

Karlina
regi is mindig uj fajnak
Közegete

THE FUTURE OF THE DANUBIAN STATES

An address delivered before the Institute of Public Affairs
at the University of Virginia, July 5, 1939

by Oscar Jászi

If one does not believe in any strict determinism in social and political evolution, he will be hesitant to prophesy. The only thing possible is to show alternatives which the Danubian states will face in the future and among which statesmanship may choose. The "Danubian states," the so-called Succession States, were carved out from the collapsed body of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy or some of the Balkan states either as entirely new organisms or as enlargements of previous historical individualities. Former Austria, former Czechoslovakia, present-day Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria were or are Danubian states in the proper sense, whereas Poland falls only incompletely into this category due to the fact that one great province of the new Poland, Galicia, was an important part of the former Dual Monarchy.

We cannot understand the present day chaotic European situation without keeping in mind the causes of the World War. Unfortunately these causes were often obscured by an historiography which was almost exclusively of diplomatic orientation and neglected the deeper motives of the struggle. Even today the truth is not sufficiently recognized that the chief cause of the catastrophe lay in the antiquated social, economic, and political structure of Central Europe and the Balkans which became an obstacle for the development of the various national groups. Many of these nationalities had been oppressed by Turkish domination of centuries. In a time when the western states of Europe were more and more industrialized, democratized, and rationalized under the leadership of their middle classes and organized proletariats, the Danubian countries remained a bulwark for feudalism, orthodox religion, and an antiquated system of agrarianism under foreign military rule.

My thesis, which I have tried to demonstrate in previous books, is that though the World War was fomented and led by the imperialistic great powers, the

real cause of it was the unsolved national and social problems of Central and Eastern Europe. President Wilson saw with remarkable clearness the real nature of the catastrophe when he formulated as its remedy the principle of national self-determination according to which every national unit should enjoy "the freest opportunity of autonomous development." With the same prophetic vision the President realized that the removal of "all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions" was essential in the creation of a stable and peaceful world order.

Unfortunately the peace which followed was based on the negation of these two principles. Though national self-determination made undoubtedly a great advance, it was very often frustrated by strategic considerations or greedy economic interests of the victorious states. Countries were dismembered with utter disregard of their geographic unity and century old division of labor. This short-sighted new imperialistic policy did not solve the problem of nationalities but only created new irredentas and a new race for armaments. The corollary of this was the drive for autarchy and a growing disruption of the previous economic unity. And as a complete national unification of all the peoples in homogeneous nation states is impossible in these parts of Europe, the problem of minorities poisoned the new equilibrium as it had the old. Germans, Magyars, Croats, Ukrainians, and many other national groups became as dissatisfied and vociferous as the former exploited minorities of pre-War Europe.

None of the problems from which the World War came was really solved and though several new nations in Central Europe and in the Baltics began to enjoy their new found liberty, the old struggle between the victorious and the defeated imperialistic systems was renewed.

II

These causes combined with the social upheavals brought about by the tragedy of the vanquished countries gave rise to the gospel of bolshevism by which

the upper and middle classes felt themselves menaced not only in their old privileges but also in the naked existence of their life. In this atmosphere a Machiavellian diplomacy assumed leadership which boastingly rejected the traditional values of Christian or humanitarian morality. If we add to this the repercussions of the World War in the colonies and among the backward races we must acknowledge that the terrifying events of the last years were logical consequences of certain fundamental problems and the wrong remedies used in their cure.

We hear very often that the European situation changes from day to day and therefore nothing can be predicted for the future. This statement is true but regarding the picture in a broader perspective one can assert with a deeper truth that the more the situation changes, the more it remains the same. The continuously recurrent upheavals (Austria, the Sudeten, the annihilation of Czechoslovakia, and of sub-Carpathian Ukraine as well as the machinations in Danzig, the Corridor, Africa, and the Mediterranean) are only the symptoms of a long aggravated sickness of European civilization. As a result international tension has become almost unbearable.

In the shrieking uniformity of saber rattling and loud-speaker oratory of the last years four distinct turning points are now evident: the reoccupation of the Rhineland in March 1936, the annexation of Austria in March 1938, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in September of the same year, and the final destruction of this republic in March 1939. These four events signify that the whole unfortunate and artificial system created after the World War was suddenly abandoned by the victorious powers. Now Germany has become the uncontested ruler over the bastions of Central Europe in spite of the fact that an English-French-Russian alliance would have been sufficiently strong to maintain the integrity of Czechoslovakia.

What were the causes of this surrender? The answer to this question has not only historical importance but it may give us the key to the understanding of future developments. The deeply rooted pacifism of the West, the bad conscience of the allied powers concerning national self-determination, the fear of many conserva-

tives in England and France that a victory with Soviet help would lead to the final bolshevization of Europe: these factors explain much of the surrender. But far more important was a last cause, the fact that Mr. Chamberlain and the other statesmen have completely misunderstood the basic philosophy of the dictators. They believed that Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese militarists were animated by precisely the same principle as Western statesmanship was; namely, by the concern for Security, Prosperity, and Peace. They did not realize that this attitude is a very special development of western democracies whereas the dictators act under the time old motives of Power, Glory, and Domination. A careful reading of a recent remarkable book by the former Nazi leader and Senate President of Danzig, Hermann Rauschning, on the "Revolution of Nihilism" would convince Mr. Chamberlain and the other representatives of the same school that Nazidom is not a system of reasonable aims but an insatiable expansion for power, convinced that the western countries are degenerated and a total new distribution of the world is the inevitable task of the immediate future.

Just the opposite was the assumption of the English leader. He assumed that Hitler could be transformed into a man of peace, if two conditions could be fulfilled: a national unification of all the Germans in Austria and the Sudeten with the Fatherland and the possibility of a peaceful economic penetration by Germany of the Danubian and Balkan regions. What Chamberlain offered to Hitler was the realization of the old German dream of a Mittleuropa organized by the incomparable superiority of German culture and technical skill. This dream is not necessarily a violent imperialistic dream. Such great liberals as Frederick List and Frederick Naumann have advocated a similar scheme which would give enormous advantages not only to Germany but to the somewhat anachronistic countries of central and eastern Europe.

But soon it became manifest that what Hitler had in mind was not the principle of national self-determination or that of a peaceful economic cooperation with the weaker nations but the further development of the enormous German war machine

which, like a modern Frankenstein, is moving according to its blind mechanism, greedy of power and expansion. Though the dictators solemnly acknowledged the territorial integrity of the truncated Czechoslovak Republic, the Nazis under manifestly false pretexts have incorporated Bohemia and Moravia, have established a Slovak buffer state incapable of national life, and have allowed Hungary to annex the Carpatho-Ukrainian province after having encouraged and supported by men and arms the starving population of this province to resist the Hungarian claims.

From the Lohengrin of national emancipation Hitler has become the conqueror of the short-lived liberty of the neighboring countries. Similarly in the economic field the essence of the Nazi policy is a system which Graham Eutton, the English economist, has called a "predatory economy" because its only aim is to amass raw materials, food stuffs, cheap labor, and foreign exchange for the preparation for the next war which the Nazi doctrine (of course not the official Nazi propaganda!) regards as imminent and inevitable. This is what the Germans call Grossraumwirtschaft, a kind of vast economic integration from the point of view of exigencies of the next war. Their methods for the accomplishment of this end are currency manipulation, transport and foreign trade monopoly, dismantling of the industries of the smaller nations, and forcing them to become agricultural colonies, dumping goods in the West bought in the Danubian and Balkan areas with occasional raids on the gold reserves of the former independent countries. There is also an ambitious program of road and canal building, always from the point of view of the ultimate struggle.

This semi-economic Gleichschaltung is accompanied by force and threat. The Nazi press, the Gestapo, and various spy organizations are introduced in all the countries to be penetrated and political leaders are bought. Private military troops are established following the Nazi models. The machinations of the Iron Guard in Rumania which menaces the life of the king and similar underground activities in Hungary are generally known. The half starving white collared proletariat is mobilized by the promised booties of anti-Semitism. The wretched agrarian

masses are revolutionized against the owners of the large estates. This is perhaps the strongest weapon for Nazi penetration, because the living standard of the peasants is appalling in most of those states. And when Mr. Buell recently stated that one-fourth of the population of Poland is living close to starvation, he surely did not exaggerate. The conditions in Hungary are even worse. Almost 80% of the total agrarian population lives on the hunger fringe of proletarian existence. A vast literature of patriotic Hungarians has described these lamentable circumstances under which pathological sects have arisen of strictly medieval character. One of the writers accused of class hatred testified before his judges that "during religious exercises...believers, stripped to the waist, flog each other; members of the Fasters lie down in their congregation houses and starve to death, leaving their corpses to be carried out by gendarmes; the sect of the Fruitless have sentenced themselves to extermination by refusing to have children...; the sect of the Tremblers give notice by their trembling of the coming of the Last Judgment...."

It is easy to understand that under such conditions the ruthless agitation of the Nazi followers for the dismemberment of the large estates constitutes the sharpest weapon to intimidate the ruling class if they are unwilling to comply with Nazi demands. It shows also the intimate connection between the agrarian problem and the irresistible force of anti-Semitism because it is evident that countries with such a wretched peasantry cannot support a rapidly growing intellectual class and the competition between its members becomes cruelly inhuman.

But the most efficient method of Nazi penetration is the time-old principle of divide et impera already used abundantly by the Habsburgs, exciting one dissatisfied nationality group against the other. They can use Hungarians against Rumanians, Bulgarians against Rumanians and Greeks, Ukrainians against Poles, Russians, and Hungarians. Not to forget the German minorities who were called many centuries ago as colonists into all these countries and who now can be used against their ruling classes under the accusation that they are oppressed and their nationhood endangered.

This policy continues in accelerated tempo to coordinate Hungary, Rumania, Poland, Bulgaria, and to establish in the near future a unified Ukraine as a vassal state of Germany. England and France are now beginning to understand the real meaning of German penetration. Should Hitler be successful in establishing his Central European empire, his war machine would be enormously extended and no blockade could menace his war economy. This development would also mean for Mussolini the advent of the time when he could present his bill to his fellow dictator, asking for his immediate cooperation in the conquest of his Mediterranean empire. The open and clandestine operations in Spain, the continuous excitement of the Arab world against the British, the feverish road building activities in the newly conquered Albania are all signs pointing in the same direction.

III

Under these conditions the main problem of Europe is whether Hitler can be stopped in his imperialistic expansion. There are only three possibilities which could bring a halt to German aggression and which could secure peace without a series of new Munichs. These are (1) internal revolutions or tyrannicides, (2) the dismantling of the totalitarian system, returning to an economic and moral normalcy, (3) an armed coalition sufficiently strong to make war evidently destructive for the dictators. There is very small probability for the first two of the suggested solutions. The third depends on the possibility of restoring the British-French-Russian cooperation and establishing a military alliance between them. England and France are now eager to create such a system.

Yet Russia wavers. The causes of her hesitation are many. She was humiliated and disgusted by Munich when a new balance of power was created without even asking her advice and excluding her from all negotiations. She is now asking for a guarantee of the Baltic states on the part of Great Britain and France while those small countries are not willing to accept it as they fear both German and Russian aggression. Furthermore cooperation with Germany could give both Russia

and Germany conspicuous economic and military advantages. Such a policy of conciliation could canalize German aggression against Poland, Central Europe, and the West. We should also not forget that both totalitarian systems hate liberalism more than each other. Finally a war between the Fascist dictators and the West would make Russia--maintaining her neutrality meanwhile--the ultimate arbiter of Europe. For a bleeding and exhausted Europe could not avoid the bolshevik revolution and the idea of the World Revolution can never be abandoned by Russia as long as she remains Marxist.

