

In a 100 year time span, the gendarmerie was established in Hungary three times, in 1849, 1881, and 1919, and it was abolished three times, in 1869, 1919, and 1945. The reason for its dissolution each time was expressly political, and never professional (i.e. lack of need or effectiveness).

The gendarmerie has a French origin. The 13th century French kings established a body within the military, called “Marékhausée,” to investigate and prevent criminal activities committed by soldiers (such as robbery, violence, murder, arson, etc.). As their effectiveness was remarkable, their purview was extended to the peacetime activities of the military, then to the civilians living in the area of military activities, and eventually, by civilian request, to the whole French kingdom.

The organization received the gendarmerie name before the French Revolution of 1878. Although the Revolution abolished the gendarmerie along with all other parts of the French government, Bonaparte Napoleon re-established it, and countries under his rule adopted it with the rest of the French administrative offices. One such country was the northern Italian Lombardy, when it transferred from the Habsburg rule to Napoleon. After Napoleon’s fall, it again came under Habsburg rule, but it maintained the gendarmerie organization as a very effective system of keeping order. This became the model for the Hungarian gendarmerie organization.

The Habsburgs put down the 1848-49 Hungarian revolution with the help of the Russians, and they declared the Hungarians lost all their rights, namely the right of being an independent nation, on the account of their revolt against their lawful ruler. Therefore, they abolished the Hungarian government, divided her land into districts and tried to assimilate them into Austria. They forbade the use of the Hungarian language and the practice of Hungarian culture. The Hungarians—not having a way to revolt with weapons—resisted passively. They made their suppression so costly for the Habsburgs, that their banker, the Rotschild house, feared the demise of the neo-absolutist Habsburg Empire.

This Habsburg Empire had set up the institution of the gendarmerie in Hungary the first time. It was very effective in maintaining order; nevertheless, it elicited the nation’s hatred, because it was set up by the oppressor Habsburgs, and because the Habsburgs used it not only against criminal activities but against Hungarian patriots as well.

Prior to this, in the first part of the 19th century, the Hungarian parliament also desired to establish a gendarmerie organization, but the attempt failed due to the lack of legal and financial support from the Habsburg ruler.

By the mid 1860’s it became evident that the neo-absolutist rule of the Habsburgs over the Hungarians was a failure. The Habsburgs’ losses at Solferino (June 24, 1859) and Königgrätz (July 3, 1866) confirmed this fact, and talks started between the Austrian and Hungarian representatives. This led to the Compromise of 1867, changing the Habsburg neo-absolute Empire into a dual constitutional monarchy. This new government became the so-called Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy, or, as the Habsburgs liked to call it, the

Austrian-Hungarian Empire. The names reflected the different views of the two nations. The Habsburgs viewed it as one Empire in which certain things were handled independently in its two parts, while the Hungarians viewed it as two countries who handled certain things together. Eventually, the Hungarian approach prevailed both in the use of the name, and in practice.

In the Monarchy, the Law of Compromise served as the constitution. It was entered into the Hungarian corpus juris in Hungarian as the law act of 1867/XII, while it was registered in the Reichsgesetzblatt in German as the law act of 1867.Nr.146.

The Law of Compromise acknowledged four areas of mutual interests that required united action: the court of the ruler, the common cause of foreign affairs and military with their financial coverage, the national credit, and customs and commerce. In addition, there were areas without a mutual agreement, but with an expressed desire to harmonize their independent efforts, such as nautical, postal, and currency issues. And finally, on such internal affairs as administration and maintaining order, the two nations, the Hungarian Kingdom and the Austrian Empire, decided independently.

The Compromise dissolved all institutions of the former neo-absolute government. Some of these, like the customs offices, immediately re-formed, and continued their work practically with their previous clerks and officers. Of the Gendarmerie, only two units remained, one in Croatia and one in Transylvania: in the former, because of their relative autonomy, and in the latter, because of the area's militarily strategic importance for the Austrians. But such a role was inconsistent with the separation of the internal affairs of the two nations, and therefore, Austria handed the Transylvanian gendarmerie over to the Hungarian Royal military in 1876.

The members of the previous Austro-Hungarian gendarmerie did not suffer any ill treatment after the dissolution of the organization. They received pension and severance pay from the Austrian government, and they were allowed to settle at a location they wished; only they were not allowed to serve in the new Hungarian law-enforcement agencies.

