Journal of Central and Eastern European African Studies

ISSN 2786-1902

Volume 2 Number 3 2022

Africa Research Institute

Óbuda University Doctoral School on Safety and Security Sciences
Africa Research Institute
Journal of Central and Eastern European African Studies

Dear Readers,
Dear Fellow Scholars,

We warmly welcome readers of this issue of the Journal of Central and Eastern European African Studies (JCEEAS) with selected papers of the international conference on "The Visegrad Countries and Africa: History and Contemporaneity" – organized by The Jagiellonian Research Center for African Studies of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland, the Africa Research Institute of the Óbuda University in Budapest, Hungary, and the Centre for Military Studies of the Stellenbosch University in Stellenbosch, South Africa.

This issue of JCEEAS covers topics related to the connections between two geographically distant areas of the Visegrad (V4) countries – Czechia, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia – and Africa. Since the V4 countries did not participate in colonization either, a weaker relationship between these European countries and the African continent could be assumed. However, our issue proves just the opposite. Its eight articles cover around one and a half centuries in time, and highlight topics from the entire African continent.

The written versions of the two keynote speeches of the conference frame the other half a dozen papers, the first of which sets the tone by enlightening the formation, history and development of the relationship between South African and Hungarian horse breeding while also examining the effects of this special bond.

The historical section deals with the military roles and historical narratives of the Hungarians during the Anglo-Boer War and the First World War in German East Africa. This early period is followed by Cold War-era chapters, one focusing on South Africa's role and position in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, while the next chapter talks about the special relations of Hungary and Namibia which is an interesting example of the particularly strong ties among Central European countries and other socialist countries in Africa. The third historical chapter shares an insight of the Angolan – Hungarian relationship during the last two decades of Socialism in Hungary and the period after the launch of the Hungarian government's "Southern Opening" initiative.

Reaching in time until today with this last chapter, the next study analyses the situation of Polish development and humanitarian aid in Kenya. Closing the issue, the second keynote paper zooms out and offers the big picture, an overall view of the two regions in connection with security, resilience and cultural diplomacy.

Eight papers with rarely mentioned topics that have been shaping the Visegrad countries as well as the African states for around 150 years, we truly hope that they all provide a great reading experience, new ideas and approaches for all of you!

We wish you all a great reading experience and plenty of fresh ideas and new approaches offered by these papers!

Lieutenant Colonel Jean-Pierre Scherman
Researcher
Centre for Military Studies
Faculty of Military Science
Stellenbosch University
South Africa

Dr. Dávid Vogel, PhD
Senior Research Fellow
Africa Research Institute
Doctoral School on Safety and Security Sciences
Óbuda University
Hungary

Volume 2 Number 3 2022

Journal of Central and Eastern European African Studies

Table of contents

The Hungarian Count, the Polish Major and the Slovenian War Horses in South Africa

Jean-Pierre Scherman[1]

Abstract:

The noble Hungarian Jankovics-Bésán family have long being renowned as influential breeders of Lipizzan horses. During the Second World War in 1944 with the advancing Soviet Red Army bearing down on the family stud farm then located at Oreglak in Hungary, Count Elemér Janković-Bésán de Pribér-Vuchin, decided to flee the farm. He, however, refused to leave behind his beloved horses and fled with eight of the animals, two stallions and six mares. After stops in Germany and England, the Count decided to relocate with his horses to the Natal midlands of South Africa, where he re-established his family stud farm.

In 1951, during the Royal Agricultural Show in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, the Hungarian horse breeder by chance met a Polish horse trainer. Major Jerzy (George) Iwanowski (13 March 1907 – 28 May 2008) was a graduate of the College of Agriculture in Warsaw. After the Second World War, Iwanowski also decided to leave Europe and relocate to South Africa, where he established the Centaur Stables in Johannesburg.

It is from this meeting of two European horse lovers on the rolling hills of KwaZulu-Natal that South Africa's world-famous Lipizzaner horses are derived. Based exclusively on the high standards as established by the Spanish Riding School based in Vienna, Austria, South African Lipizzaner's have been performing since 1957. The original riders were almost exclusively women, unlike their European counterparts. This was because in South Africa the Lipizzan horses that formed part of the original performing team were all privately owned by women who were able to donate their time and efforts to a non-profit organisation that did not really pay its riders to perform.

Keywords:

Hungary; Poland; South Africa; Lipizzaner horses; Austrian riding school in Vienna.

[1] Lieutenant Colonel is a researcher at Faculty of Military Science, Centre for Military Studies, Stellenbosch University; schermanj@sun.ac.za.

Introduction

In today's modern world with every region of the globe connected to each other via numerous trade, financial, educational, and even cultural links, it is easy to forget that this was not always the case. On the surface, it would be easy to dismiss any links between South Africa, located on the southern tip of the African continent and the group of four eastern European states that form the Visegrád Group. However, even during the height of the Cold War, when the two areas found themselves on opposing sides of the political divide, separated by thousands of kilometres, such links existed. This paper aims to highlight just such a link, from a most unusual source, namely the famous performing white horses – the Lipizzaners.

The history concerning the origins and establishment of the Lipizzaner horse breed is one seeped in the blood of battle. The Punic Wars, fought between the legionnaires of Rome and the soldiers of Carthage brought the original horse ancestors from the deserts and mountains of North Africa to Europe. (Spainthenandnow.com, n.d.) War would also ensure that these original Andalusian horses would spread out over the length and breadth of the Roman Empire as Rome's cavalry units fought to keep the Empire's borders intact. It was also war that would ensure that new genetic stock arrived to reinforce and refresh those first horse ancestors in Hispania, with the Muslim invasion of *al-Andalus*. (Grutz, 2007) Finally, it would be war (and the emergence of classical riding schools during the renaissance period), with both the military and the nobility and their riding schools in need for strong yet trainable horses that would prompt the Holy Roman Emperor Maximillian II (31 July 1527 – 12 October 1576) to establish a Royal Stud at Kladrub, modern Kladruby nad Labem in the Czech Republic in 1562. After the Emperor's death his brother, Archduke Charles II (3 June 1540 – 10 July 1590) would establish a similar stud at Lipizza, modern Lipica in the Littoral region of Slovenia, close to the border with Italy, in 1580, from which this new breed of horse would eventually obtain its name, the Lippizan or Lipizzaner. (Jankovich, 1971, p. 77)

In a remarkably similar sequence of events, war would also be responsible for bringing the Lipizzaner's to South Africa. During World War Two, with the Soviet army bearing down on his family horse stud in Oreglak in western Hungary, Count Elemér Janković-Bésán de Pribér-Vuchin, decided to flee from the farm taking his beloved Lipizzan horses along with him. Travelling firstly to Germany and then to England, the Count finally decided to re-establish the family horse breeding operation in South Africa, arriving with two Stallions and six mares. (Lipik vas Čeka, n.d.)

These were by no means the first war horses to arrive in South Africa. In 1652, the Dutch *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) (United East India Company) decided to establish at the southern point of the African continent a refreshment station that could service their ships travelling between Europe and their colonial possessions in the Far East. The following year the first four horses arrived at the Cape of Good Hope. (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007, pp. 46-47) This first stock came from the VOC colonies in modern Indonesia and were crossbreeds between Arabians and Barbs. Over the years, several Arabian horses were used to improve

the quality of the breed at the Cape. This original breed would become known as the Cape Horse and the softly curled thick mane of the barb is still often a feature of the breed. (SouthAfrica.com, n.d.) The use of horses to wage war in South Africa with its vast distances and absent infrastructure was quickly realised by military commanders. This process culminated at the end of the 19th Century, when the descendants of the original Dutch settlers, now known as Boers (Dutch for farmers), clashed with the British Empire. During two vast conflicts, the 1st Anglo-Boer War (1880-1881) and the 2nd Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), both sides would employ horses in combat, with the Boer forces deploying over 40 000 mounted riflemen during the 2nd Anglo – Boer War. (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007, pp. 85-89, 150-152)

Finally, war would also bring the man responsible for the training of the Lipizzan's to South Africa. With the Soviet occupation of Poland, Major Jerzy (George) Iwanowski, decided to abandon his work at the ex-SS horse stud at Gestüt Lauvenburg in the Rhineland and emigrate to South Africa. It would be a chance encounter in 1951 between the Hungarian horse breeder and the Polish horse trainer that would cement the foundations of South Africa's modern Lipizzaner horse program. (Odendaal, 2007, pp. 91-92)

Under the training of Major Iwanowski, a team of Lipizzan stallions would eventually begin to perform in South Africa. The performance would be based on the world-famous Spanish Riding School in Vienna's weekly shows. With assistance from Vienna, the South African performances would improve and ultimately reached the international standard as practiced by the Austrians. (Uys, 2018, p. 37) The Lipizzaners thus form an integral part of the natural, cultural and sporting history of modern South Africa, but their South African story is relatively unknown within academia. This paper aims to rectify this deficiency.

The Origins and History of the Lipizzaner Horse Breed

The Lipizzan or Lipizzaner horse breed trace their origins back to the Muslim Umayyad conquest of Hispania (711 to 718). The invading Muslims arrived in Spain on foot and mainly fought as infantry accompanied by small contingents of camel cavalry, for their Arabian horses were far too valuable to be used as cavalry mounts. Instead, Muslim cavalry forces turned to the Barb, the native horse of North Africa, which would soon become an important component of the Arab–Berber armies that entered Spain. Later, the Christian kingdoms of Spain would also rely heavily on the Barbs for their own cavalry regiments. The Barb was a breed especially well suited to the so-called Spanish Jineta (Berber Zenata) style of riding, in which the rider relied on his/her horse to place him/her in position to throw, thrust, parry or dodge as required. Named after the Algerian Zanatah tribe, this style required a steed trained to anticipate the rider's actions and obey without hesitation. (Grutz, 2007)

As a military term, jinete (also spelled jineta, ginete or genitour) means a Spanish light horseman that wore leather armour and was armed with javelins, a spear, a sword, and a shield. They were a type of mounted troop developed in the early Middle Ages in response to

the massed light cavalry of the invading Muslim forces. Often fielded in significant numbers by the Spanish, and at times the most numerous of the Spanish mounted troops, they played an important role in Spanish mounted warfare throughout the *Reconquista* until the sixteenth century. (Contamine, 1984, p. 58)

Barbs were not big horses, seldom being taller than 14 hands (1.42 metres), but they were nimble and responsive to the slightest touch of the reins. They were accustomed to harsh environments, strong, surefooted, fleet yet smooth. Their strong loins and quick intelligence enabled them to master and perform the quick turns and elevated positions required in close combat. Most of all, the Barb had extreme courage, and was unfazed by blows and wounds. To the contrary, Barbs often seemed to relish a fight. (Grutz, 2007)

These Barb horses were however not the first Berber horses present in Spain. After losing the First Punic War (264-241 BC) fought against their arch enemies, the legionnaires of Rome, the Phoenicians of Carthage invaded the Iberian Peninsula to establish a financial base from which they planned to finance a second war against Rome. The Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca, accompanied by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, and his son Hannibal, landed at the port of Gadir (Cádiz) in south-western Spain in 237 BC, bringing along with them large numbers of Barbs into Iberia as part of the cavalry forces of their invading army. (Spainthenandnow.com, n.d.)

With the outbreak of the Second Punic War (218 to 201 BC), fought in Spain, Italy and eventually North Africa, the Romans were to encounter Numidian[2] cavalry mounted on these Barb horses for the first time. (Polybius, 1927) The Romans soon noticed their qualities with the second-century Roman writer Claudius Aelianus described the Barb, then known as the Numidian Horse, as follows, “They are small and not very beautiful,” but to their credit, he added, they were “extraordinarily fast and strong and withal so tame that they can be ridden without a bit or reins and can be guided simply by a cane.” (Grutz, 2007) Aelianus continues by criticizing the lack of care Muslim Barb owners showed towards their horses:

> These Horses are exceedingly swift and know little or nothing of fatigue; they are slim and not well-fleshed but are fitted to endure the scanty attention paid to them by their masters. At any rate the masters devote no care to them: they neither rub them down nor roll them nor clean their hooves or comb their manes nor plait their forelocks nor wash them when tired, but as soon as they have completed the journey they intended they dismount and turn the Horses loose to graze. (Grout, n.d.)

With the eventual defeat and destruction of Carthage by Rome during the Third Punic War (149–146 BC), Rome inherited all the horses of the Carthaginian armies, including those in North Africa and Spain. (Grutz, 2007)

The Romans were to exploit the natural characteristics of these horses to the full by employing them in both chariot racing and other sports, as well as using them as war horses

[2] The Numidians were a Berber tribe occupying an area now in Algeria.

in their own cavalry units. Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (c. 155 – c. 220), a prolific early Christian author from Carthage in the Roman province of Africa, (Barnes, 1985, p. 58) where there was a circus, was not so enthusiastic about the Roman horse races. In his *De Spectaculis* also known as "On the Spectacles" or "The Shows", written somewhere between 197 and 202, Tertullian looks at the moral legitimacy and consequences of Christians attending the circus, theatre, or amphitheatre. (Tertullian, 1977) Concerning the horse races he writes, "Equestrian skill was a simple thing in the past, mere horseback riding; in any case there was no guilt in the ordinary use of the horse. But when the horse was brought into the games, it passed from being God's gift into the service of demons." (Grout, n.d.) Nevertheless, it was the descendants of these Carthaginian-Roman horses that the invading Muslim armies encountered during their own invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 711.

Under Muslim rule in *al-Andalus*, the name given to Iberia by the invaders, an important new fusion of Barb and Spanish blood took place. The result was the Andalusian horse breed, which nearly 300 years of Umayyad patronage and breeding upon the grasslands around Córdoba had refined into one of the most beautiful horses of all time. As the years went by, the Andalusian was periodically refreshed with new Barb blood, especially after 930 when Ceuta and other North African cities entered the Umayyad orbit. Horses of the highest quality were transported to Cordoba. (Fierro, 2005, p. 106) By the end of the 10th Century, Muḥammad ibn Abū ʿĀmir al-Manṣūr, regent and de facto ruler of *al-Andalus*, had become famous throughout the Muslim world for his stud and his special strain of Barb warhorses. The later Almoravid and Almohad Dynasties (1090-1145 and 1145-1212 respectively) were both Berber in origin, and it must be assumed that the northbound traffic in Barb horses continued during the years of their rule. As a result, there can be little doubt that the Muslim rulers of *al-Andalus* rode the finest horses of their time. (Grutz, 2007)

Following the reconquest of Iberia by Christian military forces (718-1492), Iberia passed into the hands of Charles I, the son of Philip of Habsburg and Joanna of Trastámara of the Austrian House of Habsburg in 1516. (Parker, 2009) The advent of the Habsburg dynasty (1438 to 1806) which ruled both Spain and Austria, resulted in a need for a powerful but agile war horse. Additionally, a horse was also required for the rapidly growing and increasingly fashionable classical riding schools of the Central European nobility, which had been revived during the renaissance. Consequently in 1562, Holy Roman Emperor Maximillian II (31 July 1527 – 12 October 1576), brought Spanish Andalusian horses to Austria where he founded a court stud at Kladrub, modern Kladruby nad Labem in the Czech Republic. After the Emperor's death, his brother, Archduke Charles II (3 June 1540 – 10 July 1590) imported nine Spanish stallions and 23 mares (Davie, 2003) in 1580 and established a similar stud at Lipizza, modern Lipica in the Littoral region of Slovenia, close to the border with Italy, from which a new breed of horse would eventually obtain its name. (Jankovich, 1971, p. 77)

Initially Spanish, Barb, and Arabian stock were all crossed at Lipizza, and succeeding generations were crossed with the now-extinct Neapolitan breed from Italy and other

Baroque horses of Spanish descent obtained from Germany and Denmark. While breeding stock was exchanged between the two studs, Kladrub specialized in producing heavy carriage horses, while riding and light carriage horses came from the Lipizza stud. (LANAa, n.d.) Eventually the modern Lipizzan horse breed, small but powerful usually standing between 14.2 and 15.2 hands high (1.44 to 1.54 metres), was to emerge from this process. (Hyde, n.d.)

Lipizzan Foundation Horses

Among the foundation horses of this breed, six stallions were especially prominent, and today most Lipizzaners can be traced back to these stallions: Pluto, Conversano, Maestoso, Favory, Neapolitano, and Siglavy. (LANA, n.d.) Two additional stallion lines, Tulipan and Incitato were later also established in Croatia, Hungary, and other eastern European countries, as well as in North America and are also recognised today by the International Lipizzan Federation. (Ibid.)

A review of these original eight stallion lines gives an insight into the origins of modern Lipizzaner horses:

- Pluto: The first founded stallion line was the Pluto line. The lines founding sire was the original grey stallion Pluto, born in 1765 at the Frederiksborg stud in Denmark. From this stallion two Pluto lines were to emerge, one based on the stud farm in Lipica and the other from the Foragas Stud in Transylvania, Romania. The Monarchy used these horses for pulling heavy court coaches as they were strong and handsome animals.
- Conversano: The founding stallion of the Conversano line was originally from Italy, a Neapolitan dark brown stallion named Conversano, born in 1767 in the stud of Count Kaunitz in Italy.
- Neapolitano: Neapolitano was born in 1790 in Italy and was an original Neapolitan brown stallion and the founder for the Neapolitano line. Horses from both the Conversano and Neapolitano lines were used as swift horses on long trips as they were horses with good staying power.
- Favory: The Favory line began in 1779 from the stallion Favory, a blue-brown Kladruby stallion. In Croatia the Favory line had a great influence on the country's breeding at that time.
- Maestoso: The founder of the Maestoso line was the grey Kladruby stallion Maestoso Senior, born in 1773. This line died out at Lipica, but it was renewed with the stallion Maestoso X, who was born in 1819 in the Austrian military stud at Mezőhegyes in Hungary.
- Siglavy: The founder of the Siglavy line was an original Arabian stallion named Siglavy that was born in 1810 in Arabia. All his offspring were superb, with horses of this line being used for breeding purposes.
- Tulipan: The Tulipan line has its roots in Croatia. The Terezovac Stud Farm had been established at Terezovac close to the Hungarian border during the 18th Century. The first stallions and mares came to Terezovac from Lipica in about 1860, with the founding stallion, Tulipan being foaled here later that same year. Strong and fast carriage-horses were bred and by 1881 the stud had more than 55 mares and 7 stallions. The early Tulipans were big, muscular, and dark in colour.

- Incitato: The Incitato line comes originally from the Transylvanian stud Bethlen owned by Count Pal Bethlen (1783 – 1866). The first Incitato ever, the founding sire for the Incitato line, was born in 1802. His sire was the Romanian Siebenburger stallion Curioso, and his dam was the Spanish-born mare 532 Capelano. The Hungarian stud farm Mezőhegyes bought Incitato in 1815. He was used as a breeding stallion for the time when horses from Lipica were safeguarded in Mezőhegyes during the Napoleonic War from 1809-1815. In the following years, 23 of Incitatos offspring were used as breeding stallions in Mezőhegyes. (Lipizzan.com, n.d.)

The Habsburg Kladrub stud thus only produced two of the six established classical sire lines, Maestoso and Favory. Surprisingly, though most modern Lipizzaners today are grey, only four out of the six foundation stallions were grey. (LANAa; Hyde) There were also twenty classic mare lines, fourteen of which still exist today. (Dolenc, 1981) These first horses are remembered in the names of purebred Lippizzaners, which have two names, one for the sire's line and one for the dam's line, like Favory Modena or Siglavy Arva. (LANAb)

The Spanish Riding School

The origins of the Spanish Riding School in Vienna, Austria lies with the establishment by the Habsburg Monarch of a court stud at Kladrub in 1562. The school where the horses bred at Kladrub were to be trained is first mentioned ten years later when the 'Spanish Manège' is named by the Habsburg's after its Spanish horses in 1572, making it the oldest of its kind in the world. (Podhajsky, 1977, p. 249) The school was to be located between Michaelerplatz and Josefsplatz inside the Hofburg – the principal imperial winter palace of the Habsburg dynasty - in central Vienna. (Ibid, p. 248)

Habsburg records show that a wooden riding arena was first commissioned in 1565, (Ibid, p. 275) with the school operating from a wooden arena at the Josefsplatz - a public square located at the Hofburg Palace in Vienna, Austria. (Schulte-Peevers & Coupe, 2007, p. 359) It was not until 1729 that Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI (1 October 1685 – 20 October 1740) commissioned the architect Joseph Emanuel Fischer von Erlach (13 September 1693 – 29 June 1742) to build a new riding hall inside the Hofburg. The hall of the Winter Riding School was built between 1729-1735 (Cityseeker, n.d.) and when it opened in 1735, it offered horse riding classes to young aristocrats. (Civitatis Vienna, n.d.) Although the hall's measurements of 55 metres by 18 metres with a height of 17 metres was considered unusual, its beautiful construction gave the building an impression of proportionality that dazzled all who frequented the hall. Initially utilised as a general riding hall, by the beginning of the 20th Century, the hall was reserved for the exclusive use of the Spanish Riding School and its Lipizzaner stallions. (Podhajsky, 1977, p. 250)

Lipizzaner's and riders at the school would receive instruction in the art of classical dressage as designed by François Robichon de La Guérinière (8 May 1688 – 2 July 1751), a French riding

master who had a profound effect on accepted methods for horse training and became one of the most influential writers on the art of dressage. (Horse Magazine, n.d.)

The Lipizzaner stallions would be (and still are) taught in three stages:

Remontenschule: ("forward riding") This stage begins when the horse is first brought to the Spanish Riding School as a 4-year-old. The stallion is taught to be saddled and bridled and is started on the longe[3] to teach him the aids, to improve his obedience, and to strengthen his muscles in preparation for a rider. Work on the longe includes transitions between the walk, trot, and canter, and changes of tempo within the gait, and lasts 2–3 months before a rider is ever placed on the animal's back. After longeing, the horse is ridden in an arena on straight lines, to teach him to respond correctly to the rider's aids while mounted. The main goals during this time are to develop free forward movement in the ordinary (not collected or extended) gaits, with correct contact and on a long rein, and to begin to cultivate straightness. Additionally, the training should have improved the animal's strength and stamina to prepare him for the next stage.

Campagneschule: ("campaign school") The horse is usually ready for the second stage after a year of riding in the first stage, although this timeframe is always adjusted to the individual horse. Young stallions are always placed with experienced riders during this second stage, to help prevent the development of bad habits due to incorrect work. During this time, he is taught collection, and is ridden in turns and circles at all gaits. The main purpose of this phase is to develop impulsion, improve the natural paces, promote self-carriage, make the horse supple and flexible, and gradually develop the muscles of the horse. The horse will learn to bend correctly in the neck, body, and at the poll as appropriate for his conformation. It is during this time that most of the training takes place, and the horse learns to shorten and lengthen his gait and perform lateral movements, with most of the work taking place at the trot. This phase requires the most time of the three, generally two-thirds of the total time it takes to produce the "finished" horse. Before the end of this phase, the stallions are introduced to the double bridle, to refine the rider's aids.

Hohe Schule: ("high school" or *Haute Ecole*) In this stage, the rider will gradually push the horse to perfection in straightness, contact, suppleness, collection, and impulsion, to produce improved gaits. Through this work, the horse will learn to perform some of the most difficult movements such as pirouette, passage, piaffe and One-Tempi-Changes. Many of the exercises first taught in the Campaign school are utilized in this phase, focusing on the quality of the work and using them to help teach the more difficult exercises. The stallions are then assessed to determine if they are suitable for the demanding "airs above the ground", the final step in their training. Once they are chosen, the horses are taught their most-suitable school jump, first on the ground and then under saddle. (Podhajsky, 1977, pp. 263-277)

[3] The horse is asked to work at the end of a long line of approximately 7.6 metres. Longeing is performed on a large circle with the horse traveling around the outside edge of a real or imaginary ring with the handler on the ground in the center, holding the line.

The riders at the school would also be carefully trained. They firstly worked on the longe without stirrups and reins on well-trained horses for up to 3 years, to teach them balance and an independent seat. They were then allowed to control the animals themselves, under the eye of an experienced rider, until they could perform the Haute Ecole movements. With intensive training, this took between 2 and 4 years. Finally, senior riders were allowed to train the young stallions from unbroken up to Haute Ecole stage, a process that usually took between 4–6 additional years. (Ibid, pp. 29-68)

War Horses in South Africa

The arrival of the Dutch *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) (United East India Company) in Table Bay on 6 April 1652 along the southern point of the African continent was to alter the history of South Africa irrevocably. The Dutch planned to establish a permanent refreshment station at the Cape from which its ships travelling the long sea voyages between Europe and the companies' territorial possessions in the Dutch Far East could stop to obtain fresh water, vegetables, and meat. (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007, pp. 46-47) A year after its establishment (1653), the Dutch brought the first horses to the settlement, which would eventually grow into the modern city of Cape Town. The first stock came from the Dutch Far East (modern Indonesia) and were crossbreeds between Arabians and Barbs. Over the years this original breed would evolve into what is today known as the Cape Horse. The Cape Horse was hardy, could survive on meagre rations and grazing and was a very comfortable ride. It had endurance, spirit, kindness, and heart. It was also incredibly beautiful. (SouthAfrica.com, n.d.)

During the French Revolution (1789-1799) and consequent Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), the Cape was seized by the British to prevent it falling into French hands and thus threatening their vital sea-lanes to their eastern colonies, especially India. The original settlers of the Cape, whose descendants now included Dutch, French, German and Scandinavian peoples had no wish to live under British rule. Starting in the 1840s, large sections of the population left the Cape and travelled into the interior of South Africa. In order to protect the slow-moving ox-wagons from predators and possible enemy combatants, many of the Trekkers (Dutch for pioneers) rode horses, with large Trekker groups forming mounted commandos. By the end of the 19th Century, these people, now collectively calling themselves Boers (Dutch for farmers), had established two independent republics on the Highveld on South Africa. (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007, pp. 85-89, 150-152) The ancestors of the original Cape Horse had also by now developed into an independent breed, known as the Boerperd (Boer Horse). (SouthAfrica.com, n.d.)

The discovery of diamonds in Kimberley on the border of the Orange Free State Republic in 1867 followed by the discovery of vast gold deposits in the South African (Transvaal) Republic in 1886 resulted in British interests once again intersecting with those of the Boers. The result of all these events was a series of two wars fought between the Boer Republics and the British

Empire. The 1st Anglo-Boer War (1880-1881) was followed by the far larger 2nd Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) in which the two Boer Republics deployed almost 40 000 mounted infantrymen riding their Boerperds, with which they confronted the British Empire. Boer infantrymen trained from infanthood to ride, shoot and camouflage themselves within the African battlespace combined with their hardy Boerperds that provided them with outstanding mobility, allowed the two elements to merge into a perfectly synchronised mobile killing machine – the Boer Commando.[4] For three long years, the Boers fought an enemy numbering over half a million strong, only surrendering when British forces had killed approximately 26 000 Boer women and children within their concentration camps. (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007, pp. 159-160, 199-218) A strong military horse culture has thus existed within South Africa since the first arrival of Europeans in the 17th Century, who had brought the first horses into the country in 1652, with horses playing prominent roles in all the ensuing conflicts waged across the country. (Marlow, n.d.)

The Janković-Bésán family

To fully comprehend the link of how the Lipizzaners ended up in South Africa, it will be necessary to briefly discuss the early family history of the man responsible for bringing the horses into the country. At the end of the 18th century, Julia Janković de Priber (maiden surname Fekete de Galántha) (1734-1814), the widowed wife of Antal Jankovich de Pribér (1730-1765) purchased the Vučin Lordship from Prince Kazimir Esterházy de Galántha (1749-1802). The purchase included the entire administrative and commercial compound of buildings within the small settlement of Terezovac, situated on the northern slopes of the Bilogora mountains in the Virovitica-Podravina of Croatia. The purchase included the main single-story house, which would eventually after extensive alterations become the manor house *Dvorac Jankovic* (Castle Jankovic).

The original purchase also included the stables located on the property. Stables and the owning of horses was a requirement at all the old manor houses, both as an economically important business, but also as a sign of social prestige. The stables at Terezovac were destined to become the world famous Terezovac Stud Farm. By the end of 1800, Terezovac was already considered one of the best studs in Europe, with many famous studs, including the royal stud at Lipica, buying horses from Terezovac. In 1860, the first Lipizzaner stallions and mares began arriving at Terezovac from Lipica and by 1881, the Terezovac Stud Farm had approximately 7 Lipizzaner stallions and 55 mares, used in the breeding of strong and fast carriage-horses. The Croatian Lipizzan Line Tulipan would eventually be created from these horses. (Lipizzan.com, n.d.)

[4] The skill and bravery of the Boer mounted Commando's during the war is the origin of the modern military term Commando, which designates a combatant, or operative of an elite light infantry or special operations force using dedicated operation techniques.

The family's long association with Lipizzaner breeding was, however, in danger of crumbling by the end of the 19th Century. In approximately 1890, the Jankovics-Bésán family stud farm located at Terezovac, was split due to an inheritance struggle within the family. Consequently, a second stud farm was established eight kilometres south-east of Terezovac within the small village of Cabuna. The ruins of the *Dvorac Janković* in Cabuna mark the location of this property today. (Lipik vas Čeka, n.d.) After a further family dispute concerning its horse breeding operations in the 1920s, the Terezovac and Cabuna operations were closed, and the entire horse breeding operation was relocated to a stud farm in the small village of Oreglak in western Hungary. (Stem, 2008)

Despite the challenges facing the Janović's breeding programs, Lipizzaner breeding was to survive in Croatia due to the establishment in 1919 of a stud farm in Stančić near Božjakovina, east of Zagreb as part of the Croatian-Slavonian Provincial Breeding Program. In 1924, the stud was reorganized into the Stančić State Stud Farm (sometimes referred to as the Petrovo Stud Farm). The stud had a great influence on the improvement of Croatian horse breeding through the Kutjevo State Stallion Habitat. Quality stallions bred in Stančić were given to private breeders for breeding through the Stud's habitat in Kutjevo. The Kutjevo State Stallion Habitat operated as an organizational unit. In addition, the stud also worked to improve Croatian horse breeding through the Zemaljska Pastuharna in Đakovo, where quality young stallions bred in Stančić were delivered and then loaned to private breeders. (Cacic, 2011)

The Stančić State Stud Farm, in addition to its own breeding, initially Lipizzaner, and later Nonius, was also responsible for organizing not only horse breeding in Croatia but also in Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Simply put, all organized state farms and stallion habitats operated under the supervision of the Stančić State Stud Farm. The breeding results of the Stančić State Stud Farm were confirmed by a large number of domestic and foreign experts, such as Gustav Rau. The largest presentation of the Lipizzaners of the Stančić State Stud Farm was made during the 14th International Horse Riding, Jumping and Driving Tournament in Aachen, Germany in 1938, where horses from Kutjevo won several first prizes. During the Aachen tournament, Stančić Lipizzaner mares competing in the 255 kilometres long-distance ride achieved a 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th position. (Ibid) In 1937-38 disaster struck the stud, with the outbreak of an infectious equine infectious anemia (IAC) within the herd. To save the program, the Administration of the Sava County bought the Lipik Stud Farm to accommodate approximately 60 horses from Stančić. At that time, the Lipik Stud Farm was the only stud farm in the world to breed black and bay Lipizzaner horses. (SSFL, n.d.)

The Second World War would again threaten the continued existence of the Jankovics-Bésán families' Lipizzan operations. In 1944, with the Soviet Army advancing across Hungary towards the stud farm in Oreglak, the current head of the family, Count Elemér Janković-Bésán de Pribér-Vuchin, decided to flee from the farm taking his beloved horses with him. As the railroads were a strategic target for Allied forces' heavy bombing and a 480-kilometre journey

took six agonising weeks, the Count decided to complete the approximately 600 kilometres to his parents' stud farm in Sünching, Bavaria, Germany, by road. (Odendaal, 2007, p. 89)

Travelling by road was, however, no safer as there was the ever-present danger that starving soldiers would requisition the horses for rations. To prevent such a calamity from occurring, the horses were firstly hitched to carts and wagons as if they were normal draft animals. Additionally, the Count had all the white horses painted with paraffin and oil so that they would appear sick and unhealthy and thus unfit for human consumption. After weeks of travelling through the snow of a late European winter the horses arrived safely in Bavaria. Conditions in post-war Germany were unfortunately no better and when it became too difficult to survive, Count Jankovich decided to relocate most of his horses to England. Arriving at Christmas 1946, the horses were sent to the estate of the 11th Baron Digby, in Dorset, England. Three years later, the Count made the bold decision to abandon Europe and resettle with only eight Lipizzaner's, two stallions and six mares, in the southern part of the African continent. Arriving during Christmas of 1949, the Count established a new stud in the town of Mooi River in the province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. (Odendaal, 2007, pp. 89-90) Is this manner, the first of the founding fathers of South Africa's Lipizzaner horses made the long journey into the country from his home in Europe.

The Polish Horse Trainer

The story of origin around the second founding father of South Africa's Lipizzaner horse program takes place in the largely agricultural and extensively multi-ethnic region that constituted the northern part of the Polish *Kresy Wschodnie* (Eastern Borderlands). (Eberhardt & Owsinski, 2003, pp. 199-201; INR, 2019) In 1510, Zygimont I the Old (1 January 1467 - 1 April 1548), the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania gave a parcel of land in the *Kresy Wschodnie* to Ivashka Bykovsky for his faithful service to the crown. Bykovsky was to establish a vast estate on the land, which later became known as the Lebedka Estate, named after the local Lebedka River. By the middle of the 19th Century, the estate had passed into the hands of the Iwanowski (Ivanovsky) family. The Iwanowski family patriarch, Leonardas Ivanauskas (Iwanowski) (2 November 1845 – 15 October 1919) was a Polish nobleman from the Polish Rogala noble clan, who also held Lithuanian nationality. Leonardas was educated in Vilna (modern Vilnius – the capital of Lithuania) and then in St. Petersburg in Russia. (Grodno, n.d.) Leonardas, a qualified engineer was eventually appointed chairman of the Technical Committee at the Ministry of the Treasury in St. Petersburg. Leonardas was also friends with Dmitri Ivanovich Mendeleev (8 February 1834 – 2 February 1907), the famous Russian chemist and inventor, who is best known for formulating the Periodic Law and creating a farsighted version of the periodic table of elements. (Gordin, 2004) Leonardas would accompany Mendeleev on his world travels since Mendeleev did not know a single foreign language. (Ibid)

Leonardas and his wife Jadwiga Baroness von Reichel had five children. Unusually their four sons, growing up on an estate located in an area floating between Polish, Lithuanian and

Belorussian control, considered themselves representatives of each of these nationalities, with each of the brothers destined to play an important role within his chosen national branch. The eldest, Jerzy Ivanovski (10 February 1878 – 28 March 1965) became a renowned Polish social activist, politician and engineer who served as Minister of Foreign Affairs of Central Lithuania (1920-1922),[5] Senator of the Third Term (1930-1935), and founder of the National State Union in 1922. Conversely, brothers Vaclovas Ivanauskas (25 May 1880 – 07 December 1943) and Stanislovas Ivanauskas (4 December 1887 – 01 October 1970) both opted to become Belorussian when Lebiodka was ceded to Belorussia after the Second World War with Vaclovas becoming a Belorussian politician and Stanislovas a Belorussian lawyer. The last brother Tadas Ivanauskas (16 December 1882 – 01 June 1970), however, chose to become Lithuanian and eventually became a prominent zoologist and biologist, and one of the founders of Vytautas Magnus University, a public university in Kaunas, Lithuania. (Roszkowski & Kofman, 2016, p. 380)

South African Lipizzaner founding father Zerzy (George) Iwanowski (13 March 1907 – 28 May 2008) was born on Lebiodka two years before his ancestor Leonardus Ivanovsky decided to build a beautiful manor house in the Art Nouveau style on the estate in 1909. (Grodno) Young George growing up on Lediodka prior to the area being ceded to Belorussia always considered himself to be Polish. It was here on the estate with its stables that George was to begin his lifelong association with horses. After completing his schooling, George attended the College of Agriculture in Warsaw, where he earned a Master of Science degree with a dissertation that examined horse breeding. He then began working as an assistant director at the Polish National Stud in Bogusławice, (Odendaal, 2007, p. 91) in the administrative district of Gmina Mycielin, in west-central Poland. (GUS, n.d.)

With war clouds building over Europe, Iwanowski completed his military training at the Polish cavalry school before being sent to join the Polish 1st Lancers Regiment. As a 1st Lieutenant in command of a squadron of Polish cavalry, Iwanowski formed part of a 3000-horse cavalry charge against a German bivouac in Eastern Poland in September 1939. (RDM, 1973) Many years later, during a newspaper interview Iwanowski recalls that, “I took part in what must have been one of the last cavalry charges in military history. Our target was a German motorised infantry outfit and we carried sabres and lances. We didn’t do much damage, but the sight of us charging must have frightened the daylights out of the enemy.” (Carruthers, 1968) After being wounded and taken prisoner, Iwanowski escaped and later saw service with Polish units in France and Britain. (Ibid)

After the Second World War, George was given the task of scouring Europe to recover Polish horses lost, stolen, or strayed. (Ibid) He was then promoted to the rank of Major and tasked to take over command of the ex-German SS *Gestüt* (horse stud) at Lauvenburg in the

[5] A formally independent state, with its capital in Vilnius (modern Lithuania) but which was dependent on Poland. It was created by the announcement by General Lucjan Żeligowski on 12 October 1920 after the so-called Żeligowski Rebellion. On 18 April 1922, it was annexed by Poland. See W. Jędrzejewicz, *Central Lithuania and its inner life: 1920-1922, Vol. 16* (London & New York: Independence, 1983), p. 26.

Rhineland. With the establishment of the communist Polish People's Republic in 1947, Major Iwanowski decided to leave Europe and relocate to South Africa. On his arrival in Johannesburg, George set out to meet 'horsey' people who would be able to assist him in finding employment in his new home. The plan worked, for he soon found himself working on a stud farm in the desert-like region of the Karoo. Iwanowski was to ultimately return to Johannesburg, where he went into a partnership with a South African, Josy Hicks, and together they established the Centaur Stables in Johannesburg. (Odendaal, 2007, pp. 91-92)

On 6 May 1949. a notice appeared in the Rand Daily Mail in which Jerzy Iwanowski, a farmer and instructor in equitation, residing at Centaur Stables in North Road, Strathaven, Johannesburg, gave notice for his intention to apply to the South African Minister of the Interior, in terms of Section 19 (1) (a) of the British Nationality of the Union and Naturalization and Status of Aliens Act 1925, for a Certificate of Naturalization under that Act. (RDM, 1949) Iwanowski had decided to make South Africa his permanent country of residence.

The origins and establishment of the South African Lipizzaner program

In 1951, the Hungarian horse breeder and the Polish horse trainer met by chance at the Royal Agricultural Show in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Conversing in the only language that the two men shared, broken Yiddish, Janković-Bésán immediately invited Iwanowski up to his stud farm in Mooi River to come review his Lipizzaners. After the visit, Janković-Bésán asked Iwanowski if he would be prepared to train a Lipizzaner. He offered him his stallion Maestoso Erdem for this training. (Odendaal, 2007, p. 92) In his 1977 book *The White Stallions of Kyalami*, Iwanowski writes about this exceptional horse, "Maestoso Erdem was three years old, dirty-grey and moved with the charm of a young bear trying to be graceful. But there was something irresistible about his personality, his behaviour, and his large intelligent eyes. Our relationship was the foundation of the Lipizzaner team." (Iwanowski, 1977) Due to the natural trainability of the Lipizzaner, combined with the vast skill of Iwanowski, Erdem was soon performing some of the more difficult *Haute Ecole* dressage movements and impressing audiences across the country in both competitions and displays. (Odendaal, 2007, p. 92)

Following the success of the various shows put on by Erdem, Iwanowski decided to establish a performing Lipizzaner team, based on the world-famous Lipizzaner performing teams of the Spanish Riding School in Vienna. The original teams' stallions all belonged to other riders, pupils of the Major, who agreed to train as a team. (Ibid) The first public performance of the South African Lipizzaners taking place in 1957. Unlike in Europe, because all the horses in the team were privately owned, the South African Lipizzaner Team were exclusively ridden by their owners, who all happened to be women. Additionally, the Iwanowski school's first graduating class also consisted solely out of thirteen women riders, which resulted in Iwanowski becoming the only male Lipizzaner rider at that time within the display team. (Ibid)

The reason for this was that men were generally their family's providers and thus could not afford to work without any remuneration for a non-profit company. (Uys, 2018, p. 37)

During a visit to Rhodesia (modern Zimbabwe) during that time, Iwanowski met Colonel Hans Handler, at that time the second-in-command of the Spanish Riding School in Vienna. The Colonel gave Iwanowski his first lessons in the Spanish School's *Haute Ecole* and accepted an invitation to visit Iwanowski's school in Johannesburg. Handler's subsequent input concerning the organizing as well as the choreography of the Lipizzaner shows proved to be invaluable in raising the South African performance to an international standard. This experience led Iwanowski to consider forming a permanent Lipizzaner team which could perform displays in the same manner as their Austrian counterparts. (Odendaal, 2007, p. 92)

In 1962, tragedy, however, struck the school when Erdem broke his leg. While Erdem was saved, his performing days were over. He was thus retired to stud, but unfortunately died from a mysterious illness after siring only two foals. A devastated and heartbroken Iwanowski did not appear on a Lipizzaner in public for the next two years. (Ibid, pp. 92-93) A further calamity was narrowly avoided not long thereafter. Count Janković-Bésán's stud at Mooi River was in financial distress and the Count needed to sell his herd, which by then consisted of 6 stallions, 9 mares and 3 fillies, (Snaffle Travel, 2019) or all the horses would be sent to the butcher's block. Fortunately, Angela Irvin and her husband Jack, the managing director of National Chemical Products (NCP), bought some of the Lipizzaners and relocated them from Mooi River to the NCP farm at Waterkloof, also in KwaZulu-Natal. (Odendaal, 2007, p. 93)

Iwanowski was asked to assist in finding suitable homes for the remaining horses. (Ibid) In 1963, Iwanowski had decided to purchase a property [Portion 114 Witpoort 406-JR] in the Kyalami area, 40 kilometres north of Johannesburg. (Kyalami Park Club, n.d.) Seizing this opportunity, he now proposed to the Irvin's that all their young colts be transferred to his newly established Kyalami Equestrian Centre for training, where they would be formed into a display team known as the NCP Lipizzaner Team. Here they would act as NCP ambassadors while simultaneously publicizing the company's products which included horse feed. The Irvin's agreed with the arrangement setting the foundation for South Africa's Lipizzaner display team of dancing white stallions – a feat not even then present within England. (Odendaal, 2007, p. 93)

The Irvin's continued to invest in their Lipizzaner herd. In 1972, they went to Vienna and imported the stallion Maestoso Palmira to add new genetic stock into the herd to prevent inbreeding. Later they imported the stallion Siglavy Savons for utilization as an outcross, but South Africa's Lipizzan stallions and mares are still considered direct descendants of Count Janković-Bésán's original two stallions and six mares. The stud, which now has approximately 20 broodmares, has become a genetic outcross pool for the Lipizzan studs of Europe, because the South African Lipizzaners have been isolated from the rest of the world for several generations already. (Iwanowski, 1977)

Meanwhile back in Johannesburg, since his first visit, Colonel Handler had begun travelling to South Africa once a year to assist with the planning, choreography and training of the young stallions and their riders. Colonel Handler, by now the director of the Spanish Riding School, even invited Iwanowski to come visit his school in Vienna. (Odendaal, 2007, p. 93) In June and July of 1968, Iwanowski accompanied by fifteen South African horse enthusiasts embarked on a grand tour of the horse shows of Europe. The party, which was organized by the Transvaal Horse Show Association, visited three of the major equestrian events of the world, namely Royal Ascot in England along with the Aachen and Hamburg shows in Germany. The tour would also include visits to the Wahrendorfskool in Germany, the Neuilly Riding School in Paris, the Torre de Quinto in Rome, the Royal Stables at Buckingham Palace and naturally to the Spanish Riding School in Vienna. A particular highlight for the ex-Cavalry Officer would be the group visit to the Torre de Quinto Cavalry School in Rome. As an army institution, the cavalry school was not generally open to the public, but an exception had been granted for the visitors from South Africa. The school, arguably the most famous cavalry school in the world was the birthplace of the modern style of show jumping, (Carruthers, 1968) and Iwanowski as an accomplished jumper was keen to visit the school.

By 1969, under Iwanowski and Handler's guidance, a team of eight stallions had been sufficiently trained that they were able to form the central showpiece at the inauguration ceremony and performance of the newly constructed indoor arena located at Kyalami. (GTA, n.d.)

Colonel Handler was also instrumental in raising the standard of the school and he was responsible for authorizing the deployment of additional staff from the Spanish Riding School, who became regular visitors to Kyalami, including Chief Rider Ignaz Lauscha, who arrived in South Africa for the first time in January 1976. He was followed over the years by other staff including Rider Ernest Bachinger, Chief Rider Hubert Eichinger and Chief Rider Andreas Hausberger, who all assisted in the training of both the stallions and their riders. (Snaffle Travel, 2019) Due to the strict maintenance of the Spanish Riding School's standards and because South Africa continues to uphold the traditional principles and training methods, the Lipizzaners in South Africa are currently the only performing Lipizzaners outside of Vienna, that are endorsed and recognized by the Spanish Riding School. (Joburg.co.za, n.d.; GeorgeNews, 2017)

Successful performances across the country allowed the stud in KwaZulu-Natal and the school at Kyalami to continue to expand and grow. In 1972, the original Kyalami property of Iwanowski was purchased by the South African National Equestrian Centre (SANEC), which then registered the 23 hectares of land as a separate proprietary limited company, renamed as the Kyalami Equestrian Park (KEP). (Kyalami Park Club, n.d.) Unfortunately, ten years later, new financial challenges threatened the future of the Lipizzaners, still training and performing at the KEP. In June 1982, Mr David Marlow, the director of Sentrachem Limited, a Johannesburg-based company that specialized in the manufacture of basic and diversified chemicals, who had purchased the horses from the Irvin's, announced that the company was

considering selling the one hundred plus Lipizzaners that they had now owned for fifteen years. Marlow estimated the horses' value in the millions of South African Rands but lamented that Sentrachem could no longer afford the costs involved in owning the horses. (Capel, 1982) Fortunately, despite such financial challenges, the Lipizzaners remained at Kyalami and continued to perform once a week to the delight of the thousands of visitors who came for the show.

The advent of democracy in 1994 within South Africa was to bring many changes to the country, and the equestrian community was not spared these upheavals. The Transvaal Horse Society (THS) had maintained its head office on the SANEC property in Kyalami and boasted a membership base of around 4000 members. During 1995, in line with the establishment of South Africa's new provincial structure, the THS re-registered as the Gauteng Horse Society (GHS). In around 2013/2014, a directive was issued by the South African National Equestrian Federation (SANEF) wherein its was stated that Equestrian Sport needed to affiliate to its National Structure through a Club System and not a Provincial System. This meant that overnight the GHS was converted into a club and lost some 3500 of its members, retaining only a loyal core of approximately 400 members. This created a huge challenge for the organisation as the Club had to survive with the existing cost structures including maintenance of all its facilities, but with hugely depleted revenue stream. The Club ran at a loss annually, and in late 2016 the Club's liabilities exceeded its assets by some 3 to 4 million South African Rand (excluding the value of the land). At around this time, a share scheme was agreed to by the membership base, whereby shares (underwritten in value by the property) would be issued for cash to the club members. The Club remained a 30% shareholder and around 70% of the remaining shares were taken up. This capital injection has allowed the Club to recapitalise itself, pay off all debts and improve its facilities. The KEP remains the centre of South Africa's equine activities including being home to the South African Derby, FEI World Cup Qualifiers, the Nissan Easter Festival and the South African Championships. (Kyalami Park Club, n.d.)

In 2007, in celebration of Major Iwanowski's 100th birthday, the South African Lipizzaners proudly put on a special display in his honour, with many of his original student riders involved. As the Major had returned to Poland during his later life, he was not present for the show, but a recording was sent to Poland for his private viewing as a special tribute for the man who had nurtured and trained South Africa's Lipizzaners for many years. (Odendaal, 2007, p. 93) Sadly, the Major passed away the following year on 28 May 2008, but his legacy has outlived him and he will always be remembered in his adopted country as the father of South Africa's dancing stallions.

Despite various challenges, the South African Lipizzaner Centre, continued to function at Kyalami as a non-profit company. While the performance stallions remained at Kyalami, the centres stud farm relocated to Hartebeespoort, 50 kilometres to the north-west of Kyalami. In 2018, the stud housed 11 mares, 9 fillies and 6 colts. However, as a non-profit institution,

the South African Lipizzaner Centre, which not only had to feed 62 horses but also pay 14 staff and riders, found its resources stretched to breaking point. Various forms of funding were then implemented to reinforce the funds obtained from the weekly shows, including individual horse sponsorship and membership to the Friends of the Lipizzaner Organisation. (Uys, 2018, pp. 37-38)

Unfortunately, in 2020, as a direct result of the Corona Pandemic which cancelled or allowed only a limited number of visitors to all the shows, it was decided to relocate 35 stallions and 28 mares from the KEP, which had been the Lipizzaners home for more than 70 years, to the winelands of the Western Cape which enjoyed a far larger tourist base, both locally and internationally. The move to the Mistico Equestrian Centre in Paarl, completed by 20 January 2021, has proved to be a success. With the lifting of South Africa's restrictions concerning large gatherings, visitors can once again enjoy the ballet on horseback as performed by the dancing Lipizzaners. (Newspaper, 2021)

Conclusion

War proved to be instrumental in shaping what is today considered the oldest man-made horse breed in the world. From the original invasion of Hispania by Carthage, via the Muslim invasion of *al-Andalus*, to the establishment of the royal stud by the Habsburgs, the Lipizzaner horses have survived numerous challenges to their existence.