IV

Nobody, I think, could give at the present time an authoritative opinion on how the course of European events will turn. It is only a purely personal estimate when I say that the Gleichschaltung of Central Europe will be achieved. To realize this a direct military action against those states is not absolutely necessary. The economic and technological superiority of Germany over the smaller states and her geographic key position is so overwhelming that her expansion in this region seems to be irresistible. Already in 1937 the percentage of the total exports of the Danubian countries directed toward Germany was, by Bulgaria, 52%, by Hungary, 44%, by Rumania, 33%, by Yugoslavia, 42%, and of their imports Bulgaria received 63%, Hungary, 50%, Rumania, 52%, Yugoslavia, 53%. This process has been considerably accelerated since the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia. If we recall the political means previously mentioned at the disposal of Germany, we can scarcely doubt that the Grossraumwirtschaft of German style will be carried out provided the final catastrophe of a European war will be avoided.

Under this hypothesis Nazidom will rule the vassal states of Germany: military absolutism, racial persecution, growing brutality in private and social morality, physical or moral torture of all dissenters, the complete extinction of political and intellectual freedom. This gloomy picture and our legitimate moral indignation should not hide from us some possible brighter consequences for the more

remote future. The iron heel of Hitler may prove to be one of those hidden instruments of history of which Hegel spoke as the List der Idee (the "cunning of the Idea") meaning by this that greedy personal or national interests may ultimately serve a higher aim. Through the sufferings of this and perhaps the next generation the German dictator may become against his own will the forger of the unity of the Danubian countries.

Since the middle of the 19th century a few men of vision have realized that the future of the Danubian states will be hopeless as long as they are divided, fighting one against the other. They will be only pawns in the imperialistic game of Germany and Russia. The only possibility for them would be a federal structure giving them economic unity and a complete system of national autonomy. One of those heralds, Louis Kossuth, after the tragic suppression of Hungarian independence by the Habsburgs and the Czar wrote the following prophetic lines in the early sixties: "Any state of the lower Danube, should it even be successful in rallying around itself all its racial brethren now belonging to other states, could be in the best case only a state of second rank, the independence of which would be continuously menaced and inevitably subjected to foreign influences. However if the Magyars, the Southern Slavs, and the Rumanians would adopt this plan [of confederation], they would become a wealthy, powerful state of first rank with thirty million inhabitants which would have a heavy weight on the scales of Europe....Unity, concord, fraternity between Magyars, Slavs and Rumanians! This is my most ardent wish, my most sincere advice!...." A federal structure combined with a complete cultural and administrative autonomy of the variegated national minorities living in the Danubian states would be the only device which could guarantee free development to all the national groups.

This great possibility was overlooked after the World War (which was the product of a situation the Hungarian statesman foretold). The newly established States in their intolerant nationalism began to pursue the policy of a balance of power forming new conspiracies and armed coalitions against each other. And though

later both Dr. Beneš and Dr. Maniu realized the extreme danger of this policy, the forces prevailing were driving not towards a democratic federalism but towards military dictatorships. Mr. Clarence K. Streit in his great book, Union Now, has convincingly shown that without a Bill of Rights deeply engraved in the morality of the nations, no federal structure is imaginable. But what he did not see with equal clearness is the fact that the actual possessors of the sovereign power will never voluntarily abdicate because it means for them might, prestige, glory, and splendid jobs. Those thousand five-hundred men of whom President Nicholas Murray Butler recently spoke as the reckless and ruthless influences who are driving the peaceful peoples of the world into war are exactly those men who are personally interested in the now existing system of sovereignties.

Now the hypothesis which I submit as the conclusion of my thoughts is whether Nazidom will not prove to be ultimately a destructive force for itself and the chief factor in driving the peoples into a Central European federation, like the military and mercantilistic absolutism of the French and English kings brought into existence French and English unity and democracy. What Hitler is doing now is breaking down political frontiers and tariff barriers, building up a new system of Central European communication and transportation, developing the sorely neglected natural resources and energies of the backward countries, raising the lowest strata of the proletariat to the detriment of the former privileged classes, conscripting labor and capital. But this system cannot have stability because it is not based on cooperation but on compulsion. It is not a higher form of social evolution; it is simply a war machine. It will bring to the boiling point the humiliated national feelings of the smaller nations, for which Nazidom precludes the development of their cherished traditions and best cultural values. Is it not possible, even probable, that the idea of federalism will cease to be the prophetic vision of a few enlightened persons and will become the chief and only weapon against the German pressure. In the great Zwischenland between Germany and Russia there are now living more than one hundred million people of different nationalities, mostly

agricultural in their social structure for whom there is no other solution than a democratic federalism if they wish to get rid of foreign domination and oppression.

It would even seem that this process has already begun. The Calvary of the Czechs focusses all the energies of this strong and stubborn people on this single issue, and they begin to send soldiers and airplanes to their former enemies, the Poles. The romantic Slovaks are realizing the terrible mistake of their separatism. The sturdy Serb peasants are looking with gnashing teeth on the German alliance of their masters and are urging true federalism for the Croats. Rumanians and Poles are seeking new alliances against the growing danger. And even a considerable portion of Hungarian public opinion regards with the greatest concern the approaching events, though the feeling of revenge against their neighbors is still burning. And recently Dr. Beneš at Yale asserted that new geographical divisions, new increases or decreases in territories will not solve the explosive situation in Europe but only an entirely new principle of social and political organization. But it is equally evident that this new revolutionary principle cannot come from the big powers, saturated with the dogmas of their imperialistic policies, but only from those smaller nations which are the bleeding victims of the balance of power system. A Central European federalism, a kind of an Oriental Switzerland on a far vaster scale, based on democracy and social justice, would mean the end of the old power policy because if the great powers could not mobilize as their allies and satellites the smaller nations of Europe, the eternal turmoil would cease and the final integration of this continent could be accomplished.

A Call to all Hungarians at home and abroad.

In this eleventh hour we must draw a dividing line by our actions, between the regime and the people of Hungary. Unless this be done we shall perish as a nation. We must destroy feudalism in Hungary, if we want to secure a place for her in a new democratic Europe. In such a situation ^{it} he would ^{be} ^{the} act ^{of} as a traitor ^{to} who would take up the fight only against German fascism, while wishing to spare the Horthy regime. Consistent, determined action alone can save the nation. I call upon all those irrespective of party, who stand against Hitler and Horthy alike to join forces and commit themselves to the following program:

1. Immediate peace with the Allies. Withdrawal of the Hungarian troops from the territory of the U.S.S.R. and other fronts. Mobilization of all the resources of the country for the fight against Hitler-Germany.
2. Development of the underground movement around the Magyar National Independence Front. The movement is to be formed into an instrument of resistance which systematically assists the military operations of the Allies, similarly to the popular movements of France, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. To this purpose all forces that are opposed to Horthy and Hitler should be united.
3. Sabotage, by all available means, of the military machine and war industries serving Hitler Germany and Horthy Hungary.
4. Establishment of local organs of resistance in town and country. Setting up of partisan units all over the land. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with Tito's army. Support of the Sub-Carpathian Ukrainian partisans and ~~uncompromisingly active~~ active ~~uncompromisingly~~ assistance of all fighters for freedom among the Slav peoples.
5. Calling upon the Hungarian soldiers to mutiny, and to desert to the Allies or ^{to} form partisan units.
6. We openly proclaim that we see the future of the Hungarian people in a close and friendly co-operation with their neighbours - the Russians, Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, as well as with the Rumanians and Austrians once they have rid themselves from fascist tyranny.
7. The claim of the ruling clique to extend its domination to non-Hungarian peoples and states in the name of its alleged millennial

rights, derived from the Crown of St. Stephen, must be denounced as mythical and contrary to the interests of peace and progress. The Vienna awards, the occupations of Sub-Carpathian and Yugoslav territories we do not recognize as rightful.

8. Punishment of Nicolas Horthy, war criminal No. 1, as well as of the other war criminals. Dissolution of fascist and reactionary parties and organizations (Volke-Bund, Arrow parties, National Regeneration Party, Magyar Life Party, National Work Center, Union of the Defence of the Nation, Turanian Hunters, Memorial Courts, Union of Associations for the Defence of Territories, etc.) *Heron's Chapter*
9. Our aim is to destroy feudalism root and branch and to create a free and independent Hungary, which gives land to the peasant, bread to the worker, and security to all working people.

London, ^{13/}15th March, 1944.

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President Bana received Comr. Michael Kandy.
Their conversation dealt with the various problems
affecting their respective countries, G. + H.

^{all}
A Call to Hungarians at home and abroad.

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a dividing line ^{opportunist} between the ~~Hungarian~~ régime and the ~~Magyar~~ people.
Unless this be done we shall perish as a nation. We must ~~actively~~ ^{in Hungary} ~~not~~ destroy feudalist fascism if we want to secure a place for ^{has} the Magyar nation in a new democratic Europe. In such a situation he ^{would act} ~~not~~ as a traitor ~~to democracy and the Magyar cause~~ who would take up the fight only against German fascism while wishing to spare the Horthy régime. Determined and Consistent actions alone can save ^{the nation} ~~our people~~. I call upon all those irrespective of party who stand ^{alike} ~~for a struggle~~ against Hitler and ^{alike} ~~against~~ Horthy, to join forces and ~~commit themselves to a common struggle with~~ ^{to} commit themselves to ~~fight for the~~ ^{to} a common struggle with the following program:

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Withdrawal of the Hungarian troops from the territory of the USSR and ~~from~~ other fronts. Mobilization of all the resources of the country for the fight against Hitler-Germany.
2. Development of the underground movement around the ^{Magyar} ~~Hungarian~~ National Independence front. The movement is to be formed into a militant organ which systematically assists the military operations of the ^Allies similarly to the popular movements of France, ~~in~~ Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. ~~admission of the opposition to the government~~ ~~and continued cooperation~~ To achieve this end all forces opposed to Horthy and Hitler ^{must} ~~to~~ be united.
3. Sabotage, by all available means, of the military machine and the war industries serving Hitler-Germany and Horthy-Hungary.
4. Establishment of ~~unorganized~~ local ~~new~~ organs of resistance in town and country. Setting up of partisan units all over the country.

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the Sub-Carpathian Ukrainian partisans. ~~and their assistance is all~~ *and the all the*
~~heroes of the brave peoples in their fight for freedom.~~ *heroic fighters for freedom among the slave*

5. Calling upon the Hungarian soldiers to mutiny, ~~and~~ *by* desert to
the Allies or ~~join the~~ *from* partisan ~~groups~~ *units*.

6. We ~~must~~ openly proclaim that we see the future of the Hungarian
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the Russians, Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, as well as with Rumanians
and Austrians, once they have rid themselves of the fascist yoke.

7. The ~~uninterrupted~~ *claim* of the ruling clique to extend its do-
mination to ~~the neighbouring~~ *non-Magyar* peoples and
territories in the name of its alleged

millenarist rights derived from the Crown of St. Stephen must be
~~denounced as~~ *denounced as* ~~unjust and opposed~~ *unjust and opposed* ~~mythical and unjust~~ *mythical and unjust* ~~and contrary to the~~ *and contrary to the*
~~principles of the League of Nations and the Vienna awards.~~

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not recognize as whatsoever rightful.

Punishment of

of which

8. Nicolasorthy, war criminal No. 1, as well as the other war
criminals. ~~must be punished.~~ *Dissolution of* ~~Reactionary~~ and reactionary parties and

organizations ~~must be destroyed~~ (Volke-Bund, Arrow parties, Party
of National Regeneration, Party of Magyar Life, National Work Center,
Association ~~for the~~ for the Defence of the Nation, Turanian Hunters,
Manorial Courts, Union of Associations for the Defence of Territorial
Integrity etc.)

