 47

The fact that, in many cases, women – mothers of small children – were also deported, resulted in particularly dramatic situations. All three generations were left without any emotional support. If their health and circumstances allowed it, the children of the deported were typically left to their maternal grandparents. However, in some cases, the children left back were raised by their paternal grandparents or other members of the extended family. In addition to the absence of their parents and the consequent emotional insecurity, these children also experienced severe existential issues. In peasant families, even young children had to be involved in household chores and in the work in the fields, as in the division of family labour, people counted on the children. Moreover, in this extraordinary situation, they often had to take over tasks previously done by the adults.

“I got to Russia in January 1945. I left two minor children at home.”⁵⁶

“I was taken away – not as a prisoner of war – along with several of my peers, deceived and humiliated, at the age of 30, leaving behind my young wife and my two-month-old and my two-and-a-half-year-old.”⁵⁷

„I suffered and starved for two and a half years. I was released emaciated and weighing only 45 kg in July 1947. During this time, my two small children lived with my parents, and when I returned home, they did not even recognise me.”⁵⁸

More than four decades after the ordeal, the recollectors wrote tersely, condensing their stories of life and sufferings into simple sentences. They described the inhumane conditions in the camps, the unbearably difficult working conditions and the behaviour of their guards in stark, factual phrases. The fact that the political authorities treated deportations as a taboo until the end of the 1980s, i.e. until the change of the political regime, may have contributed to this. Those involved were forbidden to share their experience with others. Thus, in many ethnic German families, this was the first time when the second and third generations were told that their family members had been deported to the Soviet Union after World War II. Prohibition at the respective levels prevented the traumatic events from being processed by the individuals and remembered by the community.

117

56 MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, Mrs. J. H. (from Bonyhád); 18 August 1989, box 46

57 MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, J. K. (from Kismányok); 18 August 1989, box 46

58 MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, Mrs. Gy. L. (from Erdősmecke/Görcsöny); 16 December 1989, box 46

For the survivors, separation from their families, especially their young children, meant total vulnerability. The constant worries for those left behind and the lack of mutual emotional support caused them the greatest pain, even after so many years. However, the recollectors do not judge, they are mostly unemotional even when talking about those who caused their sufferings.⁵⁹

“I left my little girl with my 69-year-old mother, I had no idea if they were dead or alive.”⁶⁰

“I was 26 when I got there. My husband served at the frontline, I had to leave my 8-year-old son at home with my parents, I didn’t see them for 5 years.”⁶¹

“...I had a two-year-old daughter, raised by my mother-in-law until I came home. My husband died as a hero in Budapest.”⁶²

“At the age of twenty-four, separated from my two children and my family, I was sent to a coal mine in the Soviet Union. There, we spent almost five years – with an exception of a few days – in hard labour, in bitter living and working conditions, to atone for our alleged guilt.”⁶³

Naturally, those orphaned as a result of the deportations mentioned in their memoirs the deportation of their parents emphasizing the subsequent loss that determined their entire lives.

„My mother was among those deported. She died in March 1946 of meningitis in Russia. I was placed in foster care and was often ill, from the age of 9. Then, I could only work intermittently.”⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Bence Ament-Kovács described similar experiences in his adaptation of the stories of four women from the region of Völgység. See: AMENT-KOVÁCS, Bence: Négy völgységi magyarországi német asszony elűzetés-története. [The story of the eviction of four German women from the region of Völgység in Hungary] In: FRAUHAMMER, Krisztina – PAJOR, Katalin (eds.). *Emlékek, szövegek, történetek. Női folklór szövegek.* [Memories, texts, stories. Women’s folklore texts.] Budapest: Magyar Néprajzi Társaság [Hungarian Ethnographic Society], 2019. pp. 147–163.

⁶⁰ MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, Mrs. M. H. (from Mekényes/Komló); 30 March 1990, box 46

⁶¹ MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, Mrs. J. M. (from Feked); 10 August 1989, box 46

⁶² MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, Mrs. J. M. (from Palotabozsok); 10 August 1989, box 46

⁶³ MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, Mrs. J. H. (from Palotabozsok); 11 August 1989, box 46

⁶⁴ MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, Mrs. J. Sch. née E. B. (from Szakadát); 25 August 1989, box 46

*“The Germans were deported from Gyönk on 28 December 1944. My mother and my father were among the deported ones. My mother cried heavily, she hugged me and my two-year-old sister and she told us that they had to go to work for two weeks and then they would come home. My mother died abroad.... When my father returned home, it was a great joy for the whole family, but he and my grandparents cried a lot because many people returned, but not my mother.”*⁶⁵

State procedures – individual family reunification strategies

Although the first group of ethnic German civilians deported for atonement were allowed to return to Hungary at the end of 1945, most deportees were only released after two or three years. Some of those deported were not allowed to leave the Soviet Union until the end of 1949.⁶⁶

In the meantime, the Hungarian government, applying the principle of collective guilt, expelled some 200,000 to 220,000 ethnic Germans to Germany between 19 January 1946 and 30 June 1948.⁶⁷ Tens of thousands of these people immediately adopted various return strategies. In general, the decision to return was not backed only by a single cause – those concerned justified and confirmed the decision to themselves by providing a variety of reasons. Although they cited several of these, the most important included reuniting with their families, the need, hope and inner command to restore greater family units. Since neither those who stayed, nor the expelled had any information about the release date of their relatives imprisoned in Soviet prisoner-of-war camps or forced-labour camps, their only confidence in the return of their loved ones was the venue/space of their former lives. That is why they (also) insisted on staying at or returning to their original place of living. Between 1946 and 1949 (1950), at least 10,000 to 15,000 deportees returned or (mostly) illegally fled back to Hungary.⁶⁸

120

⁶⁶ Currently, there are no accurate figures on the number of people who died in the camps, but recent research suggests that 20–25% of the deportees died as a result of starvation, poor dwelling and working conditions, as well as epidemics in the camps. – MÁRKUS, B. 2020. pp. 348–350.