War was also instrumental in bringing the Lipizzaners to South Africa, with Count Janković-Bésán fleeing Hungary with his horses during the Second World War. War also brought the man who was to play a pivotal role in the establishment of South Africa's performing white stallions, Major Jerzy Iwanowski. Deciding to leave Europe after the establishment of a communist Polish state in 1947, Iwanowski settled in South Africa. After a chance encounter, Iwanowski began training a single Lipizzaner Stallion to perform various manoeuvres as perfected by the Spanish Riding School in Vienna. From shows with a single stallion a Lipizzaner performing team would eventually develop, with Iwanowski's lady riding school students providing both the horses and the riders.

A second chance encounter brought Colonel Hans Handler onto the scene, and it was under his guidance and advice that Iwanowski was able to raise the performance of the Lipizzaner team to that of the Spanish Riding School's level. Despite numerous challenges, South Africa's Lipizzaner program has survived and continued to flourish. Even a global pandemic has not been able to destroy the show and while it was forced to relocate from Kyalami to Cape Town, the Lipizzaners continue to perform once a week for both South African and international audiences at the Mistico Equestrian Centre. The Lipizzaners are today considered a cultural and historical icon of modern South Africa, and will continue to entertain both locals and visitors alike for many years still to come.

Conflict of Interest

The author hereby declares that no competing financial interest exists for this manuscript.

Notes on Contributor

Lieutenant Colonel Jean-Pierre Scherman joined the South African Defence Force as a National Serviceman in 1993. After completing his year service he joined the Permanent Force and was commissioned as an officer in the South African Armoured Corps. He has completed numerous internal (within South Africa) and external (African Union and United Nation) missions including missions to southern and central Africa. He holds a Master Degree in African History and is busy completing his PhD in Military Science at Stellenbosch University. He currently works as a military researcher at the Centre for Military Studies, Faculty of Military Science, Stellenbosch University, South Africa.

Bibliography

Barnes, T. D. (1985) *Tertullian: A Literary and Historical Study*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cacic, M. (2011) *Povijest Državne ergele Stančić 1919-1938* [History of State Stud farm Stančić 1919-1938] Croatia: Agro Lider.

Capel, D. (1982) 'Famous Dancing Horses To Be Sold', *Rand Daily Mail*, June 24.

Carruthers, H. (1968) 'Grand Tour of Horse Shows', *Rand Daily Mail*, April 16.

Cityseeker (n.d.) 'Winter Riding School', *Cityseeker*. Available at https://cityseeker.com/vienna/86465-winter-riding-school (Accessed: 4 May 2022).

Civitatis Vienna (n.d.) 'Spanish Riding School', *Civitatis Vienna*. Available at https://www.introducingvienna.com/spanish-riding-school (Accessed: 4 May 2022).

Contamine, P. (1984) *War in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1984.

Davie, L. (2003) 'Joburg's Lipizzaner Ballerinas', *City Experiences, Brand South Africa*, June 25. Available at https://brandsouthafrica.com/109478/lipizzaners/ (Accessed: 10 May 2022).

Dolenc, M. (1981) *Lipizzaner: The Story of the Horses of Lipica*, translation by Z. Harvat and S.A. Pechy. Ljubljana, Yugoslavia: Mladinska Knjiga.

Eberhardt, P. and Owsinski, J. (2003) *Ethnic Groups and Population Changes in Twentieth-century Central-Eastern Europe: History, Data, Analysis*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe.

Fierro, M. (2005) *Abd Al-Rahman III: The First Cordoban Caliph*. London: Oneworld Publications.

GeorgeNews (2017) 'Rare Performance by White Stallions', *George Herald*, September 22. Available at https://www.georgeherald.com/News/Article/General/rare-performance-by-white-stallions-20170922 (Accessed: 9 May 2022).

Giliomee, H. and Mbenga, B. (2007) *New History of South Africa.* Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers.

Gordin, M. (2004) *A Well-Ordered Thing: Dmitrii Mendeleev and the Shadow of the Periodic Table*. New York: Basic Books.

Grodno (n.d.) 'Estate Lebyodka Ivanovskikh', *Department of Sports and Tourism of the Grodno Regional Executive Committee, Yanka Kupala State University*. Available at https://grodnovisafree.by/glavnaya/istoricheskie-ob-ekty/item/28121-847.html (Accessed: 5 May 2022).

Grout, J. (n.d.) 'The Roman Horse, Circus Maximus, Essays on the History and Culture of Rome', *Encyclopaedia Romana: Rome. The home of empire and all perfection.* Available at https://penelope.uchicago.edu/~grout/encyclopaedia_romana/notaepage.html (Accessed: 21 April 2022).

Grutz, J. W. (2007) 'The Barb', *Saudi Aramco World: Arab and Islamic Cultures and Connections*, 58(1), pp. 8-17.

GTA (n.d.) 'Lipizzaner Centre, Kyalami', *Gauteng Tourism Authority*. Available at https://www.gauteng.net/dinokeng/attractions/kyalamilipizzanercentre (Accessed: 3 May 2022).

GUS (n.d.) 'Rejestr TERYT' [National Register of Territorial Land Apportionment Journal (TERYT)], *Główny Urząd Statystyczny (GUS)* [Central Statistical Office]. Available at https://eteryt.stat.gov.pl/eTeryt/rejestrteryt/aktualnosci/aktualnosci.aspx (Accessed: 5 May 2022).

Horse Magazine (n.d.) 'De la Guérinière, François Robichon', *The Horse Magazine*. Available at https://www.horse_magazine.com/thm/whos-who/de-la-gueriniere-francois-robichon/ (Accessed: 4 May 2022).

Hyde, F. (n.d.) 'God's Lipizzaners', *Equest4truth*. http://www.equest4truth.com/about-us/94-discover-equus/134-lipizzaners (Accessed: 19 April 2022).

INR (2019) 'The 2nd Edition of the IPN's Educational Project: Polish Eastern Borderlands in the 20th Century', *Institute of National Remembrance*, October 22. Available at https://ipn.gov.pl/en/news/2508,The-2nd-edition-of-the-IPNs-educational-project-Polish-Eastern-Borderlands-in-th.html (Accessed: 5 May 2022).

Iwanowski, G. (1977) *The White Stallions of Kyalami*. Johannesburg: Purnell.

Jankovich, M. (1971) *They Rode into Europe: The Fruitful Exchange in the Arts of Horsemanship between East and West*. Translation by A. Dent. London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd.

Jędrzejewicz, W. (1983) *Central Lithuania and Its Inner Life: 1920-1922, Vol. 16*. London & New York: Independence.

Joburg.co.za (n.d.) 'Lippizaners', *Joburg.co.za*. Available at https://joburg.co.za/lippizaners/ (Accessed: 6 May 2022).

Kyalami Park Club (n.d.) 'South African National Equestrian Centre, Kyalami Park', *Kyalami Park Club*. Available at https://kyalamiparkclub.co.za/sanec/?msclkid=666157dfcf7a11ec93c1d1da63602797 (Accessed: 9 May 2022).

LANAa (n.d.) 'Origins and History of the Lipizzan Horse', *Lipizzan Association of North America*. Available at http://www.lipizzan.lan.net/aboutlipizzans.html (Accessed: 19 April 2020).

LANAb (n.d.) 'Rules and Regulations for Lipizzan Horse Registration with LANA', *Lipizzan Association of North America*. Available at http://www.lipizzan.org/aboutlipizzans.html (Accessed: 19 April 2020).

Lipik vas Čeka (n.d.) 'The Story of the Jankovic Family', *Customs and Legends, LIPIK: Visit an Oasis of Peace Among the Slavonian Plains*. Available at https://lipikvasceka.com/en/lipik-is-waiting-for-you/customs-and-legends (Accessed: 21 April 2022).

Lipizzan.com (n.d.) 'Stallion Lines', *Lipizzan.com*. Available at http://www.lipizzan.com/lines.html (Accessed: 19 April 2022).

Marlow, C. H. B. (n.d.) 'A Brief History of Equine Private Practice in South Africa', *The South African Equine Veterinary Association*. Available at https://www.saeva.co.za/brief-history-equine-private-practice-sa/ (Accessed: 13 December 2022).

Newspaper (2021) 'Performing Horses Move to Cape Town to Attract Tourists', *The Newspaper*, February 5. Available at https://thenewspaper.co.za/performing-horses-move-to-cape-town-to-attract-

tourists/#:~:text=The%20SA%20Lipizzaners%20who%20has,performances%20in%20Kyalami%20from%201971 (Accessed: 10 May 2022).
Odendaal, T. (2007) 'Heritage of the White Stallions', *SA Horseman*, 2(4), pp. 88-95.
Parker, G. (2019) *Emperor: A New Life of Charles V*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Podhajsky, A. (1977) *The Complete Training of Horse and Rider: In the Principles of Classical Horsemanship*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.
Polybius (1927) *The Histories. Vol. VII-VIII.* Loeb Classical Library, 6 Volumes. Translation by W.R. Paton. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
RDM (1949) 'J. Iwanowski, Legal Notices, Application for Naturalization', *Rand Daily Mail*, May 6.
RDM (1973) 'Ballet on horseback', *Rand Daily Mail*, March 27.
Roszkowski, W. and Kofman, J. (2016) *Biographical Dictionary of Central and Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century*. London: Routledge.
Schulte-Peevers, A. and Coupe, A. (ed.) (2007) *Michelin Green Guide Austria*. London: Michelin Travel & Lifestyle.
Snaffle Travel (2019) 'South African Lipizzaners', *Snaffle Travel*, March 28. Available at https://snaffletravel.com.au/south-african-lipizzaners/ (Accessed: 10 May 2022).
SouthAfrica.com (n.d.) 'South Africa's Native Horse Breeds', *South Africa.com.* Available at https://www.southafrica.com/blog/south-africas-native-horse-breeds/ (Accessed: 23 May 2022).
SpainThenandNow.com (n.d.) 'The Carthaginians in Spain', *Spain Then and Now.* Available at https://www.spainthenandnow.com/spanish-history/the-carthaginians-in-spain (Accessed: 2 February 2022).
SSFL (n.d.) 'Historic Timeline', *State Stud Farm Lipik.* Available at http://ergela-lipik.org/en/history-of-stud-farm/ (Accessed: 20 April 2022).
Stem, J. (2008) 'The Dancing Warhorses of Africa', *Media Club South Africa*, November 13. Available at https://brandsouthafrica.com/111873/lipizzaners121108/ (Accessed: 2 February 2022).
Tertullian (1977) *De Spectaculis*, Translation by T.R. Glover. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
Uys, G. (2018) 'The White Stallion Ballet', *Farmers Weekly*, 2018(18047), December 7.

"That They, Shakespeare's People, Play the Role of the Barbarians Here"

Imperial Aspirations, Armed Forces, and the Strategy of the British from the Perspective of the Hungarian Participants of the Anglo-Boer War[1]

Gábor Szabó-Zsoldos[2]

Abstract:

"We, abandoned Europeans, armed to the teeth, only have the pleasure of reading the news of the war left; but we are revelling in them, and woe to our poor newspapers if they do not accompany the freshly baked bun of our breakfast with even fresher news – from South Africa." (Szigethy, 1901, p. I) These lines come from the foreword of Lajos Szigethy's Anglo-Boer War recollections and capture the atmosphere and tremendous interest of contemporary Hungarian public opinion regarding a war in which Austria-Hungary was not directly involved and took place at a considerable distance from the country. There was particular interest in the Hungarian participants of the war, most of whom, like the Hungarian public, supported the cause of the Boer republics. How they viewed the enemy, i.e. the British, stands at the centre of the present paper. Special emphasis is put on the influence the pro-Boer narrative about the war that was popular in other European countries had on the ways the Hungarian veterans constructed their war reminiscences about the national characteristics, imperial aspirations, and armed forces of the enemy in their respective books, articles, and lectures.

Keywords:

Anglo-Boer War; British Empire; Boer Republics; Hungarians; foreign volunteering; pro-Boer journalism.

[1] This project was supported by the Scientific Council of the University of Nyíregyháza, Hungary.

[2] Assistant professor at the Institute of History and Philosophy, University of Nyíregyháza; ORCID: 0000-0002-3990-028X; szabo-zsoldos.gabor@nye.hu

Introduction

The Anglo-Boer War, which turned Southern Africa red between 1899-1902, can be regarded as a milestone, as a first example of certain phenomena in many respects. Among others, it was the first military conflict in which a large number of British soldiers wore khaki uniforms. New technological innovations, e.g. the telegraph, the bicycle, or the Mauser M1896 rifle, also modernized the battlefields and warfare in general (Potgieter, 2000). In addition, this war was not only fought on the battlefields but also in terms of ideology: British imperialism versus Afrikaner nationalism, and the Anglo-Boer War was the largest and most costly military conflict of the British in the almost century-long period that stretched from the Napoleonic Wars to the Great War. In fact, according to some historical assessments, the clash of the British Empire and the Boer Republics (the South African Republic/Transvaal and the Orange Free State) was the World War I, as the British mobilized troops from their colonies and dominions in the American and Asian continents. Soldiers from Canada, Australia, or New Zealand pressed shoulder to shoulder in the struggle against the Boer commandos, supported by some 2,500 foreign volunteers from all over the world, including 14 Hungarians.

The Anglo-Boer War had numerous Hungarian aspects, from the scandalous horse purchases of the British Army in Hungary between 1899 and 1902 to the clashes of the pro-Boer and pro-British standpoints at various levels of the contemporary Hungarian public discourse. For example, the war between the British Empire and the Boer republics was the subject of debates in the lower house of the Hungarian Parliament. Prime Minister Kálmán Széll (1899-1903), whose premiership covered the war, was accused by representatives of the opposition of indirectly assisting in the subjugation of "the small Boer nation, [which] is fighting with a heroism unparalleled in history." (Schmidt, 1901) Moreover, contemporary Hungarian poets and authors reflected on the war. Perhaps the most interesting among these aspects is the issue of the Hungarians who witnessed the battles of the Anglo-Boer War as soldiers, war correspondents, or interpreters. The overwhelming majority (14 of the 17) supported the cause of the Boer Republics. According to the recent state of research, three of the Hungarian pro-Boer soldiers published books on the Anglo-Boer War, and another two wrote articles and held lectures. Károly Bulyovszky, Vilmos Simon, and Lajos Szigethy were the three Hungarians who summarised their experience in Southern Africa related to the war and other events in the form of books (Bulyovszky, 1901; Simon, 1901, 1903; Szigethy 1901). Tibor Péchy and Baron Félix Luzsénszky toured with their lectures (Luzsénszky, 1900, 1902a, 1900b; Péchy n.d., 1901a, 1901b, 1901c, 1901d 1904).

The present study argues that the Hungarian pro-Boer activism, journalism, and narrative on the Anglo-Boer War followed the patterns of the pro-Boer activities in other European countries, although with specific Hungarian features. The paper focuses on one aspect of spreading the pro-Boer narrative in Hungary, namely the role of the Hungarian volunteers in this process, and the ways they understood British imperialism in Southern Africa. Furthermore, the key patterns of their texts are compared to the trends of European pro-Boer

journalism. In studying these issues, special emphasis is placed on the books and articles published by the Hungarian pro-Boer volunteers. Particular attention is paid to the pro-Boer war recollections: Károly Bulyovszky's Boer-angol tűzben (In Boer-English Fire), Vilmos Simon's A búr szabadságharcz (The Boer War of Independence), and Élményeim az angol-búr háborúban (My experiences in the Anglo-Boer War), as well as Lajos Szigethy's Búr földön (In the Land of the Boer), but the texts of Péchy's lectures are also examined. Two of the three only exist as manuscripts (Péchy 1901a, 1904).

The following aspects of these texts are examined:

1. the key patterns of the criticism towards the British imperial aspirations in Southern Africa;

2. the register adopted in the texts to describe the imperial and colonial policy the British pursued in the region, as well as the members of the British military and political elite and British imperialism in general.

The Anglo-Boer War as Interpreted by the Contemporary Hungarian Press and Public Opinion

Foreign volunteering is one of the widely known and well-studied aspects of the Anglo-Boer War (Davidson and Filatova, 1998; McCracken, 2013; Pretorius, 2010; Schmidl, 1985). Nevertheless, the Hungarian participants fighting on both sides of the battlefronts form only one of the numerous Hungarian aspects of the Anglo-Boer War. For example, Hungary was the source of a mule and horse supplement to the British armed forces in Southern Africa. Contemporary Hungarian writers and renowned poets such as Dezső Kosztolányi (Kosztolányi, 2006), Zsigmond Móricz (Móricz, 1931), and Endre Ady captured the Hungarian atmosphere following the outbreak of the war: "If the British do not make peace in time, the newspapers will either cease to exist, or they will be printed on white canvas. In England and America, since the war has been raging, newspapers have consumed so much paper that the paper mills are unable to supply the additional demand. We have it on good authority that the demand for paper is strongly resisted in Anglo-Boer and domestic circles." (Ady, 1999)

The quoted lines reflect one characteristic of the press coverage of the Anglo-Boer War in Hungary: the significant increase in the number of articles related to Southern Africa in the late 1890s. Reading through the newspapers of the time, one can indeed get the impression that there was no minor or major daily newspaper, journal, or magazine that did not in some way cover the war of the Boer and the British. What factors stood behind this phenomenon? This question leads us to another area in which the Anglo-Boer War can be seen as a milestone: it was one of the first mediatized wars. For the first time in history, the world had video coverage of a military conflict, and an army of war correspondents and the technical innovations of the recent past (e.g. photography) made the campaigns and battles more tangible for the readers (McLaughlin, 2016). The boom of the articles related to the Anglo-

Boer War rooted in two factors: rising demand for war news and the existence of technological innovations, i.e. the infrastructure required to meet the demand. Moreover, the media was recognised as another battlefront in which the Boer prevailed. The Boer were incredibly effective in exploiting these two factors. The British could not match that efficiency, and the Boer propaganda made enormous efforts to both satisfy and keep up the hunger of the people of the neutral countries for information about the fights in Southern Africa. The overwhelming majority of the European societies was of pro-Boer sentiment. The United Kingdom was obviously an exception, but the pro-Boer and anti-imperialist criticism of the war also had support within various circles of British society, for example, in the form of David Lloyd George's campaign criticising the government's war policy or the activities of the Scottish and Irish independence circles (Morrison Davidson, 1902; Rintala, 1988).

The incredibly large waves of pro-Boer sentiment towering above European societies were partly generated by the propaganda activities of Boer agents settled in various European countries. One of the most effective and influential ones was William Leyds, who kept a close connection to pro-Boer circles and had a lion's share in shaping and directing the Boer, and even more so, the Transvaaler war propaganda in Europe (Kuitenbrouwer, 2012). This propaganda also left its marks on the Hungarian pro-Boer activities, for example in terms of political messaging, the adopted language, heroizing, describing the enemy, or defining the causes of the war. Another special feature of the activity of Boer diplomats and agents in Europe can be detected in Hungarian pro-Boer journalism, in the disparity in the amount of attention the two republics enjoyed in the public discourses of the non-belligerent countries. This phenomenon may be explained through the effectiveness of Leyds' well-planned propaganda activities or the less conceptual communication of the Orange Free State (OFS), although the Transvaal played a much more central role in Hungarian pro-Boer journalism than the OFS. The contemporary European public learned names such as Geberal Christiaan De Wet, General Koos de la Rey, and above all, Paul Kruger, President of the South African Republic, around whom myths were woven. The Boer narrative on the war as a freedom fight, a war of independence (Tweede Vrijheidsoorlog) dominated European public discourse on Southern Africa.

Similarly to other European countries, the Hungarian public followed the fights of the Hungarian volunteers of the war with great interest. The dominance of the pro-Boer against the pro-British can easily be noticed in Hungary as well, and none of the pro-British participants took up the fight in the field of journalism. The only exception is Duka Tivadar/Theodore Duka, who kept writing articles and open letters in order to balance out the pro-Boer dominance in Hungarian public opinion, although with moderate success (Duka, 1901). Duka was a former officer of the British Army, and his son Theophilus Duka followed his father's path and wore the British uniform and actively took part in the battles of the Anglo-Boer War. Moreover, Duka, an officer of the Hungarian armed forces, who had fought against the Habsburg rule, had left Hungary following the fall of the Hungarian War of Independence in 1848-49 and found a new life and existence in the United Kingdom. Apart from serving

Queen Victoria and the British interests as a major in the Medical Corps in Bengal for two decades (1854-1874), Duka also became one of the distinguished Hungarian migrants in Britain at the time, as a scholar of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, "the earliest student of the Tibetan language" (BMJ, 1908, p. 1337).

A few words on the pro-Boer Hungarian volunteers and authors. In terms of their personal background, they have much in common in that they all had military training and experience, and they had been promoted to officers before the Anglo-Boer War. Bulyovszky, Luzsénszky, Péchy, and Simon had known each other from the Austro-Hungarian armed forces. Furthermore, as Szigethy names Luzsénszky Félix as the leader of the legion of foreigners he wished to join in his book, and Bulyovszky's book mentions Szigethy, it is easy to conclude that they knew each other, too. Following their return to Hungary, these volunteers took advantage of the enormous interest among the Hungarian public in everything related to Southern Africa. The books of Bulyovszky (Boer-angol tűzben), Simon (A búr szabadságharcz), and Szigethy (Bur földön), were all published within a few years and are quite similar in structure: a brief overview of the geography, history, and antecedents of the conflict is followed by the author's own war experience. Apart from this, the books are quite different. Of the three, Bulyovszky's work stands out for its maps, photographs, and military analysis, while Simon's first book includes some map sketches of the battles. Regarding the language and the narrative, A búr szabadságharcz focuses more on the military aspects than the other two. Most of the text deals with the operations and describes the clashes between the British and the Boer armed forces. In contrast, Bulyovszky and Szigethy express their personal views and give space to their first-hand experiences with for example, the circumstances that existed in military camps, their fellow soldiers, Africans, and their assessment of the Boer, their strategies and military tactics, as well as the enemy. Péchy and Luszénszky structured their lectures and articles in almost the same way. Baron Luzsénszky went on two large lecture tours, both of which were advertised as a series of fundraising events, with the proceeds to be donated to the Association for Public Education of Upper Hungary (NV, 1901; EV, 1901; Tolnavármegye, 1901; Békés, 1901d). Péchy's readings also had charitable purposes. In Debrecen, he gave a lecture during an event organised in exchange for "free bread", aiding the less fortunate (Péchy, 1901d).

British Imperialism and the Origins of the Boer War in Light of the Narratives of the pro-Boer Hungarian Volunteers

The above-mentioned texts contain certain criticism of British imperialism, and the patterns and targeted characteristics are similar in many respects. The authors' assessment of British empire-building in Southern Africa was in line with the views propagated by Hungarian pro-Boer journalism, where the narrative of the pro-Boer Hungarian volunteers regarding the clash between the Boer and the British was one of a fight between good and evil, in which the Boer

were mostly depicted as living symbols of pluck and heroism, while the British Empire was the evil enemy.

These books, lectures, and articles name “divide and conquer” as a central element of the British imperial and colonial policy in Southern Africa. The British are described by Bulyovszky as “hypocrites”, who presented themselves as an empire that promoted democracy and fought against slavery while oppressing independent nations that cross their paths. Furthermore, dullness and greed are among the key characteristics of the British, who are misguided by a false sense of superiority. The British worked on turning the Africans (or “kaffirs” as the Hungarian authors called them), the Xhosas, or the Zulus, led by the “cunning” Dingane, against the Boer. According to the Hungarian volunteers, the British were obviously responsible for the bloody history of the region, in contrast with the Boer, who were forced to wage war as a result of the covert manipulative policy pursued by the imperial government seated in London. It seems contradictory that Bulyovszky understood the war as a huge step the British made to subjugate a small and freedom-loving nation, while he also condemned the abolishment of slavery as a “devastating blow” to the Boer. Moreover, he labelled the British in Southern Africa as “alien invaders”, although the other rulers of the region that had European roots (i.e. the Boer) were not marked with such a title (Bulyovszky, 1901).

The studied authors agreed on the factors behind the outbreak of the war. The British policy of gradual expansion (e.g. annexing Griqualand West following the discovery of diamond fields) and the resulting growing British influence was categorised by Károly Bulyovszky as “unlawful” (Bulyovszky, 1901). Péchy highlighted the “excessive greed” of the “ever-hungry British lion” (Péchy 1904). The books, articles, and lectures echoed another widely disseminated element of the pro-Boer narrative on the outbreak of the war: the pro-war British were to blame for the escalation of the conflict. The British pushed the Boer to pull the trigger, to shoot the first bullets. Although the Boer started the war, it was a war of independence, according to Vilmos Simon. Already the title of his book (A búr szabadságharcz – The Boer War of Independence) sets the framework within which his work understands the Anglo-Boer War, a nation’s fight for freedom against an empire that has its eyes on the Boer goldmines, a pattern that perfectly fits the image of the evil, excessive British (Simon, 1901). Bulyovszky considered the First Boer War, or the First Anglo-Boer War (1880-81), a war of independence (Bulyovszky, 1901). In contrast with the pro-Boer volunteers, Tivadar Duka sought to refute this narrative and the approach that put the Hungarians who had fought for their independence fifty years before and the Boer fighting now in the same category. It can easily be concluded that Duka called the conflict the Boer-Anglo War instead of the far more widespread Anglo-Boer War to emphasise that the Rubicon had been crossed by the Boer and not the British (Duka, 1901).

Another characteristic element of the way the pro-Boer propaganda approached the antecedents of the war, namely overemphasizing the impact of the gold, was taken up by the Hungarian pro-Boer volunteers as well. According to this standpoint, the gold brought misery

to the Republics, and the outbreak of the war could be traced back directly to the discovery of the gold fields in the Transvaal in 1886. According to Bulyovszky, the British were mesmerized by the treasures of the South African Republic: "In the Transvaal, chance has led to the discovery of vast quantities of gold, and gold has a magical power over the English that they cannot resist" (Bulyovszky, 1901, p. 16). Simon shared this view: "As soon as rich gold deposits were discovered in the Transvaal, England began to harass the republic again, because now it was also after its gold mines." (Simon, 1901, p. 5) Szigethy went one step further and came to the conclusion that people died on the battlefields of Southern Africa for the interests of the imperial capitalist, financial elite, which had succeeded in misleading the society of the mother country. He believed that it was a war waged for gold, driven by greed, and it had nothing to do with "civilising aspirations" (Szigethy, 1901). As the title of the present paper also suggests, in the context of the Anglo-Boer War the original colonial roles were reversed, and the European conquerors (i.e. the British in the present context) acted like "barbarians". This nasty greed and almost satanic possessiveness is contrasted with the "puritanical lifestyle, deep patriotism, deep religiousness" of the Boer, who "in their modesty, poverty, unsophisticated nature" represent a much higher spiritual and moral quality than their counterparts (Szigethy, 1901, p. 57). Poverty, along with patriotism and loving freedom fervently are among the key national characteristics according to the Hungarian pro-Boer volunteers, who considered these to be sources of moral superiority in which the Boer towered above their enemies. As Bulyovszky points out, they are a "pastoral nation struggling with the ills of poverty". Or as Szigethy puts it, "[…] the Boer does not lament or curse – he endures, hopes, and prays." (Szigethy, 1901, p. 22) "They are a wonderful people!" (Szigethy, 1901, p. 16)

The Armed Forces, Military Strategy, and the Tactics of the Enemy

All the examined pro-Boer Hungarian authors reviewed and evaluated the armed forces of the enemy in some way. Most of their remarks are not very positive. In general, the soldiers who fought under the Union Jack do not play the role of noble adversaries in the studied texts. The British and their allied troops, rank and file soldiers, their military leaders, as well as the arms, military strategy, and tactics adopted by the enemy appear in Luzsénszky's and Péchy's lectures and articles as well as in the books of Bulyovszky, Simon, and Szigethy. Péchy's view of the British armed forces and the enemy soldiers was more or less balanced, although most of the Hungarian volunteers did not have a high opinion of the average British soldier, and it is negative connotations that are mostly associated with them in the studied recollections. For example, Vilmos Simon evaluated the training of the British Army as "inadequate" (Simon, 1901). Nevertheless, there are rare exceptions of positive experiences. For example, Szigethy recalls memories about a British officer who treated the civilian population of Pretoria well, especially the ladies, who did not have to stand in line for interrogation, they could skip the line. This made a good impression on Szigethy. Furthermore, he also paid tribute to the defenders of Kimberley, Ladysmith, and Mafeking with respect and appreciation. These three

towns were besieged for month by the Boer commandos in the early stages of the war. Simon was surprised that, contrary to his preconceptions that the “English mercenary was not a very brave soldier”, their officers fought in the front line (Simon, 1903, p. 32). He lauded the Highland Brigade as “England’s most valiant unit”, and the commander of the Brigade, Major-General Andrew Gilbert Wauchope, as well as Major-General Sir William Penn Symons, both were killed in the first month of the war (Simon, 1901, pp. 27-28, 47).

The criticism of the pro-Boer Hungarian volunteers towards the British soldiers is related to the general pro-Boer narrative of the war. It was deduced from the “great empire versus small nation(s)” war, or in other words the narrative of the heroic struggle for national freedom against imperial conquest. According to this description of the Anglo-Boer War as good against evil, mercenaries (the British) clashed with freedom fighters (the Boer) on the soil of Southern Africa. In line with this narrative, money and getting rich were the key motivating factors of the enemy troops. The determination and moral superiority of the invincible Boer are patterns that appear in all the texts. Luzsénszky describes the Boer as a nation ready to defend its freedom to the last drop of their blood (Luzsénszky, 1900, p. 461). In contrast to the Boer titans driven by patriotism and loving freedom, in Bulyovszky’s narrative the British soldiers were well-paid mercenaries (Bulyovszky, 1901). This description, categorising the enemy trooper as an “English mercenary”, also appears in Simon’s narrative (Simon, 1903, p. 32). Bulyovszky attributes the low morale of the British troops in field to the fact that they were paid good wages (5 shillings per day) even as prisoners of war (POWs), so it was not worth for them to risk a clash with the enemy: “Of course the London rascal is happy not to hear the bullets whistling, he'll get his money after the war" (Bulyovszky, 1901, pp. 44-45). This is partly contradicted by Szigethy, who states that the British advance was the most effective around Johannesburg, as that city attracted the money-grubbing British more than any other Boer township in the republics, due to the “irresistible thirst for gold, auri sacra fames” (Szigethy, 1901, p. 57). According to his narrative, British soldiers approaching Johannesburg forgot hunger and thirst and rushed forward into “the promised land”. For Szigethy the average British trooper was motivated by the lies told at home about the “mountains of gold” he could acquire from the Boer: “Here, they say, is the fairy-tale golden land come true.” (Szigethy, 1901, p. 57)

Greed and hunger for gold as the national characteristics of the British comes up in the books of Bulyovszky, Simon, and Szigethy in another context as well. Looting is mentioned in these works as a condemnable activity practiced by the British troops. Simon juxtaposes General Botha’s order strictly prohibiting robbery in the pro-British German settlements of Biggarsberg with the larceny committed by the enemy in the occupied territories of the South African Republic (Simon, 1903). Bulyovszky dedicates several pages to recounting what he heard about the looting and harassment of civilians. The most telling story was from a German railway clerk from Johannesburg, whose house was searched in his absence. A gold watch and other valuables were taken, and almost his wife’s wedding ring, too. The soldiers returned later, in the middle of the night and “he had great difficulty in keeping them from his wife’s

bedroom." (Bulyovszky, 1901, p. 146) As Szigethy describes, under the pretext of conducting a search for weapons and ammunition, the enemy soldiers mostly robbed the abandoned houses of Pretoria. In Bulyovszky's work, but even more so in Szigethy's, the reader is presented with the image of a barbarian band of thieves in the context of the invading units hunting for gold and silverware, emphasizing that the soldiers would crush any object that was not made of precious metal. This serves as another example of the narrative suggesting that the typical colonial roles were reversed in the Anglo-Boer War. The British and imperial troops behaved as barbarian herds, fighting in the hope of prey and breaking anything they did not consider valuable. "I saw with my own eyes the Australian soldiers taking from one of the houses, among other things, a whole set of silver coffee or tea service, and when, hearing the noise of breaking, I looked in through the window, I saw one of the soldiers with a table leg in his hand, smashing everything in sight, then kicking the piano in the room with his foot for a change." (Szigethy, 1901, p. 126) It is telling which objects Szigethy mentions as associated with European civilisation, while the description of the behaviour of the invading enemy soldiers evokes images of peoples that were considered at that time primitive and to be civilised according to the ruling colonial narrative. The contrast between the hard-working, diligent, God-fearing Boer and the destructive imperial troops is further highlighted by the author: "The result of the work of a lifetime lies in ruins; wild-eyed Australian and Indian troops are rampaging everywhere, the beautiful rich country is a vale of tears, and the Boer does not weep - he trusts and prays." (Szigethy, 1901, p. 22) Another aspect that makes these quotes interesting is that no other Hungarian volunteer differentiated between the enemy units on the basis of nationality or ethnic background, the enemy is called "English". However, Szigethy considered it important to present Australian soldiers in a negative context twice in his book.

As the quoted sources show, in many cases the elements of criticism towards the British Empire were extended to her soldiers, but how do the military and political leaders appear in the texts written by the Hungarian pro-Boer veterans? Bulyovszky's book is neutral regarding the members of the British general staff (e.g. William Forbes Gatacre), but it is very critical of Theophilus Shepstone, Special Commissioner to the annexed Transvaal. Shepstone is depicted as a sinister despot, an ardent enemy of the Boer, who were heavily oppressed under the rule of the evil Special Commissioner (Bulyovszky, 1901). In Péchy's lectures the diamond magnate and politician Cecil John Rhodes is called the "Napoleon of South Africa" (Péchy, 1901d, 1904). This was a widespread label for the tycoon in the contemporary press (Kuitenbrouwer, 2012). Horatio Herbert Kitchener, Commander-in-chief of the imperial troops fighting the Boer, also received the name the "hyena of Omdurman", referring to the British military leader's role in repressing the Mahdist Revolt (Péchy, 1901a). What makes this interesting is a personal background factor in that Péchy's private papers reveal that in 1897 he did everything he could to flee from the Transvaal, where the government had rejected his offer of military service, and British-Egyptian army led partly by Kitchener was among the armed forces he had wished to join (Péchy, 1897). Kitchener's portrayal as a bloodthirsty devilish figure who was ready to "sentence the last Boer hero to death" was also present in the pro-Boer circles, as he was a

popular target of the anti-British propaganda (Péchy, 1901a; Veber, 1901). On the other hand, Szigethy is much more critical towards the general staff of the British in Southern Africa. It is telling that, in his view, the Boer might well have had the final, decisive victory while the British fought under the command of General Sir Redvers Henry Buller or Lieutenant-General Paul Sanford Methuen. Moreover, when Buller's troops succeeded in seizing Pietersburg, and soldiers were putting up posters all over the city with the words "Glory to Buller", Szigethy considered these actions over-celebration (Szigethy, 1901, p. 123). Field Marshal Frederick Roberts had a much better reputation than Buller or Methuen, and Szigethy saw Lord Roberts' arrival to Southern Africa as a turning point of the war. The field-marshal is described as a "determined", single-minded military leader, who brought a new approach to the battlefield (Szigethy, 1901).

The weaponry, military strategy, and tactics applied by the British armed forces were also evaluated by the pro-Boer Hungarian volunteers, and especially the ways the enemy conducted operations were judged negatively. The general perception among the volunteers was that following great and humiliating defeats on the battlefield, the British adopted disgraceful means to turn the luck of the war. Bulyovszky found dumdum bullets a "weapon rejected by any civilised nation", and he believed that the British spread fake news about the war all around Europe (Bulyovszky, 1901, pp. 131, 143). Szigethy predicted that the conflict could only be settled by the means of diplomacy, as the British could not defeat the Boer with weapons (Szigethy, 1901).

Both Bulyovszky's and Simon's books mention British espionage. The latter highlights the fact that the enemy had many all-round spies in the Transvaal. Bulyovszky points out the correlation between the arrests of Boer civilians and the agents of the British: "Pretoria and Johannesburg were full of secret police, made up of people with a dodgy background, runaway waiters, ponces, and fallen women." (Bulyovszky, 1901, p. 146) The main motivation of these operatives was, just like in the case of the British in the studied texts, money. As the reward per each "victim" was around "10-15 shillings", the agents were financially interested in increasing the number of captives, which resulted in a growing number of arrests among civilians.

The majority of the pro-Boer Hungarian volunteers criticized the way the British waged war against the Boer not only in terms of the inequalities in numbers and resources, but also because they extended the war to the civilian population. The scorched earth policy, the harassment of the unarmed, the transformation of war, and the strategy adopted by the British was due to the failures of the British armed forces in the regular and the guerrilla phases of the war, as well as the resulting anger. This induced the British to take steps such as burning farms and deporting civilians into concentration camps, which was condemned by the pro-Boer Hungarian veterans. Szigethy concluded that Britain's position as the leading power of the world was at stake, as a probable defeat from the Boer republics would lead to a loss of prestige in the international arena. Nevertheless, this did not justify "the dragging of

defenceless women and children to campsites and the inadequate supply of necessities to the unfortunate" (Szigethy, 1901, p. 134). This fury fundamentally changed the British, who should find peaceful ways to resolve the conflict: "Who would have thought that this great nation of culture would have resorted to such desperate and unworthy means in its conquest?!" (Szigethy, 1901, p. 134) Luzsénszky came to a similar conclusion. According to his narrative, the war was a clash between violence on the British side and law and justice on the side of the Boer Republics (Luzsénszky, 1900). Bulyovszky's book labels the British "unlawful and cruel". To support this view, it points out that while the British took the Boer POWs to the island of St. Helena and kept them under horrible conditions, the Boer treated the captured enemy well (Bulyovszky, 1901, p. 38). The British and Boer treatment of the POWs is also compared in Szigethy's book, with almost the same result. According to Simon, the Boer dealt with the British prisoners very lightly, they did not even execute the POWs who had attempted to escape three times (Simon, 1903).

Boers versus Britons on the Battlefield

What has been presented so far is a typical good versus evil narrative on the war, and in most respects the accounts of the Hungarian volunteers have many similarities with the typical pro-Boer materials published in other European countries. Nevertheless, the studied texts include some contradictory remarks. In general, the volunteers admired the Boer, but in the case of some details or certain issues their comments are less positive. Criticism of the Boer mostly comes up when describing battle experience, especially combat morale, discipline, opportunities for promotion, or more precisely the lack thereof, which were modestly or harshly criticized.

The gold thirst of the British as a national characteristic, a very popular feature of pro-Boer journalism, was echoed by the Hungarian veterans as well. They presented the war as a conflict rooted in the nasty greed of the British. However, at the very beginning of his book Szigethy tells the story of travelling to Pretoria with four Dutch and two French pro-Boer volunteers, who were motivated by getting rich quick: "Their imagination has built the house of cards of happiness... the Boers will win quickly... the rewards will not fail... they will be rewarded with a diamond field or a gold mine for their services" (Szigethy, 1901, p. 1).

A recurring element in the volunteers' reminiscences is the issue of courage. Bulyovszky believed that the valour of the Boer could come from their freedom-loving nature. This was highlighted by Szigethy as well, but in contrast to Bulyovszky, he pointed to this factor as a key source of the failure of the republics on the battlefield. In his understanding, the British were close to a military collapse in the first months following the outbreak of the war, but the Boer could not take advantage of the opportunities offered by the mistakes Buller or Methuen made. In fact, the strategy adopted by the British and the harassment of civilians and their cruelty was what had prompted the "commitment, determination and bravery" of the Boer in the guerrilla phase of the war (Szigethy, 1901, p. 133).

What factors stood behind this dichotomy? The relationship between the Boer and the foreign volunteers was far from harmonious. Péchy's private papers written in the Transvaal testify of deep disappointment, and in many cases hatred (Péchy, 1896a, 1896b, 1898, 1900). Although these harsh critical elements were left out of their books and lectures, the lack of courage in battle was indicated by both Bulyovszky and Péchy as a national characteristic of the Boer. Szigethy is perhaps an exception in this respect because in his book he openly writes about the conflicts he had with the Boer. The hardest pill to swallow for the Hungarian volunteers was that as former officers they had to start their service in the commandos at the bottom of the Boer military hierarchy. However, this did not hold back any of them from presenting themselves to the Hungarian public as officers, as commanders of the Boer armed forces (Péchy, 1904; Luzsénszky, 1900; Tolnavármegye, 1901).

Why were positive characteristics such as loving freedom magnified, while the negative impressions were disregarded or toned down? Different patterns taken by the contemporary Hungarian press can be easily noticed in comparison with the pro-Boer journalism of other European countries, such as Germany, France, or the Netherlands. The most widespread elements, for example, the greed of the British, the impact of gold as a leitmotif, or the brutal and inhumane practices of Kitchener's forces were echoed by the Hungarian pro-Boer volunteers as well. Nevertheless, the pro-Boer narrative of the war had several aspects specific to the Hungarians. The best example for this phenomenon is the parallel drawn between the desperate fight of the heroic, freedom-loving small nation (the Boer) against a great empire, and the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence of 1848-1849. Moreover, Paul Kruger was juxtaposed with Lajos Kossuth, and Kruger was called the Boer Kossuth by the Hungarian pro-Boer journalists (VU, 1900; Világkrónika, 1901; Duka, 1901; Szalay, 1901). The fact that both of them died in exile, for example, supported the belief that "the tragedy of our nation is revived in the far South, in the country of the Transvaaler rocks" (DU, 1901e, p. 1). Not surprisingly, by focusing on the fight against an empire for national freedom, the Hungarian narrative on the Anglo-Boer War was similar to the Polish or the Irish ones (Strauss, 2008; Szlanta, 2017). The studied war recollections reflect the narrative created by the Boer war propaganda as well the Hungarian features of the pro-Boer approach to the Anglo-Boer War. While the books of Bulyovszky, Simon, and Szigethy[3] emphasize the freedom-loving nature of the Boer and label the war as a fight for the freedom and independence of the republics, Péchy and Luzsénszky adopt the above-mentioned parallel between the two nations: "Their war of independence was accompanied by this warm sympathy. The course and results of their fights were similar to ours in 1848-49. For this reason, there is no country, no nation that could have felt so deeply and so truly for the Boer, who defended their freedom to the last drop of blood, as the Hungarian." (Luzsénszky, 1900, p. 461)

In some cases competition emerged between the Hungarian veterans, who constructed their war memories according to the pro-Boer standpoint that was dominant at the time to

[3] Szigethy bluntly rejects the idea that the two peoples have a similar national character.

make them more acceptable and marketable. The competing Luzsénszky and Péchy were not the only Hungarians who gave presentations on the Anglo-Boer War, Dr. Jolán Angyal also toured Hungary with her adventures as a nurse in the Boer camp, whose husband was killed by the British (SzH, 1902a; SzFÚ, 1902; SzH, 1902b; SzV, 1902; VH, 1903a; VH, 1903b; Szamos, 1903). The truth is, she had never been to South Africa. As a columnist of the journal Szatmár és Vidéke remarked, she was "neither an angel nor a doctor" ('angyal' means angel in Hungarian) (SzV, 1903). Dr. Angyal was a fraudster, but her case shows that there was a demand for Boer war stories, and there was a market for stories and texts related to the region.

Conclusions

"The literature on South Africa has grown to extraordinary proportions since the two small Boer republics went to war with the British Empire. For six months now we have not been able to pick up a newspaper or a magazine without longer or shorter articles on the land and inhabitants of the Transvaal, or more or less authentic illustrations of all the sights of that country. One might almost believe that there is no detail of South African geography and ethnography of which the newspaper-reading public is not thoroughly informed." (Kumlik, 1899, p. 883) These lines, published in the weekly magazine Vasárnapi Ujság, demonstrate several aspects of the Hungarian reception of the Anglo-Boer War. First of all, it illustrates vividly the boom of articles related to Southern Africa in the contemporary Hungarian press. However, the lines demonstrate the dominant position of the Transvaal against the Orange Free State in Hungarian pro-Boer journalism. These are features common both to general pro-Boer journalism and Hungarian reporting. Similarly to the other countries on the continent, the pro-Boer sentiment was dominant in the contemporary Hungarian press compared to the British approach of the war. This was also reflected in the interest shown in the participants, who played a special role in how the Hungarian public interpreted the Anglo-Boer War. Three of the Hungarian volunteers published books on their South African experience, all supporting the Boer. Features of the pro-Boer interpretation of the war spread by agents of the republics in Europe left their marks on the materials written by the Hungarian veterans. The "good against evil" view of the Anglo-Boer War, the intense desire of the British for gold, and pointing to greed as one of their key national characteristics are obvious elements in which the recollections of the Hungarian volunteers are very similar to the pro-Boer narrative of other European countries and the messages spread by the Boer propaganda. Nevertheless, some elements of the interpretation of the war were typical for the Hungarians, for example, overemphasising the freedom-loving characteristic of the Boer in the context of drawing parallels between the recent histories of the two nations impacted the ways the British and their armed forces, military strategy, and tactics are presented in the studied texts. However, the implicit and in some cases open criticism indicates that the relationship between the Boer and the Hungarian volunteers supporting them was far from harmonic.

Conflict of Interest

The authors hereby declare that no competing financial interest exists for this manuscript.

Notes on Contributor

Gábor Szabó-Zsoldos, PhD, is assistant professor at the University of Nyíregyháza and part-time instructor at the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary. His PhD thesis explores the characteristics and changes of Great Britain's nineteenth-century South African colonial policy. In addition, he also researches the Hungarian aspects of the Anglo-Boer War and the cultural legacy of colonialism.

Bibliography

Ady, E. (1999) 'Nincs papír' In: Ady E. *Összes prózai műve*. Available at https://mek.oszk.hu/00500/00583/html/index.htm (Accessed: 12 June 2022).
Békés (1901) 'Bur harczos felolvasása Békésen', *Békés*, 33(46).
BMJ (1908) 'Obituary', *The British Medical Journal*, p. 1337.
Bulyovszky, K. (1901) *Boer-Angol tűzben*. Budapest: Az Atheneum Rt. Könyvnyomdája, pp. IV, 6-10, 13-16, 38, 44-45, 131, 143, 146.
Davidson, A. and Filatova, I. (1998) *The Russians and the Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau.
DU (1901) 'A burok Világosa', *Debreczeni Ujság*, 5(73), p. 1.
Duka, T. (1901) *Levelek a boer-angol háborúról*. Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor Cs. és Kir. Udvari Könyvnyomdája, pp. 3, 40, 44-45.
EV (1901) 'Felolvasás a búr hadjáratról', *Esztergom és Vidéke*, (24), p. 2.
Kosztolányi, D. (1989) 'Ó búrok, ha én most csak húszéves lennék…' In Kosztolányi D. *Összes versei*. Bratislava: Madách Szépirodalmi Kvk., p. 441.
Kosztolányi, D. (2002) 'Öreg pap' In: Kosztolányi D. *Összes novellái II*. Szeged: Szukits Könyvkiadó és Könyvkereskedés, pp. 325-327.
Kuitenbrouwer, V. (2012) *War of Words: Dutch Pro-Boer Propaganda and the South African War (1899–1902)*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 96, 98, 144, 154-155, 188, 195-198.
Kumlik, E. (1899) 'Egy magyar tanitó Dél-Afrikában', *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 46(53), pp. 883-886.
Luzsénszky, F. (1900) 'Magyarok Transvaalban', *Magyar Salon*, pp. 461-464.
Luzsénszky, F. (1902a) 'Utazásom Pretoriába I.', *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 49(35), pp. 562-563.
Luzsénszky, F. (1902b) 'Utazásom Pretoriába II.', *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 49(36), pp. 579-580.
McCracken, D.P. (2013) *Teddy Luther's War: The Diary of a German-American in an Irish-Boer Commando*. Pinetown: 30° South Publishers.
McLaughlin, G. (2016) *The War Correspondent*. London: Pluto Press, pp. 74-75.
Móricz, Zs. (1931) *Forr a bor*, pp. 125-126, 129, 168, 231, 275. Available at https://mek.oszk.hu/05000/05093/05093.pdf (Accessed: 12 June 2022).
Morrison Davidson, J. (1902) *Africa for the Africanders: "Why I am a Pro-Boer."* London: John Dicks.
NV (1901) 'Érdekes felolvasás', *Nagykároly és Vidéke*, 18(8).

