

HUNGARIAN BULLETIN

Official publication of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain

President: **Count Michael Károlyi**

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INTRODUCTION

by

Count Michael Károlyi.

I hope the reader will receive with goodwill this first publication of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain. In this little bulletin the reader will find all our official statements and publications and all the messages we send to the Hungarian people, and I believe, will be able to form a picture of the initial work of the Council.

I have made it clear before and should like to repeat now, that the Hungarian Council in Great Britain does not pretend to be a shadow-Government. It is the Hungarian people themselves who, once liberated from Hitler's and Horthy's tyranny, will have to choose their own Government. At the same time, however, we believe that the Hungarian Council has an important mission - and that is to speak in the name of the Hungarian people and express what we hope, is the opinion of the majority of our nation. The Hungarian Council, which unites all patriotic Hungarians living in this country, irrespective of political parties, also feels it its duty to support the Hungarian resistance movement by all possible means, because we know that it is vitally important for Hungary's future that her people should clearly prove to the world that they are not identical with the country's present traitor quisling régime.

Hungary, unfortunately, has recently often been in the news. The world's attention was fixed on Hungary when the German army took up its position there; then the barbarous racial and political persecutions followed; the persecution of Jews and the beginning of their systematic extermination in the gas-chambers of Poland stirred the conscience of the whole civilized world; finally Hitler's and Horthy's blackmail - threatening to kill the whole Jewish population of Hungary unless they receive medical supplies and lorries to be used against the Russians - increased, if this was possible, the hatred and contempt of all decent people throughout the five continents.

We believe that Horthy and his accomplices bear a primary responsibility in all these crimes. Horthy's régime boasts of being the first fascist régime of the world, and this claim is only too true. Twenty-five years ago Horthy's rule started with Jewish pogroms; one of Horthy's Prime Ministers, Gyula Gömbös was the first to conclude an alliance with Nazi Germany; the régime has been strongly anti-British; Horthy's rule always served the interest of a few privileged classes and was always hostile to the true interests of the Hungarian people. His treacherous attacks on Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and finally on the Soviet Union plunged our country into the utmost misery and exposed it to mortal dangers.

During the last few months before the occupation the Horthy régime seeing that Hitler's war was lost, tried to get out of it. In the last war Emperor Charles approached the Allies through his brother-in-law, Prince Sixtus; in this war Horthy used a whispering propaganda to make it understood that he had been forced into the war and at the bottom of his heart he had always been a true friend of the Anglo-Saxon powers. Emperor Charles, when his offer of a separate peace was turned down, threw in his lot with the Kaiser, and Horthy too, when his whispering campaign misfired, became subservient to Hitler without further reservations. He crowned his long list of crimes by being guilty of not resisting the German Army, and now with the shameful and terrible extermination of the Hungarian Jews.

We consider our fight against the German and Horthy's traitor régime the sacred cause of Hungary. We know that only the complete and decisive victory of the United Nations can bring deliverance to Hungary, and we are convinced that the Hungarian people must have their share in this fight for freedom.

That is why we publish this little bulletin. We want to inform our Hungarian compatriots in this country and overseas about the activities of the Council. But first of all we want to inform British and Allied public opinion of our doings and we sincerely hope that we shall be able to raise British and Allied interest and gain support for our cause, which is the true cause of the Hungarian People and the cause of the whole of civilised humanity.

CONTACT WITH THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS

From the first mass-meeting of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain, which was held on the 23rd April, 1944, a greetings telegram was sent to the three great leaders of the "Teheran" powers - Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin who were informed of the formation of the Council. The telegram explained that the Council's foreign policy would be based on the principles of the Teheran declaration as well as on the recognition of the fact that Hungary must give up her German orientation and cooperate closely with her Slav neighbours. This telegram also pledged the Council's full cooperation in furthering the Allied War Effort and to do everything in its power to bring home to the Hungarian people the fact that only an Allied victory can secure their future.

Official contact was soon established with the British Foreign Office. Mr. George Hall, Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs, received Count Károlyi in the name of Mr. Eden. Count Károlyi had an opportunity of explaining the Council's aims and plans to Mr. Hall.

To the Foreign Ministers or Legations of the other Allied Nations the following letter was sent by the President of the Hungarian Council:

"Your Excellency,

I have the honour to notify you of the formation of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain which unites all Hungarian organisations in this country and which is supported by large sections of Hungarians living overseas. The Council has issued a Programme of Action which I beg to enclose for your consideration."

"I am confident that the Hungarian Council in Great Britain will be able to contribute to the war effort of the United Nations by mobilising anti-Fascist Hungarians living in Hungary and abroad to resist actively Hitlerite Germany and the Horthy régime."

"The Hungarian Council in Great Britain is also inspired by the wish to promote cordial relations with all the Allied Nations and with the neighbouring states and it is convinced that a progressive and truly democratic Hungary will contribute to peace and security in Europe."

Similar letters were also sent to the All Slav Committee, the Free Austrian Movement and the Danish Council.

THE INVASION OF EUROPE

After the successful Anglo-Saxon invasion of Normandy the President of the Hungarian Council sent congratulatory messages to Mr. Churchill and General de Gaulle, and a proclamation to the Hungarian people which was broadcast by the B.B.C.'s Hungarian Service.

"Dear Prime Minister," (said the first letter)
"On behalf of the Hungarian Council and myself, I should like to express my great admiration for the British Army, Navy and Air Force. The whole world is watching with breathless anxiety the great historic battles which are now being fought in France and which also bring nearer the liberation of Hungary. The Hungarians in this country are eager to redouble their part in the war effort and I sincerely believe that many Hungarians at home will prove, when their hour of liberation arrives, that they are ready to sacrifice much in order to shake off Hitler's and Horthy's fascist yoke."

The following letter was written to the Head of the French Provisional Government:

"Monsieur le Président,
De la part du Conseil Hongrois en Grande Bretagne et de moi-même, je désire faire part à vous et au peuple français, nos sincères salutations en ce moment historique. Nous sommes certains que le peuple français dont la résistance héroïque fut organisée par vous, prouvera sa grandeur de nouveau pendant cette épreuve et nous suivons avec admiration le magnifique rôle joué par les armées françaises dans les batailles qui ragent en ce moment sur le Continent d'Europe."

"J'ai toujours considéré la France comme ma seconde patrie; je ne doute pas qu'elle sera libérée de la tyrannie d'Hitler et du honteux régime de Vichy. Je sais aussi que ces victorieuses

batailles aident à rapprocher la libération
de la Hongrie du fascisme allemand et hongrois."

Finally this message was broadcast to the Hungarian
people:

"With the victorious fight of the Anglo-American forces in Normandy, the war has reached its last and decisive phase. The Atlantic Wall, which was considered impregnable, has been broken through after a few days fighting. The Western offensive goes on victoriously; in Italy, Kesselring's beaten army is on the run, in disorganised columns; on the Eastern Front, the Red Army has started its tremendous offensive on the Northern Sector. Hitler is anxiously watching the Western, Eastern and Southern territories: where is the next terrible blow to fall on his Nazi prison-fortress?"

"The Hungarian Council in Great Britain, under the presidency of Michael Károlyi - the organisation which holds together all the patriotic parties of free Hungarians, - calls on every honest Hungarian with this extremely serious proclamation. Time is urging us! The right moment is here! Hungarian soldier: do not serve the cause of Hitler who is our country's enemy; do not serve the cause of Horthy who is a traitor to our fatherland. Desert and join the Red Army. Hungarian Worker: Hungarian Farmer: the interest of your country, your family and your own interest forbid you to produce for Horthy and his accomplices. In the spirit of the National Independent Front we must turn our weapon - the patriotic weapon of strike, sabotage and partizan warfare - against Hitler and Horthy. We must fight for a decent place for our people amongst the freedom loving nations of the world. We must fight for a new Hungary, built upon a foundation of social justice and democratic liberties - a new Hungary in which the worker has a worthy place, the peasant has land and every citizen can enjoy a human and free life."

COLLECTION FOR TITO'S ARMY

The Hungarian Council has issued several proclamations to the Hungarian people, encouraging them to join Marshal Tito's partizan armies and fight side by side with Tito's heroic guerilla-fighters. There is a full Hungarian unit, the Petöfi-Brigade, incorporated in Marshal Tito's armies. This brigade is recruited from Hungarians of Yugoslav citizenship and according to General Velebit, it has distinguished itself in several battles. The Hungarian Council in Great Britain tries to do everything possible to support the Yugoslav partizans and decided to organise a large-scale collection of medical supplies, clothing and money for the benefit of Tito's armies and the Petöfi-Brigade. This initiative has been welcomed by Marshal Tito's London representative and the Hungarian Council was assured that the goods will be sent over to Yugoslavia by Tito's committee as soon as facilities allow it.

On the 25th May the following message was sent to the All Slav Rally in London:

"On behalf of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain, and myself, I send my heartiest greetings to the Slav Rally. Every honest Hungarian patriot is deeply ashamed of the crimes committed by Horthy and the Hungarian ruling class against the neighbouring Slav States: the treacherous attacks on Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. The Hungarian Council in Great Britain will do its utmost to lay the foundation of future good relationship between Hungary and the neighbouring Slav nations, because it is our deepest conviction that the future, democratic Hungary must give up the country's German orientation forever, and base her foreign policy on collaboration with Hungary's Slav neighbours, with the Soviet Union as well as with the Western Democracies, in the spirit of the Teheran declaration."

"I have no doubt whatever that once the Hungarian people will be able to express their will freely, they will endorse this foreign policy with enthusiasm, and I am also convinced that the Hungarian-Slav collaboration will be an important factor in building up the future, democratic, anti-fascist and progressive Europe after the war."

THE PERSECUTION OF JEWS

The Hungarian Council in Great Britain has sent home the following broadcast-appeal to the Hungarians, on behalf of the persecuted Jews in Hungary:

"The Budapest traitor-Government chose the Jews of Hungary as scapegoats, in order to draw off public attention from the terrible plight in which Hungary finds herself owing to their irresponsible policy. The Hungarian Jews have to suffer in order that Hungarians should think less of the Hungarian soldiers who are massacred in Russia for German interests, of the Social injustice prevailing in the country and of the fact that our country has been transformed into a Nazi gau."

"The Hungarian Council in Great Britain solemnly warns everybody that the hour of reckoning will arrive for the crimes committed against Hungarian Jews. The arch-criminals will have to pay with their lives and everybody who has taken any share in the execution of these laws, will be held responsible and punished accordingly."

"The Hungarian Council in Great Britain appeals to the conscience of every decent Hungarian and draws attention to the fact that the martyrdom of the Jews is not only a Jewish affair but also a Hungarian case. The public opinion of the victorious United Nations watches with disgust

and contempt events in Hungary. Horthy and his accomplices started their reign 25 years ago with the persecution of the Jews, provoking then the public opinion of the whole civilized world; now, before its fall, the same régime blackens the Hungarian name once again."

"It is the duty of every patriotic Hungarian to prove to the whole world that the Hungarians are not barbarians. It is the duty of every patriotic Hungarian to help their Jewish fellow-men, even if this means danger for them, hide them and help them to escape. Hungarians must follow the example of the French, Danes and Tito, use their means, sabotage and strike, and defend the country's good reputation and very existence. It is not only in the interest of the Jews but in the interest of the future of Hungary, that Hungarians should prove that the people - who in recent years were thought to be more decent than the German people - are not identical with their sadistic puppet-government."

THE WORLD'S PRESS ON THE FORMATION OF THE HUNGARIAN COUNCIL IN GREAT BRITAIN

The World's Press paid considerable attention to the formation of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain. Nearly all the national daily papers mentioned the fact that the Council had been established and some of them published several articles about it. The Sunday and the week-end papers as well as a number of the great American, Swedish, Swiss and Turkish papers gave detailed accounts of this new event in Hungarian political life. Nearly all comments emphasised the fact that all Hungarians, irrespective of party, are represented in the Council and many of them paid tribute to Count Károlyi's outstanding personality and his long and undaunted fight against Fascism. "The New Statesman and Nation," for instance, in its 13th May issue, writes as follows:

"The Hungarians in this country realised the requirements of the moment after Hitler's march on Budapest; the three strongest Free Hungarian movements have united in a coalition and are now in the Hungarian Council in England. This body has accepted Count Károlyi's leadership and radical programme of action. This body includes representatives of constitutional conservative groups, the adherents to the dissolved Smallholder's Party and the anti-Fascist Catholics as well as moderate and radical Liberals, Social Democrats, Communists and others. Messages from such a coalition would certainly impress the Hungarians if our propaganda authorities would see that they receive the publicity required. The Germans and their Hungarian agents show an increasing nervousness about Count Károlyi's endeavour to build up a Hungarian resistance movement which might be a link between the Czechoslovak and the Yugoslav Partisans. Hardly one day has recently passed without a venomous attack on the Hungarian Council.

our task should be to make this nervousness as great as possible".

The British and foreign press followed the Council's activities with great interest. The "Yorkshire Post" for instance, in its 14th June issue, described Count Károlyi's visit to Mr. George Hall in these words:

"I learn that Count Károlyi, ex-Prime Minister of Hungary, has recently had an interview with Mr. George Hall, Underscretary for Foreign Affairs. It had been arranged that Count Károlyi should see Mr. Edon, but owing to the Foreign Secretary's pressure of business Mr. Hall deputised for him."

"Count Károlyi attended the interview as Chairman of the Hungarian Council and as unofficial leader of the nine hundred thousand Hungarians in America."

"There is no question of the Hungarian Council being recognised as an official body. But it is felt in Hungarian quarters that Count Károlyi's interview with Mr. Hall should result in British encouragement for the Council's work. It is also hoped that more time may be allotted to the Council's members to speak through the B.B.C."

On the 3rd May, the Hungarian Council held a press reception at which Count Károlyi explained the Council's programme and answered questions. As a result of the reports published about this press conference, the government controlled Hungarian press delivered a series of venomous attacks on the Council. The Hungarian Council in Great Britain sends the following answer to these attacks published in the Budapest press.

ANSWER TO THE BUDAPEST PRESS

ISSUED BY THE HUNGARIAN COUNCIL IN GREAT BRITAIN

We have read the newly arrived Hungarian newspapers and realise that official Hungarian propaganda is trying to mislead the country's public opinion by publishing libellous statements about the Hungarian Council in Great Britain and falsifying its programme. Articles published in Budapest newspapers allege that the aim of the Council is to squander away Hungary's territory and reestablish the Trianon frontiers. In contrast to those statements the fact is that the main endeavour of the Hungarian Council is to do its utmost in supporting all those Hungarian forces which are carrying on the fight against Horthy and Hitler, because the successful conclusion of this fight is the only possible way to a better national future.

The Council does not recognise any increase in Hungary's territory which was acquired through the help of Hitlerite Germany as right or justified, because these increases in territory do not serve the true interests of the nation; on the contrary, they endanger the country's independence and make of Hungary a helpless German satellite. The Council, however, expressed the following principle in its programme: "It is our firm conviction that by their fight against Hitlerite Germany and the Horthy régime the Hungarian people will gain the trust & help of the Allied Great Powers and of the neighbouring peoples. Likewise we trust that the territory of the new democratic Hungary will be settled at the peace conference

by the Allies and the interested nations in the spirit of rightfulness and equity."

It is ridiculous to voice these accusations against Michael Károlyi. It was not Michael Károlyi who plunged the nation into the war of 1914 - into the war which ended with the Treaty of Trianon. It was not Michael Károlyi who signed the Treaty of Trianon. On the other hand it was Michael Károlyi who, during the present war, warned the nation against taking part in the war on the side of the Germans. With the participation in the war the nation has been exposed to mortal dangers. It is Michael Károlyi's intention to save his nation from these dangers and that is why all patriotic Hungarians living in Great Britain united in the Hungarian Council which has been formed under his presidency.

The Council is doing everything, is going to do everything in its power to help those national forces which fight courageously against Horthy and Hitler inside Hungary, in order that they may be able to conclude their struggle victoriously and secure a better future for our nation.

THE ATTEMPT ON HITLER'S LIFE

After the attempt on Hitler's life the Hungarian Council in Great Britain sent the following message to the Hungarian army:

"The bomb which exploded at Hitler's Head Quarters means the beginning of the German collapse. The final collapse cannot be delayed for long and the ruins will bury Hungary too, unless the Hungarian army becomes conscious of its responsibility now, at the very last hour."

"The German Generals, being in possession of the most reliable reports and knowing best the real meaning of these reports, saw only one way of saving what could still be saved: to dispose of Hitler and his accomplices. Himmler's terror, the work of the execution squads, Goering's admission of the existence of a counter-government and the frenzied efforts of German propaganda prove all too clearly that the Nazi party was faced by a wide-spread, large-scale conspiracy."

"Hungarian officers and soldiers! Even the German army revolted against the people's real enemies. The hour of action and brave deeds has arrived for you! The German oppressor has weakened. The mortal fist, which is keeping the Hungarians down has become more feeble. The German soldiers, in headlong retreat before the Allies, are busy at the moment watching one another with suspicion."

"Hungarian officers and soldiers! Revolt against the German enemy and Horthy's Hungarian flunkys who obey German orders and pocket German marks. Train your weapons against those who oppress and plunder your country. Do not allow the Germans, when they will be chased through Hungary by the Russians, to plunder and loot your country and steal what they have overlooked so far. Disarm the Nazis who occupy Hungary. Turn against those cowardly and spineless Hungarian politicians, generals and officers, whose wretched life and German money

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"TREASON AGAINST A PEOPLE HAS NEVER BEEN MORE SHAMEFUL!....."

by

Dr. George Buday, A.R.E.

(Member of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain)

These lines from a poem by an exiled Hungarian poet, whose many works were pulped down in the paper mills by the fascist authorities at home, while he continues his inspired broadcasts from one of the capitals of the United Nations, occurs to us, when to our bitter disappointment, we find Hungary alone in the Hitlerite camp as the last satellite of Germany. That this could have happened to a nation whose existence and aspirations throughout the centuries were so deeply characterised by the ideas of freedom and whose history is a long succession of revolts and wars of liberty, is, indeed, heart-breaking and a bitter experience for every Hungarian patriot on the free soil of Britain and is the only gall in the enthusiasm, delight and admiration with which we follow the news of glorious and decisive military victories of the great coalition of freedom-loving nations over Hitlerite reaction.

No doubt it was this succession of military defeats of the Hitlerite forces which made other satellites able to shake off their own quisling governments, and at the last moment to escape from the camp of the beaten Axis. However paradoxical it may sound it was the lack of direct experience of defeat in the homeland or devastating air raids which enabled the totalitarian and counterrevolutionary regime in Hungary to withstand the revolutionary outburst for peace of the Hungarian masses. In these circumstances it should be remembered as a proof of the genuine longing for peace and for liberation from the yoke of the Horthy-Hitler alliance, that the democratic parties and masses of the Hungarian legal and illegal opposition were amongst the first in fascist Europe, geographically only a few miles from Hitler's Headquarters!, who on a broad democratic coalition basis organised themselves into a strong popular front which was able to compel even the reactionary pro-fascist government to apply a policy less oppressive in 1943 than that of Gen. Gömbös' government in the 1930s, hoping thus to exploit the situation for its own purposes. This, however, produced a misleading atmosphere in the country, causing more harm than good. The opposition - or at least some of its leaders - committed the fatal mistake of co-operating with the government, the majority of which was only alarmed, but far from supporting a popular front solution. As a result, when in the middle of March, 1944, the masses of the "MAGYAR FRONT" as it has been calling itself recently, led by the representatives of the Independent Smallholders' Party, the Social Democrats, the Hungarian Communist Party and the Peace Party, demanded a clear-cut opposition line and a definite break with Horthy's governments, Horthy and his entourage, a thoroughly counterrevolutionary gang, were so much afraid of a repetition of October, 1918, that they took the suicidal and anti-Hungarian step of March 19th. German SS-troops entered Hungary,

took over strategic points and the Gestapo, with the assistance of its Hungarian counterpart began the quick liquidation of democratic organisations and movements. Abroad opinions differed about this 19th of March, the German occupation of Hungary. Many of my countrymen did not share my opinion, expressed on March 21st, when the news was first made known in London, but later events proved my suspicions to be justified, that the occupation of Hungary by the Germans had been carried out with the approval of Horthy and his gang if not at his request. The German army prepared for this in Austria before the 15th of March, anticipating an anti-nazi outburst in Hungary on that day. It may have been the Allied bombing of Austria which prevented the occupation until the 19th. Horthy and his government were aware of these German manoeuvres but did nothing to prevent the consequences. The demonstrations in Budapest demanded that Horthy should take immediate action but he considered it the right thing for his own regime to accept the German occupation as a protection and a defence of the Carpathian Passes against the Red Army. Horthy, who is no fool, was aware of the inevitability of Germany's ultimate defeat, but he acted foolishly in attempting to barricade his regime behind the Carpathians in Ruthenia in the hope that he could survive on that front with German help while Germany was collapsing elsewhere! Horthy was counting on the Red Army taking first those territories which were not made naturally more defensible by geographical features such as the plains of Poland, etc., and hoping that he would be able to avert a Russian occupation after the collapse of Germany by maintaining control of certain territories until an inter-allied commission should be appointed, which in his own conception could still be akin to the Entente Commissions of 1919!

Thus, in spite of all the Moscow and Teheran decisions, Horthy still based his policy on supposed differences of Anglo-American versus Soviet policies and hoping that his regime could survive through Anglo-American intervention.

General Lakatos, the present Prime Minister, took the same line in his recent speech in the Hungarian "Parliament" /whose opposition M.P.s are on his own admission, detained by "a foreign power" i.e.: Germany, which, again on his own admission "infringes Hungarian sovereignty"/ when pleading for mercy for an innocent little nation who could be useful later . . . , - obviously in an interventionalist war against the U.S.S.R ! . . . and this fantastic, still "anti-Comintern" policy is made even more grotesque by Ankara's most recent report, that the government has expressed a preference for an armistice with occupation by Marshal Tito's armies as against those of the Red Army!

All these cunning and stupid, at the same time, machinations make it abundantly clear that the interest of the ruling clique, not of Hungary is being studied in all these manoeuvres and thus the poet is right in asserting that "Treason against a people has never been more shameful", and that "the punishment of the traitors must be compatible with it!"

Hungarian patriots must insist that radical land-distribution, freedom and liberty achieved by the defeat of the Horthy-regime become a final victory for the Hungarian people.

25th September, 1944.

CONTACT WITH THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS

The Hungarian Council in Great Britain endeavours to maintain the closest possible contact with his Majesty's Government. Count Michael Karolyi exchanged several important letters with Mr. George Hall, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Owing to the kind consideration given by Mr. Hall and the Foreign Office to the Council's work, it has been possible to broadcast a very great amount of messages and proclamations to the Hungarian people. The BBC's European Division and the Hungarian Editor have also given invaluable help to the Council and through their courtesy it was possible to broadcast messages promptly and on many occasions the same message was sent out two or three times. More than once Count Karolyi has received interesting and valuable first-hand information from events inside Hungary. Any information was immediately communicated to the various branches of the British Government who have expressed their appreciation at receiving these messages.

Soon after its formation the Hungarian Council notified all the Allied Governments and also sent a copy of its programme for consideration. Many Allied Governments sent letters of acknowledgment, and in many cases friendly and encouraging messages. Replies have been received from the Soviet Embassy and from Mr. John Winant, U.S. Ambassador. A further letter was sent to General de Gaulle, in which Count Karolyi congratulated the head of the French Government on the successful beginning of the liberation of France. The Council received the following reply in the name of General de Gaulle:

"Monsieur le Président,

Le Général de Gaulle n'a pu vous écrire lui-même avant son départ pour vous remercier des vœux que vous aviez bien voulu lui faire parvenir en votre nom et au nom du Conseil hongrois en Grande Bretagne au moment où s'ouvrait la bataille de la libération. Il m'a prié de vous exprimer ses remerciements les plus sincères et de vous dire combien il avait été touché par les sentiments dont vous vous êtes fait l'interprète.

Je saisis cette occasion de vous remercier de la sympathie que vous avez toujours témoignée à l'égard de la France. Je ne doute pas que la libération de la Hongrie ne soit elle désormais prochaine."

M. Jan Masaryk, Foreign Minister of the Czechoslovak republic in his letter expressed his hope that the Council would be successful in its aim to mobilise Hungarians against Hitler and Horthy. M. J. Bech, Foreign Minister of Luxemburg also expressed his hope that the Council would be successful in realising its aims. M. J. J. Moniz de Aragao, the Brazilian Ambassador wrote in his letter that he had noted with pleasure that the Hungarian Council hoped to contribute to the war effort of the United Nations in resisting Hitlerite Germany and the present Hungarian régime and wished also to promote cordial relations with the Allied Nations.

Further letters have been received from the Chinese Embassy, the Legation of Nicaragua and Guatemala, the Royal Iraqi Legation, the Danish Council, the All Slav Committee and the Free Austrian Movement.