⁶⁷ For more on this, see: TÓTH, Ágnes: *Telepítések Magyarországon 1945 – 1948 között. A németek kitelepítése, a belső népmozgások és a szlovák-magyar lakosságcsere összefüggései*. [Relocations in Hungary between 1945 and 1948. The correlations of the expulsion of Germans, internal population movements and the Slovak-Hungarian population exchange] Kecskemét: Bács-Kiskun Megyei Levéltár [Bács-Kiskun County Archives], 1993; and MARCHUT, Réka: *Töréspontok. A Budapest környéki németiség második világháborút követő felelősségre vonása és annak következményei (1920 – 1948)*. [Fracture points. The post-World War II prosecution of Germans from the surroundings of Budapest and its consequences (1920 – 1948)]. Budaörs-Budapest: MTA Társadalomtudományi Kutatóközpont [Centre for Social Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences] – Magyar Történelmi Társulat [Hungarian Historical Society] – Budaörsi Passió Egyesület [Budaörs Passion Society], 2014.

⁶⁸ For more information on the history of those who returned to their homeland in the time of the expulsion, the reasons for their return and the justification of their personal decisions, see: TÓTH, Ágnes: *Hazatértek. A németországi kitelepítésből visszatért magyarországi németek megpróbáltatásainak emlékezete*. [The ones who returned home. A recollection of the ordeals of the ethnic Germans in Hungary who returned from the expulsion to Germany]. Budapest: Gondolat, 2008a. German edition: TÓTH, Ágnes. *Rückkehr nach Ungarn 1946 – 1950. Erlebnisberichte ungarndeutscher Vertriebener*. München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2012.

Those who wanted to return legally even concealed their being German from the occupying military authorities in Germany and from the delegates of the Office of the Repatriation Commissioner, justifying their return by claiming to be Hungarian. The various authorities did not anticipate the mass return of the deported, so strict checks of returnees were only carried out with a significant delay.⁶⁹

In the large number of individual applications submitted to the Hungarian Embassy in Berlin and to the delegates of the Office of the Repatriation Commissioner, the applicants predominantly justified their application by referring to the illegality of their expulsion, their Hungarian ethnicity and Hungarian citizenship. They also emphasised their loyalty to the Hungarian state. The applications were examined by the Ministry of the Interior, after referral by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In virtually all cases, they were rejected on the basis of identical arguments. The officials argued that the deportations were lawful and that the applicants were “*lawfully resettled to Germany*”, losing their Hungarian citizenship, “*therefore there is no possibility to permit any return*”.⁷⁰ In a letter sent to Foreign Minister László Rajk on 23 September 1948, Interior Minister János Kádár requested the representatives of the government in Berlin “*not to accept any similar applications filed by the resettled Swabians, as this would only overburden my department with unnecessary work*”.⁷¹ A similar conflict arose between the Ministry of the Interior and the Office of the Repatriation Commissioner.⁷² Government Commissioner

⁶⁹ For more on this, see: TÓTH, Á. 2008a. pp. 32–33.

On the local processing of the data of those returning from expulsion, see: BODROGI, László – SZÁLE, László. *Visszaszököttek*. [The ones who ran back home.] Budapest: Noran Libro, 2016.

⁷⁰ MNL OL, Külügyminisztérium Berliini Nagykövetség TÜK iratok [Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin Embassy, Confidential documents] 1948 – 1960. (XIX-J-34-a) 10/res/1948.

⁷¹ MNL OL XIX-J-34-a 10/res/1948.

Since the applications of the returnees were still unanimously rejected by the embassy, the Minister of the Interior returned the applications to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 10 January 1949 without any substantive assessment. – MNL OL, Külügyminisztérium Berliini Nagykövetség Adminisztratív iratok [Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berlin Embassy, Administrative documents] 1944 – 1961 (XIX-J-34-b) item 16.f., no. 37/1949.

⁷² ERDŐS, Kristóf. A Hazahozatali kormánybiztosság a politikai ellenőrzés szolgálatában (1945 – 1947). [The Office of the Repatriation Commissioner in the service of political control (1945 – 1947)]. In: SOÓS, Viktor Attila (Ed.). *Súlypontátthelyezés a diplomáciában. A NEB külügyi munkacsoportjának tanulmányai 1.* [Shifting the centre of gravity in diplomacy. Studies of the Foreign Affairs Working Group of the Hungarian Committee of National Remembrance, vol. 1] Budapest: National Memory Committee [Committee of National Remembrance], pp. 171–196.

Sándor Millok⁷³ complained that “in none of the cases have I received... any reply to my letters containing personal data of one or more persons to determine whether they are to be considered for resettlement or not”.⁷⁴

The Hungarian government clearly did not wish to deal with the requests of the expelled ethnic Germans, wishing to return home. In some cases, it would have had to face the cases of injustice and abuse, committed during the expulsion procedure; moreover, allowing the expelled to return could have raised existential and compensation issues.⁷⁵

The government had troubles enough integrating the 200–220,000 ethnic Germans (who remained in the country after the expulsion process finished in June 1948) into the society. Most of these people had already been designated for expulsion in 1947, i.e. their houses and lands were confiscated; deprived of their citizenship, they were forced to live with other families, denied the freedom to choose their place of residence and denied the right to work. From the spring of 1949 onwards, the issue of the remaining ethnic Germans in Hungary became urgent for the whole society.

73 Sándor Millok (1887–1959): Journalist, social-democratic politician. He was a worker and later a clerk of the Hungarian Southern Railway and a member of the Social Democratic Party from 1914. In 1919, he became a leader of the railway workers' union. After the fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, he emigrated to Vienna. He returned home at the end of 1924. He was editor of the newspaper *Villamos* [Tram] and editor-in-charge of *Népszava* [Voice of the People] from 1941. In 1944, he was captured by the Germans and taken to the Mauthausen concentration camp. He returned home in May 1945. Then, he became State Secretary of the Prime Minister's Office, Government Commissioner for Repatriation, later the President of the Budapest Capital Transport Company (Beszkárt). In 1948, he retired from politics.
Source: <http://mek.oszk.hu/00300/00355/html/ABC09732/10582.htm> (Downloaded on 7 April 2015.)