Péchy, T. (1896a) *Tibor Péchy to Erzsébet Móricz*. July 27 [letter] Péchy Family Archives.
Péchy, T. (1896b) *Tibor Péchy to Erzsébet Móricz*. October 24 [letter] Péchy Family Archives.
Péchy, T. (1897) *Tibor Péchy to Erzsébet Móricz*. April 21 [letter] Péchy Family Archives.
Péchy, T. (1898) *Tibor Péchy to Erzsébet Móricz*. November 17 [letter] Péchy Family Archives.
Péchy, T. (1900) *Diaries in the Transvaal I.* February 24 [manuscript] Péchy Family Archives.
Péchy, T. (1901a) *Előadás Dél-Afrikáról* [manuscript of unpublished paper] Péchy Family Archives.
Péchy, T. (1901b) 'Élményeim a boer táborban' *Magyarország*, 8(3), pp. 10-11.
Péchy, T. (1901c) 'Tábori élet a boeroknál', *Világkrónika*, 25(10), pp. 74-75.
Péchy, T. (1901d) 'Bur földről', *Debreczeni Ujság*, 5(60-67).
Péchy, T. (1904) *Boer földről* [manuscript of unpublished paper presented at the meeting of the Kölcsey Egylet, Szatmárnémeti, February 18] Péchy Family Archives.
Potgieter, TD (2000) 'Nineteenth Century Technological Development and its Influence on the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902', *Southern Journal for Contemporary History*, 25(2), pp. 116-135.
Pretorius, F. (ed.) (2010) 'Welcome but Not That Welcome: The Relations between Foreign Volunteers and the Boers in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902' In *War Volunteering in Modern Times: From the French Revolution to the Second World War*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 122-149.
Rintala, M. (1988) 'Made in Birmingham: Lloyd George, Chamberlain, and the Boer War', *Biography*, 11(2), pp. 124-139.
Schmidl, E. A. (1985) *Österreicher im Burenkrieg, 1899-1902* [PhD thesis] University of Vienna.
Schmidt, K. (1901) ['no title'], *Képviselőház*, December 11. Available at https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/OGYK_KN-1901_01/?query=b%C3%BAr%20lovak&pg=453&layout=s (Accessed: 30 May 2022).
Simon, V. (1901) *A búr szabadságharcz*. Budapest: Belvárosi Könyvnyomda, pp. 5, 27-28, 47, 96.
Simon, V. (1903) *Élményeim az angol-búr háborúban*. Budapest: Árpád Könyvkiadó Vállalat, pp. 32, 36, 135.
Strauss, C. T. (2008) 'God Save the Boer: Irish American Catholics and the South African War, 1899–1902', *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 26(4), pp. 1-26.
Szalay, K. (1901) 'A boerok Budapesten', *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 48(24), pp. 389-391.
Szamos (1903) 'Dr. Angyal Jolánról', *Szamos*, 35(20)
SzFÚ (1902) 'Dr. Angyal Jolán', *Szatmári Friss Újság*, 1(63), p. 5.
SzH (1902a) 'Bur harczosnő felolvasása Szatmáron', *Szatmári Hírlap*, 1(3), p. 3.
SzH (1902a) 'Egy bur harczosnő felolvasása', *Szatmári Hírlap*, 1(6), p. 3.
Szigethy, L. (1901) *Búr földön*. Sopron: Röttig Gusztáv Könyvnyomdája, pp. I, 1, 16, 22, 57, 67-69, 123, 126, 133, 134.
Szlanta, P. (2017) 'Long Distance Solidarity: Polish Public Opinion and the Boer War 1899–1902', *Werkwinkel*, 12(1), pp. 49-69.
SzV (1902) 'A világhirü magyar bur harczosnő', *Szatmár és Vidéke*, 20(10)
SzV (1903) 'Angyal Jolán dr.', *Szatmár és Vidéke*, 20(10)
Tolnavármegye (1901) 'Bur parancsnok Szegzárdon', *Tolnavármegye*, 11(42), p. 4.
Vallentin, W. (1903) *Der Burenkrieg I*. Wald-Solingen und Leipzig: Rheinisches Verlaghaus, pp. 24, 47.
Veber, J. (1901) *Lord Kitchener* [image - The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, The New York Public Library]. Available at https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/ad33fdf0-bbec-0130-f4e1-58d385a7bbd0 (Accessed: 15 June 2022).

VH (1903a) ‘Kitiltott doktornő’, *Váci Hírlap*, 17(7), pp. 4-5.
VH (1903b) ‘Ki volt Angyal Jolán?’, *Váci Hírlap*, 17(8), p. 5.
Világkrónika (1901) ‘Krüger a magyarokról’, *Világkrónika*, 25(22), p. 172.
VU (1900) ‘Krüger európai útja’, *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 47(50), p. 832.

Participation of Hungarians in the German East African Struggle During World War I

Krisztián Som[1]

Abstract:

The war tensions following the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne led to the Austrian-Hungarian declaration of war to Serbia. This, according to the military alliances, led many of Europe's great powers into war by the beginning of August 1914. However, the fighting was not limited to Europe. The colonial administration in German East Africa, which was cut off from European supplies, had to rely on looted munitions and the transformation of certain areas of the colonial economy into military production. However, the strength and number of enlisted German men at the beginning of the war was finite and very limited. The men from Austria and Hungary, which country was allied with Germany, were few in German East Africa, but those who could be recruited were enlisted into the local German armed forces. One of five Hungarian men died due to malaria sickness, while the rest fought until they were taken prisoner by the British army. Although they were captured along with the German population and foreign soldiers at latest in November 1917, the remaining German East African forces continued to fight in Portuguese Mozambique, then returned to the occupied German East Africa and finally laid down their arms unbeaten in Northern Rhodesia.

Keywords:

German East Africa; World War I; Schutztruppe; Hugo Callmeyer; Lorenz Schmidt; Salgó József; Kálmán Géza; Debreczeni Gyula; Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck; Tabora.

[1] ORCID: 0000-0002-6993-2207; som.krisztian@hotmail.com

Introduction

In the last two decades of the 19th century, the spread of European power in Africa accelerated. Over time, the German Empire did not want to be left out. From 1884 it began to acquire and on several coastal areas of the continent and from there, to expand into the interior. At the end of that century, German-administered Togo, Cameroon, German Southwest Africa (now Namibia) and German East Africa (now mainland Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda) protectorates (colonies) were formed in Africa. These were surrounded by British, French, Belgian, Portuguese or Spanish colonies on land. The almost 1 million km^2 area of German East Africa was 180 % of that of Germany (the area bounded by its European borders), but with its population of 7.7 million, it was only 12 % of that of its European "protector". (Som, 2021)

War in East Africa

The war tensions following the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian heir to the throne led to the Austrian-Hungarian declaration of war to Serbia on 28 July 1914. This, according to the military alliances, led many of Europe's great powers into war by the beginning of August 1914. On the Austrian-Hungarian side, Germany entered the war, followed by Turkey and Bulgaria in the following months, but Italy and Romania, allies of the former, remained neutral for the time being.[2] Russia, France, the United Kingdom and Belgium also went to war on the Serbian side within days. However, the war was not limited to Europe.

Telegrams about the state of war between Germany, the United Kingdom and France on 4 August 1914 reached the governorates of the African colonies no later than the next day. Afterwards, the German governorates in Cameroon and German East Africa still had a chance to recognize their neutrality by the neighbouring colonies of their opponents already at war in Europe (Som, 2021, p. 249–250). This was made possible by the Final Act of the Africa Conference, signed nearly thirty years earlier in 1885, which allowed the warring parties in Europe to declare their territories in the free trade zone established in the Congo Basin to be war-free and neutral. However, this provision defined this as an option and made it conditional on a common will.[3] In addition, that zone covered only the southern and eastern

[2] The entry to the World War I of Turkey on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary on 3 November 1914 and Bulgaria on 10 October 1915 did not allow for an increase the Schutztruppe in German East Africa, as the citizens of these new warring parties in East Africa were at most a few.
Italy entered World War I on 25 August 1915, but not on the side of its former allies (the Central Powers: Germany and Austria-Hungary), but on the Entente (the United Kingdom, France and Russia) side. As a result, all Italian citizens who lived freely till that day in German East Africa were arrested and they were placed under police detention in camps previously set up for civilians, as were the British and the French before. (Som, 2021, p. 315, 335)
Romanian declaration of war to the Central Powers on 27 August 1916 did not require any special measures in German East Africa, as at that time not more than a few Romanian citizens were there, as their numbers were not significant even before the war.

[3] „In case a Power exercising rights of sovereignty or Protectorate in the countries mentioned in Article I, and placed under the free trade system, shall be involved in a war, then the High Signatory Parties to the present Act, and those who shall here after adopt it, bind themselves to lend their good offices in order that the territories belonging to this Power and comprised in the Conventional free trade zones hall, by the common consent of this Power and of the other belligerent or belligerents, be placed during the war under the rule of neutrality, and considered as belonging to a non-belligerent State, thebelligerentsthenceforthabstainingfromextendinghostilitiestotheterritoriesthusneutralized, and from using them as a base for war like operations." (Article XI of the *General act of the conference at Berlin…*)

parts of Cameroon and the western and middle parts of German East Africa; the latter meant a vast area from the shores of Lake Tanganyika to Tabora. (Som, 2021, p. 455)

Following the establishment of a state of war between Belgium and Germany, the German governor of German East Africa appointed a commissioner to negotiate with the Belgian authorities in Albertville (regional administrative centre of Belgian Congo) due to the terminated telegraph connection to abroad via neighbouring British colonies. In addition, to ensure telecommunications and postal traffic to Europe in the future, the main aim was to mutually recognize the neutrality of their colonies in Central and East Africa. The governor's commissioner crossed Lake Tanganyika for the Belgian port city on 7 August 1914, but he was arrested by the authorities there and detained as a prisoner of war. With this, the Belgian Congolese governorate has clearly taken a stand on the possibility of a neutrality agreement provided by the Berlin African Conference. (Som, 2021, p. 292–293)

Under these circumstances, the German East African administrative and military leadership had to prepare for war, which, moreover, may have been multi-fronted in the early weeks, with attacks from all sides except the southern (Mozambique) border. There were 5,379 members of the armed forces in German East Africa at the outbreak of the war. Of this, Schutztruppe (Protecting Force) consisted of 2,756 (2,540 Africans and 216 Germans), while the Police Force (Polizeitruppe) numbered 2,199 persons, and a total of 424 sailors from the light cruiser "Königsberg" and the gunboat "Möwe". In addition to the above, in Rwanda, Urundi and partly in Bukoba, the gendarmerie duties of the German East African Schutztruppe were supported by local paramilitary units equipped with firearms modestly. The units of "ruga-ruga" soldiers were under the control and command of the rulers of the region, who also maintained their army. At the outbreak of the war, their task and role became more valuable: in addition to internal law enforcement, they also performed border protection, surveillance and guarding tasks, primarily to support and supplement the Schutztruppe companies stationed along the north-western border areas.

The German colonial leadership, which was cut off from European supplies had to rely on looted munitions and the transformation of certain areas of the colonial economy into military production. However, the strength and number of enlisted German men at the beginning of the war were finite and very limited. The men from Austria and Hungary, which country was allied with Germany, were few in the German colony of East Africa, but those who could be recruited were enlisted in the Schutztruppe. 2,600 Germans and roughly up to 40 Hungarian and Austrian citizens of the civilian population of the colony could be enlisted in the German forces, together with thousands of Eastern Africans.(According to the 1913 population register, 99 Hungarian and Austrian citizens lived in German East Africa, the majority presumably had the latter nationality /German registers did not distinguish between Hungarian and Austrian citizenship, but citizens of the two states of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy did not have the same nationality/.) (Som, 2021, p. 176) In addition to twenty-five Austrian nationals (Clasen, 2021, p. 19–374), the fate of five Hungarian citizens who served as foreigners in the German Schutztruppe on the battlefields of East Africa is known.

Hugo Callmeyer (born 17 November 1870 in Budapest), a carpenter from Budapest, was 44 years old during the first weeks of the war and lived as a planter in German East Africa. He served as a volunteer in the very first stages of the fighting: he took part in the raid on Taveta on 15 August 1914. (It was then and there that the enlisted or volunteer German settlers and planters fought for the first time, organized into companies – Freiwilligen-Kompanie; Volunteer Company.) However, on 10 September 1914, he was severely wounded in a battle on the western slopes of Mount Erok (Oldoiniyo Orok). A year later he became seriously ill with malaria and died on 17 August 1915 in Aruscha. (Clasen, 2021, p. 63; Som, 2021, p. 298, 429) Three other Hungarians fought throughout the war in East Africa.

Lorenz (Lőrinc) Schmidt (born 10 August 1881 in Szalatnak, Baranya county) become a volunteer for the Schutztruppe. He was a member of the D Company (FK) of Muansa in early September 1916 when he took part in the battle for the town of Tabora,[4] and was wounded on 13 September in the village of Itaga close to Tabora. The following year he was promoted to senior corporal and served in the supply department of the Western Commissariat (Feldintendantur West). He was taken prisoner of war by the British on 9 October 1917; firstly in Mahenge and then he was guarded in Dar es Salaam from November the same year. (Clasen, 2021, p. 296)

József Salgó enlisted as a volunteer to a company stationed in Dar es Salaam.On 30 July 1916, he took part in a battle at Kikombo railway station, where the German columns managed to retreat. Half a year later, between 15 and 23 January 1917, he fought in a series of clashes at the village of Ifinga (on the upper part of the River Ruhudje) and was taken prisoner by the British on 4 February at Ngesani. (Clasen, 2021, p. 285; Som, 2021, p. 368)

Until the outbreak of the war, **Géza Kálmán** (born 24 October 1880) worked as an engineer on the construction of the railway from Tabora to Kigoma at Lake Tanganyika. At the outbreak of the war, at the age of 34 he entered the Schutztruppe as a reserve lieutenant in mid-August 1914, where he spent a week in Kigoma and from mid-October 1914 he was involved in the protection of the area between the River Kagera and the German-British (Ugandan) border with a unit. In May 1915, he was commissioned to lead a reserve squadron that defended the northern border region of Rwanda against British-Ugandan attacks. The coordinated British-Belgian attack forced the north-western German military leadership to evacuate the districts of Rwanda and Urundi slowly. Lieutenant Kálmán and his unit retreated to Tabora in June 1916.From there, in mid-September, during the battle for the city, his company was withdrawn along with other units.During his retreat to Mahenge, he met with Lieutenant Debreczeni (see below) and his company, with whom they marched for a while. He left the Mahenge area in early October 1917 southwards and then southeast to Newala.In this area, two significant German forces were concentrated isolated, the smaller part of which laid down their arms, including Lieutenant Kálmán. (Two-thirds of the Schutztruppe, which continued to

[4] Tabora was a large city and regional centre in the middle of German East Africa; from January 1915 temporarily, it became the seat of the colony administration due to military situation. It has been connected by railroad to the Indian ocean since 1912.

be a striking force, crossed the River Rovuma, the border with Portugal Mozambique and continued fighting there.) (Clasen, 2021, p. 165; Som, 2021, p. 308–309, 339, 366)

Gyula Debreczeni (born ca. 1886) has lived in German East Africa since 1913.He also enlisted as a reserve lieutenant in the German Schutztruppe at the outbreak of the war, around the age of 28. In the first months of the war, he was entrusted with the command of a German squadron along the Northern Rhodesian frontier. However, as early as 1915, he was transferred to the German forces concentrated at the foot of Kilimanjaro. He was soon appointed to lead a raiding platoon tasked with disrupting the British supply. This typically consisted of blowing up sections and bridges of the Mombassa-Nairobi-Kisumu railway line from the seaport to Lake Victoria and partly harassing plantations. In early 1916 he was transferred to Tabora, where he led the training of recruits. During the battle of Tabora, the German units were withdrawn in the middle of September 1916, and during the retreat Debreczeni and lieutenant Kálmán (see above) met for the first time and marched together towards Mahenge in a section. During the fights at Iringa reserve lieutenant Debreczeni was taken prisoner of war by the British on 26 October 1916 and was under custody in Dar es Salaam from that December. (Clasen, 2021, p. 70; Som, 2021, p. 309, 339, 364, 383)

As it can be seen in the story of the five Hungarians described above, Hungarian citizens fought on most fronts and main battlefields in German East Africa during World War I. In particular, the participation of the two Hungarian reserve lieutenants in the war represents the **main characteristics of the German military operations in East Africa**: the duality of the guerrilla fighting and the trench warfare and pulsating retreat in the following period. Its main initiator, developer and commander was the 44 years old Lieutenant Colonel Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, who had taken over the Schutztruppe just after his arrival to German East Africa in January 1914 (he served in Africa from 1904 except for a few years of service in Germany). Using a very good assessment and exploiting the possibilities, he used a mixed fighting style tactic. He arranged his units for a number of fronts in a standing war but sent platoons preferably for guerrilla attacks, to disrupt the enemy's supply line and weaken his fighting morale. However, at the start of the multi-fronted Entente attack that unfolded in the spring of 1916, in view of the experience of the Battle of Tanga in November 1914, he did not engage in a battle intended to be decisive. Instead, he stopped the powerful attack with his units and then pulled back the main force while keeping the face line. As he occupied his assigned new positions, he withdrew the quarterback and allowed the attacking force to reach the reinforced new line. With this tactic, he managed to hold out on several fronts and successfully intercept large-scale and coordinated attacks. In recognition of his success, the German emperor promoted him to colonel and in 1917 he was appointed major general. Although by November 1917 the entire remaining German East African force was forced to retreat to the river Rovuma, which was the south-eastern border, the fighting did not stop. In the northern provinces of Portugal Mozambique, von Lettow-Vorbeck carried out a campaign that was barely defensible by the enemy, dividing his forces into three columns with a constant change of direction. Eventually, he returned to the occupied German East Africa after continuous

fighting, and finally to Northern Rhodesia, on the news of the German disarmament in Europe, suspended combat operations on 14 November 1918, and then with his still combat-capable unit surrendered on 25 November (Som, 2021, p. 275–461).

Services during World War I in East Africa of five Hungarian have been described above, but it is not impossible that few more served in the German East African Schutztruppe. In addition to the soldiers mentioned before, there are also known **Hungarian civilian internees** living in German East Africa who were under British detention until the end of the war. Anton Mathievitz (born around 1865, Sárisáp?, Esztergom county) was taken into British custody on 5 November 1916 in Dar es Salaam (Clasen, 2021, p. 388). Béla Jakab (born 22 August 1881 in Krizba, Brassó county) was imprisoned in Dar es Salaam at the age of 36 on 10 August 1917 (Clasen, 2021, p. 385). The most well-known Hungarian who was interned in East Africa was Kálmán Kittenberger, a naturalist and hunter. At the outbreak of the war, he was on a hunting trip in the eastern parts of British Uganda, where he was captured and interned by the British authorities, along with citizens of enemy countries (Kittenberger, who later gained national fame for his books about his hunting and travel memories, was transported in 1915 to the internment camp of the city of Ahmednagar in India, from where he was able to return home in the last third of 1919). (Fekete; Som: p. 320)

The Hungarians who were interned in Africa and Asia were allowed to return home in the second half of 1919 into a revolution-torn, partially occupied Hungary, a redesigned Europe.

Gyula Debreczeni (1930) later published his war memories in a book. Géza Kálmán (1923) began his recollections with a detailed presentation of German East Africa, including data on economic and administrative which accounted quarter of his book. The description of the events of World War I in East Africa based on experience and memories is readable and objective, providing sources to learn both about the acts of war and the everyday life of the soldiers.

Summary, conclusion

The primary goal of this study is to demonstrate the main characteristics of the warfare of German East African military forces during World War I from the point of view of five Hungarian men, who were fighting on the soil of East Africa. The history of these men as a mosaic compiles the overall picture of the fighting events in East Africa between 1914 and 1918. Although German forces did not win in East Africa and did not have the opportunity to do so in the background of European events, the German Schutztruppe, led by von Lettow-Vorbeck, was able to fight until the last days and avoid defeat throughout.

Conflict of Interest

The authors hereby declare that no competing financial interest exists for this manuscript.

Notes on Contributor

Krisztián Som is the author of the book titled *Német Gyarmatosítás Afrikában, 1884–1920* [German Colonization in Africa, 1884–1920], published by the Monarchia Kiadó and Africa Research Institute, Doctoral School of Security and Safety Sciences, Óbuda University, in 2021. The author's research interests include German colonization, history of Hungarian border control and travel documents.

Bibliography

Clasen, Sönke (2021) *Die Angehörigen der Kaiserlichen Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Ostafrika zur Zeit des Ersten Weltkriegs.* Hamburg: Herstellung und Verlag.

Debreczeni, Gyula (1930) *Egy magyar katonatiszt kalandjai a legsötétebb Afrikában*. Budapest: Magyar Könyvkiadó.

Fekete, István (1982) *Kittenberger Kálmán élete.* Budapest: Móra Ferenc Ifjúsági Könyvkiadó.

General act of the conference at Berlin of the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden and Norway, Turkey, and the United States : respecting, (1) freedom of trade in the basin of the Congo; (2) the slave trade; (3) neutrality of the territories in the basin of the Congo; (4) navigation of the Congo; (5) navigation of the Niger; and (6) rules for future occupation on the coasts of the African continent.

Kálmán, Géza (1923) *Miakalle. Béke és harc a feketékkel. Egy német gyarmatról és védelmi harcáról*. Budapest: Pátria Irodalmi Vállalat és Nyomdai Rt.

Som, Krisztián (2021) *Német Gyarmatosítás Afrikában, 1884–1920.* Budapest: Monarchia Kiadó & Óbudai Egyetem Biztonságpolitikai Doktori Iskola Afrika Kutatóintézete [Africa Research Institute, Doctoral School of Security and Safety Sciences, Óbuda University].

The Domestic Political Intersections of the South African Community's "Expression of Solidarity" with the Hungarian Refugee Crisis, 1956–1957

Hendrik Snyders[1]

Abstract:

The violent repression of the Hungarian revolution by the Soviet military forces during October-November 1956 turned four per cent (4%) of the national population into refugees needing social relief from distress and a new home. While some countries condemned Soviet aggression and refused recognition to the successor government installed by the occupational forces, others rendered a mass assistance program and granted temporary and permanent asylum to the victims. The Union of South Africa, fiercely anti-communist in its orientation, actively participated and fully supported the international relief effort, supposedly as an expression of its commitment to human rights, freedom, and democracy. South Africa offered, among other things, financial support, and an alternative home to 1,300 refugees. This was achieved through the national mobilisation of the white community, inclusive of state departments, local branches of the International Red Cross, welfare organisations, universities, cultural groups, individuals, expatriate groups, municipalities and churches. On the other hand, black people's woes were largely ignored; they were excluded from such initiatives. Indeed, the Hungarian resettlement project took place against the background of increased anti-apartheid protest and repression and events such as the treason trial of several political activists and the Alexandra bus boycott. This duality earned the country both criticism and praise.

Keywords:

Hungary; refugee; South Africa; Apartheid, Red Cross; resistance.

[1] Senior Researcher at the Centre for Military Studies, Faculty of Military Science, University of Stellenbosch; ORCID: 0000-0002-8630-4122; snydersh@sun.ac.za.

Introduction

The current and ongoing refugee crisis following the February 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine recalled a similar event 66 years ago when the Soviet Union's occupation of Hungary resulted in what Andreas Gémes calls an "exceptional and fascinating moment in migration history" because of the departure of a significant percentage of the national population. (Gémes, 2009, p.1, 3) This crisis also became the first major post-World War II challenge for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, which was established as a temporary agency in 1950 in order to help with the resettlement of the victims of the war in Europe. Officially, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees was supposed to be disbanded after three years in 1953, but it continued to function way beyond this date and, in 2020, celebrated 70 years of operations. (UNHCR, n.d.) With the start of the Hungarian Revolution in October 1956 and the fleeing of a significant number of Hungarians from their homeland, the issue of refugee assistance became an international point of discussion. South Africa, a member of the UN, became an active participant in this process at a time when its relationship with the international body and some of its members were at an all-time low because of its racial policies. Despite its humanitarian dimensions, South Africa's involvement in the Hungarian refugee crisis was a curious affair, considering that the country only had a small Hungarian population of which only a few individuals achieved any prominence, whether fame or notoriety. Within this small circle were individuals such as nineteenth-century businessman, Alois Nellmapius, a close associate of Paul Kruger, the last president of the South African Republic/Transvaal; Count Elemér Janković-Besan de Pribér-Vuchin, noteworthy for his contribution to local equestrian sport; Reverend Kalman Papp, prominent in the Dutch Reformed Church; and Rabbi Dr Andre Ungerer, a member of the Institute of Race Relations, Head of the Jewish Reform Congregation and the South African Union for Progressive Judaism.[2]

This article, using extensive contemporary newspaper archives, investigates the South African involvement with the Hungarian refugee crisis and its political ramifications and intersections against the backdrop of the early struggle against apartheid. The Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail*, which covered the process extensively and daily, was particularly informative because of its consistent coverage of the unfolding events. It is argued that the South African involvement in the United Nations' Hungarian relief programme, far from being motivated by humanitarian considerations, rather was a cynical attempt of winning favour with the Western powers. Consequently, South Africa's black anti-apartheid groups criticised the inconsistency and contradictory stance with regards to democracy and human rights for some and repression for others. However, their reaction was uneven and varied between outright rejection and cautious criticism.

[2] See, for example, DG Van der Byl, 'A short history of Irene', *Pretoriana: Magazine of the Old Pretoria Associatio*n, 42/43, April, August and December 1963, pp. 1–22; 'Famous dancing horses to be sold', *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 June 1982, p. 3; 'Rabbi ordered by Donges to quit S. Africa', *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 December 1956, p. 1; and KD Papp, *Die lewe en werk van ds Kálmán Papp II (geb. 1924), met verwysing na die Hongaarse agtergrond, die Nederlandse periode en die Suid-Afrikaanse periode (Afrikaans)* (PhD, University of Pretoria, 2010).

South Africa Before the Hungarian Refugee Crisis

In a different context, Du Bruyn and Wessels note that 1948–1958 was characterised by a deep-seated sense of fear among white South Africans – mainly the fear of political domination and economic displacement by black people. This resulted not only in the emergence of rightist thought and right-wing leanings in their political orientation but also gave rise to the institutionalisation of a line of fear ("vreeslyn") in their politics. Thus, when the National Party won power in 1948, the supporters of the new power bloc insisted on the use of legislation to fashion a socio-political system that combined fundamental values and principles with concrete measures to address internally and externally generated fears. (Du Bruyn&Wessels, 2007, pp. 86-88) This took place two years after the adoption of the United Nations Resolution 103(1) of 19 November 1946 that unequivocally committed the organisation to end religious, racial and other forms of discrimination in the interest of all humanity. (United Nations, 1994, p. 9) Similarly, the National Party's policy intentions and legislative goals contradicted the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights Resolution 217(III) adopted on 10 December 1948.

Having fought the election campaign on a political platform that promised white voters institutionalised segregation, the governing party, despite South Africa's status as a United Nations member, started to promulgate various pieces of legislation to achieve its objectives. The stipulations of the *Population Registration Act 30 of 1950,* which had, for the purposes of governance, sub-divided the South African population along racial lines, was, according to Breckenridge, "the bureaucratic cornerstone of the apartheid state, the lynch-pin of the Group Areas Act". (Breckenridge, 2014, p. 225) Collectively, this suite of legislation outlawed interracial marriages and sexual relations, provided for separate residential areas, prohibited the social mixing of races in most areas of life, and removed non-whites from the common voters roll. The apartheid authorities further used the Suppression of Communism Act (Act 44 of 1950) to repress any resistance against their policies.

The introduction of political apartheid resulted in the launch of a civil disobedience campaign in 1952, the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign, by several domestic anti-apartheid groups. Early support for this action came from the New York-based Americans for South African Resistance (AFSAR), who raised funds and acted as an "information vehicle" through a monthly bulletin to popularise the cause of the oppressed. (Houser, 1977) The State repressed this largely non-violent protest, using the full range of its powers to assault, imprison and exile many activists. This prompted prominent and well-respected activists and opinion-formers such as Chief Albert Luthuli (African National Congress), Dr Martin Luther-King (American civil rights activist), Anglican Priest Father Trevor Huddleston and Ahmed Kathrada (South African Indian Congress) to call for South Africa's political isolation. (Vinson, 2018; American Activist, 1953)

The South African state, in turn, rejected all efforts of the United Nations to assist in resolving the racial problem and refused to cooperate with the United Nations Commission

on the Racial Situation in South Africa. It further ignored General Assembly Resolution 820(IX) of 14 December 1954, which invited the country to participate in a process to ensure a "peaceful settlement of the racial problem". Subsequently, it also withdrew its delegation from the tenth and eleventh sessions of the General Assembly in 1955 and 1956 as well as from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). Overall, it reduced its presence at the United Nations to a "token representation at meetings" (United Nations, 1994, p. 13) and declared through its Minister of External Affairs, Eric Louw, that it would only return once the Hungarian crisis is discussed and additional once the UN stop interfering in its domestic affairs. (Die Burger, 1956b, p. 1) These actions were condemned by the opposition United Party who denounced it as both ill-timed and unwise. (Die Burger, 1956c, p. 3)

Despite ongoing state repression, the black community continued to resist the imposition of an apartheid society. To increase pressure several organisations, including the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, South African Coloured People's Congress, and the white Congress of Democrats, convened the "Congress of the People" in June 1955. On this occasion, the Congress Alliance, as the organising group was called, adopted the Freedom Charter, a representative and collective vision for a post-apartheid South Africa which called for the abolition of the colour bar in all areas of life. (FEDSAW, 1953-63) As these matters started to be debated within the United Nations organisation, ACOA, this faithful American ally of the South African anti-apartheid lobby, convened a conference in New York for 22 October 1955 with the theme "The U.S., The U.N. and Africa" at the Willkie Memorial Building. They aimed to promote a better understanding of the "issues involving Africa being debated in the current session of the United Nations Assembly". (ACOA, n.d.)

Official South African Government Response

At the start of the Hungarian crisis in October 1956, South Africa's relationship with the world, as represented by the United Nations, was thus at an all-time low. It also had no diplomatic representative in Budapest (or Hungary in Pretoria), and except for a Honorary-Consul in the period before the Second World War, South Africans knew very little of this country or the few remaining 'vague and weak links' of the past. (Die Burger, 1956b) Following the Russian invasion of Hungary and the installation of an alternative or "puppet regime", the United States, supported by 18 other states, brought a resolution to the United Nations General Assembly condemning the Soviet Union for the brutal suppression of the Hungarian revolution and called for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops. The South African representative formally registered the country's refusal to recognise the new political regime installed by the USSR armed forces. He further requested a delay in holding free elections until "order was restored, and freedom from foreign intervention" was secured. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956b) These actions, seemingly preceded the official United Nations' response since the United Nations was still in the process of "considering placing the item 'The situation in Hungary' on the present session

of the Assembly". (Rand Daily Mail, 1956g) This suggests that the Hungarian crisis afforded the apartheid government with an opportunity to score political points in an ever-increasing hostile diplomatic world. This, however, prompted some observers such as A.M. Van Schoor, to refrain from excessive optimism and superficial analysis that approached the Hungarian Revolution as the advent of democracy and the death of communism. (Van Schoor, 1956)

Following its stance in the General Assembly, the practical South African response to the unfolding refugee crisis, started to take shape in October and November. The lead department, the Department of External Affairs, following internal and external deliberations, decided to donate £25,000 towards Hungarian relief and immigration. In addition, it also announced the establishment of a public relief fund to bring Hungarian children to the Union. These intentions were strongly supported by the local media such as the Johannesburg newspaper, the *Rand Daily Mail*, who, on 12 November 1956, strongly implored the country to become a "sanctuary in the sun", to be "generous of heart" and to house the homeless. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956d) It further suggested that the Hungarian crisis required all people of goodwill to take a standagainst the massacre of a defenceless people. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956a) This call was preceded by one in the Afrikaans daily newspaper, *Die Burger*, that argue thatassistance was both morally justified and an expression of gratitude for the Hungarian's unmasking of the true character of Communism. (Die Burger, 1956a) It further also criticised the 13 countries in the United Nations who abstained from voting against the Soviet Union, accusing themof racial biases against Hungary as a 'white country' and that their abstention was indeed an expression of a deep-seated hate for whites. (Die Burger, 1956c) These sentiments stood in stark contrast to the unfolding events within the country where anti-apartheid protests and repression of legitimate demands were at the order of the day.

The establishment of the Hungarian relief fund was formally announced on 16 November 1956 as the "Governor-General's Committee 1956". It was managed by a board composed of the administrators of the four provinces and South-West Africa (now Namibia) under the chairmanship of the Governor-General, Dr Ernest George Jansen. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956g) Administratively, it was placed under the National Treasury. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956k) Following its administrative clearance, the fund administrators appealed to all individual fundraisers to coordinate their efforts and establish a truly national relief fund. The effort, according to the Governor-General, were motivated by the fact that the Hungarians were a "cultural nation with a proud history who remained true to the Christian tradition and who, despite 10 years of Communist repression, continued to be committed to freedom". (Die Burger, 1956h) Among the first to make a financial contribution was the South-West Africa Administration, which donated £5,000 to the relief effort. Over the ensuing period, the South African government made various financial contributions to the international relief effort. By January 1957, its respective financial contributions amounted to £25,000 and an additional $10,000. This was distributed to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees ($10,000), the Inter-governmental Committee on European Migration (£15,000), and £10,000 for public relief initiatives and asylum for five hundred (500) individuals. (Hédervári, 1957) In the latter

case, it was decided to direct its assistance specifically to artisans and tradesmen and their families.

Concomitantly with the former decision, the Minister of the Interior, Dr Theophilus Ebenhaezer Donges, instructed the country's Head of Immigration missions in The Hague and Cologne to proceed to Austria to recruit skilled workers from among the refugees in cooperation with the Inter-governmental Committee on European Migration. He also appealed to South African businesses and individuals to offer "steady employment" for the selected immigrants. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956l) This prompted some, such as James McColl Wintour chairman of the Commercial Exchange of Southern Africa to warn against the continued denial and repression of Black ambitions and to point out the common features of the local and Hungarian crisis and the likelihood of the same occurring locally and creating a 'second Hungary'. (Die Burger, 1956g) On the home front, the Department of Transport authorised the state carrier, South African Airways, to transport relief provisions cost-free to Hungary. In addition, the wife of the Commandant-General of the Union Defence Force, Mrs Klopper, initiated a fundraising drive directing an appeal to all commanding officers of all the commands and branches of the Union Defence Force to initiate fundraisers for the relief efforts. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956k)

In addition to the national and provincial sphere of government, municipalities in all four provinces articulated their positions almost from the start. Following the establishment of the Governor-General's Relief Fund, the Transvaal Administrator called for a coordinating meeting to secure the cooperation of all stakeholders in the province and make sure that all funds raised would find their way to the Transvaal Governor-General's Relief Fund. This, in turn, was followed by a meeting of all the mayors of Transvaal and the Witwatersrand municipalities in November 1956, on the initiative of the Johannesburg City Council. The motive was to ensure better coordination of municipal fundraising efforts and to consider the establishment of a Mayoral Relief Fund. The meeting resolved to "do everything they can to assist in the raising of funds which will be handed over to the Governor-General's Relief Fund." (Rand Daily Mail, 1956o) After that, fundraising started earnestly with regular newspaper updates of the multiplicity of efforts undertaken. These include street collections, cash donations and public functions. The Municipality of Springs, for example, very innovatively proposed an "adopt-a-Hungarian-family" scheme for groups of ten (10) people in the Springs community to "ensure their social and financial rehabilitation in the town" and to facilitate their inclusion also into housing schemes. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956p)

In Natal, following a community meeting organised by the Municipality of Estcourt in the Midlands and chaired by its mayor, the Hungarian situation was thoroughly discussed. Those in attendance, involving up to three hundred (300) families, resolved to offer accommodation for refugee children. This offer was conveyed to the Office of the Prime Minister, accompanied by the request for "unrestricted immigration facilities for such refugees, for the government to pay their passage to South Africa; and official cooperation with committees formed in the Union to provide homes and clothing for the refugees". (Rand Daily Mail, 1956e) Others, such

as the Cape Town City Council, made financial donations to the Red Cross Hungarian Relief Fund (Cape Region).

South African Civil Society Response

From the onset, the events in Hungary attracted the interest of ordinary people and groups within the South African society. Among those with an almost automatic interest were welfare groups such as the South African Red Cross Society, the *Suid-Afrikaanse Noodhulp Liga* (South African Emergency Care League), the Save the Children Fund, and expatriate groups such as the Hungarian Settlers Association. The welfare of children acted as a spur for individual and group involvement. There were, however, also other factors that raised the interests of schools, churches, universities, and cultural groups such as the South African PEN Club.

The South African Red Cross Society directed the civil society response to the humanitarian crisis from the beginning. Its counterpart in Hungary was the only recognised relief organisation at the time of the crisis and appealed for assistance to its international network. In mid-November, the local chapter issued an appeal for relief assistance to the South African society. It opened a Hungarian Refugees Clothing Depot in Johannesburg, staffed by thirty (30) women who sorted and packed parcels for overseas dispatch with paper, string and glue donated by local factories. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956q) In addition, local communities across the country, started their own fundraising initiatives, both under and outside of jurisdiction of the Red Cross. (Eikestad Nuus, 1956a) Following the start of the national fundraising initiative, the Red Cross Society decided on a meeting of its main committee to craft a workable coordination strategy. This was particularly needed since everybody started to organise fundraisers such as street collection or solicited financial and other donations from the public. They were supported in their efforts by brethren organisations such as the *Suid-Afrikaanse Noodhulp Liga* and the Save the Children Fund (South Africa). The former, other than the Red Cross whose donations were paid into the account of the international body, deposited their collection into the account of the Governor-General's Relief Fund. (Eikestad Nuus, 1956d)

In addition to fundraising and the collection of emergency provisions for the basic needs of the refugees, all three organisations received a significant number of applications for the adoption of Hungarian orphans. These requests came from all levels of society and across the racial divide from the "dorps, farms and big cities". (Rand Daily Mail, 1956n) On the day of the official aid announcement, the offices received 191 applications from Johannesburg, 110 from Salisbury, and at least a thousand (1000) from the rest of the country. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956g) East London received nine (9) applications for twelve (12) children and gifts of clothing and cash, growing to 205 applications in Johannesburg, fifty (50) in Cape Town, and Salisbury receiving more than two hundred (200) applications by mid-November. This prompted the Red Cross to warn against expectations of adoptions and to caution potential applicants of orphaned children about the likelihood of child theft. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956i) Finally, the government officially announced that no Hungarian orphans were available for South African

adoption by the end of November. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956r) The focus, as a result, then shifted to qualified families and other individuals in search of asylum. Throughout, several Red Cross branches continued to fundraise and make monetary contributions.

Expatriate Hungarians and Austrians, united as the Hungarian Settlers Association, were among the first responders when the call for social relief assistance was issued. Those based in Johannesburg started to fundraise in earnest. Some of the early events were a concert in the Majesty Theatre in Johannesburg organised by Hugo Keleti and a street collections campaign. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956k) In addition, ten (10) expatriate Austrian and Hungarian females collected warm winter clothing for Hungarian refugees, which was carried to its destination free-of-charge by the local airline, Trek Airways.

Beyond the welfare sector, various South African churches similarly reacted to the emerging crisis following a World Council of Churches appeal for collections to aid the relief effort. This call was taken up by the Anti-Communist Action Commission of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa consisting of the Dutch Reformed Church (Nederduitsch Gereformeerde Kerk), the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk) and the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa (Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika). (Giliomee&Schlemmer, 1983, p. 45) The latter in November 1956, for the first time, formally reflected on the Hungarian situation in its official mouthpiece, *Die Kerkblad*. In its editorial commentary, it pointed out that the Hungarian church belonged to the Calvinist church family and could boast an estimated 3 million members. As such the South African Reformed Church felt a close affinity ("baie na aan ons") with the Hungarians ('a mourning mass') and appealed to its congregants to think about the country and refugees. It further saw the unfolding crisis as an opportunity for the Hungarian Reformed Church, after years of communist repression, to 'rise with honour from the dust of humiliation and destruction'. (Die Kerkblad, 1956) It further condemned the lack of military intervention of Hungary's neighbours and described the multitude of public declarations and acts of charity and assistance as little more than a detestable 'phariseeism' during the carnage. (Die Kerkblad, 1957) For the South African church, the circumstances surrounding Hungary, displayed an uncannily similarity to the last daysof the former Boer republics during the late nineteenth-century.

The Dutch Reformed Church in turn, appealed to all its congregations and members from pulpits and through its newspaper, *Die Kerkbode*, to support the relief fund. (Die Kerkbode, 1956a) It motivated its intervention action in the following manner:

> [Large] parts of the population of Hungary were Protestant and represented an important section of the Reformed Churches of Eastern Europe – "Christian charity demands that we should show compassion to them in their hour of need and suffering". (Rand Daily Mail, 1956p, p. 6)

Furthermore, the Dutch Reformed Church appealed for the proper screening of immigrants for their religious descent. The Synodical Commission of the church in the Cape Province further requested that only those immigrants who profess to the Protestant faith, be

admitted. (Beukes, 1956) To appraise its congregants about the state of affairs in Holland, it also published a report on the activities of a number of church organisations such as the Lutheran World Federation and the Society of Socialist Priests in mitigating the refugee crisis. (Keet, 1957) Like its Afrikaans counterparts, the Bishop of Johannesburg (Anglican Church of the Province of South Africa) appealed to all its members for special collections for Hungarian and Middle Eastern Relief. This call was also taken up by the Methodist Church, which implored its membership to institute special collections. The Cape Jewish Orphanage from their side offered their facility for children of the Jewish faith. This was in line with the editorial remarks in *Die Burger* of 17 November that South African involvement in the relief effort stemmed from the religious inter-twineness ('godsdienstige verbondenheid') of the two countries, and its common Calvinist character. (Die Burger, 1956c)

The National Council of South African Women was equally determined to assist and requested each branch to sponsor at least one female by arranging and providing accommodation and employment "generally supervising their welfare until they are satisfactorily established in South Africa". (Basutoland News, 1957) In addition, they volunteered to assist immigrant learner-miners in Johannesburg's mines and lead a campaign inviting families to extend hospitality to these men.

Universities worldwide were among the first to protest Soviet aggression in Hungary. In addition, they started various fundraising drives for Hungarian relief. Two early initiatives were those of the student body of the University of Glasgow in Scotland, which held a "Flag Day" demonstration to raise funds. This example was followed by Japanese students who initiated similar efforts. On 14 November 1956, students from the University of Pretoria and the Normal College in the city, dressed in "mourning black", led a public march to "protest against the suppression of freedom in Hungary and pledged their support for her people". In addition, flags on nearby buildings were flown at half-mast. Five hundred (500) members of the public joined the demonstration, which was addressed by the rectors of both institutions and Reverend Papp, a Hungarian priest from Krugersdorp, who thanked the students for "their stand in the cause of freedom". (Rand Daily Mail, 1956j) On this occasion on Church Square, the Rector of the University of Pretoria announced the establishment of an aid fund. They also issued a nation-wide appeal for monetary contributions, food, blankets, warm clothing, and underwear, and concomitantly also set up the Hungarian Student's Aid Fund controlled by the Student Representative Council and appealed to other universities and the Prime Minister's Office to play a role in this regard.

The Pretoria example was followed by the Universities of the Witwatersrand, Stellenbosch, and Natal, who also pledged their support through innovative fundraising initiatives. However, students at the University of Stellenbosch attempted to extend their contribution beyond rendering relief services. (Die Burger, 1956k) They wanted to volunteer as soldiers to go and fight the Soviets in Hungary and beyond, demonstrating in protest, committed to fundraising to send volunteers to Austria to join the relief effort. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956c; Eikestad Nuus,

1956c) Their fundraising included door-to-door collections, residence fundraisers, in addition to a movie-house funding appeal and collection. (Eikestad Nuus, 1956e) During their preparations they received assistance and letters of introduction from among others, the Austrian, Finnish, Swedish, Norwegian and French consulates. (Eikestad Nuus, 1956c) Their ambitious fighting plans, however, failed resulting in only seven volunteers departing for Europe to render physical assistance and to move beyond mere lip-service. (Eikestad Nuus, 1956f) The National Union of South African Students, the organised voice of white student bodies across the country, appealed to the five universities to adopt one or more Hungarian refugee students on a scholarship basis. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956o) They also requested the principals of these institutions to become true partners and indicate their intention to ask the government for special permits and all-cost inclusive scholarships. They further linked up with the World University Service and 16 other country chapters for optimal impact. (Héderváry, 1956) North of the border, in Rhodesia, some of the local students joined the British Universities Volunteer Force to physically aid the fighting Hungarians. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956za)

The rest of the education sector was also among the first responders after the relief assistance call. In addition to various reports of individual children donating their pocket money, organisations such as the Germiston Principals and Vice-Principals Association attempted to ensure a coordinated response. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956n) One of their more prominent initiatives was an appeal to schools in their district to participate in a “Mile of Pennies Campaign” to raise funds for the relief effort. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956k) This was supplemented by a boxing tournament which raised a record amount of £830 for the relief fund. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956s) More modest but not less noteworthy were the efforts of some, such as the school children from the Lewisham Primary School in Krugersdorp, who collected £20 in pennies for the refugee fund. (Ibid)

Following a similar approach as the International Red Cross Society, the International PEN Club, following an appeal from its Hungarian branch on Radio Free Europe, also issued a worldwide call to others “for an expression of solidarity with Hungarian writers and intellectuals in their terrible ordeal”. The South African PEN Club cabled the international body immediately after receiving the appeal, firstly transmitting its “full sympathies” with their Hungarian counterparts and, secondly, enquiring about the existence of a “refugee writer’s relief fund” that they could contribute to. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956h)

The call to contribute also touched the hearts of individuals, irrespective of race, across the length and breadth of the country who, on their own initiative, started various relief fundraising drives and collected personal donations from the public. At its most basic level, one individual offered her engagement ring valued at £220 as the “only valuable thing I have to give”. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956f) Another, similarly, offered her bridal-gown for the marriage of two refugees after they arrived in South Africa. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956zf) Further, violinist Ralph Kastner availed his services for a fundraising performance. A few offers of relief, albeit limited in scope, also came from the black community. Members of the Indian community in

the Natal town of Estcourt, for example, formed a fundraising committee to assist the relief effort of its white counterparts. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956k) Further, one Solly Cassim (officially classified Cape Malay) wrote to the *Rand Daily Mail* offering to adopt one or two refugee children "without any ulterior aim or purpose, but with a feeling in our hearts that cannot be described in words". (Rand Daily Mail, 1956m) Other non-whites expressed their support through donations to their local Red Cross branch. (Die Burger, 1956f)

Refugee Arrival and Resettlement

Following the decision to focus on recruiting tradesmen and their families rather than orphans, the South African relief effort formally kicked in December 1956. From the get-go, the Union Government set a target of a thousand immigrants – categorised as five hundred (500) tradesmen and five hundred (500) "mainly of aged relatives of the first and others so placed that humane reasons for their admissions outweighs their capacity for employment". (Rand Daily Mail, 1956v) Leading this process was E. Van Zyl Hofmeyer, Chief of Immigration at the South African embassy in The Hague assisted by other immigration officials in Keulen, Germany. (Die Burger, 1956d) Given the stated numbers and categories of persons to be selected, the South African government intensified its call for public donations. (Rand Daily Mail, 1957b) These efforts were further supported by sympathetic and often heart-rendering articles in popular Afrikaans family magazines such as the *Naweekpos, Brandwag* en *Huisgenoot* which inter alia offered what was called 'a peep behind the Iron Curtain' and reflections on the 'hell in Hungary'; a letter from a 'bloody Hungary' and 'people without country and without name'. (A.I.D, 1956; Geldenhuys, 1956; Huisgenoot, 1956; Steytler, 1956) This was further consolidated by heart-rendering first-hand accounts by the victims of the human costs of the Russian invasion. (Gyovarski, 1956) One report from journalist Herman Steytler, based on direct interaction with potential immigrants to South Africa, noted that among the interested were "excellent types", i.e. "no weaklings, or loafers or worthless or spineless" and that the country was provided with a unique opportunity to recruit a group of "first-class and upstanding future citizens". (Steytler, 1956)

The first group of immigrants arrived on 17 December – an event preceded by a high level of confidentiality and secrecy on the part of the authorities. The Department of Interior, for instance, kept their time of arrival a secret, with only limited information released to the media. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956y) On their arrival, the group was formally welcomed by four interpreters and the Minister of the Interior, Dr ET Donges, who described the initiative as "bringing you from winter to sunshine is South Africa's tribute to a great country and a brave people". (Rand Daily Mail, 1956zb; 1956zc) Also in attendance were around half of the Hungarian expatriates resident in the country and representatives of the SA Hungarian Association. (Die Burger, 1956o; 1956n) After their official welcome, the group of 75, under unofficial group leader and lawyer, Dr Roland Németh – one of only three English-speaking individuals in the group – were assisted by a number of expatriates who resided in

Johannesburg and the group were temporarily housed at a workers hostel in Vanderbijlpark; one family was sponsored by relatives in Maritzburg. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956z) Within the group were eight individuals who were earmarked for training as miners at the Government School of Mines in Johannesburg, while the rest were all fully qualified artisans who could be employed with immediate effect. These men were only part of the final group destined for the mining sector that offered at least a hundred and fifty (150) training positions. Similar offers were received from the railway services and several private entities. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956w)

Newspapers like the *Rand Daily Mail* welcomed the arrival of the first group of immigrants. Generally, they praised the scheme, remarking that South Africa "needs people of talents and skill to help, not merely in the development of South Africa's untouched resources, but also the maintenance of industry and the upkeep of production at the proper standards of efficiency. It needs manpower to keep the wheels going round". Further that "these Hungarians have the makings of good settlers and good South Africans. Diversity of people and ideas makes society vigorous, and these newcomers bring human elements that should add something new and enterprising to the mosaic of South African life." (Rand Daily Mail, 1956zd) Against this background, the British monarch's Christmas message to the Commonwealth was, "let's give them a true refuge". (Rand Daily Mail, 1956ze) To provide further Christmas cheer, members of the South African Hungarian Association organised a proper festival meal, the singing of traditional Hungarian songs after the formal lunch in addition to provide Christmas trees to the transit facility to ensure an appropriate atmosphere. (Die Burger, 1956r) In addition, the Rembrandt Tobacco Corporation donated a gift of £10 to all individual refugees, including children to provide them with their first source of money since fleeing their motherland. (Die Burger, 1956p) Collectively, noted Die Burger, these developments brought South Africans much closer to the events in Hungary and gave it a new immediacy while simultaneously tying the destiny of the two countries together, albeit in a limited fashion. (Die Burger, 1956q)

Following the integration of the first group, Reverend Papp of the Dutch Reformed Church Krugersdorp, a linguist who taught Afrikaans classes to immigrants, was appointed as the official government representative tasked with screening potential immigrants. This followed reports that a former member of the security police was among the refugees and that some refugees were unhappy about several issues such as their workplace placement, the requirement of some employers that immigrant workers subject themselves to aptitude testing, and the desire of placement in their field of training. (Rand Daily Mail, 1957d; 1957e; 1957f) Papp also assisted the new arrivals by teaching classes in English and Afrikaans to improve their language competency and to aid their integration into larger society. (Die Burger, 1956s)

The second group arrived in South Africa on 26 December 1956 from camps in Austria and was similarly housed in the Vanderbijlpark Resettlement camp. The majority were married couples with children, welcomed by the town folk and fellow refugees. It brought the number

of individuals accommodated to 137. At that point, only ten from the previous group were successfully placed in jobs. By January 1957, seven groups of refugees were received in the country. As part of the resettlement programme, the Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa (Iscor) and one of the employers of the Hungarian refugees offered loans to buy furniture. These offers were reportedly declined by some who wanted their independence and as a matter of pride. (Rand Daily Mail, 1957c) Thanks to a coordinated effort involving the Departments of Labour and Social Welfare, all refugees were successfully placed in employment. In cases where placement was problematic, alternative offers were made while ongoing appeals for employment and clothing for both sexes were continued.