THE PERSECUTION OF JEWS IN HUNGARY
MASS MEETING IN THE CONWAY HALL

In July 1944 the barbarous persecution and deportation of Jews started in Hungary. With the assistance of the Hungarian Government thousands of Jews were rounded up by the Germans and deported to Poland, where, according to most reliable information, they were killed in gas chambers. The terrible news shook the conscience of the whole world and the hatred and contempt of the whole civilised world turned against the cowardly perpetrators of these crimes. Mr. Eden assured the House of Commons that all criminals responsible for these horrors would be punished. Mr. Cordell Hull also issued a stern warning and a message from the Archbishop of Canterbury made a deep impression inside and outside Hungary. Soon afterwards it was reported that the Germans had suggested that they would be prepared to barter the lives of Hungarian Jews for lorries and other war material. This offer, of course, was turned down, at the same time however, generous attempts were made by the British and American governments to save the lives of persecuted Hungarian Jews. About twenty rich Hungarian Jews, bankers, factory owners and mine proprietors were allowed to leave for Portugal and they arrived there in a German plane; the rest of Hungarian Jewry remained to be exposed to mortal dangers and the deportations went on for some time.

PROTEST

The Hungarian Council in Great Britain immediately sent a message through the BBC to the Hungarian people. The Council warned not only the criminals who were members of the Hungarian government, but also the smaller people who were engaged in these atrocious crimes and were carrying out orders, that they would be held responsible for the murder of many thousands of defenceless people and that the hour of severe retribution would soon arrive. At the same time the Council appealed to the decent majority of the Hungarian people, explaining that the deportation of Jews to the gas chambers of Poland was not only a Jewish affair, but first and foremost a Hungarian affair. These happenings were blackening the name of all Hungarians in the eyes of the civilised peoples of the world and ultimately many honest Hungarians would have to suffer for the government's brutal and inhuman crimes. The message went on to point out that it was the duty of every honest Hungarian patriot to assist the Jews, hide them and help them to escape. Finally the Council urged the Hungarians to turn against the Germans, fight them and expel them from Hungary, because that was the only way of regaining the world's good will.

This appeal did not remain altogether unsuccessful. The Hungarian newspapers kept attacking the "Jewish hirelings", - i.e. decent people who helped their Jewish compatriots - and were full of complaints that many Hungarians "had not understood yet the spirit of the new era" and went on assisting the Jews.

"NO CRIMINALS WILL ESCAPE"

On the 21st August the Hungarian Council in Great Britain held a mass meeting in the Conway Hall, London, in order to protest against the crimes of the Hungarian government, committed in the name of the people. Count Michael Karolyi, President of the Hungarian Council took the chair. After the President's opening words, in which he cordially greeted all the guests, amongst them the official representatives of the Ministry of Information, several Allied governments and free movements, greeting telegrams

and messages were read out. The Archbishop of Canterbury in a letter, wrote as follows:

"Will you give to the meeting a message from me, to say how glad I am that the Hungarians in this country are meeting to protest against the persecution of their Jewish compatriots in Hungary, and how greatly I hope that this expression of their feelings will carry influence in Hungary itself."

Other messages were received from the Bishop of Chichester, Professor Julian Huxley, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, M.P., Mr. Vernon Bartlett, M.P., D.N. Pritt, M.P., W. Gallacher, M.P., Mr. John Forsdyke, Director of the British Museum, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, Engineering and Shipbuilding Shop Stewards Committee, Mr. Gordon Schaffer, Assistant Editor of the Reynolds News, The Federation of Polish Jews in Great Britain, the Association of Czech Jews in England, the Free Austrian Movement and the Danish Council, as well as from many Hungarian organisations overseas. Among the latter, Professor Oscar Jaszi and Professor Rustem Vambery, leaders of the New Democratic Hungary Movement in America, Mr. Bela Lugosi, Chairman of the Hungarian Council for Democracy and various other branches of the Hungarian Council for Democracy in America and the National Council of Hungarian American Trade Unionists expressed their sympathy and agreement with the meeting.

Then Mr. A.J.P. Taylor, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, made a speech. Mr. Taylor described the long criminal list of the Horthy régime, which started with the establishment of the White Terror in 1919 and was the first fascist régime in Europe. He disagreed with those people who tried to suggest that perhaps no atrocities had taken place at all in Hungary - because there was ample and reliable evidence to prove the gruesome facts - and criticised those Hungarian and British circles who tried to whitewash the Horthy régime saying that after all it was still better than German nazism. Mr. Taylor declared that there was another Hungary in the past, a Hungary which fought for human progress and liberty. Some actions of Hungarians inside the country prove that there is another Hungary today, too. The existence of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain under Count Karolyi's brave and progressive leadership was a good guarantee for the future. In Mr. Taylor's view, in order to establish a new and truly democratic Hungary, the following conditions must be realised: first, all racial and national persecutions must stop forever. Secondly, the policy of aggressive revisionism must be given up. At the peace conferences all the neighbouring states would represent their pre-1938 borders, but afterwards, with a truly democratic Hungary, any questions, even frontier questions, might be negotiated. Thirdly, Hungary must give up her present feudal structure.

Mr. H. Murphy, the well-known writer and expert on labour questions was the next speaker. Mr. Murphy emphasised the fact that anti-semitism is always the sign of a society in decline seeking a scapegoat. He expressed the hope that the present fighting unity of Hungarians would be maintained and a constructive unity would have its beneficial effects after the war. He paid a compliment to Count Karolyi who has fought for the same democratic and socialist ideas for forty years. In his closing words, he paid tribute to the thought of the "century of the common man", "which," he concluded, "this century is going to be."

Count Michael Karolyi, in his closing words, explained that Hungarians in this country had found it absolutely necessary to protest against the barbarous racial and political persecutions which were besmirching Hungary's name at the present time. In addition to the persecution of the Jews there were several thousand Hungarian Socialists and other opposition elements in Hungarian concentration camps.

"I sincerely believe", Count Karolyi went on, "that the Hungarian people are not responsible for these cruel and terrible events. There is no democracy in Hungary and the Hungarian people have no say in any matter. The Hungarian ruling classes have always been the allies of reactionary Germany. This was only a natural alliance. As it is necessary to dispose of the German Nazis and the Junkers, so it is absolutely necessary to deprive the present Hungarian ruling class of all its political powers if we want to avoid a third world war. The new Hungary will seek the friendship of the neighbouring Slav nations and the three great powers who signed the Teheran declaration."

MESSAGES TO HUNGARY

After Rumania's request for an armistice with the United Nations and her declaration of war on Germany, the Hungarian Council in Great Britain sent the following message to the Hungarian people:

" The collapse of Germany is inevitable. Paris is free. Rumania fights side by side with the United Nations against the Germans. In this last phase of the war Hungary is still in alliance with the Nazis. It is clear that unless the country breaks with Hitler and expels the Germans from its territory, it will meet with the same fate as the Germans. In Hungary's case this would be fatal: our national existence is at stake.

It was Horthy and his régime which forces our country into its present plight. They are responsible for our tragic situation. This régime must not be allowed to go on directing Hungary's destiny. The Hungarian people must break with it and sabotage its decrees.

It is imperative, in the interests of the country, that the HONVED army and other armed formations should immediately cease fighting against the United Nations; it is imperative that Hungarian arms should be turned against the German occupiers and their Hungarian accomplices. But this is not only the task of the armed forces; they must be helped by a national rising of the whole population. In the interests of the future of our country the workers and peasants must stop working and feeding the Nazi war-machine."

It is the conviction of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain that the most urgent task is the formation of a national government, based on those popular forces which openly or underground have for so long fought against Hungary's participation in Hitler's war. It is only

such a national government based on popular forces, which would be able to carry out the necessary radical changes without which the salvation of our country is impossible. The Hungarian Council in Great Britain will do its utmost to help in achieving the above solution, because only such a solution can count on the support of the victorious United Nations."

The Hungarian Council, before and after this event, sent a very great number of messages to Hungary through the BBC's Hungarian Service. These messages usually refer to an outstanding military or political event, express the Council's point of view on many subjects and endeavour to give advice and instructions to the Hungarian people, mainly to the forces of the opposition. We publish here the general line of policy followed in these messages.

FIGHT

The Council unceasingly and repeatedly declares that the first and most important duty of the Hungarian people, and first of all the Hungarian Army, is to turn against the Germans and actively help the armed forces of the United Nations. Only by a brave and self-sacrificing fight can Hungary regain her honour so gravely endangered by her criminal politicians. The Germans have weakened considerably, they were unable to stop the steps taken by the Bulgarians, Finns and Rumanians, and Hungary would be able to act in a similar way. The Germans must be disarmed and expelled from Hungary, the Carpathian passes must be opened to the Red Army, and the Hungarian army must collaborate in every way with the liberating Russian and other Allied forces. Hungarian workers must commit sabotage and do everything in their power to stop Hungarian industry from feeding the German war machine. Hungarian peasants should hide the foodstuffs which are destined to feed Hungary's enemies.

HORTHY AND HIS REGIME

Horthy is an enemy of the Hungarian people. He does **not** want to save Hungary and if he wanted to do so, he would be unable to. Horthy and his accomplices are war criminals who must be chased away and, in time, brought to justice for their many crimes. Today Horthy personally is one of the main obstacles in the way of a favourable solution.

A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT BASED ON THE PEOPLE

Only a National Government based on real popular forces is able to save Hungary. This new government must consist of members of the Smallholders Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Communist Party, the Peace Party, of the progressive liberal elements and all anti-German and anti-Horthy factors. Local councils of resistance must be formed without delay, in order to take part in the fight, to help the allies in every way and to aid the allies and the future Hungarian government to bring war criminals to justice.

TRANSYLVANIA

Hungarian soldiers who fight and die in Transylvania delude themselves if they believe that they are fighting for Transylvania. The continuation of the fight only aggravates Hungary's situation. If Hungary quits the Germans and fights with the Allies, she will be able to secure a more favourable peace;

if she goes on fighting she will not be better treated than Germany. It is the conviction of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain that a democratic Hungarian government will be able to come to an acceptable agreement with a democratic Rumanian government and this is the only proper solution of the thorny Transylvanian problem.

THE SLOVAK INSURGENTS

Repeated appeals have been issued to Hungarian officers, and soldiers not to fight the Slovak insurgents but to help them with all their power.

THE PRESS AND THE HUNGARIAN COUNCIL

The British and foreign press follow the doings of the Hungarian Council with interest. Some British daily papers gave an account of the Council's great protest meeting against racial and political persecutions in Hungary. A number of American, Swedish and Swiss papers mentioned the meeting too, and the Jewish press gave wide publicity to it both in this country and in the United States.

The first number of the "Hungarian Bulletin" was also noticed by the press. Among other papers the "Yorkshire Post" mentioned the appearance of the bulletin in August and "France" gave an account of Count Karolyi's leading article, pointing out that the Council considers itself as the most important organ entitled to speak in the name of the people of Hungary, and referred also to Count Karolyi's remark that Horthy is one of the arch criminals of the present war. "France" also briefly quoted the Hungarian Council's congratulatory message sent to Mr. Churchill and General de Gaulle on the occasion of the Allied landing in France.

Wide publicity has been given by the world's press to the Council's proclamation issued after Rumania's break with Germany. A number of British dailies, the "Daily Telegraph" and the "Daily Express" among them, mentioned that the Council had appealed to the Hungarians to cease fighting. The Swedish press, especially the "Morgen Tidningen" and the "Svenska Morgonbladet" reported the Council's appeal to Hungarians to form a national government based on progressive anti-Hitler and anti-Horthy elements. This appeal was widely quoted in the American press also, among other newspapers the "New York Times" pointed out the importance of the Council's proclamation. The free Hungarian "Kossuth" Radio as well as the Ankara Radio quoted the Council's message.

Newspapers published in the Hungarian language in the United States and in Canada report every detail of the Council's activities. They usually publish all our appeals and messages to the Hungarian people and also follow the Council's diplomatic activities with keen interest. There are about 60 Hungarian dailies, weeklies and periodicals in North America, read by well over a million American and Canadian citizens of Hungarian descent. There are other Hungarian publications in Mexico and the South American countries.

is more important to them than the future of Hungary. These last hours are decisive and Hungary's future depends on your brave actions. The Hungarian soldier must not be more cowardly than the German soldier!

"Hungarian officers, soldiers! Shake off the German handcuffs! Against you, you will find a desperate, hysterical, foreign army, with you, you will find the people of the Hungarian towns and villages.

AN ANSWER TO GENERAL LAKATOS

After General Lakatos's great speech in the Hungarian Parliament the Hungarian Council in Great Britain sent the following message to the Hungarian people. The message has been repeatedly broadcast by the BBC. On Sunday, the 24th September, the message was read before the news bulletin:

"The Red Army is on the borders of Hungary. Lakatos has openly admitted that the country is defenceless against the overwhelming superiority of the United Nations. He has admitted that the German army has ceased to exist as a military factor in South Eastern Europe.

Géza Lakatos however failed to come to the conclusions which would naturally result from this situation. Although he knows that the situation is hopeless he is still prepared to sacrifice the lives of tens of thousands of Hungarian soldiers in a futile struggle against the Red Army.

The Lakatos government still follows a policy of procrastination and manoeuvres. But determined and quick action is imperative. As the Lakatos government shows itself incapable of such action, the Hungarian people must demand the formation of a popular government in which these people who are capable of carrying out the following immediate tasks are included: The Honvéd Army must cease all hostilities against the Red Army and against all formations supporting the cause of the United Nations. The Hungarian Army must join the forces of the United Nations and take part in the pursuit and annihilation of the Germans. The disintegrating German Armies must not be allowed to use Hungary as the battlefield of Hitler's rearguard. The Hungarian Army must follow only one aim: that is to contribute to the utter defeat of the Germans and the shortening of the war. No territorial considerations must interfere with this aim. As the programme of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain clearly declares, no territorial changes obtained through Hitler's help can be recognised. The United Nations decided that the final decisions would be drawn up at the peace conferences. This is also proved by the Rumanian armistice terms, concerning Transylvania.

The moment has irrevocably arrived when all those political factors which have always opposed the Germans and the pro-German Horthy régime must take the fate of the country into their own hands. They must form a new government which by its determined action will lead Hungary out of the war."

HUNGARIANS FIGHTING WITH THE F.F.I.

A few days ago the Hungarian Council in Great Britain received a communication from M. George Bölöni who is a well-known Hungarian journalist, and who has lived in France for many years. M. Bölöni is the author of an interesting study on Anatole France, and a brilliant biography of Endre Ady, one of Hungary's greatest poets who was a personal friend of his. This time M. Bölöni has emerged in an entirely new role. He is the leader of the Hungarian resistance groups, who fought so bravely side by side with the French Forces of the Interior for the liberation of Paris. M. Bölöni has established contact with Count Karolyi and the Hungarian Council and we hope that the collaboration with M. Bölöni will be close and fruitful.

Radio Paris very generously acknowledged the help given by the Hungarians to the F.F.I. A number of British papers also reported the fight of the Hungarians and a speaker remarked on the BBC's French service that the fight of these thirty Hungarian combat groups clearly proved that if the Hungarians were free to choose, they would fight together with the forces of civilisation and against Horthy and Hitler.

A PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION

On August 2nd, Mr. Price, M.P., asked the following question of the Minister of Information in the House of Commons:

"Whether he is aware that a Hungarian Council in Great Britain has recently been formed uniting all shades of Hungarian opinion; and whether the Council will be asked to submit material for consideration for use as propaganda to Hungary?"

Mr. Brendan Bracken answered:

"Yes, Sir, I am aware that a Hungarian Council has been formed. A number of its statements and declarations have been broadcast in the Hungarian Service of the BBC."

TWO NEW COUNCIL MEMBERS

The Hungarian Council in Great Britain unanimously invited Mr. Vilmos Boehm to become a member. Mr. Boehm is a famous socialist leader and one of the most prominent members of the Social Democratic Party. He was Minister of Defence in Count Karolyi's Government. Since 1919 he has lived abroad and has spent the last few years in Stockholm. He visited London early this year. In a telegram sent from Stockholm, Mr. Boehm accepted the Council's invitation and intends coming to London as soon as possible.

Mr. Mathias Seiber, the well-known Hungarian composer has had to resign from the Council because of other engagements. The Hungarian Club in London appointed Mr. Istvan Igaz in Mr. Seiber's place. Mr. Igaz has played an important part in the Hungarian Trade Union movement.

OCTOBER 31st, CELEBRATION

The New Democratic Hungary Movement, with the full support of the Hungarian Council will arrange a public commemoration for the anniversary of the October Revolution. On the 31st October 1918 Count Michael Karolyi became Prime Minister of Hungary and a short but remarkable democratic development started on that day.

Count Karolyi will be the principal speaker at the meeting and members of the different political parties and free Hungarian movements will also pay their tribute to those great events. Invitations, specifying the exact date and place of the meeting, will be issued at a later date.

HUNGARIAN BULLETIN

Official publication of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain

President: **Count Michael Károlyi**

Temporary address: 30, Connaught Square, W.2 - Telephone: PADdington 5583

Special Number

November, 1944

AN APPEAL TO ALL HUNGARIAN ORGANISATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS ABROAD

The Hungarian Council in Great Britain, under the presidency of Michael Károlyi, sent the following message to Hungarians abroad on the 7th November 1944:-

It is the most vital duty of the Hungarian nation to clear Hungary of the Germans and their Hungarian hirelings. Hungary must become free again and the Hungarian people, in this very last minute, - must take their destiny in their own hands. This is the only way of saving our country from the terrible fate which is being prepared for her by the Germans, the Hungarian Arrow Cross and other Hungarian traitors. Hungary must become the scene of a huge national uprising and she must fight side by side with the Allies and help the liberating Red Army, by every possible means. The expulsion of the Germans and their Hungarian collaborators and accomplices can be best expedited by the formation of a national government based on the Social Democrats, the Smallholder Party, the Communist Party, the Peace Party, the progressive bourgeoisie and all popular forces. It is our aim to help Hungarians at home to secure democratic rights, to eliminate all fascist and reactionary elements from all state and other public institutions, to release and rehabilitate all political prisoners who fought in the vanguard against fascism, to punish all war-criminals and those responsible for the country's present plight, to distribute the big landed estates amongst the landless and the small-holders and to establish a new spirit of community with our neighbours hardened in the common fight against the German and fascist enemy. The Hungarian Council in Great Britain believes that the unification of all Hungarian forces abroad is imperative to the successful prosecution of the struggle. We appeal to all Hungarian organisations and other factors who live and work on free soil that they should declare their willingness to the Hungarian Council in Great Britain to accept the spirit of the above declaration, lend support to the Hungarians at home and to co-operate with us and carry on the co-ordinated fight against the German enemy and the Hungarian traitors.

This appeal was published by Reuters on the 7th November 1944. At the same time it was issued fully or partly by "Tass News Agency", the "Overseas News Agency" (New York), the "Hungarian Information Bulletin" (New York), the "Swiss Telegraph Agency", the "Independent French Agency", the "Agence Anatolie", and the "Czechoslovak News Agency". On the 8th November the appeal was mentioned or quoted by a great number of British, American, Swedish, Swiss and Turkish daily papers, amongst them the "Yorkshire Post", the "New York Times", "Dagens Nyheter", "Morgon Tidningen", "Svenska Morgenbladet", "Goteborg Post", and "Neue Zuercher Zeitung".

"HUNGARIAN BULLETIN" No.3.

The third number of the "HUNGARIAN BULLETIN", - official publication of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain - will appear shortly. It will contain the usual account about the Council's activities as well as a full report on the meeting arranged by the "New Democratic Hungarian" movement with the "..."

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President : Count Michael Károlyi

Temporary address : 30, Connaught Square, W.2 - Telephone : PADdington 5583

No. 3.

December 1944

HUNGARY MUST FIGHT THE GERMANS

By George Kellner

Member of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain

Well over half of Hungary has already been liberated by the Red Army. On the liberated territories the Hungarian people have proved their willingness to participate in the fight against the Germans. High ranking army officers have been stirred to action by Szalasy's seizure of power. These officers realised that Hungary could not be successfully defended against the Red Army and they were anxious to put an end to the senseless destruction the Germans were carrying out on Hungarian soil.

The flight of the Chief of the Hungarian General Staff clearly proves that he, too, considered any further resistance aimless. In his manifesto, General Vörös declared that the country must be saved and that the only way of salvation for Hungary was to fight the Germans.

A rude awakening came to all patriotic Hungarian officers when the Germans put the Arrow Cross criminals into power.

The question arises: how was it possible for the Arrow Cross to take over power on the 15th October, in spite of the fact that the army, police and gendarmerie were still under Horthy's command?

The answer is this: Horthy had asked for an armistice before making sure that he would be able to carry out the armistice terms and, in addition to this, he even informed the Germans of his intentions. Obviously, the Horthy-régime was incapable of breaking with the Germans. They simply hoped for the best and believed that nobody would resort to violence. Horthy was afraid of allying himself with the popular forces. He was afraid of the people and without their support no decisive action was possible. The Regent was hostile to the people and no approach to them could have been expected of him who up to the last minute was merciless in his oppression of any actions initiated by the people.

It is true that the Horthy régime had sufficient power to defeat the Arrow Cross Party which had only a few thousand armed men. The

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It is true that the Horthy régime had sufficient power to defeat the Arrow Cross Party which had only a few thousand armed men. The explanation for its failure to cope with the situation finds its roots in the last decades of Hungarian history. It is a fact that the Arrow Cross was not only tolerated in the country, but it was encouraged in many ways. Neither Prime Minister Gömbös, nor his successors Daranyi, Kallay, Sztojay or Lakatos were prepared to deal with it effectively.

It is also true that the resistance movements were unable to master

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the situation which arose after the request for an armistice. The succession of events showed that when the demand for co-operation and action arose the resistance parties did not stand solidly together and they took no initiative. Events should not have taken them by surprise because the Red Army had already been fighting on Hungarian soil for a long time.

The situation that arose after March 19th demanded that the parties and organisations forced underground should co-ordinate their actions with those parties that had worked underground before and were therefore more experienced. Even the right-wing conservative patriots had to realise that when Rumania, Bulgaria and Finland came out of the war, Hungary could not be left to follow Germany into the abyss.

The gravest misfortune of the resistance movements was that after March 19th, - when the German army marched into Hungary - the army or at least a great part of it, could not find its connection with the underground movements. If an uprising in Hungary was to be successful, it needed the support of the armed forces. Had an armed uprising against the Germans been successful Hungary's position would be different today. Side by side with the police and gendarmerie the country was interwoven with a network of armed formations and organisations forming the nests of the extreme right organisations. Part of the Civil Servants the most reliable elements of the State were sifted through these channels. This stratum adapted itself to the spirit of the régime and there was a wide gap between them and the other strata of the population especially the workers and poor peasants.

Today the state machinery is in a state of collapse in the territories still ruled by the Szalasy clique. After Horthy's fall and with the Red Army's advance the chaos grew. October 15th, marked the beginning of a new era in the resistance movement aiming at co-ordinating all their forces.

The most urgent present task of the resistance movement is to fight the Germans and the Arrow Cross whose obvious aim is to help the Germans by leaving the country in a state of chaos ruining production and transport. It is in the interest of the Hungarian people that all effective help should be given to the Red Army.

The country's most urgent need is an authoritative body which is able to rally the army and all fighting forces - in fact, the whole population - around itself, help to chase the Germans out, round up the members of the Arrow Cross Party and set production into motion all over the country. A national government, representing all popular forces, is the only body which can carry out this task. It is also a fact that such a body needs the support of the patriotic rank and file of the army.

It is a great danger for the United Nations, if Hungary is left without any effective leadership. Hungary must be purged and the sooner this purge starts, the better.

There must not be any differences between anti-German Hungarians. The co-ordination of all anti-German anti-Fascist forces is of immense importance. All genuine effort at home and abroad which tends to unite all these anti-German and anti-Fascist forces should be encouraged and strengthened.

To fight the Germans, this is the only way to save Hungary's future. Delaying tactics and speculation must be given up!

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This is the reason why the Hungarian Council in Great Britain appeals to all Hungarian individuals and organisations abroad to draw the necessary conclusion of the tragic events which occurred in our country. All Hungarians there must unite their strength because the Hungarians abroad must set an example of unity for Hungarians at home and give a new stimulus to our people to continue the national fight for a new democratic Hungary.

November, 1944.

