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**Remembering Cold Days**  
**The 1942 Massacre of Novi Sad and Hungarian Politics and Society, 1942–1989<sup>1</sup>**

*“Remembering Cold Days” is a book on the changing meanings of the 1942 massacre of Novi Sad. It answers questions about what we know and do not know about this specific war crime today and, most of all, how different individuals and communities have been remembering and interpreting the events since 1942. It also focuses on the changing international context – the massacre was one of hundreds of similar war crimes that marked World War II as one of the worst conflicts for civilians – and the various political regimes which altered the framework for these memories and interpretations. It further looks at a series of trials related to the massacre and the public debates in Hungary, Yugoslavia and elsewhere instigated by a popular novel and film since the mid-1960s. Finally, it analyzes how the end of communism in 1989 and the Yugoslavian wars of the 1990s changed the perspectives on the perpetrators and victims of 1942.*

**Keywords:** *Novi Sad, war crimes, Holocaust, Horthy regime, diplomacy, remembrance*

## 1. Questions on mass violence

The fact that the *Horthy* regime initiated and carried out a military court trial against some of the commanding officers of the 1942 Novi Sad massacre raised my interest because this was a unique occurrence in all of German-dominated Europe in the time of the Holocaust. I was also interested in this specific occurrence because a study of it promised to find out more about those hundreds and hundreds of acts of mass violence that, added up, are what we call incorrectly “the Holocaust” as if it was a single event. Another reason to study the Novi Sad massacre was the new theories and research on mass violence that has grown in the last couple of years in Germany and the United States, with books like *Timothy Snyder’s Bloodlands* or the (less known) work of German scholars like *Jörg Baberowski*.<sup>2</sup> Since these new studies, we have learned that violence needs to be studied as a social phenomenon in its own right, not just as a function of politics or ideology. In American historiography, we have seen (I mentioned *Snyder*) a similar trend, so the study on Novi Sad is a contribution to this new interest on mass violence. But it also gives more nuance to our understanding of the Holocaust which is still important in American academia.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper summarizes the research findings of the monograph *Remembering Cold Days. The 1942 Massacre of Novi Sad and Hungarian Politics and Society, 1942–1989* published in 2018 by Pittsburgh University Press (ISBN 978 082 296 545 9).

<sup>2</sup> SNYDER, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*; BABEROWSKI, *Moderne Zeiten? Krieg, Revolution und Gewalt im 20. Jahrhundert*.

For my study, I mostly relied on the existing historiography, but also on court proceedings, newspaper articles, memories, novels. One interesting finding was that some very obscure newsletters of exiled Hungarian gendarmes from Canada and the United States are now available on the internet. Such material would have been impossible to find in regular archives. Unfortunately, I could not do much research on the Serbian side. There is not only not many Serbian studies, especially of the revenge crimes committed by *Tito's* partisans – this is still hardly mentioned for example in the exhibition of the museum of Novi Sad – and because I do not have the necessary language skills. But I was lucky to have colleagues who helped me with Serbian and Croatian primary sources and literature. Finally, I applied new theories of violence, like the German philosopher *Sofsky's* ideas about raids (*razzias*).<sup>3</sup>

My German Habilitation (FU Berlin, 2001) focused on the historical narratives around *St Stephen*, the founder-king of Hungary, and the Revolution of 1848–49 in among Catholic and Protestant elites in Hungary from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century on.<sup>4</sup> These were the most important origin narratives within Hungarian culture (*Geschichtskultur*). My book on the remembering of Novi Sad is therefore closely related to this much wider and longer complex but it added a very different dimension with its focus on mass violence, perpetrators, and victims.

## 2. The historical meanings of the 1942 massacre and its remembrance

Every year, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of January, the city of Novi Sad (Újvidék) remembers the victims of a massacre that happened in 1942. Around that day, members of the Hungarian army and gendarmerie killed between 3,000 and 4,000 civilians, mostly, but not exclusively, of Jewish or Serbian background. This massacre was only one of hundreds of similar war crimes in World War II in the areas of Europe which were occupied or dominated by Nazi Germany and its allies, of which Hungary was one. However, there are a few things that make this massacre and the history of its remembrance a very unique case.