First, the Hungarians wished to establish an order-keeping organization without gendarmerie, due to the bad reputation of the Austrian gendarmes among the people in the previous decades. But soon it became evident that the police and other organizations are unable to provide the order necessary for the desired peaceful development of a civic society.

Kálmán Tisza, 1830-1902, was a leading political figure in Hungary in the second half of the 19th century: President of the Liberal Party, Secretary of Interior, Prime Minister, Secretary of Finance, Personal Secretary of the King, and the head of preparations to celebrate the millennial existence of the country. He also lobbied for the restoration of the gendarmerie, and proposed a law for its establishment.

In 1881, the Hungarian parliament passed the law acts of 1881/II., and 1881/III. to establish an organization for public safety and to expand the membership of the gendarmerie. The Emperor, Franz Joseph, ratified the law on February 14, 1881, and the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie (Magyar Királyi Csendőrség) was born (starting in 1936, this day is celebrated yearly as the Gendarme Day, or Csendőrnapi). Franz Josef was the head of the Habsburg-house, and filled in the role of a singular head for both of the two states. Each state had its own ruler, which happened to be the same person in this case, and in neither position did he have any jurisdiction over the affairs of the other. Franz Joseph was at the same time both the Austrian Kaiser and the Hungarian king, and he ratified the law as the latter.

The extension of the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie to the whole of Hungary took three years. It was divided into gendarme districts, and the starting base, the Transylvanian gendarmerie consisted one such division. As the gendarmes were considered soldiers, the gendarmerie fell within the cognizance of the Secretary of Defense. The gendarmes used the same ranking system as the army, and had the same military hierarchy as the army. In respect to its professional overseeing and financial supply, it fell under the jurisdiction of the Department of Interior.

The work field of the gendarmerie was the rural part of the country, where the majority of the population lived at the time, and it did not include towns and cities. As the result of the effective work of the gendarmes, the public safety record of Hungary had reached the level of the safest West-European areas.

In 1919, taking advantage of the situation caused by the lost war, the communists, with the help of the social-democrats, seized power through a coup. They proclaimed the Hungarian Communist Republic or Proletariat Dictatorship, and made void all previous governmental organizations and laws, including the gendarmerie. This was the second time the gendarmerie was dissolved.

The Dictatorship's sole organization for keeping social order was the so-called Red Guard, which functioned under the direct supervision of the communist party leaders. They considered all members of the previous law-enforcement organizations automatically a member of the new Red Guard, unless they objected. Most of the gendarmes did not object, as the communist coup affected mostly the towns and cities. The news traveled slowly to the rural areas, and most of the news made no sense to the rural folks. The people, including the gendarmes, had no clear understanding of what communism was about. What the gendarmes knew was how to keep order, and continued going about that task, especially considering that leaving their work would have put the very existence of their families at risk. Therefore, there were no major changes in the maintenance of social order in the rural areas during the 133 days of the Communist Republic.

Regarding the law-enforcement agencies during this short time, the communists only had opportunity to replace the highest positions with their choice of proletariats and peasants. Many of these new leaders were not even communists, as there were not enough party

members to fill all necessary positions; and professionally they were totally unfit for their posts, because, though they might have been good workers in their own fields, they had no idea whatsoever about law-enforcement. Although some previous leaders were kept in the organization, they were only given administrative duties.

In essence then, during the 133 days of the Communist Republic, most gendarmes even as a Red Guard member continued their usual duty. The effects of the new regime only reached them slowly and partially. The fact that most of them stayed at their post was the reason that the rural areas felt the changes much less. The Communist Republic nullified all the previous laws, but did not make new one in their places—issued only a few regulations—and therefore it was left to the gendarmes' natural sense of justice how to maintain order and peace in their districts.

The Red Guard included not only the members of the previous law-enforcement agents and proletariat and peasants. A small portion of the organization worked as terror corps', made up solely by devotees of the Communist Republic. The so-called Lenin-Boys and the Cherni-Brigade violently oppressed all those who opposed the communist regime. They not only fought with weapons, but they also put their captured enemies on mock-trials and executed them. This kind of treatment of the opposition was contrary to the Hungarian traditions and elicited a strong disfavor in the people. Hungarians were not used to such methods even during war times. The law act of 1912/LXXXIII. placed the right of administrative jurisdiction into the civil hands, and though the military had the right to dispense justice in zones of military operations, they had no right to hand down a death sentence without a judgment of a proper judiciary.