74 MNL OL, Belügyminisztérium elnöki iratok [Ministry of the Interior, Presidential Documents] 1945 – 1950 (XIX-B-1-r) 1563/1947.
“Their return to the country is not desirable” – this was the official position even considering those of German origin, captured as prisoners of war in the West, regardless of whether their relatives had already been expelled or not. – MNL OL, XIX-B-1-r 970/1947.

75 On the integration of ethnic Germans expelled from Hungary to Germany and the personal aspects of the process, see: PROSSER-SCHEL, Michael: Az elűzött magyarországi németek megérkezésének és integrációjának néhány aspektusa Észak-Badenben és Délnyugat-Németországban 1945 – 1946 után. [Some aspects of the arrival and integration of Germans expelled from Hungary to North Baden and Southwest Germany after 1945 – 1946]. In: *Pro Minoritate*, 2016. Nyár [Summer] pp. 5–18. and SCHELL, Csilla: “férjem naponta kérdezi, hogy megválaszoltam-e már a levelet.” Kitelepített magyarországi német asszonyok levelei. [My husband keeps me asking every day, if I have already answered the letter. Letters of German women deported from Hungary.] In: FRAUHAMMER, Krisztina – PAJOR, Katalin (eds.). *Emlékek, szövegek, történetek. Női folklór szövegek.* [Memories, texts, stories. Women's folklore texts.] Budapest: Magyar Néprajzi Társaság [Hungarian Ethnographic Society], 2019. pp. 147–163.

Therefore, as a first step of integrating the ethnic Germans in Hungary into the society, Decree No. 4274/1949 MT of the Council of Ministers was issued in October 1949, stating that those designated for expulsion but not actually expelled to Germany were to be “regarded as Hungarian citizens for the purposes of choosing their place of residence (place of stay), employment...”⁷⁶ However, Decree No. 4364/1949 MT of 16 December 1949 was of even greater importance – this stipulated certain rules on the land reform and the completion of the expulsion.⁷⁷ By making registration compulsory for the movable and immovable property left to the non-expelled, the decree finally resolved the constantly changing ownership issues, apparent to the previous half a decade.⁷⁸

Restrictive provisions issued in connection with the expulsion of the ethnic German population of Hungary were repealed by Decree No. 84/1950 MT, stating: “All those designated for expulsion, who have not been expelled, as well as those expelled but residing in Hungary at the date of entry into force hereof... are Hungarian citizens and citizens of the People’s Republic of Hungary, having equal rights in all respects with the other citizens.”⁷⁹

The said decree, issued on 25 March 1950 allowed the Minister of the Interior to grant Hungarian citizenship to expelled Germans “deemed worthy”. The wording gave new hope to the families torn apart. The relevant application had to be filed within six months of the date of entry into force of the decree, either to the chief official of the territorially competent city with municipal rights or to the Hungarian diplomatic authorities. There were no legally declared formal resettlement requirements. The Hungarian State decided about the applicants on a case-by-case basis.

⁷⁶ Magyar Közlöny [Hungarian Gazette], 11 October 1949, p. 486. (volume 4, issue 213)
The Decree of the Council of Ministers was implemented by Decree of the Ministry of Interior No. 245.900/1949 BM.

⁷⁷ Magyar Közlöny [Hungarian Gazette], 31 December 1949, pp. 562–563.

⁷⁸ The Hungarian government’s measures were reported in several Western newspapers. The paper *Landpost* published in Vienna issued an article entitled “PM Mátyás Rákosi kept his word”, in which it interpreted the decree lifting the displacement ban and allowing free employment as allowing full equality of citizenship rights to Swabians residing illegally in Hungary. – *Landpost*, 22 October 1949, No. 10; The Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs protested against the interpretation in a note verbale and requested an official correction from the Austrian government, emphasizing that the article „could lead to undesirable illegal border crossing and illegal returns” – MNL OL, Külügyminisztérium Bécsi Nagykövetség TÜK iratok [Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vienna Embassy, Confidential documents] 1946 – 1960. (XIX-J-36-a) 515/Bizalmas/1949.

⁷⁹ *Törvények, törvényerejű rendeletek 1950* [Acts and legislative decrees 1950]. Budapest: Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó [Economic and Legal Publishing Co.], 1951. pp. 271–272. – The decree was called “Swabian amnesty decree” in the political parlance of the time, with great exaggeration.

As soon as Decree No. 84/1950 MT entered into force, various interpretations of the decree appeared in the German press. The people concerned appealed to the Hungarian Embassy in Berlin and the Allied High Commission (Alliierte Hohe Kommission). Both gave clear responses. In his letter, József Hajdú⁸⁰ explained that *“the reports about the repatriation of persons having German as their mother tongue, expelled from Hungary, are not accurate. (...) All those who left the territory of Hungary during the expulsion have lost their Hungarian citizenship, thus their return is not possible”*.⁸¹ The Allied High Commission laconically stated only the following: *“It is all communist propaganda and lacks any legal basis”*.⁸² If we only consider the experience of family reunification of those who returned from the Soviet Union, this statement is not an exaggeration at all. In fact, for all ethnic Germans returning from the Soviet Union, the return home (that they longed for so much for several years) meant a new ordeal. The image of one’s home and the homeland – a source of strength in captivity, made up of the people (i.e. close and extended family, network of relatives, friends and local communities) and the financial background of their former lives, fell into pieces, disintegrated and became uncertain.

80 József Hajdú (1898 – 1966): Iron turner and diplomat. He was a member of the Red Army of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. He lived in Bratislava and Vienna (1919 – 1921), then moved to Yugoslavia (1921 – 1941). He participated in the labour movement. After the World War II, he was vice-chairman and chairman of the Works Committee of the Ganz shipbuilding company (1945 – 1948). Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of the Embassy in Vienna as Chargé d’Affaires in 1949, then Chief Officer of the Embassy in Berlin (1950–1953). In the following years, he continued to hold diplomatic posts. For his behaviour during the Hungarian revolution of 1956, disciplinary measures were taken against him and he was dismissed from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was a worker of the Archive of the Party History of the Hungarian Socialist Labour Party (MSZMP). – BARÁTH, Magdolna – GECSÉNYI, Lajos (Eds.). *Főkonzulok, követek és nagykövetek 1945 – 1990* [Consuls General, Envoys and Ambassadors 1945 – 1990]. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet [Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of History], 2015. 182.

