

The Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie and the Jews

The Gendarmerie

The Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie served between 1881 and 1945, providing public safety and security in the countryside, which comprised approximately 90% of the land of Hungary, while the police were responsible for order and safety in the cities. It was a corps organized along military lines, whose members were under the authority of the Defense Department regarding their persons, but the Department of Interior governed their service. Their effectiveness in crime prevention and crime solving was among the highest in the world, resolving over 90% of all crimes, and achieving international recognition. This allowed for unprecedented national development in the first half of the twentieth century, lifting previously feudal Hungary to level comparable to the rest of Europe.¹ Their duties also included the security of trains and providing safety on highways.²

The gendarmerie was a well organized, well regulated corps, which upheld the laws of the land and provided peace and order. As a purely executive force, it had no rights to make laws or regulations. The gendarmes carried out their duties efficiently, and strictly according to detailed regulations (the entirety of which can be found online³). In addition to their regular service, various authorities were also authorized to utilize their services. In these cases, these authorities were responsible for the content of the order, while the gendarmes were responsible for carrying it out effectively, reliably, and precisely according to their own regulations.⁴ They had no right to critique orders or bend rules.⁵ They were incorruptible, impartial, and void of any political agenda, so much so that they were not permitted to vote, to be a member of any party or assembly, and were even forbidden to discuss politics among themselves.⁶ Their duties, indeed, were not a job but a vocation.

The Hungarian Jews

Various laws restricting Jewish freedom appeared throughout the history of Europe, including Hungary. Laws as early as the eleventh century already forbade intermarriage with Jews, and they were only allowed to settle in certain parts of the land. Throughout the following centuries these restrictions were occasionally lifted, occasionally strengthened and sometimes driven by religious fervor, but were most often directed by financial considerations, as a disproportionate amount of wealth was usually held by members of the Jewry. Various European states tried numerous means to harness and exploit Jewish commercial prowess, through favors, taxes, or outright seizure of property. In Hungary, the Law of 1895⁷ made Jews full citizens, legally free of any discrimination.

Although the vast majority of Jews remained faithful to Hungary during the Communist dictatorship of 1918-19 and took no part in the revolutionary government, 32 of its 44 leaders were indeed Jewish, which fueled anti-Semitic sentiments among certain sectors of Hungarian society. These Jewish Communists included Szamuely, one of the most brutal – and visible – faces of the revolution.⁸ These sentiments paved the way for the Jewish laws of 1938 and 1939, which restricted the proportion of Jews in certain professions and certain enterprises. These laws were primarily an attempt to adjust the reality that Jews, who only comprised 6 to 8% of the population, owned half of the national wealth and earned two-thirds of the national income.⁹

An additional law, passed in 1941 under the Horthy regency and patterned after German laws, prohibited marriages between Jews and non-Jews. But Admiral Miklós Horthy,

the head of state, resisted further German pressure and did not allow for deportations of the Jews or for the imposition of the yellow star. This made Hungary the safest haven for Jews in central Europe. To this end, over 100,000 Jews fled to Hungary from the surrounding countries in the following years.¹⁰ This situation only changed with the German occupation of Hungary after March 19, 1944, when they took charge of all decisions regarding the Jews.¹¹

The Gendarmerie and Jewish Protection

The regular service of the gendarmes protected all legal residents of the countryside, which also included all Jews, as the regulations did not allow for any bias based on ethnicity or religion. As a result, there was a mutually amicable relationship between Jews and the gendarmes before World War II.¹² Hungary was a safe haven for Jewish refugees, even for those fleeing from the surrounding countries. The gendarmerie had specific orders to aid Jews fleeing from the Romanian pogroms, and to let them cross the border into Hungary regardless of whether they possessed passports or not. The gendarmes in many instances needed to fight, engaging the pursuing Romanians in combat.¹³

During the early years of the Second World War, the gendarmes' task of protecting the Jews and their homes intensified, as attacks on them had become more frequent by an increasingly anti-Semitic population. Embassies were also under the protection of the gendarmes, including the Swedish embassy and its members (Raoul Wallenberg and his men), who took an active role in providing Jews with international protection. The gendarmes often ward off attacks by SS sympathizers,¹⁴ at times in armed confrontation. Wallenberg later personally expressed his appreciation to the gendarmes for their service. The guarding of the so-called "protected houses" of Jews, who were "legally" exempted from the deportations, was also the duty of the gendarmes. They prevented a major SS attack on these houses in December of 1944 with the help of a police unit from Debrecen.¹⁵ In the course of their duties, the gendarmerie not only had to take a part in the eventual Jewish deportations, but also in halting and bringing back the trains that were removing Jews from Hungary but were still on Hungarian ground, after Horthy discovered the truth of the Jews' inevitable fate and ordered a total and immediate stop to all deportations in early July 1944. Furthermore, it was a company of gendarmes that Horthy ordered to Budapest in the Fall of 1944 on false pretenses in order to deceive the Germans, and who were ordered to prevent, by force if necessary, the German-planned deportation of the Jews of Budapest.