Nine out of ten refugees from the ten groups processed were successfully placed by mid-January. The majority of the first 225 refugees were suitable qualified engineers and, therefore, ready for immediate placement within the local industry. The second largest group consisted of operators, millers, miners and hairdressers, surveyors and architects. (Rand Daily Mail, 1957a) Some of these, such as married couple Oscar and Maria Moha'scy, had guaranteed employment and were even sponsored with essential clothing and shoes. (Kain, 1957) Against this background, the appeal for relief assistance continued and, by this stage, also included further requests for temporary accommodation, clothing, shoes and ongoing financial contributions. By February 1957, a group of 18 new arrivals, placed at the Government Miner's Training School in Randfontein Johannesburg, disappeared after being informed that mining was dangerous and that they were allocated to the uranium mines. (Rand Daily Mail, 1957e) This situation, however, was soon resolved and by the middle of the month the *Huisgenoot* was able to report that "Die Hongare WERK!" with reference to their skill, diligence and the successful conclusion of the immigration scheme. (Van Zyl, 1956) Care was also taken to focus on a range of good news stories associated with the scheme such as the reuniting offamily members for the first times since 1947. (Huisgenoot, 1957b) Throughout the Noodhulp Liga and Red Cross continued its involvement and during February 1957 the latter directed an appeal to South Africans to also donate summer clothing for Hungarian refugees en route to Australia, via Cape Town. (Eikestad Nuus, 1957)

Political Intersections

The refugee scheme intersected with key political events, especially anti-apartheid resistance within South Africa. Black political organisations were extremely critical about the approach and actions of the National Party government in the light of its own domestic record, and especially severe in its criticism was the Non-European Unity Movement. Its stance on the Soviet invasion of Russia – articulated by its leadership through the party mouthpiece, *The Torch* – condemned, firstly, what they referred to as the "reforming regime" of Imre Nagy and gave its unconditional support to the Soviet invasion. Its leader, Isaac Tabata, further described the unfolding events as an imperialist conspiracy against the Warsaw Pact countries and an attempt by the "whole imperialist world – from Washington down to Stellenbosch and

Pretoria universities" at "restoring the old pre-war order of capitalist-fascism and Catholic feudalism". (The Torch, 1957a) The organisation questioned the Mayor of Cape Town's extension of greetings and message of sympathy to the Hungarian population, calling it unilateral and minus the backing of the oppressed city population. (The Torch, 1957b) The Non-European Unity Movement also had very little positive to say about the relief effort and denounced the programme and international indignation that followed the Soviet invasion as a "hysterical crusade". (Hirson, 1991) Those South African universities that were participating in the relief effort but who were quiet about the country's domestic political situation were labelled as nothing more than "fascist nurseries" and "implacable enemies of democracy and human rights" who should refrain from criticising the anti-apartheid movement as being insensitive to white or European suffering. (The Torch, 1956)

The South African Communist Party**,** an equally staunch opponent of apartheid and racialism, similarly supported and defended Soviet actions. Some members regarded the Hungarian resistance as counter-revolutionary, a stance resulting in those in disagreement leaving in protest. In comparison, this stance was quite mild compared to that of the Non-European Unity Movement. This was also true of the stance of the African National Congress, who merely declared that:

> We believe that every nation is entitled to settle its own affairs, including the people of Hungary. The A.N.C. feels a sense of disappointment and regret at the bloodshed in Hungary and sincerely hopes that peace will be restored without delay in this country. (Benson, 1963, p. 230)

Given the loaded political atmosphere, the organisation decided to "reserved final judgment on the situation in Hungary until the air was cleared of obvious partisan charges and counter-charges". (Ibid) Its individual leaders, such as Albert Luthuli and Oliver Tambo, further condemned the ruthless intervention of Hungary by the Soviet Union.

As the South African Hungarian Relief Programme started to gain momentum, the apartheid authorities arrested 75 activists of all racial groups on charges of high treason and for "hostility against the State". (Rand Daily Mail, 1956t) Concomitantly, it expelled Hungarian-born Rabbi Dr André Ungerer, a member of the Institute of Race Relations, Head of the Jewish Reform Congregation and the South African Union for Progressive Judaism, seemingly for his ongoing criticism of the government's racial policies. (Rand Daily Mail, 1956u) Two days after the first group of immigrants arrived in Johannesburg, the so-called "Treason Trial" involving 151 activists from all over the country started at the Drill Hall in Twist Street. The ensuing protest from supporters of the anti-apartheid movement, were described by the pro-Hungarian refugee programme newspapers such as Die Burger, as a massive display of a contempt of court by a group political ruffians ('politieke skollie element'). (Die Burger, 1956l) This duality on the part of the apartheid authorities and its media supporters, was further highlighted by their embrace within the ranks of the first refugee arrivals of one Eugene Fodor, a noted anti-communist student and a former political prisoner. He had served a five-year

sentence for high treason against the Hungarian communist state (1949–1954). (Rand Daily Mail, 1956zc)

The New Year started with a bus boycott by the black residents of the dormitory township of Alexandra in Johannesburg following a price increase of one penny (25 cents at the time) on routes around the city and to Pretoria, followed by several sympathy boycotts elsewhere in the country. (Pirie, 1983, p. 68) These boycotts were retaliation by the politically frustrated residents in response to a lack of consultation and input into the decision-making structures of both public and state organisations and institutions. The Alexandra Peoples Transport Committee, including the strongly anti-apartheid African National Congress, led the process, with the African National Congress also providing legal representation for a court challenge against the increase. These events effectively pushed the integration of the Hungarian refugees off the main media pages.

As the boycott started to take effect, the apartheid authorities, despite pleas from white-owned businesses and others, took a hard line and refused to negotiate with what they termed communist agitators. To regain the initiative, it appointed inspectors to prosecute and fine illegal and unlicensed taxi-operators and those that provided a car-pool service to boycotters. In addition, it used the police to intimidate black licensed taxi owners, cyclists, and passengers at random roadblocks and subjected them to body searches and impromptu passbook raids. Under these conditions and with the assistance of the State, the bus company stiffened its resolve and threatened to terminate the bus service. They also retrenched a significant number of their black labour force, (Ibid) effectively turning the boycott into a political protest, a view supported by a range of political activists such as Treason Trialist Ruth First. The latter, a member of the South African Communist Party, was unequivocal that the boycott resulted from “the national policy of segregation, or apartheid, which has led to siting African townships at the outskirts of the cities where land is cheapest and furthest from the white areas”. Further that it was “no protest by Africans hidden among the dusty squares of the segregated locations, but an army of protesters, voting with their feet” whose slogan of “Azikhwelwa” (We shall not ride) was “one of those terse, succinct, ‘magic’ catchwords that epitomises a whole legion of African demands, a concept of struggle, an entire campaign”. (First, 1957)

These events in South Africa – the arrival and integration of the Hungarian refugees and the persecution of black political activists for their opposition to apartheid – attracted significant support from African Americans in the United States. Various organised groups and individuals were indeed critical of the relief effort and contrasted it with the position of black South Africans. Others also found the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 and the lack of Western support to the victims as a good example of white international indifference and the persistence of a “colour-line”, which turned the situation in Hungary into a common struggle and one that they could identify with. They consequently criticised their government for their apparent support for relieving white suffering and ignoring black pain. (Wonder, 1997) The

refugees settled into their new life away from the limelight en route to becoming part of what Eli Weinberg in a different context call, “a class of privileged supervisors, whose interest would to some extent coincide with those of the exploiters and who would act as a bulwark between the white masters of the land and the mass of the exploited non-whites”. (Weinberg, 1958, p. 19)

Assessment

Based on the available evidence, the official South African-Hungarian relief effort by the apartheid government was consistent with its domestic policies of advancing and strengthening the white population and its associated interests. Its efforts, however, were also supported by a diverse group of organisations and individuals from within the white community for whom the humanitarian goal was the main consideration. However, the political undercurrent of race and the advancement of white interests were omnipresent and cast their long shadow over the unfolding relief effort. Despite civil organisation’s best societal efforts to maintain an apolitical stance, the politics behind their efforts were strongly accentuated by their contradictory relationship with the apartheid state and their failure to see the contradiction between their demand for Hungarian freedom and independence and their support for a repressive, anti-democratic and minority regime which denied basic human rights to their fellow citizens. These contradictions effectively blemished and reduced the South African relief effort to little more than a cynical act of convenience and appeasement using anti-communist rhetoric to secure and maintain the goodwill of the Western bloc within the United Nations as a counter to the hostile black opposition that demanded stronger action against the apartheid regime. On the other side of the coin, the need to secure and maintain broad-based international support resulted in an uneven response on the part of the still nascent, domestic anti-apartheid movement. While the Non-European Unity Movement took a hard and uncompromising stance and outrightly rejected the relief effort as an imperialist stunt, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party were more measured. Their criticism aimed to prevent the perception of being non-caring and even anti-white. Overall, the South Africa-Hungary relief effort was a minor event during a politically volatile period. High profile events and ongoing anti-apartheid campaigns, such as the Alexandra Bus Boycott, soon forced the refugee resettlement programme off the front pages and into oblivion, without making any particular and immediate impact on the liberation struggle.

Conflict of Interest

The author hereby declares that no competing financial interest exists for this manuscript.

Notes on Contributor

Hendrik Snyders is a Senior Researcher at the Centre for Military Studies, Faculty of Military Science, University of Stellenbosch in South Africa. He is also a Research Associate at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

Bibliography

A.I.D (1956) 'So lyk die Ystergordyn' *Naweekpos*, December, p. 2.
ACOA (n.d.) 'A Call to a Conference', *American Committee on Africa*. Available at http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-B5E84AA%20ACOA%20conf%201955%20opt.pdf (Accessed: 21 November 2019).
American Activist (1953) 'Americans for South African Resistance', *African Activist*, Bulletin 13, April 14. Available at http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-6BD-84-african_activist_archive-a0b5a0-a_12419.pdf (Accessed: 1 March 2022).
Basutoland News (1957) 'Feminine Opinion and Public Life', *Basutoland News*, April 9, p. 1.
Benson, M. (1963) *The African Patriots: The Story of the African National Congress of South Africa*. London: Faber & Faber, p. 230.
Beuke, D. P. M. (1956) ''n Belangrike samekoms', *Die Kerkbode*, December 19, p. 1175.
Breckenridge, K. (2014) 'The Book of Life: The South African Population Register and the Invention of Racial Descent, 1950-1980', *Kronos,* 40(1), p. 225.
Die Burger (1956a) 'Hulp vir Hongarye', *Die Burger*, October 20, p. 8.
Die Burger (1956b) 'Smuts se kuiertjie in Boedapest', *Die Burger*, October 30, p. 2.
Die Burger (1956c) 'Die Hongare en ons', *Die Burger*, November 17, p. 8.
Die Burger (1956d) 'S.A. gaan immigrante uitsoek', *Die Burger*, November 19, p. 7.
Die Burger (1956e) 'Kerkbode vra hulp vir Hongare', *Die Burger*, November 20, p. 3.
Die Burger (1956f) 'Noodhulp Liga vra geld vir Hongarye', *Die Burger*, November 20, p. 3.
Die Burger (1956g) 'S-Afrika dalk nog tweede Hongarye', *Die Burger*, November 23, p. 5.
Die Burger (1956h) 'Klein Hongare na die Unie?', *Die Burger*, November 26, p. 9.
Die Burger (1956i) 'S.A. se plek was leeg', *Die Burger*, November 29, p. 1.
Die Burger (1956j) 'SAP-koerante oor Unie en V.VO.', *Die Burger*, November 29, p. 3.
Die Burger (1956k) 'Maties sal Hongare gaan help; vertrek binnekort', *Die Burger*, November 29, p. 9.
Die Burger (1956l) 'Hof en gepeupel', *Die Burger*, December 2, p. 8.
Die Burger (1956m) 'Die stemming oor Hongarye', *Die Burger*, December 17, p. 8.
Die Burger (1956n) 'Vlugtelinge kom dagbreek aan', *Die Burger*, December 18, p. 1.
Die Burger (1956o) 'Hongaarse vlugtelinge kom in Suid Afrika aan', *Die Burger,* December 19, p. 9.
Die Burger (1956p) 'Kersgeskenk vir Hongare', *Die Burger*, December 21, p. 9.
Die Burger (1956q) 'Kodaly het geprotesteer teen die Rooi bewind', *Die Burger*, December 24, p. 2.
Die Burger (1956r) 'Hongaarse vlugtelinge kry Kersgeskenk', *Die Burger*, December 25, p. 7.
Die Burger (1956s) 'Hongare leer fluks Afrikaans', *Die Burger*, December 29, p. 1.
Die Kerkblad (1956) 'Kerk toe in oorlogstorm', *Die Kerkblad*, November 28, p. 2.
Die Kerkblad (1957) 'Die vlam dood, maar die kole?', *Die Kerkblad*, January 16, p. 2.
Die Kerkbode (1956a) ''n Volk in nood', *Die Kerkbode*, November 21, p. 948,
Die Kerkbode (1956b) Die Kerkbode (1956) ''n Volk in nood', *Die Kerkbode*, November 21, p. 948.
Die Kerkbode (1956c) DPM Beukes, ''n Belangrike samekoms', *Die Kerkbode*, December 19, p. 1175.

Die Kerkbode (1957) 'BB Keet, 'Uit die buiteland: Hongarye', *Die Kerkbode*, January 9, pp. 39–40.
Du Bruyn, D. and Wessels, A. (2007) 'Vrees as faktor in die regse blanke politiek in Suid-Afrika tydens die eerste dekade van die apartheidsera, 1948-1958', *Journal for Contemporary History/Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis*, 32(2), p. 86-88.
Eikestad Nuus (1956a) 'Stellenbossers wil Hongare help', *Eikestad Nuus*, November 16, p. 1.
Eikestad Nuus (1956b) 'Maties vuur en vlam om Hongare te help', *Eikestad Nuus*, November 16, p. 3.
Eikestad Nuus (1956c) 'Maties nog vasbeslote om Hongare te help', *Eikestad Nuus*, November 23, p. 1.
Eikestad Nuus (1956d) 'Noodhulp Liga vra hulp vir Hongare', *Eikestad Nuus*, November 23, p. 1
Eikestad Nuus (1956e) 'Rooi Kruis samel vinnig in vir Hongare', *Eikestad Nuus*, November 23, p. 3.
Eikestad Nuus (1956f) 'Sewe Maties oppad om Hongare te gaan help', *Eikestad Nuus*, November 30, p. 1.
Eikestad Nuus (1957) 'Somerklere vir Hongare', *Eikestad Nuus*, February 1, p. 1
FEDSAW (1953-63) *Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) Records*. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, Historical Papers Research Archive, Collection Number AD 1137.
First, R. (1957) 'The bus boycott', *Africa South,* 1(4), p. 55.
Geldenhuys, N. (1956) 'Die hel en Hongarye', *Naweekpos*, December, p. 8.
Gémes, A. (2009) 'Deconstruction of a Myth? Austria and the Hungarian Refugees of 1956–57', *IWM Junior Visiting Fellows' Conference Proceedings*, XXV, pp. 1-18.
Gyovarski, I. (1956) 'Ek het gesien hoe die Russe ons mense doodskiet', *Die Brandwag*, November 26, p. 14.
H. Giliomee and L Schlemmer (1989) *From Apartheid to Nation-Building*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
Héderváry, Claire de (1956) [*Letter from World University Service on Situation of Hungarian University Community in Austria and Update on Activities of Other Countries. 56/57 - General - 625 5.XII.56 – 170*] December 5. UN Special Committee Documents. Available at http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:88a2a26a-6b3d-4e58-88a8-19f04b59a014 (Accessed: 3 February 2022).
Héderváry, Claire de (1957) [*List of Offers on Proposed Actions from Governments to Assist Hungarian Refugees*]. January 11. United Nations Special Committee Documents on the Problem of Hungary in 1956. Available at http://hdl.handle.net/10891/osa:cb2bbf1a-2223-49a3-b582-468c2d216eff (Accessed 3 February 2022).
Hirson, B. (1991) 'The dualism of I.B. Tabata', *Searchlight South Africa*, 6, p. 63.
Houser, G. (1977) 'The Story of the American Committee on Africa: Meeting Africa's Challenges', *African Activist*. Available at http://africanactivist.msu.edu/document_metadata.php?objectid=32-130-C2B (Accessed: 1 March 2022).
Huisgenoot (1956) 'Brief uit bloedige Hongarye', *Huisgenoot,* November 26, p. 15.
Huisgenoot (1957a) 'Somerklere vir Hongare', *Eikestad Nuus*, February 1, p. 1.
Huisgenoot (1957b) 'Hongaarse vrou ontmoet haar neef – in S.A.!', *Huisgenoot*, February 17, p. 15.
Kain, N. E. (1957) 'Goddank, ons is vry', *Huisgenoot,* January 21, p. 17.
Papp, K. D. (2010) *Die lewe en werk van ds Kálmán Papp II (geb. 1924), met verwysing na die Hongaarse agtergrond, die Nederlandse periode en die Suid-Afrikaanse periode (Afrikaans)* [PhD dissertation] University of Pretoria.
Pirie, G. H. (1983) 'Urban bus boycott in Alexandra township, 1957', *African Studies*, 42(1), p. 68.
Rachel A. (1997) *From Cotton Curtain to Iron Curtain| Black Americans' reaction to the Hungarian Crisis of 1956 and 1957*, University of Montana, Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional

Papers, 2410, pp. 72 and 74–75. Available at https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/2410 (Accessed 1 March 2022).
Rand Daily Mail (1956a) 'Aid for Refugees Growing', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 10, p. 7.
Rand Daily Mail (1956b) 'Union Rejects New Govt in Hungary', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 10, p. 7.
Rand Daily Mail (1956c) 'Universities Roused by Rape of Hungary', *Rand Daily Mail,* November 12, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956d) 'Sanctuary in the Sun', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 12, p. 8.
Rand Daily Mail (1956e) '300 Homes Ready for Hungarian Children', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 13, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956f) 'Engagement Ring Offered to Aid Refugees', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 13, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956g) 'Union giving £25000 for Hungarians', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 14, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956h) 'Aid for the Hungarians', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 14, p. 10.
Rand Daily Mail (1956i) 'Gift clothing from South Africa to Hungary will leave today', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 15, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956j) 'Mourning' students in Pretoria March', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 15, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956k) 'Red Cross Launches Appeal', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 16, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956l) 'Union to Recruit Workers Among the Refugees', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 16, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956m) 'They Also Wish to Adopt Children', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 16, p. 12.
Rand Daily Mail (1956n) 'S.A. Cities, Dorps, Farms Offer to Adopt Hungarian Children', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 17, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956o) 'Mayors to Appeal for Hungarians', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 22, p. 11.
Rand Daily Mail (1956p) 'S.A.A. to Fly Gifts to Hungary Free', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 23, p. 6.
Rand Daily Mail (1956q) 'Red Cross to Care for Basic Needs of 60 000 Refugees', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 24, p. 5.
Rand Daily Mail (1956r) 'No Orphans from Hungary for Union', *Rand Daily Mail*, November 27, p. 11.
Rand Daily Mail (1956s) 'School Children Raised £20 for Hungary', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 6, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956t) 'Treason: Police are Making New Enquiries', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 8, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956u) 'Rabbi Ordered by Donges to Quit S. Africa', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 10, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956v) '1000 Likely to Settle in Union', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 12, p. 15.
Rand Daily Mail (1956w) 'First Hungarians to Be Housed at Vanderbijl', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 12, p. 15.
Rand Daily Mail (1956x) 'Schoolchildren Raise £830 for Hungarian Relief', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 12, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956y) 'Arrival Time is a Secret', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 17, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956z) 'Refugee Plane to S.A. Delayed Second Time', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 18, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1956za) 'Rhodesian Students Volunteer for Hungary', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 18, p. 12.
Rand Daily Mail (1956zb) 'All Stirred by Welcome to Refugees', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 19, p. 11.
Rand Daily Mail (1956zc) 'Hungarian Refugees Spoke of Budapest Horrors', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 19, p. 11.

Rand Daily Mail (1956zd) 'Welcome to Our Settlers', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 19, p. 10.
Rand Daily Mail (1956ze) 'A Message to the Commonwealth', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 27, p. 8.
Rand Daily Mail (1956zf) 'Bridal Gown Offered to Hungarian Girl', *Rand Daily Mail*, December 28, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1957a) 'Many Hungarian Refugees Find Jobs in Union', *Rand Daily Mail*, January 11, p. 12.
Rand Daily Mail (1957b) 'Fund Needs £25000', *Rand Daily Mail*, January 31, p. 12.
Rand Daily Mail (1957c) 'Hungarians Want to Stand on Own Feet', *Rand Daily Mail*, January 31, p. 12.
Rand Daily Mail (1957d) 'DRC Cleric to Visit Hungary', *Rand Daily Mail*, February 2, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1957e) 'Fear Drove Hungarians from Hostel', *Rand Daily Mail*, February 2, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1957f) 'Hungarian Found to Be One of Reds Secret Police', *Rand Daily Mail*, February 2, p. 1.
Rand Daily Mail (1982) 'Famous Dancing Horses to Be Sold', *Rand Daily Mail*, June 24, p. 3.
Steytler, H. (1956) 'Mense sonder land en sonder naam', *Huisgenoot,* December 17, pp. 4–5.
Steytler, H. (1956) 'S.A. kan goeie immigrante kry', *Huisgenoot*, December 24, p. 2.
The Torch (1956) 'Planned Hysterical Crusade', *The Torch*, November 13, p. 4.
The Torch (1957a) 'S.A. Herrenvolk backs Restorationists', *The Torch*, November 13, p. 1.
The Torch (1957b) 'Hungary: For Whom Does Mayor Talk?', *The Torch*, November 13, p. 2.
United Nations (1994) *The United Nations and Apartheid, 1948–1994.* New York: Department of Public Information.
United Nations High Commission for Refugees (n.d.) *History of UNHCR*. Available at https://www.unhcr.org/history-of-unhcr.html (Accessed: 1 March 2022).
Van der Byl, D. G. (1963) 'A short history of Irene', *Pretoriana: Magazine of the Old Pretoria Association*, 42/43, pp. 1–22.
Van Schoor, A. M. (1956) 'As Suid-Afrika agter die Ystergordyn was', *Die Brandwag*, November 2, p. 68.
Van Zyl, F. (1956) 'Die Hongare WERK!', *Huisgenoot*, February 4, pp. 4-6.
Vinson, R. T. (2018) 'Up from Slavery and Down with Apartheid! African Americans and Black South Africans against the Global Color Line,' *Journal of American Studies*, 52(2), pp. 297–329.
Weinberg, E. (1958) 'Every White Man a Gentleman', *Liberation: A Journal of Democratic Discussion*, March, p. 19.

Hungarian Socialist Solidarity with Namibia

Sam Nujoma in Budapest

László Pálfi[1]

Abstract:

As an Eastern Bloc country, the People's Republic of Hungary was engaged with the issue of international socialist solidarity. Except for the German Democratic Republic, none of the Eastern Bloc countries had a considerable colonial past; hence, their anti-colonial point of view seemed credible for the liberation movements in Africa and Asia.

The Hungarian socialist state approved the activities of the liberation movements ANC, FRELIMO, MPLA, and SWAPO in Southern Africa. The right-wing and white supremacist systems of the Salazarist Portugal, Rhodesia, and the apartheid South Africa were seen as obvious enemies and oppressors who were contributing to the functioning of an exploiting and capitalist system based on the rule of a minority group.

The anti-colonial interests of the socialist Eastern Bloc countries had various other aspects as well. In the liberation of Southern Africa, economic interests played a key role. These countries, especially Angola, South Africa, and Namibia have an incredible abundance of resources. Therefore, the Eastern Bloc countries were involved not only in the wars of liberation, but also in the restoration and rebuilding of structures. This meant a practically new market for goods from Africa in the Eastern Bloc countries, and the export of technology and manufactured goods to Africa from the Eastern Bloc countries.

Keywords:

Apartheid; Hungary; Namibia; solidarity; socialism; Southwest Africa.

[1] PhD candidate, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary;
ORCID: 0000-0003-0994-4895; palfilaszlo22@gmail.com.

A Hectic History and the Concept of Solidarity

Hungary was a member state of a high-esteemed empire, even though it enjoyed a limited level of independence in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The unfortunate outcome of World War I made it clear that Hungary can only be a regional power in Central and Eastern Europe. From 1920 to 1944, Hungary was seeking to regain its lost territories and international prestige, but the loss of World War II and the Soviet overlords, who broke the revolution of 1956, smashed all hopes of a democratic and independent Hungary for decades. (Mezey, 2003, pp. 260-263, 364-368, 476-480; Romsics, 2010, 389-395, 512-516)

Namibia's history began with the German colonisation from 1883 that organised the Khoisan and Bantu tribes in one country, which was named German Southwest Africa. The Germans led a colonial war against the insurgent Nama and Herero tribes between 1904 and 1907, which ended with a tragedy, a colonial genocide. After World War I, South Africa became the overlord of the country. (Dierks, 2000, p. 40, 43, 79, 100, 102) However, the South Africans promised more rights for the African Native tribes, and the only change that took place was the removal of 'German' from the name of the country. (Koessler, 2004, pp. 703-708) The Union of South Africa, and from 1961 the Republic of South Africa made several efforts to merge the country as the 'fifth province', but the League of Nations and the United Nations declared these actions illegal. (Dierks, 2000, pp. 150, 159, 182, 190)

Since Southwest Africa was a county of C class mandate, South Africa had the obligation to prepare it for independence. However, the South Africans acted in a totally opposite way: apartheid legislation was introduced in Southwest Africa, which meant racial segregation, legal inequality and white supremacy. (Kössler, September 2004, p. 707) The native tribes found this way of existence a form of injustice; hence, they organised resistance movements. The most important movements were the Southwest African National Union (SWANU), which was dominated by the Herero tribe, and the Ovambo People Congress established by the Ovambos in 1957, which changed its name to Ovambo People Organisation, and then was named South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) in 1960. This name was based on the intention of unification of Southwest African people who were unsatisfied with the apartheid. (Dierks, 2003, pp. 130, 163, 173-174, 177. 180)

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine was a theory of a 'class struggle' of the antagonism of the working class and the capitalist bourgeoisie. This theory proposed equality of races and peoples. Although, the old concept of 'class struggle' was not shaped in a way that made the socialist countries eligible to help the liberation movements, since the colonial societies of Africa were not seen as 'full societies', since neither a working class (Angola) nor a peasant class (Southwest Africa) could be developed among the native peoples.

Therefore, a new concept had to be elaborated, which could help the African and Asian liberation and resistance movements more effectively. This new concept was named 'solidarity', a concept that had different meanings and referred to different actions aimed to achieve one goal. It could mean spending financial support, organisation of international

campaigns, direct involvement in the local (predominantly proxy) war, and general help programs. In an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist frame, solidarity was an aid that "[…] was meant to put into practice Leninist principles of solidarity with the 'oppressed countries' and the 'oppressed classes,' both victims of Western imperialism." (Katsakioris, 2017, p. 260)

In the case of the Hungarian socialist solidarity, the whole phenomenon meant mostly providing equipment to and participation in the education of young people who were connected to the liberation movement. This pattern can be observed focusing on Namibia. Hungary received young members of the SWAPO in order to provide them technical and tertiary education. These people were called 'SWAPO scholars' in the documents preserved by the Hungarian National Archives.

The Namibian freedom fighters were able to establish contact with Hungary in the 1970s. Even though the Hungarian press showed interest in the African liberation movements from the 1960s, official meetings with high-ranked Hungarian politicians took place much later. Firstly, the Hungarian Solidarity Committee welcomed SWAPO-functionaries in Hungary. The Hungarian Solidarity Committee and the Patriotic People Front were the umbrella organisations responsible to emphasise the general interest in the liberation of oppressed peoples. Secondly, meeting functionaries of the MSZMP (Hungarian Socialist Workers Party) and especially its Central Committee meant the increasing importance of a certain international issue.

Thereafter, meeting the dictator János Kádár was the ultimate goal that could be achieved. As it would be proven, the SWAPO leadership climbed up on this ladder in the 1970s and 1980s. Sam Nujoma, the head of SWAPO, had this opportunity. The outcome was a very positive one: the mutual trust, which developed between the parties, led to the request of the SWAPO to Hungary for participation of Hungarian forces in the process of asserting Namibian independence and the first democratic elections in Namibia.

Angola: The Bridge between Hungary and the SWAPO

Antonio Oliveira de Salazar and his successor Marcelo Caetano decided to centralise the Portuguese colonial administration. The right-wing regime of Lisbon intended to resist the aspirations for independence of the colonies. Portuguese settlers arrived in Portuguese Africa in masses, and the imperial centralisation made it clear that the leadership in Lisbon had long-term plans with the colonies. The leaders of the native movements did not approve this idea, since it meant an increased level of exploitation. (Castro Leal, 2016, pp. 130, 143)

Salazar's *Estado Novo* was described as a right-wing authoritarian system, although it did not necessarily mean racism. Within the Angolan Population, racism occurred only in a cultural sense, since mixed marriages were quite prevalent, especially in the cities. This feature of the Portuguese system was very different from the neighbouring apartheid systems of Rhodesia and South Africa. (Ehnmark, 1968, p. 35)

The Angolan War for Independence broke out on 4 February 1961. Portugal was supported by South Africa, and the insurgents enjoyed support from different countries: the Marxist-Leninist MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) received supply from the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China stood on side of the historically Maoist UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), and the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) was helped by anti-communist countries, i.e. the USA. The Angolan people mostly supported Agostinho Neto and the MPLA. The UNITA, which was led by Jonas Savimbi until his death, seemed to be popular in the province, and the FNLA and its chairman, Holden Roberto, could gain popularity in the larger cities, especially among intellectuals and mixed-race people. (Pearce, July 2012, pp. 442-443, 450-451, 456)

This long war was ended by the collapse of the Caetano-government in Lisbon: the Carnation Revolution smashed the right-wing system on 25 April, and the new left-wing government decided to withdraw the Portuguese troops from the colonies. To bring the decolonisation entirely into effect, the Portuguese troops brought back the white Portuguese settlers to Europe; nevertheless, it should be noted, that many of them went to South Africa instead. The old, allied neighbour received the white settlers with open arms, even though the South African government remained reticent. (Pearce, July 2012, pp. 446, 451-452)

The collapse of the Caetano-government in Europe meant freedom for Angola. The only question was which party would become the leading force in the new government. Meanwhile, celebrations were taking place in Luanda, and the three parties planned a total takeover. Almost a year later, the Angolan Civil War broke out on 11 November 1975. The MPLA managed to take control over the capital city. The UNITA changed its ideology and became an ally of the USA and Mobotu's Zaire, which practically meant that they gained the support of South Africa. The new Neto-government received Cuban troops with the help of the Soviet Union, and established a military basis for the ANC (African National Congress) and the SWAPO in the southern regions of Angola. (Pearce, July 2012, pp. 444-452)

Suddenly, Angola was sieged by the European socialist countries intending to help rebuild the country. Among the many Eastern bloc countries, Hungary also participated in this new scramble for Africa. István Salusinszky, the governor of the Hungarian National Bank at the time, elaborated in 1965 on a full plan what Hungary can gain from the economic relations with the independent Angola: „In order to build up and to develop the Angolan iron mining, the Portuguese government intends to take out large investments. In the frame of this, Hungary could transport mining equipment, sheller machines, vehicles, machine factories for the food industry, glassworks, power plants, etc. via the prime contractor General Trade Co. […] In return, the following Portuguese goods can come into question: coffee, tea, sisal, suber, iron and manganese ores, tuna, mill-cake, cashew nut, tropical wood, or perhaps cotton, etc." (MNL-OL XIX-J-1-j/1965/7-57/22) Hungarian foreign policy treated Angola as a priority in the region, since Frigyes Puja, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary at the time, emphasised Angola's importance: „Angola will gain its independence on 11 November, […] Its economic importance and our solidarity justifies paying special attention to building relations between

our countries. [… therefore,] we share […] our goals to create embassy-level diplomatic relations…" (MNL-OL XIX-J-1-j/1965/7-57/22)

The Hungarian foreign policy was able to shun the pressure from Moscow, which wanted to persuade Hungary to avoid involvement in the Angolan Civil War. Thus, Hungary chose to cooperate with the German Democratic Republic in order to ensure its presence in Angola. Márton Szabó, who was then the ambassador in Lagos of the People's Republic of Hungary, participated in the independence parade in November 1975. Szabó openly condemned the opponents of the MPLA, namely the FNLA, the UNITA, South Africa, and Zaire. (MNL-OL XIX-J-1-j/1965/7-57/22)

Agostinho Neto died in the Soviet Union in 1979, and José Eduardo dos Santos became his successor. This change did not cause any problems in the Hungarian-Angolan relations, which were lucrative ones. The equatorial African country, which was attacked by South Africa, was able to grant bases for the SWAPO. The Hungarian foreign policy had long-term plans in decolonised Africa. The Hungarian embassy in Luanda saw great chances for both Hungarian foreign affairs and state companies to build new relations in the region.

The SWAPO in the Hungarian Media and the Hungarian Solidarity

The People's Republic of Hungary had a limited level of media pluralism. For a casual observer, the content of articles in popular daily newspapers may seem very similar; nevertheless, there were differences in approach and organisational background. The MSZMP had Népszabadság ('Freedom of People') as a central daily newspaper. The Magyar Hírlap ('Hungarian Times') shared the news based on the point of view of the government. The Magyar Nemzet ('Hungarian Nation') was established as an anti-Nazi right-wing and classical liberal journal. The communist regime allowed the existence of the latter because of the strong name, but the Patriotic People's Front, the umbrella organisation of the socialist system, was its owner; hence, it was also a very loyal newspaper. As the oldest daily newspaper of the Hungarian labour movement, the Népszava ('People's Voice') should be also involved in this analysis. (Horváth, 2013, p. 73)

The Népszabadság was the first among these daily papers that published an article about the SWAPO. Their journalist made an interview with Emil Appolus, the secretary of the liberation movement. They were talking about the history and the economy of Namibia; besides, the Odendaal Plan and Verwoerd's apartheid policies were also mentioned by Appolus, as well as labour contracts and monopolies in the mining industry of Southwest Africa. The secretary expressed optimistic views in spite of the conflicts with the Southwest African National Union, a party that trusted the United Nation more than the fight. (*Népszabadság*, 16 February 1966, pp. 2-3)

Since the MSZMP was mainly directly involved in the primary goals of the international socialist movement, solidarity remained the issue the Patriotic People's Front was standing

for. Thus, in general it was the Patriotic People's Front that initiated contact with the SWAPO. Therefore, the Magyar Nemzet had the opportunity to publish a short report about the current situation in the United Nations. Since Ethiopia and Liberia – and the Organisation of the African Unity (OAU), which had its the member in Africa of former colonies – accused the Republic of South Africa about its illegal rule on Southwest Africa, the final vote of this case led to an answer to the question. The voting at the Court of Justice in Den Haag resulted in a draw of seven votes for each side, which meant a rather positive outcome for Hendrik Verwoerd and South Africa. The aforementioned article of the Magyar Nemzet shared the complaint of the African countries that South Africa introduced the apartheid legislation in Southwest Africa and militarised the country. (*Magyar Nemzet* 26 July 1966, p. 2) This meant a key issue in the change of overlordship in 1919, when Germany was condemned about its racial policies and atrocities committed against the colonial native population.

Sam Nujoma, who had been living in exile since 1 March 1960, managed to make the SWAPO the only representative of the Namibian people in the international organisations. (Dierks, 2003, pp. 180-182) Firstly, the SWANU was expelled by the OAU; secondly, the United Nations declared the end of the South African rule in Southwest Africa: the Resolution 245 (1968) abolished the right of South Africa to administer South West Africa (Security Council of the United Nations, 1968). This new position and the guerrilla war on the Angolan-Southwest African border increased Nujoma's importance. With the process of decolonisation, the influence of the African countries showed a growing tendency. Therefore, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed a resolution on 12 June 1968, which changed the name Southwest Africa to Namibia. (Bruhács, 1970, pp. 25-26). Furthermore, the Security Council of the United Nations passed Resolution 264 (1969) on 20 March 1969, which not only recognised the right for independence, but called for the withdrawal of the South African troops from the Namibian territory. (United Nations Security Council Resolution 246 (1969))

The 1970s made it possible for the SWAPO to approach the Hungarian socialist leadership. In the policy of the countries of the Eastern Bloc towards Africa, the dissemination of Marxist and socialist ideas played a primary role. Namibian independence seemed an event of the near future. The Border War between South Africa and Angola increased the SWAPO's importance. The Népszava issued an article about the fight for Southwest Africa. The author János Jankovszky emphasised obvious sympathy toward the SWAPO, but also mentioned that the liberation movement was not a communist one, as it was always referred to by the members of Vorster-government. (*Népszava*, 7 August 1976, p. 2)

Although Mandela and Nujoma were seen as prominent figures of the anti-apartheid resistance, the neighbouring Rhodesia was about to gain its independence in the late-1970s. The country was already formally independent, albeit its independence was not recognised by other countries and international organisations. The 'internal settlement', a form of decolonisation based on white minority rule implemented by the Rhodesian Front and Ian Smithlead to the Bush War in Rhodesia. The idea preserved the rule of British settlers, since the Rhodesian voting system favoured more educated and wealthier people. To solve the

problem and to mediate between the United Nations and the insurgent groups, the USA, the UK, Canada, France, and the Federal Republic of Germany created the Western Contact Group in 1977. (Melber and Saunders, 2007, 78) The same applied to Southwest Africa, where the South African authorities prepared a general election, which pushed Dirk Mudge and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) into power in 1978. (Trainor, September-October 1989, pp. 2-5)

To achieve the independence of Namibia, the Security Council of the United Nations passed a new Resolution No. 435 (1978). This resolution became the blueprint of Namibian independence. The legal document declared that the SWAPO is the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people and called on South Africa to hand over the power to the Namibian people, cooperate with the United Nations and to implement this resolution. (UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978))

Even though the SWAPO labelled this election as a comedy, Mudge's party could gain support among the black native population. The DTA formed a grand coalition with various representatives of Namibian tribes. Even a SWAPO-functionary, Andreas Shipanga left his party and established the SWAPO-Democrats in order to be able to participate in the DTA-government. (MNL-OL XIX-J-1-j 1980/101/106-20/001566/2). South Africa declared the independence of Southwest Africa, and the 'internal settlement' was completed. The frontline states of the apartheid protested, and their arguments were right: Namibia remained under South African rule because of the units of Koevoet, an army with a considerable number of Black soldiers. (MNL-OL XIX-J-1-j 1983/93/106-11/001540)

Nujoma needed to exploit every opportunity to talk about this situation in Namibia. The president of SWAPO approved the invitation of the Patriotic People's Front and visited Hungary in June 1979. On 25 June, he met with Béla Kovács (head of the National Peace Committee of the Patriotic People's Front), István Sarlós (member of the Central Committee of MSZMP), and an under-secretary of Ministry for Foreign Affairs, namely Róbert Garai. On the first day of his visit, Nujoma was talking about the current situation in Namibia and the abundance of natural resources (diamond, uranium, etc.) which he intended to utilise for the wealth of the Namibian people. (*Magyar Nemzet*, 26 June 1979, p. 3). The Hungarian socialist leadership showed solidarity with Namibians, although prospective economic interests also played a primary role, just like in the case of Angola. Therefore, Nujoma and a SWAPO-delegation was brought to Fejér county. (*Magyar Nemzet*, 27 June 1979, p. 3)

When Nujoma visited Hungary, the Magyar Hírlap had the opportunity to interview him. Nujoma was presented to the readers as ''a fifty-years old, energetic and suggestive phenomenon, […] commander-in-chief of the People Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) […] and a father of three." (*Magyar Hírlap*, 5 July 1979, p. 5) The article begins with a preface about decolonisation; after that, it talks about the successful guerrilla actions in North Eastern Namibia, which forced a number of white farmers to move into cities. At the end of the

interview, Nujoma categorically refused negotiation with the DTA-government, only considering the possibility of negotiations with the South African government from Pretoria.

The early 1980s were not favourable for the SWAPO. The USA had a new president after Jimmy Carter (Democratic Party), namely Ronald Reagan, and vice-president George H.W. Bush (both from the Republican Party), who became president after Reagan. These statesmen seemed to be devoted anti-communists. The Africa-related issues were handled by Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. South Africa's role in the global fight against communism increased in the eyes of American foreign policy, and therefore the Reagan-administration created a way of dialogue, the 'constructive engagement'. This meant practically a slow cutback of White minority rule in South Africa and establishing contact with Black anti-communist leaders. The other goal was the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. (Clough, Winter 1985-1986, pp. 4-5)

The leaders of the SWAPO felt that the change in the international environment had no positive effect on their goal; nevertheless, they participated in the Namibia Conference, which took place in Geneva between 1979 and 1981. Participants at the conference included all members of the Western Contact Group (USA, United Kingdom, Canada, France, Federal Republic of Germany), South Africa, the DTA-government from Southwest Africa, and the SWAPO. The conference came to a halt, and the outcome was basically favourable for South Africa, since the SWAPO was negotiating with the Mugde-government during the conference, which meant recognition of its legitimacy. (Melber and Saunders, 2007, pp. 84-86)

Strengthening positions seemed the only way for the SWAPO. Their delegation, led by Sam Nujoma, visited Hungary in August 1981. Representatives of the Patriotic People's Front, General Secretary Béla Molnár and Gyula Sütő, head of the Solidarity Committee of the organisation, invited the delegation to Hungary's capital city. (*Magyar Hírlap*, 13 August 1981, p. 4) After that, Miklós Óvári, the Secretary of the Political Committee of the MSZMP received Nujoma. (*Magyar Nemzet*, 18 August 1981, p. 3) The delegation was thankful for the Hungarian solidarity, and they shared their plans to increase the level of fight for freedom at the press conference. (*Népszava*, 19 August 1981, p. 2) Nevertheless, the Hungarian socialists became dissatisfied about Nujoma's attitude: Nujoma paid a visit to Bonn, the capital city of the Federal Republic of Germany, where he identified himself as a Christian, and the West German leaders welcomed him as the new leader of Namibia. (MNL-OL XIX-J-1-j 1980/101/106-25/006170)

To ensure that the SWAPO remained on the side of the Eastern Bloc, the socialist countries maintained good relations with the leaders of the Namibian liberation movement. The Secretary of the Central Committee of MSZMP, Mátyás Szűrös invited him to Budapest. Szűrös, formerly Hungary's ambassador in the Soviet Union, was one of the most influential politicians of the MSZMP. Nujoma emphasised in Budapest that the SWAPO could only deal with the Namibian independence based on the UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978), and the

South African government was a hindering force in this process. (*Népszabadság*, 1 October 1983, p. 5)

1983 and 1984 brought a drastic change in the apartheid. Dirk Mudge, who was under pressure from the guerrillas waging a war in the Northern part of the country and from the United Nations, resigned from power on 18 January 1983. To replace the government and implement the 435 (1978) Resolution, various parties of South West Africa established the Multi-party Conference (MPC). This political organisation was functioning as a transitional government between 1984 and 1989. (Dierks, 2003, pp. 236-237) However, another event meant a radical turning point in the history of Southern Africa and the apartheid. Desmond Tutu, the widely-known Anglican bishop of South Africa visited the USA, and here he held an emotional speech about the apartheid, called the Africa-policy of the USA 'immoral, evil, and un-Christian'. Thereafter, the American banks decided to defund and restrict South Africans. (Clough, Winter 1985-1986, pp. 14-15.) Regardless of the parliamentary reforms, which were implemented by President PW Botha, the collapse of the apartheid was only a question of time. Hungarian diplomacy felt the new waves and proceeded by visiting Africa.

The meeting with Nujoma took place in Luanda. Hungarian TV broadcasted Pál Losonczi's visit. This event remained memorable because of the dance show, presented by an Angolan dance group, which was joined by Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic of Hungary (practically the president). However, the meeting with MPLA- and SWAPO-functionaries was even more remarkable. Economic issues remained relevant in the case of Angola. Hungary exported telecommunication instruments and Ikarus buses, but the most considerable business was connected to the Medicor and Medimpex, companies that sold medical instruments to Angola for 2 million US dollars in 1981. (MNL-OL XIX-J-1-j/1981/7-51/002678/2) While Losonczi was staying in Luanda, Nujoma could meet him and the Hungarian delegation. The Hungarian leader expressed that the country and its socialist leadership was devoted to help the fight against international imperialism and neo-colonialism, condemned South Africa, and assured the Namibian people about his support. (*Magyar Hírlap*, 28 September 1985, p. 3)

Namibian independence became a key issue of Africa-related foreign policy of Hungary. Solidarity meant a well-working frame for SWAPO when it came to providing education in Hungary for SWAPO-scholars and supporting the troops of PLAN. The more open support, which came from an even higher level of Hungarian politics, reached its peak in 1988: János Kádár, the dictator of the People's Republic of Hungary invited and welcomed Sam Nujoma in Budapest. The latter event became the most important. Kádár was 76 years old in 1988, and the younger functionaries were seeking to replace him. However, Kádár assured him about the support of Hungary, the meeting with Szűrös was of a higher importance. (*Népszabadság*, 17 September 1988) As a sign of trust, Nujoma asked Hungary and Sweden to join the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG), a military unit that controlled the democratic transition in Namibia.

While Nujoma's star was rising in international politics, socialism collapsed in Hungary. The MSZMP held an extraordinary caucus in May and June 1988. The economic circumstances were catastrophic, and the leadership resigned to full employment of the population. Reforms were more than needed, even though the turbulence accelerated the democratisation process. The MSZMP released Kádár on 22 April 1989. The one-party system also broke up, and the MSZMP had to involve the liberal and right-wing opposition in the reforms. Szűrös, who had a sense for tactic, became the first president of the third Republic of Hungary, which was declared by him on 23 October 1989. The first democratic general elections were held in the spring of 1990 (Romsics, 2010, pp. 538-540, 549-551)

Namibia also became independent in 1989-1990. The first Cuban troops were withdrawn from Angola in January 1989. The transitional government declared its end in February, and the SWAPO members were allowed to go home in April. The first democratic general elections were organised in November, based solely on ballot votes and party lists. According to the expectations, the SWAPO won the elections with 57,3% of votes, and DTA became the second with 28,6%. The other parties received 0,1-5,6% of the votes. The last UNTAG-troops were withdrawn on 28 December. Nujoma declared independence on 21 March. (Dierks, 2003, pp. 248-254)

„[From Hungary,] 11 state security officers, 11 foreign policy experts, and only three real police officers [participated in the UNTAG-mission]." (Besenyő, 2019) Nujoma invited Szűrös, but the Hungarian state was represented by József Bényi on the day of declaration of independence. (MNL-OL XIX-j-1-j 1990/50/106-107/00702/3)

Conclusion

Hungary was always supportive of Namibia. The frame of the socialist solidarity constituted a good base for cooperation between the Hungarian socialist leadership and the SWAPO. However, the Hungarian foreign policy also intended to gain market share in the independent Southern African countries, especially in Angola, and the opportunities of this socialist cooperation were exploited by the People's Republic of Hungary, the MPLA, and the SWAPO.