First of all, and in contrast to most other massacres, do we know much more about the details, the organization, the realization, and the aftermath of this war crime. This has to do with the fact that the Hungarian government of the time, in part also instigated by debates in the Hungarian parliament and because of many protests by local administrators and citizens, initiated a thorough police investigation and even staged a military trial against some of the commanding officers involved in the massacre. Although the main documents of the investigation disappeared mysteriously in the 1950s, many court proceedings, witness accounts, and other documents are still available today. During World War II, no other country allied to Nazi Germany had yet taken legal steps against its own officers who were involved in war crimes, nor was anything like this even thinkable in Germany itself. Neither did the Allies inquire into atrocities committed by their own armies.

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<sup>3</sup> SOFSKY, *Zeiten des Schreckens* 99–102.

<sup>4</sup> KLIMÓ, *Nation, Konfession, Geschichte. Zur nationalen Geschichtskultur Ungarns im europäischen Kontext (1860–1948)*.

Why did the *Horthy* regime investigate and prosecute some of those who were responsible of the 1942 massacre? What was the background of this trial? The most plausible answers to this question are: (1) protests of local authorities as well as Hungarian members of parliament (prominently: *Endre Bajcsi-Zsilinszky*) in the aftermath of the events. In contrast to most other acts of mass violence committed during World War II, the Novi Sad raid was not carried out by occupying troops in the strict sense of the word, but by the regular army and gendarmerie in a territory that had been part of Hungary and was under civilian administration. This demonstrates that Hungary had a relatively free press and a parliament at the time in contrast to Nazi Germany and most of its allies, and there were also reports in other newspapers, for example in Britain (where the Yugoslavian government-in-exile had its seat), (2) attempts from within a part of the elites of the *Horthy* regime to find a way to loosen the ties to Nazi Germany, (3) demands expressed by the British government, expressed during secret talks with representatives of Hungary, that the massacre needed to be investigated and culprits needed to be put on trial.

Another important question around Novi Sad 1942 focused on its relation to the Holocaust in Hungary. It was a part of it because the army soldiers and the gendarmes, a militarized police force, who carried out the raid and the executions of unarmed civilians targeted people who were defined as “Jews” according to various anti-Jewish laws introduced since 1939. During the raid, rumors spread throughout the city that the Germans were killing Jews in Belgrade (only 42 km south of Novi Sad in German-occupied Serbia) and distributed their wealth, and that the Hungarians would follow this example. The fact that in 1944 four of the main defendants in the military trial escaped to the *Reich*, where *Hitler* granted them political asylum, also speaks in favor of subsuming the Novi Sad atrocities to the German slaughter of millions of Jews all over Europe. Finally, Novi Sad happened at the same time as the Holocaust was being planned at the Wannsee conference in Berlin, where the German leadership decided to exterminate all Jews in Europe.

However, there are also a number of solid arguments for distancing the 1942 massacre from the Holocaust. First of all, what became known as the Holocaust in Hungary took place two years later, in the spring of 1944, with the deportation of almost half a million Jews from Hungary to extermination camps in Poland. In the spring of 1942, immediately after the massacres in the Bačka, the Hungarian government decided to suspend similar operations in the region. There were also attempts to improve the situation of the Serbian minority. Especially, the military trial against some of the officers responsible for the massacre, beginning in the summer of 1943, emphasizes the non-systematic and unique character of the Novi Sad mass murder in the context of the European Holocaust. *Raz Segal* who has studied the Hungarian atrocities in the Carpatho-Ukraine in 1941, has also claimed that these acts of mass violence were rather related to attempts to create non-Jewish Magyar majorities in a new “Greater Hungary” and not to the German project of “aryanization” of Europe although he would still argue that both were part of the European Holocaust.<sup>5</sup> For the Bačka, some Hungarian army officers had far-ranging plans to “ethnically cleanse” the territories by deporting Jews, Serbs, Roma, and other “unreliable elements” were again obstructed by German authorities in