The Gendarmerie and Jewish Deportation

After the German occupation began on March 19, 1944, the Department of the Interior issued a series of orders that deprived Jews of most of their rights. They required Jews to wear a yellow star, to gather in relocation camps, seal their homes, and to turn their possessions over to the government. Then, on May 14, 1944, their deportation was begun to the border of Hungary, from where the Germans took over. Local authorities, police, gendarmes, excise officers and customs officers were involved in the enforcement of these laws;¹⁶ after the war, propaganda placed all blame on the gendarmerie alone.

The securing of trains within Hungarian borders was also the task of the gendarmes, as it always had been a part of their regular duty since 1881, and had nothing to do with the Jews *per se*. Furthermore, though gendarmes could be used to secure a camp's perimeter, they were not authorized for use within the camps themselves.¹⁷

The gendarmerie by its nature had no part in the creation of policy. The order and organization of the deportations came from the Germans, who however did not possess the manpower to carry it out, and so used each country's extant executive corps – which, in the case of Hungary, included the gendarmerie, the police, and other governmental authorities. As the deportations started in the countryside, the bulk of this task fell on the gendarmerie. The anti-Jewish laws also required the confiscation of Jewish property, to be turned over to the proper governmental authorities. While the deportations from the rural areas took place, that is, between May 14 and the end of June, neither the Jews nor any other group or individuals within Hungary, *including the gendarmes*, had any knowledge, *nor could have had any knowledge*, of the fate of Jews once beyond Hungary's borders. Yet, the gendarmerie protested¹⁸ against their use for this task, for the ethnicity-based orders ran counter to their training and moral character, which was central to the corps and its members.¹⁹ They also saw this task as being outside of the parameters of their commission and distracting them from their primary function of protecting peace and order in the land.²⁰ The Department of the Interior, however, under German control, refused their request to be exempt from this task. Therefore, the gendarmes were legally obligated to take part in an activity which later was conveniently used against them to blame them collectively *and solely* for the eventual fate of the Jews.

The Nuremberg Trials established the principle that the legal obligation to carry out an immoral order does not exempt one from moral obligation to refuse it. The trial also provided the most often referenced “proof” of the gendarmerie's guilt, in the testimony of Edmund Veessenmayer, the German representative and plenipotentiary in Hungary during the occupation: “the deportations...were only possible with the willing help of the Hungarian authorities and law enforcement apparatus.”²¹ The motivation behind this statement is evident, as Veessenmayer tried to shift blame away from himself, and he still does not refer to the gendarmerie specifically or alone; nonetheless, his statement has often been cited as a proof of the gendarmerie's institutional anti-Semitism. The gendarmerie's international reputation for efficiency in carrying out any and all of their duties was well-deserved during their decades of service, and had nothing to do whatsoever with anti-Semitism. Furthermore, in addition to other governmental and law-enforcement agencies, the leaders of the Hungarian Jewish community were also significant players in the events and their outcome. For reasons of their own, they requested Jews to comply with the laws of deportation and asset seizure.²² Therefore, the Jews gathered at requested points in the villages and small towns, from where gendarmes led them to the relocation camps or railroad stations. Rather than “rounding up” Jews and deporting them by force, the gendarmes facilitated a process that the Jews themselves complied with. The full cooperation of the Jews and the Jewish Council's withholding of the Auschwitz Report certainly had a major role in the speed and efficiency of the deportations.