The Lenin-Boys and Cherni-Brigade mounted an attack even against the potential opposition. They carried away Oszkar Fery Lt. General and János Meninka and Sándor Borhy Gendarme Lt. Colonels from their homes, and no one knew anything further about them. Only after the fall of the regime was it discovered that they were carried into the Locomotive (Mozdony) Street building of the Cherni-Brigade, were stabbed to death in the basement with knives, and their bodies thrown into the Danube River under the darkness of night. During the Proletariat Dictatorship they executed, by various methods, a Lt. General, six Lt. Colonels, one Captain, a 1st Lt., six NCOs (non-commissioned officers, which was a specific rank at the time), four district gendarme detectives, eleven Staff Sergeants, and a “gendarme.”

After the fall of the Proletariat Dictatorship, the name of Locomotive (Mozdony) Street was changed to Oszkar Fery Street in honor of the brutally murdered Fery, Meninka, and Borhy gendarme officers. After 1945, it was renamed again, and is called to this day, Kiss János (John Kiss) Street in the memory of Lt. General János Kiss, who died a martyr's death during the resistance battles against the Germans.

The edicts of the Communist Republic were cancelled after its defeat, and the previous administration was restored along with its laws and institutions, including the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie. They reestablished all previous gendarmes in the organization, regardless of whether they had served in the Red Guard or not. The Gendarmerie again

achieved remarkable results in establishing public safety and order, and their crime-solving rate was between 80 to 90+ %, just as it was prior to WWI.

The third time the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie was dissolved followed the Soviet occupation of Hungary in 1945. The Gendarmerie was established in 1881 with a constitutional law, but the new regime dissolved it with a simple ruling. They were able to do so, because Hungary, as a defeated country, had limited sovereignty under the occupying Russians. Gábor Faragho, the Minister of Supply (Food) of the new Temporary National Government, signed the 1690/1945.Me.r. ruling into effect on May 10, 1945. This same Gábor Faragho was the Commandant of the Gendarmerie a mere year prior.

Ferenc Kaiser quotes from this ruling in his book on the history of the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie between the two World Wars: “1§ (1) The Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie had served the previous antidemocratic governments with blind obedience and suppressed all democratic efforts of the people with brutal measures, and it committed countless acts of violence against the proletariat and peasantry, and therefore the Temporary National Government establishes the collective guilt of the organization and dissolves it as the unanimous judgment of the Hungarian nation. (2) This ruling dismisses all those individuals who had been serving in the Gendarmerie. (3) The pension and all social aids of previous gendarmes and their dependants is abolished...” From the latter only those were exempted, whose gendarme husband had passed away before Sep. 1, 1939, or those who were “proved.” According to the 2§ of the ruling, a person was proved, if he participated in the anti-German resistance movement; disobeyed or failed to obey the laws and regulations of the Horthy-regime’s government; and/or participated in communist organizations or assisted its members...

In essence, they condemned the gendarmerie collectively, in the entirety of its organization, they dismissed all its members, and they revoked the pensions of all previous gendarmes, even if they were already retired during WWII. Every single gendarme had to appear before the so-called proving committee, which were made up by members of the various communist parties and organizations, all of whom were enemies of the Horthy regime. Considering that the requirements for “proving” were incompatible with the expectations for any gendarmes, and would have elicited their dismissal from the force or their severe punishment, it is not surprising that only a small minority of gendarmes became “proved” (about 5%). For example, during the arrow cross regime, several high-ranked gendarme officers were removed and executed for their anti-German (Hungarophile) stand, namely Major-General vitéz Endre Temesváry, Col. vitéz Gyula Balázs-piri, vitéz Gyula Király, and Lt. Col. Lajos Kudar. It also should be noted that regular drills were a part of the gendarmerie, were the commands had to be executed immediately and without questioning, and independent thinking, with the exception of the higher ranking officers, was not tolerated. Therefore, the customary attitude of gendarmes precluded their “proving” by the communist regime. According to a Hungarian gazette, only 235 of the 5000 gendarmes who appeared before the proving board were “proved.”

Those, who were not “proved,” could appeal only at the same proving board; were not allowed to hold any public office; and if were not jailed, they could only get poorly-paying, lowly jobs. Many of those who served in the reclaimed territories were handed over to those neighboring countries as war criminals, where most of them were executed without any proof of personal guilt. Thousands of gendarme families lost their existence, and became the outcasts of society.