AN APPEAL TO HUNGARIANS ABROAD

On the 7th November 1944 the Hungarian Council in Great Britain issued this appeal to all Hungarian organisations and individuals who live and work in free countries:-

"It is the most vital duty of the Hungarian nation to clear Hungary of the Germans and their Hungarian hirelings. Hungary must become free again and the Hungarian people, in this very last minute, - must take their destiny in their own hands. This is the only way of saving our country from the terrible fate which is being prepared for her by the Germans, the Hungarian Arrow Cross and other Hungarian traitors. Hungary must become the scene of a huge national uprising and she must fight side by side with the Allies and help the liberating Red Army, by every possible means. The expulsion of the Germans and their Hungarian collaborators and accomplices can be best expedited by the formation of a national government based on the Social Democrats, the Smallholder Party, the Communist Party, the Peace Party, the progressive bourgeoisie and all popular forces. It is our aim to help Hungarians at home to secure democratic rights, to eliminate all fascist and reactionary elements from all state and other public institutions, to release and rehabilitate all political prisoners who fought in the vanguard against fascism, to punish all war-criminals and those responsible for the country's present plight, to distribute the big landed estates amongst the landless and the small-holders and to establish a new spirit of community with our neighbours hardened in the common fight against the German and fascist enemy. The Hungarian Council in Great Britain believes that the unification of all Hungarian forces abroad is imperative to the successful persecution of the struggle. We appeal to all Hungarian organisations and other factors who live and work on free soil that they should declare their willingness to the Hungarian Council in Great Britain to accept the spirit of the above declaration, lend support to the Hungarians at home and to co-operate with us and carry on the co-ordinated fight against the German enemy and the Hungarian traitors."

This appeal was published by Reuters and many great foreign news agencies. The message aroused considerable interest in the world's press. The "New York Times" gave publicity to it, and it was widely quoted and commented upon in the British, American, Swedish, Swiss and Turkish press. Hungarian newspapers in the United States quoted it fully and it was broadcast repeatedly by the BBC's Hungarian Service and elsewhere.

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This appeal was published by Reuters and many great foreign news agencies. The message aroused considerable interest in the world's press. The "New York Times" gave publicity to it, and it was widely quoted and commented upon in the British, American, Swedish, Swiss and Turkish press. Hungarian newspapers in the United States quoted it fully and it was broadcast repeatedly by the BBC's Hungarian Service and excerpts of the message were read in the BBC's Czechoslovak and Yugoslav services.

HUNGARIANS ABROAD ANSWER OUR APPEAL

Mr. George Bölöni, the leader of Hungarians in Paris wrote a letter to Count Károlyi and expressed his full agreement with the programme of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain. Mr. Bölöni, - as we described it in our last number, - led the Hungarians who fought as a part of the F.F.I. for the liberation of France and Paris and whose sacrifices received most generous recognition from Radio Paris. Many different Hungarian organisations, groups and committees are united under Mr. Bölöni's leadership.

Democratic Hungarians in Brussels also communicated with Count Károlyi and expressed their approval of our programme. The New York "New Democratic Hungary Movement" - under the presidency of Professor Ruzssem Vámbrey - is already represented in the Council by Mr. Karl Polányi. The Hungarian Council in Canada, representing over 50,000 Hungarians and Canadians of Hungarian descent sent similar communications to the Hungarian Council in Great Britain, endorsing all the messages we have broadcast in the past and asking the Council that all our future messages to Hungary should be broadcast also in their name. Later the Hungarian Council in Canada expressed their agreement with the Council's appeal to Hungarians abroad.

The Hungarian American Council for Democracy as well as Free Hungarians in Mexico and in Palestine have declared their loyalty to the Hungarian Council in Great Britain and accepted its programme. The Hungarian Association in Sofia in a long radio speech also declared that they had accepted the Council's programme and approved of its appeal to Hungarians abroad.

COMMEMORATION OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The New Democratic Hungary Movement, with the full support of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain celebrated the anniversary of the 1918 Hungarian Revolution at a meeting in Conway Hall on the 5th November. Official representatives of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia as well as a former Roumanian diplomat addressed the meeting, which thus became a veritable demonstration of friendship between Hungarian democracy and Hungary's neighbours. Mr. Béla Lévy, the distinguished Hungarian jurist was in the chair. Mr. Jareslav Stránsky, the Minister of Justice of the Czechoslovak Government was the first speaker:-

"I deem it an honour and pleasure" - Mr. Stránsky said - "to greet your assembly. My pleasure is increased by the events of these days, as today there is no more doubt about the approaching fall of fascist and nazi-Hungary. I should like only to assure you, if indeed assurance is needed, that our government follow with heartfelt sympathy and best wishes everything which tends to the establishment of a democratic order in Hungary of tomorrow. Between a democratic Hungary and its democratic neighbours - and one of them will be Czechoslovakia - there can be only a relation of hearty and friendly collaboration. Both, you and we, must make the best of our past to frame the best of our future."

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Mr. Mato Vucetic, Director of the Information Department of the Yugoslav Government declared that Count Károlyi and the Hungarian Council had always wished to see Central Europe freed from fascist rule and petty intrigues. Mr. Vucetic expressed his hope that a really democratic and progressive Hungary would be born after the present war and that the new Hungary would collaborate with Jugoslavia and Soviet Russia in a friendly spirit. He expressed his firm belief that Great Britain, the United States and

"Pre-war Hungary was a 'country with a grievance'," started Mr. Middleton. "There are very few countries without a grievance but I believe that Bernard Shaw was right in saying that a healthy nation is as unconscious of its nationality as a healthy man is of his bones."

Mr. Middleton pointed out that the programme of the British Labour Party and the Trade Unions - with certain alterations - were applicable also to a broader, international field. Some Socialist writers, he went on, put down on paper the great achievements of the Károlyi-revolution. They also recorded, however, the gruesome events of the White Terror. He paid tribute to the late Lord Wedgewood and his Commission who had done magnificent work in studying events in counter-revolutionary Hungary and drawing the world's attention to the horrible persecution of Socialists, Communists and Jews in 1919 and 1920. He also paid tribute to the Hungarian heroes who - like the sons of Britain, France, Belgium and many other nations - had given their lives in the last 26 years in the struggle against fascism.

"I do not expect a soft peace or a hard peace" - said Mr. Middleton - "but I expect a sane and sensible peace."

He then expressed his hope that the future democratic Hungary would be much better treated by the Allies than the new Hungarian democracy had been treated after the last war. He hoped - he said - that Count Károlyi's great services to his country would be remembered. "Károlyi is a worthy successor of Louis Kossuth. He is a man of genius and virtue." Mr. Middleton concluded in wishing a better future to the Hungarian people.

Count Michael Károlyi, president of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain was the next speaker. He declared his hope that the Red Army would soon reach and liberate Budapest. Soon the counter-revolutionary Budapest - which lived 26 years - would disappear for good and a new, a truly Hungarian Budapest would be born. The traitors who called him and other leaders of the 1918 Revolution traitors, would not dare to speak again.

"It will be the Magyar people" - Count Károlyi said - "who will give the final verdict, and we are awaiting this verdict with great calm and clear conscience."

It was not worth while wasting words on Admiral Horthy - Count Károlyi remarked. First he, Horthy, thought that Germany would win the war and he bound Hungary's future to the fate of Germany.

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all the other allies would also help to build up a peaceful Europe when hostilities cease.

Mr. Decebal Mateescu, a Roumanian writer and former diplomat declared that Roumania and Hungary were guilty of the same crimes but he felt sure that the new democratic Roumania and Hungary - following the political lines laid down by Count Károlyi and his Council - would be able to "work their passage home".

Then Mr. J. Prager made a speech in the name of the "Vilagossag" Socialist organisation. Mr. Prager described the events of the great day of 31st October 1918, when Count Károlyi became Prime Minister of Hungary. The Hungarian people then showed their democratic spirit and desire for progress in a convincing manner. The speaker described the great resistance-work of the Hungarian Social Democratic party and expressed his belief that friendship between Hungary and her neighbours was absolutely essential for Hungary's future.

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Later Horthy hoped that there would be a split between the Allies and finally he proved wrong once again - in spite of being an Admiral - he tried to jump out of the sinking ship. He expressed his firm belief that many things might happen in Hungary but he was sure of one thing: the same people who had led Hungary to her present disaster would not regain power.

Then Count Károlyi pointed out that not only Hungarian ruling classes but also the Entente of 1918 had to bear a great deal of responsibility for the events which had occurred in Hungary. The Entente had denied their support of democratic Hungary and backed up the anti-democratic elements. It was heartening to know that the Allies of 1944 were very different from the Entente of 1918 and that past mistakes could not happen again.

"We have to make a new October Revolution" - he said. "This new revolution must establish Hungary's place in the new Europe. We must live in peace with our neighbours. We must create a new patriotism which is not selfish but which is willing and able to establish the spirit of collaboration with our Slav and other democratic neighbours."

He expressed his belief that the future of the world depended on Russo-British-American collaboration and also expressed his hope that we would celebrate the next anniversary of the 1918 revolution in liberated Budapest.

"It is not enough" Count Károlyi concluded -- "to accept liberation as a gift from the hands of the Red Army and the Allies. Hungary must fight! I hope that the troops of a new Hungary will soon fight on German soil. This is the only way how the Hungarian people can make up for the crimes of the past, committed not by them but by their vicious rulers."

After Count Károlyi's speech a message was read from Mr. Vilmos Boehm, a well-known Social Democrat who was Minister of Defence in Count Károlyi's Government of 1918-19, who accepted the invitation to join the Hungarian Council in Great Britain. Mr. Boehm explained the significance of the 1918 revolution and drew relevant conclusions from it for the present and the future.

Mr. Zoltan Radó, President of the Hungarian Club in London declared: "There is no doubt that the October Revolution revealed an exemplary activity of the masses in spite of mistakes which may have been made. The events of October 1944 are of decisive significance for the Hungarian people. The Hungarian people as a whole found itself in opposition to the Germans. The Resistance Movement has the task of transforming this hostile attitude into active fight against the Germans on the side of the Allies. Horthy showed the utmost incapability and clumsiness in carrying out his break with Germany. No excuse can be found for this. The Germans have no moral right to pass judgement on Horthy, still, he is taking now the punishment for his own crimes."

Speaking for the Association of Free Hungarians in Great Britain, Mr. Victor Stankovich, member of the Hungarian Council, said: "The intellectual generation of inter-war Hungary holds the view that the October Revolution of 1918 was a renewed experiment in line with the Hungarian tradition of fighting for freedom to raise

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spokesmen of the Hungarian people towards progressive world opinion. We believe that the fighters of the October Revolution will soon raise their voice in order to help the Hungarian people to gain that amount of respect and generosity for their vital interests which are so urgently needed for the fulfilment of the hopes of Hungarian democracy and progress."

Mr. Paul Ignatus, member of the Hungarian Council pointed out that there was nothing the Horthy régime dreaded more than the spirit of the October Revolution. They never stopped repeating: "There will be no second 1918!" Hungary's present plight is the result of that propaganda: when, on October 15th, even Horthy had been convinced that he must try to stage his own version of a '1918', the young officers and bureaucrats, brought up in a reactionary spirit, foiled his attempt and helped the traitor Szálasi to achieve power. The bankruptcy of the Horthy régime will serve as a lesson to the Hungarian people. The Hungary of the future shall be built up in the spirit of March 1848 and of October 1918.

Finally, Miss Ilona Dusinszka, member of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain, who played an important and daring part in the historic events, described the day of 31st October 1918 in a moving and dramatic speech.

THE SITUATION IN LIBERATED HUNGARY

On the 11th November Moscow radio broadcast the following description of life in liberated Hungary:

The German evacuation caused great hardship in all the liberated towns. From Csikszereda to Cegléd and Csap, the evacuation was accompanied by a series of plunder, arson and destruction. All these vicious crimes were committed first in an organized manner, later indiscriminately. The mayor of Marosvásárhely reports that robbery did not stop until Russian tanks appeared in the streets. The situation was more or less the same in all the other towns too.

At most places high ranking civil servants and politically compromised municipal leaders followed the official instructions and escaped before the Russians arrived. At many places, however, all municipal officials remained at their posts. That is what happened, for instance, at Békés. The overwhelming majority of the population, peasants and workers, also remained at their places.

The administration of towns and villages was taken over very soon by newly formed local committees. These committees usually consist of members of the Social Democratic Party, the Smallholder Party, the Communist Party, a few municipal employees and ecclesiastics. The committees are appointed at public meetings. Their first task is to supply electricity, gas etc. to reopen the baker-shops and repair the damage done by the Germans. At most places schools were re-opened within a week.

The proclamation issued by the priests of Mezöberény is characteristic of the reception the Red Army received. This proclamation stresses the fact that all the libellous statements spread about the Red Army are completely unfounded. It asks the population of the newly liberated territories not to escape or the contrary to

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The Red Army's newspaper, which is available everywhere gives a true picture of the situation. The Hungarian interpreters serving with the Red Army, are besieged with hundreds of questions.

MESSAGES TO HUNGARY

During the last eventful weeks there has also been a considerable change in the messages the Council has sent to the Hungarian people through the BBC. The main points emphasised in these messages were the following:-

- 1) The Hungarian people must take their fate into their own hands and must play an active part in their own liberation. Hungary must become the scene of a huge national uprising.
- 2) The Hungarian people should receive the Russians as liberators and should turn against the Germans and their Hungarian fascist accomplices with all their strength.
- 3) The people should not leave the towns and villages before the Russians reach them. They should hide in the forests and in the countryside, lest the Germans and the Hungarian fascists should try to evacuate them by force.
- 4) The Hungarian people should stop the Germans from looting and robbing the country, and taking away everything they fail to destroy. The Hungarian people should stop the war criminals from escaping and they should make notes and prepare lists of names so that the investigation of war crimes should be facilitated.

When the Russians reached the outskirts of Budapest, the following message was sent to the people of the capital:-

Workers and citizens, men and women, soldiers, policemen and national guards of Budapest! In these critical hours, when the Red Army is irresistibly approaching the Hungarian capital, we appeal to you with anxiety and deep affection. Turn against the Germans, the Arrow Cross and other traitors of the Hungarian people with the weapons of sabotage, strikes and all the means of creating disorder. Follow the example of the Paris maquis; the Red Army must be received by a free Budapest. You must realize at last - not in the last days but in the last hours - that the country's future and honour can only be saved by your fight against the Germans. This fight is also the only way of saving our capital from the most dreadful destiny. You must not allow the Germans to sacrifice Budapest in order to postpone the fall of Vienna by a few days. You must not tolerate that the Arrow Cross criminals should sacrifice thousands of Magyar lives and should turn Budapest into a heap of ruins in order to postpone the day when they will suffer their due punishment for their frightful crimes. People of Budapest: Your fate is in your own hands!

A few days later this message was sent to the Hungarian women:-

Hungarian Women! The Budapest press and radio tries to persuade you with forced enthusiasm and loud words of triumph that the danger which threatened Budapest is over, that the city has been relieved. This statement is untrue and the Government knows it. Budapest will be captured by the Russians, just as Szeged, Kolozsvár, Debrecen, Kecskemét and many other towns have been captured. The lying propagandists only want to secure more fodder for the Germans and the Hungarian fas-

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The innocent have to suffer today for the crimes of the ruling régime. Sober Hungarian Women! The Red Army fights also for your liberation. You must not believe the atrocity stories spread about the Russians. It is the Germans and the Hungarian fascists who closed the Hungarian schools, made barracks of

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them and are sending now the young, uneducated Hungarian boys to the battlefields. It is the Germans who, being sure of their defeat, have burnt down Hungarian towns and villages, stolen the crops, robbed Hungarian factories, and they are preparing a most terrible fate for the capital.

Hungarian Women! The time has arrived when you must follow the example of the women of the 48 revolution. You must become the moving spirit of the new fight for freedom. The whole country must become the scene of a huge, national uprising. The Magyar people must chase away the Germans and their Hungarian accomplices and you must concentrate all your influence to make this happen soon. Follow the example of the women of Paris! The Allies will defend you from aerial attacks. They will defend your families, your homes and they will see to it that your children grow up as free citizens of a free country. Hungarian Women! End this aimless bloodshed. Save your children, save your husbands, - save Hungary!

COLLECTION OF THE HUNGARIAN YOUTH COMMITTEE

The Hungarian Youth Committee in Great Britain organised a campaign in aid of the Petöfi Battalion fighting in Marshal Tito's Yugoslav Army of Liberation.

£100 were collected as well as seven boxes of clothing and comforts. A lecture was given on the Yugoslav Liberation Army by Mr. Slavo Klemencic, member of the South Slav Committee. A photographic exhibition of the life and fight of the Yugoslav Youth was shown. A performance was given by the members of the Unity Theatre.

The campaign was conducted under the auspices of the Yugoslavia Emergency Committee. The money and comforts collected have already been dispatched to Marshal Tito's army.

THE LATE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

After the tragic and sudden death of William Temple, His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the following message was sent by the Hungarian Council to the Hungarian people:-

"We have learned with real sorrow of the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that great and high-minded churchman. The poor and the oppressed, not only in Great Britain, but all over the world, lost in him a devoted friend and a powerful protector. We recall with particular gratitude and emotion that not long ago, on the occasion of the public meeting of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain, in a letter written to Count Michael Károlyi, he energetically protested against the persecution of Jews in Hungary and expressed his sympathy with those Hungarians resisting Nazi barbarism and oppression. The free and socially progressive Hungary which will arise when the fetters of fascism and reaction are struck off, will hold his memory in devotion."

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Hungarian Bulletin

Official Publication of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain

PRESIDENT: COUNT MICHAEL KAROLYI

No. 4

MAY, 1945

THE HUNGARIAN COUNCIL HAS FINISHED ITS WORK

THE Hungarian Council in Great Britain under the Presidency of Michael Károlyi brought the following unanimous decision at their Meeting held on 25th April, 1945. The Hungarian Council in Great Britain was formed in 1944 under the Presidency of Michael Károlyi to unite Hungarians in Great Britain, with the object of fostering the fight of the Hungarian people against German and Hungarian Fascism and of promoting the democratic transformation of Hungary. To this effect the Council established unity on a wide scale for which there were only few examples in Hungarian public life. It was in this spirit that the Council sent their messages home to encourage fighting unity and it was in this spirit that the Council endeavoured to unite Hungarians abroad.

Now we are glad to see that our objects have been realised or are nearing realisation. The Provisional National Assembly and National Government which express the will of the Hungarian people have broken with the policy of the past, they declared war on the Germans and thus in this last phase of the war our nation undertook to fight against Fascism on the side of the United Nations. We welcome with enthusiasm the quick and decisive measures of the National Government to distribute the land among the landless peasants and break up the class of large estate-owners. We see it with the greatest gratification that the National Government aims at a close co-operation with the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States and that it tries to secure a better future for the nation in harmony with the neighbouring peoples.

The Members of the Council have noted with pleasure that the President of the Council, Michael Károlyi has been elected a Member of the National Assembly. This also reassures us in our belief that the programme of the National Government is in harmony with the conceptions of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain.

Now when the victorious Red Army cleared Hungary's territory of the Germans, and thus made it possible that the Provisional National Assembly and National Government should move to Budapest, the Hungarian Council in

Great Britain see the time fit to cease their activities. Therefore, the Council on the motion of its President unanimously declare their dissolution and at the same time wish to declare repeatedly and emphatically:

1. The Hungarian Council in Great Britain as well as the organisations and individuals who formed the Council welcome the new political development in Hungary; after the dissolution of the Council they wish to continue to serve the cause represented by the Provisional National Government with their best abilities.

2. The Hungarian Council in Great Britain was formed by the joining of the three Hungarian organisations: The Association of Free Hungarians in Great Britain, The London Hungarian Club, and the New Democratic Hungary Movement. To-day, when at home developments are progressing in the spirit of unity, the organisations of various political shades which have formed the Council attach great importance to maintain the unity after the dissolution of the Council. The dissolution of the Council does not mean the cessation of the activities of Hungarians in Great Britain, it means only the nature of their activities has altered. In the future the Hungarian organisations in England wish to be active first of all in three directions:—

(a). They consider it their task to occupy themselves with the problems of Hungarians in England.

(b). They consider it their most urgent task to render relief and assistance to Hungarians at home and to promote all endeavours to this effect.

(c). At the same time Hungarians in Great Britain wish to continue to participate in the War Effort of the United Nations and in the preparation of a stable peace.

The organisations forming the Council will, therefore, form a new joint committee for the Relief of Hungary in the same friendly spirit in which they have collaborated in the Council.

Finally, the Hungarian Council in Great Britain wish to express their thanks to their British hosts for their understanding and goodwill.

LAND REFORM IN HUNGARY

By Countess Katinka Andrássy

THE NATIONAL PEASANT PARTY, represented in the Debrecen Assembly, drafted an agrarian bill welcomed by the Communist Party, the main points of which, according to the Kossuth Radio, were:

"(1) Confiscation of the land belonging to traitors, leaders of the Arrow Cross and members of the Volksbund.

(2) Estates over 100 yokes belonging to the landed gentry to be divided up.

(3) Estates over 100 yokes belonging to the State, the Church and others to be partitioned, except those serving agricultural research or cultural purposes.

(4) Peasant holdings up to 200 yokes not to be partitioned.

(5) Compensation to be given for land expropriated for buildings of public utility.

(6) Grazing to be on a communal basis.

(7) Forests, etc., to come under State control or under the control of local authorities.

(8) Formation of agricultural co-operatives for the better exploitation of agricultural machinery and cattle.

(9) Compensation for the land to be proportionate to the gross income and the former owners to be paid after deduction of the expenses entailed by the land reform.

(10) Land obtained through the land reform may not be sold for the next ten years, except by permission of the Minister of Agriculture.

(11) The land reform is to take place by October 1st, 1945."

All those who are acquainted with Central and South European conditions, realise the fact that the problem of land which should have been tackled after the last war, has not been solved entirely and has largely contributed to the chaotic situation which was one of the causes of the war. Until this question remains unsolved, the standard of living of the masses can hardly be raised, the fascist forces of unrest won't be able to be checked and the politically unripe masses will become an easy prey to the jingo-nationalistic phrases used for the purpose of diverting social discontent into the channels of hatred against our neighbours.

The equitable distribution of the land is one of the problems which concerns all Danubian countries. The unhealthy distribution of the land was the cause of all evil, creating an overwhelming number of land proletariat. In most of the countries land reform has gone a long way to solve the problem of big estates, while amongst all countries Hungary was in the worst situation, where the proportion of the land has scarcely been altered since the XIIIth century.

The aristocracy, nobility, the Catholic Church possesses the main part of the land. Out of 16 million arable yoke, 6,400,000 was the property of 4,146 people, which meant that 40 per cent. belonged to one half per cent. of the population, on the other hand over 1,000,000 farm labourers were completely destitute. They got employment only at harvest time, when they worked 14 to 18 hours at 1/6 a day, including the food received in kind. These were the lucky days of the year, harvest time, which had to provide for all the year round, when they had no possibility for earning. The law of 1898 nicknamed the slave law has until recently been in vigour, and obliges the farmworker to sign a contract with the landlord in the presence of the notary. In case of a breach on the part of the labourer, he was liable to two months imprisonment. All attempts to organise agricultural workers were prohibited by law and "it was punishable to address, attend or hire rooms for meetings for the purpose of 'inciting' to form Trade Unions." 600,000 estate servants lived more or less under the same conditions, with the

difference that they were provided for all through the year and their condition depended on the benevolence of their landlords. 270 thousand peasants possessed less than one acre and 1,100 thousand less than 5 acres, which is also insufficient to live on, and they are therefore obliged to hire out their labour. This is how pre-war Hungary with a population of 8,600,000 had more than 3,000,000 "beggars," which meant that out of 4,400,000 agrarian population, three-fourth were practically without means. The minimum land required for a family of 5, are 10-12 yokes, which the greater majority of the agrarian population did not possess. As a large part of the land has been entailed, there was little possibility of buying the land even for the thrifty which resulted in an overflux of emigration overseas and in the decrease of natality. Before the last war about 2,000,000 left the country for the U.S.A., forced out by the selfishness of landowners. The one child system spread strongly in the wretched villages and whole districts died out.

On the other hand the biggest property owned by one man were to be found in Hungary. 2,426,790 yokes belonged to 84 people out of which Prince Esterhazy owned 223,000 yoke, Count L. Karolyi 100,000 yoke, Prince George Festetich, 69,400 yokes. The Horthy land reform was a farce, drawn up by the representative of the big landowners, Gyula Rubinek. (Not enough land has been re-distributed and for small holdings were invented); in other words it has not solved the question of the landless proletariat. The mammoth estates largely remained untouched. The future of our country depends on how the distribution of the land will be solved.

Count M. Karolyi's programme has been the following:

1. The large estate has to be reduced to 300 yoke minimum, and the landless peasantry has to receive per family a minimum of 10-12 acres.

2. The new owners have to receive the necessary machinery for use, hired out to them by the centres erected for this purpose.

3. 50,000 miles of roads have to be built to ease the problems of transport and production.

4. The Hungarian rivers are the best means to develop electric power needed for the fertilisation of the plains, and thus to bring the land to the same producing power as those of the west.

5. Industrialised agrarian centres have to be erected so as to process agricultural produce regularly for the market, and to find work as well and raise the standard of living of those peasants who were unable to acquire land.

