

ABSTRACT

The Ethics of Assassination and Retribution

**FILEP, Tamás Gusztáv: Introduction to the Ethics of Assassination:
Notes on Ante Pavelić's novel *The Daughter of Revolution* 3**
The essay ponders the methods and ethics of the Croat independence movement of the inter-war period by considering the novel published at the time in Hungary as well by the leader (Poglavnik) of the Ustaša State of Croatia during World War II. The movement was hardly the sole representative of terrorism in Europe at the time, but there is no doubt that the most notorious act, the attempt to assassinate King Alexander I of Yugoslavia in 1934 was organized by his men. The protagonists of the novel resemble the persons mentioned by interior ministry materials, but the author was in all likelihood seeking misinform his readers.

By its internal logic, the movement was one that resorted to the only possible means available, individual terror, out of necessity in the face of Yugoslav state terrorism. In the given region, as the essay makes note, these acts were regarded as adequate responses in the given historical conditions, at least they were and had been part and parcel of the political tradition.

**MERENICS, Éva: Operation Nemesis. The Necessary and Sufficient
Conditions of the Functioning of an Early Terrorist Group 15**
The essay classifies the possible reactions of the survivors of the Armenian genocide at both individual and community levels in six groups. "Operation Nemesis" was a response of aggression organized at community level in the years after the genocide. Though hardly general in the Armenian diaspora now becoming massive in scale, its unfolding was not surprising either. The internal conditions: beside aggression, the external conditions: the lack of perspective for conventional methods, the international political environment of the period, the unsettled problem of Armenian refugees, the impunity of the perpetrators, the lack of control over the movements of persons and resources, the legal opportunities available at places where acts were committed-all assisting the rise and working of the terror organization.

National Security on the Hungarian Border

- KULCSÁR, Beáta: The Park Hotel Skirmish and the Legend of the "Heroic Standard Bearer" 31

In December 1927, Romanian students held their national congress in Nagyvárad [Oradea], a city whose vast majority was Hungarian and Hungarian-speaking Jewish. Parallel to the anti-Semitic rhetoric of the congress, serious riots broke out in the city: anti-Semitic Romanian students broke shop windows, ransacked synagogues and the editorial offices of Hungarian papers, looted, and assaulted city dwellers on the streets. One notorious scene of the riots was the skirmish between Emil Vaiszlovich, a Jew with Hungarian identity, and the anti-Semitic Romanian students, bursting into his hotel. Vaiszlovich was seriously wounded. The Romanian students participating in the conflict were acquitted. As result of his record and his 1927 role, he became a *hero* on the Hungarian side and an *antihero* on the Romanian side. Vaiszlovich's life epitomizes all the major issues of the period (the Romanian situation of Jews with a Hungarian identity, minority existence and strategies, minority relations with the authorities), and lends itself to scholarly examination.

- TUTUSKÓ, Ágnes: The Ruthenian responses in Sub-Carpathia to Russian Incursions in 1914-15 54

The study seeks to show the Sub-Carpathian Ruthenian responses to Russian incursions in 1914-15. The influences of Pan-Slavism had been observable in the Ruthenian areas from the beginning of the 20th century. A movement at the turn of the century sought to spread Russian Orthodoxy among the Greek Catholic Ruthenians. The local Greek Catholic Church tried to hinder the spread of Pan-Slavism among the Ruthenians.

On the basis of archival sources and the press of the day, the study presents Prime Minister István Tisza's trip in Upper Hungary on 23-28 October 1914. The purpose of the trip was for him survey the material consequences of the incursions, and their bearings on nationalities and church policies. The Tsarist troops inflicted not only material but also moral damages among the Ruthenians. The attempt to incite the nationalities during the Russian incursions proved unsuccessful.

Plotting for Minority Autonomy

- LUKÁCS, B. GYÖRGY: Croat Political Emigration and the Croat Spring 69
- Croatia having a major political emigration, any discussion of Croat history has to provide an account of Croats living abroad. This is particularly true

of the events known as the Croat Spring, the movement seeking to reform the socialist political and economic setup, and to extend the rights of Croatia within Yugoslavia. Croat emigration supported the movement, promoting an appeasement with Croat communists who increasingly stood up for Croat interests to the anxieties of the federal Yugoslav communist leadership. The removal of the Croat leadership was partly due to charges of plotting with the emigration, the forces behind. Regarded with high hopes, the movement was crushed, which shocked the Croat emigration, but it also revealed the clefs in between them, which, in turn, led to the foundation of the Croat National Council in Toronto in 1974, opening a new chapter in the Croat political emigration.