After the 1990s, the fruits of this broad-based solidarity have not been harvested. The Hungarian Africa-policy established an embassy in South Africa and closed embassies in other Southern African countries, which meant a long-term break in the relationship with the latter.

The conservative government, which has been leading Hungary since 2010, explored the opportunity of building relations with the 'Global South', based on old ties. The former colonies have a friendly attitude towards Hungary. László Kövér, speaker of the Hungarian parliament and one of the most influential people in the Orbán-government, met his Namibian college, Peter Katjavivi, in 2016 in Namibia, and then Katjavivi visited him in Budapest in 2019. Rebuilding relations with these countries can hold good cooperation in store.

Conflict of Interest

The author hereby declares that no competing financial interest exists for this manuscript.

Notes on Contributor

László Pálfi is a Hungarian historian. He wrote his doctoral dissertation about the history of the German-Namibian relations at Eötvös Loránd University. He wrote his bachelor thesis about the history of Namibia, and his master's thesis about the history of the apartheid in Rhodesia and Southwest Africa, both written at the Eötvös Loránd University. His main field of interest is modern history, especially the history of Africa and Central Europe. He has a master's degree in Public Policy and Management at the Corvinus University of Budapest, and his thesis is about the private security companies in South Africa. Currently, he is working as an external researcher of the Pilecki Institute.

Bibliography

Besenyő, J. (2019) Magyar katonai és rendőri műveletek az afrikai kontinensen 1989-2019/Participation of Hungary in African Operations between 1989-2019. Budapest: Óbudai Egyetem Biztonságtudományi Doktori Iskola.

Bruhács, J. (1970) *Az ENSZ kísérlete Namíbia (Délnyugat-Afrika) nemzetközi státusának rendezésére.* Pécs: Pécsi Szikra Nyomda.

Cahoon, B. (n.d.) 'Namibia', *Worlds Statesmen*. Available at https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Namibia.htm (Accessed: 11 June 2022)

Castro Leal, E. (2016) 'The Political and Ideological Origins of the Estado Novo in Portugal', *Portuguese Studies*, 32(2), pp. 128-148.

Clough, M. (1985-1986) 'Beyond Constructive Engagement', *Foreign Policy*, 61, pp. 3-24.

Dierks, K. (2003) *Chronologie der namibischen Geschichte: von der vorgeschichtlichen Zeit zum unabhängigen Namibia (2000).* Windhoek: Namibische Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 2. Auflage.

Documents from the National Archives of Hungary (Magyar NemzetiLevéltár): MNL-OL XIX-J-1-j/1965/7-57/22; MNL-OL XIX-J-1-j 1980/101/106-25/006170; MNL-OL XIX-J-1-j 1980/101/106-20/001566/2; MNL-OL XIX-J-1-j 1983/93/106-11/001540; MNL-OL XIX-j-1-j 1990/50/106-107/00702/3

Ehmark, A. (1963): *Angola and Mozambique: the case against Portugal. London: Pall Mall Press*.

Horváth, A. (2013) *A magyar sajtó története a szovjet típusú diktatúra idején*, Médiatudományi Intézet. Available at https://mek.oszk.hu/13400/13447/13447.pdf (Accessed: 11 June 2022).

Kössler, R. (2004) 'Sjambok or Cane? Reading the Blue Book', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30(3), pp. 703-708.

Magyar Hírlap (1979) 'Interjú Sam Nujomával, a SWAPO elnökével: Harcolunk a győzelemig', *Magyar Hírlap*, July 5, p. 5.

Magyar Hírlap (1981) 'Budapesten a SWAPO küldöttsége', *Magyar Hírlap*, August 13, p. 4.

Magyar Hírlap (1985) 'Plenáris tárgyalások Luandában', *Magyar Hírlap*, September 28, p. 3.

Magyar Nemzet (1966) 'Az afrikai államok nem nyugszanak bele a hágai nemzetközi bíróság döntésébe', *Magyar Nemzet*, July 26, p. 2.

Magyar Nemzet (1979) 'A SWAPO küldöttsége Fejér megyében', *Magyar Nemzet*, June 27, p. 3.

Magyar Nemzet (1979) 'SWAPO-delegáció hazánkban', *Magyar Nemzet*, June 26, p. 3.
Magyar Nemzet (1981) 'Óvári Miklós fogadta Sam Nujomát', *Magyar Nemzet*, August 18, p. 3.
Melber, H. and Saunder, C. (2007) 'Conflict Mediation in Decolonisation: Namibia's Transition to Independence', *Africa Spectrum*, 42(1), pp. 73-94.
Népszabadság (1966) 'Az ellopott mandátum harcra kél: Beszélgetés a Délnyugat-afrikai Népi Szervezet vezetőjével', *Népszabadság*, February 16, p. 2.
Népszabadság (1981) 'Washington akadályozza a namíbiai rendezést', *Népszabadság*, October 1, p. 3.
Népszabadság (1984) 'Szűrös Mátyás fogadta Sam Nujomát', *Népszabadság*, October 4, p. 5.
Népszabadság (1988) 'Kádár János fogadta Sam Nujomát', *Népszabadság*, September 17, p. 5.
Népszava (1976) 'Harc Namíbiáért', *Népszava*, August 7, p. 2.
Népszava (1981) 'A SWAPO fokozza a fegyveresharcot', *Népszava*, August 19, p. 2.
Pearce, J. (2012) 'Control, Politics, and Identity in the Angolan Civil War', *African Affairs*, 111(444), pp. 442-465.
Romsics, I. (2010) *Magyarország története a XX. században.* Budapest: Osiris kiadó.
Security Council (1969) *Resolution 264 (1969) [The Situation in Namibia].* Available at https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f20c14.html (Accessed: 11 June 2022)
Trainor, L. (1989) 'Namibia: trespassersforgiven?', *New Zealand International Review,* 14(5), pp. 2-7.
UN Security Council (1968) *Resolution 245 (1968)*. Available at https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/90745 (Accessed: 11 June 2022)
UN Security Council (1978) *Resolution 435 (1978).* Available at http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/doc/435 (Accessed: 11 June 2022)
Williams, C. A. (2011) 'Living in Exile: Daily Life and International Relations at SWAPO's Kongwa Camp', *Kronos*, 37, pp. 60-86.

Two Facets of 'Southern Opening'

Bilateral Relations Between Angola and Hungary in the 70s-80s and Post 2015

Éva Hegedűs[1]

Abstract:

The new strategy of 'Southern Opening', announced in 2015, has put Africa again in the focus of Hungary's foreign policy, with Angola being among the priority countries. The reopening of the embassy in Luanda in 2017 and the Hungarian Foreign Minister's visit in 2018 were further symbolic steps in recognizing Angola's importance as a potential regional power and a strategic partner in the sub-Saharan region.

Bilateral cooperation dates back to much earlier, the late 60s, however, spanning through nearly two decades during the socialist era of both countries' history. Hungary has provided sizable military aid (to the MPLA), actively 'exported' goods, technology, and knowledge through sending experts and offering scholarships, and received wounded soldiers for treatment and rehabilitation. After the mid-90s, bilateral relations have stagnated up until the new turn to the South from 2015.

Building on national archive documents and personal accounts of experts and diplomats, this paper presents the heyday of bilateral cooperation in the 70s and 80s. It also gives an overview of the revitalising relations; and analyses how those may fit in the new foreign policy agenda and promotion of Hungarian economic interests in Angola..

The People's Republic of Hungary was also involved in the 'socialist scramble for Africa'. Angola seemed to be the targeted country in the region mentioned above, but in the 1960s another opportunity emerged, namely Namibia. This large, sparsely inhabited country was under South African rule, although the Ovambo, a majoritarian ethnic group, was fighting for independence. Their organisation was known as the SWAPO.

This study aims to describe how the Hungarian socialist leadership and the leaders of SWAPO found a way to cooperate with each other. The original documents quoted in this study are from the Hungarian National Archives and the daily newspapers between the 1960s and 1980s, and they have been cited to assist the readers in following the development of the relations.

Keywords:

Angola; Hungary; bilateral relations; foreign policy; military aid; economy promotion; knowledge transfer; technical-scientific cooperation; socialist cooperation; Southern Opening.

[1] PhD candidate, Africa Research Institute, Doctoral School of Security and Safety Sciences, Óbuda University, Budapest, Hungary; ORCID: 0000-0002-9159-8903; hegedus.eva@phd.uni-obuda.hu.

Introduction

In 1975, Angola and Hungary were separated by two main factors: the huge geographical distance and their completely differing political, economic, and social system and culture. In the subsequent one and a half decades, these were bridged by the common socialist orientation that both countries adopted and that served as the ideological base for bilateral cooperation. Hungary provided significant military aid to the socialist MPLA that ruled Angola;[2] actively "exported" Hungarian goods, technology and knowledge including through technical advisors and scholarships; and received wounded soldiers for treatment and rehabilitation.[3]

With the change of regime, relations sunk to a nearly minimum level, up until 2015, when the Hungarian government's new strategy of 'Southern Opening' has put Africa again in the focus of Hungary's foreign policy. Over the past years, Angola has become a new-old key partner in the Sub-Saharan region and started to see increasing levels of investment by both government and private sector actors. The reopening of the embassy in Luanda in 2017 and the Hungarian foreign minister's visit in 2018 were further symbolic steps in recognizing the importance of Angola as a potential regional power and strategic partner.

Building on archive documents of the Hungarian National Archive, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry and the Hungarian Red Cross as well as personal accounts of several experts and diplomats, this paper presents the heyday of bilateral cooperation in the 70s and 80s. It analyses the various 'incentives' and priorities behind bilateral cooperation and shares insights into the daily realities and challenges experienced at that time. Following that, it describes how relations have gradually declined and then started to revitalise from 2015. It looks at the main motives behind Hungary's new 'Southern Opening', how priorities have evolved or, in contrast, may have remained the very same as back during the socialist era.

Angolan-Hungarian bilateral relations, especially those in the 70s-80s are still an under-researched area, with only one monograph – that covers relations until 1981 (Apáti, 1981) – and this piece of research available. Some of the archives are not yet open to the public, and many of the experts and diplomats could not yet be traced in case they have not yet passed away. The archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Luanda and the formerly accredited Angolan Embassy in Prague may also hold additional valuable resources. These offer interesting further research opportunities to uncover new historical facts and correlations.

[2] Three movements were fighting against the colonizing Portugal and later against each other for the state power: Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA, Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA, National Unity for the Complete Independence of Angola) and the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA, National Front for the Liberation of Angola).

[3] Through the Hungarian Solidarity Committee, Hungary already supported the MPLA from 1967 during the war of independence with military aid, scholarships, and medical treatment.

The Heyday: Bilateral Cooperation in the 70s and 80s

Vision vs. reality

Upon gaining independence from Portugal on 11 November 1975, the MPLA, who was in control of the capital Luanda, immediately proclaimed the People's Republic of Angola and began to build a socialist state. While officially, the newly independent Angola belonged to the group of 'non-aligned' countries, in the bipolar Cold War world order it had to find it is own place. As a result of its socialist orientation, it came under the protective wing of the Soviet Union (SU).[4] Consequently, this determined its 'circle of friends'. As the head of MPLA and the country's first president, Agostinho Neto said: "This choice also defines our relations with the socialist countries: they are our natural allies in the struggle to build a socialist society, in the fight against imperialism" (Gulyás, 1978, p.47).

As part of the Soviet sphere of interest, Hungary also had to align to the foreign policy of the SU. As the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) stated in an internal note: "Our relations with the People's Republic of Angola are determined by the basic principles of our foreign policy; and the practices align to the coordinated strategy of the friendly socialist countries" (MOL, 1987f). This included the expansion of relations with socialist developing countries, among them Angola.[5]

After establishing diplomatic relations on 23 December 1975, diplomat Tibor Újvári arrived in Luanda in April 1976 as a temporary representative to set up the Hungarian Embassy. This was based on the following grounds, which also summarised Hungary's main motives behind bilateral cooperation: Angola's mineral resource wealth; potential as a major market for Hungarian products; strategic importance for the future of the Southern African region; strategic coastal location on the sea route bypassing Africa; connection to the eastern coast by three east-west railways; and the opening of delegations by other socialist countries (MOL, 1976).

Despite the clear visions on both sides, the development of bilateral cooperation did not go smooth. Relations had to be built up from scratch and required constant initiation and pro-activity from the Hungarian side. As the first ambassador, Dr Sándor Árgyelán said: "We were the ones who were on their backs, offering this kind of help, that kind of opportunity (…). Because they didn't know how, they didn't have the experience" (Interview with Dr Sándor Árgyelán…, 2005). During the colonial times, the vast majority of Angolans did not have access to any education; and even those who did, could not gain experience in public administration, while they had to take up senior roles post-independence.

[4] The Soviet Union supported the MPLA with arms and money during the war of independence already. It also educated many of its leaders in Moscow universities. In contrast, the rival insurgents UNITA and FNLA received financial and logistical support and arms supplies from the Unites States, the South African Republic and Western European countries.
[5] In addition to Afghanistan, Benin, Congo, Ethiopia, Mozambique, and Yemen (Árgyelán, 1983. p.185).

Between 1977-1981, the two countries concluded a range of bilateral agreements, including, just to name a few, the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation for twenty years, a Technical and Scientific Cooperation Agreement, Trade Agreement, Cultural Agreement, Health Cooperation Agreement, Television Cooperation Agreement, Inter-Bank Cooperation Agreement, Inter-Party Cooperation Agreement and so on (MOL, 1982b). However, their entry into force often delayed several years because Angolans were not yet aware of the diplomatic procedures (MOL, 1983c; MOL, 1984b). András Gulyás, Hungary's ambassador between 1983-1987 also wrote in a diplomatic note: "On several occasions, it was the pro-activity of the Hungarian Embassy that helped to move a case from a standstill and stuck in the local authorities' bureaucracy" (MOL, 1986a). It is no wonder that in his 1987 annual ambassadorial report, Gulyás described Hungary's position as follows: "We have managed to secure a modest but recognised presence" (MOL, 1987e), which, despite the eleven years of the Embassy's existence, counted as a significant achievement.

Technical advisory and hands-on labour

One of the backbones of bilateral cooperation was the deployment of Hungarian experts to Angola for five to ten years to advise and train Angolan counterparts in various trades. Between 1977-1989, nearly 140 Hungarian experts worked in the country either on existing industrial and agricultural plants that managed to escape the destruction of the civil war or in newly established ones, set up through Hungarian material support. The technical advisory programme was based on a Technical and Scientific Cooperation signed by the two countries in September 1977 and coordinated by the state company known as TESCO (International Office for Technical and Scientific Cooperation).[6]

The biggest group, some 10-12 specialists at a time of the Székesfehérvár factory, were deployed to the bus assembly plant in Viana where they assembled Ikarus bodywork on Volvo and Scania chassis.[7] Specialists of Pannonauto (in Pécs) worked in the Manauto 3 repair plant (near Caxito) where they did general repairs on Ikarus engines and bodywork. Hungarian rubber experts helped to restart production in the rubber factory in Luanda. Draughtsmen, milling, mechanical engineering, metallurgy, geological and water research specialists were also deployed. Hungarian agriculture experts taught soil conservation and organised the restart of the Kangola Agricultural Secondary School in Uíge. A professor from the Agricultural University of Gödöllő spent three years at the Huambo College of Agriculture in 1979-81 as a crop production consultant and instructor and took part in the establishment of the university's instructional farm (MOL, 1988d). Hungarian poultry experts helped to organise the national breeding network and a fish breeding expert worked in Huambo for two years. A

[6] During the socialist era, Hungary signed such agreements with 57 developing countries. TESCO also opened a representation in Luanda in July 1977. After it closed in 1982, the representative in Maputo visited Angola three or four times a year until that office also closed in 1986. TESCO was only responsible for arranging the deployments, but not for the local employment terms and conditions.

[7] Initially, they were mounting on Ikarus bodywork, but these did not cope with the conditions in Luanda: passengers crowded in the rear part, and the bodywork could not withstand the weight, broke into two and the rear of the bus tore off.

dozen of veterinarians supported the 1980 veterinary and vaccination campaign of the socialist countries' Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CfMEA).

Hungarian pharmacists helped to merge two pharmaceutical laboratories and established the first pharmaceutical factory in Angola. Hungarian Red Cross expert, Dr Gergely Kovách consulted on the management of the Angolan Red Cross and the set-up of the national blood donation service. In 1980, he also prepared a study on how to organise the ambulance service in Luanda.[8] Another Red Cross expert, Dr Imre Horváth trained Red Cross staff on basic first aid and home nursing in 1981 (MVÖ, 1981), helped to establish the Angolan Red Cross Training Centre and took part in organising the national ambulance service (MÖV, 1980). Hungary also sent surgeons, gynaecologists, midwifes, virologists and, at Angola's request, a swimming and football coach. Furthermore, in the late 1980s, a Hungarian economist was a personal advisor to the Minister of Planning.

One of the most successful areas was the six-year long policy advisory by a team of economists led by György Tallós, former Deputy Governor of the Hungarian National Bank upon the personal request of the (late) Angolan president, José Eduardo dos Santos (MOL, 1983d; MOL, 1986c). Between 1984-1990, the team advised and commented on several draft plans relating to the Angolan fiscal, monetary and credit policy, foreign exchange and trade policy, state-corporate relations, the banking system, taxing, insurance and customs, international financial organisations and so on. In a 1988 report, Tallós noted two major achievements of their work, namely "convincing Angola that the centralised planned economy model could not be successfully applied in the Angolan context"; and "effectively preventing a hasty, economically ill-founded and technically unprepared monetary reform in 1984 on their first visit just before its introduction" (MOL, 1988e). The delegation also played a major role in the development of the 1987 economic reform programme. An indirect and unintended result of the consultancy, and in fact the biggest benefit for Hungary was that Angola made sure it had no debts to Hungary to keep the service provision ongoing. Thus, even if for a short while only, Hungary was the only country which did not have any receivables in Angola (MOL, 1988b).[9]

Originally, Hungary envisaged to send 134 senior experts by 1980, however, it could only manage to deploy 33, and later the numbers kept steadily declining (MOL, 1981d). Even though Angola continuously asked for more specialists and for longer periods, as then TESCO chief, István Bene wrote in a 1989 background brief, they were not able to provide the basic agreed support such as housing and transport (MOL, 1989b). Other archive notes mentioned

[8] The Hungarian Red Cross was also active in humanitarian support: between 1975-1985, it delivered food, medicine, and clothes worth over 50 million Hungarian forints (at then value) either through own collection or on behalf of the Foreign Ministry, the Hungarian Solidarity Committee, the National Council of Trade Unions, the National Women's Council and the HSWP (MOL, 1987b).

[9] Angola covered the bulk of the consultancy costs, with Hungary spending around 6.5 million Hungarian forints a year (at then value). The last consultation took place in Budapest between 10-13 July 1990. The Angolan side did not prepare the economic documents for the meeting, it changed currency, which Hungary opposed, and did not give a date for the next consultation in November 1990. As a result of the latter, the work of the Tallós delegation implicitly came to an end (KÜM, 1991a).

general lack of preparation, slow response to technical offers, and difficulties in ensuring employment and technical conditions (MOL, 1977c). Experts were not only required to provide trainings and advisory, but to also carry out actual on-the-ground operational tasks, as Angolans were generally unskilled in both managerial and technical aspects.[10] It must also be added, however, that Hungary did not always send out technical offers on time, managed to offer the right profile or offer a replacement if someone cancelled the mission (MOL, 1980b).

Around 90 percent of the experts were paid, where all the costs were to be borne by Angola. The rest were so-called unpaid/free-of-charge, where Angola was to cover the costs of travel only. In both cases, however, Angola was required to provide accommodation, board, and transport (MOL, 1978a). Depending on qualifications and experience, experts were remunerated between 730-1290 US dollars, which was considered a particularly high amount at that time (Interview with Ágoston…, 2006). Working abroad had a high prestige and despite the circumstances and risks amidst the civil war, many were willing to go, and in fact stay longer than returning home (Interview with Attila…, 2006). The only bigger difficulty was the language as at that time Portuguese was an even more rare language in Hungary.

Added benefits: potential new markets

Once, under Soviet pressure, Hungary had to take part in the activities of CfMEA in Angola, it tried to do it in a way that it also benefitted itself. This became particularly important from the mid-80s when Hungary's own economic situation also started to worsen, while Angola's debts also kept piling up. Despite the trade office set up at the Embassy in Luanda (Interview with Dr Sándor Perjés…, 2006) and the 1977 bilateral Trade Agreement, which promised a most favoured treatment for Angola, Angolan-Hungarian trade relations remained one-sided throughout the 70s and 80s. Hungary asked for sisal and industrial diamonds, but Angola could only offer coffee and, in smaller quantities, kerosene until 1980 and once more in 1986.

In contrast, Hungarian export included bus engines, spare parts and bodywork parts, telephone centre spare parts, medicines, technical and vacuum equipment, footwear, dry pasta, breeding eggs, baby chicks and animal feed. Hungarian Ikarus buses 'conquered' Angola from 1979 when the foreign trade company Mogürt signed an 11-year agreement with the Angolan company ENACMA for the delivery of bodywork to the Viana plant. The plan was to produce 9,000 buses by 1990, however, due to the constant delays in payments, by 1986, only a tenth of them could be finished. In 1980, Mogürt also signed a contract worth 1.5 million US dollars to deliver supply parts (together with Pannonauto specialists) to the Manauto 3 site. The 'autobus cooperation' between Angola and Hungary was not just profitable for Hungary (at least until Angola could pay till the late 80s), but also significant, amounting to between half and two-thirds of the total Hungarian export to Angola. Ambitions were also quite high: Agostinho Neto wanted to organise Luanda's public transport (including vehicles,

[10] Other socialist countries encountered the same challenges and downscaled the sending of experts, with the exception of Cuba.

maintenance, and personnel) through the Ikarus buses. The Hungarian leadership also wanted to supply the whole of Southern Africa through the factories in Angola and Mozambique.

The second largest exporter was the foreign trade company Budavox. From 1981 onwards, Budavox delivered various telecommunication, VHF and SWR equipment and telephone centre parts manufactured in the Budapest Radio Engineering Factory. Export values generally made up a third of the total annual to Angola, fluctuating between 152,000 and 2.5 million US dollars per year, depending on the orders and capacity of payment.

From 1979, the Bábolna Agricultural Combine exported broilers and breeding eggs, accounting for some 15 per cent of all Hungarian exports. Baby chicks were transported by MALÉV on IL-18 cargo flights on the route of Budapest-Tripoli-Cano-Luanda and some 500kms further down to the Bábolna plant in Cacuso (Malanje province). Almost half of the chicks died during the marathon journey. By the late 1980s, Angola became unable to pay, thus both the plant and the exports were suspended.[11] Under the bilateral agricultural agreement, Hungary also set up a pig farm in Cada, and a freshwater fish farm in Huambo, through the Agroinvest Foreign Trade Company and with the help of specialists from the Agricultural College of Szarvas.

The fourth biggest area was the export of pharmaceuticals by the company Medimpex and the export of medical equipment by Medicor. Both Medimpex and Angola wanted to scale up the export volumes: the former because it was generating profits, the latter because of the disastrous quality of healthcare in the country and the non-existing pharmaceutical industry (MOL, 1987c). Payment difficulties have, however, led to halting deliveries by the late 1980s. Medicor shipments went, for example, to hospitals in Lubango and Malanje, worth 20 million US dollars in 1981 (MOL, 1981a).

In the first few years, Hungary also exported clothing items through Hungarotex and Tanimpex, and from 1979, machinery, such as combine header adapters of the company Komplex. Hungary also planned to set up several other factories, such as lamp and fluorescent tube production through Tungsram in Huambo, television assembly and servicing through Videoton, as well as metallurgic, foundry, cable production, shoe and ready-to-wear clothes factories and cultivation of tropic plants, after similar plans had failed in Cuba.

Table 1 provides an overview of the – generally fluctuating – annual export and import values and balance from 1975 to 1988, just before the change of regime.

[11] Archive sources also describe that Angola could not obtain necessary fodder, and when it could, hunger was so huge that people ate it up instead of feeding the animals (MOL, 1980c).

	Export	Import	Balance
1975	0.1	-	+0.1
1976	0.5	8.5	-8
1977	5.5	24.5	-19
1978	4.7	0	+4.7
1979	7.8	3.5	+4.2
1980	10.6	1.8	+8.8
1981	13.5	-	+13.5
1982	6.7	-	+6.7
1983	1.7	0.24	+1.5
1984	4.3	-	+4.3
1985	5.5	-	+5.5
1986	4.1	0.4	+3.7
1987	1.9	-	+1.9
1988	8.1	-	+8.1
TOTAL	**75**	**38.94**	**+36.06**

Table 1: Direct Hungarian exports and imports (in US million dollars) Source: MOL, 1983a; MOL, 1987c; MOL, 1988a.

Table 2 illustrates the distribution of Hungarian export and import products in 1986.

	Company	Products	Total value (US$)
EXPORT	Mogürt	handtools	19,556
		autobus bodywork	22,570
	HUNGARIAN BUSEXPORT	autobus bodywork	2,405,804
	TECHNIKA	machinery	44,800
	MEDIMPEX	pharmaceuticals	716,672
	BUDAVOX	telephone centre spare parts	14,505
		URH transceiver equipment	755,779
	MEDICOR	X-ray car	45,085
		medical X-ray	16,923
	AGRÁRIA BÁBOLNA	baby chicks	64,000
	MALÉV	kerosene	5,313
	TOTAL		**4,111,007**
IMPORT	**Company**	**Products**	**Total value (US$)**
	MONIMPEX	raw coffee (150 tons)	374,000
	MALÉV	kerosene	3,575
	TOTAL		**377,575**

Table 2: Distribution of Hungarian export and import products and their total value in 1986 (in US dollars) Source: MOL, 1987c. Similar summary tables or individual data from previous years were not available in publicly researchable documents.

Embassy reports reveal that until 1979, the Hungarian National Bank tried to slow down the pace of Hungarian exports. This was due to concerns that Angola would not be able to pay back the company and bank loans that financed the deliveries (MOL, 1983a). For the same reason, from 1979, the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Trade also proposed a ceiling that was not advised to exceed in the level of export.

Scholarships and study trips – informal advertisement for Hungary

Upon gaining independence, Angola faced a severe shortage of skilled professionals. The Ministries of Education and Planning made it clear that secondary education and the training of teachers were their priorities. Sending Hungarian secondary school teachers who spoke at least Portuguese or Spanish and free of charge to Angola seemed rather unfeasible and it would have cost a lot of money. Therefore, Hungary opted for providing scholarships in two distinct ways.

In the 1977 Technical and Scientific Cooperation agreement, Hungary offered 50 scholarships per year (decreased to 30 from 1983) for secondary or post-graduate courses and shorter or longer study trips. Scholarships were offered by the HSWP, the National Council of Trade Unions or the Hungarian Solidarity Committee, among others, and the receipt of students was organised by TESCO. The Agricultural University in Gödöllő also ran three-month livestock training courses.

Between 1977-1988, the following students were received:

Year	Number of students	Course	Duration
1977	2	pharmacist	2 months
1978	18	poultry breeding	1 year
1979	12	electrician	4 months
1980	15	TV specialist	6 months
1985	9	pharmacist	2 months
	14	car mechanic	5 years
1986	3	football trainer	1 month
1987	10	pharmacist	3 months
	12	car mechanic	8 months
	3	education specialist	10 days
1988	3	agriculture specialist	2 months
	9	car mechanic	6 months
TOTAL	**110**		

Table 3: List of trainings and scholarship students received between 1977-1988 in the organisation of TESCO. Source: KÜM, 1992a.

For (non-military) higher education, scholarships were offered under the 1975 Cultural Agreement and organised by the Foreign Scholarship Department of the Ministry of Culture. Scholarships covered a wide variety of subjects such as medicine, mechanical and electrical engineering, law, food chemistry, zoology, economics, business management, cartography,

geophysics etc. There were also scholarships for short study trips such as a two-month training course for a kindergarten teacher, and two staff of the Angolan State Secretary for Social Care in 1981 and a three-week study trip for two publishing experts in 1988.

Between 1979-1987, higher education scholarships were offered by Hungary and used by Angola as follows:

Academic year	Number of places offered	Number of applicants accepted	Number of applicants arrived
1979/80	8	7	-
1980/81	13	no applications received	-
1981/82	5	5	5
1982/83	5	5	5
1983/84	10	9	9
1984/85	10	6	5
1985/86	10	6	6
1986/87	13	12	10
TOTAL	74	50	40

Table 4: Number of scholarship places offered and used between 1979-1987. Source: MOL, 1987a.

After 1989, Hungary only offered three places a year, and from 1991, students also had to pay tuition (KÜM 1991b; KÜM 1991d).

Applicants were selected by Angola, thus having good connections played an important role. Angola covered the flights, while everything else was paid for by Hungary. Delegations received accommodation, breakfast, a daily allowance, and an interpreter. Scholarship students were provided a stipend, free medical care, discounted accommodation, meals and medicines and a clothing and school supply allowance.

Until 1981, Angola did not prioritise the use of the available scholarship places. Later, it filled the quota, but many applicants could not be accepted to either secondary or tertiary level because of their very low level of education or too high age (MOL, 1980a). Many of them were already drop-outs at home, and many of whom who were accepted and eventually arrived dropped out later in Hungary (MOL 1988c). By 1991, only some fifty students graduated (KÜM 1991b). As recounted by Ágoston Zács, the international coordinator of TESCO at that time, most of them enjoyed studying in Hungary and tried to find a way to stay on (Interview with Ágoston…, 2006). Therefore, out of political considerations, they were allowed a home visit every three years so as not to lose touch with the Angolan soil and reality.

Military training, arms supplies and rehabilitation

The largest chapter of scholarship provision was the four-year officer and two-year deputy officer training at the then Zalka Máté Military-Technical College in Budapest, the Kossuth Lajos Military College in Szentendre and the Air Defence Training Centre in Debrecen.

Between 1983-1992, more than 100 Angolan military students completed their studies in Hungary and served in the highest ranks upon returning home. The training was governed by the foreign trade agreements called TAN-1, TAN-2, TAN-3, TAN-4, and their amendments, concluded between the International Cooperation Cabinet of the Angolan Ministry of Defence and the Hungarian foreign trade company Technika on behalf of the Ministry of Defence.

Officers were trained free of charge, while deputy officers for a monthly fee of 400 US dollars (MOL, 1985a). Specialisations included mechanised gunners, intelligence, anti-aircraft missiles, radio locators, armoured and automotive engineering, combat engineering, chemical engineering, military finance. The training was adapted to the context at home: for instance, it included fewer hours of gunnery, since students entered the classroom right from the battlefield (MOL, 1986b). Angola oversaw the selection of participants: a minimum of five per year with at least ten grades completed. Scholarship places were not always fully used, or they had to be rescheduled to the subsequent year as Angola often did not sign the training contract in time. From the mid-80s, Angola's worsening economic situation prevented it to pay for the tuition and following the accumulation of a total debt of 720,800 US dollars by July 1992 (KÜM, 1992b), the 82 remaining students were called back home, and the scholarship scheme was suspended.

Besides training, Hungary also offered medical treatment and rehabilitation to wounded MPLA soldiers from as early as 1965. Later, in the 80s, an average of ten soldiers were received every six months free of charge, Angola only had to cover the travel costs (MOL, 1983b). Most of the patients were only between 18-25 years of age. Rehabilitation took place in the then state-run Fodor Sanatorium. Hungary was a popular destination among those waiting for artificial limbs and rehabilitation as they could access high-quality equipment made with Western German technology at affordable prices (Interview with István Szigetvári…, 2006). Prostheses were not always perfect though: it often happened that an Angolan patient received a white-colour limb replacement. As he refused to return home, the prosthesis had to be painted before.

Generally, military cooperation was one of the most active areas of bilateral relations. In 1982, the two countries signed Cooperation Guidelines between the two Ministries of Defence. In addition to officer trainings and medical care, Hungary sent various military aid shipments to the MPLA on multiple occasions to support their armed struggle, first against the Portuguese, then against the UNITA (MOL, 1981c). Shipments – worth a grand total of 287.6 million forints (at values at that time, based on available archive data in MOL, 1977b; MOL, 1981c; MOL, 1982a; MOL, 1980d; MOL, 1977a) – included small arms, munitions, tents, military uniforms, typewriters, medical items, food and in one case, even a full battalion of 66 tanks of type T-34. Lastly, throughout the 80s, Hungary also hosted Angolan military officers and their families for rest and recuperation, usually six per year, among whom was also the Minister of Defence Pedro Maria Tonha 'Pedalé' in 1984. They were accommodated in the biggest resort of the defence forces in Balatonkenese, and provided with free board, general

medical screening, free time and cultural programmes, shopping in Skála and similar recreational activities (MOL 1981b; MOL 1984a; MOL 1989a; MOL 1987d; Interview with István Szigetvári…, 2006).

Changing Regimes, Changing Priorities

Despite the promising start, from the mid-80s, bilateral relations and cooperation started to systemically decline. Several factors led to this.

Due to its internal economic difficulties, from 1981 onwards Angola was more and more unable to repay its accumulating debts to both Hungary and its other lenders (in both the socialist bloc and Western Europe). In February 1982, the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Trade suspended all shipments and the issuance of new credit authorisations, tied cash transactions to a special permit and only authorised shipments with third-country bank guarantee. It also put Angola on the list of 'C' countries, which were subject to strict financial assessment and individual control. Bilateral economic relations therefore stagnated. Angola had to ask for a moratorium, as a result of which several rounds of debt rescheduling took place until 1989.[12] After the first round, and the slow restart of repayments, the Ministry re-authorised the shipments. However, the pertaining delays in bank transfers discouraged the Hungarian companies, exporting based on company or bank credits, from scaling up the volume of shipments to previous levels.

The deployment of experts and offering of scholarships by Hungary had a double objective. On the one hand, they aimed to support the development of Angola's economy and human capital. On the other, they served as an 'informal advertisement' to help promote the Hungarian economy, find markets for Hungarian products and source raw materials that Hungary did not have. The latter two aspirations did not materialize, however. While experts helped to build business contacts and scholars were shown the 'Hungarian economic achievements', this did not translate into increased trade flows. Angola lacked an exportable commodity base due to both its underdeveloped economy and ongoing civil war hindering agricultural production and mineral resource extraction (just as general industrial production).

The early 80s also saw the Hungarian economy entering a recession with increasing debt levels (Pritz, 2004, p.13). Thus, the government was forced to make savings in those external relations that were essentially based on free services, such as those with Angola. Even though the country was officially considered a "priority relationship" in Sub-Saharan Africa (MOL, 1985b). The instructions given to Ambassador József Németh, assuming his post in 1987,

[12] In 1998, the total debts totalled some 14 million US dollars (consisting of 2.7 million in debt plus interest on arrears) according to the Ministry of Finance. As time went on, debt recovery became more and more difficult. In a March 1998 fax sent to the Ministry of Finance by János Budai, the then Hungarian Ambassador to Pretoria, it was mentioned that the Angolan High Command had set a priority for repayments and "the Hungarian claim [was] not included in it". In 2002, Angola's debt was transferred (together with that of Cuba) to the Hungarian Claims Management Company that was managing certain foreign state debts (KÜM, 1998).

illustrated this shift: "In developing relations, we seek those opportunities which produce a significant political result with small financial investment (e.g., solidarity messages, declarations, medical treatment, scholarships, holiday visits). (…) In our economic relations, we keep those areas where there is solvent demand. (…) In case of aid to Angola, we look for opportunities where we can act as contractors or consultants in third-party-funded programmes" (MOL, 1987f). From 1986, TESCO also prioritised the training of Angolan experts, paid for in Hungarian currency, instead of sending out Hungarian experts, that required transactions in foreign currency (MOL, 1989c). Angola equally preferred to reduce the number of experts to host as it took out a significant amount from its budget while most of them were in fact unutilised on the plants due to the stalling production.

In general, the Angolan government appreciated the technical and material assistance provided by Hungary. However, in its foreign policy, it applied certain categories and Hungary fell into the second one together with other European socialist 'friends'.[13] The first category included Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia. Hungary was placed at the same level with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania, even though Bulgarians were having much more advanced relations with Angola.

It must also be noted that, in an assessment by the Hungarian foreign leadership, only the top Angolan leadership seemed to effectively believe in the socialist path and in the idea of building relations based on a common socialist ideology, and not even all of them. At mid-management level, which was primarily responsible for operationalising the actual cooperation, this was not self-evident (MOL, 1981e).

With the change of regime (in both countries), Angola almost completely disappeared from the horizon of the Hungarian foreign policy. Hungary's main priorities became to integrate in the political, economic, and military community of Western Europe, establish friendly relations with the neighbouring countries in the interest of Hungarian minorities and dismantle institutional relations with the former Soviet bloc. Trade relations with Angola were only considered in case of company- or bank-level barter transactions (since Angola could hardly pay in cash), and possibly in the food or light industry (MOL, 1989d). At one of the last official Angolan visits – led by the deputy Defence Minister –, Hungary made it clear, that in the future, it can engage in commercial transactions only and based on mutual interests (KÜM, 1991c).

Military relations also sank to a minimum level and were limited to Hungary's participation in the peace-keeping missions of the UN. Hungary deployed ten soldiers and a 15-member police contingent to UNAVEM II (1991-1995) and UNAVEM III (1995-1997) (KÜM, 1992b). They were followed by a three-member military and eight-member police contingent in MONUA (1997-1999) (Besenyő, 2015).

[13] The publicly available Hungarian National Archive material does not contain the criteria of categorisation. The internal records of the Angolan Foreign Ministry from this period might provide an answer to this (MOL, 1978a).

Due to the renewed outbreak of fighting, in November 1992, the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs evacuated the entire embassy staff. While initially there was an intention to return, on 30 June 1993 the mission was closed down, claiming general budgetary difficulties in foreign affairs.[14]

The late 90s and early 2000s have started to mark a new era in reinstating bilateral relations. As the then Angolan ambassador accredited from Prague, Manuel Quarta 'Punza' noted in his letter to President Árpád Gönz, the volume of cooperation was below potential and Hungary should act as a bridge within the Central and Eastern European region to develop relations (KÜM, 1997). Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Chicoty also noted on his 2001 visit to Hungary that there would be opportunities for Hungarian companies in Angola to help rebuild the infrastructure damaged by the civil war (KÜM, 2001).[15]

By joining the European Union (EU) in 2004, Hungary has also joined several common EU policies, including those related to foreign and security affairs, and development cooperation, including the joint strategic approach to the EU-Africa relations. Hungary's EU membership marked a new period, with the new objective to explore the opportunities the membership offered (T. Horváth, 2020, p.34). The political dialogue with the continent has centred around four main pillars: peace and security, good governance, regional integration and trade, and development for poverty reduction. As a member, Hungary has also been contributing to the European Development Fund (EDF), alongside other multilateral channels pooled by the UN, the World bank, and regional development banks and funds (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2020). While Hungarian state, business and non-profit actors may access funds and opportunities through these, bilateral relations need to be rebuilt and strengthened separately.

In September 2004, Angola opened its embassy in Hungary to facilitate the revival of bilateral cooperation. As the then ambassador João Miguel Vahekeni put, there were already several directions for the development of bilateral relations: "It is not that we are asking for money, not at all. Angola is a huge country in the process of reconstruction. It needs to rebuild the infrastructure that has been destroyed, to rebuild the small villages, to reorganise the schools, to reorganise agriculture and to lead them. We are looking for partners, engineers, doctors, geologists, etc., to participate in this reconstruction" (Interview with João Miguel…, 2006).

[14] Hungary thought to fill the diplomatic void first by accrediting the ambassador in Zimbabwe or in Portugal. Finally, the ambassador in South Africa was accredited. The reopening of the mission was not possible. From the earlier ten, only three embassies remained operational, and even those with small teams only.

[15] The late UNITA head, Jonas Savimbi, also noted at one point that in case of a new government in Angola, led by the opposition, they would not consider cooperating with the GDR and Czechoslovakia, but for Hungary, there would be opportunities on the Angolan market (Interview with Dr András Gulyás…, 2006).

Southern Opening: A New Beginning with Old-New Priorities

Recognizing the explosive growth of African economies over the past two decades and the untapped potentials the continent offers (Marsai, 2020), Hungary has also adjusted and renewed its geographic focus. Following and aligned to the 2011 strategy of 'global opening', in 2015 it has announced its policy of 'southern opening' aiming at revitalizing external (economic) relations with Sub-Saharan Africa (as well as Latin America, Asia and the Pacific) (T. Horváth, 2020, p.35).

The policy specifically aims at opening new opportunities for Hungarian companies in new markets, among others, in infrastructure development, agro-industrial development and water management. It also serves to promote the country and nurture relations with the Hungarian diaspora. Importantly, it links political and economic decisions, relationship-building and investments to relieve the migration pressure from the 'South' to Europe. As part of the policy, Hungary aims to conclude several bilateral, economic, and technical cooperation agreements, intergovernmental framework and inter-ministerial agreements on education, and reciprocal visa waiver agreements.

At the launch of the policy (at the 2nd Budapest Africa Forum), Hungarian Foreign Minister, Szijjártó Péter said that Hungary acted still in time in the global race for the leading positions in economic cooperation with Africa (Magyarország Kormánya, 2015). Indeed, the competition is fierce, with former colonial powers, newly emerging powers (such as BRICS), the US, Japan, Turkey and several smaller European countries all in the field. This current, third 'scramble for Africa' (after the 19th century colonisation and 20th century cold war rivalry) focuses on the same as the first two: resources, energy, and raw materials (Marshall, 2016, p.170). Marsai (2020, p.11) argues that in the pursuit of new economic opportunities, Hungary can build on a range of advantages. This includes the fact that it is not perceived as a big former colonial power and local leaders often favour smaller states over bigger ones to have negotiations as equal partners. There is an endless range of investment needs at small- and mid-size enterprise levels that bigger actors have no capacity to cover. Furthermore, Hungary can access EU funds through its multiple voluminous EDF contributions to implement socio-economic development projects, which in turn strengthen its image and power in follow-on profit-oriented deals.

Under the strategy of 'southern opening', Angola has emerged as a key new-old partner for Hungary. This is not by coincidence, considering its huge geoeconomic potentials including a range of renewable and non-renewable natural resources such as oil, natural gas, diamonds, fertile agricultural and grazing lands, rivers with large hydro-electric potential, industrial fishing grounds, sea access for maritime trade, natural sights, flora and fauna, ethnic and cultural heritage (Hodges, 2004, p.101). Over the past two decades, Angola has been among the fastest growing economies globally (T. Horváth, 2020, p.31; Búr, 2020, pp.174-75). In addition, the two decades of past cooperation during the socialist period has developed a

strong social capital and connections, which make it easier to upgrade relations than starting them from zero.

The driving logic and areas of cooperation so far already show significant resemblance to the past. The backbone of relations is the provision of scholarships to Angolan students through the programme Stipendium Hungaricum. Launched in 2017, the scheme allows 50 bachelor, master, or doctoral students to pursue studies in various fields fully funded by the Hungarian government, with a prioritization of engineering, technology, health, and agricultural sciences[16] (TPA, 2020; Jornal de Angola, 2018; Jornal de Angola, 2020b). On the one hand, the scholarship programme aims at enabling Angolan students to obtain competitive knowledge in the global labour market. On the other, it functions as a tool of 'soft power' in developing commercial, economic, scientific, and other relations with the home country of the students, who upon graduation can return home with fond memories of their time in Hungary and function as a 'cultural ambassador' in promoting bilateral ties (T. Horváth, 2020, p.39; Tarrósy, 2020, p.27). Thus, the programme can be interpreted as a renewed version of the socialist period's scholarship scheme and the concept of 'informal advertisement'.

When it comes to trade and economic relations, the primary objectives of the Hungarian foreign (economic) policy are similar to those of the 70s and 80s: to diversify export markets, allocate profitable investments, attract foreign investors, boost tourism to Hungary, stimulate cultural dialogue, and find allies for representing Hungarian positions and interests in international fora (Suha, 2020, p.50). The priority sectors include agriculture, (potable) water supply, basic sanitation, and electricity distribution in rural areas (Jornal de Angola, 2019a), as well as technology, industry, transport, higher education, culture, sports (Jornal de Angola, 2022). Hungary may be able to import larger quantities of iron ore and other mineral resources (Búr, 2020, pp.179-180), invest in emerging manufacturing industries (such as metal processing, textiles, cement, tobacco, food processing, and brewery); and exploit the purchasing power for its products thanks to the revenues from the oil sector.

Recent government information already highlights significant investments by Hungarian companies including the establishment of thirteen water supply plants by Hungarian Water Technology Corporation, as well as the renovation of previously installed Hungarian gas turbines, each in the value of some 100 million US dollars (Magyarország Kormánya, 2022). A Hungarian company is producing Angola's biometric passports (Magyarország Kormánya, 2021) of an investment value of some 145 million US dollars (Jornal de Angola, 2022). Loans are usually provided by (the Hungarian) Eximbank (T. Horváth, 2020, p.38), which has set up a fund of 40 million Euros to help Hungarian companies set up production, research, and development capabilities in the country and opened a credit line of some 135 million Euros to support bilateral trade (Angola Embassy, 2019, p.3.).

[16] The number of scholarships has been increased from 20 to 50 on the occasion of the Hungarian Foreign Minister's visit in February 2018. Angola only has to cover the flight costs for the students (Jornal de Angola, 2019a).

As in past times, the volume of Hungarian export to Angola significantly exceeds Angolan export to Hungary for the time being. This will most likely remain so in the foreseeable future. According to Hungarian Central Statistical Office data, external trade in goods over the past two decades has been as follows (see *Table 5*):

	Export to Angola	Import from Angola	Balance (for Hungary)
2001	100.2	0.8	+99.4
2002	112.3	24.1	+88.2
2003	295.1	2	+293.1
2004	208.4	-	+208.4
2005	756	0.2	+755.8
2006	1059.6	0	+1059.6
2007	825.7	-	+825.7
2008	803.8	-	+803.8
2009	653.3	11.7	+641.6
2010	489.4	-	+489.4
2011	1026.5	-	+1026.5
2012	14654.7	2.1	+14652.6
2013	1137.3	0.1	+1137.2
2014	6605.4	0.3	+6605.1
2015	1628.6	0	+1628.6
2016	1573.3	0.1	+1573.2
2017	12468.4	6.4	+12462
2018	1662.8	-	+1662.8
2019	657.9	63.6	+594.3
2020	1259	63.7	+1195.3
2021	2558.1	4.7	+2553.4

Table 5: External trade in goods at current prices in Hungarian million forints between 2001-2021. Source: KSH, 2021.

The two countries also aim to revive cooperation in the areas of security and defense. From Hungarian perspective, Angola is among the notable examples of African countries with minimal outward migration thanks to maintaining its security and developing its economy (Magyarország Kormánya, 2021). It has also strengthened border control against refugee flows from neighbouring countries (T. Horváth, 2020, p.38). The increase of scholarship places (from an annual 20 to 50) facilitates training opportunities for Angolan military officers and deputy officers as well, similarly to the training scheme in the 70s-80s (Index, 2018). Furthermore, Angola has been interested in replicating the Hungarian border control system (consisting of cameras, electrified fences, and a remote-control centre) to reduce its vulnerabilities, particularly in the North, to control population flow and natural resource traffic, and to strengthen its overall security (Jornal de Angola, 2020a).

In 2016, Hungary reopened its embassy in Luanda, officially inaugurated at the 2018 visit of the Hungarian Foreign Minister. This has also indicated the elevation of bilateral relations to a higher level (Búr, 2020, p.180). The two countries have also already signed a range of agreements. In 2016, they concluded an economic cooperation agreement (Jornal de Angola, 2019a) setting up a Joint Economic Commission. In 2019, they signed an economic and technical-scientific cooperation agreement and a visa waiver agreement for diplomatic and service passports. 2020 saw the conclusion of exchange agreements between the Angolan and Hungarian Institutes of International Relations and Trade, as well as the Ministries of Agriculture and Forestry (Jornal de Angola, 2021). In 2022, they also signed memoranda of understanding (MoUs) between the Agency for Private Investment and Promotion of Exports of Angola and the Hungarian Export Agency; between the Ministry of Energy and Water and Hungarian Water Technology Corporation; between the two countries' aeronautical authorities; as well as the Angolan and Hungarian Public Televisions (Jornal de Angola, 2022). Under negotiations are agreements on the promotion and reciprocal protection of investments; on double taxation; and on bilateral air services, to allow the Angolan state airline TAAG flights to fly the route of Luanda-Moscow-Budapest to boost direct passenger and cargo traffic (Magyarország Kormánya, 2020).

Conclusion: Future Outlooks

The 'Southern Opening' will not bring a radical overhaul of the priorities of the Hungarian foreign policy (Marsai, 2020, p.12). That said, Sub-Saharan Africa, including Angola will undoubtedly receive a stronger focus over the coming years following a quarter of a decade of very limited attention. As we have seen, Angola is among the key partners again, and Hungarian priorities have hardly changed since the 70s, nor have the forms of developing bilateral cooperation, such as the provision of scholarships, the export of Hungarian capital, goods and expertise and a range of agreements in various fields. Hungarian companies could potentially have several opportunities to support and benefit from the still ongoing reconstruction of post-civil war Angola. Some are able to invest independently, albeit on credit, some may need to rely on multilateral and third-party financing.