A website made for students and educators entitled *The Holocaust on Hungary* admits that “in contrast to their leaders, the Hungarian Jews had no idea of what was awaiting them at the final destination of the deporting trains.”²³ As even the Jews had no knowledge, the rest of the common people, including the gendarmes, would have known even less. *There were no death camps in Hungary*. Their existence in Poland became known to the Jewish Council of Budapest in late April or early May of 1944 from the so-called Auschwitz Report,²⁴ but the Council, presumably incredulous that the situation had become so grave, did not release its contents for some time, and only brought it to Horthy's attention a month and a half later in mid-June, by which time most of the rural deportations had already been finished.²⁵ Like the world at large, the Hungarian population, including the gendarmes, only learned of the existence of the death camps after the war, following the Allies' discovery and inspection of

those sites. Their existence was so far beyond the imagination of people at the time that one of the Jewish survivors stated, “If I had known about the nature of Auschwitz, there’s no power on earth that could have forced me into those wagons. At the same time, there’s no power on earth that could have convinced me about the existence of such a thing as Auschwitz.”²⁶ Already reluctant to carry out race-based orders, some gendarmes acted sympathetically toward their Jewish charges.²⁷ Later, anti-gendarme propaganda perverted the motivation behind these actions as “proof” that they were well aware of the death camps – as if nothing but Auschwitz could convince an anti-Semitic gendarme to behave humanely toward a Jew. But in light of the fact that they did not and could not have known about Auschwitz at the time, and knowing the gendarmes’ characteristic care about the people they served, it is clear that those acts were simply prompted by their sympathy toward their fellow human beings and Hungarians who were now being required to leave their homes, possessions, and land behind, and face the uncertain hardships of dislocation and exile.

The Gendarmes and their Ignorance of the Holocaust

In 1991, Hungary rehabilitated the gendarmerie, finding the law that abolished their corps illegal by the laws of civilized nations.²⁸ It was considered illegal because it disbanded an organization that was called into existence *not against, but for the protection* of the common good and for the protection of peace and safety of all people. Likewise, it was illegal because it punished *all* gendarmes, simply because they were members, regardless of their own individual actions. Only a portion of the gendarmerie had a role in Jewish deportations, and only in exceptional cases was an individual gendarme guilty of abusing his power, yet to this date the gendarmerie is collectively blamed for participation in the Holocaust itself²⁹ to justify their disbandment in order to distract the attention from the fact that they were disbanded strictly to clear the way for communist take-over of political power.

Even if the abolition of the gendarmerie would have occurred as a result of their participation in the deportations, placing collective guilt on them still would have been against civilized law. One can only make historically correct judgments if the actions of given people are examined in the light of the laws, knowledge and circumstances *of the era they lived in*. It is inaccurate, unjust, and immoral to judge people’s actions in 1944 on the basis of knowledge and information available only at a later time.

There could not be a greater difference between sending an individual to a work or internment camp and sending him to certain death. This distinction resonates morally and legally. The entire populace, Jews and gendarmes, anti-Semites and Jewish sympathizers, and even Horthy himself believed that the Jews were being taken to work camps, *as per the Jewish Council’s agreement with Eichmann*.

During the Second World War, the American police and military forcibly took Americans of Japanese descent, over half of whom were American citizens, from their homes into ghettos,³⁰ into camps in arid regions of the country. Today, this action is considered unjust and morally reprehensible – yet, no one has accused members of the police or military of racism for carrying out this policy. They have not been blamed individually, let alone collectively. There have been no criminal proceedings taken against those individuals who participated in this process. And even the lawmakers who crafted this policy and put it into place have been long forgotten, rather than objectified as genocidal or evil. Why? First, the Japanese eventually were rehabilitated, instead of being killed, although the outcome was not known at the time of their collection, just as the gendarmes did not know the fate of the collected Jews at the time. Second, there were no forces in the US seeking to abolish the military or police and looking for any excuse to do so. This racially-based action was nearly

identical to what the understanding of Hitler's "Final Solution" was *at the time, outside of the Nazi Party*. The Hungarian gendarmerie should be held no more guilty of genocide than the US military units participating in the Japanese internment.

"Arresting" vs. "Bringing Forth"

As neither gendarmes nor Jews knew what fate was awaiting the Jews beyond the borders of Hungary, the Jews subjected themselves to the laws peacefully, according to the request of their leaders. They gathered at certain locations, from where the gendarmes were to "bring them forth" to collection camps and train stations. This is a very specific phrase, used in the regulations, to make a strict distinction between a person under arrest versus a person whose presence has been legally required by an authority but without any criminal charge. The transportation of Jews fell into the latter category, and pictures from the time show Jewish groups comprising several dozen individuals walking peacefully in very loose formation behind a gendarme. He is leading them, walking *in front* of them, with his rifle slung on his shoulder, not even looking back.³¹ This was the regulation stance for "bringing forth." In such cases, they were not allowed to use force or handcuffs, and were even restricted from the use of their weapon, even if their charge was attempting to flee.³² *There is not a single known report of a gendarme using his weapon during the entirety of the process of the deportation.*³³