81 Über Rückkehrmöglichkeiten. Dichtung und Wahrheit [On return possibilities. Rumours and reality.] *Unsere Post*, 1 April 1950, no. 2.

82 The original: “Die ganze ist nur eine kommunistische Propaganda und entbehrt jeder ernsten Grundlage” (Translated by author). *Unsere Post*, 1 April 1950. no. 2. The bulletin *Értesítő*, issued by the expelled from Budakeszi, also warned against the rumours. For more on this, see: Dr. G.: Rendelet az egyenjogúsításról [Decree on Equal Rights.] *Értesítő*, 15 October 1949, no. 1; *Az egyik badeni napilap téves hírt közölt a magyarországi kiutasítottak hazatérési lehetősége felől*. [A daily newspaper in Baden reported incorrectly about the return possibilities of the people relocated from Hungary.] – *Értesítő*, 1 February 1950, no. 4; Dr. G.: Semmi nyoma sincs. [Without a trace]. *Értesítő*, 15 March 1950. no. 1; Dr. G.: Még egyszer a visszatérési lehetőségről. [Once more on the possibility of return.] *Értesítő*, 15 April 1950, nos. 1–2. It is remarkable that the news of the return possibilities had been circulating among the expelled for months before the publication of Decree No. 84/1950 MT, similarly to some articles in the German press.

Deportees and prisoners of war had little to no information about the events in Hungary. Most were aware of the expulsion; however, it was only after returning to Hungary that some were confronted with the fact that their families were no longer in the country.

“We returned home in 1948, I learned that my poor parents had been taken to Germany. I was so homesick that I wished to see my home once more before setting off again. We hoped to stay at some relative of ours for a while and then to follow our parents. On 5 October 1948, my father wrote me a letter – he told me to wait until I get strong enough....in the morning of 6 October, they both died of gas poisoning. None of the children were allowed to go to their funeral. The villagers took care of everything.”⁸³

“In 1946, our parents were expelled to Germany. None of our belongings were given back – not even my sewing machine.”⁸⁴

“(...) that was the last time I saw my poor dear Mother, because when I returned home in '46, they had already been expelled to Germany on Pentecost, to a place 20 kilometres away from Nuremberg. There, they built another house, at that age.”⁸⁵

„On 10 October 1947, they packed us into wagons and we were taken to Debrecen, where we stayed for at least a week. Every day, we were interrogated, molested and questioned whether we wanted to return home or to go abroad. All we wanted was to return home to our parents, but as we found out, we decided wrongly. On 29 October, we were released home; on 30 October, we arrived to Kaposvár, where we met a young man from our village, who told us not only that our father was gone, but also that our mother left us, as she had emigrated in August 1947.”⁸⁶

125

⁸³ MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, Mrs. J. U. (from Mágocs); s.d. box 46

⁸⁴ MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, E. Sz. (from Almáskamarás); 14 November 1989, box 46

⁸⁵ MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, Mrs. I. H., a widow – 20 November 1989, box 37

⁸⁶ MNL OL XXVIII-I-1, Mrs. J. H. (from Kaposvár); 1989, box 37

At that time, even the non-expelled ethnic Germans were already living on the periphery of society, deprived of their property and livelihood, expelled from their homes and – in many cases – even from their home towns/villages, and forced to live with foreign families. For them, it was particularly painful to see their houses, previously providing a home for several generations, confiscated.⁸⁷

“By the time we returned home – after 3 years – we had been evicted from the house and all we had were the clothes our mother had hidden away and this cost her life because, as she was locked in a cellar and beaten. She was alone – three of her children were in Russia, the fourth was in captivity and our father was interned. She could not live with this, so she committed suicide. When we got home, no one asked us if we had food to eat or a shelter to stay at or if we had at least a room for the night – we were expelled from our own home like dogs.”⁸⁸

„First, we went to the church, because we swore that if Our Lady would help us home, our first way would lead to the church, to thank God. After that I planned to go home, but I had none anymore, I could only go to my neighbour’s house, for my mother and my father were evicted in the name of the People’s Republic on 12 August 1946 in a mere half an hour. My father was lost on the frontline, we received no news of him. At that time, the expulsion to Germany was still continuing; we were not on the list only because we lived in the outback.”⁸⁹

Those who had no relatives living in Hungary, had to face even greater difficulties, as the Ministry of Public Welfare set up a temporary camp in Debrecen to provide them with temporary care. For the Hungarian government, these people not only posed a supply problem but also a political risk, and the regime wanted to send them to Germany

⁸⁷ For more on the repurchase of houses and the related state procedure, see TÓTH, Ágnes: *Németek Magyarországon* [Germans in Hungary] 1950 – 1970. Budapest: Argumentum, 2020. pp. 426–432. The relationship of several generations of a family from Ganna, Hungary to their taken house and their strategy to reclaim it is presented by SCHLEICHER, Vera in *Ungarndeutsche Hausgeschichte als Heimatgeschichte. Die Hauslebensstrategie einer Vertriebenen Familie* [History of a house as a history of the homeland of Germans in Hungary. Housing strategy of an expelled family] In RADEK, Tünde – SZILÁGYI Anikó (eds.). *Hausgeschichten. Studien zur ungarndeutschen Kultur in Transdanubien* [House stories. Studies on ethnic German culture in Transdanubian Hungary]. Veszprém: Veszprém Megyei Múzeumi Igazgatóság [Veszprém County Museum Directorate], 2006, pp. 187–206

⁸⁸ MNL OL XXVIII-I-1-j, Mrs. J. K. (from Bátaszék); s.d. box 46

⁸⁹ MNL OL XXVIII-I-1-j, Mrs. A. V. née M. Á. (from Berkenye); November 1989, box 37

as soon as possible.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the establishment of the two German states led to a number of political and legal implementation issues. Even the negotiations with the German Democratic Republic, a member of the same political bloc, were also protracted for several years and proved to be fruitless. The two countries took an unprincipled position on the reunification of families of ethnic German families from Hungary. They pursued their daily political interests and prestige considerations, which they tried to conceal by constantly reinterpreting basic concepts such as citizenship, re-nationalisation and repatriation. And although the Hungarian government declared the possibility of re-nationalisation anew, this option was not only lacking adequate support, but was even explicitly prevented by the regime, with the exception of some specific cases, i.e. young people with a profession. Moreover, the release of family members to the Federal Republic of Germany was further hampered by bureaucratic obstacles obscure to those concerned.