The common history and past cooperation in this case certainly provide a good basis and advantages for scaling up relations and the related economic, trade, cultural, and political initiatives. However, there are also a range of challenges, such as pervasive corruption, complex bureaucracy, and unreliability of infrastructure in Angola, geographic distance, cultural differences, misconceptions, and limited knowledge among most Hungarian entrepreneurs, who tend to have low levels of capital and be rather risk averse (Marsai, 2020, p.15). Yet, the Hungarian private sector will need to take up the task and pro-actively initiate, explore, and invest, building on the opportunities facilitated by governmental and international, multilateral sources (such as the EU, the various United Nations agencies and funds, the World Bank, the African Development Bank etc.). In this, the experience and

knowledge accumulated by the Hungarian academic and civil society sector on Africa in general and Angola in particular can further facilitate decision-making, priority-setting and relationship development (Suha, 2020, p.50) with a view to both mutual economic and financial interests and enabling inclusive and sustainable development.

Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank all the former diplomats and experts for their time and valuable contributions to this research by sharing their professional experience, personal memories, and analytical insights during the interviews. In particular, I express my sincere gratitude to late Dr Sándor Árgyelán, former and first ambassador of Hungary to Luanda for providing irreplaceable pieces of information and expert guidance and advice on multiple occasions throughout the research process. Special thanks also go to the Virágh family for taking hours of their time to recount details of their years and everyday life as a foreign expert family on-the-ground.

Conflict of Interest

The author hereby declares that no competing financial interest exists for this manuscript.

Notes on Contributor

Éva Hegedűs is a PhD candidate at Óbudai University, Doctoral School for Safety and Security Sciences and a junior member of the Africa Research Centre. She holds an M.A. in International Relations from Central European University (Hungary/Austria), and a double M.A in Portuguese Language and Literature as well as Communications (Journalism) from Eötvös Loránd University (Hungary). She has been working in the international humanitarian and development sector since 2009 with field experience in a range of contexts, including Mozambique and Uganda in Africa, as well as Bangladesh, Colombia, Laos, North-East Syria, and the Occupied Palestinian Territory, among others. She has filled programme development and management roles in various NGOs (Save the Children, the Norwegian Refugee Council, Mines Advisory Group, Terre des hommes etc.), GIZ, the IFRC and the UN Refugee Agency.

Bibliography

Interviews

Interview with Ágoston Zács, former TESCO representative – 25 October 2006

Interview with Dr András Gulyás, former Ambassador of Hungary to Angola – 24 November 2006

Interview with Attila Virágh, former Budavox expert and his wife, Panni Virágh – 8 November 2006

Interview with Dr Sándor Árgyelán, former Ambassador of Hungary to Angola – 4 November 2005; 18 October 2006; 21 November 2006

Interview with Dr Sándor Perjés, former Head of the Hungarian Trade Representation in Angola – 27 November 2006
Interview with István Szekeres, former Desk Officer for Angola at the Ministry of Defence Department for International Cooperation – 23 November 2006
Interview with João Miguel Vahekeni, former Ambassador of Angola to Hungary – 25 October 2006
Interview with Miklós Deák, former Hungarian Consul and diplomat in Angola – 7 December 2006
Interview with Sándor Kolesza, former Ambassador of Hungary to Angola – 24 October 2006

Archive materials

National Archives of Hungary / Magyar Országos Levéltár

Archive documents of the Hungarian Embassy in Angola from 1975-1989, retained by Department 5 of Political Government Organs (1945-) and Hungarian Workers' Party - Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party of the National Archives.

MOL (1976). Magyar Országos Levéltár 001306/1976 febr. 13.
MOL (1977a). Magyar Országos Levéltár 001031/2/1977 okt. 18.
MOL (1977b). Magyar Országos Levéltár 005985/5/1977 dec. 12. Katonai-gazdasági kapcsolatok (Military-Economic Relations)
MOL (1977c). Magyar Országos Levéltár 005985/3/1977 dec. 14.
MOL (1978a). Magyar Országos Levéltár 003292/1978 máj. 6.
MOL (1978b). Magyar Országos Levéltár 00754/1/1978 máj. 6.
MOL (1980a). Magyar Országos Levéltár 00670/1980 jan. 23.
MOL (1980b). Magyar Országos Levéltár 00682/1980 jan. 23
MOL (1980c). Magyar Országos Levéltár 002699/1980 ápr. 1.
MOL (1980d). Magyar Országos Levéltár 00477/3/1980 júl. 23. Országismertető (Country presentation)
MOL (1981a). Magyar Országos Levéltár 002678/2/1981 máj. 21.
MOL (1981b). Magyar Országos Levéltár 004659/1981 júl. 8.
MOL (1981c). Magyar Országos Levéltár 004846/1981 júl. 21. Katonai kapcsolatok (Military Relations)
MOL (1981d). Magyar Országos Levéltár 002389/44/1981 dec. 3.
MOL (1981e). Magyar Országos Levéltár 002389/45/1981 dec. 3.
MOL (1982a). Magyar Országos Levéltár 001737/1982 febr. 25.
MOL (1982b). Magyar Országos Levéltár 004813/1982 júl. 19.
MOL (1983a). Magyar Országos Levéltár 001016/1983 febr. 1.
MOL (1983b). Magyar Országos Levéltár 003343/1983 máj. 16.
MOL (1983c). Magyar Országos Levéltár/002532/1/1983. júl. 26.
MOL (1983d). Magyar Országos Levéltár 005687/1983 okt. 27.
MOL (1984a). Magyar Országos Levéltár 003441/1/1984 jún. 13
MOL (1984b). Magyar Országos Levéltár 003510/1/1984. júl. 12.
MOL (1985a). Magyar Országos Levéltár 003259/1985 jún. 12.
MOL (1985b). Magyar Országos Levéltár 003196/2/1985 aug. 29.
MOL (1986a). Magyar Országos Levéltár 003175/1986 máj. 28. Nagyköveti beszámoló (Gulyás András) (Ambassador Report – András Gulyás)
MOL (1986b). Magyar Országos Levéltár 00280/2/1986 jún. 25.
MOL (1986c). Magyar Országos Levéltár 001811/12/1986 okt. 20.
MOL (1987a). Magyar Országos Levéltár 0025/120-1/1987. jan. 16.
MOL (1987b). Magyar Országos Levéltár 002091/1987 márc. 25. Magyar-angolai kapcsolatok

összefoglaló (Hungarian-Angolan relations – summary)
MOL (1987c). Magyar Országos Levéltár 002295/1987 ápr. 7
MOL (1987d). Magyar Országos Levéltár 002548/1987 ápr. 21
MOL (1987e). Magyar Országos Levéltár 003551/1987 jún. 23.
MOL (1987f). Magyar Országos Levéltár 003789/1987 okt. 9.
MOL (1988a). Magyar Országos Levéltár 001820/1988 márc. 28
MOL (1988b). Magyar Országos Levéltár 002980/1988 jún. 20. Éves nagyköveti jelentés (Németh József) (Annual Ambassador Report – József Németh)
MOL (1988c). Magyar Országos Levéltár 00725/5/1988 szept. 5.
MOL (1988d). Magyar Országos Levéltár 003826/1988 szept. 20.
MOL (1988e). Magyar Országos Levéltár 00364/3/1988 szept. 21.
MOL (1989a). Magyar Országos Levéltár 002889/1989 jún. 21
MOL (1989b). Magyar Országos Levéltár 003329/1989 aug. 8.
MOL (1989c). Magyar Országos Levéltár 0033296/1989 aug. 8.
MOL (1989d). Magyar Országos Levéltár 002050/17/1989 szept. 15.

Foreign Ministry of Hungary / Külügyminisztérium

Archive documents of the Hungarian Embassy in Angola from 1990-2002, retained by the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Hungary.

KÜM (1991a). Külügyminisztérium Irattára 793/1991 jan. 7.
KÜM (1991b). Külügyminisztérium Irattára 4087/T/1991 ápr. 17.
KÜM (1991c). Külügyminisztérium Irattára 4592-1/1991 máj. 23.
KÜM (1991d). Külügyminisztérium Irattára 272/1992 1991. nov. 7.
KÜM (1992a). Külügyminisztérium Irattára 5371/1992 jún. 15.
KÜM (1992b). Külügyminisztérium Irattára 272-3/1992 júl. 31.
KÜM (1992c). Külügyminisztérium Irattára 714-3/T 1992. nov. 2.
KÜM (1997). Külügyminisztérium Irattára 5113-1/1997. máj. 30.
KÜM (1998). Külügyminisztérium Irattára 2767/1998 márc. 9.
KÜM (2001). Külügyminisztérium Irattára 2801-1/2001. máj. 2.

Hungarian Red Cross / Magyar Vöröskereszt

Archive documents of the Hungarian Red Cross from 1975-2002, retained by the Archives of Hungarian Red Cross.

MVK (1980). Magyar Vöröskereszt Irattára 1980. márc. 13.
MVK (1981). Magyar Vöröskereszt Irattára 1981. nov. 16. Dr. Horváth Imre jelentése (Report by Dr Imre Horváth)

Books, Reports, and Articles

Angola Embassy (2019) 'Angola-Hungary Newsletter'. No. 40, July. Available at http://www.angolaembassy.hu/letoltes/23.pdf (Accessed: 16 April 2022)
Apáti, S. (1981) *Angola – múlt, jelen, jövő*, Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó.
Árgyelán, S. (1983) *A szocialista orientáció kialakulása a volt portugál gyarmatokon, különös tekintettel az Angolai Népi Köztársaságra.* Budapest: Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt Politikai Főiskolája, Nemzetközi Politikai Tanszék.
Békés, Cs. (2004) 'Magyar külpolitika a szovjet szövetségi rendszerben, 1968-1989' In Gazdag, F. and

Kiss, J. L. (eds.) *Magyar külpolitika a 20. században*, Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó.
Besenyő, J. (2011) 'Hungarian Peacekeepers in Africa and a Hungarian Perspective on the UN Mission in Mozambique', *Romanian Military Thinking, Military Theory and Science – Journal of Romanian Armed Forces General Staff*, 2, pp. 174-183. Available at https://en-gmr.mapn.ro/app/webroot/fileslib/upload/files/revista_2%202011%20rmt.pdf (Accessed: 16 April 2022)
Besenyő, J. (2015) 'The Participation of Hungarian Soldiers in UN Peacekeeping Operations in Angola', *Proelium - Revista cientifica da academia Militar (Portugal)*. Serie VII. no. 9, pp. 121-137. Available at https://www.academia.edu/12759680/The_participation_of_Hungarian_soldiers_in_UN_peacekeeping_operations_in_Angola (Accessed: 16 April 2022)
Besenyő, J. (2019) *Magyar katonai és rendőri műveletek az afrikai kontinensen 1989-2019 / Participation of Hungary in African Operations between 1989-2019*. Budapest: Óbudai Egyetem Biztonságtudományi Doktori Iskola.
Besenyő, J. (2020) 'Participation of V4 Countries in African Peacekeeping Missions', *Security and Defence Quarterly*, 29(2), pp. 7-19.
Besenyő, J., Búr, G., Horváth, S., and Rákóczi, I. (2017) *A participação da Hungria nas missões de paz da ONU em Angola*. Budapest: Honvéd Vezérkar Tudományos Kutatóhely.
Búr, G. (2020) 'Angola', in: Marsai V. and Nagyné, R. E. (eds.) *Magyarország és Afrika 2018-2025*. Budapest: Ludovika Egyetemi Kiadó, pp. 169-180.
Fage, J. D. (2004) *Afrika története*. Budapest: Osiris.
Gulyás, A. (ed.) (1978) *Az Angolai Népi Felszabadítási Mozgalom I. kongresszusa*. Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó.
Hodges, T. (2004) *Angola – anatomy of an oil state*. Lysaker: Fridtjof Nansen Institute.
Index (2018) 'Szijjártó Péter újranyitja a magyar nagykövetséget Angolában', *Index*, February 14. Available at https://index.hu/kulfold/2018/02/14/szijjarto_peter_ujranyitja_a_magyar_nagykovetseget_angolaban/ (Accessed: 15 April 2022).
Jornal de Angola (2018) 'Angola e Hungria reforçam relações', *Jornal de Angola*, December 20. Available at https://www.jornaldeangola.ao/ao/noticias/angola-e-hungria-reforcam-relacoes/ (Accessed: 16 April 2022).
Jornal de Angola (2019a) 'Hungria aumenta bolsas de estudo para angolanos', *Jornal de Angola*, January 15. Available at https://www.jornaldeangola.ao/ao/noticias/hungria-aumenta-bolsas-de-estudo-para-angolanos/ (Accessed: 16 April 2022).
Jornal de Angola (2019b) 'Angola e Hungria preparam acordos', *Jornal de Angola*, March 14. Available at https://www.jornaldeangola.ao/ao/noticias/angola-e-hungria-preparam-acordos/ (Accessed: 16 April 2022).
Jornal de Angola (2019c) 'Hungria quer fornecer meios para a fiscalização electrónica das fronteiras', *Jornal de Angola*, December 12. Available at https://www.jornaldeangola.ao/ao/noticias/hungria-quer-fornecer-meios-para-a-fiscalizacao-electronica-das-fronteiras/ (Accessed: 16 April 2022).
Jornal de Angola (2020a) 'Angola interessada no sistema húngaro de controlo fronteiriço', *Jornal de Angola*, February 25. Available at https://www.jornaldeangola.ao/ao/noticias/angola-interessada-no-sistema-hungaro-de-controlo-fronteirico/ (Accessed: 16 April 2022).
Jornal de Angola (2020b) 'Hungria dá por ano 50 bolsas de estudo', *Jornal de Angola*, November 27. Available at https://www.jornaldeangola.ao/ao/noticias/hungria-da-por-ano-50-bolsas-de-estudo/ (Accessed: 16 April 2022).

Jornal de Angola (2021) 'Assinado acordo com a Hungria no ensino superior', *Jornal de Angola*, November 3. Available at https://www.jornaldeangola.ao/ao/noticias/assinado-acordo-com-a-hungria-no-ensino-superior/ (Accessed: 16 April 2022).
Jornal de Angola (2022) 'Cooperação com a Hungria vai ser dinamizada', January 30. Available at https://www.jornaldeangola.ao/ao/noticias/cooperacao-com-a-hungria-vai-ser-dinamizada/ (Accessed: 16 April 2022).
Kiss, J. L. (2004) 'A kádárizmustól az EU-tagságig: a magyar külpolitika metamorfózisa' In Gazdag, F. and Kiss, J. L. (eds.) *Magyar külpolitika a 20. században*, Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó.
KSH (2021) *17.1.1.7. A külkereskedelmi termékforgalom forintban, országok szerint [folyó áron, millió Ft]*. Available at https://www.ksh.hu/stadat_files/kkr/hu/kkr0007.html (Accessed: 15 April 2022).
Magyarország Kormánya (2015) *Magyarország időben lépett a déli nyitással*. November 2. Available at https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/hu/kulgazdasagi-es-kulugyminiszterium/hirek/magyarorszag-idoben-lepett-a-deli-nyitassal (Accessed: 16 April 2022).
Magyarország Kormánya (2020) *Idén 43 százalékkal nőtt a magyar-angolai kereskedelmi forgalom*. November 18. Available at https://kormany.hu/hirek/iden-43-szazalekkal-nott-a-magyar-angolai-kereskedelmi-forgalom (Accessed: 15 April 2022).
Magyarország Kormánya (2021) *Nagyon fontos az afrikai országokkal való együttműködés*. October 27. Available at https://kormany.hu/hirek/szijjarto-peter-nagyon-fontos-az-afrikai-orszagokkal-valo-egyuttmukodes (Accessed: 15 April 2022).
Magyarország Kormánya (2022) *Magyar vállalatok jelentős beruházásokra készülnek Angolában*. January 28. Available at https://kormany.hu/hirek/szijjarto-peter-nagyon-fontos-az-afrikai-orszagokkal-valo-egyuttmukodes (Accessed: 15 April 2022).
Marsai, V. (2020) 'Magyarország és Afrika 2018-2025' In Marsai V. and Nagyné, R. E. (eds.) *Magyarország és Afrika 2018-2025*, Budapest: Ludovika Egyetemi Kiadó, pp. 9-17.
Marshall, T. (2016) *Prisoners of Geography*. London: Elliott & Thompson Ltd.
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2020) *Multilateral Projects – 2020*. Available at https://idcmap.mfa.gov.hu/multilateral_projects/2020 (Accessed: 17 April 2022).
Pritz, P. (2004) 'Magyarország külpolitikája a 20. században' In Gazdag, F. and Kiss, J. L. (eds.) *Magyar külpolitika a 20. században*. Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó.
Suha, Gy. (2020) 'A magyar afrikanisztika lehetőségei a külpolitika támogatásában' In Marsai V. and Nagyné, R. E. (eds.) *Magyarország és Afrika 2018-2025*. Budapest: Ludovika Egyetemi Kiadó, pp. 43-54.
Tarrósy, I. (2020) 'Magyarország Afrika-politikája a kommunista korszakban' In Marsai V. and Nagyné, R. E. (eds.) *Magyarország és Afrika 2018-2025*. Budapest: Ludovika Egyetemi Kiadó, pp. 19-29.
T. Horváth, A. (2020) 'A déli nyitás és Afrika' In Marsai V. and Nagyné, R. E. (eds.) *Magyarország és Afrika 2018-2025*. Budapest: Ludovika Egyetemi Kiadó, pp. 31-41.
TPA (2020) *Angola beneficia 50 bolsas anuais da Hungria*. November 26. Available at https://www.tpa.ao/ao/noticias/angola-beneficia-50-bolsas-anuais-da-hungria/ (Accessed: 16 April 2022).

The Polish Development and Humanitarian Aid for Kenya

Agata Karbowska[1]

Abstract:

Kenya has been among the recipients of Polish Official Development Assistance since 2011. Polish aid to Kenya is improving the quality of healthcare, the access to high-quality education at all levels, increasing the capacity of emergency services, equalizing educational and life chances for children from groups at risk of exclusion, entrepreneurship development and activities to increase the efficiency of micro and small enterprises, and initiatives for environmental protection.

Poland, on the basis of the Multiannual Development Cooperation Program 2021–2030. Solidarity for Development, supports the communities of 10 priority countries, including Kenya. Earlier, between 2016–2020, it was also supporting the communities of 12 priority countries, including Kenya. Humanitarian aid is often provided under an ad hoc procedure in connection with emerging humanitarian crises that affect the inhabitants of a given region. Humanitarian aid can be delivered both bilaterally and through multilateral channels through contributions to specialized international organizations. The PCPM Foundation ran the program of development of the specialist rescue system in Kenya between 2021–2023. Development aid in Kenya is also provided by the Polish Humanitarian Organization. Caritas Polska helps starving Africa.

Keywords:

Development aid; humanitarian assistance; Poland; Kenya.

[1] Institute of the Middle and Far East, Jagiellonian University in Krakow;
ORCID: 0000-0002-6993-2207; agata.karbowska@uj.edu.pl; agatakarbowska5@wp.pl

Introduction

Most of the world has recently been focusing on the crisis in Ukraine, its struggle to defend one of its last strongholds in the east, but the consequences of the Russian invasion are much more far-reaching, especially in Africa. Russia is the main exporter of energy and metals and covers more than 18% of world wheat exports. Ukraine is the fourth largest exporter of corn, accounting for 13% of global exports and a further 7% of global wheat exports (Guenette et al, 2022). The war contributed to the collapse of industrial production and limitations in supply chains, raising energy and food prices. Across the Horn of Africa (Ethiopia, Kenya, and Somalia), millions of households now face multiple concurrent shocks to food security. The region is suffering the worst drought in 40 years, poor humanitarian access due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and the food crisis and rising prices in the wake of the Russian invasion have made the situation dire. Hundreds of thousands of people are on the verge of starvation and death. A large-scale climate-induced humanitarian crisis is unfolding in the Horn of Africa. According to the Executive Secretary Dr. Workneh Gebeyehu's speech during the meeting on the on-going drought in the region of the Intergovernmental Office for Development (IGAD) which took place in Nairobi on 13 May 2022, 40.4 million people are facing high levels of food insecurity (IGAD Ministerial Meeting on Ongoing Drought, 2022). An estimated 15.5 to 16 million people are in urgent need of food aid due to the drought. The organization's latest figures show that 8.1 million people are food insecure in Ethiopia, 3.5 million in Kenya, 7.7 million in Somalia, 8.9 million in South Sudan, 10.6 million in Sudan, and 1.6 million in Uganda (IGAD Ministerial Meeting on Ongoing Drought, 2022). All in attendance agreed that the next six months are extremely critical for saving lives and livelihoods. The region needs a global response to the ongoing food security crisis and also demands support in other spheres.

The economic and social development of the south-eastern part of Kenya relies heavily on agriculture. It is one of the main sources of income for the inhabitants. It is also an area with a dry climate, characterized by the seasonality of rainfall and high susceptibility to climate change, which negatively affects the stability of the entire agricultural sector. Farmers use rainwater for their crops. Due to the difficulties involved in developing an effective irrigation system that uses this type of water and creating appropriate conditions for its storage, the resource losses can be as high as 70-80 percent. These factors make poverty, the lack of regular access to clean water and disturbed food security daily problems.

For this study, three types of data were examined: source literature and documents, the law, and large number of media discourse available online in English and Polish. The article is divided into several sections: first focused on the theory of development aid and humanitarian assistance worldwide, then the Polish proposition of the implementation of the EU, OECD, and UNDP regulations, and then the main part of the article concentrates on the past years of Polish AID through the example of the NGOs. The deductions are summarized at the end in the conclusion.

Theoretical background – development and humanitarian aid

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development defined the Official Development Assistance (ODA) simply as "government aid that promotes and specifically targets the economic development and welfare of developing countries" (OECD, 2022); or fully as: "Flows of official financing administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries as the main objective, and which are concessional in character with a grant element of at least 25 percent (using a fixed 10% rate of discount). By convention, ODA flows comprise contributions of donor government agencies, at all levels, to developing countries ('bilateral ODA') and to multilateral institutions" (IMF, 2003). ODA data is collected, verified, and made publicly available by the OECD. The help from official donors reached in 2021 a record $178.9 billion USD (up 4.4% in real terms from 2020, when developed countries took action to help developing countries who were struggling with the COVID-19 crisis). The total ODA in 2021 corresponds to 0.33% of the total gross national income (GNI) of the members of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) donors and is still below the UN target of 0.7%. In 1969, the DAC adopted the ODA as the "gold standard" of foreign aid and it remains the main source of financing for development aid. Within the framework of development aid, a distinction is made between bilateral,[2] trilateral, and multilateral aid.[3]

The humanitarian aid is among the goals of the United Nations, as defined in the Charter as "achieving international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian nature" (United Nations Chapter I: Article 1). The obligation to cooperate with other members of the international community, *inter alia* during humanitarian operations, rests on all members of the UN: "all Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter (Article 2 pt 5)". The United Nations did it for the first time after World War II helping to rebuild the devastated European continent (United Nations, 2022a). The organization is currently established by the international community to coordinate emergency humanitarian aid caused by natural and man-made disasters in areas beyond the capacity of national authorities alone.

International humanitarian responsibility was also discussed by one of the largest international organizations, the European Union, the legal basis of whose policy in the field of providing aid beyond its borders are the provisions of the treaty establishing the European Community, in particular Title 20 of the Development Cooperation Treaty, which states that the Community's policy in this area complements other policies and is intended to promote the sustainable economic and social development of developing countries, in particular the

[2] Bilateral aid is provided directly to people and organizations in the recipient country by donor countries. This aid is intended, for example, for bilateral programs and projects, scholarships, humanitarian aid, aid to refugees residing in the territory of the recipient country, debt relief, etc.

[3] Multilateral aid is provided by many donor countries through organizations international and multilateral agreements or global funds.

least favoured among them, harmonious with the gradual inclusion of developing countries into the world economy, and combating poverty in developing countries.

The community was involved in providing aid all over the world already in the 1960s, however, due to the constantly growing scale of activities undertaken, it was necessary to define in detail the principles of the union's activities in this field. This issue is currently regulated by the regulation of the Council of the European Union of 20 June 1996 on humanitarian aid by the European Union. It states, *inter alia*, that wherever people are in danger, are victims of natural disasters, wars, and conflicts, or other similar extraordinary circumstances, they have the right to international humanitarian aid if their own authorities are not able or willing to effectively provide.

The European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid – which provides a common vision that guides the action of the EU, its Member States and Community levels, in humanitarian aid to third-party countries and is supported by the main European humanitarian NGOs – defines the aim of humanitarian aid: to provide a needs-based emergency response aimed at preserving life, preventing and alleviating human suffering and maintaining human dignity wherever the need arises if governments and local actors are overwhelmed, unable or unwilling to act (European Commission, 2022). Humanitarian aid, defined as activities carried out to provide assistance to disadvantaged people, especially when the responsible authorities cannot or do not want to provide such assistance, e.g., sending food to people affected by a natural disaster amounted. The debt relief remained low at $545 million USD. ODA spent on refugees admitted in donor countries in 2021 was $9.3 billion. As Borton says, "a striking feature of the humanitarian system is the continuing lack of clarity as to what the 'humanitarian system' actually consists of and where its boundaries lie" (Borton, 2009, p. 4). The humanitarian aid is still the main aim in the destabilized countries where "killing, maiming, raping, and displacing civilians are all-too-frequent features of the strategies of belligerents" (Walker and Maxwell, 2009, p. xii). Walker and Maxwell also added to this list the "ethnic cleansing" and the reality of the "well-fed dead" – people who have been temporarily rescued by international efforts but then are abandoned to their fates afterwards – of the post-Cold War period.

The Republic of Poland, as the member of OECD, UN, and EU, also provide development and humanitarian aid. Polish Aid mission: "Through development cooperation containing humanitarian aid, development aid, and global education, Poland wants to contribute to building a more sustainable world for present and future generations" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2022a). The primary goal of humanitarian aid is to save lives and to ensure respect for human dignity for people threatened or affected by disasters, both natural and those caused by human activity. The Polish Official Development Assistance are donations and loans made by governmental institutions or international organizations to support economic development and prosperity in developing countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2022b).

Polish aid system – origins and main institutions

Polish humanitarian aid is channelled mainly in the form of payments to international institutions and in the form of co-financing the activities of Polish non-governmental humanitarian organizations. Humanitarian organizations and agencies have a permanent, extensive aid distribution network. Polish missions, mainly being the embassies of the Republic of Poland, also actively participate in humanitarian aid actions. Responding to humanitarian needs, it is necessary to identify the most vulnerable groups among the general population of the affected population – taking into account the special needs of women, children, the elderly, the sick, and the disabled.

The Millennium Development Goals (declaration of the UN General Assembly), defined at the Millennium Summit, which took place on 6–8 September 2000, were adopted by all Member States, including Poland. On this basis, Poland set goals modified to its own local reality, they were developed by the team of the Institute for Market Economy Research on the order of the UN System Coordinator in Poland (UNIC Warsaw, 2022). They were described in the "Report on the Millennium Development Goals for Poland" (UNIC Warsaw 2022 – report part I, report part II).

The main legal document regulating Polish development aid is the Development Cooperation Act of 2011. The act sanctioned the activities of the Polish government as part of the development cooperation and provided a legal basis for their continuation; the act sealed most of the main weaknesses of Polish aid, but also slightly opened up new opportunities that will or may not be used (depending on the political will of the government); the act introduced new organizational rules for Polish aid, which, however, slightly differ from the previous practice. Based on the above-mentioned act, the Council of Ministers adopts a document called the Multiannual Development Cooperation Program, which defines the geographical and thematic areas of activities supported by Poland. The program sets out two main directions of Polish aid: six countries of the former USSR (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine), and the selected poorest countries in the region of East Africa as well as those of North Africa and Asia. This Act defines the organization, principles, and forms of development cooperation undertaken with countries included in the list of recipients of official development assistance adopted by the OECD Development Assistance Committee, covering countries included in the Eastern Partnership program, hereinafter referred to as "developing countries". Striving to implement the provisions of the program, government agencies cooperate with non-governmental organizations, public finance sector units, the Polish Academy of Sciences and its subordinate units as well as with universities at the national level, in addition to international organizations (the European Union, the United Nations, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). Development aid projects are also implemented through Polish missions abroad. Other forms of development cooperation are: the "Polish Aid Volunteering" program, the activities of the Academy of Public Administration of the Eastern Partnership, as well as scholarship programs (named after Stefan Banach and Ignacy Łukasiewicz).

The European Union (EU) is one of the world's largest humanitarian aid donors. Some of these funds come directly from the Member States, but, nevertheless, a significant share of funds also come from the EU budget. The EU law and documents lays down the organization, rules, and forms of development cooperation undertaken with countries included on the list of official development assistance recipients adopted by the OECD Development Assistance Committee, comprising countries included in the Eastern Partnership programme, hereinafter referred to as "developing countries". The main document remains the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (especially Articles 208-211). The European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO) is responsible for the EU's humanitarian aid policy. The ECHO's mission is to protect human life, alleviate suffering, and ensure the integrity and dignity of people affected by natural and man-made disasters. The ECHO provides assistance through over 200 partners, i.e., NGOs, UN agencies, and international organizations such as the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. The Republic of Poland realising development cooperation shall take under consideration the goals of development cooperation set out in binding international agreements from its membership accession in 2004. The Polish government has been providing funds for aid for over 30 years, but it was only in 2004 that the value of Polish Official Development Aid increased by leaps and bounds. One of the conditions for the country's accession to the EU was to join the EU Development Aid. In practice, this means that Poland cannot fail to meet the most basic requirements: annually transferring an appropriate contribution to the EU budget for development aid and conducting its own activities in the field of development cooperation.

The Polish Aid Program is implemented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in cooperation with other government and local administration bodies, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs sets the priorities of Polish aid, coordinates the policy in the field of development cooperation, and administers aid funds (mainly development projects and humanitarian aid). The Department of Development Cooperation (DWR) in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for servicing the Minister for Development Cooperation and for coordinating development cooperation (Serwis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2022). It also supports the activities of the National Development Cooperation Coordinator and the Development Cooperation Program Council. The department is responsible for the preparation of the Polish development cooperation program concerning development and humanitarian aid, global education, and the foreign volunteering program addressed to the priority countries of Polish aid. As part of these activities, he prepares a long-term development cooperation program and plans for Polish development cooperation implemented in Poland (Serwis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2022). The Ministry of Finance is granting financial aid, mostly debt reduction, preferential loans, and payments to international financial institutions. The Ministry of Education and Science (Bureau for International Exchange) is providing scholarship assistance, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration supports people applying for refugee status in Poland and provides material humanitarian and rescue aid.

The tools of polish development cooperation are multi- and bilateral aid, i.e., bilateral programs and projects, development projects (implemented in the beneficiary countries and for their benefit by various entities), the Small Grants System (implemented in the beneficiary countries by Polish diplomatic missions), support for democracy, humanitarian aid, foreign volunteering, financial aid (debt cancellation, loans), and scholarships (for people studying in Poland). The Multilateral aid are contributions and voluntary contributions European Union (general budget, European Development Fund – EDF) United Nations agencies, programs, and funds (e.g., WFP, CERF, UNRWA, UNOCHA, UNICEF, UNHCR); International Committee of the Red Cross Development Banks: World Bank, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, European Investment Bank OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). Polish development cooperation is planned for a long-term perspective. The currently binding strategic document is the *Multiannual Development Cooperation Program for 2021-2030. Solidarity for development*. The current strategic document is closely correlated with the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, and the priorities are based on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The long-term development cooperation program is the most important document defining, *inter alia*, geographic, and thematic priorities of Polish aid.

The thematic areas of polish development cooperation include democracy and human rights on the one hand and system transformation on the other. The first group contains good governance, human rights, support for independent media and access to reliable and objective information, support for organizations and civil societies, and exchange of school youth and students. The second includes regional development, small and medium-sized enterprises and creating new jobs, agriculture and rural development, public safety and border management, education and professional and social activation, support for entrepreneurship, professionalization and development of public administration, support for societally disadvantaged groups, cooperation in the field of education and health protection, and environmental protection. The humanitarian assistance in Poland means peace missions in the form of demining, strengthening civilian control over the army, demobilization and retraining of soldiers, direct costs of providing humanitarian aid by the military, and police training, except for paramilitary purposes (e.g., riot suppression).

Currently, the priority countries of Polish aid are ten countries, e.g., four countries in the Eastern Partnership (Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine) and six countries in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East (Ethiopia, Kenya, Lebanon, Palestine, Senegal, and Tanzania).

Official Development Assistance in Poland – NGO examples who work in Kenya

The nature of activity of Polish non-governmental organizations operating in the area of development cooperation can be as a partner in the implementation of development projects (including humanitarian aid, global education, and volunteering); or co-shaping and monitoring of state activities in the field of programming and implementation of development cooperation; participation in the Development Cooperation Program Council; social consultations; regular dialogue based on the Principles of cooperation with social partners; or creating a positive image and brand of Polish development cooperation.

Every year, more and more migrants from Africa come to Poland and everything indicates that this is an upward trend. Many tourists from Poland visit Kenya (Nation 2020). Statistics tell unequivocally that Kenya is the third largest travel and tourism destination in Africa (Warah 2021). Therefore, socio-economic dependencies between Poland and Kenya are developing.

Polish Centre for International Aid (PCPM) is a charitable organization ("*Public benefit organization"*) specializing in international aid, namely: humanitarian (helping victims of natural disasters, crises or conflicts); development (supporting social and economic development); emergency (providing medical and rescue aid in the event of natural or anthropogenic disasters). It was founded in 2006 by Dr Wojciech Wilk, and in 2014, it constituted the PCPM Emergency Medical Team – the only one in Poland and one of the few medical rapid response groups in Europe able to travel to an area affected by natural disasters (e.g., earthquakes) or humanitarian crises within 24 hours. Equipped with light and medium field hospitals, in accordance with WHO guidelines, the PCPM Emergency Medical Team (EMT) provides help – as Type 1 EMT – even in the most damaged areas for a period of 2 weeks to 1 month, having its own supply of drugs and dressing materials for 1,400 patients, food supply, and autonomous water purification and electricity production systems; or as a Type 2 EMT – 20-bed field hospital, self-sufficient for 2 weeks without surgery and X-ray (Fundacja Polskie Centrum Pomocy Międzynarodowej, 2022b).

As a disaster risk reduction and capacity building of rescue services, the PCPM has implemented the largest fire departments training program and facilitated the creation of emergency services in several counties of this country. Nearly half of all firefighters in the country have been trained by it. It is the largest Polish development aid project in East Africa. Currently, the PCPM creates the Central Fire Department Training Centre – located on the outskirts of Nairobi. The project aims to expand the network of fire departments and provide them with equipment for medical and specialist rescue. The PCPM plans to produce Kenya's first fire truck, which could serve as a model for rescue vehicles in the region. The PCPM project is financed by the Polish Development Assistance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland in the amount of 5,431,442 PLN (Fundacja Polskie Centrum Pomocy Międzynarodowej, 2022a). The direct recipients are two fire buildings that will be built along the road from Nairobi to Mombasa as well as fire units throughout Kenya, which will receive

hardware support. Firefighters and firemen will take part in certified professional training provided by the Firefighters' and Rescue Training Centre in Kiambu, founded by Polish aid (60 people).

Indirect recipients, in turn, are Residents of Makueni and Machakos counties (approx. 190 thousand inhabitants), who will be provided with greater fire safety as well as better and faster assistance in the event of an accident, in addition to people traveling along the Nairobi-Mombasa Road (approx. 20 thousand people per day), who will be provided with better and faster road and medical rescue.

The Redemptoris Missio Foundation helps the sick and those in need from 1992 as the initiative of the Medical University of Karol Marcinkowski in Poznań. They organize trips for medical staff – dentists, cardiologists, ophthalmologists, hearing care professionals, nurses, and midwives. Volunteers diagnose and treat patients in places where there is no access to the achievements of modern medicine. They supply mission clinics and hospitals with medical equipment and dressings. Thanks to the help of the foundation, patients can count on professional care with the use of reliable diagnostic and therapeutic equipment.

Thanks to a grant from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, the Redemptoris Missio Humanitarian Aid Foundation is establishing an emergency department in Kenya. In cooperation with missionaries, they build medical infrastructure: clinics, health centres, and nursing homes. They also help with modernizing existing facilities. The Foundation established, e.g., House of Dreams in Kenya – a place for helping children from dysfunctional families. Moreover, volunteers train the staff of African health centres. To make the help as effective as possible, they prepare volunteers and missionaries for activities in the tropics during conferences, lectures, workshops, and publications. Strengthening the diagnostic and therapeutic potential of the health centre in Kithatu, a small town located in a mountainous region in the central part of Kenya, on one of the hills, there is a mission of the sisters of the congregation of St. Families, who run a school, a nursing home for children in difficult life situation, and a health centre.

In November 2021, medical practitioners public health specialists, and paramedics arrived to work at the centre, whose main task was to train local medical personnel in the basics of emergency medicine. The training was important to make the best use of the potential of the newly opened emergency room, the renovation and equipment of which were part of the project financed by the polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Before the team of medics started their lectures and exercises, they handed over the equipment brought from Poland and began to organize the work of the chamber. The nursing staff and missionaries responsible for the function of the centre were involved in arranging the room and establishing the rules of its operation. Thanks to teamwork, generally accepted standards and recommendations were adapted to local conditions. The room was equipped with basic medical equipment, including AED defibrillator and vital signs monitor far exceeding local standards as basic equipment is lacking in many local hospitals. These projects are implementing thanks to grants from the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The projects of the Redemptoris Missio foundation received grants in the "Polish development aid 2021". The total of the funds was approx. 1.5 million PLN (Redemptoris Missio, 2022).

Another organization providing humanitarian and development aid to victims of humanitarian crises is **Polish Humanitarian Action,** founded in 1992, which grew out of Polish society's need for agency. Janina Ochojska inspired by *Equi Libre* decided to help other countries and organized the first aid transport to besieged Sarajevo. She mobilized a huge number of Poles to act for the benefit of those in need. The first action became a showcase, which enabled the foundation to conduct further activities and led to the sanctioning of it in 1994 with the name reflecting the participation of Polish society and the bottom-up nature of the aid provided (Polska Akcja Humanitarna, 2022).

The pillars of the organization's activities are providing humanitarian aid to people affected by natural disasters and armed conflicts as well as responding to the problem of poverty. To ensure the highest quality of the support it is providing, the PAH become actively involved in the international system of humanitarian aid clusters. PAH systematically monitors changes in the sector and in the techniques for providing humanitarian aid, and constantly adapts to them. Ever since the beginning of the activities, PAH has helped the needy in 44 countries around the world. Due to climate change, it helps through comprehensive support for agricultural cooperatives and schools in southern Kenya.

Experience in the field of humanitarian aid in Somalia and South Sudan allowed PAH to extend its activities to development aid in Kenya. In April 2018, it began operating in the south-eastern part of the country in the provinces of Machakos, Makueni, and Kitui. There, the program brought very good results, so they decided to extend their activities to new provinces and cooperatives. In order to ensure the comprehensiveness of activities, the project addresses the issues of access to water, hygiene promotion, counteracting the negative effects of climate change as well as increasing entrepreneurship and agricultural production.

Working with local specialists, PAH introduces new methods of collecting and saving water by building sand dams, shallow wells, and water reservoirs in schools. Such solutions allow for better use and storage of water reserves. It organizes training in the field of management, project management, and administration as well as farming for local agricultural cooperatives. They bring together the most enterprising farmers. Cooperatives are responsible, *inter alia*, for conducting local investments related to water management and agricultural production. Their members are role models for other rural residents, which contributes to improving the quality of life of all rural residents. PAH conducts courses on disaster risk reduction (DRR) for local officials. The acquired knowledge allows them to develop activities early enough, including the implementation of environmental protection solutions and increasing the resilience of the local community to future crises.

The **Salesian Missionary Volunteering – Youth for the World** was founded in 1997 to restore dignity and provide everyone with such tools that will allow them to take responsibility

for themselves, their family, and society (Salezjański Wolontariat Misyjny - Młodzi Światu, 2022b). The organization performs missionary service in 43 countries on four continents, helping the poor and the excluded, providing food and medicine, supporting and teaching, running houses for street children and single mothers, building schools, boarding houses, and wells (Salezjański Wolontariat Misyjny - Młodzi Światu, 2022b). It has already completed over 450 projects in the field of education, medical aid, and infrastructure building in the poorest regions of the world. Salesian Missionary Volunteering is equalizing opportunities for youth (especially girls) from poor backgrounds in Nairobi to access high-quality vocational education through modernization of the mechanical and tailoring departments at Don Bosco Boys' Town Technical School. Modernization of tailoring and mechanical departments with modern machines – enriching the school's educational offer and enabling students to practice on devices that meet the latest standards – were the main goals of the project, which focused on training activities for teachers of the mechanical and tailoring department on the use of new machines and the possibility of using them during classes with students as well as training for all students at the school in soft skills useful on the labour market (Salezjański Wolontariat Misyjny - Młodzi Światu, 2022).

Awareness Against Human Trafficking - HAART was founded in 2010 by a group of lawyers, missionaries, and humanitarians under the leadership of Radoslaw Malinowski, having seen that Kenya had become a hub of human trafficking in East and Central Africa. It is a non-governmental organization based in Nairobi dedicated to fighting human trafficking in Eastern Africa. HAART works through a multi-disciplinary approach applying the UN Four P's Strategy[4] to combat trafficking of persons. The organization is providing a comprehensive care for victims of human trafficking. They also provide medical and psychological care, legal aid, social rehabilitation, and to finance education and training for children and adult victims of human trafficking. Increasing access to basic social services, vocational education, and stable employment among women who have survived human trafficking and young people at risk of exclusion. The project *Let us have a future!* aims to offer temporary financial support to survivors of human trafficking and modern slavery in Kenya. Due to the effects of COVID-19, most of the survivors have lost their sources of income. They not only risk being re-trafficked, but they are also facing hunger and eviction from their homes. The project seeks to support 100 survivors and their families for the next five months in order to preserve their livelihoods. This will enable them to continue their reintegration process (Awareness Against Human Trafficking, 2022).

[4] Prevention, Protection, Prosecution, Partnerships, Sewing Together

Conclusion

Development aid is a broad term that covers many forms of support provided by developed countries to developing countries. The EU Member States, together with the European Commission, are collectively the largest aid donor in the world. In an increasingly complex and rapidly changing humanitarian environment, the European Union (EU) has set out its vision, based on common principles, in a policy document aimed at improving the coherence, effectiveness, and quality of humanitarian aid. Poland, as a member of the EU, is one of the donors who help developing countries, e.g., Kenya. Countries in the Horn of Africa are experiencing changes in temperature and rainfall as a direct result of climate change. Kenya is one of these countries being affected the most at present.

Poland actively participates in the efforts of the international community to reduce poverty in the world and support developing countries. The projects co-financed under the Polish development cooperation program of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland are diverse. The Polish Aid covers most of the dedicated actions of the development, humanitarian, and educational aid provided to Kenya. The assistance is based on NGOs, selected for each project in a competition and required to report their evaluation. The most well-known among the ones who provide the help in Kenya are PAH, PCPM, Salesian Missionary Volunteering - Youth for the World, Redemptoris Missio Foundation, and HAART. The organizations are working based on the *Multiannual Development Cooperation Program 2021–2030. Solidarity for Development*, providing access to goods, resources and educational opportunities.

Conflict of Interest

The authors hereby declare that no competing financial interest exists for this manuscript.

Notes on Contributor

Agata Karbowska is an Assistant Professor at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków; from where she received her PhD in Political science and teaching Slavery and Colonialism in Africa, Modern Socio-political History of Africa. She has been granted scholarship by the Turkish Scholarships Evaluation Committee and lectured at the University of İstanbul Şehir (Center for Modern Turkish Studies). She is the author of a number of books and papers in Sufism, political Islam, socio-political, religious, and cultural problems in the MENA region. She is currently focusing on Africa, especially political Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Bibliography

Awareness Against Human Trafficking (2022) *Support victims of trafficking in Kenya during covid-19 - Awareness Against Human Trafficking.* [online] Available at https://haartkenya.org/donate/ (Accessed: 6 May 2022).

Borton J. (2009) *Future of the Humanitarian System: Impacts of Internal Changes*. John Borton Consulting: Berkhamsted, UK. Available at http://www.humanitarianfutures.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/2009-Future-of-the-Humanitarian-system-impact-of-internal-changes.pdf (Accessed: 6 May 2022)

European Commission (2022) *Consensus.* [online] Available at https://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/thematic/consensus_en.pdf (Accessed: 11 May 2022).

Fundacja Polskie Centrum Pomocy Międzynarodowej (2022a) *Rozwój systemu ratownictwa specjalistycznego w Kenii 2021-2023*. [online] Available at https://pcpm.org.pl/bezposrednie-wsparcie-operacji-humanitarnych/kenia-i-etiopia/rozwoj-systemu-ratownictwa-specjalistycznego-w-kenii-2021-2023 (Accessed: 15 June 2022).

Fundacja Polskie Centrum Pomocy Międzynarodowej (2022b) *Polskie Centrum Pomocy Międzynarodowej*. [online] Available at https://pcpm.org.pl/polskie-centrum-pomocy-miedzynarodowej (Accessed: 11 June 2022).

Guenette, J., Kenworthy, P. and Wheeler, C. (2022) 'Implications of the War in Ukraine for the Global Economy.' [online] *openknowledge.worldbank.org*. Available at https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/37372 (Accessed: 7 June 2022).

Arvin, M. and Lew, B. (eds.) (2015) *Handbook on the Economics of Foreign Aid*. Edgar Elgard Publisher.

IGAD (2022) *IGAD Ministerial Meeting on Ongoing Drought*. [online] Available at https://igad.int/igad-ministerial-meeting-on-ongoing-drought/ (Accessed: 6 April 2022).

IMF (2003) *External Debt Statistics: Guide for Compilers and Users* – Appendix III, Glossary, IMF: Washington DC.

Keeley, B. (2012) *From Aid to Development: The Global Fight against Poverty, OECD Insights*, OECD Publishing: Paris.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Republic of Poland (2022a) *The mission of Polish Aid - Polish aid - Gov.pl website*. [online] Available at https://www.gov.pl/web/polishaid/mission (Accessed: 11 May 2022).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Republic of Poland (2022b) *Pomoc humanitarna - Polska pomoc - Portal Gov.pl*. [online] Available at https://www.gov.pl/web/polskapomoc/pomoc-humanitarna (Accessed: 17 April 2022).

Nation (2020) *Polish ambassador: In pandemic season, our relations start with fighting disease*. [online] Available at https://nation.africa/kenya/blogs-opinion/blogs/polish-ambassador-in-pandemic-season-our-relations-start-with-fighting-disease-1920674 (Accessed: 3 June 2022).

OECD (2022) *Official Development Assistance.* [online] Available at https://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-standards/official-development-assistance.htm (Accessed: 8 May 2022).

Walker, P. and Maxwell, D. (2008) *Shaping the Humanitarian World.* Routledge: New York.

Polska Akcja Humanitarna (2022) *PAH History - Polska Akcja Humanitarna*. [online] Available at https://www.pah.org.pl/en/about-us/pah-history/ (Accessed: 15 June 2022).

Redemptoris Missio (2022) *Gotowi ratować ludzkie życie. Kenia 05.11.21-26.11.21* [online] Available at https://redemptorismissio.org/gotowi-ratowac-ludzkie-zycie/ (Accessed: 15 June 2022).

Riddell, R. C. (2014) *Does Foreign Aid Really Work? An Updated Assessment*. Development Policy Centre Discussion Paper. No. 33. Oxford Policy Management.

Salezjański Wolontariat Misyjny - Młodzi Światu (2022a) *Kenia: Nowe maszyny w Don Bosco Boys' Town*. [online] Available at https://swm.pl/2021/11/25/kenia-nowe-maszyny-w-don-bosco-boys-town/ (Accessed: 5 May 2022).

Salezjański Wolontariat Misyjny - Młodzi Światu (2022b) *Nasza misja - Salezjański Wolontariat Misyjny - Młodzi Światu*. [online] Available at https://swm.pl/nasza-misja/ (Accessed: 4 May 2022).

Serwis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (2022) *Departament Współpracy Rozwojowej - Polska pomoc - Portal Gov.pl*. [online] Available at https://www.gov.pl/web/polskapomoc/departament-wspolpracy-rozwojowej (Accessed: 20 April 2022).

UNIC Warsaw (2022) *Milenijne Cele Rozwoju dla Polski*. [online] Available at https://www.unic.un.org.pl/mcrp/raport.pdf (Accessed: 12 April 2022).

United Nations (2022b) *United Nations Charter (full text) | United Nations*. [online] Available at https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text (Accessed: 15 June 2022).

United Nations (2022a) *Deliver Humanitarian Aid*. [online] United Nations. Available at https://www.un.org/en/our-work/deliver-humanitarian-aid (Accessed: 15 April 2022).

United Nations (2022c) *United Nations Charter, Chapter I: Article 1*, Legal.un.org. Chapter I: Article 1 — Charter of the United Nations — Repertory of Practice of United Nations Organs — Codification Division Publications. [online] Available at https://legal.un.org/repertory/art1.shtml (Accessed: 5 June 2022).

Warah, R. (2022) '*We are on our knees': COVID's impact on Kenya's tourism sector*. [online] ONE. Available at https://www.one.org/africa/blog/kenya-tourism-sector-covid/ (Accessed: 3 June 2022).