Abuses on the Part of Gendarmes

The most likely flashpoint between Jews and gendarmes was the securing and seizure of possessions by law-enforcement agents, which included the gendarmes. As per human nature, this was the point where the Jews were least likely to follow the request of their leaders to peacefully obey the anti-Jewish laws. It was also an opportunity for anti-Semitic sentiments or even simple greed to come to the forefront. It is reasonable to assume that among the gendarmerie, as among Hungarians in general, there were individuals who nurtured feelings of anti-Semitism. This could then easily lead to the use of physical force and abuse of power. In all cases, even if and when this occurred on the part of gendarmes, it was against their own regulations,³⁴ and they were punished by the gendarme authorities if discovered.³⁵ There was no institutional excuse to do so. Furthermore, the definition of genocide by no means would be fulfilled even if the claimed gendarme abuses were true.

It is important here to point out attempts by subsequent Communist propaganda to place all blame squarely on the gendarmes. In articles describing abuses against the Jews, they lump together all abuses, no matter who committed them, and blame them on gendarmes alone, or mention only gendarmes in order to associate abuses with the gendarmes in the minds of the people. We must also recognize that during the German occupation, as the situation became more and more chaotic, *both German and Hungarian soldiers were known to don the gendarme uniform*³⁶ to exploit the respect the gendarmes were known to have. Misconduct or brutalities at the hands of these people must be separated out from actions of the true gendarmerie for an accurate evaluation of history. Even Jews betrayed or sold out other Jews,³⁷ sometimes by the thousands; these, too, were the actions of only a few corrupt individuals, and cannot be used to cast blame on the group as a collective.

The Final Days of the War

In April or May of 1944, the Auschwitz Report, which revealed the existence of the death camps, came to the knowledge of the Jewish Council of Budapest, but they only brought it to Horthy's attention in mid-June.³⁸ By then, most of the deportations from the countryside had already taken place. When Horthy learned of the fate of the deported Jews, he ordered all trains already in transit but still in Hungarian territory to be immediately turned back.³⁹ Of course, by the nature of the order and the responsibilities of the gendarmerie, this was carried out by the gendarmes (led by gendarme Capt. Lulay).⁴⁰ Then Horthy, in close collaboration with the Jewish Council, developed a plan to prevent the impending German-planned deportation of the Jews from Budapest. As the Germans already surrounded Budapest, Horthy deceived the German command and on false pretenses ordered a gendarme and a military unit to gather in Budapest to prevent the deportation of the Jews, *by force if necessary*, if the German authorities would try to do so illegally and in spite of his order.⁴¹ This fact stands in direct contradiction to the lie, still claimed to this day⁴² and in spite of clear refutation,⁴³ that the gendarmes were gathered in Budapest for the purpose of carrying out the deportations in spite of Horthy's command. *This was the diametric opposite of their purpose.* This lie is even more ridiculous considering that the gendarmes were deeply loyal to Horthy,⁴⁴ more than any other military branch, and that Horthy himself trusted his gendarmes more than his military. When, upon learning of the true nature and extent of the Holocaust, he sought to extract Hungary from the war, Horthy sent the commanding general of the entire gendarmerie as the head delegate to Moscow to sign a secret peace treaty in September 1944.⁴⁵

The Abolition of the Gendarmerie

Following the fall of the short-lived Communist dictatorship after WWI, the 1921/III. law⁴⁶ prohibited actions "aimed at the forced abolition of the government or society in order to gain absolute rule of a segment of society" – that is, actions aiming at totalitarianism. There is, of course, no legitimate government anywhere that would permit such efforts – which today we call terrorism or sedition. The law prohibited such activities, whether it came from the far left or from the far right. The Communist party that sought to attain that unlawful goal then found itself pitted against the law-enforcing gendarmerie. At the same time, contrary to Communist propaganda, workers could gather and participate in meetings, in strikes, etc., within the boundaries of the law. It is worthwhile to note the described positive attitude of the gendarmes toward the workers,⁴⁷ which is quite contrary to further Communist lies.