The family reunification struggles of those expelled to the GDR and those remaining in Hungary provide an insight into the lengthy ordeal of German families.⁹¹

In the struggle to reunite their families, the creativity and tenacity of these peasants, unversed in legal matters and reluctant to deal with bureaucratic formalities was remarkable, concerning the fact that their previous, decades-long experience failed to help them in the GDR and its dissimilar administrative structures.

Naturally, the applicants sought to reunite with their closest family members – parents with their children and vice versa, husbands with their wives. Often, engaged – not yet married – couples wanted to unite. Less frequently, grandparents would apply for permitting the travel of their grandchildren or siblings wanted to meet each other. In the latter cases, immediate family members were no longer alive or had been lost in the war.

⁹⁰ MNL OL, Külügyminisztérium Általános iratok 1945 – 1992 [Ministry of Foreign Affairs, General documents 1945 – 1992] (XIX-J-1-k-NDK) item 16.d, no. 024247/1950. Feljegyzés a Szovjetunióból repatriált svábok Németországba kiutazásáról 1950. július 21. [Note on the departure of Swabians repatriated from the Soviet Union to Germany, 21 July 1950], and TÓTH, Á. 2020. pp. 85–130.

⁹¹ In the foreign affairs files of the German Democratic Republic I found more than 120 applications of ethnic German from Hungary concerning family reunification. However, the number of applicants could have been many times more.

It is remarkable that I found only two applications for family reunification or re-nationalisation filed in Hungary, whereas a report of 4 October 1950 mentions 8369 applications filed by relatives residing in Hungary. For family reunification applications filed in Hungary, see: MNL OL Miniszterelnökség [Office of the Prime Minister]. Dobi István iratai [István Dobi's papers], unclassified by year. (XIX-A-1-p) 511/1950. and 229/1950. Similarly, there are no available data on the family reunification applicants expelled to the Western occupation zone.

Applications were formulated in a factual manner. As to how they got to the GDR, they used the terms ‘ausweisen’ [evict], ‘vertreiben’ [expel], ‘umsiedeln’ [relocate], ‘umziehen’ [move], ‘kommen’ [come] synonymously. Only one applicant used the term ‘Heimkehr’ [return home], but only in the sense of ‘returning home to his parents’. Only one applicant, Susanne Weisz, calls the GDR her new home when she applied for her granddaughter to be let to her: “*wo ich meine neue Heimat gefunden habe*”.⁹²

On 20 February 1950, in a letter to the German Foreign Minister, J. L., expelled from Egyházaskozár with his wife, then renting a room from the Nester family, wrote the following: “*Then we lost our property and the dearest of all, our ‘homeland’. My daughter K. L., a dressmaker, was born on 25 January 1925 in Egyházaskozár. She had been taken to Russia years ago. She returned from Russia on 26 November 1949. She was taken to barracks in Debrecen (Hungary). There are about 200 people held there, who are released one after another to the settlements they wanted to go to. My daughter does have the right to move where she wants to, but only within Hungary. Please help and prove your helpfulness! It is a terrible thing that we have been evicted from our property, deprived of our homeland, prevented from returning home, and now, we even have to give up our own family members*”.⁹³

A few days later, the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a polite but un-specific letter informing the applicant that family reunification negotiations between the two countries were underway and that the outcome and the procedure to be followed would be announced in the press in the near future. Therefore, the family’s problem would soon be resolved and their daughter would be able to move out to live with her parents. Until the conclusion of the Hungarian-German family reunification agreement at the end of June 1950, all the applicants received practically identical letters.

92 Politisches Archiv [German Foreign Affairs Archives] (PA) Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheit [Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic] (MfAA). Repatriierung und Familienzusammenführung aus Ungarn in die DDR 1950–1951. [Repatriation and family reunification from Hungary to the GDR] A 7871 126.

93 The original: “Wir haben nun Haus und Hof, und das Liebste, »die Heimat« verloren. Meine Tochter, Katharina Lickel, geboren am 25. Januar 1925 in Egyházaskozár, die Damenschneiderin ist, wurde von Jahren nach Russland geschafft. Am 26. November 1949. kehrte sie aus Russland zurück. Sie wurde nach Debrecen (Ungarn) in eine Kaserne gebracht. In dieser befinden sich ca 200 Personen, die nach und nach in die von ihnen angegebenen Orte entlassen werden. Meine Tochter genießt dort zwar Freizügigkeit, die sich aber nur auf das ungarische Territorium erstreckt. [...] Helfen Sie bitte und erweisen Sie sich bitte gefällig! Es ist furchtbar von Haus und Hof vertrieben zu sein, der Heimat beraubt, des Zuzuges in die Heimat verwehrt und den eigenen Angehörigen entsagen zu müssen.” (Translated by author). PA AA MfAA A 7871 27–28. In the last lines of the application, the applicant also emphasizes that the District Council of Flöha, Germany is ready to confirm the accuracy of the claims.