DABIS, ATTILA: The South Tyrolean Liberation Committee 81

The essay recounts the several-decade conflict in modern Italy between the German-speaking South Tyrolean population and the Italian state. The South Tyrolean Liberation Committee made several bombing attacks in the 1960s in order to achieve the cessation of the area, which had become part of Italy in the wake of World War I. All this took place in the face of the intensive resistance by the Italian police forces, with support from the mother country, Austria, and under the watchful eyes of the UN. The study concentrates on the interaction between security forces and the South Tyrolean assailants.

EGERESI, ZOLTÁN: Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK): From a Marxist Terror Organization to a Nation-building Guerrilla Foe 93

The Kurdistan Workers' Party came to international attention in the mid-1950s as the organization fighting for the independence of the world's largest nation without a state. Branded as either guerrilla or a terrorist organization, it was originally founded by Abdullah Öcalan as leftist Marxist group. In the three decades of its existence, it has managed to become the repository of Kurd nation building in Turkey. The struggle begun in 1984 turned from sporadic infighting into genuine guerrilla war by the 1990s. Apart from attacks involving thousands of victims, the Kurd uprising (*serîhildan*) was launched, and the European organizations of the PKK were also established, enjoying the support of the Kurd diaspora. The incarceration of Öcalan in February 1999 was a major blow, prompting PKK to call for a ceasefire, but fighting resumed in 2004. In the meantime, it has turned out that the greatest danger to Kurd nation building for PKK (and indeed all Kurd parties in Turkey) is not the army, but the Islamist governing party.

Nation, State, and Minority in the East

KATONA, Magda Nasrin: The Possibilities Ethnic Conflict in Afghanistan 113

Even by world comparison, Afghanistan has a uniquely variegated ethnic kaleidoscope. The characteristics of becoming a buffer state, the contradictions of national formation, minority policies, integration and fragmentation, ethnicity-based politics further ramify the four-decade conflict. The complexities of inter-ethnic relations, even ethnic conflicts erupting after the withdrawal of troops in 2014 will become significant factors in the growing dynamism of the Southern Asian region, and my catalyze ethnic fragmentation in neighbouring countries, and their review is highly important.

The current Afghan state is unable to integrate all its citizens; it has no coherent minority policy. The manipulations by the international community change as per current and often-changing preferences of alliance. Nevertheless, there is a strong sense of national identity in Afghanistan. In contrast to Pakistan or Iran, it has no separatist movement. Artificially pieced together as a buffer state, it is unable to fall apart due to its complex ethnic mosaic; its territory is not in the crisis arch, but on its fringes.

STIER, Gábor: The Demons of the Caucasus.

According to Maksim Shevchenko the Basis of Peaceful Coexistence is a Strong State and Stable Legal Order 134

The weak point of Russia is Northern Caucasus. The several centuries old conflict surfaced in two wars and several terrorist attacks in the past twenty years. In answer to bloodshed in Chechnya, Moscow was terrified by bomb attacks. No one would ever think that the peoples of Northern Caucasus and Russians could ever live together in peace in the same state. But there have been examples, and the leading commentator on the Russian television Channel One (Pervy Kanal), Maksim Shevchenko, co-chairman of the Subcommittee on the Caucasus of the Social Council, believes it is again going to come about. Others are not quite as optimistic. Many think the unity of Russia is endangered by Caucasus separatism, and opposition is fuelled by growing Russian nationalism.

The Extreme-right Views of Minorities in Europe

SZELE, Áron and TÓFALVI, Zselyke: The Extreme-right Images of Minorities in Hungary and Great Britain 143

One of central themes of current European politics is immigration and minority policy. That this has become central is an important aspect of the rapid

growth of right-wingism. The study compares the discourse of the British National Party (BNP) and Jobbik in Hungary, and seeks to answer the question whether there is some common European ground in the right-wing picture of the minority? What has this to say about the ideologies of extreme rightist parties?

Review

LÁZOK, Klára: Eves-dropped Souls

Denisa Bodeanu és Novák Csaba Zoltán: *Az elnémult harang. Egy megfigyelés története, Pálfi Géza élete a Securitate irataiban*, Pro Print Könyvkiadó, Csíkszereda, 2011, 322 p. 161

FEDINEC, Csilla: Canned History

Brenzovics László: *Nemzetiségi politika a visszacsatolt Kárpátalján 1939–1944*, Kárpátaljai Magyar Kulturális Szövetség, Ungvár, 2010, 204 p. 164

TÓTH, Norbert: The Åland Package: a Success Story or an Illusion

ÅKERMARK, Sia Spiliopoulou (ed.): *The Åland Example and Its Components – Relevance for International Conflict Resolution*, The Åland Islands Peace Institute, Mariehamn, 2011, 204 p. 171

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