6. As far as the peasants agree to form kolkozoes, these should be encouraged and their development made viable. To peasants who are ready to form such co-operatives, certain advantages should be offered (special rates for manufactured utility goods). These co-operatives would enable more people to be settled on the land, a family of five needs 10-12 acres to live on, a collective farm of 100 acres can provide for more than ten families. This solution may especially be favoured in wheat growing areas, where deep ploughing tractors have to be used.

The social and economic policy of the future should be directed in a way to unite the workers of the land with those of the town and to eliminate the artificial differences. The standard of living of people in these villages should be raised both economically and culturally to such a level that they won't endeavour to desert it for the town. When the villages have their schools, nurseries, hospitals, public libraries, wirelesses, television, etc., the foundation of a healthy decentralisation will be laid. An equitable distribution of the land is the inevitable first step to make out of the miserable Hungarian people of to-day, satisfied and happy citizens in a new, peaceful Europe.

BUDAPEST INVITES KAROLYI TO RETURN HOME

THE BUDAPEST NATIONAL COMMITTEE decided to invite home Count Karolyi, the President of the short-lived Hungarian Republic 1918-19, who has been an exile for 26 years.

The Budapest National Committee decided that elections must be held at the earliest suitable minute. Until elections may be held the representatives of the political parties should administer the affairs of the city. The Parties also agreed that some outstanding personalities should also be invited to the General Meeting, amongst them Count Karolyi, "this outstanding, great fighter for democracy." The decision of the National Committee caused great satisfaction throughout the country, the radio added.

"I am very pleased to see," said Count Karolyi, "that all the ideals for which I have fought for many years will be realized now in Hungary. Radical land-reform, democracy, Slav foreign political orientation, friendship with the allies, friendship with our neighbours. The Committee's invitation is first of all not a personal but a political satisfaction for me. I am going home as soon as technicalities permit me to leave."

IDES OF MARCH

The Hungarian Council in Great Britain celebrated the Ides of March in the presence of a large and enthusiastic audience. On the 15th March, 1848, the Hungarian people rose against Austrian oppression demanding, and partly securing, the rights of free men for themselves. The celebration started with the singing of the Hungarian National Anthem. A letter from Michael Karolyi was read in his absence.

"Since 1849 this is the first March," said the letter -- "which can be celebrated in freedom. The country, at last, is on the best way to realize the ideals of 1848. The new national assembly and the new government will be worthy of the spirit of '48 if they extirpate the remainders of fascism. We all look forward with confidence to the work of the assembly and of the government."

George Buday, a Committee member of the Association of Free Hungarians in Great Britain, the chairman of the meeting, made his presidential address.

"For many years this is the first occasion when we do not need to celebrate *instead* of our compatriots at home, but we can celebrate together with them," Mr. Buday also expressed the hope that the strength, faith, industry, talent and unbreakable energy of the Hungarians would secure a worthy place for Hungary in the great family of nations.

Endre Havas, the speaker of the New Democratic Hungary Movement spoke of the united struggle of the capital and country for the common aims. He greeted the heroic workers and citizens of Budapest and the peasants of the country who held high once again the banner of 1848, in this dreadful year of 1945.

Mihály Richter in the name of the London Hungarian Club tried to give the moral lesson of '48 for the present days. The Hungarian people must take their place for good in the rank of those nations who fight for liberty and

It caused great satisfaction among Hungarians at home and abroad, and also to all British and other friends of Hungary that this great democratic fighter had been invited to return home, and take part in the reconstruction of our country. The British, American and neutral press gave wide publicity to the news — the *Daily Herald*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Yorkshire Post*, *Daily Worker*, *New Statesman* and *Nation* and *Evening News* among other newspapers. They all described Count Karolyi's distinguished career and expressed their congratulations that after 26 years of exile he will probably soon become, once again, one of the leading personalities of Hungary.

After this invitation Count Károlyi was elected a member of the National Assembly for Budapest. Three more distinguished Hungarians who live abroad were elected at the same time. These are Prof. Rustem Vambery, President of the "New Democratic Hungary" movement, New York; Mr. Bela Bartók, the world-famous musician, who also lives in New York, and Mr. George Bölöni, the well-known journalist, who organised Hungarians in Paris and led their fight against the Germans.

social progress, must punish the criminals and must fight united, with all patriotic forces, for a better future. Finally George Tarjan recited the "*Nemzeti Dal*," some other poems by Petöfi and Vorosmarty's "*Szozat*."

MESSAGES TO HUNGARY

After the Hungarian Council in Great Britain was formed it sent many messages to the Hungarian people, urging them to resist the Germans and their Hungarian accomplices, and to chase them out of the country. The Council supported Hungarian resistance and also invited the Hungarian people to form a National Provisional Government. When these aims were achieved, the Council sent two more messages. The first was after the complete liberation of Budapest, after the fearful and devastating siege, in which — because of the reckless stand of the Germans and the treachery of the Arrow Cross Party — a great part of the Hungarian capital was destroyed. The second was on the occasion of the complete liberation of Hungary. When the last German was expelled from Hungarian soil, the following message was sent through the medium of the BBC:

Every Hungarian is filled with joy, satisfaction and gratitude that the victorious Red Army has chased the last German and Hungarian Fascist from Hungarian territory. Now that the German Reich is about to collapse under the heavy blows falling upon it from the East and West and the Hungarian Fascists know that the hour is rapidly approaching when they will have to answer for their crimes; the whole Hungarian people concentrate their energy on two main tasks. First they want to play an active part in the struggle against the Germans and they want to do everything in their power to contribute to the liquidation of Nazism and Fascism. Secondly, the Hungarian people want to start the work of reconstruction with unbroken determination and every Hungarian, living without or within the Hungarian frontiers, is confident that the strength, will and talent of the Magyar people will soon succeed in building up a new, happy and democratic Hungary.

A NEW FACTOR IN HUNGARIAN POLITICAL LIFE

The National Peasant Party and Its Part in the Democratic Development in Hungary

By Dr. GEORGE BUDAY, A.R.E., Member of the Hungarian Council

IN last December, when the Hungarian National Independence Front (MNFF) held its first big mass meeting in liberated Szeged, the resolutions were signed by the historical Social Democratic, Communist and Smallholders' Parties and by representatives of a new political organisation, namely the National Peasant Party (N.P.P.) This was the first that the outside world had heard of the existence of this professedly peasant party.

Since its first public appearance, the N.P.P. appeared more regularly in all reports from liberated Hungary. Dr. Ferenc Erdei, a leader of the party, became Minister of the Interior at Debrecen in the Provisional National Government. The party's speakers took a prominent part in all democratic meetings and debates, both inside and outside the National Assembly, and it was the N.P.P.'s Land Reform policy, published at the end of January, 1945, which, within two months of its publication, formed the body of the Land Reform Bill adopted in March and is now Law, having been supported by an overwhelming majority of all parties of the MNFF.

These facts prove that this new party, in spite of its so far very brief career, is one of the most active and energetic factors in the new Hungarian public life. Its leaders are able and well qualified young men, capable not only to organise peasant affairs but to gain the confidence of other democratic bodies in the country. All this justifies the great expectations with which progressive circles look forward to the future activities of the N.P.P.

Although the N.P.P. as such is new to Hungarian public life, it is achieving aims, which are far from being new in Hungary, namely the political and economic liberation of millions of landless peasants, who so far have never had a fair chance. The peculiar social structure of Hungary has changed during the centuries from feudal to feudal-capitalistic, and quite recently into "feudal-fascist." Owing to the excessive privileges on the one hand of the feudal ruling classes in state government and on the other hand the insufficient political and economic force of the working people to restrict the power of the land owning class or to take over state leadership from them, the characteristic feudal contrast between rulers and ruled has been maintained until the present day. The fact that Hungarian peasants were unable to alter this state of affairs was not due to political immaturity as the excessive peasant revolutions show that this class realised that its part in the control of national affairs was not equal to its significance and service. The new order of serfdom had hardly been established on feudal lines when the Transylvanian peasant revolution, led by A. Nagy Buday rose against it in 1437. There were nine peasant risings between this and George Dozsa's national peasant revolution, in 1514, which was suppressed only by massacres of the serfs. Later the Rakoczi revolution, the war of liberation in 1848, the characteristic "agrarian-socialist" attempts in the early 20th century, and the Karolyi revolution in October, 1918, all began by the popular demand for the abolishment of the feudal structure in national life and were

supported by the peasantry. The continuous failure of these revolutions was not due to lack of popular support, but to the overwhelming material strength of internal feudalism allied to foreign reactionaries.

For the first time international constellations in South-Eastern Europe encourage and help democratic developments in Hungary through the Red Army's glorious victories over Germany, whose imperialists always sided with the oppressors of the democratic aspirations of the nation. These victories coupled with the overwhelming superiority of the Anglo-American Allies in the West ensure the elimination of this sinister German intervention for the future and give also to the Hungarian peasantry the chance so long sought for to take its reasonable share in the building up of a new, democratic community. In this process the N.P.P. has a leading part.

Not only the leaders of this party, amongst whom Ferenc Erdei, Imre Kovacs, Joseph Darvas, Peter Veres, should be mentioned, together with a number of prominent supporters including Julius Illyes, the author, and Julius Ortutay, the ethnologist, but also the masses which belong to it have been amongst the most ardent anti-Germans and anti-fascists in Hungary for years, even when the anti-fascist cause must have looked very hopeless in Europe. Their efforts were analysed in my article on "The problems of the organisation of peasant resistance in Hungary" (*Free Hungarian Review*, London, July, 1943, pp. 1-5), in which I emphasised the leading and unequivocal part played by these friends around the weekly organ "Szabad Szó" (Free Voice) and the section of the agricultural workers of the Peasant Union. It was not only the careful analysis of their pronouncements, but personal knowledge of and comradeship with these young men which made us confident that they, who were so cleverly building up a national peasant organisation in enforced clandestine times, would be amongst the heroes of Hungarian liberation when they had the chance.

For example Ferenc Erdei was a prominent member of the Szeged College of progressive Hungarians, which originally co-operated with the "Sarlo" Movement in Czechoslovakia, and was the forerunner of the "Village Researchers' Movement" in Hungary. Coming from that community, Erdei later took an important part in the "March Front" and it is not surprising to find him at the head of democratic peasant movements in free Hungary. Similar remarks could be made about other members of the N.P.P., which not only deservedly represents wider masses of the landless and poor-peasants but in spite of feudalistic terror and nazi oppression kept alive the consciousness of Hungarian land workers and organised them into active resistance movements even during the last black years, causing tremendous sabotage to the German war machine.

None in this group is inclined to be "peasant-romantic" which was a dangerous infection of those one time village researchers who finally found themselves co-operating with fascism. The leaders of the N.P.P. were always realists. They loved the peasantry as one loves the community one comes from, but they were not taken in by fashionable slogans of "exclusive missions" and "superiority," etc., and they always fought the subversive trends which aimed at prolonging feudalism by conserving the outworn traditional forms of peasant life. Neither is the N.P.P. a "revolutionary" party in the meaning that a leading minority enforces changes and its leadership on bigger masses of the less conscious, though in peculiar Hungarian circumstances it may sound revolutionary for millions of peasants to take their proper share in a constitutional and democratic national transformation of their country. Nor are the members of the N.P.P. socialists in any dogmatic sense, neither do they promote "class struggle" against any other constructive section of society, although their education is fully up-to-date and they understand the working of human society. Their leaders recognised the terrible social position of Hungarian peasants and land-workers and saw in it a handle by which the whole Hungarian national life could be turned. When struggling against feudalistic remnants, they are fighting for the liberation of millions of poor peasants, but at the same time by destroying the common enemy, they fight for the freedom of all other productive classes, including the industrial workers and intellectuals, thus becoming in close alliance with them, a real national factor in national life.

In this respect it is characteristic that during and long before the various fascist putsches they gained the friendly support of the most prominent progressive intellectuals and the free

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Trade Unions of the industrial workers, were in co-operation with men like A. Szakasits, Gyula Kallai, and others of the Social Democratic Party, and like Bajcsy-Zsilinszky of the Smallholders in the Magyar Front, and it is significant that it was the Communist Party which now first approved the N.P.P.'s Land Reform Proposals. In this respect it is worth while to quote the statement of the Hungarian Communist Party about this: "The Communist Party holds the view that the N.P.P.'s plan will assist the realisation of the land reform of the Provisional National Assembly and the Provisional National Government. The Communist Party wishes to overcome the differences among the ranks of the democratic parties in the question of land reform and therefore in its statement it agrees to the N.P.P.'s plan, while submitting one or two questions explanatory and supplementary to the proposals." From this statement it is apparent that the N.P.P. not only enjoys the wide support of the Hungarian labouring peasants, but managed to find positive and constructive co-operation with the industrial working classes of Hungary, whose support is a decisive factor in carrying out the Land Reform Bill.

This co-operation we consider from a national point of view the most promising feature of the new life of the nation and the firmest guarantee of the future free and democratic Hungary.

The geographical position of Hungary during the centuries of imperialistic wars caused tremendous loss of life and wealth for Hungary, and owing to the anti-national aspirations of recent rulers siding Hungary with the German fascists in the present war crowned the sufferings of the people. Out of this war, however, a new Hungary is emerging, led by democratically elected parties and people, who for the first time in centuries can take advantage of favourable international world trends. Amongst its comrades the N.P.P. takes a prominent place in this. It is accomplishing the centuries old desire of the Hungarian people by taking a fair share in the democratisation of the country and as such deserves the support of not only all Hungarian patriots but of other peoples too, especially progressive elements in Great Britain and America, who never hid their just disapproval of the rule of feudal big landowners. They now have a good and justified opportunity to feel active sympathy and show support for the millions of previously oppressed peasants and agricultural workers, who are gaining more and more control in their own land and who are sincerely endeavouring, hand in hand with the other freedom-loving sections of the national society, to lead Hungary towards lasting peace within itself and with its neighbours.

(April 7th, 1945).

COUNT KAROLYI'S 70th BIRTHDAY

Michael Karolyi, celebrated his 70th birthday on the 3rd March. The Hungarian colony in London greeted with enthusiasm and affection this great fighter for democracy at a little celebration, where high-ranking officials of neighbouring states, many journalists, representing the British and the world press and all the leading members of the Hungarian colony in London were present. A great number of telegrams were received, among them one from the Soviet Embassy in London, telegrams from Rustem Vambéry and Oscar Jászai and Vilmos Bochni were received.

The outstanding event of the celebration was a speech by Dr. Ripka, then Czechoslovak Minister of State, who declared that Karolyi was a famous and noble fighter for democracy and social progress, and stated that if the new Hungary follows the ideas and doctrines of Karolyi, there would be no difficulty at all in establishing agreement between the Czechoslovak and Hungarian peoples.

"I hope," Dr. Ripka went on to say, "that we shall soon meet in Budapest and shall be able to greet you in Prague."

Dr. Ripka also paid tribute to Countess Karolyi, who "is not only a charming woman but also a clever and brilliant politician."

Dr. Bela Levy, the well-known Hungarian jurist, made a speech in the name of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain and stated that in spite of the long propaganda-campaign directed against Karolyi, his name will live for ever in the hearts of the Hungarian people. J. Prager, in the name of the "Vilagossag" Socialist organisation and Mr. Bishop, in the name of the free Roumanians, greeted Count Karolyi, and Baron Lajos Hatvany described in touching words Karolyi's long and often almost solitary fight for Hungarian democracy, for the landless peasantry and for friendship with the Soviet Union. The audience was deeply touched when Hatvany spoke

of the terrible sufferings of the people of Budapest and Hungary. Karolyi in his answer thanked the speakers who, according to his opinion, were much biased in his favour. He thanked Dr. Ripka, not only in his own name, but also in the name of the Hungarian people and declared that the Hungarian people could not and must not be made responsible for the crimes of their leaders. Karolyi stated that in spite of 25 years of hate-propaganda the Hungarian people would be anxious to build up a new friendship with their democratic neighbours, the great Soviet Union and the Western democracies. He urged everybody to return home and take part in the building of a new Hungary. However, he added, he himself would only return home if asked to by the Hungarian people. After the speeches a plaque of Count Karolyi, by Paul Vínose, the eminent artist, was presented to him. At the end of the meeting the audience cheered Michael Karolyi and his wife Katinka Andrassy, who has been a faithful companion and counsellor of her husband during the long years of exile.

Count Karolyi's British friends also arranged a tea-party to celebrate his 70th birthday. Count Karolyi was greeted by Miss Ellen Wilkinson, Under-Secretary of State.

"Count Karolyi and myself," said Miss Wilkinson, "fought on the same platform for 25 years. We have warned the world of the dangers of Fascism and war. There are very few people who fought as faithfully and indomitably for the cause of humanity as Michael Karolyi did. It is a great pity that his words, and the words of a few others, were not listened to. We hope that the future will be different from the past, and that Karolyi's long and brave fight has not been in vain."

Mr. Seton Watson spoke of Karolyi as a great man, emerging from the political turmoil of Central Europe. In spite of the long and calumnious campaign, conducted against him in his own country, he never lost faith in a better future. He always believed that a peaceful collaboration between the peoples of Central Europe would be possible.

Count Karolyi in his answer gratefully thanked for the kind words of these great democrats and also thanked Mr. William Gillies and Miss Dorothy Galton, who kindly organised this birthday-party. "It is a great achievement," Count Karolyi remarked, "that after so many years of exile and persecution I can boast of such admirable friends. The new Hungary will need these brave and distinguished friends."

Many well-known and distinguished English personalities were present at the tea-party and many letters and telegrams were received from abroad.

MEMBERS OF THE HUNGARIAN COUNCIL

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MASS MEETING AFTER THE LIBERATION OF BUDAPEST

ON the 25th of February the Hungarian Council in Great Britain organised a great meeting in Holborn Hall, in order to celebrate the liberation of Hungary, the election of the National Assembly, the formation of the new National Provisional Government and the conclusion of the armistice. The first Sunday after the Red Army's 27th birthday was chosen as the date for the meeting.

Lt.-Col. *Poudov*, a member of the Red Army's military mission in this country took part in the meeting. The audience received the Soviet officer with overwhelming enthusiasm and applauded and cheered him for many minutes.

Count *Karolyi*, President of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain, took the chair and in his opening words he expressed how honoured and pleased he felt to be able to welcome the Russian officer.

"This is a great day for Hungarians," Count *Karolyi* went on to say, "because Hungary has not only been freed by the Red Army from Nazism but also from Horthy's fascism." Count *Karolyi* then dwelt on the long list of countless crimes committed by the Horthy regime. Then he paid tribute to the Red Army's glorious victories, and to Marshal Stalin, a great leader of a great people.

"From one certain point of view we have lost the war," Count *Karolyi* remarked, "but from another we have won it. The Red Army has opened the way to democratic developments for the Hungarian nation." The chairman pointed out that according to his views the most urgent internal political and economic tasks in Hungary were to carry out a radical land-reform, to improve the social position of the masses by new legislation and to secure individual freedom for every citizen. The most urgent tasks in the foreign political field were to establish friendly relations with the Soviet Union, with all our neighbours and with the big Western democracies.

The Lt.-Col. *Poudov* addressed the meeting. He said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very happy indeed to be here on behalf of the Soviet Embassy and the Soviet Military Mission to bring you warmest greetings from the Soviet people and its glorious Red Army.

The Provisional National Government and the Provisional National Assembly of Hungary are embarking upon the great task of mobilising the people and resources of freed Hungary for the speediest attainment of victory over the common enemy.

The Hitlerites boasted that for more than a hundred years not a single enemy soldier had been within Germany's borders and that the Germany Army had fought and would fight only on foreign soil. The superb achievements of the Red Army and of the Allied Fighting Forces have put an end to that boast. In the East and in the West Germany has become a battle arena.

The liberation of Budapest was one of the outstanding military events that has marked the holding of the Crimea Conference. That historic meeting is a brilliant demonstration of the unity and might of the Democratic Coalition; it expresses the will of all freedom-loving mankind to achieve victory and after victory a peace that will endure and bring security and well-being to the world.

The end of the war is approaching. A glorious task confronts us, the task of building a lasting and unshakeable peace.

"Only with continuing and growing co-operation and understanding among our three countries and among all peace-loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realised — a secure and lasting peace."

declared Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt.

Then Mr. *A. Revai* addressed the meeting in the name of the Association of Free Hungarians in Great Britain.

After enumerating what has been achieved by the Provisional National Government, Andrew *Revai* pointed out that although the armistice naturally means a heavy burden for Hungary, it gives at the same time a possibility to atone for the past. He expressed his confidence in the Government which is organising with energy Hungary's participation in the war against Germany, and is preparing at the same time, the democratic transformation of the country. The task undertaken by the Government is an extremely difficult one. It can be successfully achieved only if it receives all support in and outside the

country. Finally, Mr. *Revai* referred to the gratitude to the Red Army, felt by all Hungarians both at home and abroad for the liberation of our country. It was to express this gratitude that this celebration was held on the 27th anniversary of the birth of the Red Army. By this gesture, Hungarians who are grateful to Great Britain for the hospitality they enjoyed, and who, at the same time will never forget that their country has been liberated by the Red Army, also wish to express their belief that the lasting co-operation between the Soviet Union and Great Britain is the best safeguard for the future happiness of mankind.

Then Mr. *Szűsz* spoke in the name of the Hungarian Club in London. "I am proud to say," said Mr. *Szűsz*, "that my organisation joined the Hungarian National Independence Front shortly after its foundation. We spared no efforts to convince our compatriots in foreign countries that every Hungarian patriot must rally around the new organisation, which led the fight of the Hungarian people against the Germans and the reactionary regime. We noted with great satisfaction that the two other Hungarian organisations in this country have decided to support the programme of the Independence Front and so it was possible to set up the united political body of Hungarians living in Great Britain. Our united organisation, the Hungarian Council in Great Britain has based its activity to a great extent on the programme of the Independence Front

"... Democratic Hungarians at home and abroad are wholeheartedly supporting the Provisional National Assembly and the legitimate representative of the nation, the Provisional National Government."

Mr. *Tom Wintringham*, former Commander of the British Battalion in the Spanish Civil War was the next speaker.

He expressed his great sympathy for the people of Budapest who suffered terrible torture because of the criminal treachery of the Germans and the Hungarian fascists.

Mr. *Birch*, representing 50,000 British workers also paid tribute to Count *Karolyi*'s great historical achievement.

Finally the following resolution was unanimously adopted by the meeting:

The Hungarian Council in Great Britain, under the presidency of Count Michael *Karolyi*, organised a Mass Meeting on February 25th. From this Meeting we are sending our greetings and wish to convey our sincere love to the Hungarian people liberated from the feudal-Fascist oppression. We greet the democratically elected Provisional National Assembly, the Provisional National Government which, expressing the will of the nation, not only severed relations with the Germans, but led the country into the camp of the United Nations and mobilised the whole nation in the fight against the Germans.

The Completion of the Armistice opened the way towards a democratic development which has already found its expression in the revived freedom of the democratic parties, in the freedom of the press, of assembly and of religion, in the liquidation of the laws brought against the nation and those quenching its freedom, in the preparation of a radical land reform, in the purge of civil administration, in the declaration of war against the Germans, all of which we welcome with great satisfaction and pleasure and offer to support them.

We are expressing our thankfulness to the United Nations, first of all to the Governments of the Soviet Union, of Great Britain and of the United States of America whose understanding makes it possible for our country to adapt herself into the family of the democratic peoples.

Let us thank and be grateful to the liberators of our country, the heroic Red Army, to its Commander in Chief, Marshal Stalin, to all its officers and soldiers, who, by driving the Nazis out of the country, made it possible for the Hungarian people to find the way which leads to the realisation of their democratic ideas. We bow our heads before the Russian and Hungarian heroes who lost their lives in the fight for liberation, and whose glorious memory we shall keep with reverence.

Long live the fight of the United Nations!

Long live the free, independent, democratic Hungary!

George *Buday*, the internationally known artist, prepared a beautiful wood-engraving for this occasion.

The Friends of The New Democratic Hungary Club
PADDINGTON: 5583 Chairman: COUNTESS KAROLYI

at 30, CONNAUGHT SQUARE, W.2

Near Marble Arch Underground Station

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 16th, 1944, at 6.30 p.m.

LECTURE RECITAL

BY

Mr. WALTER GRUNER

Lecturer of the L.C.C. Literary Institute.
Former Music Critic of the Frankfurter Zeitung.

SCHUMANN—WAGNER and "LA MARSEILLAISE"
(A study in Music Sociology)

DISCUSSION WILL FOLLOW

TEA WILL BE SERVED

ADMISSION FREE FOR MEMBERS

NON-MEMBERS 1/5

**THE FRIENDS OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC HUNGARY
CLUB**

30, Connaught Square, W.2

Telephone: PADDington 5583

Chairman: Countess Karolyi

LECTURES

Arranged by the Friends of the New Democratic Hungary Club
FOR THE

MONTH OF FEBRUARY, 1944

AT

30, CONNAUGHT SQUARE, W.2

(Near Marble Arch Underground Station)

Wednesday, February 9th, at 6.30 p.m.

Prof. Levy: "The Scientific Bases of Soviet Construction."