9. ~~Our aim~~ *(complete)* is the annihilation of feudalism in
Hungary. ~~We wish to create~~ *and the creation of* a free and independent Hungary, ~~which~~
~~the government~~ offers land to the peasant, bread to the worker,
and social security to all working people.

London, 15th March .

Michael Karolyi.

The New Democratic Hungary Movement

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The lectures will be given by experts of the respective countries. Meetings will be held weekly. There will be two meetings on the problems of each country. Lectures will last three-quarters of an hour, and discussion will follow.

The first lecture, which will be given by

Prof. R. W. Selon-Watson, on 20th April, 1944, at 6.30 p.m. at 30, Connaught Square, W.2., will provide an introduction to the series.

Amongst the lecturers are:

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A detailed programme will be provided at the first meeting, when also the dates of the subsequent meetings will be fixed.

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Dr. J. A. Hawgood

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Irta: KÁROLYI MIHÁLY

1914 emlékezetes dátum lesz a magyar történelemben. Néhány hónap és eldől a magyarság sorsa. Csaknem bizonyos, hogy a háború a jövő év folyamán a Szüvelségecs győzelmével véget ér és Európa felszabadításával egyidejűleg felvetődik a magyar sorsprobléma is. A Szüvelségecs diadalmas hadseregei határozzák majd meg, hogy miképpen alakul a helyzet, de végső felelős a magyarság állásfoglalásától és magatartásától függ, hogy milyen lesz a magyar nép szerepe és jövője a háború utáni új Európában.

Sajnos, rossz kilátásokkal indulunk a jövő felé. Hortilyék még jobban elrontottak mindent, mint 1914-ben Tiszák. Éppen ezért ne állassuk magunkat: ami 1918-ban nem sikerült, az most sem sikerülhet. Nem valószínű, hogy a magyarság minden baj nélkül, sértetlenül kerül ki a kataklizmából. A háború már eddig is súlyos veszteségeket és még súlyosabb erkölcsi károkat okozott az országnak. De még megmenthetjük a jövőt. Két út kínálkozik a magyarság számára: az egyik a hagyományos, feudál-nacionalista, a másik a haladó, a szomszédállamokkal való együttműködés alapján álló politika. Az egyik a jelenlegi rendszer megmentését jelenti, a másik a nép jólétét és szabadságát. Magyarország urai természetesen az első utat választanák. A magyar népen mulik, hogy ezt a választást elfogadjuk. A hagyományos nacionalista politika követése végképpen hozzá köti az országot a németekhez, az urai történelmi múlttal való szakítás biztosítja a magyarság jövőjét. A magyarság sorsa a magyar nép kezében van. Még elérhető a végzetnek.

Elsősorban az otthoni magyarság fog a történelemre befolyást gyakorolni, de ez nem jelenti azt, hogy a szabad földön élő magyarok, akik szabadon, nagyobb áttekintéssel ítélhetik meg a helyzetet, ne befolyásolhatnák az otthoni eseményeket. Segítenünk kell a magyarságon és nyitni ki kell mondanunk az igazságot: ha a magyarságnak nincs ereje és elszántsága ahhoz, hogy a hátralevő rövid pár hónap alatt szakítson a német návalkal és az ezeket kiszolgáló magyar uralkodó rendszerrel, akkor „nemzeti nagylétünk nagy temetője” a második világháború lesz. Vagy követjük a hamis útjokat és akkor a németekkel együtt el kell bukunk, vagy szakítunk a návalkal és a magyar ellenforradalmi rendszerrel s akkor beilleszkedhetünk az új európai közösségbe. Harmadik lehetőség nincs. Nagy feladat hárul a magyarságra: meg kell szabadulnia az urhatmanság vágyától és le kell számolnia a rommunkkal, urai Magyarországgal. Újjá kell formálnunk történelmünket és biztosítanunk kell a szűcs paraszti és munkástömegek jólétét. Az otthoni magyarság rosszul készült fel erre a feladatra. Amit a múltban elmulasztottak, azt nehéz lesz a hátralevő

kurta idő alatt pótolni. A magyarságot nemcsak a német uralmi vasgyűrűje fogja körül, de a félféudális magyar rendszer is teljes súllyal ránehezedik. A több mint két évtizedes ellenforradalmi uralom mérgezett propagandája elkáblította a népet. Valami rekkenő tehetetlenség uralkodik az országon. A tömegek érzik nyomorukat és becsapottságukat, de mintha meghalmozták volna őket, meg sem mozdulnak. Először a tehetetlenségből a népnél ki kell mozdulnia. A létünkről van szó. Nemzet kell mondani a németeknek még akkor is, ha Magyarország átmenetileg Tszakolaszország sorsára jut. Ez kétségenkívül szörnyű áldozattal jár, de vannak idők, amikor a jelent fel kell áldozni a jövőért. Amikor 1918 nyarán Károly királynak azt tanácsoltam, hogy szakítson nyíltan a németekkel, azt felelte, hogy „nem teheti, mert a németek azonnal megszállnak a Monarchiát”. „Még akkor is meg kell tennie — mondottam — a megszállás a kisebbik rossz, mert csak átmeneti időre szól. Természetesen még jobb lett volna, ha már 1917-ben elszánta volna magát erre a lépésre”. Amikor ezt a tanácsot adtam, tisztában voltam azzal, hogy német megszállás esetén én lennék az első áldozat. Nos, a helyzet ma nagyjából ugyanaz. Akkor is — ma is — az uralkodó osztály állta útját az ország megmenekülésnek. A magyar népnél ma is előbb azoktól kell megszabadulnia, akik osztályérdekekből németbarát politikát folytattak és bár ma patkány módra szívesen elhagynák a süllyedő hajót, ezt nem tehetik meg, mert egyrészt saját előléteik és érdekeik foglyai, másrészt a bűnről van szó és jól tudják, hogy könnyen Dollfus sorsára juthatnak. Horthy, Kállay és társaik számára nincs menekvés, de a magyar nép az ő elhárításuk révén még megmentheti az országot.

A magyar ellenzéknek gyökeresen szakítania kell az eddigi politikai gyakorlattal. Minden illúzió nélkül, a kértelmű jelszavak szüddobásával kell hozzálátnia a munkához, mielőtt késő lesz. Ma már nem programokra, suttogó propagandára, kényelmes „átvészelő” taktikázásra van szükség, hanem cettek. A szociáldemokraták lapja, miközben a kormányzó nevenapját ünnepli, csupán azt tartja fontosnak, hogy az „égő világ lángját távol tartsa az országtól”. Holott éppen a forradalom alvó parazsát kellene élesztgetni, majd lángralobbantani. A tűz csak akkor fog elhárulni, ha az összes fasizta gyújtogatást megsemmisítjük. Ehhez azonban harcra van szükség. Az ellenzéknek nem szabad ülbetett kézzel várnia. Nem elegendő szociális reformokat, földreformot ígérni a óvatos tuffal és karskaringós beszédekkel a sorok között és a szavak mögött hirtől adni, hogy ellenségei vagyunk a németeknek. A magyar népnél fegyverrel a kezében kell kiharcolnia a jogait és nemességét. Nemde arról, hogy a Szövetségesekhez tartozik. A fegyvernek egyszerre kell fordulnia a németek és Horthyék ellen. Itt az ideje, hogy rácsfoljunk Ady Endre keserű és fájdalmas szavaira: „hátor nótá, nem kellett itt soha óta”. „Az új magyar jakobinusoknak” be kell bizonyítani, hogy teljes szívvél a Szövetségesek oldalán állnak. Olyan bátran kell harcolni, mint Tito marsall és a partizánjai és a franciákhoz, belgákhoz, norvégekhez stb. hasonlóan, az erdő sűrűjében, a hegyekben és külvárosi utcák mélyén kell támadni az ellenséget.

Ha a legális ellenzékieskedés alkalmas volt egy bizonyos ideig arra, hogy hangulatot teremtsen az országban az igaz ügy mellett, ma, amikor a balkáni offenzíva előestéjén állunk és a Vörös Hadsereg már csak 250 kilométernyire van a magyar határtól, a ravasz szölamok nem jelentenek semmit. A Szövetségesek minden megmozdulást aszerint értékelnek, hogy mennyiben segíti háborús tevékenységüket és hozzájárul-e a háború meggyőzítéséhez. Magyarország egyelőre ahelyett, hogy német divíziókat vonna el, táplálja és aktívan segíti a nácikat. Ma sztrájkokra, szabotázásra, vonatok kisiklására, hadianyagraktárak felrobbantására, titkos rádiók, titkos nyomdák felállítására van szükség, egy szóval egy erős földalatti mozgalomra, amely félreérthetetlenül szemben áll az ellenséggel, az ellenséget kiszolgáló rendszerrel és hathatósan támogatja a Szövetségeseket. Ez a mozgalom egy partizán-hadsereg megerősítésében csuesosodna ki. Ez viszont a forradalommal egyenlő, azzal a forradalommal, amely biztosítja a magyar nép jövőjét és boldogulását.

A földalatti magyar mozgalom, a parasztság, munkásság és értelmiség ellenzéki blokkja csak akkor válhat a magyar nép tudatos vezetőjévé, csak akkor töltetheti be azt a szerepet, amelyre hivatottnak érzi magát, ha összefonja a németekkel való szakítást a miközben legális eszközökkel előkészíti a fordulatot, kiépíti az összeköttetést a meglévő földalatti mozgalommal, megszervezi a kádereit és előkészíti a népet a tömegmegmozdulásra. Az idő sürget. Ahelyett, hogy hivalkodnának azzal — amit különben nem hisznek —, hogy Magyarországon nincs földalatti mozgalom, a leg sürgetőbbben koordinálni kellene a legális és illegális mozgalom tevékenységét.

Mindenhhez azonban komoly ideológiai vértetoztre is szükség van. Milyen nevetséges, hogy az ellenzék is, szinte felülről beszérvé „testvéri jobbot kínál” a szomszédnépeknek. Azt hiszik talán, hogy am azok rögyest elfelejtik Horthyék szerepét országuk elpusztításában? Hiszen még ma is, az ellenzéki padsorokból azért kéri a magyar csapatoknak az orosz fronttól való visszavonását, mert a „jugoszláv partizánok elleni harchoz az országnak szüksége lehet rájuk”. És ezt a kijelentést az egész ellenzék tapsal kíséri! Pedig éppen ellenkezőleg: Tito partizánjaival együtt kellene harcolnunk a közös ellenség ellen, hogy a közös harc folytán megismerhessük azt a baráti szellemet, amelyet nacionalista uszítók igyekeztek kiűzni a népekből. A közös harc el fogja simítani a mesterségesen táplált ellentéteket, a summitmondó udvarlások hatástalanok maradnak.

Tisztában kell lennünk azzal, hogy a harcot nem lehet izoláltan folytatni és igénybe kell vennünk az angolok, az oroszok és a szomszédnépek segítségét. Nem kell visszariadnunk az orosz fegyverek elfogadásától. Az 1848-as szabadságharcot az orosz cári segítségével győzték le, az új felkelést a hősi Vörös Hadsereg fogja feleleszteni.