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<sup>5</sup> SEGAL, *Genocide in the Carpathians: War, Social Breakdown, and Mass Violence 1914–1945*; SEGAL, *Beyond Holocaust Studies: Rethinking the Holocaust in Hungary* 1–23.

the bordering regions and by the Croats in the south. Also, the record of mass violence during the Second World War in Yugoslavia, of which Novi Sad 1942 was only one episode – the atrocities against Germans, Hungarians, and “suspicious” Serbs committed by *Tito*’s partisans in 1944/45 must be added to this – was rather complex because it also included numerous acts of mass violence in various parts of Yugoslavia and with various ethnic and political groups involved. In this wider context, the massacre of Novi Sad was just one of countless similar episodes that marked World War II, or, if we view it from an even broader temporal perspective, the murderous time between World War I and the end of the 1940s. Novi Sad is a classic example of a borderland town, a place at the crossroads between *Habsburg* and *Ottoman*, then Hungarian, Yugoslavian, German, and later Soviet imperial ambitions. Atrocities committed since 1941 by Hungarians against Serbs, Jews, and Roma happened in the context of mass violence and mass expulsions of “unwanted” ethnic groups all over the Balkans. Bulgarians, Croats, Italians, Germans, and Romanians were also trying to rid themselves of ethnic groups they did not want to tolerate in the territories they had occupied or that they dominated.

### 3. What kind of mass violence characterized the Novi Sad massacre of 1942?

The massacre of January 1942 began as a *raid*, a military operation that targeted partisans who had been attacking and killing Hungarian soldiers and gendarmes since the beginning of the Hungarian re-annexation of the Bačka in 1941. Court-martials were introduced on the first day of the raid. But on the second day, and more intensively on the third, the soldiers and gendarmes began to randomly arrest and kill “suspects” without even the appearance of any legal proceedings.

A raid, or *razzia*, is a “combing operation” that attempts to search out and destroy resistance fighters who hide among and are also somehow supported by a civilian population. The word stems from the Algerian Arabic (*ǧazīya*) and was adapted by the French army when operating in Algeria in the nineteenth century. Razzias, or raids, were originally a tool in colonial counterinsurgency warfare, one of many forms of “asymmetric” conflicts.

The German philosopher *Wolfgang Sofsky* has attempted to categorize raids in his theory of violence. According to his definition, *razzias* begin with armed troops imposing temporary, harsh restrictions upon the civilian population of an area they have defined as their “operational zone.” Vans arrive and armed soldiers assume control, apprising the inhabitants of the new situation in which the soldiers now possess next to unlimited power: Civilians are neither allowed to leave the zone nor to move freely within it. They cannot leave their homes or communicate with each other. Soldiers knock at doors with the butts of their rifles, carrying lists with the names of suspects. The tenants have to react quickly, follow orders, and prove that they are innocent, or they must pack their things within minutes. Raids are “fast destructions” in contrast to the “slow, systematic terror” of camps.<sup>6</sup>

A raid is an assault, a sudden violent attack, and a means to demonstrate the absolute power of the occupying forces. During the operation, soldiers have access to every room, can search through even the most intimate spaces within a home normally protected by law and social customs. The rights

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<sup>6</sup> SOFSKY, *Zeiten des Schreckens* 100.

and liberties of the population are completely abolished. Troops have, for the moment, absolute dominance over civilians, a tense situation that gives them strong feelings of empowerment while the inhabitants easily lose all self-confidence. Their loss of safety, freedom, and trust is inversely proportional to the rising sense of license that emboldens the soldiers to act arbitrarily. This was probably also something which contradicted the conservative mentality of the local authorities: if doctors and their wives were harassed by soldiers from the lowest social background, that did not seem to be right. “*In its most radical form,*” writes *Sofsky*, a raid “*results in executions in a forest*”<sup>7</sup> or, as in the case of Novi Sad, on the shore of the frozen Danube. The extreme violence that often characterizes raids has its causes in the destruction of the symbolic distance between armed troops and unarmed civilians, in insensitivity to the exercise of arbitrary violence, in the vagueness of orders, in the effective organization of those tasked with persecution, and in the situational decentralization of power.