The gendarmerie upheld the laws of the land, including the anti-Communist laws, faithfully and effectively, according to their strict rules⁴⁸ and without any ethnic, political, or personal bias on their part. This made reconstruction and restoration possible for the country after the devastation of the First World War, and it rendered the gendarmerie the arch enemies of the Communists, who were seeking to bring about exactly that sort of a totalitarian state. Therefore, in December 1944, when the new Communist government led by members selected by Moscow⁴⁹ arrived with a Soviet-sanctioned plan to destroy the previous (Horthy) regime, they first needed to destroy its strongest and most loyal pillar, the gendarmerie.⁵⁰ So, in March of 1945, in one of their first rulings they dissolved the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie, collectively blaming it for "attempting to destroy the Hungarian democratic movements with harsh methods, and committing countless harsh acts against the Hungarian proletariat and peasantry."⁵¹

This politically-motivated revenge,⁵² the disbandment of the corps and the beginning of the brutal persecution of all its members, would have been unacceptable in the eyes of the Allies, and even in the eyes of the Hungarian people of the Communist era, who were already being fed lies about the former corps. The Communists had to find a more suitable excuse for

their truly inexcusable attack on the gendarmes. They found it in the gendarmerie's participation in the deportation of the Jews, as soon as the true nature of the death camps was discovered by the Allies. By suppressing some aspects of the deportation, exaggerating others, slanting facts, destroying evidence, fabricating lies, and backing all of these with unrelenting propaganda aimed at both the West and the rising generation of Hungarians, they succeeded in making the gendarmerie into a scapegoat during the following decades. They blamed them *solely and collectively*, and not only for the deportations, but even for the Holocaust itself,⁵³ in spite of the facts that Hungary had no concentration camps, and neither the deported Jews nor the deporting gendarmes had knowledge of the death camps at the time. It is most important to note that *the disbanding of the gendarmerie and its collective persecution was committed for political reasons and had no connection whatsoever with the Jewish deportations*. That connection was only made later by Communist propaganda. In 1991 and afterwards, the Hungarian government rehabilitated the gendarmerie with a series of laws; yet, the old propaganda continues to persist. As recently as 2010, a Hungarian Wikipedia article on the gendarmerie stated "the gendarmerie's participation in the Jewish ethnic massacre" as the "reason leading to their abolition," supporting that statement with a reference to the 1945 order of disbandment.⁵⁴ That order, of course, does not contain a word about the Jews, but the writer was so certain of it that he did not even bother to check its wording until pointed out.

Collective Guilt

The facts remain that Hungary had no death camps, and it is inconceivable, considering the aforementioned evidence, that gendarmes participating in the deportations could have had knowledge of the existence of such. To blame them for the Holocaust of the Jews is both incorrect and unjust. If any had known and yet continued with the deportations, even in obedience to orders, he would be inexcusably guilty. Likewise, any gendarme who abused his power against any person, Jewish or not, is criminally and morally guilty. But he would alone would be accountable for his own personal actions. The corps did not know of the Holocaust, and still found the deportation duty repugnant.

Yet, in 1945, the newly formed Communist government declared the whole gendarmerie guilty along with all of its members, regardless of what they did or did not do personally. In order to secure their political power, the Communists had to remove the gendarmerie, but their propaganda machine gave the excuse for the gendarmerie's removal as their participation in the deportations. So they collectively blame them for the Holocaust, even though some of them selflessly helped the Jews in need,⁵⁵ and a great many of them never had anything to do with the deportations, as they served elsewhere, or were fighting on the front, or were already retired before the war started.

The Communist government persecuted the gendarmes with a brutality far beyond the worst claimed abuses of any gendarme. Thousands were killed, viciously tortured and put in inhumane work camps and gulags, even those who were just arriving home from years in Siberian prison camps after being captured during the war. In the best cases, they were forced to the periphery of society, allowed only to have menial jobs, no health insurance, no higher education for their children, no retirement, and no social aid of any kind. Only those gendarmes were exempt who could be "approved," that is, who could legally demonstrate that they had actually helped those social movements which they were promised to prevent under a vow, or if they actively fought against the Germans. Of course, nobody could be approved on the basis of the former, because it was incompatible with their oath. Some gained approval by the latter, but even these were executed later by the Communists.⁵⁶ In this approval

process, their activities for or against the Jews were not even a point of consideration,⁵⁷ as at the time of their collective judgment and persecution the world at large was still unaware of what had happened to the Jews. Only later when that became public knowledge was the blame cleverly placed on the gendarmes, providing a suitable excuse for their persecution and hiding the political hate behind that mask.

In 1991, Hungary's government rehabilitated the gendarmes, calling the 1945 ruling against them illegal and contrary to civilized law. But that did not negate the slander and vilification of the gendarmes that the Communists managed to carry out during their half-century of power. The old propaganda continues to have sway, partly because of the ignorance of the generations raised on these false premises. Only by recovering the historical facts can the gendarmes be truly evaluated and credited for the excellent service they self-sacrificially provided for their beloved nation over the six decades of their existence.