After the establishment of the communist government, the fate of the gendarmes became worse. Many were dragged into internment camps at Recsk, Csepel, and Kazincbarcika. Those previous gendarmes who were just then returning from the hell of Russian prison camps were also immediately and automatically jailed or interned.

There was some improvement in their lives after the 50's, when they were allowed to become skilled laborers, and thus attain a basic livelihood and ear some pension for their old age. Those, who were too old to so enter into the work force, lived out their lives under poverty and harsh circumstances.

Many ex-gendarmes joined the 1956 revolution, most of them as organizers or participants of the National Guard. The most famous of them was Mr. Szabó (technical sergeant János Szabó), who became the leader of the legendary revolutionist group of Széna Square. After the fall of the revolution, most of them emigrated in fear of the expected retort from the communists.

Quite a different fate was waiting for those who fell into American captivity at the end of the war. The largest part of the troops retreating before the Russians was captured by the Americans on May 4, 1945, in the forests of Traunfall. In the American prisoners of war camp, the Americans did not disarm the gendarmes but used them as security guards in the camp, so they organized an active gendarme force from the I., II., III., and VIII. gendarme districts under the leadership of Col. Árpád Zámory. It consisted of two wings, nine posts, and seven officer-, and seven non-commissioned officer detachments. Most of those living in the camp returned or forcefully repatriated by the Americans to Hungary by October 1945.

They also used the gendarmes for security purposes in the French and British war camps. For example, the III. supplementary battalion of Galánta served such a role in the British zone even to the summer of 1947. In the meantime, news of collective condemnation of the gendarmerie and the severe mistreatment of the gendarmes was arriving from Hungary. Therefore, by the end of 1945, most gendarmes attempted to relocate into the French zone, as Hungary and France were not in a state of war, so the French were not handing over anyone at the request of the Hungarian government. As a result, about 150-200 gendarmes, many of them officers, ended up in the Foreign Legion, and died for the French tricolor in Vietnam and Algeria.

Most of the gendarmes settling in the West found a good existence in a variety of jobs and professions. Many became instructors at universities; some became priests, ministers, artists, writers, various business owners, some even farmers. The strong corporate sense

of the gendarmes has remained alive even to this day. Pál Jegenyés, Sergeant Major and former garrison commander, with six fellow gendarmes established the Magyar Csendőr Bajtársi Asztaltársaság (Royal Hungarian Gendarmerie Veterans Table Organization) on June 21, 1947, in Graz, Austria. In 1948 they began to publish the Bajtársi Levél, the official newsletter of the organization. In 1949, the name of the organization was changed to Magyar Királyi Csendőr Bajtársi Közösség (MKCsBK, Royal Hungarian Gendarme Veterans Association). In their early years, they gave substantial assistance (money and care packages) to those gendarmes and their families in Hungary who were stripped of their pension and livelihood. They also provided manifold support to the gendarmes trying to establish a new existence in an unfamiliar country, needing to learn a new trade, a new language, and new customs, while being severed from all their roots. The MKCsBK provided a forum for all gendarmes to stay connected worldwide, and encouraged them to go on with their lives under new circumstances, according to their oath and motto, “Faithfully, honorably, valiantly” (“Hiven, becsülettel, vitézül”).

Several gendarmes, both officers and enlisted, provided the leadership to the organization over the decades, as their circumstances allowed, supporting each other in the work (therefore, there are overlaps in the years they served). In chronological order:

Sergeant-Major Pál Jegenyés, 1947-48, Graz, Austria

Col. vitez Jenő Karsay, 1948-49, Graz, Austria

Lt. General and former Commandant Lajos Folkusházy, 1950-58, Salzburg, Austria

Col. vitez Gyula Király, 1958-64, Sao Paulo, Brazil

Capt. vitez Károly Kövendy, aka. Károly Szathmáry, 1964-74, Toronto, Canada, who also established the Gendarme Guest House and Museum near Toronto. (After his death, the collection was eventually given to the War-museum in Budapest in the early 1990's)

Col. vitez Ferenc Vattay, 1972-74, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Col. Aladár Pintér, 1974, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Sergeant-Major László Enyedy, 1974-75, Toronto, Canada