There were also some applicants who contacted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the GDR directly from the Debrecen camp. On 24 January 1950, H. M. wrote a letter in Hungarian, requesting permission to leave the country: *“Please, kindly allow me to reunite with my relatives in Germany and leave this temporary prisoner-of-war camp in Debrecen, Hungary. I have just returned from a Russian prisoner-of-war camp to Debrecen, Hungary, but my relatives, i.e. my parents have moved to Germany in the meantime”*.⁹⁴

E. L. (née Richter) filed her application a few months later – in Kéty, Hungary, on 9 July 1950: *“I was born on 29 September 1922 in Kéty, Tolna County, Hungary. My father was a peasant, he had some land he worked on. I went to primary school at my birthplace and completed 6 grades. After that, I helped my parents in the household and in the fields. On 20 December 1944 I was called up for labour service and sent to the Soviet Union. I worked in a mine near Rostov for 2 years and was assigned to work on the surface for another 3 years. I returned home from the Soviet Union on 20 October 1949. While I was abroad, my parents and my child were expelled to Germany. (...) So far, I have been staying with my relatives and now that this will be possible, after 6 years of separation, I would like to go to the Russian zone of Germany to live with my small child and my parents”*.⁹⁵

129

⁹⁴ PA AA MfAA A 7871 20. – M. H. (born in Véménd, 26 June 1924) requested release to go to his parents, M. H. and M. G., living in Friedersdorf, Germany.

⁹⁵ The original: *“Ich gebore im Jahre am 29 Sept. 1922 in Kéty, Komitat Tolna in Ungarn. Mein Vater war ein Bauer und wirtschaftete auf seinem kleinen Vermögen. Ich besuchte die 6 Klassen der Volksschule in meinem Geburtsort, dann half ich meinen Eltern im Haus und auf dem Felde mit. Im Jahre 1944 am 20. Dez. hat man mich auf Arbeitsdienst einberufen und wurde nach Russland geliefert. Dort arbeitete ich in der Umgebung von Rostov 2 jahrelang in Kohlengrube, 3 jahrelang bekam ich oberirdische Einteilung. Am 20. Okt. 1949 kehrte ich aus der Sowjetunion heim. Während meines Aufenthalts in der Sowjetunion wurde meine Eltern und mein Kind nach Deutschland umgesiedelt [...] Bis daher hielt ich mich bei meinen Verwandten auf und das es jetzt möglich wird nach 6 jähriger Trennung möchte zu meinem kleinen Kind und den Eltern nach Deutschland in die russische Zone zurückkehren.”* (Translated by author). PA AA MfAA A 7871 19.

In this initial period, there were also numerous cases when the expelled requested to return to Hungary on the grounds of family reunification.

Mr. and Mrs. Tuchardt, who had been expelled to Hetzdorf, Germany, wrote a letter to Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl⁹⁶ in the last days of December 1949. They justified their application concerning their return to Hungary claiming that they were no Hitlerites and therefore they considered their expulsion to be unjust. And although they liked living in the GDR, they were homesick, as their parents, daughters and grandchildren had remained in Hungary. Their son, who worked at an agricultural cooperative, learned from a newspaper article that people expelled to the eastern zone of Germany were allowed to return. In fact, they wanted to know what practical steps they had to take to return home. In its reply of 17 February 1950, the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, referring to the Hungarian mission in Berlin, stated that the applicants had been expelled lawfully and thus lost their Hungarian citizenship, therefore it was not possible for them to return.⁹⁷

130

The terse, linguistically plain CVs and applications, lacking any adjectives and confined to stating facts, condensed the lives of individuals or families into a few lines. From these, the bureaucrats deciding about the fate of these people gained little to no insight into the applicants' emotions and sufferings. The hard facts, the foundations of their lives, and the rest – such as how to restore the existential and emotional unity and cohesion of a family after 4-8 years of separation, in a state of poor health – were private matters.

⁹⁶ Grotewohl, Otto (1894–1964): Originally a printer; he was elected Chairman of the Central Committee of the German Social Democratic Party in 1945. He played a key role in the merger of the two labour parties. In 1946, he became co-chairman of the united German Socialist Unity Party and a member of the political committee and the secretariat of the party. In 1949, he became a member of the People's Chamber. From the establishment of the GDR in 1949, he was Prime Minister of the country, and from 1960 until his death, he was Deputy Chairman of the State Council. – <https://www.hdg.de/lemo/biografie/otto-grotewohl.html> (downloaded on 30 June 2016).

⁹⁷ PA AA MfAA A 7871 142–143.

Conclusion

Many of the consequences of the war – including the loss of family members, the absence of relatives imprisoned at prisoner-of-war camps for longer periods and in some areas even forced labour – affected not only Germans but also other social groups in Hungary. Nevertheless, the crucial difference was that the political authorities implemented first the deprivation and restriction of rights and then the expulsion of Germans based on the principle of collective guilt. Although other political stigmas – being members of the SS, the Volksbund, being Hitlerist or kulak – are also associated with this. It is obvious that the Germans were simultaneously subjected to several punitive measures and deprivation of rights. For example, deportations for forced labour had not even been completed when the mass internment of Germans began,⁹⁸ followed by their eviction from their homes, the confiscation of their lands during the implementation of the land reform, the restriction of their civil rights and, finally, their expulsion. All these actions, carried out in parallel or in rapid succession, were built on each other and had a cumulative effect. The respective families first lost their family members and then their livelihoods. It is also evident that they were discriminated even within the group that subjected to punishment. A good example is the case of the prisoners-of-war repatriated from the Soviet Union in December 1950. While the majority of Hungarians were allowed to return to their families, ethnic Germans were – with a few exceptions – automatically interned in Tiszalök and Kazincbarcika. These people were deprived of any contact with their families for 3 years. Another decisive difference was that many families and communities were permanently divided by the expulsion. More precisely, considering the location of those expelled to (Western and Eastern) Germany, families were split into multiple directions. In many cases, the unity of nuclear families was restored only after a decade and a half of struggle. Geographical distance and the different economic and political context set different directions for the life and history of the larger families and parts of the community in the decades that followed. This resulted in a significant breakdown of the previous cohesion and cross-ties within the community.

131

98 For more on the internment process, see TÓTH, Ágnes. „A népeket kihajcsák a legelőre és ők azt viszik getoba akit akarnak.” Internálótábor Lengyel községben. [“People are driven out to the pasture and then they take to the ghetto whoever they want to”. Internment camp in the village of Lengyel]. In: *Kisebbségkutatás* [Minority Studies], 2006, vol. XV. No 4. pp. 621–641. and TÓTH, Ágnes. A németek internálása a Dunántúlon 1945 – 1946 [The Internment of Germans in the Transdanubian Region 1945 – 1946]. In SZEDERJESI, Cecília (Ed.). *Megtorlások évszázada. Politikai terror és erőszak a huszadik századi Magyarországon*. [A century of retaliation. Political terror and violence in twentieth-century Hungary.] Salgótarján: 2008b. pp. 37–52.