The gendarmerie today is hated by the extreme left for working against the tide of Communism, and idolized by the extreme right for their alleged role in the persecution of Jews. We hold nothing in common with either of these groups. Our goal is not to excuse any member of any force that knowingly contributed to the Holocaust. The Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie, however, does not fall into this category. The true perpetrators and genocidal criminals have succeeded in shifting at least some responsibility for this horror away from themselves and onto innocent persons. This is a crime not only against the gendarmes who sought to serve their country in a productive, moral, and humane manner, but also against the victims of the Holocaust whose true persecutors have been absolved of the crimes attributed to others.

Notes and references

Most of the references are in Hungarian, but the endnotes are translated to English

¹ - PARÁDI József et al. (szerk.): *A magyar rendvédelem története*. Budapest, 1996², Osiris, 21-23.p.
- ÓRY Károly: A Maréchaussée-től a Gendarmerie Nationale-ig. A francia csendőrség történeti előzményei. *Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek (Acta Historiae Praesidii Ordinis)*, VII.évf. (1997) 8.sz. 75-77.p. A tanulmány korábbi változata 1996 október 29.-én Budapesten Hangzott el a Szemere Bertalan Magyar Rendvédelem-történeti Tudományos Társaság által szervezett rendvédelem-történeti tudományos konferenciasorozatnak „A napóleoni közbiztonsági őrtisztület útja Párizstól — Itálián és Ausztrián keresztül — Budapestig” című VIII. konferenciáján. A publikált tanulmány az előadás javított, bővített és átdolgozott változata

² *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n.Budapest, 1941. 31-32. p.

³ <http://csendor.com/konyvtar/rendeletek/>

⁴ (Szut.) 15-16 p.

⁵ (Szut.) 11. old.

⁶ (Szut.) 41-42 p.

⁷ 1895/XLII. törvénycikk „regarding the Jewish religion”

⁸ Kosari DOMINIC: *A History of Hungary*. Cleveland, Ohio, USA, 1941, The Benjamin Franklin Society. 388-389 p.

⁹ REKTOR Béla: *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség oknyomozó története*. Cleveland, Ohio, USA, 1980, Árpád Könyvkiadó Vállalat. 253-254. p

¹⁰ [Sulinet:A második világháború/Érdekességek](http://www.sulinet.hu/tovabbtan/felveteli/2001/28het/tortenelem/tori28.html)

<http://www.sulinet.hu/tovabbtan/felveteli/2001/28het/tortenelem/tori28.html>

¹¹ REKTOR op. cit. 255. p.

¹² REKTOR op. cit. 295. p.

¹³ PARÁDI József: A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség határőrizeti feladatai 1891-1914. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, CI.évf. (1988) 1.sz. 56-92. old.

¹⁴ - Derháthy Sándor: Tájékoztató az Ópuszteszeri Nemzeti Történelmi Emlékparkban létrehozásra kerülő rendvédelem-történeti állandó kiállításról. *Honvédelem-történeti Hírlevél*. VI. évf. 9. sz. (1997/2)

- A 24-member gendarme unit under captain Kun and Ferenc Simon –Kiss Gábor, *Bajtársi levél* 1998. jan. 1. 10-11. old.