Capt. vitez barancsi Endre Tamáska, 1974-83, Florida, USA

Sergeant-Major vitez Lajos Keresztes, 1975-78, Calgary, Canada

Capt. Dr. Gyula Kiss, 1978-94, Calgary, Canada

1st Lt. vitez Gábor Kiss, 1995-2001, Florida, USA

2nd Lt. vitez Béla Viczián, 2001-2007, Wisconsin, USA

vitez Zoltán Kőrössy, son of Capt. Dr. vitez Zoltán Kőrössy, 2007- , Maryland, USA

The MKCsBK had 48 branches in 40 countries by 1950. Gendarme Major János Borgoy started one of the most active branches in 1958, in Cleveland, Ohio, under the name of Family Community of Hungarian Gendarmes (Magyar Csendőrök Családi Közössége). Captain István Molnár has been leading this group since 1978.

Starting in the 1980's, vitez Gábor Kiss initiated several efforts to rehabilitate the Gendarmerie and to maintain the memory of the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie both in Hungary and abroad, for example, by the placing of a commemorative plaque in the courtyard of the Hungarian War-History Museum, in Budapest.

The Bajtársi Levél was published through 2005, replaced by a quarterly Newsletter in 2009. A yearly Conference was held on February 14 (Gendarme Day) in Venice, Florida from the 1990s through 2010, started by vitez Gábor Kiss.

With the aging and dying out of the gendarmes, the membership of the MKCsBK now mainly consists of descendents and friends of the gendarmes (the title of “honorary gendarme” being bestowed on many of them), and for the first time in its history, in 2007 they elected their first central director who himself was not a gendarme, but the son of one.

The goal of MKCsBK also has changed over the decades. The focus gradually shifted to a new mission: to preserve the gendarme documents and artifacts that survived the war and years of eradication-efforts by the communists, and to restore the good and honorable name of gendarmes by supporting historical research and rebutting the many lies with which the communists and the Allies smeared the name of the organization after the war. Through their website (www.csendor.com) they make the truthful facts available with digitization of the material that was severely repressed and destroyed by the communist regime in order to make the world buy their lies against the Royal Hungarian Gendarmerie. This on-going digitization project is accomplished with cooperation with historians in Hungary.

According to some data, in 1971, about 3,000 gendarmes were still living in Hungary, and around 1,100 in emigration, worldwide. But only a few hundred survived to witness the “change of the regime,” the fall of communism in Hungary in 1989. While they only could meet in secret during the communist era, they now were able to get together regularly, and some sort of rehabilitation of the organization began. Interestingly, the process actually started earlier, in 1987. The 86/1987 ruling of the Cabinet, signed by Károly Grósz, nullified all rulings of the government and the Cabinet issued before January 1, 1960, with the exception of the ones listed in the ruling. Therefore, as it was not on the list, the ruling which had dissolved and corporately condemned the Gendarmerie was also nullified. But real changes did not occur until the “change of the regime,” when specific, Gendarmerie-related rulings were made. On Nov. 21, 1990, the 93/1990 governmental regulation restored the pension, work-rights, and health insurance privileges of the illegally persecuted individuals. On Aug. 20, 1991, the Constitutional Court’s 44/1991 decision declared the 1690/1945 ruling against the Gendarmerie unconstitutional. On Sep. 2, 1991, the 112/1991 governmental regulation relieved the previous pension disadvantage of the pre-WWII. civil servants, including the gendarmes. Finally, the 1992/XXXII. act dealt with the compensation of those deprived of life or property for political reasons. We must note that these rehabilitation rulings did not apply to those gendarmes, who were believed to actually have committed war-crimes.¹

¹ Ferenc Kaiser: *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség története a két világháború között. (The History of the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie Between the Two World Wars.)* Pécs, 2002, Pro Pannónia Kiadói Alapítvány, pp. 133-136. /Pannónia Könyvek/ The research on the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie is not yet complete. According to current knowledge, there were about 23,000 gendarmes just prior to WWII. According to very conservative estimates, 4,000 gendarmes died in the battles of the war. We do not have information regarding the fate of enlisted gendarmes, but very likely their fate was similar to the officers, in

Considering this third and last dissolution of the gendarme body, we need to know that the communist party members of the new Hungarian government arrived from the Soviet Union to take hold of the power with a script written and approved by the occupying Russians. The essence of this script was the “salami” tactic. As there were not enough communist and far-left individuals in the country necessary for seizing power, they attacked a fraction of the opposing majority at a time, making it impossible for them to take part in any political process. In spite of that effort, and the military support of the Russians, they could not secure power through an electoral process, so the left-wing coalition seized their political power through the infamous fraud of the “blue tickets” voting. Once in power as a part of a left-wing coalition, they started their systematic eradication of the right-wing according to their salami-tactic, and eventually turning against and eradicating even those who were part of their coalition, securing their one-party power in the government.