References

- AMENT-KOVÁCS, Bence. (2019). Négy völgyeségi magyarországi német asszony elűzetés-története. [The story of the eviction of four German women from the region of Völgyeség in Hungary] In FRAUHAMMER, Krisztina – PAJOR, Katalin (Eds.), *Emlékek, szövegek, történetek. Női folklór szövegek.* [Memories, texts, stories. Women's folklore texts.] (pp. 147–163.). Magyar Néprajzi Társaság [Hungarian Ethnographic Society]
- BALOGH, Sándor. *A népi demokratikus Magyarország külpolitikája 1945 – 1947.* [Foreign Policy of People's Democratic Hungary 1945 – 1947.] Budapest: Kossuth, 1982.
- BARÁTH Magdolna – CSEH Gergő Bendegúz: A SZEB és Magyarország 1945 nyarán. [The Allied Control Commission and Hungary in the summer of 1945.] In *Társadalmi Szemle* [Social Review], 1996, No. 5.
- BARÁTH, Magdolna – GECSÉNYI, Lajos (Eds.). (2015). *Főkonzulok, követek és nagykövetek 1945 – 1990* [Consuls General, Envoys and Ambassadors 1945 – 1990]. MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet [Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of History]
- 132 BODROGI, László – SZÁLE, László. (2016). *Visszaszököttek.* [The ones who ran back home.] Noran Libro
- BOGNÁR, Zalán (Ed.). (2009). „Egyetlen bűnünk a származásunk volt...” *Német és magyar polgári lakosok deportálása malenkij robot-ra a sztálini lágerrekbe 1944/45–1950* [„Our only sin was our origin...” Deportation of German and Hungarian civilians to the Stalinist forced labour camps – 1944/45–1950]. Magyarországi Németek Pécs-Baranyai Nemzetiségi Köre [Pécs-Baranya Association of Ethnic Germans in Hungary]
- BORHI, László: *Magyarország a hidegháborúban. A Szovjetunió és az Egyesült Államok között.* [Hungary in the Cold War. Between the Soviet Union and the United States] 1945 – 1956. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 2005.
- BORSODY, István. Potsdam és a magyarországi németek kitelepítése. [Potsdam and the expulsion of the Germans from Hungary.] In *Új Látóhatár* [New Horizon] 1981.
- CHURCHILL, Winston. *A második világháború* [The Second World War] Budapest: Európa, 1989.
- Dálnoki Miklós kormányának (*Ideiglenes Nemzeti Kormány*) minisztertanácsi jegyzőkönyvei [Minutes of the Council of Ministers of the government of Miklós Dálnoki (Provisional National Government)], 23 December 1944–15 November 1945. Volume B, Budapest: MOL, 1997.
- Dokumente zur Deutschlandpolitik* [Documents on German politics] Series II, Volume 1/1-3. *Die Konferenz von Potsdam* [The Potsdam Conference.] Ed: Gisela Biewer. Frankfurt am Main: Bundesminister des Innern [German Federal Minister of the Interior] 1992.

ERDŐS, Kristóf.(2015). A Hazahozatali kormánybiztosság a politikai ellenőrzés szolgálatában (1945 – 1947). [The Office of the Repatriation Commissioner in the service of political control (1945 – 1947)]. In SOÓS, Viktor Attila (Ed.). Súlypontát helyezés a diplomáciában. A NEB külügyi munkacsoportjának tanulmányai 1. [Shifting the centre of gravity in diplomacy. Studies of the Foreign Affairs Working Group of the Hungarian Committee of National Remembrance, vol. 1] pp. (171–196). National Memory Committee [Committee of National Remembrance]

FEITL, István (Ed.). *A magyarországi Szövetséges Ellenőrző Bizottság jegyzőkönyvei* [Minutes of the Allied Control Commission in Hungary] 1945–1947. Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó, 2003.

GECSÉNYI, Lajos – MÁTHÉ, Gábor (Eds.). *Sub clausula 1920 – 1947*. Budapest: Közlöny Kiadó, 2008.

HORVÁTH, Jenő – PARAGI, Beáta– CSICSMANN, László: *Nemzetközi kapcsolatok története* [History of International Relations] 1941–1991. Budapest: Antall József Tudásközpont [József Antall Knowledge Centre], 2013.

JUHÁSZ, Gyula (Ed.). *Magyar-brit titkos tárgyalások 1943-ban* [Secret Hungarian-British negotiations in 1943]. Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1978.

133

KERTÉSZ István. Die Vertreibung der deutschen aus Ungarn. Eine Studie zur Nachkriegsdiplomatie. [Expulsion of the Germans from Hungary. A study of post-war diplomacy.] In *Südost-Stimmen* [Southeastern Voices] III (1953). No. 5.

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [National Archives of Hungary] (MNL OL)

MARCHUT, Réka. (2014). *Töréspontok. A Budapest környéki németiség második világháborút követő felelősségre vonása és annak következményei (1920 – 1948)*. [Fracture points. The post-World War II prosecution of Germans from the surroundings of Budapest and its consequences (1920 – 1948)]. MTA Társadalomtudományi Kutatóközpont [Centre for Social Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences] – Magyar Történelmi Társulat [Hungarian Historical Society] – Budaörsi Passió Egyesület [Budaörs Passion Society]

MÁRKUS, Beáta. (2020). „Csak egy csepp német vér”. A német származású civilek Szovjetunióba deportálása Magyarországról 1944/1945. [“Just a drop of German blood.” The 1944/1945 deportation of civilians of German origin to the Soviet Union from Hungary]. Kronosz

MNL OL XIX-A-1-j Miniszterelnökség iratai [Documents of the Office of the Prime Minister’s Office]

MNL OL XIX-A-1-n Miniszterelnökség Nemzetiségi és Kisebbségi Osztályának iratai [Documents of the Department of Ethnicities and Minorities of the Prime Minister’s Office]