#### 4. How the massacre was remembered after 1945

While the first three chapters of the book deal with the massacre, the trial during the *Horthy* period, and brutal and excessive Titoist retaliation, the second part is about how the *Cold Days* were portrayed during the different phases of the Communist regime: during the Stalinist years and the early and the late *Kádár* period. It was not until the second half of the 1960s that the 1942 massacre became an important *lieu de memoire*, a “site of memory,” a moment for public remembrance by Hungarians, Serbians, and Jews alike.

The history of remembering the Cold Days of 1942 is a story of lost documents, just as the story of the 1944 partisan retaliation is about a shortage of documents or even the silencing by a dictatorial regime. The most important missing document is the report of the detailed investigation provided by military court prosecutor Colonel *József Babós*. Assigned with the task by the Hungarian chief of staff two months after the massacre, *Babós* submitted a 705-page report, based on the statements of hundreds of witnesses given in April 1942. In 1957, during a trial related to the massacre, a provincial court recorded that “*earlier court documents have disappeared.*” In 2011, when the Budapest Fővárosi Bíróság examined the case of *Sándor Képíró*, the last trial related to the 1942 massacre, the *Babós* report was still missing. The prosecutor and judges had to rely on other documents, mostly produced in the course of war crime trials of the late 1940s and after, and on the additional testimony of a few witnesses and historians.

Beginning in 1945, the 1942 atrocities were viewed in the context of the Holocaust. Journalist and historian *Jenő Lévai*, who published a dozen books on the mass murder of Jews in Hungary between 1945 and 1948 alone, mentioned the Cold Days in his *Black Book*, one of the first historical accounts of the Shoah. Numerous documents and witness accounts related to the 1942 Novi Sad massacre were published in newspapers in relation to the postwar trials. It was only when the Stalinist regime and the international climate during the early Cold War brought Holocaust-related discussions to a halt that these activities ceased.

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<sup>7</sup> SOFSKY, *Zeiten des Schreckens* 102.

Most trials took place in the so-called people's courts, which had been set up as war crime tribunals. Since 1941, the Allies and, most of all, the Yugoslavian authorities – first the conservative government-in-exile and later the partisan movement under the leadership of *Tito* – had been collecting evidence of war crimes committed by the occupying powers, including Hungary. In the Vojvodina, a provincial commission gathered and published information on war criminals and their deeds in order to compile lists of individuals the new Yugoslavian government wanted to have extradited and put on trial.

The first part of the book, *Violence and Revenge (1942–1948)*, reconstructs the 1942 massacre and its historical context, it then analyses the history of the 1943/44 trial against fifteen commanding officers who had participated in the Novi Sad raid, and studies how the Nazi leadership intervened against the juridical proceedings before, during, and after the trial. In March 1944, a few weeks later, German troops entered Hungary, and the “Holocaust after the Holocaust” began, carried out by Hungarian administrators, police, and the gendarmerie, with only a small German team of deportation specialists operating in the background. In this context, the remaining Jews of Novi Sad were deported and killed. The next chapter deals with the war crimes trials in Hungary and Yugoslavia, completing the history of war crimes, retaliations, and attempts by the Hungarian postwar government to demonstrate its will to punish war criminals as a sign of a new, democratic beginning in the context of the Paris peace treaty negotiations of summer 1947. With the executions of about a dozen officers and administrators, whom the new authorities held responsible for the 1942 massacre, the year 1946 marked the end of a period in which the 1942 massacre was not yet memory or history, but remained alive as one of the country's most pressing political problems.