A tizenkettedik órában, a harmadik szakaszában, döntő fontossággal bír, hogy megértést keressünk a csehekkel és az oroszokkal. Vissza kell utasítanunk az „álnok csehekről” és a „bolsevista kísértetről”

szóló mende-mendákat. Az oroszok haladó, demokratikus kormányokat kívánnak. A teheráni találkozás után egyszer és mindenkorra tudomásul kell vennünk, hogy a három nagyhatalom teljes egyetértésben fog eljárni és hogy a háború után Oroszországnak döntő szava lesz Délkelet-Európában és így a magyar kérdésben is. Bence oroszországi útja és az orosz-cseh egyezmény viszont azt jelenti, hogy Moszkvába Csehszlovákián keresztül vezet az út. Ne felejtjük el, hogy közvetlenül a teheráni találkozás után az Angolszász Hatalmak is közeledtek Tito marsallhoz és Mihajlovicsot, aki köztudomásúan oroszellenes, elejtették. Legyen intő példa számunkra a bulgár békeajánlat sorsa. Hiába kopogtattak azzal, hogy amennyiben megtarthatják a hirtokukban lévő, „szerzett” területeket, hajlandók szakítani a németekkel. A Szövetségesek határozott nem-mel feleltek, pedig hát a bulgárok nem vettek részt az Oroszország elleni háborúban. Ne felejtjük el, hogy Hull amerikai külügyi államtitkár legutóbbi nyilatkozatában figyelmeztette Németországot csatlósait, hogy jelenlegi politikájuk folytatása esetén ugyanolyan bánásmódban részesítik őket, mint a németeket. Hasonlóan nyilatkoztak az angol és az orosz lapok is.

A magyar ellenzéknek tehát propagandájában kerülnie kell minden ultranacionalista szólamot és elsősorban szociális, népies irányt kell követnie. Az elnyomott magyar nincstelen a felszabadítóit várja és nem hajlandó tovább délirábok után futni. Tübbek között ez az egyik magyarázata annak, hogy még alélt állapotban van.

A külföldi magyarság legfőbb feladata, hogy a hormentő forradalmi gondolatot magáévé téve, minden lehetőt elkövessen, hogy ez az S.O.S. hallgató fülekre találjon Magyarországon. Azok, akik a magyar kormányt és politikáját igyekeznek lehátrasszani és a forradalom elkerülését tűzik ki célul, akorva-menakorva a magyar reakció ötödik hadiszögelyéhez tartoznak. *A magyarság esetleges győztes visszkézdése megpecsételteti országunk sorsát és lététben fenyegetheti.*

Amikor egy nagyhatalom nem hal bele, egy kis ország számára halálos csapás lehet.

Magyarország jövőjét azzal szolgáljuk a legjobban, ha a jelenével törődünk. Először végezni kell az elnyomó fasizmus minden formájával a csak azután jöhet az építés. Nincs kitérés: harcolni kell. Egy komoly fegyveres ellenállás esetén, a Szövetségesek elismerik majd, hogy tőlünk telhető módon segítettünk a háborút megnyerni és ezt méltányolni fogják. Terveink megvalósításának legelső feltétele: a Szövetségesek teljes győzelme. Ha a közép-európai népekkel együtt harcolva kivívjuk a győzelmet, megteremthetjük az alapját egy olyan szövetségnek, amely Anglia, Oroszország és az Egyesült Államok támogatásával magasabb életszínvonalat, biztonságot és békét nyújt a Dunamedence népeinek s a magyarság sem lesz többé magára hagyva. Mindenekelőtt azonban mérni kell.

London, 1944. január.

DECLARATION
OF
THE COMMITTEE
OF
THE ASSOCIATION OF FREE HUNGARIANS
IN GREAT BRITAIN

March 15th 1944
London

22 Manchester Square, W. 1

INTRODUCTION

A. The guiding principle of the Committee of the Association of Free Hungarians in Great Britain is, as it always has been, to serve with all means at our disposal the cause of democracy for which Great Britain and her Allies are fighting. We uphold this principle, being convinced that this cause is the cause of justice, of right and of civilization, and because we firmly believe that only thus can we serve the true interests of our country.

B. We, who are living on the free soil of Britain are inspired by the hope of seeing the aspirations of a free, independent and democratic Hungary shaped in accordance with British interests. In conformity with this we are labouring for the co-ordination of the interests of the Hungarian people with the interests of Great Britain and her Allies, in particular of those who are to be the neighbours of the future democratic Hungary.

C. We equally believe that it is in the interest of Great Britain and all her Allies that peace, security and stability should prevail in the Danubian basin. We wish to contribute to that end by defining again the principles by which we are animated and to which we have given expression in our past activities.

FOREIGN POLICY

1. We gladly accept the Atlantic Charter which has laid down the fundamental principles for reconstruction in Europe.

2. We wholeheartedly welcome the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Alliance as the proper instrument for establishing peace and stability in Europe. It is our firm conviction that it is in the interests of the future free, independent and democratic Hungary that the re-organisation of Europe should take place in the spirit of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and in the spirit of the Three Power declarations of Moscow and Teheran. We also trust that the Hungarian people, shaking off the yoke of the present regime, will, by their own exertions succeed in making acceptable their contribution to the system of co-operation based on this Alliance. We look with confidence to the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of Alliance, believing it to be the proper means to counter the German menace by which Hungary too has been endangered.

3. We strongly condemn the unpardonable policy of the Hungarian regime which led to Hungary's participation in the criminal aggression against the Soviet-Union and consequently, to the British declaration of war on Hungary. We refer to our declaration of December 6th, 1941. Similarly we condemn in the strongest terms the ridiculous and revolting act by which the Hungarian regime declared war on the United States.

4. We equally condemn the treacherous assistance given by the Hungarian regime to Germany in the aggression against Yugoslavia, which led to the breach of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Hungary.

5. We fully share the view that all decisions reached under the brutal pressure of National Socialist Germany are immoral and detrimental to a peaceful settlement in Europe.

6. In accordance with the foregoing, we are in full agreement with the declaration of the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made on behalf of His Britannic Majesty's Government on August 5th, 1942, in respect of the Munich Agreement signed on September 30th, 1938, and of the subsequent agreements based thereon.

7. We repudiate any settlement of the Hungarian-Yugoslav frontiers with German help just as much as we disapprove of all settlements affecting our country which have taken place with German assistance.

8. We acknowledge the established policy of the British Government that the final settlement of European frontiers will be effected at the Peace Conference and we are confident that the final frontiers of a future free, independent and democratic Hungary will be settled in a spirit of justice and equity by the Allied Great Powers and the nations interested in this area.

9. The future free, independent and democratic Hungary must dissociate herself from all attempts to use her as a dividing factor between the surrounding families of nations in South Eastern Europe. Hungary must never again become a tool of German policy.

10. We are confident that the peace settlement will be conducive to a close political and economic co-operation between Hungary and her neighbours which should be a guarantee of peace and stability in this area of Europe. This co-operation, whatever form it may take, must be fitted into the frame-work of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Alliance, which we consider to be the foundation of the re-organisation of Europe.

INTERNAL POLICY

We believe that the following principles according to which the political, economic and social structure of Hungary must be shaped will serve the better future of the Hungarian people, will improve the economic and social status of the Hungarian nation, and will secure a fair place for Hungary in the community of democratic and freedom-loving nations :

1. The political, economic and social reconstruction of the country must be based on the four freedoms laid down in the Atlantic Charter.

2. A democratic system of parliamentary government, founded on the widest popular representation must be established.

3. All laws, measures and institutions which are against the principles of democracy and of the equality of citizens must be abolished.

4. The foundations of the regime, based on political, economic and social privileges, including first of all the institution of the Regency, which in the past decades by a policy of suppression of liberty and the right of free expression, precipitated the country into its present catastrophic position, must be destroyed.

5. All those responsible for Hungary's present plight and for her participation in this war on the Fascist side must be brought to trial, there to answer for their crimes. Similarly all crimes, allowed by the present regime to be committed with impunity, must be punished.

6. Full freedom of thought, speech, assembly, press and conscience must be granted to every citizen.

7. The principle of democracy must be adopted in the spheres of both economic and social life together with the complete liquidation of all remnants of the system of landed oligarchy and the limitation of vested interests. A primary condition in the reshaping of the social structure of the country is the liquidation of the big estates in favour of the landless and needy peasants ; another is the planned re-organisation of agriculture and industry, ensuring the rights and welfare of the workers. Together with the systematic elimination of unemployment and the advancement of the welfare of the working classes through their own free organisations, the economic resources of the country must be developed to reach a state of maximum productivity, the production surplus to benefit every working stratum of society in accordance with the principle of economic and social equality and of security.

8. Before the formation of a Government based on popular representation, a provisional Government will have to be established composed of representatives of all those sections in Hungary which, either openly or by underground activities, have resisted the Germans and the present Hungarian regime, and thus have proved their devotion to the cause of democracy and freedom.

CONCLUSION

The Committee of the Association of Free Hungarians in Great Britain confidently hope that the year 1944 will be the year of final victory for the United Nations. We consider it therefore desirable that at the outset of this year expression should once again be given to the ideas and principles for the furtherance of which our organisation was brought into being and for which we wholeheartedly stand. We wish to emphasize our firm belief that these ideas are shared by the broad masses of our countrymen at home, by the workers, peasants and intellectuals of Hungary. We, the Committee of the Association of Free Hungarians in Great Britain, are fully aware that the unbreakable bonds of community of fate and of ideals which tie us to the broad masses of the Hungarian people impose a high responsibility upon us. Well aware of this responsibility we think it fit to summarise once more our principles and at the same time to impress upon our fellow countrymen the urgency of combining in the spirit of these general principles all forces resisting or fighting the Germans and the present Hungarian regime, either by legal means or by underground activity. It is only thus that Hungarian people can contribute to the final defeat of Hitlerism and lead the Hungarian nation towards a better future.

(Signed) ANTHONY BALASY
GEORGE BUDAY

YOLANDA FÖLDES
BÉLA IVANYI-GRÜNWARD
LOUIS KENTNER

ANDREW RÉVAI
GEORGE TARJAN

Appeal for Help to Hungary

The latest information from Hungary reveals that famine has now gripped the country and that conditions in the Capital and the large towns are so desperate that the death-roll from starvation and disease is mounting daily.

Bread in Budapest is available for only a few days. Grain stocks in the country are likely to be exhausted within a few weeks. The daily food ration, amounting to less than 800 calories, if it can be obtained at all, is likely to be further reduced. This is by far the lowest ration in Europe. Child and infant mortality is increasing to catastrophic figures. Of three thousand babies born in November last, only 800 survived. As the situation worsens, disease is spreading rapidly. Medical supplies are almost unobtainable.

We recognize that almost the whole of Europe is in distress and that support for one particular country may seem unjustified. Nevertheless, we are moved to issue the present appeal because Hungary is one of the few countries in Europe which has been unable to obtain any substantial relief from the United Nations in her dire need.

We, therefore, appeal for urgent and organised help. Donations will be used for the purchase of medical supplies and to obtain supplies of food and clothing from the exporting countries of the British Commonwealth. The fund will be administered by THE HUNGARIAN RELIEF COMMITTEE IN GREAT BRITAIN which is now an officially registered Charity. Contributions should be sent to its London Office at 2811 ALBEMARLE STREET, W.1.

Urgent and immediate help can save thousands of lives and may prevent the collapse of a country which has proved its will for democratic regeneration. We appeal for your generous support.

List of Signatories of the Appeal for Help to Hungary

LORD RUSSELL

LORD LINDSAY

LORD FARRINGTON

THE RIGHT REV. A. J. CAMPBELL, *Moderator of the Church of Scotland*

THE RIGHT REV. THE RIGHT HON. PROF. R. CORKEY, *Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland*

THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP MATHEW

SIR ERNEST BARKER
JOHN BROPHY
RICHARD CHURCH
PROF. HENRY CLAY

PROF. DR. G. P. GODCH
SIR HUBERT D. HENDERSON
DR. JULIAN HUXLEY

PROF. GILBERT MURRAY
SIR OSBERT SITWELL
SIR JOHN S. B. STOPFORD

FRANK ANDERSON, M.P.
BARBARA AYRTON-GOULD, M.P.
VERNON BARTLETT, M.P.
A. R. BLACKBURN, M.P.
CLEMENT DAVIES, M.P.
TOM DRIEBERG, M.P.
MAURICE EDELMAN, M.P.
MICHAEL FOOT, M.P.
PETER FREEMAN, M.P.