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- DOMOKOS Sándor csendőrnapi előadása (felolvasva Venice, Floridában, 2009. február 21-én. A levél az MKCsBK irattárában van.
- KAISER Ferenc: A csendőrség a Horthy-korban. *Rubicon*, XX. évf. (2010) 202.sz. 22. p.
- KISS Gábor: *Hiven, becsülettel, vitézül*. Self-published, USA, 2010. p
- ¹⁵ REKTOR op. cit. 263. p.
- ¹⁶ SZAKÁLY Sándor: Adatok és dokumentumok a Magyar Királyi Csendőrség történetének tanulmányozásához. www.rubicon.hu
- *Bajtársi levél* VI. évf. 4. szám, 1999. november 1. 8. p. dr. Szakály Sándor beszéde a Csendőr Emléktábla avatása alkalmából
- REKTOR Béla op. cit. 256 p.
- ¹⁷ REKTOR Béla op. cit. 479. p.
- ¹⁸ -*Utasítások a m. kir. csendőrség számára*. Budapest, 1912. 57. old.
- in personal discussions with gendarme captains v. Baranchi Endre Tamáska, dr. László André, István Molnár, all of them agreed that the gendarmerie's participation in the deportations was very much against the desire of the gendarme officers and enlisted alike. They knew of several cases where requests were made to excuse them from this duty, because they did not see it as a part of the protection of public safety, which they considered their main call. But all such requests were denied.
- Vilmos POLTÁRY, assistant commanding general of the gendarmerie, retired in protest of the laws shaming their Jewish gendarme officer colleagues: BARÁTOSSY: *De kik is vagyunk? Egy „magyar” család útja a francia forradalom guillotín-jától a kommunista akasztófáig, napjainkig*. Budapest, 2009, Pytheas Kiadó. 61. old. <http://csendor.com/konyvtar/konyvek/Poltary-Korondi/Polt%e1ry%20Vilmos%20%e9letutja.pdf>
- ¹⁹ BARÁTOSSY op. cit.
- ²⁰ REKTOR Béla op. cit. 478. p.
- ²¹ The Hungarian Wikipedia „Csendőrség” és „Holokauszt” articles, as well as www.mult-kor.hu uses this same reference to “prove” that “the majority of the gendarmerie actively supported” the deportation of the Jews
- ²² <http://www.holokausztmagyarorszag.hu> – „A magyar Zsidó Tanácsok dilemmái”
- ²³ <http://www.holokausztmagyarorszag.hu> – „Mit tudtak a magyar zsidók?” – letöltve 2010. november 26-án.
- ²⁴ <http://www.holokausztmagyarorszag.hu> – „Az Auschwitz-jegyzőkönyv” - letöltve 2010. november 26-án
- ²⁵ <http://www.holokausztmagyarorszag.hu> – „Mit tudtak a magyar zsidók?” - letöltve 2010. november 26-án
- ²⁶ <http://www.holokausztmagyarorszag.hu> – „Mit tudtak a magyar zsidók?” – letöltve 2010. november 26-án.
- ²⁷ -KAISER Ferenc: A csendőrség a Horthy-korban. *Rubicon*, XX. évf. (2010) 202.sz. 22. old.
- MOLNÁR Judit: A csendőrség szerepe a holokausztban. *Rubicon*, XX. évf. (2010) 202.sz. 52. old.
- ²⁸ -ZLINSZKY János: Kollektív bűnösség. *Rubicon*, XX. évf. (2010) 202.sz. 56. old.
- az összes joganyag itt olvasható: <http://csendor.com/konyvtar/jogszab/torvenyek2.pdf>
- „A m. kir. csendőrség rehabilitálásának kérdése a rendszerváltást után” http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldalak/a_m_kir_csendorseg_rehabitalasanak_kerdese_a_rendszervaltast_utan/
- ²⁹ Hungarian Wikipedia article on the gendarmerie (“csendőrség”) claims “The gendarmerie’s role in the Holocaust” as a heading
- ³⁰ <http://www.infoplease.com/spot/internment1.html#ixzz16RRMLaN0> – „Japanese Internment in World War II,” letöltve 2010. november 26-án
- ³¹ MOLNÁR op. cit. 46, 50. p.
- ³² *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n. Budapest, 1941. 132. old.
- ³³ REKTOR Béla op. cit. 256-257 p.
- ³⁴ NÉMETHY Ferenc: *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség szervezete, szolgálata és viszonya a közigazgatási hatóságokhoz*. II-III.köt. Budapest, 1900, Országos Központi Községi Nyomda Részvénytársaság. /Közigazgatási Könyvtár./ 41. old.
- ³⁵ -idem.
- MOLNÁR Judit op. cit. 51. old.
- dr. gendarme captain László ANDRE gave an account to Zoltán Körössy in November 2010 of an episode he personally knew about. One of the gendarmes had an intercourse (supposedly by mutual consent) in the bathroom of a train station, where the Jews gathered before their transportations. The officer found it out, and the gendarme was immediately discharged from duty and later from the corps itself.
- ³⁶ dr. gendarme captain László ANDRE witnessed one such case, which he personally exposed.
- ³⁷ - The case of Drs. Ernő Pethő, Károly Wilhelm and Ernő Boda, members of the Israelite Synagogue of Pest, who caused the deportations of many Jews in order to benefit themselves: REKTOR op. cit. 479-480. old.
- Rudolf KASZTNER personally arranged with Eichmann to let a special train carry 1,685 selected Jews to Switzerland on June 30, 1944, for 1.5 million dollars, and for delaying the transmission of the Auschwitz Report, causing thousands of Jews being deported: <http://www.holokausztmagyarorszag.hu> – „A Kasztner vonatról” – letöltve 2010. november 26-án.

- The Jewish Council denied even financial help to those Jews who escaped from the surrounding countries into Hungary : <http://www.holokausztmagyarorszag.hu> – “Mit tudtak a magyar zsidók? – letöltve 2010. november 26-án.