The second part of the book is dedicated to the four decades in which the 1942 Novi Sad massacre turned *From Silencing to the Site of Memory (1949–1989)*. This forty-year period was characterized by various attempts to integrate the story of the horrible mass murder in a city that no longer belonged to Hungary into a new framework of national history in a new socialist state. Thus, the year 1949 marked the beginning of the postwar order cemented by various Allied agreements (Yalta 1945) and peace treaties (Paris 1947) that positioned Hungary within the Soviet sphere of influence. This was, internationally and nationally justified by the Soviet triumph in its anti-Fascist war against Nazi Germany and “*Hitler's last ally*,” Hungary. In this context, Novi Sad 1942 functioned as a proof for the brutality and illegitimacy of the *Horthy* regime. By that time, the Cold Days had receded into the distant past, a piece of history that had no immediate significance for the present and even less for the socialist future.

The period between 1949 and the end of the 1950s was marked by Stalinist propaganda based on a future-oriented narrative in which World War II, its victims and crimes, had only a marginal place. My studies on this time are based on archival materials from the Budapest military court (Hungarian Military Archive) and the Historical Archive of the State Security Services. Army and gendarmerie officers who had not fled the country or had begun a new life as workers or peasants in the new socialist system (often after returning from many years in Soviet labor camps after *Stalin's* death in 1953), were in some cases put on trial and imprisoned again. Some of them wrote down their recollections. In most cases, the verdicts in the trials did not specify the nature of a defendant's

individual guilt, but simply referred to the fact that the defendant had been among the officers who commanded the 1942 raid.

The 1949 split between *Tito's* Yugoslavia and *Stalin*, in which Hungary and the Hungarian and South Slavic minorities on both sides of the border became objects of intensified propaganda warfare, also had an impact on the remembering of World War II. In 1952, the Yugoslav authorities began to erect the first monuments dedicated to the Jewish victims of the war, this at a time when Hungarian authorities had almost completely abandoned public commemorations of the mass murder of the country's Jewish population. This move might have been motivated by the new orientation of Yugoslavian foreign policy toward the United States and Israel, before the country began actively trying to become a leader of non-aligned states in the 1960s. Immediately after the revolution of 1956 was crushed, and in the context of the harsh persecution of oppositional forces in 1958, new trials against officers related to Novi Sad were opened, in order to "prove" that the anti-Stalinist uprising in the fall of 1956 had been a coup staged by "Fascist war criminals." A few former gendarmes were even executed during this time.

The 1960s marked a turning point in the long development of the memory of the 1942 massacre away from considering it a mostly judicial and political topic toward seeing it as an event that began to stimulate broad debates about Hungarian responsibility and the question of how far "ordinary Hungarians" had been involved in the war crimes committed during the *Horthy* regime (Chapter 5). At the same time, *János Kádár* attempted to consolidate the Communist dictatorship on the basis of a more sophisticated, post-Stalinist propaganda and a reevaluation of the social sciences. Questions silenced during the Stalinist period were raised anew, and Hungarians began to debate topics like nationalism, World War II, and what was called at the time "Auschwitz." *Lévai* was now allowed to publish a collection of documents in English, entitled *Eichmann in Hungary*, with the purpose of assigning blame to West Germany, where many Nazis had made successful postwar careers.

In the same year, 1961, *Yevgeni Yevtushenko* published his famous poem remembering the Babyn Yar massacre, which upset Soviet authorities. The short poem reminded Soviets of the fact that World War II had also been a war against the Jews, mostly in Eastern Europe. Both the improvement of relations between the superpowers after a decade of confrontation and the *Eichmann* trial in Jerusalem had serious repercussions for the Hungarian discourse on World War II and the genocide of the Jews. Shortly after the twentieth anniversary of the Novi Sad massacre, a first historical monograph, written by the young archivist *János Buzásy*, appeared in 1963 in Budapest.<sup>8</sup>