WILLIAM GALLACHER, M.P.
FLY.-LT. JOHN HAIRE, M.P.
LT.-COL. THE HON. JOHN HARE, M.P.
SIR ALAN P. HERBERT, M.P.
T. L. HORABIN, M.P.
LT.-COL. E. M. KING, M.P.
A. W. J. LEWIS, M.P.
LADY MEGAN LLOYD GEORGE, M.P.
RT. HON. HAROLD MACMILLAN, M.P.

LUCY MIDDLETON, M.P.
G. R. MITCHISON, M.P.
S. S. SILVERMAN, M.P.
LT. SKEFFINGTON-LODGE, R.N.V.R., M.P.
R. R. STOKES, M.P.
HENRY THORNECROFT, M.P.
HENRY URBORNE, M.P.
MAJOR WIGG, M.P.
K. ZILLIACUS, M.P.

February, 1946

Mr. 7. Apparatus to Hungarian about.

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Herpetaria abroad are also an object:

Bobini. Mrs B. expressed her great regretment under the sign. of the H. C.

"Dec. 4. Inspection in Pw. also commenced with Comdr. H. and expressed their approval of our programme. 12, A. D. 1914.

Mass - under the presidency of Prof. Hingham Vandenberg
is already represented in her cause by Mr. Kears

The H. C. in Canada, representing
 over 60000 Hungarians and Canadians of H. origin
 decided sent similar commissions to the H. C. in (A)
 and asking the Council that further more to
 H. should be bound also in their
 name. Later the H. C. in Canada appeared
 then agreement with the C's, agrees to they should.

The H. Sec. C. for Dec. from Hryzen
in Mexico and Valentin declared them
legally to the H. C. for Dec. and are the prop.

Henry Snowdon in Report - (under)
also declared that they had accepted the
C's program and approved of the agreement

Ulen Weniger;

When then treated for outbreak of P_2 —
people of form.

King. women.

Lower: often under our hands.

2. action per.

R. in. — to be made.

① not less average

② stop farming, proper land.

Második emlékirat.

Az Angliai Magyar Tanácshoz.

Tárgy: A Tito marsal hadseregében harcoló magyar egység (Petöfi zászlóalj) segélyezése és a külföldön élő magyarokkal való kapcsolat létesítése.

Előterjesztette az e tárgyban kiküldött Albizottság (tagjai: Kellner György, Polányi Károly és Révai András) 1944. június 2-án tartott megbeszélése alapján.

Tárgycsoportok:

- a) Petöfi zászlóalj akció az Egyesült Államokban;
- b) Petöfi zászlóalj akció a többi amerikai államban;
- c) a Szovjet-Unióban élő magyarokkal való kapcsolat felvétele;
- d) a Szovjet-Unióban levő magyar hadifoglyok kérdése.

a) Petöfi zászlóalj akció az Egyesült Államokban.

A következő szervezeti irányelveket és módozatokat javasoljuk:

- 1) A Petöfi Zászlóalj Akció mint az amerikai magyarok akciója lépjen az amerikai nyilvánosság elé.
- 2) Az Angliai Magyar Tanács szorítkozzék
 - a) az akció angliai előkészítésére, elsősorban az illetékes jugoszláv és angol körökkel való érintkezés útján,
 - b) szuggesztiókra, amelyeket az amerikai magyar körök elé terjeszt.
- 3) A Petöfi Zászlóalj Akciót egy Amerikában alakítandó magyar bizottság indítsa el és bonyolítsa le.
- 4) Az Angliai Magyar Tanács saját akciójára forduljon a kiszemelt amerikai magyar szervezetekhez egy á t í r a t t a l, amelyben elsősorban azokat a tényeket hozza tudomásukra, amelyek az Angliai Magyar Tanács akciójára és egy esetleges szélesebb akciót előkészítő lépéseire vonatkoznak.
- 5) Akár ez a Tanácsí Átirat maga, akár az azt kísérő levél, amelyet esetleg különböző alkalmas tanácstagok személy szerint írnának alá emelje ki
 - a) a magyarországi német megszállás ébresztő hatását általában;
 - b) a megszállás hatását az idáig konzervatív gondolkodású amerikai magyar körökre;
 - c) egy a d h o c, formások mellőzésével alakítandó szervező bizottság szükségét.
- 6) A Tanácsí Átirat foglalja magában azoknak az egyesületeknek és testületeknek névsorát, amelyekhez az Átirat ment, hogy ezzel is elősegítse az 5 c) alatti bizottság sürgős megalakulását.
- 7) Két nézet lehetséges a tekintetben, hogy miképpen válassza meg az Angliai Magyar Tanács azokat az amerikai köröket, akikhez Átirátát intézi és akiktől az a d h o c szervező bizottság alakítását reméli:
 - a) szorítkozzék olyan egyesületekre és testületekre, amelyek tudomása szerint már eddig is egy vagy más célra együttműködtek és amelyekhez az Angliai Magyar Tanácsnak is kapcsolat

Sűrűség

tenyer

(1) angliai akers

(2) jüvelar

(3) nemzeti kérés

(4) lista

(5) egyseget minden
de nem forrás

nagyság és terv

nagyság és mennyiség
hizottas.

- lata van; vagy
b) tájítsa ki e kört azok bevonásával, aminek az elismerten igen fontos Verhovai Segélyegylet, amelyekre nézve e feltételek nincsenek megadva.

Az első metódusnak szembeszökő organizatorikus és taktikai előnyei vannak, míg a második a Tanács súlyát vetné a latba az akció ki-szélesítésére. De ez az utóbbi cél avval is elérhető volna, ha az amerikai szervező bizottságra bízónk annak eldöntését, hogy az Angliai Magyar Tanács kihez milyen formában forduljon.

- 8) Elsősorban a következő egyesületek és testületek jönnek tekintetbe:

Amerikai Magyar Demokrata Kör (Kormos),
Amerikai Magyarok Demokratikus Szövetsége (Vámbéry),
Amerikai Magyarok Demokratikus Tanácsa (Lugosi),
Amerikai Magyar Szakszervezeti Tanács (Komlós-Zvara),
Bridgeport-i Szövetség;
New Democratic Hungary Movement (Jászi),
Rákóczy Egylet, Bridgeport,
Verhovay Segélyegylet (?),
Victory Council (Takaro, Toth),
"Szabadság" kör (?).

- b) Petőfi Zászlóalj Akció Amerikában, az U.S.A. kivételével.

Csak az Egyesült Államokban élnek széles magyar eredetű csoportok Amerikában. A többi Államban szűkebb körökről van szó, akik között az utóbbi évek kivándorlói sokkal nagyobb szerepet játszanak. Ezért azt ajánljuk, hogy ezek esetében az Angliai Magyar Tanács kapcsolja össze a Petőfi Zászlóalj Akciót az ott élő magyarokkal való összeköttetés felvételével.

Ennek megfelelően a következő eljárást javasoljuk:

- 1) Az Angliai Magyar Tanács indítványozza maga a helyi gyűjtő akció elindítását;
- 2) Forduljon ott mindazokhoz, akiket el tud érni;
- 3) Helyezze kilátásba, hogy tanácsai és egyéb módon támogatni fogja őket, kívánságukra az általános helyzetről tájékoztatni fogja őket, ami a gyűjtési akciót illeti.
- 4) A következő összeköttetések jönnek számításba:

Argentina: Szabad Magyarok Szövetsége (Pongrac),
Bolivia;
Brazília;
Chile;
Columbia;
Cuba: Pro Libertate
Kanada: Canadai Magyarok Demokratikus Szövetsége
Mexiko: Ungeria Libre,
Uruguay;

Pontos címek a titkárság birtokában vannak.

- c) A Szovjet-Unióban élő magyarokkal való kapcsolat felvétele.

Az Angliai Magyar Tanács intézzen átiratot a Szovjet Unió londoni nagykövetségéhez, amelyben közli aziránti szándékát, hogy a külföldön élő magyarokkal kíván kapcsolatot teremteni, a Tanács ismert célkitű-

Második emlékirat.

az Angliai Magyar Tanácshoz.

Tárgy: A Tito marsal hadseregében harcoló magyar egység (Petőfi Brigád) segélyezése és a külföldön élő magyarokkal való kapcsolat létesítése.

Előterjesztette az e tárgyban kiküldött Albizottság (tagjai: Kellner György, Polányi Karoly és Révai András) annak 1944 június 2.-án tartott üléséről. *megbeszélés alapján.*

Tárgycsoportok:

- 3. csoport*
- a) Petőfi Brigád akció az Egyesült Államokban;
 - b) Petőfi Brigád akció a többi amerikai államban;
 - c) a Szovjet-Unióban élő magyarokkal való kapcsolat felvétele;
 - d) a Szovjet-Unióban lévő magyar hadifoglyok kérdése.

a) Petőfi Brigád akció az Egyesült Államokban.

A következő szervezeti irányelveket és módokat javasoljuk:

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 - b) szuggesztiókra, amelyeket az amerikai magyar körök elé terjeszt.
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- szervezetileg*
4) Az Angliai Magyar Tanács forduljon a kiszemelt amerikai magyar közhatalú egy a t i r a t t a l, amelyben elsősorban azokat a tényeket hozza tudomásukra, amelyek az Angliai Magyar Tanács akciójára és egy esetleges szélesebb akciót előkészítő lépéseire vonatkoznak.
- angliai*
5) Akár ez a Tanácsai átírat maga, akár az azt kísérő levél, amelyet esetleg különböző alkalmas tanácsotagok személy szerint írnának alá emelje ki
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- 2) Forduljon ott mindazokhoz, akiket el tud érni;
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tegyékztatni fogja őket
őket, kivanságukra, az általános helyzetről, ami a gyűjtési akciót illeti.

4) A következő összeköttetések jönnek számításba:

Argentina: Szabad Magyarok Szövetsége (Pongrác),
Bolivia;
Brazília;
Chile;
Columbia;
Cuba: Pro Libertate
Kanada: Canadai Magyarok Demokratikus Szövetsége
Mexiko: Ungeria Libre,
Uruguay;

Pontos címek a titkárság birtokában vannak.

c) A Szovjet-Unióban élő magyarokkal való kapcsolat felvétele.

Londoni
Az Angliai Magyar Tanács intézzen átiratot a Szovjet-Unió ~~nagybri-~~
tanniai nagykövetségéhez, amelyben közli aziranti szándékát, hogy a
külföldön élő magyarokkal kíván kapcsolatot teremteni, a Tanács is-
mert célkitűzéseinek szolgálatában. Az Angliai Magyar Tanács fejezze ki
aziranti reményét, hogy a szovjetuniobeli magyarsággal való kapcso-
lat megteremtésének a szándéka a Szovjetunio kormányának tetszésé-
vel fog találkozni és hogy a Tanács ilyen irányú igyekezetét támogatni
fogja.

Mielőtt ilyen átiratot intéz az Angliai Magyar Tanács a nagykövet-
séghez, előzőleg létezését a szokott módon a külföldi képviseletek tu-
domására kell hoznia.

(mobilizálásának)
d) A Szovjet-Unióban élő magyar hadifoglyok kérdése.

hogy a foglyok mobilizálása tárgyalás
Az Angliai Magyar Tanács ~~határozata~~ *elvé* a tárgyalás jegyzékét fog in-
tézni a Szovjetunio nagybritanniai nagykövetségéhez. A jegyzék elkül-
désére azonban csak akkor kerülhet sor, amikor az Angliai Magyar Tanács
megalakulásának a notifikálása a szokott módon megtörtént.