In the Chair: Philip Price, M.P.

Monday, February 14th, at 6.30 p.m.

Paolo Treves: "Present and Future of Italy."

In the Chair: H. D. Harben, J.P.

Monday, February 21st, at 6.30 p.m.

Ivor Thomas, M.P.: "Frontiers, their Use and Abuse."

In the Chair: H. N. Brailsford.

Monday, February 28th, at 6.30 p.m.

Victor Gollancz: "Jews in Post War Europe."

In the Chair: Louis de Brouckère.

Tea will be served

Admission free for Members.

Non-Members 1/-

THE FRIENDS OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC HUNGARY

30, CONNAUGHT SQUARE, LONDON, W.2

'Phone : PAD. 5583

The aim of our Club is to promote the spirit of collaboration among the peoples of Central East Europe, and to become a centre for discussions of a common attitude towards the future.

It is essential to the achievement of our aim that Hungary does not remain a semi-feudal country. The location of Hungary in the centre of the Danube Basin endows the country with a particular significance. In the past its feudal-fascist regime was one of the main obstacles in the way of a stable peace. It must not be forgotten that it was Hungary that first introduced Fascism, and that the Hungarian Government prides itself on the fact that the fascist creed originated in Szeged under Horthy, from where it spread over Germany and Italy. For twenty-five years Hungary was a hotbed of reactionary propaganda. A Europe wishing to maintain peace cannot afford to have in its midst such a delayed-action bomb, filled with explosive elements of revenge. We know that there is another Hungary, the downtrodden, wretched, silent masses, who were not responsible for the treachery of their leaders nor for stabbing Yugoslavia in the back after signing the non-aggression Pact with them.

There has never been such a unique opportunity as at present for the foreigners living in this free country to develop a new and democratic spirit. Whilst deeply indebted to the generous hospitality of the English and having had in the past years the privilege to learn much from this country, to admire the greatness of the British people, their courage and determination in time of trial, their detachment towards material losses, their sense of co-operation, their love for freedom, their genuine Christian spirit; we believe that a more personal contact is necessary to acquire a sounder knowledge and understanding of this country, of its democratic institutions, its political and social evolution, its cultural life. We want to create lasting ties with the English people so that when we return to our respective countries the contacts established will help us to realise our aims in practice.

On the other hand the English people who are interested in the rebuilding of Europe, and who will take an active part in it, will gain a more direct knowledge of our problems, so that the errors of past policies should not be repeated, and be better able to help us in our coming struggle against the dark forces of the reaction, which will still be in existence after the victorious conclusion of the war. The defeat of Hitler will not mean the overnight liquidation of fascism, and we have to be prepared for a strenuous and bitter struggle. We also firmly believe that assistance from the U.S.S.R. is essential for success, and that the united effort of our peoples can only be effective in co-operation with our great neighbour.

We should be the bridge between the Western Democracies and this great power of the East, a vigorous link ready to stand up against all nationalistic intolerance and thus pave the way towards a new understanding of the peoples between each other. We have to endeavour to unite the advantages of Democracy to those of modern economic planning whilst adapting them to our specific conditions.

To achieve this, we wish to extend the diverse activities of the Club; to arrange lectures by prominent and progressive English persons, as well as experts from our own countries, and to organise discussions, summer social meetings, and Brains Trusts. We would also like to found an East-European Arts Centre, so as to obtain a more profound knowledge of the cultural life of our respective countries; to arrange translations, and have poetry-reading sessions, concerts, and musical evenings. We are keen to offer artists and scientists the opportunity to meet on common ground and exchange views, ideas and plans, to the benefit of the various movements in Art and Science seeking to study Society and Political Relations.

We hope that all who recognise the necessity for such an organisation in London to-day, or who agree with our aims, will join us. We must form a strong front of bold and clear minded people, aware of the difficulties ahead and prepared to combat all types of fascism wherever and whenever they may spring up, to oppose shortsightedness and chauvinism, and to work for a peaceful, progressive and democratic Europe.

No. 3

(Uniform in this series:—

No. 1. YUGOSLAVIA.

No. 2. GREECE.

**RESISTANCE
MOVEMENTS
in OCCUPIED and
SATELLITE EUROPE.**

HUNGARY

Part 1. Hungary between the two wars.

Part 2. Potential Allies in Hungary.

Part 3. Proposed Policy.

Part 4. Hungary and the United Nations.

UNION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL
34, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1

December, 1943.

2d.

Part 1

HUNGARY BETWEEN THE TWO WARS

Our preparations for the final defeat of Nazism cannot be considered complete unless the political divisions within the satellite countries are taken into account.

If we are to mobilise the democratic forces within Hungary, we must first understand how it happens that a country which contains a large anti-Fascist and anti-German element has not yet organised considerable resistance to Axis policy.

During the period between the two wars, Hungary was regarded within the Western Democracies, as well as within Germany and Italy, as "a bulwark against Bolshevism." No attention was paid to constructive suggestions put forward by Hungarian democrats who wished to solve the problem of Hungarian frontiers by an amicable agreement with the Czechoslovaks, or to economic proposals that might have led to a Danubian federation. But the extreme revisionist policy of Hungarian landlords, whose denunciation of the Treaty of Trianon was primarily an effort to restore their feudal power, found many sympathetic listeners in wealthy circles in Britain and in America. The Bulletin of International News (October 30th, 1943) correctly characterised this much-publicised aim of Hungarian policy when it said :—"This revisionism had more than an international significance: at home it meant the restoration of large parts of the estates on which the power of the ruling aristocracy was built, while at the same time the nationalist demand for the old frontiers served to divert the attention of the people from the need for social and economic reform."

It must be remembered when assessing the present situation that Hungary has been under a quasi-Fascist and pro-German-militarist regime for longer than any other country in Europe, i.e., since August, 1919; and the events which led up to the establishment of the "White Terror" have not been forgotten by the majority of Hungarian people.

Immediately after the last war and the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy, a HUNGARIAN REPUBLIC was proclaimed. A Government which included representatives of the Liberal-Nationalists, the Progressive Liberals, the Peasantry and the Social-Democrats was established under the leadership of Count Karolyi. The enthusiasm of the people was aroused by their policy of land and social reforms and of co-operation with Britain and France instead of the previous allegiance to Prussian militarism and the Austrian dynasty. To their disappointment, however, the victorious Entente powers went on treating the Hungarians as a hostile people. The democratic reforms were not appreciated abroad. They were, in fact, denounced as Bolshevism. In March, 1919, an almost desperate Hungary set up a Soviet Government, known as the Bela Kun regime, and turned to Russia for help. Roumanian and other military forces were used in the overthrow of Bela Kun, and by the end of July, 1919, the Soviet had to resign. There followed a Social Democrat

Government working feverishly to bring about a coalition, but before this could be achieved the Roumanian Army occupied Budapest and assisted a small group of Hungarian police officials and other extreme reactionaries to take power and to pave the way for the military detachments of Admiral von Horthy, whose regime had been prepared by the Allied Commander, Franchet d'Esperay, on instructions of the Supreme Council in Paris. At first the Trade Unions and the Democratic parties showed considerable resistance to this undemocratic, self-installed Government, but when a special British representative of the allies arrived on the scene, he brought "friendly pressure" to bear on the bewildered democrats, who were induced to accept the situation. From then on, unless they accepted the necessity for compromising with the ruling clique on the most important issues of home and foreign policy, the leaders and spokesmen of democratic policy were either executed, suppressed in diverse ways, or expelled from the country.

When the wave of White Terror had swept the country and news of the nature of the new Hungarian regime reached the Western countries, the British officials on the spot saw fit to tone down its violence. The British High Commissioner, P. B. Hohler, the leader of the Inter-Allied Military Mission, Brig.-Gen. R. N. Gorton, and Admiral Sir E. Troubridge, stated in their reports of February and March, 1920, that "There is nothing in the nature of a terror in Hungary" and that "life is as secure here as in England," although, as Troubridge remarked in parenthesis, "an editor of a Socialist paper (B. Somogyi, the "Hungarian Mateotti") was murdered yesterday." He described Admiral Horthy as a "strong character and a man of Liberal tendencies," and he described the Government as a "Christian Government in a Christian country." Another reassuring report came from the special emissary of the Subcommittee of the Allied Powers, Captain Nathaniel Horowitz, an American Jew who made his investigations amongst the leaders of Jewish "big business." Having themselves come to terms with the Jew-baiting Horthy regime, they were prepared to deny the existence of the White Terror in Hungary.

It must be remembered that a very powerful weapon used as a means of enforcing reactionary rule in Hungary was food relief. The United States food relief (under Herbert Hoover) and the food relief from Holland were denied to the entire country as long as the Liberals, the Social Democrats or the Communists were in power. Later, under the Horthy dictatorship during the period when Sir William Goode* was Government Director of Relief in Europe, food relief was denied to any organisation or party which could be accused of having Left-wing tendencies, and was available only through "White" organisations who were made responsible for the distribution. The choice for the needy population was submission to the ruling clique or starvation.

* Later employed by the Hungarian Government as their Financial Adviser and now Chairman of the Council of British Societies for Relief Abroad.

The ruling clique spread terror and despair amongst the people of Hungary. In the international field they repeatedly disregarded treaties and violated international law. Anti-Semitic laws, the French francs forgery, the smuggling of armaments at St. Gothard and the encouragement of Terrorists who assassinated the King of Yugoslavia are but a few memorable instances of their irresponsibility. Many Hungarian democrats resisted this clique and endeavoured, in the interest of their own people and the maintenance of peace in Europe, to bring home the true state of affairs in Hungary to the rest of the world. But the diplomats and the bankers of the Western democracies invariably came to the rescue, and not even the Left-wing Press and politicians abroad seemed really to grasp the significance of the events.

This indifference to and misunderstanding of Hungarian affairs has continued throughout the inter-war period. Hungarians who have been urging direct resistance to the pro-Fascist regime have been ignored by those who were responsible for British policy; Hungarians sentenced to death or hard labour in Hungary for anti-Nazi activities have been either ignored or disowned by those who were accepted as Britain's spokesmen to Hungary.

Even now, during the war itself, the British attitude to the ruling clique is baffling to the average Hungarian. Pro-Axis Hungarian Ministers who signed the Tripartite Pact on Hungary's behalf have been mentioned in British official propaganda as the ideal leaders of Hungary. Until Germany attacked Russia, Foreign Office spokesmen were careful not to find fault with Hungarian Government policy, and expressed appreciation of "the honest endeavour of the successive Hungarian Governments during the last few years to resist Nazi pressure." Similarly, excuses were made for those who were in office when the Hungarian Government decided to take part in Germany's war against Russia.

Part 2

POTENTIAL ALLIES IN HUNGARY

The rigid political controls in Hungary have given little opportunity in the past for mobilising the broad mass of the Hungarian people for resistance. Although the backward economic and social conditions prevailing in Hungary have been a cause of great discontent amongst all but the extremely well-to-do classes of society, the people were conditioned to look to Fascist organisations for social progress and were constantly threatened with "worse to come" if they failed to uphold the present reactionary system. But in spite of that there are still potential allies in Hungary who could be encouraged now to take the first steps towards the establishment of a Hungarian Democracy which could live in peace and understanding with her neighbours, as well as with Soviet Russia, Britain and other Western Democracies.

In listing the forces in Hungary which could be rallied by the United Nations and which the British Govern-

ment should encourage in its propaganda, we must head the list with the Industrial Workers.

The Industrial Workers, numbering about 20 per cent. of the working population, most of whom, in spite of Fascist terrorism and pressure, have remained faithful to their Democratic principles.

During the war, the Government seems to have been unable to decide whether or not to abolish the Social Democratic Trade Unions. Recent figures, which indicate an increase from 100,000 to 300,000, include many who are not industrial workers, and are significant mainly as a sign of the growth of opposition and of recognition by the Horthy regime that the time has come to take on a more liberal appearance.

The Peasantry, politically a shapeless, heterogeneous mass, consisting mainly of miserably poor landless labourers, and so-called dwarf-holders—referred to in pre-Munich Hungary as the “three million beggars” (their number has increased since). As Social Democratic or any other sort of progressive propaganda was forbidden in the rural areas during the Horthy regime, they were unable to develop any political representation. But under pressure of recent events a Peasants’ Union and an Independent Smallholders’ Party have re-emerged which, liberated from their present reactionary influences, could be a rallying point for the agricultural population.

The Enlightened Part of the Upper and Middle Classes, and of the petite bourgeoisie. The intellectual elite, particularly the group of younger men known as “Fighting Humanists,” include Christian Democrats, Left Liberals and Socialists. They were silenced by the oppressive Government measures, but continued to be a latent force. They could achieve much with the moral support of the Western Democracies.

The Jewish Population, numbering about a million, is divided, according to the social positions of the Jews, among the various parties, but its overwhelming majority believes in progressive democracy and would play an important part in Hungarian resistance if it were assured that civic rights, curtailed since the 1919 counter-revolution, would be fully restored.

National Minorities. The Romanian, Slovak, Ruthenian, Serb, Slovene and other minorities, at present under Hungarian rule, should be included in messages addressed to the Hungarian people. They live under similar conditions to the Magyar peasantry—oppressed by the Magyar gentry; still less can national or racial differences be obstacles in bringing together politically minded workers. Magyars and Romanians, Gentiles and Jews, work together in the underground organisations, bound together in a common effort to build up a democratic regime.

Among all these groups there is tremendous potential strength of resistance against Fascist reaction at home and for the Allied cause. From time to time news of the underground resistance movement reaches the outside world. There were, for example, the sabotage trials in the industrial town of Gyor which ended with several death sentences in April, 1942. At that time there was

also the case of a popular Hungarian actor and playwright, L. Bekeffy, who was sentenced to twelve years' hard labour for pro-British activities. Again, in July, 1942, twelve death sentences and 29 long-term imprisonment sentences were passed in one trial; the sentence of death on 11 Serb and Magyar saboteurs was announced later on. In November, 1942, 60 persons were tried for publishing and distributing subversive literature.

In January and February, 1943, there was the Communist trial of 664 people, held simultaneously in five towns. Since then there has been a considerable increase in the number of sentences for incitement against the regime, for spreading alarming news, and for insulting the Regent. In November, 1943, another mass trial was held in which about a hundred Communists were involved.

At the moment there are differences between the various sections of the progressively minded population, but these might be bridged if an appeal emphasising the common aims of the Liberals, the Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats and the Communists were to be made. Recently a Workers-Peasants-Intellectuals Block has come into being, in which the Social Democratic Party and the Independent Small-Holder Party play a leading part.

This so-called "popular front" should be encouraged to prepare to take over power as soon as possible. They should be urged to refrain from any nationalist propaganda, to embrace all classes of the working people and to pay tribute to and associate themselves with the Liberation Movements of neighbouring countries and with the various unco-ordinated underground movements who are responsible for such industrial sabotage as is occurring. The underground resistance groups, though numerically small as yet, are an important section of the working classes, consisting as they do of those most anxious to offer active resistance to Germany. Recently an attempt has been made to co-ordinate the activities of the various groups in a "National Independence Front," and there is little doubt that were the message from the Western Democracies to synchronise with that of the Soviet authorities, organised active resistance would grow and take shape with rapidity.

Part 3

PROPOSED POLICY

Democratic forces do, then, exist in Hungary. They are opposed to their own reactionary Government as well as to the Nazis who have used the Horthy Government for their own purposes. To encourage the democrats more actively to resist, the Allies should make it clear that the defeat of the Nazis means a democratic future for Hungary and an opportunity to play a part in a free Europe. The British Government should therefore offer the following assurances:—

- (i) That, as the liberation of Hungarian territory from German influence approaches, every encouragement and all possible help will be given to the Hungarian

people to overthrow their present rulers, to break away from the Axis, and to join the United Nations in their fight.

- (ii) That, should the Allied Armies reach Hungary before such a revolution is achieved, the power of the present-day Hungarian authorities will not be consolidated by suppressing the political activities of the Hungarian masses. In practice this means :
- (a) That Relief will not be distributed through Government - sponsored organisations, but in co-operation with international relief authorities and those Hungarian organisations, such as the Social Democratic Trade Unions, whose democratic principles cannot be questioned.
 - (b) That freedom will be given for political activity to those organisations and parties which have been denied it by successive Governments of the past 24 years. This may mean that the Hungarian radio would not be allowed to retain its present monopoly ; that the state-subsidised Press would be ended and freedom of the Press established ; that various Fascist-like groupings such as Chambers of Actors, Journalists, etc., would be dissolved, and that freedom of occupation be restored in all branches of the law, trade, commerce and agriculture.
 - (c) That political prisoners, including those persecuted under non-political pretexts (spying, for instance) would be liberated without delay.
 - (d) That war criminals, including those responsible for atrocities against neighbouring peoples and Hungarian anti-Fascists, would be severely punished. That all those working under German orders to make Hungary's contribution to the war effort more effective would be treated as criminals. That all those who took part in committing Hungary to the Fascist or Nazi line in internal or foreign affairs should either be punished or *at least prevented from taking part in public life until the establishment of a real democratic parliamentary system in Hungary is achieved.*
 - (e) That the Hungarian people should have the chance to decide on their internal problems, including the question of Republic or Monarchy. All constitutional changes made under the Horthy regime should become invalid.
 - (f) That the Hungarian people will have every opportunity to play their part in the post-war world along the lines indicated in the following section, "Hungary and the United Nations."

Part 4

HUNGARY AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations are committed to the setting up of some new world organisation with economic functions more far-reaching than the League of Nations. The principles of the Peace Settlement and the lines of

economic co-operation have been defined in the Atlantic Charter and in the Mutual Aid Pact of February 23, 1942.

Further, in the Anglo-Soviet Treaty the High Contracting Parties "Agree to work together in close and friendly co-operation after the re-establishment of peace and for the organisation of security and economic prosperity in Europe."

Only on the basis of the principles of this Treaty is there any hope for peaceful settlement and economic reconstruction. These principles must take concrete shape in international institutions on which the European countries are represented and through which Europe can be organised with national self-government for all peoples, but with **common control** of industries and services (such as rail and road traffic and electric power), which can most effectively be run on an inter-European basis. Such a re-organised Europe would be able to play its proper part in those matters which require international co-ordination, such as : economic planning, investment, food and raw materials production ; international sea transport and civil aviation ; communications by telephone, telegraph, wireless and television.

Finally, it is only within a democratic Europe, which is taking its proper place in international organisation, and in which the right to make war and to be judge in one's own cause has been abolished, and far-reaching economic co-operation for common social objectives is achieved, that a solution can be found to the problems of frontiers. The British and other principal Allied Governments are pledged to liberate the oppressed peoples of Europe and to restore their national independence and have deliberately refrained from accepting any obligation to restore the status quo in regard to pre-war frontiers.

But this is only a negative attitude. In so far as frontiers have to be re-drawn, the United Nations should do so in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, on the basis, so far as possible, of nationality, with adequate safeguards for the rights of minorities, using internationally controlled plebiscites or some other democratic means, in disputed cases, for ascertaining the wishes of the populations concerned. The test for making any adjustment would have to be the overwhelming proof that existing friction would thereby be alleviated, and no new grievance created.

A principle to be borne in mind by those responsible for the reshaping of Europe is that no change of frontier, however wise, will promote the growth of a European community—**only common interests and activities across frontiers can bring lasting peace to Europe and to the world.**

The chances of this lasting peace in Europe have been greatly increased by the success of recent Conferences. If Britain, Russia and America can work together in a spirit of mutual trust, they can jointly appeal to the peoples of Hungary, as to those of every other satellite nation, to throw off their Nazi oppressors and to co-operate in winning the war and in the building up of a democratic regime within their own countries.

THE PLIGHT OF HUNGARY

THE Hungarian Relief Committee in Great Britain consider it their duty to acquaint world opinion with the catastrophic situation in their country. Little over a year ago Hungary was the scene of the most ferocious and protracted fighting of the whole war, resulting in the destruction of Budapest and several other important industrial centres. Large areas of the country remained a battlefield for months, a fact which prevented autumn sowing and other essential agricultural work from being carried out. Moreover, the retreating German armies and their Hungarian Arrow Cross accomplices punished Hungary for her defection from Hitler's cause with wholesale spoliation and wanton destruction, determined to leave the country in a hopelessly prostrate state.

In this last desperate act of vengeance they have succeeded only too well. When liberation by the Red Army was finally accomplished, Hungary was one of the most devastated regions on the scarred face of Europe. Over one half of the Hungarian villages have been destroyed during the fighting; in the episcopal city of Veszprém only 10% of the houses were left standing; in Budapest only 26% of the buildings remained undamaged, disregarding damage done to roofs, windows and plastering.

There is a corresponding decline in population figures. Budapest has lost in a year over 332,000, *i.e.* 28.5% of its inhabitants, including those killed during the long siege and the Arrow Cross terror, and people deported to Germany. The excess of female population over the male is at present nearly 50%. From the country districts 312,000 people were deported by the Germans and over one million fled from the country.

Hungary's economic structure has suffered even more severely. Damage done to factory buildings alone is put at 25-30%—the deliberate policy of plunder pursued by the German army, in agreement with the Hungarian authorities of the day, had even more serious consequences. Some 70% of the country's industrial machinery and 75% of the raw material stocks, together with large quantities of foodstuffs, hospital equipment, medical supplies, etc. were carried away in Hungarian trains and lorries which never returned. Of the 51,000 goods wagons owned by the Hungarian State Railways in 1944 only 2,900 remained; the number of railway engines was reduced from 2,480 to 480. The Germans have also carried away 80,000 motor vehicles and the entire Danube fleet.

Decimated in manpower, faced with the collapse of her political and economic system, the new Hungary emerging after the liberation had an almost

superhuman task to perform. It must be said in her favour that she has shown amazing powers of regeneration, especially in the political and social field. Within a few weeks, the severed limbs began to function again, integrating into a new type of organism. A sweeping land reform was enacted, changing the fundamentals of Hungarian society ; thanks to the loyal collaboration of all democratic forces, a system of government has been evolved which has won the respect and recognition of all the great powers.

The task of economic reconstruction has been shouldered in a similar spirit. In the first few months there were many encouraging reports of factories and farmers resuming work, rising output, improved living conditions. It seemed that Hungary had weathered the worst and was slowly emerging from the wood.

But this recovery lasted only until the last reserves of the country, hidden from the Germans, became exhausted. The fabric of Hungarian economic life was too severely damaged for a spontaneous regeneration. With the approach of winter, conditions began to deteriorate sharply.

The causes for this relapse are not far to seek. The three main factors are the breakdown of the transport system, shortage of coal and inadequate feeding. These three sets of causes are largely interlocked. Coal production is falling because miners and workers leave the pits and factories to hunt for food in the neighbouring villages. Coal is left lying at the pit-heads because of lack of transport ; the goods traffic of the Hungarian State Railways is less than 10% of the peace-time figure. The coal-shortage in its turn has led to the closing down of many factories and of flour mills with a fatal effect on bread supplies. Meanwhile inflation goes on with prices reaching astronomical levels.

The resulting picture is grim indeed. In his appeal of October 14th the Primate of Hungary revealed that 50% of those who fell ill of dysentery during the summer had died ; infant and tuberculosis mortality has doubled during the same period ; people had died of starvation already in October. Since then, the situation has further deteriorated. During November there were 2,188 deaths in Budapest, against 822 births. Infant mortality has risen to 40%, mainly owing to the reduction of milk deliveries in the capital to 10% of the pre-war level.

A catastrophic decline in cereals and livestock has been disclosed on December 2nd by the speaker of the National Assembly. Compared with the pre-war average, the harvest of wheat, the staple grain of Hungary, has shrunk to 23% ; of rye to 35% ; of sugar beet to 20%. Hungary has lost 70% of her cattle, 85% of her pigs, 86% of her sheep. This has led to a ban on slaughtering animals for their meat in the middle of last year and the population is now subsisting almost entirely on bread alone ; but while the annual consumption of bread cereals formerly amounted to 16 million quintals,

this year's harvest was only 9 million quintals, a large proportion of which had to be reserved for seed and other purposes. As a result, the daily bread ration had to be cut to 150 grammes (5.5 ozs.) but even this is often unobtainable. Fats are reserved only for miners working underground and for iron-foundry workers. Budapest cannot count on receiving any potatoes during the winter. Unless 3 million quintals of maize can be made available, the daily ration per person will not exceed 852 calories.

Reports from mid December tell of the closing of all schools in Budapest and the total cutting off of electricity and water supplies in some of the large provincial towns. Some of the above facts were mentioned in a broadcast on December 14th by the Mayor of Budapest who gave a terrible picture of conditions prevailing in the capital. There was a great increase in miscarriages, due to undernourishment of expectant mothers and a sharp rise of death-rate among people over sixty. Although there was a grave danger of dysentery, typhoid and other infectious diseases, hospitals may have to close down altogether for lack of drugs, bandages and fuel, leaving patients to their fate. Owing to the disastrous shortage of coal, the supply of electricity had to be drastically curtailed; unless the situation improves, the supply of water may also be affected. The total reserves of electric power available are sufficient for only one day's full requirements. Fuel for civilian consumption is unobtainable. The undernourished and sick people are freezing in windowless houses. Diseases are spreading. Medical supplies are completely exhausted.