WTO (2019) *Aid for Trade Global Review 2019*. [online] Available at https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/devel_e/a4t_e/gr19_e/gr19programme_e.htm (Accessed: 15 June 2022).

Zajaczkowski, M. (2017) *Development Assistance in the WTO* [w:] T*he Economy in a Changing World: National.* Regional and Global Aspects. University of Economics Varna, pp. 85-90.

Visegrad Countries and Africa

Security, Resilience, and Cultural Diplomacy in a Changing World

Barbara Lucini[1]

Abstract:

The scenario of great international uncertainty and insecurity reconfigures a new and necessary focus on the dynamics between the Visegrad countries and Africa.

Through an evolutionary historical perspective and a focus on the complex and delicate contemporary situation, this contribution aims to explore and deepen the type of relations that have been established over the years between the Visegrad countries and Africa. Specifically, the paper considers the policies developed by Visegrad countries with particular attention to three issues: security, resilience, cultural diplomacy, and cooperation. In accordance with these issues, security is a common ground for both Visegrad countries and Africa as the latter geopolitical reality is in different ways affected by political and economic instability that could be adapted through actions of social resilience and support to the communities involved. The aim of this paper is therefore to understand how the issue of resilience is and has been addressed in the relationship between the Visegrad countries and Africa. In this complex framework influenced by the major events of the Covid-19 pandemic and the conflict between Ukraine and Russia, the instruments of cooperation and cultural diplomacy will be considered to better understand the relationship between the Visegrad countries and Africa.

Keywords:

Visegrad countries; Africa; security; resilience; cultural diplomacy.

[1] Senior Researcher at the Italian Team for Security Terroristic issues and Managing Emergencies – ITSTIME; ORCID: 0000-0002-7227-1219; barbara.lucini@unicatt.it

Introduction

The present paper addresses the relevant topic of resilience in international cooperation with a specific focus on cultural diplomacy, considering the experiences of the four Visegrad countries and their relations with Africa.

The current reflection shows and integrates some findings presented at the International Conference (online) "The Visegrad countries and Africa: history and contemporaneity" held on April 27, 2022, and organised by The Jagiellonian Research Center for African Studies together with the Africa Research Institute, Óbudai University and the Centre for Military Studies, Stellenbosch University.

The interesting results that emerged through both theoretical perspectives and research of secondary sources is useful for a variety of reasons.

One of them is that it allows for the systematisation of some work that has already been developed (Lucini, 2019) and which merits further investigation in the area of socio-cultural resilience applied to international relations, crisis management and conflict reduction.

Specifically, a first systematic reflection on the topic of cultural resilience and cultural diplomacy had begun in 2018, but in recent years the world and societies have changed profoundly.

On the one hand, the changes caused by the management of the Covid-19 pandemic and the crisis management measures and models adopted to respond to this event have changed the structure of societies in many ways and also the relationship between citizens and governments at both national and local levels.

In fact, the communication of the pandemic characterised very often by redundant information in the absence of a communication plan, fake news and disinformation of various kinds has produced perceptions in the public that were then translated into behaviours that have shaped what was previously defined as the globalisation process in a different way (Lombardi, 2019).

The point is made clear in the words of Lombardi (2019):

> *In either case, globalisation is interpreted as a paradigm of the "pre-global", we dream of restoration, i.e. normalisation and return, and not of changing the model in order to understand the world. In this view, globalisation is a positive orientation of the system or, at most, a future state that is inevitable and should be managed to exploit its advantages. But this is mistaken. With our fear of novelty, we anchor ourselves to the customary way of reading the present, as a replica of the past, inebriated with the easy sense of security produced by habit. However, the scenarios change before the cultural models are able to adapt to the new needs for interpreting reality, hence the increase in vulnerability.*

Cultural patterns have changed since the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, and the general view of the world and its phenomena has also changed with them.

Globalisation as a socio-cultural process and phenomenon persists not so much in the forms with which it has been known, but in its characteristics of complexity, global interdependencies, and interconnections.

The latter, however, need to be contextualised in an international scenario pervaded by a very high level of political and social tension, uncertainty and insecurity combined with other complex events of major impact such as:

- conflict between Russia and Ukraine;
- global energy crisis;
- climate change.

In this changed and changing scenario, it is useful to reflect on the role of cultural resilience in cultural diplomacy with a focus on the relationship in this area between the Visegrad countries and Africa.

Moreover, the main aim of this contribution is to focus on this relationship from a sociological perspective and to reflect on the concepts of security, resilience and cultural diplomacy.

Specifically, the primary aim is to understand how the issue of resilience – societal and cultural resilience – is and has been addressed in the relationship between Visegrad countries and Africa according to the concept of cultural diplomacy within the wider development cooperation approach.

International and development cooperation is one of the fundamental pillars of the European Union policies. Therefore, delving into the orientations and actions undertaken by the Visegrad countries in Africa from a sociological perspective is an interesting example to systematise some theoretical and methodological reflections on the role of cultural resilience in international cooperation, crisis management, conflict reduction and conflict management.

According to this peculiar framework three main issues and their interdependences will be explored considering adequate methodological approach:

- security;
- resilience;
- cultural diplomacy and cooperation.

These three topics will be analysed considering the relationship between the Visegrad countries and Africa taking into account the peculiar international scenario. In particular, the international scenario and its dynamics is also relevant to the relationship between the Visegrad countries and Africa considering their individual national uncertainties and instabilities.

The presented results of this analysis may be beneficial for future comparative or in-depth analyses.

Theoretical Perspectives

The reflection that we want to advance with this paper concerns the role of resilience, in particular cultural resilience, in the possible actions of cultural diplomacy established within the broader framework of international cooperation and with a particular focus on these aspects in the relationship between Visegrad countries and Africa.

From a historical perspective it is useful to consider the advent of Visegrad countries as specific actors in the context of the European Union.

An aspect to be made clear concerns the role and type of aid that the Visegrad countries have promoted over the years and considering the framework of European policies for international cooperation, as Chmiel (2018) recalls in his analysis: *"the post-Cotonou mandate negotiations; the southern dimension of the European Neighbourhood Policy; the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa; and the European Development Fund."*

The approach and policies of the Visegrad countries towards the international cooperation programmes of the European Union has a cultural component of particular relevance and that can be considered as a legacy of the previous socio-political structures of the Visegrad countries:

> *"The Visegrad countries, which were part of the Eastern Bloc controlled by the USSR, had to subordinate their development aid to the Soviet interests and were thus supportive of decolonisation and some African states to prompt their adoption of Socialist ideology. Under the ideological considerations of solidarity, the V4 had provided development assistance, expertise, military equipment, and academic exchanges to their African partners." (Chmiel, 2018)*

With regard to the involvement of the Visegrad countries in international cooperation actions, it is useful to underline that the relations between the European Union and the Visegrad countries has given an important impulse in their involvement and in the implementation of cooperation interventions:

> *"It is worth noting that the EU, along with its well-established political, legal, and economic ties with Africa, could serve as an important point of departure for the V4 re-engagement in this region. In fact, while the V4 generally did not seem interested in Africa prior to the EU accession, it may have been their membership in this organisation that provided some incentives to direct their attention towards this region sporadically." (Chmiel, 2018)*

This therefore traces a historical line that allows us to better understand the agendas of the individual countries belonging to the Visegrad group and their priorities in terms of security and humanitarian operations in relation to the broader international cooperation programmes of the European Union.

Having outlined in general the components and the most general characteristics of the Visegrad countries with respect to the European policies of international cooperation, for the

purposes of this paper it becomes useful to present two other concepts such as resilience declined in its cultural meaning and cultural diplomacy.

From a theoretical perspective, resilience is a multidimensional concept (Lucini, 2014), multifaceted, very underestimated scientifically even if abused through the media.

Resilience is a characteristic trait of both entire societies and individuals and its components are as follows according to Böschen et al. (2019):

- continuity of existence
- preservation of core properties
- event that acts or is interpreted as a disturbance
- situation-related management reaction, further development, and reorganisation to create new options

Note in this regard the aspects of conservation of typical elements of a person or of a social system, as well as the possibilities of managing situations of crisis and stress to create a new context and different, more effective, relational modalities.

Resilience is therefore an essential element of every crisis management and conflict management action, including in this context also the possible activities of international cooperation that can be developed in countries affected by natural crises or deriving from wars and conflicts of various origins that cause social, political, and economic instability.

For these reasons, wanting to bring resilience back to the broader context of international cooperation actions, including for example crisis management activities, it is useful to recall what Voss (2019) proposes: "*Resilience cannot be understood independently of the references and practices from which and into which it is discursively rendered. Resilience is, on a very fundamental level, first of all meaning.*"

Resilience therefore represents a specific meaning in a context of given practices and that by its nature can only be shared and reproduced: resilience translates into a series of cultural practices (Lombardi, 2019).

Deepening the role of resilience as a mutually recognized meaning of shared cultural practices it becomes essential to report two definitions of cultural resilience that make some of its characteristics evident.

The first definition is the one proposed by Holtorf (2018):

> *"I define cultural resilience as the capability of a cultural system (consisting of cultural processes in relevant communities) to absorb adversity, deal with change and continue to develop. Cultural resilience thus implies both continuity and change: disturbances that can be absorbed are not an enemy to be avoided but a partner in the dance of cultural sustainability." (Adapted from Thiele [2016, 36]).*

In particular, Holtorf highlights two characteristics of cultural resilience: on the one hand, the continuum that is created between change and continuity through adaptation practices; on the other hand, it is defined as cultural as it intervenes as a skill of a cultural system that refers to more or less shared meanings, however, to be negotiated especially in the interventions of international cooperation.

The second definition of cultural resilience considered is the one proposed by Bousquet and Mathevet (2019):

> *Cultural resource expressed as an identity can benefit the resilience of the individual. "Ethnic identity search refers to the individual's willingness to engage in a process of learning more about his or her ethnicity. This can involve taking time to learn about the history, traditions, and customs of one's group; being active in social groups that include members of one's ethnic group; talking to others about one's ethnic group; and participating in the cultural practices of one's ethnic group. It is thought that ethnic identity search is significantly related to resilience in a positive direction because the above activities suggest that the individual is actively involved in a community of people that further his or her understanding and, as such, act as buffers against stress. Thus, not only does the individual benefit from greater learning about one's ethnic identity, he or she is surrounded by a support network that may also promote resilience." (Clauss-Ehlers et al. 2006)*

This definition has the merit of emphasizing two other essential aspects of cultural resilience: the role of individual identity, including ethnic identity, as a resource for the broader cultural system of reference and the fundamental role played by learning processes that are as mutual and continuous as possible over time.

Therefore, by promoting the concept of cultural resilience in the context of international cooperation and international crisis management, it is useful to recall, given the European perspective of this reflection, the definition of resilience proposed by Wagner and Anholt (2016):

> *In similar fashion, 'resilience' seems to bring actors together, which historically have been institutionally and philosophically segregated, such as military/security and development actors (development–security nexus); as well as actors from humanitarian aid and development assistance (humanitarian–development nexus). In the Action Plan for Resilience in Crisis Prone Countries, the EU asserts that achieving resilience 'requires all EU actors (humanitarian, development, political) to work differently and more effectively together.* (European Commission, 2013)

In this wide-ranging field of possible international cooperation, it is useful to consider the role of cultural diplomacy combined with the instrument of cultural resilience as identified above.

The approach of cultural diplomacy is part of a relatively young course of years in the framework of broader public diplomacy and its actions in the field of foreign relations.

Ang et al. (2015) recall that cultural diplomacy: *"it was originally used to refer to the processes occurring when diplomats serving national governments took recourse to cultural exchanges and flow or sought to channel them for the advancement of their perceived national interests."*

Moreover, Mark (2009) points out that:

> *"Cummings defines cultural diplomacy as the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding' which 'can also be more of a one-way street than a two-way exchange, as when one nation concentrates its efforts on promoting the national language, explaining its policies and point of view, or 'telling its story' to the rest of the world."*

Cultural diplomacy therefore pertains to the set of mutual practices and actions useful for mutual knowledge and the possibility of mutual recognition based on cultural narratives and discourses that promote individual national identities.

Like cultural resilience, cultural diplomacy can also translate into operations and actions of international cooperation, crisis management and conflict management, recognizing these characteristics:

> *"Cultural Diplomacy may best be described as a course of actions, which are based on and utilize the exchange of ideas, values, traditions and other aspects of culture or identity, whether to strengthen relationships, enhance socio-cultural cooperation, promote national interests and beyond; Cultural diplomacy can be practiced by either the public sector, private sector or civil society." and "Cultural Diplomacy becomes the specific methodology (it overcomes Public Diplomacy) to develop cooperation in crisis areas."* (Lombardi, 2018)

Cultural diplomacy is a fundamental methodology for developing programs and actions of international cooperation in crisis areas and in which the intervention of crisis management and / or conflict management operations is required.

Over the years, especially in reference to the international tensions of recent years, promoted by multisystemic crises such as the Covid-19 pandemic, the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, climate change and the general lack or reduction of energy resources, the contribution of cultural diplomacy and related cultural resilience is fundamental:

> *The contribution of Cultural Diplomacy consists of enhancing the cooperative and strategic importance of culture by means of cooperation between States, peoples and individuals and of the implementation of cultural and diplomatic projects in different areas. In summary, although it carries a diplomatic dimension that is missing in the traditional international cooperation, Cultural Diplomacy shares the constituent parts of the development cooperation, which are the necessary and sufficient condition for its implementation as a cooperative strategy.* (Visioli, 2019)

In the broader framework of the aims of international cooperation activities, it is recalled to promote aspects of democratic participation, inclusion and mutual recognition as underlined by Pantea and Stoica (2014): "*Expanding the democratic space through cultural diplomacy will [...] replace the old type of relationship based solely on military force and economic pressure, creating democratic mechanisms for dialogue and strengthening cooperation between the political and civil society, [...].*"

Finally, cultural resilience and cultural diplomacy are two concepts with important methodological and operational implications that translate into practical operations in the context of international cooperation in crisis areas, with particular reference to aspects related to the mutual knowledge of cultural systems, the need to promote, respect and preserve them over time by adapting these cultural models to the needs of security and socio-political- economic stability.

Materials and methods

To achieve the main purpose of this reflection and research, which is to understand how the issue of resilience – societal and cultural resilience – is and has been addressed in the relationship between Visegrad countries and Africa two activities were carried out.

In particular from a theoretical perspective, three specific topics and their interdependencies were considered which are fundamental for a reflection on the relations between Visegrad countries and Africa, namely security, resilience and cultural diplomacy as a different way to develop traditional international cooperation.

These concepts and their relationships were explored through the following research actions:

1. Open-source collection regarding the topics identified according to the following keywords and their combination: Visegrad countries; Africa; security; resilience; cultural diplomacy.

   The time range for the collection was from 01 January 2016 to 01 March 2022.

   About 15 relevant sources were collected whose typology was public documents, scientific papers on the selected topics, policy brief, research report.

   This research activity was particularly helpful in orienting the theoretical framework and responding appropriately to descriptive and interpretative intentions.

2. Another tool used to better understand the role and activities carried out by the four Visegrad countries in the field of international cooperation and development is the Commitment to Development Index. (CGDEV, n.d.)

   The description and intentions according to the website presentation are as follows:

We work to reduce global poverty and improve lives through innovative economic research that drives better policy and practice by the world's top decision makers. We strive for excellence and intellectual rigor and believe global prosperity starts with smart policy based on evidence. Our work is nonpartisan and our recommendations are not influenced by our funders. We are willing to challenge powerful institutions and the status quo for better development practices. […]

CGD is currently focused on the following areas critical to development progress:

- *global health policy;*
- *migration, displacement, and humanitarian policy;*
- *sustainable development finance;*
- *education;*
- *governments and development.*

This tool has been useful to deepen the areas of cooperation and development in which the four Visegrad countries are involved and also to understand which geographical areas are considered.

3. Another activity was to collect information on the four Visegrad countries from the Team Europe Initiative & Joint Programming Tracker (Capacity4dev, n.d.) and the developed tracker tool.

   Specifically, as the website reports, this initiative is as follows:

   Capacity4dev is the European Commission's online knowledge-sharing platform that connects development professionals, where you can share, learn and collaborate with colleagues and relevant stakeholders. Members include EU staff, as well as development professionals from EU member states, partner governments, civil society, NGOs, international organisations, and the private sector.

   *Created in 2009 and managed by the Directorate General for International Partnerships (*INTPA*), Capacity4dev aims to improve capacity development through knowledge sharing by:*

   - *Facilitating collaboration and engagement among peers*
   - *Enabling cross learning among practitioners from EU institutions and other organisations*
   - *Supporting thematic expertise, share lessons learnt and exchange innovation*
   - *Consolidating knowledge sharing tools and communities of practice in a common environment*
   - *Improving the efficiency, effectiveness, and quality of EU development cooperation*

From this tool, it was possible to collect and analyse useful information for understanding the international development approach of the four Visegrad countries.

4. The last activity was to create according to a cumulative knowledge approach the knowledge maps through the machine-learning tool and artificial intelligence platform Yewno discover with the access provided by the Catholic University of Milan where the author of the paper collaborates. Through this platform it was possible to create

knowledge maps indicating conceptual connections between different topics, understanding tendencies and relations.

The knowledge maps that have been created are as follows and proceed in an order of increasing depth and complexity:

- Visegrad countries and their relationships;
- Visegrad countries and Africa;
- Visegrad countries, Africa and security;
- Visegrad countries, Africa and crisis management;
- Visegrad countries and cultural diplomacy;
- Visegrad countries, Africa, and cultural diplomacy

Results and Discussion

The results come from the four activities carried out for this reflection. As regards to those related to the open-source collection, they are mainly translated into the theoretical scenario described above and in the interpretations of the findings emerged from the subsequent activities.

The consideration of the latest Commitment to Development Index of 2021 (CGD, n. d.) yields interesting results for the individual Visegrad countries and their commitment to development.

The following table summarizes these values in relation to the areas covered by investments:

Visegrad Countries

Areas	Hungary	Czech Republic	Poland	Slovak Republic
Development finance	40%	45%	44%	45%
Investment	42%	47%	33%	43%
Migration	10%	14%	9%	4%
Trade	58%	76%	52%	60%
Environment	89%	81%	80%	87%
Health	56%	55%	18%	69%
Security	95%	85%	71%	96%
Technology	27%	42%	11%	18%

Tab. 1. Visegrad countries and Commitment Development Index – 2021

According to Chmiel (2018): *"The four Visegrad countries exhibit similar approaches in their development cooperation programmes, especially because of their common perception of their "transition experience" which is seen as a comparative advantage in comparison to other donors, and which can be shared in relations with their partners."*

In fact, considering the data from the Commitment to Development Index - 2021 relating to the four Visegrad countries, it is possible to note some similar trends:

- increased investment in the security and environment sectors;
- medium-sized investments for the development finance, investment, trade, technology sectors;
- lower investments for the migration sector

This trend is also confirmed considering the trends for each country for which Hungary, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic confirm the general trend of higher investments in security and environment. Poland, on the other hand, puts the environment first and security second.

A cultural aspect to consider concerns the different perceptions of security by the individual Visegrad countries that translate into different lines of policy and activities in the field of international cooperation: *Nowadays, all V4 countries are involved in major missions of the UN, EU, and NATO. Nevertheless, there are certain differences in the perception of some security issues among the V4, especially given their slightly different geographic locations and historical experiences (Jandova, 2016) Chmiel (2018).*

Considering the specific case of relations between Visegrad countries and Africa, a trend already in place previously emerges (Chmiel, 2018) namely that the issue of security is understood not specifically in terms of political stabilization of crisis areas, conflict resolution and post-conflict activities as well as in connection with terrorist dynamics and migration processes*: Also, security matters, combating terrorism and addressing the root causes of migration crisis are among the factors that prompted the Visegrad countries to strengthen their contributions to operations in Africa* (Chmiel, 2018).

The Commitment to Development Index provides a generic initial perspective on the type of investments that individual countries make in the field of international cooperation.

Together with this Index it is useful to consider the results of another tool such as Team Europe Initiatives and Joint Programming Tracker.

It provides some perspectives for international cooperation and development allowing some special interpretations of the relationship between the Visegrad countries and Africa.

The trends previously illustrated are confirmed and the active role of greater investment and engagement is underlined also in the transversal areas of Czech Republic and Hungary.

The following is the information that emerged for Czech Republic (Capacity4dev, n.d.) divided between regional, global and country levels:

Regional and global TEIs:

- Afghan displacement situation
- Central Mediterranean migration route
- manufacturing and access to vaccines, medicines and health technology products in Africa
- Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) in Sub-Saharan Africa
- Team Europe Democracy (TED)
- transboundary water management in Africa
- Western Mediterranean migration route

Country TEIs:

- KHCambodia - Natural Resources
- GEGeorgia - Economic Development
- GHGhana - Smart, Green and Digital Recovery
- MLMali - Peace and Security
- MLMali - Youth
- MNMongolia - Green Economy
- TNTunisia - Water
- ZMZambia - Human Development
- ZMZambia - Inclusive Green Growth

As it is possible to note, Czech Republic has a transversality of investments and engagement from health to peace and security especially in the areas of sub-Saharan and Western Mediterranean. In this regard and in line with previous trends, it is interesting to underline how the peace and security program has reference in Mali. Moreover, the two activities of Human Development and Inclusive Green Growth developed in Zambia are interesting.

As far as Hungary (Capacity4dev, n.d.) is concerned, this is its overview:

Regional and global TEIs:

- Amazon Basin
- Green transition - EUROCLIMA Latin America and the Caribbean

Country TEIs:

- ECEcuador - Sustainable Economy
- GHGhana - Smart, Green and Digital Recovery
- KEKenya - Digital
- LALaos - Green Deal
- PKPakistan - Green Economy & Jobs
- TNTunisia – Water

As far as Hungary is concerned, it is useful to consider the development of programmes related to digital technologies in particular in Ghana and Kenya together with greater attention to the environment in Ghana and Tunisia where a programme for solving the water problem is active.

The case of Poland (Capacity4dev, n.d.) is interesting because it focuses on Africa as a region on health-related programmes and specifically in Morocco with active programs for greater awareness of gender equality and post-crisis recovery:

Regional and global TEIs:

- health in the Eastern Neighbourhood
- manufacturing and access to vaccines, medicines and health technology products in Africa
- Team Europe Democracy (TED)

Country TEIs:

- MAMorocco - Gender equality
- MAMorocco - Post-crisis recover

In conclusion, the case of Slovak Republic (Capacity4dev, n.d.) has an active Green Transition programme to be implemented in Kenya. This is in line with its overall commitment to environmental issues as demonstrated in the previous Commitment Development Index:

Regional and global TEIs:

- Team Europe Democracy (TED)

Country TEIs:

- KEKenya - Green Transition

As for the findings that emerged from the development of knowledge maps provided by Yewno - Unicatt, it is possible to show the following arguments and interpretations.

The first map is based around the relationships that the Visegrad countries have

:

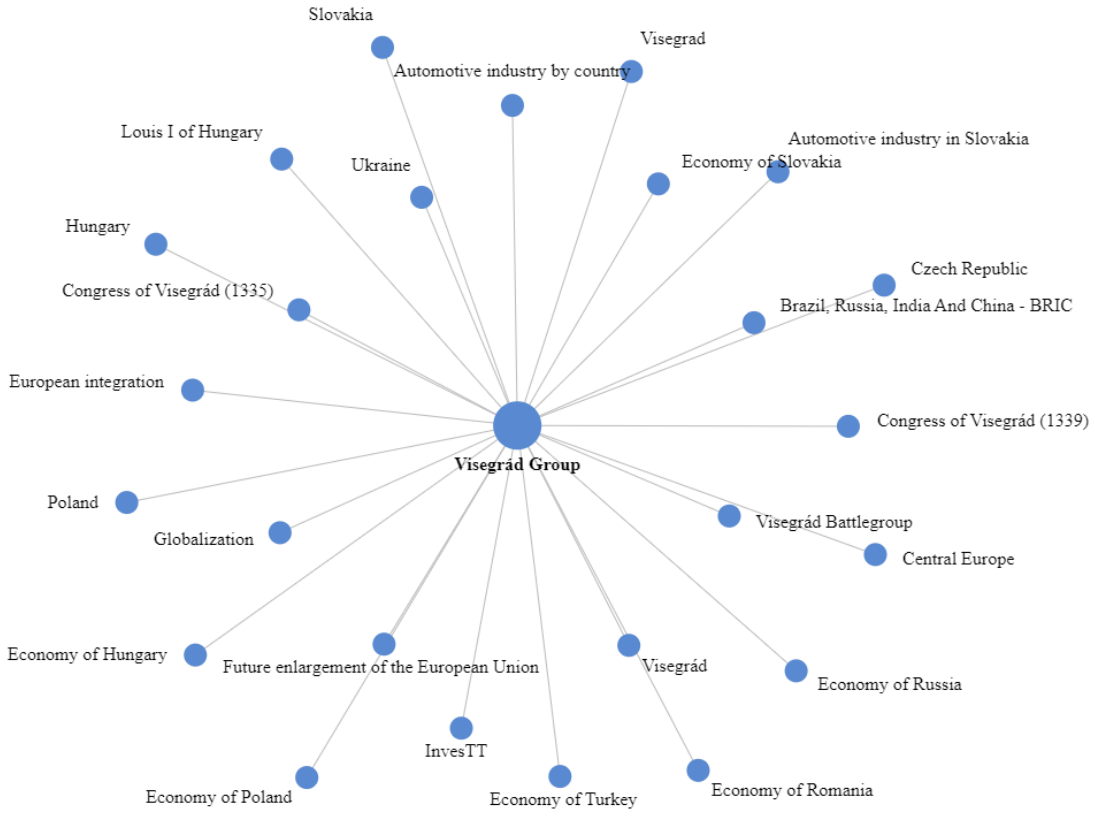

Fig. 1 Visegrad countries and their relationships provided by Yewno - Unicatt

The map focuses on the concepts and entities of Visegrad countries, underlines the circle of internal, often bilateral relations that characterise the four countries and also highlights two external relations to them, namely those with the concept of globalisation, which turns out to be an important process in defining the Visegrad countries in the European and international scenario, and those with the BRICS bloc Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa.

Other aspects concern the economy and the historical perspective in relation to the Visegrad countries and their typical relations with the European Union (Chmiel, 2018).

The second map focuses on the relationship between Visegrad countries and Africa.

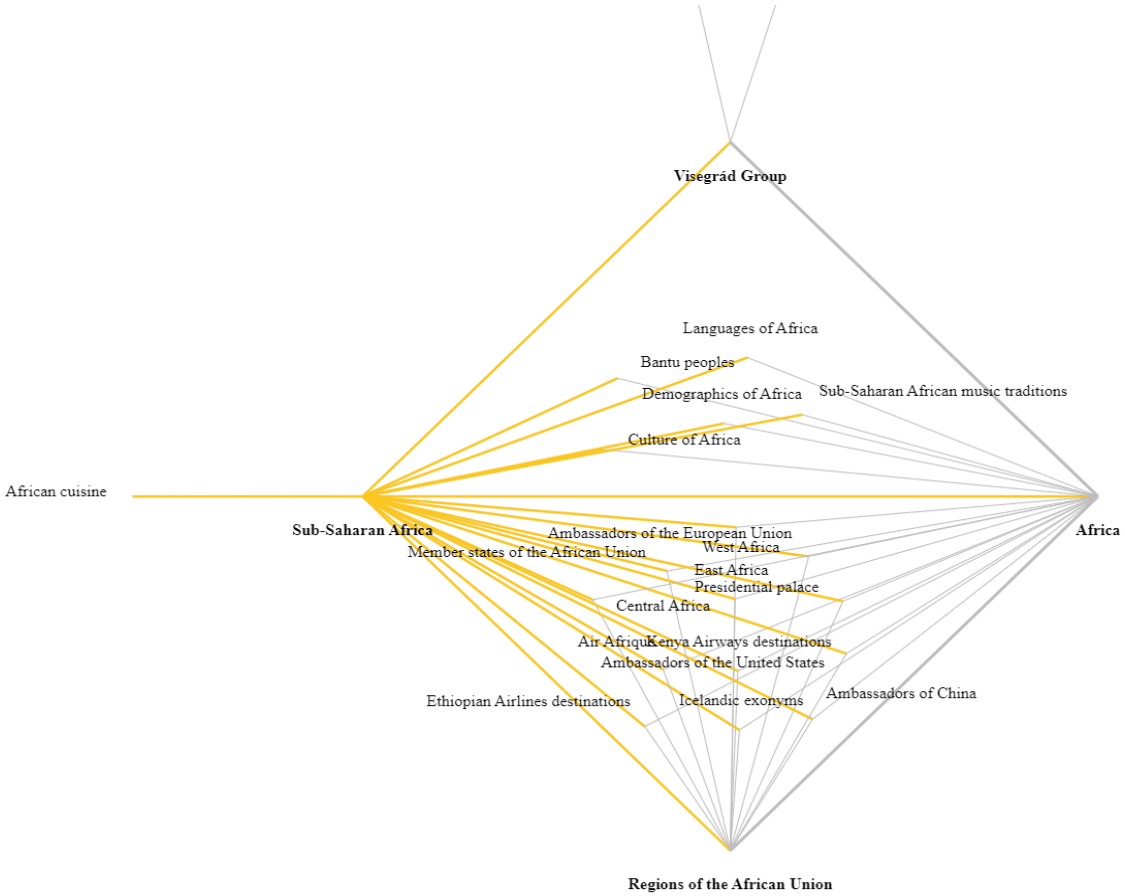

Fig. 2 Visegrad countries and Africa provided by Yewno – Unicatt

As far as the relationship between the Visegrad countries and Africa is concerned, there are two points of focus, both of which represent geographical and historical dimensions.

The two key points are: Sub-Saharan Africa and regions of the African Union.

The area of sub-Saharan Africa according to the previous analysis is where some cooperation programmes in cooperation with Czech Republic are concentrated. Mali in particular is where Czech Republic has activated a Peace and Security program in view of the security threats posed by terrorist groups present on that territory.

It is interesting to note how culture-related concepts such as language of Africa and culture of Africa begin to emerge from this relationship: for example, Bantu People which refers to sub-Saharan Africa and African cuisine which are all fundamental identity and cultural aspects for the approach of cultural diplomacy and cultural resilience.

The third map concentrates on the relations among Visegrad countries, Africa, and security:

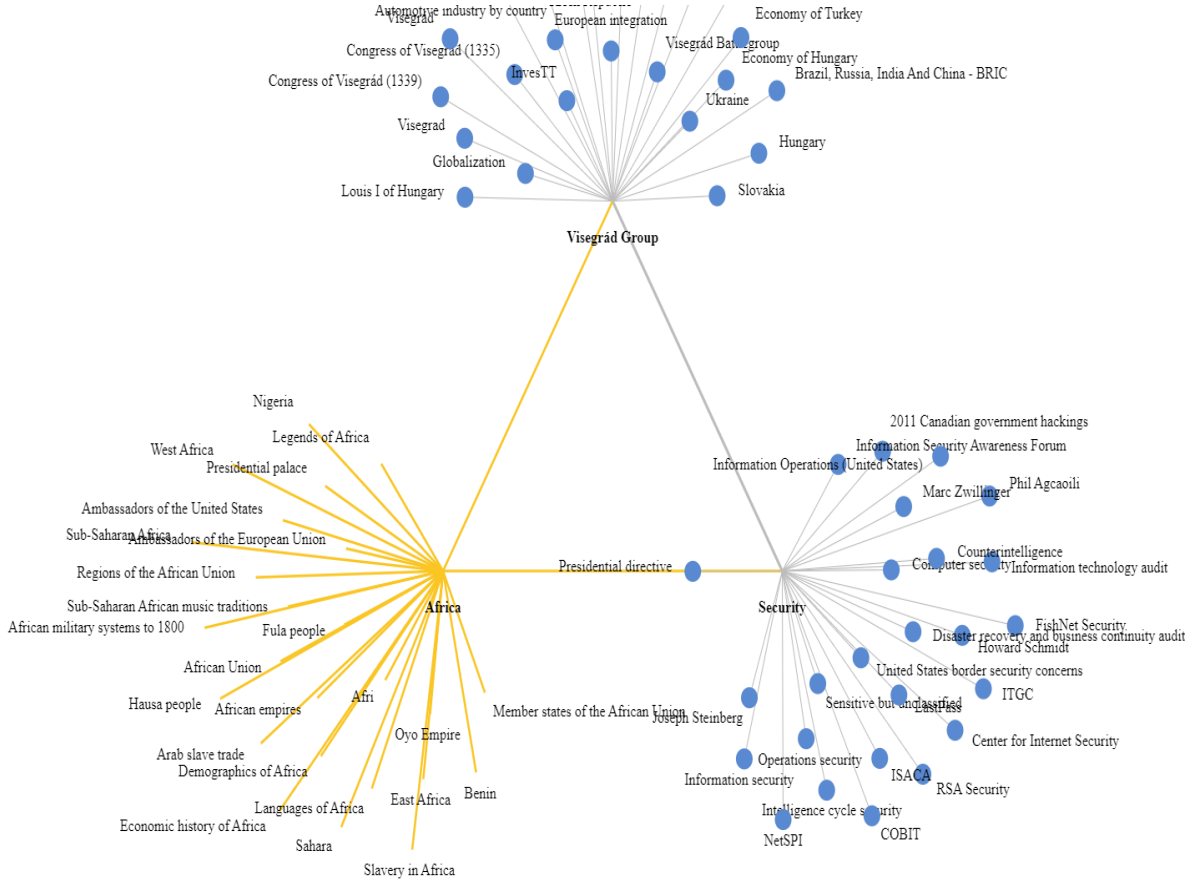

Fig. 3 Visegrad countries, Africa and security provided by Yewno – Unicatt

Looking deeper into the relationship between Visegrad countries and Africa in connection with the topic of security (in particular the concept of national security), some interesting common and crossing areas emerge such as disaster recovery, information security, counter intelligence, business continuity, intelligence cycle security, operation security, computer security and internet security.

In relation to the issue of security there is the topic of Nigeria and the terrorist threat on terror and also a historical reference to African military systems.

In addition, topics related to identity and cultural aspects persist such as: music tradition, Fula people, Oyo empire Hausa people, legends of Africa.

In particular, what emerges from this analysis is the multidimensional relationship between the areas of security with reference to the situation of terrorism in Nigeria and the cultural aspects related to Nigeria.

The fourth map shows the relations among Visegrad countries, Africa, and crisis management.

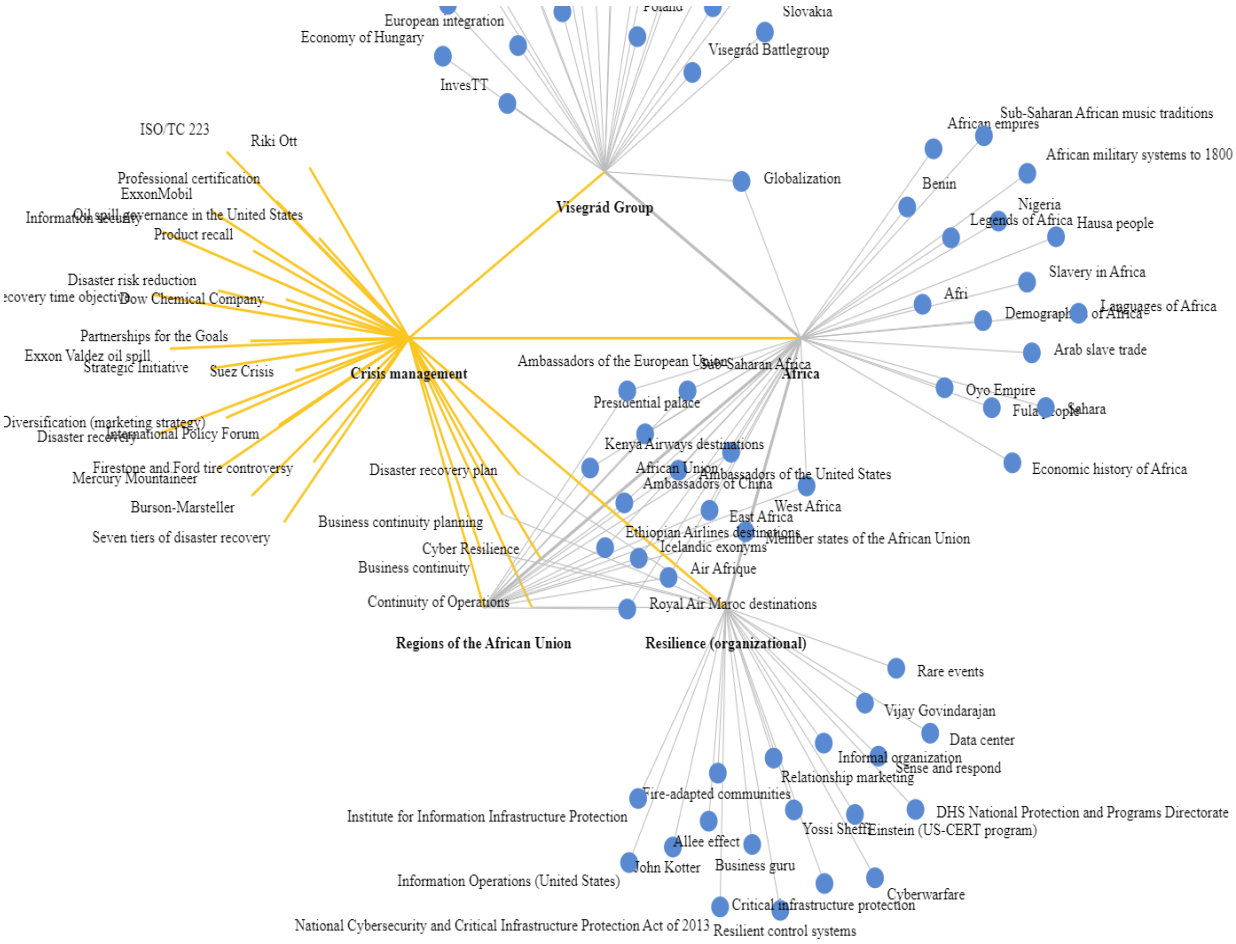

Fig. 4 Visegrad countries, Africa and crisis management provided by Yewno – Unicatt

The themes of crisis and disaster management are clarified in the connections with disaster recovery plans, business continuity, profession certificate, critical infrastructure protection, resilient control systems, cyber resilience.

A particular focus was on organisational resilience and its communication and information management aspects which are related to the areas of technology as previously stated by the Commitment Development Index.

This is an interesting aspect because it poses a different field of development such as that of cooperation in the technological - digital field with specific reference to security aspects.

The fifth map is about the relation between Visegrad countries and cultural diplomacy.

Looking at this relationship, it is interesting to note that conflictual and polarised attitudes emerge such as music and political warfare, war of ideas and agent of influence.

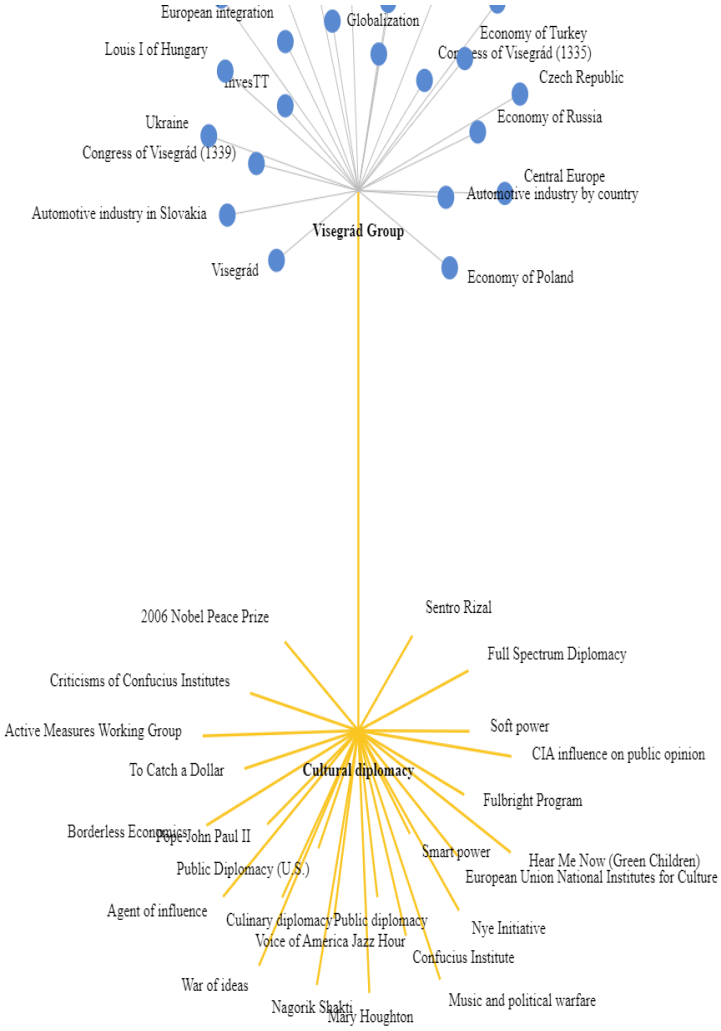

Fig. 5 Visegrad countries and cultural diplomacy provided by Yewno - Unicatt

These three topics are relevant because they highlight the need to develop and associate cultural diplomacy with a field of international cooperation for crisis resolution, while taking into due consideration that cultural and identity aspects of a conflictual nature (Ramsbotham et al., 2016) have emerged and that they need to be adequately considered to manage any possible tensions.

The last map concerns the relations among Visegrad countries, Africa, and cultural diplomacy.

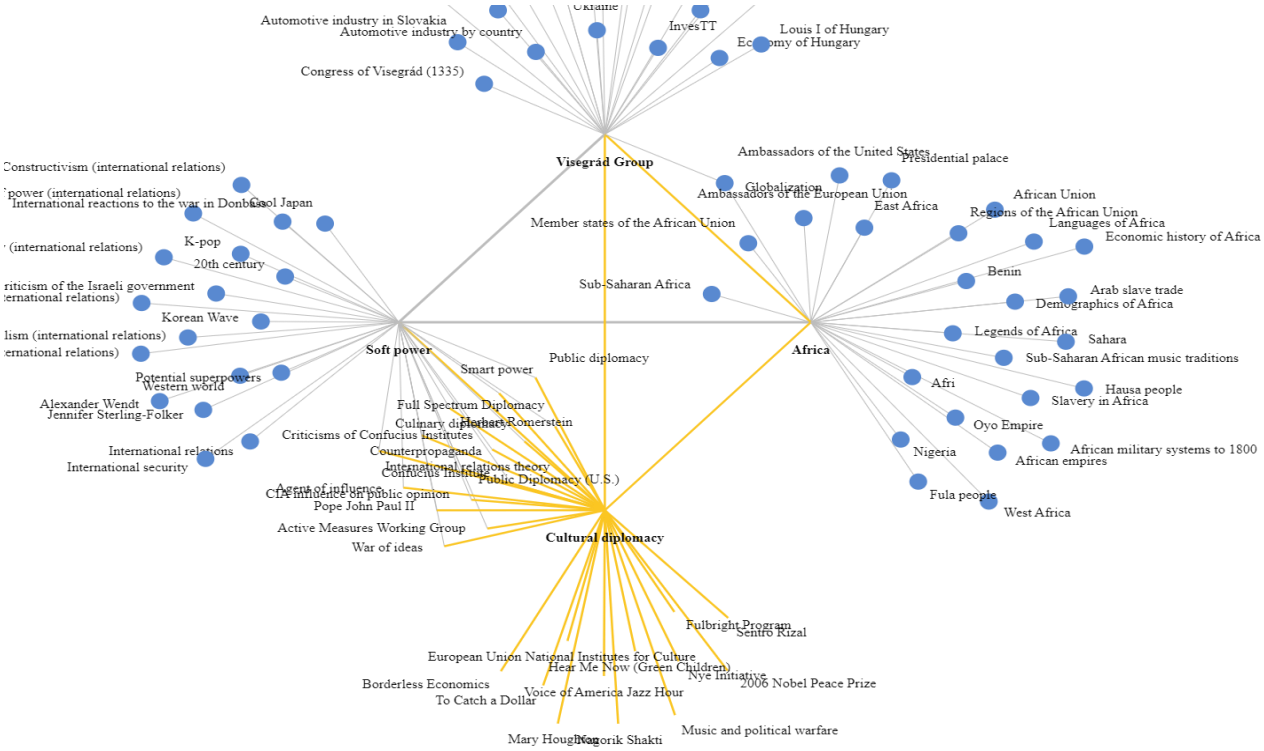

Fig. 6 Visegrad countries, Africa, and cultural diplomacy

According to the findings provided by the map, the following themes develop: international reaction to the war in Donbass; international security; European Union National Institutes for Culture; music and political warfare; potential superpower Western world; soft power. The latter appears as an element under discussion even among scholars but in this context, it has the value of promoting alternative responses, less polarized to crisis situations.

In general terms, it is possible to summarize some central points from the presentation of this analysis:

- the role of the Visegrad countries in Africa emerges as specific in some regions and very oriented to the field of security even in its most current declination related to the digital world;
- the role of international cooperation programmes that focus on areas related to health, disaster recovery and business continuity remains;
- identity and cultural aspects emerge that need to be adequately considered in the programs to be developed such as attention to typical cultural forms (such as art and music) but also the language and aspects related to typical cuisine.

Finally, the role of cultural resilience emerges with less specificity even if the issues related to music and political warfare as well as the war of ideas presage the strategic importance and stabilization of international relations of this approach together with systematized actions and methodologies of cultural diplomacy (Lombardi, 2019).

Conclusion

The analysis that has been conducted on the role of cultural resilience and cultural diplomacy actions in relations between Visegrad countries and Africa has produced very interesting insights for future insights.

A first aspect concerns the phenomenon of globalization which has been an important historical element in the definition of relations between the Visegrad countries and the European Union. In the current situation, however, given the impact of both the Covid-19 pandemic and the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, the globalization process seems to be changing and redefining. The global scenario appears increasingly fragmented and polarized with the emergence of new actors and new alliances that will certainly also have an impact on international cooperation actions and programs.

A second interesting point relates to the fact that the Visegrad countries present similarities in their cooperation programmes, especially with regard to investment areas, but considering the change in the international scenario, it becomes interesting to consider bilateral relations for future analysis and investigation. This is also relevant in view of the bilateralism already highlighted (Polus, 2020) and for a greater awareness of the geopolitical strategic priorities of the individual Visegrad countries, which are well shown by the OECD Development Co-operation Profiles tool and maps (OECD).

With regard to the role of cultural resilience and cultural diplomacy between Visegrad countries and Africa, elements such as music and political warfare and the war of ideas have emerged that indicate the need to work in this direction with specific international cooperation programmes aimed at ensuring national priorities by also promoting crisis management and conflict management actions.

In this context, the relevance emerges of better investigating the characteristics of cultural resilience as defined above, considering the possibility to use what can be defined as geopolitical ethnography understood both as a strategy and as a study to deepen key elements of relations between countries, considering geographical, identity and cultural aspects as promoters of resilient strategies of international cooperation and cultural diplomacy.

The latter can be considered as an effective method within the field of international cooperation to specifically address cultural, social, political differences between Visegrad countries and Africa, in order to support cultural resilient strategies and actions of cultural diplomacy.

According to the analysis carried out, it is possible to identify in the relations between Visegrad countries and Africa, the role and practices of cultural resilience through the method of cultural diplomacy according to some future trends (Lucini, 2019):

- *developing a methodological framework – geopolitical ethnography – to enhance cultural resilience through cultural diplomacy (Thomas, 2016) in areas of the world*

affected by multiple situations of socio-political instabilities, growing as deep an awareness of context and intercultural communication as possible;

- *developing resilient identities in those countries affected by various threats and instability at an individual, community, societal and even national level, creating what could be defined as a country profile of cultural resilience – promoting the development of a tool to assess cultural resilience from a double perspective: that of geopolitics and that of diplomacy. This roadmap for further development of this research area benefits from the bidirectional nature of resilience, which is on the one hand a key element to support cultural diplomacy action and on the other the goal of those very actions. Finally, the two new essential contributions – geopolitical ethnography and a country profile of cultural resilience – are the leading elements to develop the deep connection between cultural resilience and cultural diplomacy.*

The country profile on cultural resilience is an essential element for future international cooperation and governance actions in crisis areas that aim to take into account bilateral relations between countries, cultural specificities, social identities, current geopolitical criticalities, but also positive development spaces for effective international cooperation and development practices. From a methodological perspective, it is estimated that geopolitical ethnography could be a useful tool to operationally translate this approach: *"Geopolitical ethnography, where the three key elements of geographies, identities and cultures prevails over local and international instability management"* (Lucini, 2019).

In conclusion, cultural resilience (Thomas et al., 2016), developed in the context of cultural diplomacy is a useful tool and method for the advancement of international cooperation programmes that are as useful and effective in strengthening international relations focused more on the management of and response to contextual humanitarian, social, ecological, and security crises.

Conflict of Interest

The authors hereby declare that no competing financial interest exists for this manuscript.

