

CHSP
HUNGARIAN STUDIES SERIES
NO. 3

EDITORS
Peter Pastor
Ivan Sanders

HUNGARIAN-ITALIAN RELATIONS IN THE SHADOW OF HITLER'S GERMANY, 1933–1940

György Réti

Translated from the Hungarian
by *Thomas J. DeKornfeld* and
Helen D. Hiltabidle

Foreword
by *Giuseppe Vedovato*

Social Science Monographs, Boulder, Colorado



Center for Hungarian Studies and Publications, Inc.
Wayne, New Jersey

Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York

2003

EAST EUROPEAN MONOGRAPHS
NO. DCXXVI

Originally published as *Budapest-Róma*
Berlin Árnyékában

© 1998 by Réti György

© 2003 by Réti György

© 2003 by the Center for Hungarian Studies and
Publications, Inc.

47 Cecilia Drive, Wayne, New Jersey 07470-4649

E-mail: pastorp@mail.montclair.edu

Library of Congress Control Number 2003109661

ISBN 0-88033-523-8

Printed in the United States of America

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD <i>Giuseppe Vedovato</i>	ix
PREFACE	xxi
INTRODUCTION	1
<i>Chapter One</i>	
THE DUAL FOREIGN POLICY ORIENTATION OF THE GÖMBÖS GOVERNMENT	5
Gyula Gömbös Continues Bethlen's Italian Orientation	5
The First Mussolini-Gömbös Meeting	10
Hitler's Coming to Power	15
Kálmán Kánya's Introductory Visit to Rome	16
The Four-Power Pact	17
Gömbös's Visit to Berlin and the Dual Orientation	18
Gömbös's Second Visit to Rome	22
Difficulties with the Gömbös Dual Orientation	27
The Mussolini-Gömbös-Dollfuss Meeting and the Rome Protocols	33
The First Anschluss Attempt	44
The Marseilles Assassinations	46
Gömbös's Fourth Visit to Rome	49
The Italian-French Rapprochement and the "Stresa Front"	56
The Temporary Estrangement of Italy and Hungary	62
The European Consequences of the Aggression against Ethiopia	65
The Second Italian-Hungarian-Austrian Summit Meeting	70

*Chapter Two***FORMATION OF THE BERLIN-ROME
AXIS AND HUNGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY 75**

The Beginnings of the Italian-German Rapprochement	75
Death of Gyula Gömbös. Appointment of Kálmán Darányi	82
Creation of the Berlin-Rome Axis	83
The Ciano Negotiations in Vienna and Budapest	86
Miklós Horthy's Visit to Italy	94
Italian-Yugoslav Agreement and Hungarian Diplomacy	95
On the Way to the Anschluss	96
The Italian Royal Couple and Ciano in Budapest	99
Renunciation of the Brocchi-Agreement	101
Mussolini's Visit to Berlin	103
The Italian-Hungarian "Press War"	104
Alignment with Berlin	106
István Bethlen's Visit to Rome	107
The Last Hungarian-Italian-Austrian Meeting	109
The Anschluss	111
The Italian and Hungarian Echoes of the Anschluss	112

*Chapter Three***HUNGARIAN-ITALIAN RELATIONS
FROM THE ANSCHLUSS TO THE
REANNEXATION OF RUTHENIA 115**

After the Anschluss	115
The Anschluss and Italian-Hungarian Relations	116
The First Czechoslovak Crisis	118
Béla Imrédy's Visit to Rome	120
The Bled Agreement	127
Munich and Hungarian Foreign Policy	128
Accentuation of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak Differences	132
Csáky's and Darányi's Missions	137
The First Vienna Award	142

Failure of the Hungarian Action against Czechoslovakia	145
The resignation of Kálmán Kánya and the Appointment of István Csáky	148
Ciano's Visit to Budapest in December 1938	150
Csáky's Visit to Berlin	152
Hungary Joins the Anti-Comintern Pact	153
Fall of the Imrédy Government and the First Steps of the Teleki Government	154
Occupation of Ruthenia and the Italian-German Crisis of Confidence	156

Chapter Four

HUNGARIAN-ITALIAN RELATIONS ON THE EVE OF WORLD WAR II

159

New Designs against Yugoslavia and the Occupation of Albania	159
The Visit of Pál Teleki and István Csáky in Rome	163
The "Polish Crisis"	167
The Pact of Steel	170
Attempts to Decrease German Pressure	173
Teleki's July 24, 1939, Letter and Its Consequences	176
Csáky's Visit to Berchtesgaden and to Rome	178
Rome and Budapest Stay Out of the War	183

Chapter Five

HUNGARIAN-ITALIAN RELATIONS DURING THE WAR AGAINST POLAND AND THE "PHONY WAR"

187

Hungarian-Italian Cooperation during the First Months of the War	187
The Plan for a Neutral Bloc and the Question of Hungarian-Soviet Relations	195

The Meeting of Ciano and Csáky in Venice	204
Differences of Opinion about the Soviet Union and the Balkan Conference	214
Teleki's Second Visit to Rome	220
Lipót Baranyai's Mission to Rome	228
Loosening of Hungarian-Italian Relations	232
Teleki's letters to Hitler and to Mussolini	235
 <i>Chapter Six</i>	
FROM ITALY'S ENTRY INTO THE WAR TO THE TRIPARTITE PACT	241
Italy Enters the War	241
Further Exacerbation of the Hungarian-Romanian Antagonism	242
The Meeting in Munich on July 10, 1940	248
Visit of the Romanian Prime Minister in Rome	252
Teleki's <i>Aide-Mémoire</i> of August 3	254
Plan of the Italian-Hungarian Action against Yugoslavia	256
The Second Vienna Award	258
The Growth of German Influence and the Waning of Italian Influence in Hungary	264
Hungary and the Berlin Tripartite Pact	271
Horthy's Letter to Mussolini	276
Italy Attacks Greece	278
Italy and the Strain in Hungarian-Romanian Relations	279
Hungary Joins the Tripartite Pact	279
EPILOGUE	283
NOTES	289
MAP	329
INDEX	331
ABOUT THE AUTHORS	347
BOOKS PUBLISHED BY CHSP	348