³⁸ <http://www.holokausztmagyarorszag.hu> – „A magyar Zsidó Tanácsok dilemmái” – letöltve 2010. november 26-án.

³⁹ <http://www.holokausztmagyarorszag.hu> – „A budapesti zsidóság és az utolsó deportálások” és „Ki kicsoda - Horthy Miklós” - letöltve 2010. november 26-án.

⁴⁰ Horthy István özvegyének naplójából, *Bajtársi levél* 53. évf. 2. szám, 2001. június. 13. old.

⁴¹ SCHMIDT Mária: *Kollaboráció vagy kooperáció?* Minerva, Budapest, 1990. 86-94. old. „Stern Samu, a Budapesti Zsidótanács elnökének beszámolója” IN ENGLISH: The role of the Jewish Council of Budapest <http://csendor.com/konyvtar/iratok/irasok/zsidosagEnglish/>

⁴² <http://www.holokausztmagyarorszag.hu> – „A deportálások leállítására” According to this website, several thousands of gendarmes were ordered up to Budapest to deport the Jews of Budapest with their help in spite of Horthy's ban – letöltve 2010. december 2-án.

⁴³ RAVASZ István: Csendőrpuccs, vagy zászlószentelés? A budapesti deportálások leállítása. *Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek (Acta Historiae Praesidii Ordinis)*, VII. évf. (1997) 8.sz. 84-87. old.

⁴⁴ ZLINSZKY op. cit. 55. old.

⁴⁵ KAISER op. cit. 25. old.

⁴⁶ the law may be read in its entirety at the MKCsBK website at <http://csendor.com/konyvtar/jogszab/torvenyek/> (in Hungarian)

⁴⁷ NÉMETHY op. cit. 89. p.

⁴⁸ see all the regulations pertaining to the service of the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie at the MKCsBK website, at <http://csendor.com/konyvtar/rendeletek/> (in Hungarian)

⁴⁹ <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/I/Ideiglenes%20Nemzeti%20Korm%C3%A1ny.html> : „The emigrants returning from Moscow made laws and orders to abolish the previous civil regime and establish their Communist dictatorship, but did these with the pretense of establishing democracy and destroying the enemies of it.” – letöltve 2010. december 29-én

- http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ideiglenes_Nemzeti_Korm%C3%A1ny : „A kormány összetételét valójában Moszkvában jóváhagyott pártközi megállapodással határozták meg a Magyar Nemzeti Függetlenségi Frontban résztvevő pártok.” – letöltve 2010. december 29-én

⁵⁰ According to csendőr memoirs, one of Stalin's directive at the 1937 Comintern meeting was to first destroy the gendarmerie if they ever came to power in Hungary: <http://csendor.com/konyvtar/iratok/irasok/magyar/Tam%e1ska%20Szak%e1ly%20T%e1bori%20csend%e1rs%e9g%20k%e1nyv%e1r%e1.pdf>

⁵¹ 1.690/1945 Ruling of the Temporary National Administration in December 1945: “The Hungarian Royal gendarmerie had served the previous regime with absolute obedience, was attempting to destroy the Hungarian democratic movements with harsh methods, and committed countless tough acts against the Hungarian proletariat and peasantry, therefore to execute the unanimous judgment of the Hungarian people, the Temporary National Administration established the collective guilt and responsibility of the gendarmerie and disbands their organization.”

- REKTOR op. cit. 496. p.

-all laws related to the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie are also posted on the MKCsBK website (in Hungarian): <http://csendor.com/konyvtar/jogszab/torvenyek.pdf>

⁵² ZLINSZKY op.cit. 53-56 p.

⁵³ http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Csend%C5%91rs%C3%A9g#cite_ref-18 “csendőrség” szócikk alatt a magyar Wikipedián – letöltve 2010. december 2-án.

⁵⁴ http://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Csend%C5%91rs%C3%A9g#cite_ref-18 After we brought the fact to their attention, they left out that one sentence, but were not willing to lessen any blame on the gendarmerie, and quoted the wording of the disbanding order to “prove” that it was a brutal organization worthy to be blamed.

⁵⁵ - KAISER op. cit. 22. p.

- MOLNÁR op. cit. 52. old.

⁵⁶ BARÁTOSSY György: “Korondi Béla útja a kommunisták akasztófájához”

<http://csendor.com/magyar/konyvtar.html> (“Bela Korondi's journey to the Communist gallows.”)

⁵⁷ REKTOR op.cit. 496-501. old.