Changes in the ideology and propaganda of the *Kádár* regime and the (cautious) critique of the Stalinist era made this possible. In the early 1960s, historians and other scholars debated, for the first time since 1949, the problem of nationalism, which was charged with being at the root of the 1956 "counter-revolution" and a profound ideological deviation from the Leninist understanding of socialism. In this debate, initiated by the Communist Party in 1959, leading historians of the Stalinist period were attacked for having used "bourgeois" nationalist ideas and ignoring a Marxist class-based perspective. In another debate, historians began to criticize simplistic anti-Fascist narratives of the *Horthy* system ("Horthy Fascism"), which allowed for a more nuanced understanding of the interwar

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<sup>8</sup> BUZÁSY, Az újvidéki „razzia“.

regime and World War II. Such discussions made it possible for the 1942 massacre to become a topic of historical inquiry. *Buzásy*, the author of the 1963 monograph, however, still had to give prominence to the role of brave Communist partisans and anti-Fascists like *Bajcsy-Zsilinszky* over studying in detail the perpetrators and victims of the massacre. It was not until ten years later that the first rigorous academic study on Novi Sad was published by a historian: *Randolph Brabam's* 1973 article on the massacres of Kamenets-Podolsk and Novi Sad as a “prelude to the Holocaust.”<sup>9</sup>

However, it was not historical scholarship but the work of an outstanding writer and one of the most innovative Hungarian film directors that brought the 1942 massacre back to the attention of the Hungarian public. In 1964, *Tibor Csere*s published his novel *Cold Days*. Two years later, *András Kovács* made a film with the same title based on a film script written by *Csere*s. The book and the film brought the 1942 massacre not only to the attention of the Hungarian public, but also to hundreds of thousands of readers and movie goers around the world. For the first time, Hungarian officers and soldiers who had participated in a terrible mass murder were not simply branded as Fascist thugs, psychopaths, or sadists, but portrayed as erring but complex human beings.

The last part of the book describes, how the victims of the Holocaust slowly entered the focus of Hungarian intellectuals, historians, museum curators, and the broader public, beginning in the late 1970s. In 1989, as Hungary's Communist dictatorship collapsed, the government and parliament officially commemorated the victims of the Holocaust for the first time. Their recognition, both in public debates and in official commemorations during the 1980s sparked broadening discussion of other victims of mass violence. Increasingly, Hungarian World War II soldiers, victims of Stalinism, and (first in samizdat and oppositional discourse) those who were executed and incarcerated because of their role in the revolution of 1956, were remembered. The revived memory of the latter was closely linked to the downfall of *János Kádár*, who had given the orders to execute the 1956 leaders. His victims now returned to haunt him. In this context, the study of the activities of the People's Courts in the years immediately following the end of World War II contributed not only to a questioning of the methods, professionalism, and politicization of the war crime trials, but, to an extent, also prompted debate about whether at least some of the defendants might also be considered victims. As it relates to 1942, the case of Chief-of-Staff *Szombathelyi* can serve us as an example. *Szombathelyi* was sentenced to death for the atrocities in Novi Sad and hanged in 1946. He may have ordered the raid, but he had also tried to stop the atrocities and had ordered a thorough investigation and a trial of those officers who were responsible. And how should we categorize those gendarmerie officers who spent ten and more years in Soviet and Hungarian labor camps and prisons because they had participated in the raid? Were they perpetrators or victims?

The 1980s was also a time when research into the history of Hungarians in the former “Southlands” (*Délvidék*), the territories occupied by Yugoslavia after 1918, intensified. The most important scholar in this field has been *Enikő A. Sajti*, most recently followed by *Judit Piburik* from the university of Szeged.<sup>10</sup> *Sajti* and *Piburik* have authored a number of excellent studies of the area during the decades between the end of World War I and the early Communist period. Most of this

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<sup>9</sup> BRAHAM, The Kamenets Podolsk and Delvidek massacres 133–156.