-----0000000-----

amelyben
A.A.M. az országban anti-fasiszta magyar har-
szokból alakult magyar
katonák egy részét Magyarországra
ajánlja, akik ~~hadifoglyok~~
a Tanács kérségére ~~tanács~~
érvényes ~~ajánlat~~ és ~~ország~~ ~~in~~ ~~lyből~~
katonai kötelezet

In other words they are for the inviolability of Hungary, ^{sovereignty}
in the classical sense, wanting that the pre-1914 Hungary should
be reconstituted. Bycsi, formerly leader of the leftish smallholders party
and unity in an article declared that ~~he~~ he agrees with the
(Ker. Dept.,) foreign policy of Kallay. Hardly in receipt of the
~~classical~~ ^{classical} policy of the H. ruling class.
(low grass policy)

In this crisis the Hungarians ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~for~~ ^{for} ~~indep. front~~
It ought to be made clear by all means (Ker. Ranks,
our people) to the leaders of the Independent - Party, (small.
Party) ^(by all) ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~Lyttelton~~ ^{Lyttelton} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~this line must be~~
~~dropped~~ ^{dropped} ~~because~~ ^{because} ~~any~~ ^{any} ~~kind~~ ^{kind} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~understanding~~ ^{understanding} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~anybody~~ ^{anybody}
is ~~impossible~~ ^{impossible}, since it would not lead to peace
but to war with G, J. & R. . . But to mention the LHM.
~~unwisely~~ ^{unwisely} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~fact~~ ^{fact} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~app~~ ^{app} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~being~~ ^{being} ~~disregarded~~ ^{disregarded} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~yet~~ ^{yet}.
The people here must not exchange a vigorous action for one
and must remember 1918, when although up to the last moment
the extreme Hungarian leaders of the ruling class (even the
so-called opposition Coms. Ab. Organs) were deaf to all
reasonable ^{claims of} ~~attempts~~ ^{attempts} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~minority~~ ^{minority} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~nationalists~~ ^{nationalists}
and so drove the country into disaster. But the wrong
collapse came, all these people turned their coats and accepted
too late, the consequences of a lost war.

and of the 'dwarf'-holders is one of the main reasons why the Horthy regime has decided to ally itself with Nazi Germany against the U.S.S.R.

2. Political preparation.

On 28th December, 1943, I gave an interview to the Reuter-agency in which I declared for the launching of an armed resistance movement in Hungary. The legal opposition (Social Democrats, Trade Unions, Smallholders Party) should cease to shield the government and should turn openly against any collaboration of the regime with the Germans, to the point of forcing a rupture with them. The underground movement should be linked up with the legal opposition. The chief task of the underground movement was the preparation and execution of acts of military sabotage, such as: derailling of trains, blowing up of ammunition dumps, sabotage in munitions works and other war plant, setting up of secret radio transmitters and of printing presses.

On 29th December the German broadcasting stations denounced my appeal as proof of a Bolshevik conspiracy, to link up the Tito movement with the Czechoslovak resistance. The Hungarian press also gave full publicity to my appeal for a Hungarian resistance movement. All through the month of January the press campaign has not ceased.

On 31st December the B.B.C. in its European News Service broadcast a precis of my Reuter interview in several languages, including Hungarian. It was also broadcast from London in the Transoceanic News of the B.B.C. , mentioning the fact that it had been given previously in the European News Service.

A full text of my appeal was published by the "Manchester Guardian" on 15th January, as well as in the "Manchester Guardian Weekly", on 18th January.

3. Suggestions for setting up a Hungarian brigade from the ranks of prisoners of war in the U.S.S.R.

The launching of an active resistance movement in Hungary would be most powerfully supported by the existence of a Hungarian brigade fighting with the Red Army.

Many thousands of Hungarian soldiers are prisoners of war in the U.S.S.R. They are mostly landless peasants and 'Dwarf'-holders as well as industrial proletarians. The memory of the Hungarian October revolution, as well as of the Communist revolution of March 1919 is still vivid in their ranks. Shortly before the fall of my own government, in spring 1919, I personally started the partitioning of land to the peasants by distributing my own family estate in Kapolna. According to all accounts this fact has not yet been forgotten by the peasant masses.

INTRODUCTION.

To offer the reading public a series of booklets summarizing briefly the history of the small countries of the Danube and of the Balkans was a most fortunate idea, I believe. One of the most important of them is Hungary, not on account of its size but of its central position. The Magyars are placed like a wedge between the Northern and Southern Slav peoples and being racially different from either, they undoubtedly represent a distinct ^{as today} problem when the necessity arises of establishing larger units in this region.

The Hungarian question moreover has been ~~unmistakably~~ ^{to speaking even} singularly misrepresented to the world at large - not only the English speaking but ~~when~~ the Magyar world itself - by the historians and politicians of the Austro-Hungarian aristocracy as well as those of the German Junkers. For centuries they have fostered ~~extensive~~ a legend which has not succeeded in supplanting reality. Notably in these last twenty five years of an epoch in which propaganda has taken on almost unbelievable proportions, they succeeded in through ^{by eliminating the serious} ~~ly~~ falsifying the picture of Hungary ~~removing its historical background~~ and replacing it by the scenario of a Merry Widow opera.

^{redraw the outlines,}
This little book makes an attempt to ~~reconstruct~~ ^{reconstruct} placing Hungary, as it were, ~~an~~ before the world. I feel sure, Mr. Hende is going to be bitterly assailed ~~for~~ ^{for bearing down the feathers and the braids, to which the Hungarian nobility cling so tenaciously,} ^{within the very good reason that they} ~~they~~ are reduced to parading the trappings of history so as to cover up the decay of the country they have ruined.

To attempt to present the problem of Hungarian history in a short booklet is assuredly a daring enterprise. Unlike the case of France, Spain or Switzerland with their comparatively self-contained histories, in the case of Hungary no ~~reasoned~~ story is possible without more than a superficial reference to the surrounding countries. To understand the history of Hungary thoroughly, an analysis of the history of the Holy ^{and} Roman Empire, the Habsburg dynasty would be needed, as well as some acquaintance with the history of the Czechs, the Serbs, the Croats, the Roumanians, and last not least the Germans. A ~~comprehensive~~ comprehensive survey of this kind can of course not be under-

taken in a few pages. Nevertheless, on scanning this booklet, I think that it will be useful in reminding the reader that the present problems of Hungary are not

Personally, I should like to emphasize the intimate connection between (traditional) feudal landowning class (continued) the rule of the ~~feudal landowning class~~ in Hungary and the predominance of Germany in the foreign policies of that country. Here lies the key to ² ~~many~~ centuries of Danubian

history. Since the middle of the eighteenth century the Hungarian magnates were faced with two equally disastrous alternatives: either dynastic Habsburgs absolutism centred on Vienna to accept a structure of the monarchy to submit to in spite of their or a federalism which would meanwhile give the Slavs a fair share of power. Both of these solutions were acceptable to the Habsburgs emperors who could equally maintain their known under either system: but neither was compatible with the feudal prerogatives of the Hungarian aristocracy since a Habsburg they their privileges under absolutism, would lose them to the Crown under federalism to the people. For the Slavs in question had no means nobility of their own, and thus their enslavement meant inevitably the victory of democracy.

Caught between the ~~German and the Russian~~ ^{German} the devil and the ~~deep~~ ^{deep} sea, the
Hungarian lords saw the only ~~possible~~ way out in a dualism ^(of Austria and Hungary) centred on Vienna and on

Budapest, respectively, ~~was checking both the Government and the people, and consequently~~
~~which would effectively~~ ~~safeguarding~~ ~~the national~~ ~~monopolies of the big landowners.~~ ~~Ministerial~~ Such as
 a solution, however,
 endeavour, as we will see, could be forced upon the Habsburgs only through a more or
 less open alliance of Budapest ~~and~~ Berlin. *Vienna* *with the help of*

Marie Theresa, Joseph II, Francis I, ~~and~~ Metternich ~~and~~ Francis Joseph ~~and~~ tried

~~to~~ centralize the Habsburg empire in Vienna and thus create a German national state ~~in the~~ contemporary ~~or~~ ~~on the~~ model of France and England. ~~Such an endeavour was bound~~

to fail since ^{the} ~~an~~ ^{in no way} ~~few~~ million Germans in of the Monarchy could ~~possibly not~~ absorb four ~~...~~
or five time their number of non-Germans. ^{secondly} ~~Federalism~~ ^(by the Emperor) was also tried, especially when

the throne was in danger, ~~as was the case~~ in 1848. For a few months a Federal Parliament ~~appeared~~ the Krensier Constitution and was summoned in Krensier, but after the popular rising in Vienna was suppressed, ~~then~~

Federalism ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~abandoned~~. Hard pressed by the Hohenzollern in 1861, another fainthearted attempt was made ^{by the Habsburgs} ~~for~~ ^{towards} a federal solution, but ~~unfortunately~~ ^{never} again it came to ~~nothing~~. Now the time has

The had come for the Hungarian lords to force their own solution ^(and compel him) to submit to it. The Prussian victory at over Austria at or Compromise Sadova (1866) and the famous Ausgleich between the Habsburgs and Hungary which established a dualism of Austria and Hungary, with Vienna and Budapest as the respective centres.

The Dual Monarchy

Introduction

Introduction

(a series of booklets to be published by the British public)
I believe ~~it is an excellent idea~~ to offer to the reading public ~~books of this kind giving a summary of the~~ *books to be published by the British public*
history of the ~~so-called~~ small countries ~~round~~ ^{of} the Danube and the Balkans. ~~In this connexion one~~
of the most important ~~countries~~ ^{of them} is Hungary, not ~~because it is largest~~ ^{on account of its size}, but on account of its
central position. The Magyars are placed like a wedge ~~separating~~ ^{between} the North and South Slavs ^{peoples}
and being racially and historically different ~~they represent a certain difficulty when the~~ ^{undoubtedly}
necessity of building bigger units ~~arises~~ ^{from either}.

Another aspect in dealing with the Hungarian problem ~~is that~~ ^{has been strikingly misrepresented to} the world at large - not
only the English, ^{speaking} but even the Magyar world - ~~has been mis taught for centuries by the Hungarian~~ ^{direct}
Austrian aristocracy ~~and their~~ ^{by} historians and politicians, as well as ~~of~~ ^{those of} the German Junkers.
~~These forces built up an artificial legend, a legend which obstructs reality. Especially in the~~ ^{centuries have fostered a}
last 25 years of an epoch in which propaganda ~~has taken on incredible dimensions and~~ ^{notably in}
has become a real political weapon ~~they still further distort~~ ^{almost unbelievable proportions} the picture of Hungary, ~~until it~~ ^{thoroughly falsified}
became a caricature, a kind of Merry widow opera.

This ~~booklet~~ ^{little} makes ~~the~~ ^{an} effort to show the other side of Hungary, placing it, as it were,
anude before the world. I am sure Mr. ~~Wende~~ ^{Wende} will be ~~viciously~~ ^{bitterly} attacked for tearing down the
feathers and the braids to which the Hungarian nobility cling ~~to their and still~~ ^{so tenaciously}, and that ~~trouble~~
~~is reduced to partitions to bricks, that a~~ ^{is reduced to partitions to bricks, that a}
as a skeleton of ~~bricks which are~~ ^{pillars merged,} covering the decay of a country which they have ruined.

Of course, wanting to show Hungary in a short booklet is a daring enterprise. For, while
it is possible to write the history of France, Spain, or Switzerland without ~~necessarily~~ ^{attempt to meet the problem of} giving
a picture of the other countries round them, in the case of Hungary this is impossible. To
understand the history of Hungary, an analysis would have to be given of the history of the
Holy Roman Empire, of the Habsburg dynasty, and some familiarity would be needed with the
history of the Czechs, the Serbs, the Croats, the Rumanians, and, last, but not least, the Ger-
mans. To give a survey of this kind in a few pages is obviously impossible. Nevertheless, I
think, on reading these pages, that they will be useful in reminding the reader that the prob-
lems involved are not so simple as a reactionary Hungarian propaganda would like to put them.