MNL OL XIX-J-1-j Külügyminisztérium Békeelőkészítő Osztályának iratai [Documents of the Peace Preparatory Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs]

MNL OL XIX-J-1-n Külügyminisztérium Gyöngyösi János irathagyatéka [Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Archive of János Gyöngyösi]

MUSKOVICS, Andrea Anna – RITTER, György (Eds.). (2021). „Elhurcolva.” *Kényszermunka, deportálás és ezek formái a középnyugat-magyarországi régióban, 1944/1945* [“Deported.” Forced labour, deportation and their forms in Central-Western Hungary in 1944/1945]. Napkút

PROSSER-SHELL, Michael (2016) Az elűzött magyarországi németek megérkezésének és integrációjának néhány aspektusa Észak-Badenben és Délnyugat-Németországban 1945 – 1946 után. [Some aspects of the arrival and integration of Germans expelled from Hungary to North Baden and Southwest Germany after 1945 – 1946]. *Pro Minoritate*, Nyár [Summer] 5–18

SHELL, Csilla. (2019). ”férjem naponta kérdezi, hogy megválaszoltam-e már a levelet.” Kitelepített magyarországi német asszonyok levelei. [My husband keeps me asking every day, if I have already answered the letter. Letters of German women deported from Hungary.] In: FRAUHAMMER, Krisztina – PAJOR, Katalin (eds.). *Emlékek, szövegek, történetek. Női folklór szövegek*. [Memories, texts, stories. Women’s folklore texts.] (pp 147–163.). Magyar Néprajzi Társaság [Hungarian Ethnographic Society]

SCHLEICHER, Vera. (2006). Ungarndeutsche Hausgeschichte als Heimatgeschichte. Die Hauslebensstrategie einer Vertriebenen Familie [History of a house as a history of the homeland of Germans in Hungary. Housing strategy of an expelled family] In RADEK, Tünde – SZILÁGYI Anikó (eds.). *Hausgeschichten. Studien zur ungarndeutschen Kultur in Transdanubien* [House stories. Studies on ethnic German culture in Transdanubian Hungary]. (pp. 187–206). Veszprém Megyei Múzeumi Igazgatóság [Veszprém County Museum Directorate]

SEEWANN, Gerhard. Britische Quellen zum Vertreibungsprozeß vor und nach Potsdam. [British sources on the expulsion process before and after Potsdam]. In SEEWANN, Gerhard: *Ungarndeutsche und Ethnopolitik Ausgewählte Aufsätze* [Germans of Hungary and Ethnopolitics. Selected works]. Budapest: Osiris, 2000, pp. 183–198.

STARK, Tamás. (2006). Magyar foglyok a Szovjetunióban [Hungarian prisoners in the Soviet Union]. Lucidus

TÓTH, Ágnes (2020): *Németek Magyarországon* [Germans in Hungary] 1950–1970. Argumentum

TÓTH, Ágnes. (1993). *Telepítések Magyarországon 1945–1948 között. A németek kitelepítése, a belső népmozgások és a szlovák-magyar lakosságcsere összefüggései*. [Relocations in Hungary between 1945 and 1948. The correlations of the expulsion of Germans, internal population movements and the Slovak-Hungarian population exchange] Bács-Kiskun Megyei Levéltár [Bács-Kiskun County Archives]

TÓTH, Ágnes. (2006). „A népeket kihajcsák a legelőre és ők azt viszik getoba akit akarnak.” *Internálótábor Lengyel községben*. [“People are driven out to the pasture and then they take to the ghetto whoever they want to”. Internment camp in the village of Lengyel]. *Kisebbségkutatás [Minority Studies]*, XV. 4. 621–641.

TÓTH, Ágnes. (2008a). *Hazatértek. A németországi kitelepítésből visszatért magyarországi németek megpróbáltatásainak emlékezete*. [The ones who returned home. A recollection of the ordeals of the ethnic Germans in Hungary who returned from the expulsion to Germany]. *Gondolat*

TÓTH, Ágnes. (2008b). *A németek internálása a Dunántúlon 1945–1946* [The Internment of Germans in the Transdanubian Region 1945–1946]. In SZEDERJESI, Cecília (Ed.). *Megtorlások évszázada. Politikai terror és erőszak a huszadik századi Magyarországon*. [A century of retaliation. Political terror and violence in twentieth-century Hungary.] (pp. 37–52.).

TÓTH, Ágnes. (2012). *Rückkehr nach Ungarn 1946 – 1950. Erlebnisberichte ungarndeutscher Vertriebener*. Oldenbourg Verlag

TÓTH, Ágnes: *Telepítések Magyarországon 1945 – 1948 között. A németek kitelepítése, a belső népmozgások és a szlovák-magyar lakosságcsere összefüggései*. [Relocations in Hungary between 1945 and 1948. The correlations of the expulsion of Germans, internal population movements and the Slovak-Hungarian population exchange] *Kecskemét: Bács-Kiskun Megyei Levéltár [Bács-Kiskun County Archives]*, 1993.

135

ZAYAS, Alfred-Maurice de: *Anmerkungen zur Vertreibung der Deutschen aus dem Osten*. [Notes on the Expulsion of the Germans from the East]. 2nd edition, Stuttgart – Berlin – Köln – Mainz: W. Kohlhammer GmbH, 1987.

ZIELBAUER, György. (1990). *A magyarországi németiség nehéz évtizede 1945 – 1955*. [The difficult decade of the German minority in Hungary 1945 – 1955]. *Pannon Műhely Kft.*

ZIELBAUER, György: *A magyarországi németek elhurcolása és elűzése. Válogatott szemelvények a korabeli magyar sajtóból 1944 – 1948*. [The deportation and expulsion of the Germans in Hungary. Selected excerpts from the contemporary Hungarian press 1944 – 1948.] *Budapest: Országos Német Önkormányzat [National German Self-Government]*, 1996.

ZINNER, Tibor: *A magyarországi németek kitelepítése – Die Aussiedlung der Ungarndeutschen*. [Expulsion of Germans from Hungary]. *Budapest: Magyar Hivatalos Közlönykiadó [Hungarian Gazette Publishing Co.]*, 2004.