Notes on Contributor

Barbara Lucini (phd in Sociology and Methodology of Social Research) is Senior Researcher at the Italian Team for Security Terroristic issues and Managing Emergencies – ITSTIME. She is Deputy WP2 Leader - H2020 EU Counter Project https://counter-project.eu/ She is adjunct professor of risk management and crisis communication at the Catholic University. She is currently the working group leader of Converge – Covid – 19 Working Group, Itstime Working Group: COVID-19 and Viral Violence (https://www.itstime.it/w/converge/). Converge is a National Science Foundation-funded initiative headquartered at the Natural Hazards Center at the University of Colorado Boulder. She has been involved in the scientific coordination of several research projects (European and others) focused on crisis management, risk communication, risk perception, security, resilience, radicalisation and extremisms. Her research interests are oriented to sociology of disaster, disaster resilience, disaster management, extremisms and radicalisation. Further, the issue of the relation between terrorism and

resilience as well as political extremism have been studied. She is the author of several publications and Disaster Resilience from a Sociological Perspective Exploring Three Italian Earthquakes as Models for Disaster Resilience Planning, Springer International Publishing, 2014; The Other Side of Resilience to Terrorism A Portrait of a Resilient-Healthy City, Springer International Publishing, 2017.

Bibliography

Ang, I., Isar, Y. R. and Mar, P. (2015) Cultural Diplomacy: Beyond the National Interest?, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 21(4) pp. 365-381. DOI: 10.1080/10286632.2015.1042474

Besenyő, J. (2020) 'Participation of V4 Countries in African Peacekeeping Missions', *Security and Defence Quarterly*, 29(2), pp.7-19. DOI: 10.35467/sdq/120053

Chmiel, O. (2018) *The Engagement of Visegrad Countries in EU-Africa Relations*. Discussion Paper/Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik: Bonn. DOI: 10.23661/dp24.2018

Clarke, D. (2016) 'Theorising the Role of Cultural Products in Cultural Diplomacy from a Cultural Studies Perspective', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 22(2), pp. 147-163. DOI: 10.1080/10286632.2014.958481

Clauss-Ehlers, C. S., Ya-Ting, T., Yang, M. A. and Wan-Chun, J. C. (2006) 'Resilience from Childhood Stressors: The Role of Cultural Resilience, Ethnic Identity, and Gender Identity', *Journal of Infant, Child, and Adolescent Psychotherapy,* 5(1), pp. 124-138.

European Commission (2013) 'Action Plan for Resilience in Crisis Prone Countries 2013–2020', *Commission Staff Working Document SWD.* June 19. Available at https://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/policies/resilience/com_2013_227_ap_crisis_prone_countries_en.pdf (Accessed: 5 July 2022)

Holtorf, C. (2018) *Embracing Change: How Cultural Resilience is Increased Through Cultural Heritage.* World Archaeology, Taylor and Francis: UK.

Jandová, D. (2016) 'Military Involvement of Visegrád Four in Foreign Missions', *European Security Journal*. Available at: https://www.esjnews.com/military-involvement-of-visegrad-four-in-foreign-missions (Accessed: 18 July 2019).

Lombardi, M. (2018) *Scenari 1: Nuovi scenari di cooperazione*, Presentation of Post-Conflict and Emergency Managament, Catholic University: Milan.

Lombardi, M. (2019) 'Culture and Action: Cultural Diplomacy and Cooperation', *Sicurezza Terrorismo Società*, 10(2), pp. 7-18. Available at https://www.sicurezzaterrorismosocieta.it/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Culture-and-Action_Cultural-Diplomacy-and-Cooperation-Marco-Lombardi.pdf (Accessed: 7 July 2022)

Lucini, B. (2014) *Disaster Resilience from a Sociological Perspective - Exploring Three Italian Earthquakes as Models for Disaster Resilience Planning.* Springer International Publishing: Switzerland.

Lucini, B. (2019) 'Cultural Resilience and Cultural Diplomacy: The State of the Art', *Sicurezza Terrorismo Società*, 10(2), pp. 19-27. Available at http://www.sicurezzaterrorismosocieta.it/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Cultural-Resilience-and-Cultural-Diplomacy_the-State-of-the-Art-Barbara-Lucini.pdf (Accessed: 7 July 2022)

Mark, S. (2009) *A Greater Role for Cultural Diplomacy.* Den Haag: Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'. Available at https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/2016-02/20090616_cdsp_discussion_paper_114_mark.pdf (Accessed: 7 July 2022)

Pantea, D. and Stoica, A. (2014) *The Role of Cultural Diplomacy in Contemporary Crises and Conflict Reconciliation*, *Studia Universitatis Babes Bolay, Studia Europea*, pp. 219-230.
Polus, A. (2020) *Interregionalism and Bilateralism in the Context of EU-Africa Relations.* The Routledge Handbook of EU-Africa Relations, Routledge.
Rampp, B., Endreß, M. and Naumann, M. (2019) *Resilience in Social, Cultural and Political Spheres.* Springer: VS Wiesbaden.
Ramsbotham, O., Woodhouse, T. and Miall, H. (2016) *Contemporary Conflict Resolution: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts*. Polity Press: Malden USA.
Thomas, D., Mitchell, T. and Arseneau, C. (2016) 'Re-evaluating Resilience: From Individual Vulnerabilities to the Strength of Cultures and Collectivities Among Indigenous Communities', *Resilience: International Policies, Practices and Discourses,* 4(2), pp. 116-129.
Visioli, M. (2019) 'Cultural Diplomacy and Cultural Focal Points as Emergent and Integrative Cooperation Strategies in the Resolution of Conflicts', *Sicurezza Terrorismo Società*, 9(1), pp. 21-41. Available at http://www.sicurezzaterrorismosocieta.it/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/SicTerSoc_9_Visioli-Cultural-Diplomacy-and-Cultural-Focal-Points.pdf (Accessed: 7 July 2022)
Wagner, W. and Anholt, R. (2016) 'Resilience as the EU Global Strategy's New Leitmotif: Pragmatic, Problematic or Promising?', *Contemporary Security Policy,* 37(3), pp. 414-430.

Web Sources

CGD (n.d.) https://www.cgdev.org/page/about-cgd
Capacity4dev (n.d.) https://europa.eu/capacity4dev/
OECD (n.d.) https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/

A Review of: "Family and Jihadism: A Socio-Anthropological Approach to the French Experience" edited by Jerôme Ferret and Farhad Khoroskhovar[1]

Nina Käsehage[2]

The edited volume *Family and Jihadism. A Socio-Anthropological Approach to the French Experience* by Ferret and Khosrokhovar deals with an important topic: the impact of the family and family ties in terms of Jihadist radicalization. Based on the French experiences with the Merah-clan, a union that has transnational connections that reminds the observer of a larger family structure, the book expands the classical concept of a family in terms of extremist brother- and sisterhoods and its meaning in the eyes of Daesh, where the so-called Caliph Ibrahim aka Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi functioned as the "Super-father" and the caliphate or the neo-Ummah symbolized the "Super-mother". Daesh replaced the original family and became the 'new' family for its adherents. It also illustrates the links between France and Spain in terms of terrorist networks that are useful for the reader's understanding of the influence of multinational terror cells. It is astonishing that a lot of actors seek to fill a gap of parental (or in particular fatherly) love and devotion by their participation in extremist organizations that was, for instance, also observed by Alexander (2019, Family terror networks).

The first chapter by Jerôme Ferret, Farhad Khosrokhavar, and Bruno Domingo is called *French jihadism and the family* and introduces the volume that deals with jihadism in France and Southern Europe and highlights the idea that the 'real' family is in crisis and therefore replaced by the neo-family, the neo-Ummah (p. 1). It describes the focus of the book through various case studies such as the Merah attacks in Toulouse in 2012, the charismatic jihadist preachers and communities, the Cannes-Torcy and Ripoll cells where jihadism increased and terrorist attacks have been planned and carried out (pp. 2-7).

The second chapter by Bruno Domingo details the attacks in Toulouse and Montauban in March 2012 by the terrorist Mohamed Merah and is called *The 'Merah clan': family trajectories and transformation of the economy of violence*. Besides the attacks themselves, the multifaceted meaning of the word 'clan' is discussed, for instance, in view of its anthropological sense related to the idea of filiation and the connection to a common ancestor, and in terms of family-based organized crime (p. 12). Domingo describes the emergence of the Merah clan as a result of patriarchal violence and regulation (pp. 14-16). Most of the future terrorists have been raised in a one-parent family with an absent father and a lack of social organization (pp. 16-25). As a consequence of these familial environments,

[1] Jerôme Ferret and Farhad Khoroskhovar (eds) Family and Jihadism. A Socio-Anthropological Approach to the French Experience. Routledge. Taylor & Francis Group: London; New York, 2022. ISBN: 9781032077345

[2] Post-Doc in the field of Theology and Religious Research (RuTh); kaesehage1@gmail.com.

the vulnerable young men turned to crime or violence, having lost or quit family ties and united in a neo-family that consists of other jihadists (pp. 25-33). In a fourth step, the author reconstructed the different familial reactions of Merah in the aftermath of the attacks, that include, for instance, the question of the burial of Mohamed Merah in France or Algeria and the individual positions of the concerned jihadists and family members towards the attacks and the victims in view of the process both in front of the Criminal Court and in public. The author comes to the conclusion that radicalization is formed in an ecosystem of relationships between the transnational actors that are tied together by their interest and reconfigurations of violence (p. 13). Mohamed Merah junior has become the head of the neo-family (the Merah-clan), in which violence is based on extremist violence "with a political and religious content" (p. 44).

The third chapter by Farhad Khosrokhavar *Artigat or the imaginary neo-Ummah* discusses the case of Artigat, a rural place in France that became famous because of one of its habitants: Olivier Corel, better known as the 'White Emir' and his religious influence on various French jihadist who travelled abroad or have carried out terrorist attacks within France (pp. 50-51). Khosrokhavar describes Corel's role as a substitute father for many (future) jihadists who lacked a real father. He functioned as a jihadist *pater familias* with a silent charisma who combined it with the religious extremist socialisation (p. 52). In Artigat's patriarchy, Corel symbolized the guide or father of this small neo-family and the neo-Ummah functioned as the mother for the young, often stigmatised young people with an origin from North Africa who have been widely excluded by French society (pp. 55-60). In that sense, Artigat could be seen as a cypher for the future neo-family embodied by the Islamic State (IS).

The fourth chapter by Abderrahim El-Janati *Charisma of action, mystical charisma, neo-Ummah source of European Jihadism. The example of Toulouse and its region* is based on a sociological analysis related to the charisma of an Islamic preacher and his impact on the creation of a jihadist family, according to the understanding of Max Weber and Farhad Khosrokhavar (p. 64). El-Janati visualizes the impact of two different preachers of jihadism, Mamadou Daffé and Olivier Corel and their impact on the jihadist development in Toulouse with particular interest towards the Mirail mosque. While Daffé was polymorphic and functions as a protector of the Islamic community, (p. 71) Corel was the spiritual master of this neo-family who used the concept of Ghuraba' (the strangers) in order to impart its adherents the feeling to be part of a Muslim elite in the 'infidel' French environment (p. 69). Due to the fact that several young Muslims where in search for a religious meaning and community and have turned their backs on their 'acculturated' parents, both preachers filled these gaps with their charisma in the sense of Turner: "to satisfy needs and meet expectations that seemed impossible" (Turner 1993, p. 425 cited by El-Janati 2022, p. 65). By isolating himself, Corel is seen as a saint or rather prophet who voluntary obtains the burden of societal stigmatization by protecting his faith and religious community from the 'outsiders' (p. 73). Artigat functions as his emirate where he made his silence sacred and impressed various jihadists through his religious knowledge. For El-Janati both the Mirail mosque and Artigat

functioned as places for young Muslims to replace their anxieties through belief and a feeling of belonging, emotions that have also been symbolized by the IS which some of these adherents followed later on (pp. 75-79).

The fifth chapter by Jerôme Ferret *New fraternal scenes and jihadist violence, Ripoll (Catalonia, northern Spain)* illustrates the impact of the *jihadophile family* in terms of radicalization and extremist milieus with the help of the example of Salafist perpetrators originating from Ripoll in Catalonia. "The perpetrators of the attacks could [be assigned to] five sets of siblings" (p. 95). For Ferret, the family could be observed as both: a "material, cognitive or affective resource […] to support the various members involved, to serve as a forum for recruitment or financing" (p. 86) and a place where jihadist actors are divided from those family members who refuse to join this movement (Ibid). Besides the importance of belonging and identity forming (pp. 90-91), that seemed to be responsible for the othering of Ripoll's youth with Moroccan origin that is comparable with the French way of exclusion of the same group by placing them into suburban 'ghettoes' (les banlieues), the lack of collaboration between the national and local safety authorities and their incapability of dealing with religious fundamentalism could be seen responsible for the development of this Catalan jihadist milieu (p. 88). The author arrives at the conclusion that several aspects such as the trans-historical memory and everyday humiliation (pp. 100-102) as well as the family crisis and the impact of charismatic figures led to a close relationship between the concerned young actors and the terrorist group that consists of a counter-religious model of self-sacrifice of its members based on its affirmation of death and its anchoring in the beyond (pp. 105-106).

Chapter six *The rise and fall of a jihadist neo-family – The Cannes-Torcy cell* by Bartolomeo Conti describes the development of the 'most dangerous group that come to light in France since 1996' (p. 111). Based on an ethnography of a trial in the Assize Court, Conti unveils the terrorist actor's heritages as (co-)responsible for their radicalization. The absence of a family structure, often accompanied by defined roles, competing siblings and absent fathers, led the concerned terrorists to an individual crisis (pp. 120-126). They tried to find a belonging among the French army but "had difficulty in conforming to authority" (p. 128), leading to an Islamic religiosity that is both opposite to their father's faith and a way to identify personally with and to follow an order that seem to 'structure' their lives (pp. 126-131, 138-143). The author draws a picture of a male-dominated group whose members seem to repeat their own familial experiences in terms of their own family and where women tried to find their way by identifying as mothers of jihad or a wife of a fighter (pp. 143-145). The role of the 'original' family and their possibilities to fix former family bonds or even to destroy them further have become visible during the trial.

Chapter seven by David Vavassori and Sonia Harrati is called *the jihadist commitment as a solution to the impasses of family transmissions* and deals with the psychological dimension of extremist radicalization in terms of familial grievance. This feeling can become so strong that it is (co-)responsible for jihadist radicalization of vulnerable youth. Based on their

experiences with juvenile terrorists among juvenile prisons as well as the result of their supervisory work with the prison administration, both psychologists reflect on adolescence and puberty as a source for radical behaviour (p. 152). For the authors, the jihadist radicalization results from both a social and an individual malaise (p. 155) and can also be an impression of "self-generated fantasy and group illusions" (p. 157). Beside the crisis related to the families of the concerned imprisoned actors, "jihadist ideology [functions] as a defensive solution" for some juveniles (p. 162). Vavassori and Harrati also identify cultural humiliation of the concerned juveniles and "jihadophile siblings" (p. 167) as co-responsible for their extremist radicalization. The belonging to a movement that is based on destruction illustrates for both authors the structuring function of hatred for the young adults: "Becoming a jihadist would then represent the opportunity to invest a heroic identity at the service of a feeling of omnipotence, in response to the impasses of family ideological transmissions." (p. 170).

Chapter eight *Jihadism and the family – A heuristic model questioned, energised and augmented* by Jerôme Ferret, Farhad Khosrokhavar and Bruno Domingo summarize the elements of the entire discussion by highlighting the meaning of the interaction and bonding of the individual, their families and the neo-Ummah consisting of neo-patriarchy and instability of family representatives (s. pp. 174-178). The authors discuss the diversification of the family pattern by the examples of jihadist fraternities and sororities that reflect the crisis of the original families of the jihadists (s. pp. 178-181). In addition to the social and political exclusion of the juveniles that caused subjective injuries, failed familial roles have been instrumentalized by charismatic preachers and male role models to recruit vulnerable young adults into scripted martyrdom (s. pp. 182-190).

Overall, this volume is a valuable contribution for the terrorism research community, not only in France, Spain, or Europe but also in terms of a universal approach to the field of (de)-radicalization and prevention of violent extremism (PVE). The social, economic, and political exclusion of the first generation of immigrants originating mainly from north Africa such as Morocco, Tunisia, or Algeria led the younger generation of these immigrant families to turn to a substitute family which was found in the jihadist milieu. This development underlines how the search of young adults for belonging and a family is exploited by extremists who might have been themselves victims of broken families and lost dreams. The research results of this anthology could therefore be useful for (non-)governmental organizations to support vulnerable youth in terms of finding meaningful fields of activity, e.g. in the community or at work, in order to empower them and to enable them to break free from this vicious circle of ongoing physical and psychological abuse by jihadist recruiters.

A Review of: "We Cannot Continue Like This: Facing Modernity in Africa and the West" by Attie van Niekerk and Sytse Strijbos[1]

Krisztina Kállai[2]

The well-structured "We cannot continue like this. Facing modernity in Africa and the West" presents the challenges of sustainable environment, and the broad areas of economic relationship and features between the West and Africa.

The book is the first result of a qualitative and at the same time unique and urgent problem research through the collaboration of three organizations: NOVA, IIDE, CFC and the University of Pretoria. The aim of the volume, produced as a joint effort, is to draw attention and at the same time to create an innovative discourse that promotes sustainable development. Another primary goal is to emphasize that the current modern type of development tools is not sufficient, so they will no longer be effective for societies in the future. According to this, the authors of the book presenting different methods have a common goal, namely to describe and offer alternatives to this challenge. They all agree that the development stage of societies cannot continue in this form. Among the possibilities presented in the chapters, we find references to the appropriate, global economic use of resources, the reduction of harmful substances and emissions, for which the book formulates macro- and micro-level development methods and programs. It is important to note that development programs affecting the whole of humanity have ethical and philosophical-theological significance.

The idea to write the book was born during a 2-day conference held in Pretoria in 2019, with the aim of how to create a more sustainable environment for the society, how to better understand the way of creating more sustainable communities. The book's authentic and broad scientific ground is due to its authors, some of whom are university lecturers, while others are members of South African NGOs and churches. The basic idea of editing the book is to contribute to the creation of an appropriate dialogue for the representatives of different views of integration in the fields of philosophy, natural sciences, agriculture, and technology.

The first chapter goes back to the 1800s, during which the author explains that there was a time when Christian missions in Africa and modern-type developments seemed to be decidedly simple. A very good example of the connection and relationship between modern development and Christianity is the life of the well-known explorer and missionary David Livingstone, who arrived in Africa in 1841 and supported the Clapham military unit belonging to the evangelical denomination, whose leader (William Wilberforce) was a pioneer in the abolition of slavery. Even then, the missionary realized that the spread of Christianity could

[1] Attie van Niekerk and Sytse Strijbos. We Cannot Continue Like This. Facing Modernity in Africa and the West. AOSIS Publishing: Capetown, 2021. ISBN: 9781776342068

[2] Researcher at Africa Research Institute, Óbuda University, Budapest, Hungary; kriszborg@gmail.com.

significantly contribute to the development of the African economy. It is important to emphasize that even in these times it became clear to African church leaders that the language of the biblical message of Christianity must be reshaped, adapted to the values and norms of the African region. In relation to development, the chapter explains that in addition to the role of Christianity, modern science and technology can play a significant role, which must be adapted to local and fundamental values with constructive means. Furthermore, the establishment of sustainable development is significantly hindered by the intense corruption and high crime rates present in the region, one of the reasons for which is the lack of adequate justice and crime prevention.

Chapter 2 of the book presents the role of the economy and technology in societies, according to the development and state of the economy that is a reflection of the particularity of the culture and values of a given society. According to this, economic-based support is more than a necessary tool, i.e. it includes a mutual learning process in which all actors are prepared for changes and take responsibility for each other. The further importance of the chapter is the definition of the concepts of „social business" and „social enterprise". According to one of the author pairs mentioned as a source, Norberg-Hodge, modernization is not a solution to the eradication of poverty, but it is undoubtedly a significant cause of that.

The following part details the challenge of the energy transition in the South African region and outlines its particularities in relation to the use of coal for local residents, which is available in extremely limited quantities in the western region of Mpumalanga, that is engaged in traditional coal mining, in Ekurhuleni and in the northern parts of KwaZulu-Natal. The decrease in coal consumption in the region has decreased since 2013, a significant reason for which is that some households use electricity for heating during the winter months, mainly due to health and environmental pollution reasons. Unfortunately, most of the households still do not have access to electricity, as coal is cheaper and easier to access. The author of the chapter recommends focusing on the reduction of poverty to solve this issue, through which the use of coal could also be reduced. The analysis of this chapter shows that if there are not going to be any changes in the future, the local residents will not have access to adequate electricity supply and increased and harmful coal consumption can be expected in the region.

Chapter 4 presents one of the biggest challenges of developing countries, the problem of supplying the region with adequate food. From the chapter, we can learn that changes require a change in consumption habits for each society in developed countries. That is, the reduction of overconsumption and meat consumption, according to which farmers should strive to use new technologies and recycling in practice to reduce the lack of nutrients created during cultivation on their land. In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to support the production of food in smaller, community-type farms, during which farmers can use the land available to them, thereby reducing the demand for the production of a large amount of food on large economic farms.

An interesting highlight of the next chapter is the analysis that looks at social enterprises in the Southern African and East African Community, presenting the activities of the Moahisane

Development Foundation, which is an extensive economic network.

Chapter 6 raises an exciting question and the possibility regarding the relationship between architecture and religion, for which the author proposes a Dutch practical example. The second part of the volume continues with chapter 7, in which we can read a transdisciplinary analysis made in the city of Molati on the development of the use of local stoves. The purpose of this chapter is to contribute to the construction of a sustainable environment and to present the Brickstar project.

After that, we can get a very appropriate picture of the reasons and possibilities for the modification and independence of engineering education in South Africa in chapter 8. Furthermore, the author highlights the quality of South African universities that offer engineering education, which are accredited by ECSA in accordance with the Washington Agreement. The chapter emphasizes that in the world of the globalized economy, it is extremely important that the engineering courses are internationally recognized and at the same time meet the expectations of the locals.

Chapter 9 formulates an extremely important problem in relation to the construction of society, in which it explains that one of the biggest problems of African societies is that most of the communities live in deep poverty. The chapter highlights the community-forming role of religion and the church, which can motivate community mobilization as a kind of solution to poverty. The author emphasizes that one of the difficulties of community transformation is the development of specific community thinking that results from the process of colonization and segregation, which prevents all types of community transformation and participation in solving community problems. One example of this is the perception of people living in the Soshanguve community, according to which community members are inferior to white people. For this problem, the author proposes the practical possibilities offered by the InnerCHANGE program, which could solve the challenge of transformation by increasing the self-esteem of local communities.

In the last chapter, we can gain a detailed insight into the creation of sustainability in the modern world, in relation to „harmful problems". The mentioned concept is precisely defined by the author, which also refers to climate change and social problems that have arisen due to complex changes in technology. Furthermore, the chapter refers to social problems arising as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic. The author provides biblical-theological answers to the emerging situation and new challenges.

All in all, I recommend this book to those who are curious and dedicated to sustainable development in the African region, as the volume summarizes the necessary areas and needs through both theoretical and practical examples. In addition, the volume also presents an analysis carried out with theoretically based multi- and transdisciplinary methods in relation to the economic characteristics of African and Western societies. The problems and shortcomings described in the book and the solutions offered for them can definitely contribute to building a more sustainable environment in the African region.

A Review of: "South African Armoured Vehicles: A History of Innovation and Excellence" by Dr Dewald Venter[1]

Mmaphuti Felicia Langa[2]

The cold war meant that Africa would become a prime location for proxy wars between the East and the West. Due to the rise in liberation movements for independence backed by Eastern Bloc Communist countries such as Cuba and the Soviet Union, Sothern Africa saw one of the most intense wars fought on the continent. During this time, however, South Africa was subjected to international sanctions due to its Apartheid policies, which segregated people based on race. Thus, due to the Apartheid policies, South Africa was cut off from major sources of arms systems in 1977. Over the following years, the country became involved in the war in Angola and South West Africa. Since the available equipment was ill-suited to the local, hot, dry, and dusty climate and the threat of landmines, the South African government began researching and developing their own innovative weapon systems. This resulted in the designs of some of the most robust armoured vehicles produced anywhere in the world at that time. This further influenced development in multiple fields of the designs and production of armoured vehicles. Presently, the lineage of some of the vehicles are seen on many of the battlefields around the world, especially countries riddled by landmines and improvised explosive devices.

South African Armoured Vehicles provides a detailed 13 chapters description of the armoured vehicles by detailing the armour development, design features such as endurance and logistics, vehicle layout, protection, fire control system, mobility, and the operational history. These detailed descriptions are meant to help the reader understand the difference between the vehicles as well as why there was a need to upgrade the vehicles from time to time. This is an excellent book that provides both introductory and in-depth analysis of the SA military vehicles as well as giving an illustration of over 100 authentic photographs and more than two dozen custom-drawn colour profiles of the armoured vehicles. This is an amazingly detailed read and an indispensable source of reference for anyone who is interested in the historical development of the SA military vehicles.

In this book, the author begins by describing the Eland armoured car that was used by the SA military. It replaced the British built Ferret armoured car which was not suitable for the likely conflict SA would become involved in. Based on the shortcomings of the Ferret, SA acquired a more modern lightweight, lightly armoured, well-built, and long-range reconnaissance vehicle. Thus, SA acquired the rights to manufacture the AML-60 and 90. The

[1] Dewald Venter. South African Armoured Vehicles. A History of Innovation and Excellence. Helion & Company Limited: Warwick, England. 2020. ISBN: 9781913336257

[2] Junior researcher at Africa Research Institute, Óbuda University, Budapest, Hungary; mmaphutifelicia@gmail.com.

Eland was improved to make it more suitable for African terrain, but it was removed from the frontline services in the late 1980s when its indigenously produced replacement, the Rooikat 76 armoured car began to enter service. The shortcomings of the Eland made it have limited suitability for military use. Thus, it was not entirely discarded but relegated to the task of escorting convoys, conducting joint patrols, guarding strategic installations, manning roadblocks, and conducting search and destroy operations in SWA. Elands retired from service in 1994.

In the second chapter the author describes the military vehicle that was used by the army from 1995, replacing the Eland. The Buffel, which was mass-produced in SA, was designed to be mobile and provide protection against anti-tank mines, small arms fire, and shrapnel. It was phased out of the frontline service during the late 1980s and relegated to internal security use until its replacement by the Mamba APC in 1995. The first Buffels were deployed operationally in 1978 and some 2,985 vehicles would be built over a period of 17 years. The shortcomings of the Buffel vehicle were that the high ground clearance and narrow width made it top heavy causing problems for inexperienced drivers who would roll over if they turned too sharply while at speed or on uneven or wet, slippery terrain. The vehicle was replaced in 1995 by Mamba MPV after serving for 17 years.

Chapter Three describes the Ratel ICV vehicle, which adopted its Afrikaans name from the SA honey badger. The vehicle was used by the SA military during the 70s and 80s, as the foreign imported armoured troop vehicles were not up to the task against modern threats and challenges found in SA battlespace, hence the need for a highly manoeuvrable, ultra-reliable, and easy-to-maintain ICV. The Ratel family of vehicles allowed the South African Defence Force (SADF) the mobility needed from 1976 onwards as the SA border war escalated and cross border operations became more frequent and more complex. It was the best vehicle ever made for ultra-mobile African bush warfare. It would undertake missions over ragged and variable terrain with little logistical support. It was designed for speed and mobility at the expense of armour and regarded by most military analysts as the grandfather of all subsequent ICV designs.

Chapter four describes the Casspir MPV vehicle, which was considered the father of all the modern enclosed V-shaped monocoque-hulled MRAP vehicles. It was widely used as the vehicle of choice for demining, including removal of anti-personnel and anti-tank landmines and in humanitarian and peacekeeping operations by the UN around the globe. It was designed primarily as a mine-resistant APC which could operate in some of the most hostile terrain in the world. Several characteristics which have led to its success include: it is of a 4x4 design coupled with differential lock and uses 4 large run-flat tyres designed to resist the effects of diffusion when punctured. The Casspir configuration was designed for the African battlespace and characterised by its versatility and cross-country capability. It requires less maintenance than their counterparts. It formed an integral part of motorised operations by the former SADF during the border war, where it was used extensively by the 101st Battalion. It has become the face of the UN peacekeeping forces in mine-riddled conflict zones in Africa.

Its primary role was in counterinsurgency missions while protecting its users from landmine blasts. It left a 35-year legacy. It was disbanded in 1991 when SWA gained its independence as Namibia.

Chapter five describes the G6 vehicle that was named after the indigenous African Rhinoceros animal. It is 3-arle, 6 wheeled self-propelled howitzer which forms the backbone of the SABDF artillery arm, who can field 43 vehicles characterised by its six massive 21:00x25 wheels, fast set up time, bush breaking ability, and versatility as a howitzer platform. It is equipped with 2 fuel tanks on either side of the mid-section of the hull with a combined capacity of 700 litres. It is manned by a crew of 6 people, consisting of the commander, layer, breech operator, loader, ammunition handler, and driver. The G6 has only ever been used operationally during the SA border war and subsequently proved its combat capability. It was first fielded in 1987. It is characterised by its impressive fire range, mobility, speed, accuracy, and endurance. It remains at the front of the pack when compared to other wheeled and tracked self-propelled howitzer vehicles.

Chapter six describes the Bateleur FV2, which took its name from a mid-sized eagle native to the open Savannah and woodlands of Sub-Saharan Africa. Planned in 1983 to replace its smaller predecessor the Visarend FV1, its role was to provide the SADF with first strike capabilities in support of its artillery philosophy. The Visarend was not robust enough for the demand placed on it by the rough terrain and offered no protection against the ever-present threat of landmines. Thus, a more suitable vehicle in the form of the Bateleur was introduced that had improved mobility, protection, and increased payload. The Bateleur is only in service with the SADF and 4 of the 25 Bateleurs produced are in presentation storage. The primary purpose of the vehicle is to destroy HVT and HIT, which included counter battery sticks against enemy artillery and air defence emplacements. It offers more reliability and requires less maintenance than a tracked vehicle. It was built according to similar military vehicles which place emphasis on longer-range fire, speed, mobility, flexibility, and simple logistics.

Chapter seven describes the Oliphant MK1A MBT with an Afrikaans name from the African elephant. It is the heaviest military vehicle in the SADF and post-Apartheid South African National Defence Force (SANDF). It is popularly referred to as a *Moemsie*. It was officially introduced in 1978 and features tactical radio communication which allows for reliable command and control. Improved fittings were done on the vehicle to improve its protective frame to protect against vegetation while bundu bashing. It was meant to have a facelift in the form of the MK1B.

Chapter eight describes the Oliphant MK1B, which is a rebuild of the Oliphant MK1A. it was adopted for the African battlespace and based on the lessons learnt from the SA border war. Unlike the MK1A, which was an upgrade from the Centurion MK5 and MK7 hulls, the MK1B was a complete rebuild and left a legacy, features, and outer look of the Centurion MBT. Its development commenced soon after the MK1 went into production in 1981. Its design was meant to improve on the shortcomings of the MK1A which were exposed during the SA border

war, such as inadequate armour, poor mobility, improved firepower, and taxing maintenance requirements. It was a leap forward in protection, mobility, and firepower over its predecessor, the MK1A, however, it had limitations such as poor power-to-weight ratios, the failure of the main gun system to exceed the performance of the MK1A, logistical shortcomings of parts and maintenance manuals exasperate the MK1B, and the desired fight ability improvement was not achieved. These shortcomings motivated the SANDF to look for further improvements, which led to the Oliphant MK2 that made use of many technologies developed in the TTD.

Chapter nine describes the Oliphant MK2, which was developed for the African battlespace based on the lessons learnt from the SA border war. It was designed and produced at a time when SA was no longer subject to international embargoes. It was set at a backdrop of a relatively stable SA, the need for large numbers of new MBTs was put aside in favour of more agile and air transportable vehicles for peacekeeping missions in Africa under the umbrella of the UN and AU. Due to lack of funds, the SANDF decided to upgrade the existing MK1Bs which were on hand to the desired specification sought by the SAAC. OMC was tasked with improving on the shortcomings of the Oliphant MK1B leading to the Oliphant MK2. Thus, the MK2 addresses the shortcomings initially found in the MK1B to make the tank fightable by incorporating the hunter-killer capability. The MK2 is a leap forward in protection, mobility, and firepower, and is currently the pinnacle of tank technology in SA. The role of the MBTs is essentially to act as a deterrent to outside aggressors. MBTs are expensive to operate and maintain, and as they are often only deployed during times of war, they make the justification for funding them very difficult to the general public.

Chapter ten describes the Tank Technology Demonstrator, which was a locally built prototype MBT as a result of years of technological development in SA. It served as a testbed for the modern technologies of the time in the areas of firepower, mobility, and survivability. It was completed in 1992 and embodied the most sophisticated technologies, technical expertise, and manufacturing capabilities available to SA in the mid-1990s.

Chapter eleven describes the Rooikat armoured car, which takes its Afrikaans name from the African caracal, a type of wild cat. It is fast and nimble and was used by the SADF and its successor, the SANDF. It is completely indigenous military vehicle, adopted for the Southern African battlespace. The development of the Rooikat was one of the SADF's most ambitious undertakings. Full production of the Rooikat began in June 1990 and lasted until 2000. It was designed with an emphasis on mobility, firepower, and protection. Its tasks were combat, reconnaissance, seek and destroy operations, combat support, anti-armour, and anti-guerrilla operations. During peacekeeping operations, the Rooikat can be used to monitor ceasefires, protect key points, escort convoys, act as deterrent, used for reconnaissance and crowd control. It is considered one of the most versatile weapons systems produced by SA and is in use by the SAAC.

Chapter twelve describes the Mamba APC, which was described as one of the several SA

MPV vehicles which inspired the modern enclosed V-shaped MRAP vehicles used by western armies today. It is widely used as a vehicle of choice for humanitarian and peacekeeping operations by the UN and in intensity conflict operations. The Mamba MK2 and MK3 are designed as all-terrain, all-weather MPVs which can operate in urban and rural areas for long range patrols and transportation of personnel. The Mamba's success is due to several features such as it not having a body and the frame sitting on the wheels off the ground with a V-shaped armoured underbelly which helps disperse and deflect mine blast energy away from the hull, thereby reducing the potential damage. Designed as an officially designated light armoured vehicle by the SADF, it can protect its occupants against a single TM-57 mine blast under the hull or two TM-57's under any wheel. The Mamba series of APCs are arguably the trendsetters for the myriad of MPVs used today.

Chapter thirteen describes the Badger infantry combat vehicle which adopts its name from its predecessor, the Ratel. It is well named as it has modern armament, enhanced protection, and vastly impressive mobility over its predecessor. It is designed and produced at a time when SA as a fully-fledged democracy is undertaking more peacekeeping responsibilities on the African continent. The design, development, and production of the Badger were undertaken due to the need for more modern ICV to replace the Ratel. The Badger is characterised by 8 big wheels, mobility, bush-breaking ability, and versatility as a weapons platform. It is one of the best protected vehicles of its class in the world.

I found the book to be very interesting, intriguing, and informative for anyone who is interested in gaining knowledge about the historical background of SA armoured cars. The book provides detailed and descriptive information about each armoured car that was either manufactured in SA or imported by the SA military for use in the military operations. I liked and enjoyed reading the book as someone who has no knowledge about the SA armoured cars and their designs. I have always seen these cars in SA, either being displayed in museums and town parks, and I had always been curious about how they were designed and how they operated. This book has extensively answered the questions I had about these cars. I would strongly recommend this book for anyone who is interested in knowing more about the SA armoured vehicles, including their use in the wars such as the SA border war that SA was involved in.

Fighting for Time

A Review of: "Rhodesia's Military and Zimbabwe's Independence" by Charles D. Melson[1]

Marcell György Pintér[2]

Major (ret.) of the USMC, military historian and veteran of the Vietnam war, Charles David Melson's book elaborates in great detail the surviving and available information on the conflict in Rhodesia (today's Zimbabwe) throughout its 8 chapters with the goal of studying low-intensity warfare in Rhodesia and the British Commonwealth experience of the past decades for use today.

The first chapter tells a summary of (South) Rhodesia's history and institutional structure for context in which the main subject of the book takes place. It explains its geographical and demographic features. The country is divided into strips of land with favourable living conditions and land unsuitable for habitation or agriculture. Population-wise, black African natives made up the majority of the country's demographics, more so in the rural parts of the country, while white European settlers inhabited mostly the urban areas, still being in the minority, albeit to a much lesser extent.

The chapter also details extensively the Rhodesian doctrine, experiences gained from conflicts from the 1950's to the 1970's in foreign conflicts within the Commonwealth as well as police, military, and intelligence institutions. Military and air services were subordinated to the police force within a joint organisation of the British South Africa Police of Rhodesia (BSAP) – which was neither British nor South African, only in name, and which heavily relied on African natives and not just the settler Europeans, especially prior to the conflict. This meant different goals for the two major parts of the organisation, to uphold law and order internally for the police, and to defend the country against external threats for the military. This resulted in institutional friction, reducing the effectiveness of the otherwise successful force past the initial phase of the insurgency, even in the face of changes made to the institutional structure during the war. Throughout the conflict, the Rhodesian side viewed its actions as upholding the law of the land against insurgents and terrorists – the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army – and saw an evolution from law and order to emergency powers to finally martial law to try to tackle the threat.

Chapter two explains how general-purpose and special forces as well as the separate intelligence branches operated, how they were structured, what tasks they were given both

[1] Charles D. Melson. Fighting for Time: Rhodesia's Military and Zimbabwe's Independence. Casemate Publishers: Havertown, US and Oxford, UK, 2021. ISBN 9781952715068

[2] Junior researcher at Africa Research Institute, Óbuda University, Budapest, Hungary; pinter.marcell@gmail.com.

in Rhodesia and abroad, what they comprised. South Africa, Portugal, and other Commonwealth countries also helped in operations conducted by the undermanned Rhodesian forces. Thanks to experience and skills gained from domestic and foreign deployments, the Rhodesian Special Air Service (SAS) was a prominent actor, among others, and partook in various reconnaissance, intelligence, infiltration, sabotage, and other types of missions in the conflict. As the chapter emphasises, one chief example of the skills gained was tracking, a quintessential expertise to have in the non-urban Rhodesian environment, which lead to the establishment of dedicated tracking units and training independent of the SAS, and helicopters and light aircraft being deployed to aid the trackers.

In chapter three, Melson stresses the importance of air support that the Rhodesian ground forces possessed that gave them a decisive edge over the insurgents. He explains the structure, organisation, and operation of the Rhodesian Air Force, the smallest branch of the military yet the most prestigious and perhaps the best equipped one, and that it played four main roles: deterrence, air defence, tactical support as well as providing aid to the civil power. Deterrence served to protect the country from unlikely but still possible foreign aerial aggression; while tactical support became a vital part of anti-terrorist operations, providing help to both the military and the police force. The conflict in Rhodesia was not limited to its borders as the terrorists launched their incursions from insurgent bases located across the border in neighbouring Zambia (Northern Rhodesia), Angola, Botswana, and Mozambique. The author also presents the vintage, yet reliable equipment used by the well-trained pilots that Rhodesia managed to procure and maintain despite a struggling economy and international sanctions levied against it. The air force proved to be the biggest threat to and a great way to demoralise the guerrillas, to which they had to invent countermeasures such as camouflage and drills. Insurgent antiaircraft measures included machinegun fire with tracers, heat-seeking missile systems (mostly abroad), as well as ambushes against the grounded rotary- and fixed-wing aircraft.

In the fourth chapter, the author continues the presentation of the air force, this time explaining its adaptation from internal security to counterinsurgency measures, in close cooperation with other branches of the military and the police force. Melson further elaborates on the organisation and use of the Rhodesian Air Force and explains its doctrine of a three-way focus. These are: transportation, reconnaissance, and offence. Transportation – the most common and useful form of air support during the conflict – included moving or evacuating troops and materiel to the operational areas, tactical deployment, rapid reinforcements, and resupply, among others. Reconnaissance was made up of two methods: photographic and visual air observation. Other uses comprised communication, command, and control – i.e. to coordinate with the army and police force, to relay friendly and to intercept enemy communications, and to assume operational command when needed – as well as psychological and propaganda operations, liaison and civilian transport flights, protecting road convoys, etc. Finally, the offensive role included direct strikes and close air support with various dropped explosive and incendiary ordnances, rockets, and cannons.

The fifth chapter highlights the changes in joint counterinsurgency operations, a shift from border to area control, and the formations including the SAS to the Selous Scouts and Grey's Scouts. The author explains their selection process, training, equipment, and operation on the field. The Selous Scouts were based on the SAS and were a unique formation due to its mixed racial recruitment and merit- and performance-based recognition, as opposed to the exclusively European SAS, giving it the ability to approach and infiltrate the terrorist groups in tribal areas convincingly and effectively to locate their bases and direct conventional forces to them. Grey's Scouts on the other hand were an experimental mounted infantry unit created for long-range land reconnaissance, patrolling rural areas, tracking and following, support roles, etc. Apart from these three, several other "minor" units are detailed.

As the war progressed, so grew the number of insurgents and deployments. In chapter six, Melson presents in great detail the organisation and operation of Fire Forces and presents several first-hand accounts of their missions. For example, the Selous Scouts, doing reconnaissance work from secret observation posts surveilling African tribal areas, would dispatch Fire Forces, who would then be moved to the area by the air force. They would then deploy, do their thing with the support of aircraft, and extract. As the author points out, the longer the planning, the better the results were. To counter Fire Force, the guerrillas adopted several techniques like sentries listening for incoming aircraft, and young boys (*mujibas*) to serve as sentries, messengers, and spies to scout out observation posts.

Chapter seven deals with external, cross-border operations in the bordering countries of Zambia, Botswana, and Mozambique, known as the Frontline States, that helped the insurgents by providing basing, support, and access to Rhodesia. These external efforts were aided by South African and Portuguese units. Numbering more than 500 operations over the almost two decades of the conflict, these cross-border raids were covert or clandestine in nature, either against a specific target or an area, but also included non-military related activities such as intelligence gathering and sanctions-busting. The author expands on several of these operations in detail.

The eighth and last chapter delves into the unconventional side of the warfare with the use of auxiliary forces to pacify low-priority regions, the use of the resistance movement in Mozambique, and the so-called "dirty tricks" that included extremely sensitive special operations like ambushes, target captures or eliminations, disinformation efforts, and others, often of dubious legal or moral nature.

Melson concludes that the conflict from the Rhodesian side can be described as a tactical victory but strategic defeat. The Rhodesian military and special forces became so battle-hardened that they could not be defeated by the guerrillas in combat, but neither could the growing camp of the insurgents as a whole, who would eventually see victory in the elections and the transformation of Rhodesia to Zimbabwe. A big role in the Security Forces' success was played by the air force both as weapons and morale boosters as well as the special operations. Despite these killing machines, it was the neglect of a civic approach that

ultimately lost them the war: the classic dilemma of counterinsurgency.

Completing the book are an extensive list of appendices and other supplementary resources at the end in addition to a large number of maps and different kinds of figures as well as countless first-hand accounts of those involved on both sides found throughout the chapters to complement and help illustrate the contents of the book.

However, what is somewhat missing from the book is the elaboration on the Communist Bloc's involvement, including that of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The book does make a brief mention or two of the fact, but further information would have been appreciated on, for instance, how giving the Republic of China's UN Security Council seat to Communist China influenced the Rhodesian situation, or how members of ZAPU and ZANU were supported, trained, and equipped by the Soviet Union and China respectively.[3]

Nevertheless, it is an excellent piece of military history, and I recommend it to anyone studying or interested in modern Africa and/or military history, especially counterinsurgency.

[3] Lake, Anthony: *The 'Tar Baby' Option: American Policy Toward Southern Rhodesia*. New York: Columbia University Press, June 1976. http://psimg.jstor.org/fsi/img/pdf/t0/10.5555/al.sff.document.crp2b20030_final.pdf

Author Guide

Guidelines for Authors submitting Articles or Research Notes to the Journal of Central and Eastern European African Studies (JCEEAS)

Preparing Your Paper

Structure

Your paper should be compiled in the following order: title page; abstract; keywords; main text introduction, materials and methods, results, discussion; acknowledgments; declaration of interest statement; references; appendices (as appropriate); table(s) with caption(s) (on individual pages); figures; figure captions (as a list).

Word Limits

Please include a word count for your paper.

A typical paper for this journal should be no more than 10,000 words.

Style of Referencing

Authors may only submit their paper in Harvard style, using in-text citations. Manuscripts may be supplied as single or multiple files. These can be Word, rich text format (rtf), open document format (odt), or PDF files. Figures and tables can be placed within the text or submitted as separate documents. Figures should be of sufficient resolution to enable refereeing.

There are no strict formatting requirements, but all manuscripts must contain the essential elements needed to evaluate a manuscript: abstract, author affiliation, figures, tables, funder information, and references. Further details may be requested upon acceptance.

References can be in any style or format, so long as a consistent scholarly citation format is applied. Author name(s), journal or book title, article or chapter title, year of publication, volume and issue (where appropriate) and page numbers are essential. All bibliographic entries must contain a corresponding in-text citation. The addition of DOI (Digital Object Identifier) numbers is recommended but not essential.

Spelling can be US or UK English so long as usage is consistent.

Note that, regardless of the file format of the original submission, an editable version of the article must be supplied at the revision stage.

Checklist: What to Include

Author details. All authors of a manuscript should include their full name and affiliation on the cover page of the manuscript. Where available, please also include ORCiDs and social media handles (Facebook, Twitter or LinkedIn). One author will need to be identified as the corresponding author, with their email address normally displayed in the article PDF (depending on the journal) and the online article. Authors' affiliations are the affiliations where the research was conducted. If any of the named co-authors moves affiliation during the peer-review process, the new affiliation can be given as a footnote. Please note that no changes to affiliation can be made after your paper is accepted.

Should contain an unstructured abstract of 200 words.

Between 3 and 5 keywords. Read making your article more discoverable, including information on choosing a title and search engine optimization.

Funding details. Please supply all details required by your funding and grant-awarding bodies as follows:

For single agency grants

This work was supported by the [Funding Agency] under Grant [number xxxx].

For multiple agency grants

This work was supported by the [Funding Agency #1] under Grant [number xxxx]; [Funding Agency #2] under Grant [number xxxx]; and [Funding Agency #3] under Grant [number xxxx].

Disclosure statement. This is to acknowledge any financial interest or benefit that has arisen from the direct applications of your research. Further guidance on what is a conflict of interest and how to disclose it.

Biographical note. Please supply a short biographical note for each author. This could be adapted from your departmental website or academic networking profile and should be relatively brief (e.g., no more than 200 words).

Data availability statement. If there is a data set associated with the paper, please provide information about where the data supporting the results or analyses presented in the paper can be found. Where applicable, this should include the hyperlink, DOI or other persistent identifier associated with the data set(s). Templates are also available to support authors.

Data deposition. If you choose to share or make the data underlying the study open, please deposit your data in a recognized data repository prior to or at the time of submission. You will be asked to provide the DOI, pre-reserved DOI, or other persistent identifier for the data set.

Supplemental online material. Supplemental material can be a video, dataset, fileset, sound file or anything which supports (and is pertinent to) your paper. We publish supplemental

material online via Figshare. Find out more about supplemental material and how to submit it with your article.

Figures. Figures should be high quality (1200 dpi for line art, 600 dpi for grayscale and 300 dpi for color, at the correct size). Figures should be supplied in one of our preferred file formats: EPS, PDF, PS, JPEG, TIFF, or Microsoft Word (DOC or DOCX) files are acceptable for figures that have been drawn in Word. For information relating to other file types, please consult our Submission of electronic artwork document.

Tables. Tables should present new information rather than duplicating what is in the text. Readers should be able to interpret the table without reference to the text. Please supply editable files.

Equations. If you are submitting your manuscript as a Word document, please ensure that equations are editable. More information about mathematical symbols and equations.

Units. Please use SI units (non-italicized).

Using Third-Party Material in your Paper

You must obtain the necessary permission to reuse third-party material in your article. The use of short extracts of text and some other types of material is usually permitted, on a limited basis, for the purposes of criticism and review without securing formal permission. If you wish to include any material in your paper for which you do not hold copyright, and which is not covered by this informal agreement, you will need to obtain written permission from the copyright owner prior to submission. More information on requesting permission to reproduce work(s) under copyright.

Submitting Your Paper

By submitting your paper to the Journal of Central and Eastern European African Studies you are agreeing to originality checks during the peer-review and production processes.

The text should be sent to the editor-in-chief at <besenyo.janos@uni-obuda.hu>, with copy to the co-editor <karman.marianna@uni-obuda.hu>, together with an assurance that the MS has not been submitted to another journal and will not be submitted while under review with JCEEAS. The MS should be unpublished - and this includes online publications.

Texts should be research-based, original and not published elsewhere before (with some exceptions being made for non-English publication elsewhere).

The copyright of the text stays with the author(s); so does responsibility for content.

Publication Charges

There are no submission fees, publication fees or page charges for this journal.

Journal of Central and Eastern European African Studies

Online version
https://jceeas.bdi.uni-obuda.hu/

Contact
Publisher: Óbuda University, Hungary - 1034 Budapest, Bécsi út 96/B
Editorial Office: Africa Research Institute, Doctoral School on Safety and Security Sciences, Óbuda University,
Hungary – 1081 Budapest, Népszínház u. 8. III. 316.
+36205585579; besenyo.janos@uni-obuda.hu.

ISSN 2786-1902

Africa Research Institute