It is essential
The most important for the British public ~~is to well understand the connexion between~~ ^{I believe}

a thorough comprehension of

quite as simple as a reactionary Hungarian propaganda would like to make it appear.

Personally, I should like to emphasize the intimate connection between traditional feudal landowning class and the continued rule of the Habsburgs in Hungary and the predominance of Germany in the foreign policies of that country. Here lies the key to many centuries of Danubian history. Since the middle of the eighteenth century the Hungarian magnates were faced with two equally disastrous alternatives: either dynastic absolutism centred on Vienna or a federalism which would give the Slavs a fair share of power. Both of these solutions were acceptable to the Habsburgs who could equally maintain their throne under either system: but neither was compatible with the feudal prerogatives of the Hungarian aristocracy whose privileges, under absolutism, would lose them to the Crown, under federalism to the People. For the Slavs in question had no nobility of their own, and thus their ascendancy meant inevitably the victory of democracy. Caught between the devil and the deep sea, the Hungarian lords saw the only possible way out in a dualism centred on Vienna and on Budapest, respectively, thus checking both the Crown and the People, and thus safeguarding the feudal monopolies of the big landowners. Such an endeavour, as we will see, could be forced upon the Habsburgs only through a more or less open alliance of Budapest and Berlin.

Maria Theresa, Joseph II, Francis I, and Metternich and Francis Joseph all tried to centralize the Habsburg empire in Vienna and thus create a German national state after the model of France and England. Such an endeavour was bound to fail since eight million Germans in the Monarchy could certainly not absorb four or five times their number of non-Germans. Federalism was also tried, especially when the throne was in danger, as was the case in 1848. For a few months a Federal Parliament was summoned in Kremsier, but after the popular rising in Vienna was suppressed, federalism was abrogated. Hard pressed by the Hohenzollerns in 1861, another faint-hearted attempt was made at a federal solution, but this too again it came to nothing. Now the time had come for the Hungarian lords to force their own solution on the Habsburg Crown. After Sadowa (1866) came the famous Ausgleich between the Habsburgs and Hungary which established a dualism of Austria and Hungary, with Vienna and Budapest as the respective centres.

*pre-eminence. Heber the key to his century
Dawn from history.*

the Hungarian ruling class and ~~the German~~ Germany. Since the middle of the eighteenth century the Habsburgs and all those nations like Magyars, Czechs, etc., were faced with three possibilities: *offer in this region of mixed settlements in Hungary* the absolute centralistic policy, federation, or a dual centralism (towards Vienna and Budapest). The Hungarian big landowning class were always opposed to absolutism especially to the so-called enlightened absolutism because they feared that in ~~the central monarchy~~ *centralism* they would lose their special prerogatives. But they opposed just as violently federalism, which would have been the only way of saving the Habsburg rule. *But they had no choice since* they opposed federalism, because *in fact* with it hand in hand, democracy was unavoidable.

Here an epitome of history. Maria Theresa, Joseph II., Francis, Metternich, and Francis Joseph all ~~tried to~~ *tried to* centralise the Austrian Empire and make it a united German country, just as France had become a united nation. This failed on the simple mathematical fact that, whatever you do, two and two will be four and 10 million Germans can not absorb 42 million non-Germans. Federalism has been also tried, several times, especially when the Habsburgs found themselves endangered. This was the case in 1848. For a very short time, in fact, a few months, a Federal Parliament was summoned in Kremsier. After the revolution was beaten down in Vienna, it was thrown over, and they fell back on absolutism. Hard pressed, by the Hohenzollern in 1861 again a trial was made which failed once more. After Sadova came the famous *1867 Dualism* Ausgleich which was a ~~part of double centralization with~~ *part of double centralization with* Vienna and Budapest as respective centers. The compromise was the direct effect of Sadova and it was forced on Francis Joseph adroitly by Bismarck and Andrassy (~~the great statesman~~). Francis Joseph, after 1867, still did not give up all hope to free himself from the clutches of Bismarck. The last chance, the wish dream at that time was Napoleon III. With his help a revenge for Sadova would have been possible. But wish-dreams seldom come true. Bismarck and Andrassy became still more powerful after Sadova and willy-nilly Francis Joseph had to give his consent to the double alliance which later on became the triple Alliance and which was, in fact, *an outcrop of* the Ausgleich. It is through this famous compromise, or Ausgleich, that the Hungarian nobility got full rights over the *national minorities in Hungary as well as a secure hold* ~~nationalities~~ *over the latifundia*. The winners were not the Hungarian people, but the Hungarian Counts, the Tiszas, Andrassys, Apponyis, Bethlens. *Thus it becomes clear that* ~~knowing this background it is not only because we were geographically~~ *proximity* ~~was the not the only reason why~~ *near to Germany* ~~that~~ German culture, history, art, philosophy, dominated Hungary. It was a well planned

shooting parties and the aristocratic charms of Hungarian chateau ~~life~~.

A sound knowlegde of the real Hungary^{is} most important, for the question of security ~~na~~ depends on what will happen after the war. If the Hungarian aristocratic, semi-feudal regime will remain, even only if some little portion of it would be saved ~~the~~ ^{will be} peace ~~is~~ threatened. If the political and economic ~~competition~~ ^{conflicts} of the ~~slav~~ ^{small} countries will go on as ~~it~~ ^{they} did before the war, ~~that~~ the Hungarian nobility will again ~~seek~~ ^{transfer} help ~~with~~ ^{to} the Germans, as they did in the past. There is an English saying: Once bit, twice shy. No answer is put forth to what happens if twice bit. May I venture to give it? Suicide.

Michael Karolyi.

London, January, 1944.

From Ivanyi's and Revai's Memorandum.

E memorandum benyújtásának célja, hogy bizalmasan és őszinten feltárjuk azokat a nehézségeket, melyek következtében szinte lehetetlenne valik számunkra az Elnök Úr vezetése alatt álló Angliai Magyar Tanácsban való részvétel.

.....
1. Nagyon fontosnak tartottuk, hogy tevékenységünkkel nyomatokat adjunk az angol orientáció diplomáciai vonalának. Felfogásunk szerint ennek határozott érvényesítése nem csak azért fontos mert jelen esetben egy angliai szabad magyar szervezetről van szó, hanem mert meggyőződésünk szerint az angol-orosz szövetségi szerződés stabilizálásával Angliának jelentős szerepe lesz Magyarország közvetlen közeli és jövő sorsának kialakulásában, természetesen mindig szem előtt tartva az angol-orosz szövetségi szerződést. Ennek megfelelően angol személyiségekkel való összeköttetéseink révén a Tanács tekintélyét e vonalon is erősíteni akartuk. El akartuk osztani ezen angol személyiségek egyik-másiknál - épp olyan körökkel, hol évek hosszú munkájával kapcsolatot sikerült teremteni - ama bizalmatlanságot, mely a Tanácssal szemben Karolyi Mihály személye következtében kialakult.

.....
4. A Tanácsban úgy vettünk részt, mint egy, a nemes magyar nagyó manyokat tisztelő, a nemzeti szempontokat elsőlegesen figyelembevevő állaspont képviselői. Ennek megfelelően ezt az állaspontot képviselni is ohajtjuk. Hangsúlyozzuk, hogy ebből az a kötelezettség harul eme irány képviselőire, hogy minden eszközzel megakadályozzanak minden olyan törekvest a Tanács részeről, mely ellentetes volna ama jelentős hazai és külföldi magyar rétegek felfogásával, kik e felfogásnak tisztult, humanista, de viszont a nemzetet méltányosan megillető jogaira érzékeny formáját nem tartják elavult nézetnek, főleg nem tartják elavultnak akkor, ha az országunkat környező más népekkel erős nemzeti attitűd érvényesül.

.....
ad 1. az angol kapcsolatok kérdése. A helyett hogy a Tanács idevonatkozó szervizünket igénybevenni ohajtotta volna, az alapvető politikai vonaluk való ragaszkodásunk szinte minden esetben reakciós meg-bélyegzés rankzuditásával járt, illetve - ami ennél fontosabb - e vonatkozásban semmit sem tudtunk elerni. Angol barátainkat épp az Elnök Úr ismertetlen is reakciós és Magyarország érdekere nevére karos elemeknek bélyegezte meg. Ez a hangulat azonban személyeken túlmenőleg kiterjedt az angol hivatalos külpolitika mai képviselőinek összességére, mely kapcsolatban épp az Elnök Úr adott egy tanácsúlesen ama reményének kifejezést, hogy őket strukturalisan felvalto, új rendszer fog kialakulni. E profecia tárgyi részenek elemzése nem áll módunkban belemenni. Csak azt kell kötelességszerűen leszögezünk, hogy e teren nem vagyunk hajlandok irányunk és kapcsolataink természetén sem szükíteni, sem változtatni. Felfogásunk szerint eme kapcsolatok megörzése és apólása az ország érdekeben helyes munka, melyet mi vezetni képesek vagyunk. Azonban ezeken túlmenőleg is hangzott el olyan felfogás, mellyel Elnök Úr azonosítani látszott magát. E felfogás kardinális ellentétet vel felfedezni az orosz és angol diplomácia felett e ezt meg olyan - ezekkel a problémakkal ösze nem függő - kérdésben is, mint a zsidóüldözésben adando nyilatkozat a politikaip érvelesen hangsúlyozni igyekezett, illetve ennek megfelelően a nyilatkozatot az angol kormány-politika e konkrét esetben kifejtett elveivel ellentétesen fogalmaztak meg. Felfogásunk szerint az ilyen eljárások nem helyesek. Sajnalattal kell megallapítanunk azt is, hogy a Tanács megalakulásáról kiküldött értesítők szetküldésével kapcsolatban olyan felfogás alakult ki, mely nézetünk szerint

nem áll harmoniában a Tanács programjával. A Tanács működési helye Anglia - ezért epp ilyen formális kérdésekben - nem lenne szabad az angol kormányzatra sertő magatartást tanusítani.

.....
...Valahányszor az volt a törekvésünk hogy a Tanács egyes megnyilatkozásait ismereteink alapján, a hazai hatas és az ország jövője szempontjából beal-
juk, ezzel a felfogással szemben inkább az a törekvés nyerte meg az Elnök
Úr tetszését mely a Tanács munkáját nem ilyen vonatkozásban fogta fel,
hanem az 1918-as forradalom és annak emigrációs csoportja igazolasaként
akarta a Tanács működését előírni....

1. A magyar nép a háború további pusztítását és a béke biztosítását szolgáló szövetséges intézkedések súlyos terhét csak úgy enyhítheti ha a Szövetségesek ellen irányuló háborús tevékenységeit azonnal beszünteti, csapatait a Szovjet Unió területéről azonnal visszavonja, a feltétel nélküli megadást a Szövetségeseknek azonnal felajánlja, és mindazokat akik Magyarországot háborúba taszították, felelősségre vonja.

Az ország szakítson meg minden kapcsolatot a hitleri Német-országgal és bármely államaival egyúttal készüljön fel, hogy megvédhesse magát az esetleges német támadás ellen.

Minden nap, amellyel Magyarország tovább marad a háborúban, súlyosítja a magyar kibontakozás útját. Ma minden becsületes magyarnak aki megteheti, át kell mennie, a demokratikus, békészerető népek táborába és segítenie kell a Szövetségesek győzelmét.

2. A hatalom jogtalan birtokosai a nép megkérdőzése nélkül sodorták az országot a háborúba. Horthy és reakciós kormányai területi nyereségekért eladták országunk függetlenségét a német imperialistáknak, elkotyavetyélték nekik dolgos népünk munkájának gyümölcsét és végül mégis érdekekért lemeszároltatták a harctereken férfi népünk ezreit. Ha a magyar nép független nemzeti államot, demokratikus szabadságot és emberhez méltó életet óhajt, le kell számolnia az ellenforradalmi szegedi táborral és támogatóikkal. A magyar népnek kell kezébe vennie az ország kül és belpolitikájának irányítását. Csak a reakciós Horthy-rendszerrel való gyökeres leszámolás hozhat békét és szebb jövőt a magyarságnak.