<sup>10</sup> SAJTI, Impériumváltások, revízió, kisebbség. Magyarok a Délvidéken 1918–1947.



work was done by local historians beginning in the 1990s. The topic was previously silenced by the Yugoslavian state. *Sajti* has also been active in the Hungarian-Serbian Committee of historians and sociologists that a few years ago began to study the common history of the two nations.<sup>11</sup>

The epilogue of the book looks briefly into developments since 1989, most of all the prosecution of *Sándor Képiró* in 2011. The Yugoslavian wars of the 1990s and the engagement of Serbian nationalists in the remembering of the Novi Sad massacre also influenced the memory of 1942 because the Serbian side had a strong interest in painting Serbians as victims (together with Jews) which would have tainted the role of NATO and the USA in the campaign against the regime of *Milosevic*. However, this propaganda attempt did not have a strong impact on public opinion, also, because the Serbian army was also accused of committing war crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the Kosovo during that time. The memory of the mass violence in 1944/45 *Tito's* partisans were responsible for are still a very contested topic in Serbia today.

## 5. The massacre of Novi Sad 1942 and American historical research

A number of other American historians have provided studies of the history of Hungary during the 20<sup>th</sup> century based on extensive archival research, like *Eliza Ablovatski* (Kenyon College), *Paul Hanebrink* (Rutgers University), *Leslie Waters* (University of Texas, El Paso) *Kristina Poznan* (U of Maryland), or *Anita Kurimay* (Bryn Mawr College). I don't think there is a difference in the approach of American historians compared to Hungarian historians, because the individual differences among each group are much bigger than the similarities.

In the *American Historical Review* *Bela Bodo* wrote "Using the methods of violence studies, *Klimó* reconstructs the minute details of the event, probing the motives of the perpetrators and shedding light on the mental and psychological states of the victims. Skillfully alternating the focus between event and context, and between micro and macro historical perspectives, *Klimó* places the Novi Sad raid in a larger continental context. [...] This is a meticulously researched and masterful work, which engages the reader to the end. The book is highly recommended for anyone interested in the history of the Holocaust, antisemitism, and ethnic violence, as well as the cultural and political history of the region."<sup>12</sup> *Raz Segal* wrote in *Austrian History Yearbook* "Remembering Cold Days presents meticulous research, utilizing primary sources gathered from six archives and libraries in Hungary, Serbia, and the United States, including reports and correspondence of state authorities, trial material, and periodicals. Its use, furthermore, of literature and film as key sources in the analysis of memory culture and politics is particularly illuminating. [...] Remembering Cold Days traces a story that should interest all Hungarians and, more broadly, students of genocidal violence across the world and the politics of memory around it, past and present."<sup>13</sup> In the *Slavic Review*, *Ferenc Laczó* opined: "Remembering Cold Days develops an engaging and largely coherent narrative. Many of its specific observations are nuanced and convincing whereas the connections it suggests between case study and broader trends deserve to be more widely discussed."<sup>14</sup> *Ádám Gellért* wrote in *Századok* "Klimó könyve rendkívül jól szolgálja a téma iránt angol nyelven érdeklődő olvasót: összefoglalja az újvidéki razzia eseményeit, beágyazza a tágabb nemzetközi kontextusba a kurrens nemzetközi

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<sup>11</sup> HORNYÁK – BÍRÓ (Eds.), *Magyarok és szerbek a változó határ két oldalán, 1941–1948. Történelem és emlékezet*.

<sup>12</sup> BODO, *Remembering Cold Days* 1007.

<sup>13</sup> SEGAL, *Remembering Cold Days* 272.

<sup>14</sup> LACZÓ, *Remembering Cold Days* 545–546.

*szakirodalom felhasználásával, mindezzel pedig inspirálóan hat a téma további kutatóira. A könyv legtöbb újdonsággal szolgáló részei a magyar és szerb emlékezetpolitikával foglalkozó fejezetek.*<sup>15</sup> 2020 Leslie Waters reviewed the book for *Hungarian Studies Review* and *Holly Case* in the *Canadian–American Slavic Studies*.

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<sup>15</sup> GELLÉRT, Remembering Cold Days 677–679. See also WATERS, Remembering Cold Days 129–131; CASE, Remembering Cold Days 317–320.

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