There are 200,000 orphans in the country, 40,000 in Budapest alone, whom the authorities are unable to provide with adequate houses and food.

Enough has been said perhaps to illustrate the disastrous plight of Hungary, caused largely by circumstances outside her control and the pressing need for urgent help. It seems to us that outside assistance should take two principal forms. One is a policy of short-term relief, designed to enable the population to survive the rigours of the present winter and escape physical extinction. For this the import of medical supplies, foodstuffs, clothing and other essentials to life on a large scale is absolutely imperative. We trust that individuals, charitable institutions and international organisations will alike realise the urgency of the problem and will offer their assistance and contributions before it is too late. Since transport is one of the main difficulties, the Hungarian rolling stock in large quantities: locomotives and lorries carried away to Austria and Southern Germany should be immediately released and returned to the country together with other plundered assets.

The ultimate object is, however, to put Hungary on her feet again and this requires a long-term policy. It would be a constant menace to the economic and political stability of South-Eastern Europe, indeed of the whole continent, to leave a country in a crippled state, permanently on the verge of starvation,

superhuman task to perform. It must be said in her favour that she has shown amazing powers of regeneration, especially in the political and social field. Within a few weeks, the severed limbs began to function again, integrating into a new type of organism. A sweeping land reform was enacted, changing the fundamentals of Hungarian society ; thanks to the loyal collaboration of all democratic forces, a system of government has been evolved which has won the respect and recognition of all the great powers.

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depending on foreign charity. Hungary's shattered economy must be rebuilt from the foundations, to enable her to resume and develop that fruitful exchange of goods and ideas which used to bind her to her neighbours and the nations of the world. A problem of this scale can be solved only on an international scale, by enlisting the co-operation of U.N.R.R.A. and granting a substantial loan to the Government for the purpose of reconstruction.

In the past difficult months the Hungarian people have given ample evidence of their political maturity, their will for regeneration and their determination to shoulder their full share in the reconstruction of their country. It is fervently to be hoped that they will not be abandoned by the world in the hour of their direst need and that the new Hungarian democracy will not be allowed to go under in starvation and despair.

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LITARY DICTATORSHIP IN HUNGARY
AND ON THE NEED OF REPLACING
IT BY TRUE PARLIAMENTARIANISM**

**AN APPEAL TO THE MEMBERS
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**SUBMITTED BY A GROUP OF
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Gentlemen,

The great issues of European consolidation, amongst others those concerning disarmament and racial minorities, form the object of the Interparliamentary Conference at which you are meeting. We, the *émigrés* of the democratic October Revolution, who fought in Hungary for the principles you are championing throughout the whole world, feel that a moral obligation towards you, rests upon us. It is our duty to lay before you sincerely the real condition of Hungary and to leave nothing undone to impress you with the truth, that the actual system in Hungary is not only disastrous to the Hungarian people, but that it is also a formidable obstacle and impediment to European consolidation.

The nucleus of International Reaction.

"The future belongs to nationalist reaction." — This pronouncement occurring in the leading article of the »Szózat«, a Hungarian Government newspaper, expresses the general feeling of that very small group which forms to-day the ruling-class in Hungary. This political *clique* do not trouble to conceal their warm sympathy with the murderers of Rathenau. They favoured the flight of the murderers of Erzberger. The only politician of Western Europe, to whom their mentality is akin, is Mussolini.

The only political party of Western Europe, to which they are closely allied, is that of the Italian Fascisti. No wonder that in this focus of European Reaction, no form of government is more despised, than Democracy, no form of state more abhorred, than a Republic. Therefore the supporters of a Democratic Hungarian Republic must seek aid from the friends of true parliamentarism against the sham-parliamentarianism of a veiled absolutism. In opposition to the allies of the "Organisation C", the Hungarian Ludendorffs, we turn towards the allies of International Democracy and European consolidation.

With their assistance, we hope to arouse the public opinion of Europe, to help us to a footing in our fight against mediæval reaction in Hungary and in our endeavour to raise our country to the level of modern Democracy.

A reversion to feudalism.

Hungary is, at present, the only member of the former Central Powers on the territory of which the *ancien régime* is still in full swing. Nay, it is flourishing more strongly than ever.

Except for a short interruption *Hungarian feudalism has never ceased to live and assert itself*. Before the collapse of the old order of things through the October Revolution of 1918, Hungarian parliamentarianism had never been more than a democratic screen, behind which feudal nobility continued its reign. An excessive property qualification and open voting were essential to the Hungarian Constitution. Electoral districts were artificially arranged in such a way that the urban wards including several thousand voters were counter-balanced by small country-divisions numbering only a few hundred voters. Bayonets, alcoholic drinks and bribes: such were the traditional means by which the Government fought out its electoral battles in Hungary.

The alliance of the great landowners, the Hungarian governing class, with the Dynasty set up a barrier against democratic reformist movements. The Hungarian ruling class provided for the military needs of the Dynasty, in return for which the Dynasty left the privileges of Hungarian feudalism untouched. By these means Hungarian aristocracy and nobility, in common with the plutocracy of finance were able to maintain their rule over the Hungarian people and the non-magyar nationalities of Hungary, even up to the beginning of the twentieth century. Hungary continued to be the strong-hold of Central European feudalism.

As the result of Magyar pseudo-democracy illiteracy was excessively wide spread, the masses were decimated by diseases, especially by consumption; great bodies of workers had to emigrate to America and to other countries while the welfare and general culture of Hungary remained on the very lowest level.

It was only the October Revolution of 1918 following on the military collapse of the Dual Monarchy, which raised Hungary for a short time to a higher level. A democratic Republic was established, with universal suffrage, secret ballot and proportional representation; the freedom of meetings, coalitions and of the press was proclaimed, the equality of racial minorities guaranteed; the social condition of the workers was improved on western lines.

But the new Democratic Government had great difficulties to meet. The absolutist system had been unfavorable to the organisation and development of the democratic forces of the country. Moreover, the extreme chauvinism of the *ancien régime* tended to incite public opinion towards nationalism. The representatives of the Entente were openly unfriendly towards the democratic tendency of the Government. The blockade sharpened the edge of economic distress.

These circumstances turned out to be too strong for the new-born Democracy and led to the short spell of Bolshevism. This desperate enterprise, which had never really taken root in Hungary, was very soon ended by the victory of counter-revolution, which gave over the helm again into the hands of feudalism, this time more firmly than ever.

The parliament of the military bands.

Counter-revolution began by erecting a military dictatorship in Hungary. The officers of the former Dual Monarchy, very often not even of Hungarian origin at all, formed so called "*détachements*" i. e. military formations which do their bloody work without any Government control whatever. Although real power was in this way concentrated in the hands of the military yet they did not go so far as to proclaim their dictatorship openly. This was due to the intervention of the Entente, which made the recognition of the new state of affairs dependent on the establishment of a democratic régime. Sir George Clerk in his capacity as a representative of the Entente had expressly laid down as the conditions of recognition that "the government should, without delay, hold the general elections within a short period, insure the reign of law and order, safeguard the free exercise of political rights and guarantee to every citizen freedom of meetings and of the press, full liberty of conscience and universal suffrage on democratic lines, and secret ballot." (26th of November 1919).

The military dictatorship had to create a *parliamentary screen*. Universal suffrage and secret ballot were actually given — but the elections were placed under the control of the military "*détachements*". Moreover, the Hungarian *fascisti*, the so called *Awakened Magyars* helped to suppress

the meeting of the opposition, kidnapping, imprisoning, whipping and torturing the recalcitrant voters. The very moderate social democratic party of Hungary was forced to quit the field, and to boycott the elections.

Such were the antecedents of the meeting of the first National Assembly under the military dictatorship. Yet even now, the "*détachement*" of Ostenburg had to occupy the Parliament-House, in order to secure the election of Vice-Admiral Horthy, the chief of the military clique to the Governorship of Hungary. The election of the National Assembly had been achieved by him with the help of the bayonets of his "*détachements*", his election to the Governorship was due to the assistance of his officers. In spite of pretended democracy and mock-elections the first Assembly of Counter-revolution represented no more than a puppet-show in the hands of a military clique.

With the exception of a very few honest and brave men, this Assembly as a whole had not a word of protest against the murders committed by Horthy's officers. It was left unmoved by the hecatombs of Orgovány, by the cruelties with which the White Terror butchered the social-democratic editors Somogyi and Bacsó, together with Cservenka, the secretary to the social-democrat party and a great many others. The methods employed by the military dictatorship were thrown into sharp light by a recent trial. Iván Héjjas, an officer very influential with Horthy, was falsely informed by a confidential agent that three merchants in the country had offered to pay a million and a half crowns to the Roumanians as the price of their staying three weeks longer in the district, as an army of occupation. Although no inquiry whatever was made by him, Héjjas none the less gives *orders*, that these *citizens* be *executed* instantly. In his written evidence sent to the court, he expresses himself in the following manner:

"My patriotic feelings having been shocked by what I heard, I ordered Zbona and Danics to kidnap the three Jews and to put them to death". Thousands of workmen and Jews were executed in a similar manner. The trial of the murderers of the merchant Adolf Landau, proceeding at this moment in Budapest, gives us an instance how wealthy Jews were arrested and detained by officers under false charges on no evidence whatever, with the purpose of black-mail. Their prey is tortured by them with the most refined methods in the bureau of the *war-office* at Budapest, where the unhappy victims are forced to drink about a gallon or two of water, their *rectum* being in the meantime handled with a brush dipped into a tincture of *lapis causticus*, injections of salt being made into their veins. The lieutenant of the National Army, under whose direct orders these atrocities came to pass declares, that at *that time his authority represented "God Almighty on Earth"*. This witness, by name Captain Danszky, *enjoys his full liberty*.

Whilst tens of thousands were thus under different pretexts confined and imprisoned, and whilst the slightest suspicion sufficed to send anybody into an internment-camp, and peaceful citizens were tortured by military "*détachements*", the parliament was occupied with the task of adjusting the law to the requirements of life. The punishment of flogging was introduced into the law-courts. Mediaeval corporations were re-established and the persecution of the Jews was legalised.

The ghetto on the statute-book.

The openness with which reaction asserts itself, is best shown by the text of the statute *XXV of 1920*, concerning "the entries to the University of Sciences, the Polytechnicum, the Faculty of Economics of the University of Budapest, and to Academies of Law".

The offices of the municipalities and of the State had been already cleared of Jewish officials by means of various measures of justification, vindication and other disciplinary proceedings. By the statute above mentioned, *Jews were now to be excluded also from the professional classes.* The first paragraph of the statute enacts that, "the number of students admissible to the Faculties and Colleges is to be fixed by the Minister for Public Education on the proposal of the respective Faculty (or Council of the Polytechnicum). § 3 makes the admission of the student dependent on the permission of a Plenary Sitting of the Faculty. A permission can only be given, if securities for patriotism and moral reliability are at hand. Apart from the intellectual requirements of the applicant, *it must be taken into account that the percentage of youths of the different races and nationalities existing on the territory of the country should be as equal as possible amongst the students to the percentage of the respective race or nationality.*" This is contrary to § 58 of the Treaty of Trianon, which, provides expressly for the full equality of all citizens before the law, regardless of their race, tongue or religion, equal political rights being assured to all. The Hungarian law on the other hand, allows distinctions of nationality and religion and social standing to be made between citizens. Nay, it actually orders the authorities of the University to distinguish in racial and national respects between citizen and citizen. This law is, moreover put into practice, not by the University Faculty, consisting of professors and lecturers, but by committees consisting of officers and *Awakened Magyars*, using the law expressly to exclude the Jews from the University. The Hungarian Parliament has succeeded in placing the institution of the Ghetto on its statute-book.

Penal servitude and confiscation of property as threat to free opinion.

The parliament of military détachments took no notice of the dealings of reaction. For all who criticized it, the punishment of penal servitude and confiscation of property was enacted. § 7 of *statute III, 1921* lays down, that every person who makes an untruthful statement or spreads any statement *likely to lessen the authority or impair the credit of the Hungarian State or of the Hungarian Nation, commits a misdemeanour and is punishable by five years of prison.* This punishment is raised to 10 years of penal servitude, if the deed was committed with the purpose of inducing a foreign State or foreign organisation to an action, hostile to the Hungarian State or the Hungarian Nation. *If, in consequence of this action, a foreign State or organisation actually commits a hostile act against the Hungarian State or Hungarian Nation, the punishment is penal servitude for life.* § 8 of this statute ordains, that anybody who uses an abusive expression with regard to the Hungarian State or Hungarian Nation, or commits an action of this sort, is guilty of misdemeanour, punishment being three months' imprisonment. § 10 allows the court to *confiscate the property of the convicted criminal in the case of § 7.* The ruling clique, being in their own opinion identical with the Hungarian State and the Hungarian Nation, everybody lessening the authority or impairing the credit of the military dictatorship or using an abusive expression against the détachments, is prosecuted under statute III of 1921. The Parliament of military dictatorship does not of course regard its own actions as high treason committed against a people deserving a better fate. But *it regards as treasonable any description of its own barbarous system of government and any attempt to draw the attention of Europe to these extreme abuses.*

The arbitrary decree to regulate elections.

Not even this National Assembly was, however, inclined to restrict the franchise by which it was elected. Government has omitted to submit the draft of a Constitutional bill to the Parliament, spending its whole time in framing the specifically Hungarian institution of a kingdom without a king. In the very last week of the two years session, Parliament *was suddenly taken unawares* by a bill for the regulation of elections. When the National Assembly attempted to resist this unexpected attack, the Government restricted the franchise by an *ukase*. *By the new "law" some million and a half citizens lost their right to vote* (this enormous percentage of disfranchisement is due to the requirements, firstly of *two years' residence* in a country, where the fluctuation of the population, especially that of the landless labourers, is exceedingly great; secondly for men of *four years'*, for women of *six years'* education in a certified school, and this in a country badly equipped with schools and where diplomas are frequently unobtainable, many schools themselves being at the moment in the territory allotted to the new states).

Not only the poorer classes but also *politically unreliable* persons were excluded from the franchise. Electoral qualification and eligibility are denied to those, who are under the charge of a political offence. The franchise is denied, further to those, *who gave utterance privately or in the Press to their sympathy with the enemy during the war*. In a country, *where the most ardent instigators of war occupy the highest dignities, those who raised their voice in favour of Peace and Understanding, are excluded from the franchise*. Disfranchised are further all public officials, discharged by arbitrary decree on account of their political

attitude, whereby *the flower of Hungarian intelligentsia is robbed of its political rights.*

The darkest blot of all on this reactionary electoral law is the paragraph *supplanting ballot by open vote.* With the exception of the larger urban wards in more than two thirds of the country divisions the electoral decree ordains open voting. This is practically *identical in Hungary with the dominance of the gendarmerie, the publican and the local bankers at the polls.* The repeal of secret ballot means therefore the utter moral self-condamnation of the existing system. It means an open confession, that the present régime in Hungary *can only maintain itself with the help of military pressure and corruption.*

An Assembly forced on the country.

Government did not stop as the restriction of the franchise by decree. *The National Assembly itself was as good as forced upon the country.* Hungary was always notorious for the terroristic character of her electioneering campaigns, but the electioneering terror this time put to shame the worst traditions of the *ancien régime.*

The electioneering campaign was aptly opened by *the bombing attempt against the Democratic Club in the Elisabeth-District in Budapest.* At this place a banquet was to be held in honour of Charles Rassay, ex-M. P., the leader of the liberal opposition, *the chief leaders of the parliamentary liberal party were also to be in attendance* on this occasion. More than three hundred persons were present. The politicians were happily some minutes late, when a terrific explosion rent the walls of the building. An infernal machine had exploded and laid everything in the hall in ruins. *Eight persons were killed, more than thirty severely wounded.* A series of attempts by bombs followed. These

murderous attempts were committed by the *Awakened Magyars*, who went so far as to *cheer the criminals responsible* before the club-house of the Democratic Party at the moment when the infernal machine exploded. Detective-inspector Kovacsevics saw some ill-famed Awakened Magyars leaving the critical spot immediately after the explosion had taken place. Other reliable witnesses could give authentic evidence on utterances of conspicuous Awakened Magyars regarding the attempt. The editor of the official paper of the Awakened Magyars gave evidence, in connection with an other bombing affair, that he had himself given some hand-grenades to an "Awakened" in the official premises of the Awakened Magyars. A proclamation posted by the Awakened, states that "the Home Secretary has in three instances implored the chiefs of the Awakened, to ask for an official investigation against themselves"—which they, however, haughtily refused to do. Under the pressure of public opinion the Home Secretary had finally to instruct the police to search *one of the rooms* in the premises of the Awakened. Although the Society of the Awakened Magyars had ample leisure to remove anything it thought fit, yet several bombs were found in the course of this very superficial investigation. After this the search slackened, the Awakeneds who happened to have been detained were again released and publicly honoured by their comrades. At a banquet given in honour of one of the released chiefs of the Awakened, *Julius Gömbös, formerly captain of the Staff, and at that time head of the electioneering machine of the Government Party invested with dictatorial powers, did not fail to appear*. Count Albert Apponyi is reported by the papers to have made the following statement on this affair: "Regarding the antecedents and circumstances of the case it is not too much to say, that *the good name of the country as well as*

the safety of the citizens depends on a positive result of the investigations". It scarcely needs to be said, that the investigation led to no positive result at all.

The electioneering campaign was wholly dominated by the spirit which the authorities had shown in the course of the bombing affairs. The country was divided into districts, from the strategical point of view. The Home Secretary issues the decree Z 604/1922, by which the opposition voters are put under strict police control. With reference to the decease of King Karl *the government disallows public meetings* from the 4th of April till the 18th of April. A similar prohibition is issued in respect of the 1st of May. Lastly, with a view to the electioneering campaign, political meetings and assemblies of all sorts are strictly prohibited from the 21th May till the 3rd June. During the short time, when meetings were permitted, those of the opposition were usually prohibited by special order of the local authorities or simply broken up by the Awakened. Special decrees were issued with respect to *the agenda of the meetings*, in general forbidding any debate on the question of landreform, *excluding thereby the main problem of actual Hungarian politics from discussion*. No wonder, that opposition voters were sent to the internment camps, were arrested, kidnapped, stabbed, beaten (women not being spared), that nomination papers were stolen and torn up, that voters were imprisoned under the sole charge of attempting to present to the authorities the nomination paper of an opposition candidate, as happened in the case of the liberal leader Ladislaus Fényes. No wonder, that even the candidates themselves, such as Buza Barna, Ladislaus Fényes, Ernest Nagy, Louis Szilágyi were arrested, nearly all candidates of the opposition having been threatened with death! Candidates were forbidden to express their policy, as it happened with Imre Véer in Szentes, *the motive given being that the*

candidate was known to hold republican views. The head of the gendarmerie in the district of Sajó-Szentpéter called the candidate Rudolf Krupa, a "swinish scoundrel". Krupa having asked for his proof of identity the gendarmerie official whipped out his revolver and apostrophized the candidate thus: "There is my proof of identity, and if you don't shut up, I will let it into you swiftly enough".

On the election-day, military terror was at its heights. Three days were appointed for voting, the official reason given being that *the military force of the Government was not sufficient to complete the elections in one day*. In spite of open terror, the Government could only succeed in the districts where voting was open, only 18% of votes being gained by the Government Party in wards with secret ballot, whilst in districts with open vote 67.2% of votes were gained by the Government. That is why Government had abolished the ballot and re-established in Hungary the shameful practice of open voting.

Although some five and twenty socialists and a dozen liberals succeeded in getting seats (mostly in wards with secret ballot) the National Assembly *only represents the interests of the great landed estates*. The peasantry is by far more inadequately represented than it was in the first Assembly. The great majority of the Assembly are under the direct influence of the great landowners. The territory of Hungary covers 7,404,383 ha, of which 3,639,174 ha belong to 1500 landlords each of them owning more than 5755 ha. *These 1500 great landowners are the masters of the National Assembly by permission of the military dictatorship*. In this parliament there is restored the system of Tisza which was one of the primary factors of war.

The Lord of Hosts and Hungarian politics.

The new National Assembly hastened to prolong the validity of most of the decrees which the Government

had issued during the war *by virtue of its exceptional powers*. One of the provisions, the term of which was prolonged is the one relating to "internment camps". It is thus, on the strength of war-legislation, still possible to send anybody to the internment camp, without having given any opportunity either to him or to his relatives or even to his lawyer to take cognisance of the papers relating to his case, or of the evidence or of the charge brought against him. A member of Parliament describing conditions in the internment camps, reported an endless series of atrocities of the following kind: "The prisoners are often flogged and beaten by the warders with whips, belts and with the butts of their guns. Last thursday, for instance, a gailer named Farkas whipped the prisoner John Tamás, the unhappy man having been only recently operated upon. *In consequence of the frightful whipping a wound on his neck which had been sewn up came unstitched and burst open.* Hunger-delirium is the order of the day. Emaciated, exhausted, threshed and cudgelled people eagerly search the ground for offal. The Cells are full of the most horrible filth. Political prisoners are confined together with pickpockets and burglars, their wives being shut up with prostitutes in overcrowded dirty cells.

The spirit of militarism fostered by the Hungarian oligarchy is expressed not only by the retention of war legislation, but is penetrating all its institutions. The social order of Hungary is a military order. *An order of knighthood* was established for the heroes of war and counter-revolution, the members of which were invested with "hero's estates".

These knights, who are called "heroes", are dubbed by the Governor in the following words: "Thus thou art knighted in the name of "Hadúr" (Lord of Hosts)." Hadúr was the war-god of the heathen Magyars.

These knights as well as other heroes regard all legal order with the deepest contempt. Ivan Héjjas, this "best officer" of the Governor (as he was called by Horthy when addressing the British Labour Delegation led by Colonel Wedgwood M. P.) when pardoned for his numberless murders and other crimes, flings back this amnesty to the Court of Justice with the following words: "Concerning the mercy granted to me, I declare that *I don't need it and refuse to accept it most emphatically...* I have not implored anybody's mercy and do not expect mercy from anybody". This declaration of Héjjas remained as unpunished as did his greater crimes. According to the statement of a Government Paper, *political balance in Hungary depends on Héjjas*. And indeed, the man by whose mercy the present system is living, little needs any mercy from this system.

The necessity of real Parliamentarianism.

Military dictatorship in Hungary is the obstacle to all real Parliamentarianism. That Parliament which was elected by the force of a terrorist suffrage does nothing but *strengthen military dictatorship*. And as long as this military dictatorship, as long as the Governor's „détachements“ are in power, all Central Europe has reason to fear that the peace of this hopelessly storm-tossed Europe will be utterly broken by the Hungarian military gangs. The safety of Central Europe must not depend on that same Ivan Héjjas, who, according to a recently published record made the following statement: "I have been watching events in Austria for a long time. I have noticed that Austria is proceeding on her downward path of ruin, so that the proclamation of Proletarian Dictatorship will be inevitable... *For some length of time I have been systema-*

tically recruiting soldiers in all parts of the country in order to form a body of insurgent troops... I have organized these bands with the single aim of being able to operate with them in a more independent and uncontrolled fashion in the dismembered parts of Hungary, as I cannot use the regular troops for some of my actions which are prompted by patriotism."

And this mentality, the mentality of a Héjjas, does not stand alone in Hungary. The "public opinion" of the ruling class: of the aristocrats, the officers and the *desperados* of the nationalist middle-class, is all the time feverishly occupied by the fixed obsession of reaction: *the restoration of the Habsburgs*. They are planning the restoration of the *Palatinate*, which in truth means a regent until the boy-king comes of age. They consider it to be a task of the immediate future (and the Budget has already provided for it) to re-introduce the House of Lords which would be based upon feudal right of birth and is *not* a modern second chamber. In this House of Lords, according to old Hungarian Law, all the Archdukes of the Habsburg family as well as the peers created by the Habsburgs will have seats. *The restored House of Lords is the link between the institution of a kingless Hungarian kingdom and the Habsburg restoration*. Therefore Hungary supports all schemes of monarchist restoration in Europe. The part, which Bavaria plays in Germany, is played by Hungary in Europe as a whole.