To the success of gaining unhindered power, the dissolution of the Gendarmerie was essential for the communists. They used as an excuse for this decision the gendarmes’ role in the deportation of the Jews during the German occupation. But Stalin had already determined in 1937 the need for the elimination of the Gendarmerie as the strongest support of the previous civic society and suppressor of the communist movement in Hungary, if the country should ever come under Soviet domination. The political propaganda of the Hungarian Communist Party made everyone believe that the Gendarmerie was a major pillar in the deportation of the Jews. The facts speak otherwise. The vast majority of ethnic Jews were living in cities, where the police, and not the gendarmes, were the executors of governmental orders, including the deportation of the Jews. It must also be noted that neither the police, nor the Gendarmerie knew who were Jews and who were not, as there was no such record-keeping in the Hungarian kingdom. In addition, the vast majority of the gendarmerie did not take any part in activities relating to the deportations, as they had to remain on their post to provide civic order, and the keeping of civil order was an important desire of the Germans, especially in the newly occupied/reclaimed territories. Furthermore, a large number of gendarme officers objected to the use of gendarmes in their illegal use in the deportation process. The Germans and their arrow-cross Hungarian supporters seized and executed these objectors, preventing further resistance to the anti-Jew German efforts. After this, officers and enlisted gendarmes individually and secretly helped many of those who were to be deported, without arousing the suspicion of the Germans. The situation in the Gendarmerie largely reflected the situation in the whole country: only a minority agreed with the deportations, whose actions elicited a passive contempt from the majority.

Sane logic contradicts claiming the whole gendarme body guilty for the deportation of the Jews, when that same body a short 35 years prior protected the Jews fleeing from the Russian and Romanian anti-Jewish programs. The gendarmes participating in those efforts were categorically included in their condemnation.

similar proportions. During the Russian occupation of Hungary, they executed 29 gendarme officers, 10 died from their brutal tortures, 16 was driven to suicide, and 15 was sent to the gulag at Reesk.

All in all, the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie was dissolved three times in history: in 1867, in 1919, and in 1945, and at all three times the reason was strictly political. The dissolving power determined the further fate of the members of the body. In the first two instances, the gendarmes were reorganized, but continued to be utilized in the keeping of civil order, because they were well trained and very effective in that necessary role. At the third time, the occupying forces and their supporting Hungarian minority sought to abolish the very civic society the gendarmes so effectively protected. Therefore, they had to destroy the Gendarmerie. With that, they concentrated all power centrally in their own hands through their own system of police. Of course, they had to build up the membership of the police for this task. They selected these new members from the circle of their sympathizers. Thus, through the selective “B” listing they assured the left-wing majority in the police organization, securing the power in the hands of the ruling Communist Party. (The change of its name from the Party Communists’ Hungarian Party to Hungarian Communists’ Party, and then to Hungarian Workers’ Party did not signify a change in the Party itself).

It is not only the 45-years-propaganda of the communist party-ruled government that makes it difficult to objectively evaluate the Hungarian gendarme and other law-enforcement organizations. But during the era of the party-government, all contemporary printed material relating to these organizations were forbidden and destroyed, as part of the party’s “three-T” effort to destroy the previous civic society. The three “T” (“tiltás, tűrés és tagadás”) specified what material is “forbidden, tolerated, and denied.” Accordingly, only a few copies of a part of that material were preserved in locked-up locations, and were accessible only by special permit. Although all restrictions were lifted in the 1990’s after the change of regime, the limited number of these materials still greatly restricts their proper study. Furthermore, the Hungarian government fails to provide acceptable conditions necessary for proper historical research of these organizations, e.g. by not making this material available in a computer-usable digitalized format. Thus, though the culture-opposing system has been removed over two decades ago, their anti-civic “three-T” effect is still alive, at least regarding the history of the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie.

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