But not only the peace of Central Europe is threatened at every moment by Hungarian Reaction. As in Hungary Civil War is not yet ended, as, in defiance of the explicit agreement in the Treaty of Trianon, *the ruling classes are continually attacking the workers, the outbreak of Revolution in Hungary may be expected at any minute. This Revolution would certainly not leave untouched the European*

balance. Is it imaginable that there should be no revolutionary tension in a country where, for instance, the Sheriff at Vác breaks up a public meeting dealing with economic measures with the declaration, that "*owing to the recent elections the mood of the people is not such as to justify the permission to hold public meetings*". Where the Home Secretary by Order 44, 126/1922, confers the power to allow or forbid the establishment of Local Groups of Trade Unions on the local administrative authorities, who may forbid them if they are pleased to think that the establishment of the Local Group is "*not sufficiently justified by public interest*". At Salgótarján (the first mining district) the miners are on strike just now. The *gendarms* are forcing the strikers back to work by beating them (not for the first time in Hungary!) and some of them are kept prisoners in the mines. A Member reports in Parliament, that the Sheriff of Salgótarján has condemned to four months' imprisonment several miners, *because books published 13 years ago were found in their homes. In the same town a lieutenant had a citizen of Salgótarján, named Bleyer, taken to the barracks, where he was flogged. The War Minister did not doubt the truth of this statement. In the county of Fehér, at Etyek, 18 members of the Social-Democratic Party were arrested for no other reason, than because the statutes of the Social-Democratic Party were found in their pocket. Even the activity of the very undeveloped Social-Political Organisation has been almost entirely stopped. Physicians of almost all the provincial Worker's Sick Funds have stopped the treatment of patients. Isn't it almost natural under such conditions, that while previous to the war only 14.9% of infants died in their first year, in 1920 this number rose to 18.1%?*

The dangers of a "coup d'état" abroad and revolution at home will not disappear in Hungary, until Military

Dictatorship disguised by a mock Parliament is replaced by real democracy, real parliamentarianism. Therefore we are prompted by true patriotism, (which is never opposed to the interests of international civilization) to beg all friends of democracy, all true European citizens, to work for the transformation of that state of mind, which has allowed the restoration of feudalism in Hungary, into one capable of restoring the ideas of the democratic October Revolution of 1918 i. e. of Hungarian Democracy in the European sense of the word.

Finally we desire to state that we are ready to prove all facts mentioned in this memorandum as well as many points connected with them, before the League of Nations or any other responsible international institution by means of sworn testimony and documents.

Michael Károlyi

former President of the Hungarian Republic

John Hock

former President of the National Council

Oskar Jászi

Béla Linder

Paul Szende

former Ministers of the Hungarian Republic

INSIDE INFORMATION

● A Hungarian Council is to be established in London. This is the decision of the three major Hungarian groups in Britain, whose secret negotiations we revealed on April 1.



★ ★ ★
● Count Karolyi, former Hungarian Premier, will be chief of the Council, which will consist of 20 members—four each from the three major groups and eight from minor groups. The Council will announce its formation later this month.

★ ★ ★
● It will not seek recognition as a Provisional Government, nor will it formulate a political policy for post-war Hungary. But it will put forward an internal policy of radical land reform—an important move for a country where a feudal system still prevails.

★ ★ ★
● It will also put up a plan to encourage desertion from the Hungarian Army to Tito in Yugoslavia. It will put a bar against the Hungarian diplomats (in Sweden, Portugal, Turkey, Switzerland and Spain) who resigned after Nazi occupation of Hungary, for reasons which will be stated when its proclamation is issued, according to present plans, on April 23.

★ ★ ★
● Formation of this Council, which may receive certain unofficial support from the British Government, will, it is hoped, have some influence in increasing Hungarian disaffection against Hitler and the Horthy regime.

★ ★ ★
● Significant: that an instruction is to be issued by the French National Committee authorising all French troops to wear the de Gaullist symbol, the Cross of Lorraine. This follows immediately on the dismissal of Giraud and virtually implies that every soldier shall announce his allegiance to de Gaulle himself.

★ ★ ★
● Six of the Greek resistance leaders who are to help in the formation of the new Government in Cairo have, we learn, left occupied Greece and will be in Cairo by to-day to confer with King George. Four of them are likely to be included in the new Cabinet.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN HUNGARY

Mobilising the Nation Against Germany

The setting up of a National Provisional Government in Soviet-occupied Hungary was announced by Moscow during the week-end.

The new Government was formed on December 22 by the Hungarian Provisional National Assembly, which met at Debrecen, and consists of well-known representatives of the Hungarian Army who decided to take an active part in the fight against the German troops, non-party scientists who were former members of the Hungarian Parliament, and members of the Independent Party of Small Landowners, the National Peasants' party, and the Social Democrat and Communist parties. The Prime Minister is Colonel General Bela Miklosz.

A declaration of policy which was read to the Assembly by the Prime Minister stated that the military alliance with Germany had led Hungary to crisis and war with the Soviet Union and other countries. "Since the defeat of Hungary by the Turks our country has experienced no such downfall. The country is without leadership and government at a moment when a strong hand is needed to lead it out of this catastrophe. Therefore Hungarian patriots, irrespective of parties and creeds, have united the country and called a Provisional National Assembly and created a Provisional National Government."

RELATIONS WITH DEMOCRACIES

The new Government, the statement continued, would attempt to conclude as quickly as possible an armistice with the Soviet Union and all other freedom-loving countries with whom the country is at war. It would undertake to pay indemnities for all material damage caused to the Soviet Union by Hungary. It would also attempt to establish by all means at its disposal good neighbourly relations and close collaboration with all neighbourly democratic countries, as well as with the United States of America and Great Britain, and would establish sincere friendship with the Soviet Union, which was bringing liberation from the German yoke.

"The vital interests of the Hungarian

nation demand that the armed forces of Hungary, together with the arms of the Soviet Union and other democratic nations, should assist in the destruction of Hitlerism and thus partly redeem the guilt of Hungary towards the Soviet Union and other freedom-loving nations. The most important task of the Provisional National Government is to mobilise all forces and resources of Hungary against Hitlerite Germany. In the liberated as well as the occupied parts of Hungary the Provisional National Government will rally the nation into a close unity and will lead the nation in its fight against the German invaders in order to create a strong, independent, democratic Hungary.

"All laws and decrees against the people issued by the Germans and all anti-Jewish laws are abolished. The Provisional National Government will guarantee the democratic laws of freedom of speech, press, assembly, and organisation. A general, equal, and direct secret ballot will be established and true freedom of religion be guaranteed. All Nazi laws affecting social life, education, &c., will be abolished. All State institutions will be purged. Traitors will be brought to justice. The administration of the State will be based on democratic principles, and self-government in villages and towns will be reintroduced.

LAND FOR THE PEASANTS

"The Provisional National Government will create new national armed forces in order to guarantee Hungary's independence. Land reform will be introduced and hundreds of thousands of landless peasants will become owners of land. The living standard of workers, employees, and peasants will be raised.

"The Provisional National Government declares that it considers private enterprise as being the basis of the economic life of the country and will safeguard it. The Government will foster private initiative in industry and commerce, and will assist in the development of industry and commerce. A progressive tax system will be introduced."

The statement ended with an appeal to Hungarian soldiers to turn their arms against the Germans, and to the population in German-occupied parts of Hungary to organise into guerrilla units and carry out sabotage.—Exchange.

E.L.A.S. STATES ITS
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Nov. 28 /

Soviet-Czech Pact Expected Soon

Benes Going to Moscow

By OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

THE Soviet-Czecho-Slovak Treaty of Mutual Assistance will be concluded in Moscow very shortly. Negotiations have gone on through the summer and President Benes is going to Moscow for the signature.

The Treaty follows closely the lines of the Anglo-Soviet Pact of May 26, 1942; but there is an important addition. This is a protocol declaring the willingness of both parties to negotiate a similar treaty with any one of their neighbours who may wish it.

This, in the Czecho-Slovak view, is intended to open the way for Poland's adhesion to a Three-Power Pact in the spirit of a statement a year ago by President Benes when he said:

"I regard the present war as a historic opportunity for stopping pan-German *Drang nach Osten* once for all. . . . The present war has shown that this needs the sincere, friendly and loyal co-operation of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and the Soviet Union. . . .

"If it succeeds, the whole future of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia is guaranteed, and the whole of Europe is helped."

President Benes's visit to Moscow was deferred for some time because of an understanding between the British and Soviet Governments—referred to in the House of Commons on September 22 by Mr. Anthony Eden—that it was preferable that neither Great Britain nor the Soviet Union should conclude any agreements with their European Allies touching post-war arrangements.

The matter has been further complicated by the rupture of relations between the Soviet and Polish Governments.

Repairing Breach

A Polish view on the Protocol is that the matter does not yet reach even the theoretical stage, while relations between the Polish and Soviet Governments do not exist.

The prospect of repairing that breach appears for the time being remote, but the British Government in particular is concerned to see it healed.

Mr. Anthony Eden saw the Polish President and Prime Minister in London last week. I understand that the matter is being further discussed between the British and Soviet Governments.

Meanwhile, the Soviet-Czecho-Slovak Pact is being concluded.

By making this pact, the Soviet policy of opposing the creation of federations in Europe, at any rate until States are re-established after the war, will be firmly underlined. Soviet distrust of such arrangements has gone the length of seeing in them schemes to form a *cordon sanitaire* against the U.S.S.R.

Obs.
Nov. 28/43

5

New Austrian Anti-Hitlerite Move in London

AN Austrian Representative Committee has been formed in London by representatives of the two largest Austrian parties, the Social Democratic and Christian Social (Catholic) Party, together with the Democratic Party and the Austrian Trade Unions.

Its chairman is Mr. Novy (Trade Unions); vice-chairmen are Professor Hertz (Democrat) and Dr. Schneider (Catholic); secretary, Mr. Pollak (Social Democrat).

The Austrian Communists, who had been invited to join, have refused to be represented on the Committee.

The Committee has drawn up a four-point programme, setting itself the task:—

1. To mobilise all political forces in Austria in the struggle for liberation from Hitlerite Germany;
2. To re-establish a truly democratic Austrian Republic, in which all roots of Fascism will be eradicated;
3. To prepare the co-operation, envisaged in the Moscow Declaration between Austria and those neighbour countries which are faced with similar problems;
4. To prepare the participation of Austria in the international post-war organisation.

Working Democracy

By choosing an unambiguous Republican platform the Committee has excluded from its ranks the advocates of a Habsburg restoration. Apart from that, it does not wish to exclude any political party. It realises, however, that the re-establishment of a working democracy in Austria demands in the first place an agreement on fundamentals between the two great Austrian mass parties, the Conservative and Catholic Christian Social Party, with its large peasant and middle-class following, and the Social Democrats, who, more even than other Continental Labour parties, have the united support of the working class. (The Communists have always been a very small group in Austria.)

The existence of these two great parties gives Austria uncommonly favourable prospects for an ordered constitutional and political life, provided they both establish that spirit of tolerance and democratic fair play, which was often lacking in the inter-war period. In the present Committee, co-operation has been established for the first time for many years.

Not Representative

The Committee does not intend to be an organisation of the Austrian refugees, but to represent as nearly as possible Austrian political forces at home. The Nazi persecution of Jews, Communists, and Habsburg Monarchists has driven unproportionately large numbers of these racial and political minority groups into exile, thus making the Austrian emigration rather unrepresentative of the popular forces at home.

The formation of this Committee comes at a moment when the Free Austrian Movement, which had been founded in London in the winter of 1942, shows signs of disintegration. This movement had, in contrast to the new Committee, been in the first place an organisation of Austrian refugees and not a representation of the Austrian political parties at home. Only the Communists, Democrats, and Habsburg Monarchists (together representing about 2 per cent. of the Austrian electorate) had, as parties, been members of the Free Austrian Movement; apart from that, it was a cartel of various refugee organisations.

PROFILE

JOSIP BROZ—"TITO"

A CERTAIN monumental anonymity surrounds the life and personality of Josip Broz, the working man from Croatia, who now, as "Marshal Tito," commands a revolutionary army of 200,000 men, defies the might of Germany, and acts with the Powers of Britain and Russia as an independent Ally.

He is now fifty-three. His 'twenties were spent in war, in prison camps, in civil war; his 'thirties in conspiracy and in prison; the Spanish war consumed a large part of his 'forties; in his 'fifties he has become one of the great figures of the Second World War.

Each station of his life is a station of European history; and all through his life he seems to have acted as part of a super-personal, collective force, almost blotting out his private personality.

No anecdotes are known about him. No word of his has become public property. His private life? He is a married man and has two young sons. Nothing could be more commonplace. Even in his public life—the life of a revolutionary fighter and martyr—there is no single episode which he does not share with thousands; but, while thousands fall to his right and left, he survives. Here is a man, one feels, who has put himself at History's disposal; and History has burned and battered him into greatness.

*

Josip Broz was born in a poor man's home in the Zagorje, a mountainous district near Zagreb, in 1890. His father was a Croat, his mother a Czech. The boy grew up amid the national and social discontent of the Slavonic provinces of old Austria-Hungary. When in 1914 he was sent to the Russian front as a private in the K. and K. Army, his heart was on the other side; the defeat of Austria meant for him the freedom, equality, and progress of his people, the southern Slavs. Accordingly, in 1915, he, like so many thousands of Slavonic Austrian soldiers, deserted to the Russians.

Two years in Russian prison camps followed. The revolution of 1917 set him free, only to engulf him, again like so many other former prisoners-of-war, in the ensuing civil war. He fought three years in the Red Army. In 1921 he returned to his transformed country.

With what feelings he went back we can only judge from his deeds. But we can hardly be far wrong if we assume that his strongest

feeling was disappointment. Broz's outlook had been formed by two revolutions, which had eaten up his youth: the nationalist revolution of the peoples of old Austria-Hungary with its ideals of national equality, of the same dignities and liberties for Croats, Slovenes, Czechs and Slovaks as for Germans and Magyars; and the Socialist revolution of Russia.

with its early aims of "the land for the peasants" and "the industries for the workers." Nationalism and Socialism, for him, had merged into one equalitarian, Jacobin ideal.

For this ideal he had become used to dare, to suffer, and to fight. This was bound to bring him into conflict with the new Yugoslav State, of which he now found himself a citizen. As a Croat, he found he had only exchanged Magyar for Serb masters; as a worker he was still labouring under that capitalist system which he had helped to overthrow in Russia.

*

He became a Croat labour leader. His trade union, the metal workers, was soon one of the most radical ones. Labour disputes were fierce and embittered by politics. They took place in a borderland between legitimate opposition and illegality. In 1923, Broz was accused of Communist conspiracy, and sentenced to five years' hard labour.

Balkan prisons are not pleasant. Five years in one of them might break any man. It did not break Broz, but taught him caution. He ceased to be the ardent, daring young revolutionary. He became the hard-bitten, circumspect underground worker. His release from prison almost coincided with the

establishment of open Dictatorship in Yugoslavia. For the next seven years he disappeared from sight. It is said that during that time he assumed the name of Tito to hide his identity. Whatever he did during that time, he must have gained a considerable standing in the revolutionary underground. For in the next great crisis, the Spanish war, he emerges for the first time as a leader.

*

The history of the International Brigade is still unwritten. When it is Tito will be seen as one of the men who organised the improvised revolutionary corps of ardent volunteers from all countries which for two years sustained the Spanish Republic. During the crisis of the defence of Madrid, in November, 1936, thousands of men from Eastern and Central Europe suddenly streamed into Spain, and almost overnight formed themselves into

effective fighting units which for a time turned the tide of the war. It seemed a miracle. Tito was one of the men who worked that miracle. He was in charge of the underground traffic through Italy, Austria, Switzerland, and France, by which thousands of volunteers went to the Spanish front. All this he did in secrecy, from changing headquarters. His name never appeared in the newspapers. To this day reports are conflicting as to his part in the actual fighting. Only his prominent role in the secret general staff of the International Brigade is certain.

Spain was Tito's high school for the part he was to play in this war. In some respects it may even be said that the Partisan struggle in Yugoslavia, which he leads, is a direct continuation of the struggle of the International

Brigade in Spain. Tito's Army, though first and foremost concerned in the national liberation of Yugoslavia, fights with a super-national slogan: "Freedom for all peoples! Death to Fascism!" Some of its leaders, like Tito's right-hand man, Kosta Nagy, were among the officers of the old International Brigade. The international appeal of Tito's forces has from the first been remarkable. Not only did they never ask whether a man was Serb, Croat, or Slovene; they comprised, from the first, Czech and Italian battalions; they soon gathered to themselves Russians who came over from the German-raised force of General Vlassov; recently the movement spread far into Northern Italy, as well as into Hungary and Bulgaria.

*

Internationalism is one of Tito's principles; the second is a broad political approach. Tito's Army ranges from the extreme Left, far beyond the political centre of Yugoslav opinion. The political administration, which Tito has now set up in the territories he controls, contains even some definitely Right wing elements. He can afford it, for he knows the secret which holds together an improvised army of various nationalities and varying political tendencies: fight. The regular army of a national State can be kept together and saved up as an army in being. An irregular army can only be held together, disciplined, and extended by continuous fighting. This Tito has learned in two civil wars, and here is the real secret of his almost miraculous success.

Still half-dimmed by the secrecy which inevitably surrounds much of his career, Tito nevertheless to-day stands out as a great European figure in his own right. He is the most striking present-day representative of that European revolution which, hailing from 1789, destroyed the three Eastern empires twenty-five years ago, which since shook Spain and France, and which now, only half-connected with the present war, is uneasily smouldering close to the surface in many countries. An uncompromising figure, hunted, hardened, cast without doubt in a heroic mould, a military improviser of genius, Tito has now risen to a rank where his statesmanship will be tested. On this will depend whether he will go into history as a great creative revolutionary or only into legend as a heroic rebel and guerrilla leader. Whatever the outcome, the historic force which has created men like him is far from spent.



1943

Fascism On Its Deathbed Turn Socialist

By AN ITALIAN CORRESPONDENT

FASCISM is turning Socialist on its death-bed—after having talked for twenty years, without any result, of "going towards the people."

The "Republican" Fascist Government in Northern Italy is now confiscating the property of the Fascists' main and most consistent friends and supporters, the big landowners and industrial monopolists. Their new-fangled Socialism is in the economic and social field what their new-fangled Republicanism is in the political one—a desperate attempt to appease the people and, at the same time, to split the united national front of liberation by laying Leftist red herrings across the political trail.

They hope to persuade the people to forget the main issue, the expulsion of the Germans. Since Hitler's forces are now the sole surviving prop of Italian Fascism, the Fascists think it worth while even to betray their former supporters, to divert attention from the Germans. A large part of the land of the House of Savoy has been confiscated; this property comprises thirty-six estates, and the Fascists say that it yielded half-a-million lire per year.

Workers Take Over

"Corriere della Sera" said on November 14 that 18,000 acres of land in the Ravenna province have been handed over to the direct management of agricultural labourers.

Industrial establishments, too, have been handed over to co-operatives. A big lumber-yard at Brescia has been compulsorily converted into a co-operative concern.

It was in these very districts of Northern Italy, about twenty years ago, that Fascism destroyed a flourishing co-operative movement by fire, bludgeon, torture, and imprisonment. The fight against the Socialist and Roman Catholic co-operatives of the Po valley has never been forgotten by hundreds of thousands of industrial and agricultural workers in the very places where to-day Pavolini, the party secretary, shielded by Nazi bayonets and tanks, is boasting about the blessings which the new Fascist Republic is dispensing.

All Tricks Fail

The Fascists know how much the corruption of the Mussolini régime was resented by the people. They have not only kept Badoglio's committee for inquiring into the undue enrichment of politicians; they have also announced that former Fascist leaders with connections in big industries will not be admitted to the new "Republican" Fascist Party.

However, all these tricks have failed to split popular unity. This is evident from the growing resistance and the general refusal to join the new Party or the Army or to respond to the labour call-up. But the mere fact that the Fascists, in their last desperate efforts, have had to resort to a pseudo-socialist and democratic policy throws an important light on the mood of the Italian people.

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Labour Government's achievements 'only a beginning'

UNOFFICIAL REFLECTIONS FROM BOURNEMOUTH

Count Karolyi's return

By ILONA DUCZYNSKA

SOME six weeks ago an aeroplane took off from Croydon. It carried a great old man home. His home is Hungary, his name Count Michael Karolyi.

His friends in his long exile—twenty-seven years, all told—were many. He remained no stranger to the Common Man of England, speaking, as he did, now to a Co-operative Women's Guild, now to a W.R.A. class in some Welsh mining village, now to Londoners in Holborn Hall. His elegance, grace and gentleness, marked the class from which he came; but the fire and thunder of his words marked the class which he adopted and which adopted him.

Karolyi (the man who in World War I stood against his country's German entanglement, who took over in Hungary in 1918 when the rotten feudal structure of the Habsburg Monarchy collapsed, who, though he

a century's dense, fascist fog, which nearly succeeded in poisoning the minds of a whole generation, seems to break up in this fresh breeze.

There is much exaggerated talk of an Iron Curtain, which is alleged to hide the Danubian countries from our eyes. Unfortunately, there seems also to be a curtain, an unofficial censorship nearer home, which prevents English people from learning about what is going on. Except for an account of Karolyi's triumphal journey through West Hungary, which was given prominence in *The Times*, Michael Karolyi was never mentioned again by any British newspaper, Liberal, Labour, or Tory, since he took off from Croydon. His friends in this country began to wonder—until, in the course of letters and Hungarian newspaper articles, they saw nothing of the glowing witness given in conversations by the Hungarian social-democratic delegates who came to attend the International Conference at Clacton.

Karolyi's speech

Neither the fact that President Zoltan Tildy welcomed his predecessor with the honours due to a former Head of State, nor that his merits were enacted in a Parliamentary Bill, nor that his presence roused the people of town and country to unprecedented demonstrations of enthusiasm and that he has become the idol and legendary hero of the working people, nor his two hours' address given in Parliament and broadcast to the crowds in Parliament Square were made available in this country.

The gist of that speech was that it was "the task of the Magyars to work for a friendly collaboration between Britain and Russia. As Britain goes forward to socialism this collaboration should become more effective." One would have thought this message worth recording in these times.

This article, exclusive to the Leeds Citizen, tells for the first time the story of the return of Michael Karolyi, the veteran statesman to his native Hungary, after an exile of twenty-seven years; and it suggests that English newspapers could give us more news from behind the iron curtain, if they so desired. Miss Duczynska is an expert on Hungarian politics.

was himself one of the giant land-owners, laid his axe at the root of the evil and distributed his vast family estate among the peasants, who—successor to Louis Kossuth—served as President of the Second Hungarian Republic) went home, for the Third Republic said: "We need you."

This was a great event in the country's life. The peasants who flocked from the fields with flowers and banners as the Old Man passed their village in a car, now own the land on which they work. Karolyi's drums came true: the land he gave a generation ago was followed to a victorious end.

New owners

Gone is the jackbooted overseer, eyeing the gangs of the harvesters from the shade of the mulberry tree; and gone the gendarmes with their loaded carbines, at his beck and call. Gone, too, are the gentry, lounging on the breezy terrace of the country mansion, engaged in consuming what their letters had produced. New visitors have now come to sit in the wicker chairs on the sweet lawn—the peasant-owners' young children.

This, and far more, the country had to show, in welcoming home its greatest son. The ruins, too, and the bare life which springs from them, and the inferno of inflation and destitution in its towns. As it, touched by the magic of a forgotten continuity in its struggle for a life worth living, the country itself had come to realise how real are its achievements and how real the tasks ahead, only when they showed round the aged President, pointing to what was achieved, and what was to be done, and where the enemies of their reconstruction lurked. A quarter of

Yorkshire women's rally

ALDERMAN MRS. G. M. TILLY, of Sheffield, was the Chairman of the Yorkshire Labour Women's Rally which was held in the Victoria Hall on Saturday. The speakers were Mr. G. S. Lindgren, M.P. (who was denouncing Sir Stafford Cripps) and Miss Margaret Herbinson, M.P. for Lanark.

Mr. Lindgren spoke mainly of James Griffiths' Social Insurance Act, and he gave a valuable analysis of the contents.

Miss Herbinson, in a brilliant speech, covered many phases of the Government's legislation, including the Health Bill. She looked forward to the day when all children would have dinner in school. She spoke of the terrible housing conditions in Lanarkshire—mentioning one family that had been without a house for over twelve years. The housing shortage in Britain was due to lack of planning between the two wars.

Votes of thanks were moved by Miss Alice Bacon and Miss Cairn. Miss Bacon mentioned that Miss Herbinson like herself was a daughter of a miner and a school teacher.

THE subject matter of most of the important Conference speeches has already been amply reported, particularly in the Daily Herald, but as one privileged to attend the deliberations at Bournemouth I would like to record a few impressions.

One cannot deny that the real highlights amongst the spate of speeches were contributions made by the various Ministers.

The great speech on International Relations by Ernest Bevin was a masterpiece that almost overawed the Conference. Many delegates who had come prepared to vote "Against the Government" or some of their "Foreign Affairs" questions, even in spite of their doubts—and their mandates—refrained from doing so.

Then there was Herbert Morrison's great speech on Economic Planning, well reasoned, cautious, but bright with the promise of order emerging from chaos, and with smoothness and speed.

Another of the speeches well deserving to be called "Great" was that of Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, there, as he said, to give an account of his stewardship.

For the Social Services and Housing and Education he was prepared to find the necessary money with a song in his heart. Thus spoke the Socialist Chancellor.

The most remarkable speech—beautiful in composition, materially satisfying, abounding in confidence and pregnant with hope—was that of Clement Attlee, described significantly (and correctly I think) by Harold Laski as—"Britain's first Socialist Prime Minister."

He spoke with pride of the Labour Government's achievements which he described as "only a beginning" and paid a warm tribute to his colleagues in the Government who with skill and vigour were performing their allotted tasks.

Alice Bacon

Outstanding contributions were made by other Ministers like Shawwell, Jim Griffiths, Noel Baker, Arthur Greenwood and Ellen Wilkinson and Edith Summerskill.

All had a report to give and a message to convey and they did it well.

Two speakers who put the "Case for the Executive" on occasions, with clarity and skill were our old friends Harold Clay and Alice Bacon, M.P., the latter of whom scored an amazing triumph in the executive elections by topping the list.

So one could go on but mention must be made of the Fraternal Delegates: Charles Dukes, from the T.U.C., and Jack Bailey, from the Co-operative Party, each conveying greetings and goodwill from their respective bodies, each expressing confidence in this great People's Government.

Then there was the historical appearance of Leon Blum there to convey the fraternal greetings of the French and European Socialists.

It reminded delegates of his presence in the same hall six years previously in the dark days of 1940 when "all ahead seemed dark as night" and when grave and fateful decisions were taken.

Leon Blum has suffered much since those dark days. Greatly encircled and showing (even faces of his) concentration, he has emerged with

confidence unshaken and faith undiminished.

Though he addressed the Conference in French, delegates were swayed with a deep emotion and they showed a suppressed enthusiasm that gave place to more demonstrative expression when they heard Philip Noel Baker's masterly translation.

It would be ungenerous not to mention the massive opening speech of the Conference chairman—Harold Laski. It was a worthy contribution to Socialist thought and democratic philosophy.

In the course of the Conference I heard the provocative Professor called many things, some of which he could not doubt guess.

No one however will deny his mastery, if at times drastic, control of the proceedings.

Many delegates were of opinion that he gave too much rein to his caustic wit, but it had its humour.

If he had to be cruel, he said at the closing of the Conference, it was because of his great kindness of heart.

Rank and file

He apologised to delegates and platform alike for those who sat in impatient anger with unspoken speeches "spluttering" in their throats, whispered on their lips, but dying ignominiously unuttered.

This, I suppose, is inevitable in all great conferences. The ordinary delegate has little chance to speak, even if his organisation has a resolution or amendment on the Agenda.

Those who eventually reach the rostrum are, in the main, M.P.s or Trade Union leaders, or other notabilities with a small sprinkling indeed of the lesser fry.

At times a smouldering rage would burst forth. "What about the rank and file?" shouted one delegate, probably overcome with a sense of frustration.

The great enemy of course, is time, which—like Labour—marches relentlessly.

With the best will in the world, the Agenda could not be completed. Even India could not be discussed, let alone the smaller, but in many cases, important resolutions on a variety of subjects.

Nevertheless it was a great Conference. Between those who thought the platform always right and those who thought it always wrong, there was a great preponderance who thought it was encouragingly left and democratically sound.

Social side

Finally, this great Labour Victory Conference held with the first Socialist Government in undisputed power, proved that the movement is sound from top to bottom, that in spite of all differences, it enjoys a greater unity of strength and purpose than it has ever known before.

There were many humorous and interesting incidents at the Conference and the social events connected therewith but these would make another story.

Democracy at play however is as inspiring as Democracy at work. You would have thought so too had

Continued on Page Eight

Youth pageant

THE young performers of Heerling had "perfect weather" last Saturday for their show in Roundhay Park. The script, written by Jakes, was rather scrappy and much of the dialogue was inaudible. But there were many compensations. The costumes were colourful; the music, the dancing, and the groupings were excellent; the tournament was exciting; the boy acrobats were accomplished; and all the huge cast threw themselves into the spirit of the show. There was one embarrassing moment when Rupert Brooke's lines "If I should die, think only this of me" were recited in a lachrymose voice. The one merit of the poem is that it is not fearful. Whether by accident or design the Soviet flag was not included amongst the flags of the United Nations.

PERRY'S POWDERS
keep your family
FINE FIT & FULL OF FUN

CUTTERS
for HEAD & NEVE

CHILDREN'S POWDERS

CONDITION POWDERS
for your DOG

FROM ALL CHEMISTS & GROCERS

[illegible]

Die früheren Mitglieder des bulgarischen Regenschaftsrats **Petko Kyrilov**, **Flav** und **Bagilov** sind verhaftet worden.

Die Zeitung

Roosevelt und Dewey

Der Wahlkampf für die Präsidentschaft in den Vereinigten Staaten ist eröffnet. Präsident Roosevelt sprach vor der Gewerkschaft der Lastkraftwagenfahrer und Chauffeure, und die Rede, die er vor etwa 1000 Zuhörern hielt, war von außerordentlicher Energie und kühnem Angriffszug getragen. Sie war eine Auseinandersetzung mit der republikanischen Partei, stark durchsetzt mit Erinnerungen an die Wirtschaftspolitik der Depressionsjahre und die Leistungen unter dem New Deal. Die auswärtige Politik trat demgegenüber zurück, der Präsident gab der Hoffnung Ausdruck, dass nach dem Siege „wir mit Gottes Hilfe vorwärtswandern zu der größten Epoche freier Errungenschaften, freier Männer, welche die Welt jemals gekannt oder für möglich gehalten hat.“ Dewey's erste programmatische Aussagen sind derart, dass es schwer ist festzustellen, worin er sich von Roosevelt's wirtschafts- und sozialpolitischem Programm unterscheidet. Er wünscht die Bundesregierung eine weitreichende Rolle bei der Kontrolle und Leitung des Wirtschaftslebens nach dem Kriege zuzuwenden, er lehnt es ab, die Preisgestaltung für landwirtschaftliche Produkte abzuschaffen, er verkündet als sein Ziel Garantie für Vollbeschäftigung, bekräftigt die Verlehnungs- und Leihungsverträge des New Deal, im besonderen den kollektiven Tarifvertrag. Nur hinsichtlich der Steuererhebung des New Deal macht er Vorbehalte. Frühere Aussagen Dewey's ergaben, dass auch seine ausserpolitischen Grundsätze von denen Roosevelts sich nur um Nuancen unterscheiden. Unter diesen Umständen bleibt offensichtlich nur ein Kampf auf persönlicher Ebene übrig, den Dewey am Montag in Oklahoma aufgenommen hat.

Lösung einer Krise Russische Verbindungsoffiziere arbeiten mit den heroischen polnischen Freiheitskämpfern in Warschau Hand in Hand; russische Flugzeuge haben Waffen und Lebensmittel über Warschau abgeworfen. Auf diesem Feld ist das Zusammenwirken von Russen und Polen erreicht. In London ist jetzt eine Entscheidung erfolgt, von der man hoffen kann, dass sie die politischen Beziehungen zwischen den Regierungen der Sowjet-Union und Polens günstig beeinflussen wird. Es ist bekannt, dass General Sosnkowski, der Oberkommandierende der polnischen Armee, in Moskau nicht persona grata ist, und mehrere seiner Aussagen über Russland lassen diese Auffassung verstehen. Die Regierung des Ministerpräsidenten Mikolajczyk, der sich um den Ausgleich mit Moskau sehr bemüht, hat den polnischen Staatspräsidenten ersucht, gemäss dem verfassungsmässigen ihm allein zustehenden Recht, General Sosnkowski abzuheben. Präsident Rakizewicz hat dem eingewilligt unter der Bedingung, dass gleichzeitig Mitglieder der nationaldemokratischen Partei in die Regierung eintreten. Das polnische Kabinett hat sich damit einverstanden erklärt, vorausgesetzt, dass die nationaldemokratische Partei sich zu dem demokratischen Programm und der Russlandpolitik der Regierung bekennt. Nach dem Rücktritt General Sosnkowskis rufen die Aussichten für eine Verständigung zwischen der polnischen Regierung und dem Kretel entschieden den von Ministerpräsident Mikolajczyk vor einiger Zeit nach Moskau gesandten Vorschlägen wesentlich hoffnungsvoller zu beurteilen sein.

Ein Verbrecher Aus Polen liegen Nachrichten sich „abdecken“ richten vor, wonach die Nazigewalthaber vor Aufgabe der geraubten Gebiete die Ermordung der Insassen aller Konzentrationslager vorbereiten. An die Lagerkommandanten sind entsprechende Anweisungen ergangen. Der Kommandant des Lagers Oswiecim hat die Ausführung verweigert, bevor er schriftlichen Befehl vom Oberkommando der Wehrmacht erhält. Er glaubt, auf diese Weise sich dagegen „abdecken“ zu können, dass er später als Kriegsverbrecher vor Gericht gestellt wird. Das Manöver wird ihm schwerlich glücken. Ganz abgesehen davon, dass er nicht als unachaltes Organ eines höheren Willens posieren kann—nicht einmal die Dienstvorschriften im Nazi-Heer lassen das zu—sind die Gesetze im Lager Oswiecim der Welt so gut bekannt, dass sie allein genügen, um den Kommandanten der verdienstlichen Strafe zuzuführen.

Morde in Konzentrationslagern Die Vorbereitungen zum Massenmord in den Konzentrationslagern Polens werden nur die Fortsetzung dessen sein, was in Deutschland begonnen hat. Hitler und Himmler haben ihre fette Angst vor jeder nur möglichen Opposition in der deutschen „Volksgemeinschaft“ mit weiteren Massenverhaftungen und Massenmorden zu erstickt. Es entspricht ganz der nationalsozialistischen Psyche, im Augenblick der äussersten Bedrohung von aussen, sich auf die „Landesverräter“ des eigenen Volkes zu stützen, wie ja Hitler immer erst an die Feinde im Innern dachte und gelegentlich alle politischen Gegner und ihre feindliche Gedankenwelt bis auf die letzte Spur ausrotten wollte. Allerdings bestünde dann die Gefahr eines zu starken Aderlasses und einer dauernden Schwächung der Gesamtheit.

Unter den in Buchenwald „durch feindliche Bomber“ Getöteten wird vom deutschen Nachrichtendienst auch der 58-jährige kommunistische Führer Ernst Thälmann genannt, den die Nationalsozialisten schon vom Beginn ihrer Herrschaft an gefangen gehalten haben. Der tapfere Hamburger Kampfarbeiter hat nicht versucht, sich seinen Feinden zu entziehen, und die Nationalsozialisten haben es ihm nicht verziehen, dass er der Führer einer Partei war, die es noch 1933 auf 100 Reichstagsabgeordnete brachte. Er ist in elfenhalb Jahren des Lebens in der Konzentrationslagerbarbarei seiner Überzeugung treu geblieben.

„Ich bin so oft Prophet gewesen in meinem Leben. Man hat mich immer ausgelacht, aber ich habe doch recht bekommen.“

sagte Hitler am 8.11.1941. Und heute!

Der Prophet verleugnet sich

Der Gesandte Schmidt, Presseschef des Auswärtigen Amtes, reiste in der vorigen Woche zur Paroleausgabe ins Führerhauptquartier. Was er von dort mitbrachte und neutralen Journalisten als Hitlers eigene Auffassung der Lage berichtete, ist wahrlich eine Kette von „eheren Tatsachen“. Deutschland müsse den Krieg gewinnen, weil sonst das Reich untergehe; Deutschland könne den Krieg gewinnen; und das nationale Gewissen sage, es werde gewinnen. Diese Erklärungen, die man nicht zum erstenmal hört, sind heute mehr als je Phrasen. Dagegen ist die Feststellung originell, dass militärische Massstäbe zur Beurteilung des Kriegsausgangs nicht genügen. Geradezu überwältigend aber ist die Erklärung: wer nach dem Westfeldzug 1940 geblüht habe, England sei geschlagen oder wer später geblüht habe, die Sowjetunion sei nach dem Verlust der Ukraine und des Donetzbeckens zum Untergang verurteilt gewesen, sei jetzt auf eigene Kosten eines Besseren belehrt.

Die Unverschämtheit des Verbrechers ist selten eindringlicher demonstriert worden. Am 8.11.1941 erklärte der Prophet, der immer „Recht bekommen hat“: „Noch niemals ist ein Riesenreich in kürzerer Zeit zertrümmert und niedergeschlagen worden als diesemal Sowjet-Russland...“ Davon erholte sich keine Armee der Welt mehr, auch die russische nicht. „Damit er auch gegenüber dem Westen „Recht bekomme“, versicherte Hitler in derselben Rede: „Wenn es den Herren Engländern beliebt, sei es in Norwegen, sei es an unserer deutschen Küste, sei es in Holland, in Belgien oder Frankreich eine Offensive zu unternehmen, so können wir nur sagen: Tretet an, Ihr werdet schneller wieder abtreten, als Ihr gekommen seid!“

Stets hat Hitler „Recht bekommen“, wenn die Tatsachen seinen Prophezeiungen zuwiderliefen, so waren andere für das Missgeschick verantwortlich. Die Katastrophe

von Stalingrad war—laut Hitlers Neujahrsbotschaft 1944—verschuldet durch die italienische „Verräterclique“. Die russische Offensive dieses Sommers war erfolgreich, weil die „Verräterclique“ der deutschen Generale lange vor dem 20. Juli sabotiert hatte. Rumänien ging nicht etwa verloren, weil die deutschen Truppen geschlagen waren, sondern weil die rumänische „Verräterclique gemeinert“ hatte. Immer sind „Verräter“ intime Freunde von gestern. Welch ein Armutzeugnis für den Propheten, dass er trotz seiner Intuition immer wieder das Opfer von Verrätern wird!

Der Mythos des Führers vertritt nicht die Wahrheit. Der Appell an die Trübsandtrüben gehört zum Repertoire des ständig über Vertragsläutenden. In jener berühmten Sitzung der nationalsozialistischen Reichstagsfraktion 1932, in der Hitler die Machenschaften der „Verräterclique“ Gregor Strassers enthüllte, schrie der Stämme-Streicher unter Schlächen: „So ein gemeiner Hund, der Strasser! Unserm Führer solches Leid anzutun!“ Millionen von Deutschen soll der gleiche Aufschrei entlockt werden, wobei der Name Strasser jeweils durch Badoglio oder Witeleben oder Manneheim zu ersetzen ist. Der Prophet muss Recht bekommen; wenn es nicht so wäre, dass er, der Verführer, im Unglück schuld ist und nicht die Verräter, dann wäre sein Mythos für alle Zeiten verkehrt. Deshalb sind stets „die anderen“ schuld und er verleugnet sich.

Nur in einem hat Hitler wirklich recht: wer ihm geglaubt hat, muss selbst die Kosten tragen. Aber zu dieser Erkenntnis hätte es nicht des Krieges, nicht einmal des Dritten Reiches bedurft. Die kostspieligen Folgen des Glaubens an den Henker Deutschlands haben schon vor 1933 viele Leute vorausgesehen, die weder Propheten waren noch sich für Propheten hielten.

Achsen-Bruch



Wahlen in Schweden

Bei den schwedischen Reichstagswahlen in der vergangenen Woche haben die Sozialdemokraten die Mehrheit verloren, die sie seit acht Jahren inne hatten. Zum ersten Mal ist die sonderbare Lage entstanden, dass eine Partei genau die Hälfte der Reichstagsmandate hat, und dass die Beschlüsse also technisch von der ausschlaggebenden Stimme des Präsidenten abhängen könnten.

Trotzdem behält aber die Sozialdemokratie ihre Mehrheit im Reichstag, denn sie verfügt immer noch über die Mehrheit der Mandate im Senat. Sollte es je dazu kommen, dass Senat und Kammer verschiedene Beschlüsse fassen, so müssen—laut der schwedischen Verfassung—beide Häuser gemeinsam abstimmen.

Das nationalste in dem schwedischen Wahlverhältnis war der grosse Vorrang der Kommunisten. Die Zahl ihrer Mandate ist von 3 auf 12 gestiegen, ihre Stimmen haben sich von 215.000 auf 313.000 vermehrt. Die Kommunisten hatten in den 20er Jahren gewöhnlich sieben Mandate in der Kammer, bekamen aber bei den Wahlen 1940 nur drei. Die Kommunisten waren früher eine lokale Partei, da sie mehr als zwei Drittel ihrer Mitglieder und Stimmen in Lappland und Gothenburg hatten. Dort hatten sie auch eine bedeutende Presse, während sie in anderen Teilen des Landes fast keinen Einfluss hatten. Ihr jetziger Stimmenzuwachs ist gleichmässiger auf das ganze Land verteilt, und zum ersten Mal erscheinen sie als eine Partei von Bedeutung in Stockholm und Malmö.

Viele der Wähler, die jetzt kommunistisch stimmen, werden keineswegs als kommunistischen Parteiprogramm akzeptiert haben, sondern wollten mit ihrer Stimme gegen die Aussenpolitik der Regierung, vor allem gegen die Konsequenzen der vergangenen Jahre, protestieren. Die Kommunisten sind die einzige Oppositionspartei gegen die Regierungskoalition und dürften schon deshalb viele nichtkommunistische oppositionelle Stimmen bekommen haben.

Ferner dürfen die allgemeine Popularität Russlands infolge der Siege der Roten Armee, sowie die in Schweden allgemeine Tendenz,

sich Russland anzunähern, zu dem kommunistischen Stimmenzuwachs beigetragen haben. Der Wunsch nach Freundschaft mit Russland ist aber in allen Parteien vorhanden.

Trotz ihres Stimmenzuwachses bleiben aber die Kommunisten die kleinste Partei im Reichstag. Von den 230 Mandaten in der Kammer haben die Sozialdemokraten jetzt 114 gegenüber 134 bei den letzten Wahlen. Der Mandatsverlust der Sozialdemokraten ist den Kommunisten und der Agrarpartei zugefallen, die ihre Mandate von 28 auf 36 erhöht hat. Die Liberalen haben zwei Mandate gewonnen und haben jetzt 25 Abgeordnete. Die Konservativen, die seit 1928 ununterbrochen im Rückgang waren, haben wiederum drei Mandate verloren und bekamen 39 Sitze.

Für die schwedische Regierung dürften die Wahlen keine unmittelbaren Folgen haben. Die jetzige Koalitionsregierung der Sozialdemokraten, Agrarier, Liberalen und Konservativen, bleibt vorläufig an der Macht. In der Wahlkampagne haben sich die Sozialdemokraten für ein rein sozialistisches Programm in der Innenpolitik ausgesprochen; das wird als Ansatz einer reinen sozialdemokratischen Parteiregierung betrachtet. Die Sozialdemokratie hat aber entschieden gegen die Kommunisten Stellung genommen und will auf keinen Fall von ihnen abhängig sein. Wenn die jetzige Koalitionsregierung ausgetauscht wird, sind zwei Möglichkeiten denkbar: entweder eine sozialdemokratische Parteiregierung, die über eine knappe parlamentarische Mehrheit verfügt; oder eine Koalitionsregierung der Sozialdemokraten und Agrarier mit einem Programm für gegenseitige Hilfe der Arbeiter und Bauern. Ein solches Programm war die Essenz der schwedischen Regierungspolitik und des sozialen Fortschritts schon in den 30er Jahren. Als Kuriosum kann erwähnt werden, dass sich drei Nazi-Parteien an den Wahlen beteiligten. Sie wurden mit grossen Hoffnungen von Goebbels und Quisling begrüsst. Alle drei zusammen haben nur etwa 10.000 Stimmen bekommen—d.h. ein Drittel Prozent der Wähler und kein Mandat. Seit zwölf Jahren haben sie an allen Wahlen teilgenommen, blieben aber immer erfolglos.

Am Rande

Im Sinne Himmlers

„Jedenfalls wird in Berliner zuständigen Kreisen mit grossem Nachdruck hervorgehoben, dass der Krieg für die Deutschen erst jetzt ein heiliger Krieg geworden sei. Da sich immer neue Formen der Verteidigung finden liessen, könne er bis ins Uferlose weitergeführt werden.“

D.N.B., 12.9.44.

Der nationalsozialistische Dehnungskoeffizient

„Soweit unspannend kann Ihr Ich werden, dass es Volk und Führer mit umfasst, wenn Sie nur gross genug denken, fühlen und handeln.“

Aus dem Zeitgeschehen am Sonntag, Reichs Rundfunk, 17.9.44.

Die Frau als Gegenstand

„Nun stellen Sie sich irgendeinen Gegenstand vor, der Ihnen ausserordentlich lieb ist, den Sie sich vielleicht mit Mühe erworben haben und den Sie besonders lieben. Wer den zerstört oder wegnimmt, greift er nicht auch Ihr eigenes Ich an? Ist dieser Gegenstand nicht auch ein Teil von Ihnen selbst? Wer also meine Frau oder mein Kind angreift, der greift auch mich an.“

Zeitgeschehen am Sonntag, Reichs Rundfunk, 17.9.44.

Belohnung aber nicht ganz

„Wenn wir die zurückliegenden Kriegsjahre überblicken, so kann man zwei Phasen unterscheiden: in der ersten versuchten wir in direktem Anlauf zum Ziel zu gelangen. Wir erreichten es keineswegs, aber nicht ganz. Es begann die zweite Phase. Sie war dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass wir den uns in überreichem Masse zur Verfügung stehenden Raum als Waffe benutzten. Auch diese Phase des Krieges geht jetzt ihrem Ende entgegen, ohne eine Entscheidung herbeigeführt zu haben. Eine dritte Phase des Krieges beginnt. In ihr geht es kurz auf hart. Wir kämpfen nun in einem Ring, der zwar noch weite Gebiete umschliesst, deren Besitz wir uns zu Beginn des Krieges nicht haben träumen lassen, der sich aber zum Beispiel im Osten stellenmässig bereits mit den alten Reichsgrenzen deckt. In dieser letzten Phase nun gilt es alle Kräfte zusammenzunehmen, um die Entscheidung herbeizuführen.“

Deutschlandsender, 19.9.44.

Sittliche Entrüstung

„Für Koraschels Schliesshaken sind „Haut den Laska“ ist später Zeit. Der Soldat an der Front und jene Frauen, die sich im Osten des Reichs in harter Schenarbeit die Hände schweißig geschüttelt haben, können mit Recht verlangen, dass diese Art von Belästigungen auf Kriegsdauer eingestellt werden.“

Wulfried v. Owen, Deutschlandsender, 8.9.44.

Der Papst als Kronzeuge

„Und zu begrüssen wir es, dass neben so vielen politischen Stimmen der Bestätigung für die Richtigkeit unserer Darstellung über den Ursprung des Krieges nun auch gerade eine der moralischen Autoritäten des Kriegens—brücker mit der dieser Stelle gebotenen Zurückhaltung eine für uns sehr interessante Stellungnahme bekanntgab. Es ist die in der gestrigen Rede des Papstes erwähnte Verurteilung des Prinzipiums von der Aufhebung des Privatigentums bei gleichzeitiger Verurteilung des kapitalistischen Missbrauchs des Privatigentums. Die Ablehnung dieser beiden moralisch verurteilten Extreme war und ist eine der tragenden Grundlagen des Nationalsozialismus.“

Hans Frischke, Deutschlandsender, 29.9.44.

Das kann man wohl sagen

„Der Begriff Kultur hat im letzten halben Jahrhundert bei uns eine ebenso merkwürdige wie interessante Wandlung durchlebt.“

„D.A.“, 20.9.44.

Quälende Frage

„Spanien ist also zwar, wie wir, kommunistisch antikommunistisch, aber es will trotzdem mit unserer Ideologie, die primär antikommunistisch ist, während unsere Kriegspolitik primär antikommunistisch sein muss, nicht gemeinsam genannt werden. Warum dieser Vorbehalt?“

„D.A.Z.“ unter der Überschrift „Eine Lücke im spanischen Denken“, 18.9.44.

Das Vorbild

„Nach längerer schwerer Krankheit entschloß mein Vater Pp. Anselm Otto Albrecht Berthold Graf von Mendelsloh, Hauptmann a.D. Als Vorkämpfer des Nationalsozialismus und langer Mitarbeiter des Generals Ludendorff und des Reichsverweisers von Horthy war mein Vater stets mein Vorbild. Graf von Mendelsloh, Oberleutnant in einer Fallschirmjägerabteilung.“

Todesanzeige aus dem „V.R.“ Sddeutsche Ausgabe, 17.9.44.

Das Untertanentum geht weiter

„Bei der Kriminalpolizeiinstanz Vermisstenstellen-München wurden zu den Terrorangriffen zwischen dem 11. und 21. Juli 45 Personen als vermisst gemeldet. Über ihr Schicksal ist nichts bekannt. Wo gehen sie diesen Luftangriffen Personen ab, die ihren Angehörigen noch keine Nachricht gegeben haben? Sind Anhaltspunkte vorhanden, dass sie unangekommen sind? Festgestellt wurde, dass durch den Luftkrieg eine Reihe vermisster gemeldeter Personen abwanderte oder unangekommen wurde, es aber unterliess, sich polizeilich anzumelden.“

„Münchener Neueste Nachrichten“, 12./13.9.44.