3. A magyar nép demokratikus felelősségteljesítésének legnagyobb akadálya az a reviziós, sovíniszta propaganda amit a Horthy-rendszer folytatott a múltban és ma is sikeresen kiakná. Magyar demokrata a bécsi döntéseket és a jugoszláv területek megszállását nem ismerheti el jogosnak és helyesnek. Őszintén demokratikus és békés szándéku magyar kormányzat az új demokratikus Duna medencében meg fogja tudni oldani a szomszéd népekkel való vitás kérdéseit is.

4. Az országvesztő Horthy-rendszer ellen minden becsületes német-ellenes erő és minden lehető eszközt fel kell használni. A Horthy-rendszer ellen való harcunkban nem korlátozhatjuk magunkat a törvényes utakra és módokra. A fasiszta törvények nem nyújtanak elég lehetőséget a harcra. Helytelenítjük a szocialista és kisgazda pártoknak azt a politikáját, amely csak az alkotmányos lehetőségeket veszi igénybe és ezeket sem használja ki következetes harcra. Végzetes váltsághoz kerül ennek a legális ellenzéknek a politikája ha mármint továbbra is támogatni fogja a Szövetségesek ellen háborút viselő Horthy-rendszer hadseregét és belső rendjét.

Feltétlenül szükségesnek látjuk, hogy az ellenállás megteremtse a titkos szervezeteit országos megyei, járási és helyi méretekben. Üdvözljük a magyar földalatti harc bátor harcosait és szervezetüket a Nemzeti Függetlenségi Frontot. Helyesnek és példaadónak tekint-

juk a Horthy elnyomás alá került szláv lakosság fegyveres ellenállását. Az országban levő legális ellenzéki erőknek és a külföldi magyarságnak a lehető legnagyobb támogatást kell nyújtania a magyar függetlenségért és szabadságért harcoló titkos szervezeteknek, segíteniük kell őket a szabotázs akciókban, a röplapok terjesztésében és a fegyveres ellenállás kiépítésében.

5. Az új demokratikus Magyarország csak úgy alakulhat ki, ha a mai reakciós, fél feudális, fél fasiszta rendszert a nép képviselőinek a kormányzata váltja fel. A fenti feladatok mellett a következő legfontosabb, demokratikus követelményeket tartjuk megvalósítandóknak:

a) A nép demokratikus szabadságjogainak biztosítása. Gyűlékezési, szólás-, sajtó-, és vallásszabadság. Demokratikus és anti fasiszta pártok szabad szervezése. A községi, járási és megyei önkormányzat demokratikus kiépítése. A reakciós törvények érvénytelenítése (zsidó törvények, stb.). A Horthy-rendszer alatt életre keltett fasiszta és reakciós pártok és szervezetek feloszlata (Folks Bund, Nyilas pártok, a Nemzeti Újjászületés Pártja, Magyar Élet Pártja, Nemzeti Munkaközpont, Nemzetvédelmi Szövetség, Turáni Vadászok, stb.).

b) A fasiszta és reakciós elemek eltávolítása az állami és közigazgatási szervekből, hivatalokból és közintézményekből. Mindezeknek a szerveknek a demokratizálása.

c) A háború és reakció ellen folytatott harcért bebörtönzött politikai foglyok szabadon bocsátása és amneszticián való részesítése.

d) Messzemenő földreform, a nagybirtok felosztása, a nincstelenek, törpebirtokosok és kisgazdák között. A kisgazdák megsegítésére irányuló mezőgazdasági politika (hitel, mezőgazdasági felszereléssel való ellátás, stb.).

e) Átfogó szociális politika, a lakosság életszínvonalának emelésére. A magyar ipar kifejlesztése, a német tőke kisajátítása, a háborús bűnösök vagyonának elkobása és népjóléti célokra való felhasználása. ~~Demokratizálás~~

f) ~~Demokratikus nemzetiségi politika, a nemzetiségek szabadságjogainak biztosítása.~~

g) Nemzeti, függetlenségi, demokratikus kormány minden olyan népréteg képviselőinek bevonásával, amely aktíven résztvett a háború és a Horthy-rendszer elleni harcban. Alkotmányozó országgyűlés egybehívása általános, egyenlő, titkos választójog alapján, azoknak a szükséges alkotmányos és törvényes intézkedéseknek a megvalósítására, amelyek biztosítják Magyarország szabadságát, függetlenségét, békéjét és felvirágoztatását.

A Karolyi Mihály vezetése alatt álló Angliai Magyar Tanács
felhívása a magyar nemzetnek!

Magyarok!

Hazánk vezetés helyétbe jutott. A Hitler oldalán folytatott háború az ország eroit falmorzsolta. A németek, akiknek Horthy kiszolgáltatotta az országot onzo hatalmi érdekeiknek aldozzak fel a magyar vert és életet. Hitler nyilaskeresztes berencei eroszakkal akarják megakadályozni a magyar népet onrendelkezési jogának gyakorlásában. Ok tudja hogy elvesztették a játszmát és hogy Hitlerrel együtt ok is a háborús bunosok listáján vannak. K tegebeesésekben magukkal akarják rantani a magyar népet a pusztulásba. Ezt minden aron és minden eszközzel meg kell akadályozni! Aki most a németeket és az o nyilaskeresztes ugynökeiket támogatja az árulja a magyar népet.

Minden magyar férfi és no vegye ki reszet a felszabadító munkában! Vagdjatok el a visszavonuló németek útját! Fosszátok meg oket a menekülés lehetőségetől! Robantsatok fel a hidakat, pusztítsatok el a szertaraikat, ropítsatok a levegőbe a toltény és agyugolyoraktaraikat, lojjátok le lespol oreiket, ejtsétek foglyul az elmaradokat, tegyétek cserkészszolgálatot a Vörös Hadsergek és a többi szövetséges erőknek. Támogassatok minden eszközzel a hadműveleteiket! Honvedek!

Kergessétek ki a németeket és a velük tartó arólokat az országból! Foglaljátok vissza Budapestet Hitlertől és az o csatlósaitól! Csak az ezzel tehettek igazi szolgálatot a hazának, amelyet Horthy és az o kormányai elarultak és tonkre tettek.

E felszabadító hadjárat vezévitelére teremtsétek azonnal olyan központi irányító szervet a Szövetségesek által megszállott területeken, amely látba veti a nemzet eroit e közvetlen feladatokra. A népies erők képviselő partokból alakuljon olyan nemzeti összefogas amely mindazokat egyesíti akik nem csatoznak ~~Hitler~~ Horthy ~~és az o kormányai~~ a mai helyzetért való felelősségben. A kisgazdapartra, a szocialdemokrata partra, a kommunista partra, a bekepartra, és más a Nemzeti Függetlenségi Frontot támogató csoportokra harul a nemzetmentő munkában a kezdeményezés feladata.

~~Karolyi Mihály~~ ~~honvéd~~ ~~fel Budapest fel!~~
~~Honvéd!~~ ~~Karolyi Mihály~~ ~~fel Budapest fel!~~

I mint Horthét

A Tanács gazdaságpolitikai célkitűzései

1. Radikális földesítés.

A földreform elsődleges célja megdőnteni a latifundiumi rendszert, amely az ország politikai és szociális rakfeneje és egyben főakadályja annak, hogy Magyarország nyugati és keleti szomszédaival harmonikusan tudjon összeműködni. A latifundialis rendszer helyébe egy egészséges paraszttársadalom kell teremteni, a szövetkezeti elv messzemenő alkalmazásával.

2. Szervezett külgazdaság.

Az ország pénzügyi függetlenségének és belgazdasági ^{egyensúly} rendjének megóvása vegett a külkereskedelmet, külföldi kölcsönöket, valamint a valutát állami ellenőrzésnek kell alávetni.

3. A munkanélküliség kiküszöbölése.

Központosított befektetési politikára és közmunkákra épített tervek alapján kell felvennünk a küzdelmet a tömegmunkanélküliség atka ellen.

4. A munkahely ^{re való igény} biztosítása.

Hogy az ipari munkásság elethelyzetét lényegesen megjavítsuk, biztosítani a munkást, ~~jezen határokon belül~~, az onkenyes elbocsajtas veszélye ellen, ^{valamint a nyomorult, a} ~~bolcsölés a szűz.~~

5. Az életszínvonal emelése.

A tömegek életstandardjának emelését a munka termelékenységének fokozása útján kell elérni. Intenzívebb mezőgazdaság és fokozott iparosodás ennek a fő eszközei.

6. Neuut loke kinejtetése.

Statement.

I am on the eve of returning to my native Hungary, After an absence of twenty-seven years, I am doing so at a critical juncture in the history of the country. As my foremost task I regard ~~it~~ now to make it clear both to the Magyar people and, indeed, also to the Western world that an independent Hungary must seek her future in a close friendly relationship with the Soviet Union. This is not a matter of mere ideologies, but of massive geographical facts, ^{these} which alone count in the longer run. ^{yet all} ~~it is~~ too often forgotten ^{again} ~~on the West~~ that, equally for geographical reasons, a Western orientation for Hungary ~~has~~ traditionally meant an orientation towards Germany. For centuries past Hungary was politically in the orbit of ~~the~~ Germanic world. ~~and from the nineteenth century onwards~~ In the future she will have to look towards Russia. There is, in my conviction, no reason whatsoever to fear that this will endanger her independence. Indeed, there can be no ~~question of a~~ severance of ^{those} economic and cultural ties with the peoples of the Atlantic Seaboard which, at least since the Reformation, ~~has~~ made Hungary a participant of the great Western movements of liberation.

True, even in the past the independence of small countries ^{often} was more apparent than real. ^{It is imperative} that a sound economy, and a rising standard of life ^{should} be established in Hungary, such an endeavour must involve plans for a close economic co-operation with ^{her} ~~the~~ neighbouring states, within the framework of their

respective economic arrangements with Soviet Russia. ^{This requires a mutual} ~~Such plans of economic~~ presupposes recognition of reciprocal interests. Czechoslovakia is no exception. So far she appears to adhere ~~to the principle of non-discrimination~~ ^{in regard to her Hungarian citizens} to a discriminatory exchange of population, ~~and we, ourselves~~ ^{are we, ourselves} justified to discriminate against the German minority on racial grounds.

~~Those who the fascists among them should be punished or expelled, but~~ ^{Such an attitude belongs to that baneful inheritance of fascism which is a demoralizing in its effects as was the persecution of Jewry.}

Twenty seven years of exile leave their mark, ^{on a man} ~~and the people~~ ^{years} I am rejoining ~~my countrymen from whom I was severed~~ by the mountainous barriers of reactionary propaganda.

(Horthy's)

After the half century

the position of
 Since 1925 Great Britain's currency had been unsound. The
 return to gold was not accompanied by a corresponding adjustment of the
 price level which was ^{about 15% to} ~~more than 20%~~ above world ^{parity} ~~prices~~. ~~The reasons for~~
~~this glaring~~ lack of foresight were numerous; we mention only one,
 namely, ~~that~~ very few people were conscious of the absurdity of the
 course on which government and Bank, parties and unions had jointly en-
 barked. Snowden, the financial expert of Labor ^{in MacDonald's 1924 Government} was a gold standard
 addict, if ever there was one, ^{yet} failed to realize that he had committed his
 party either to ^{super a sharp fall} ~~countenance~~ decrease in wages or to go out of public
 life. Six years ^{later Labor was} ~~after they were~~ forced to both, by Snowden himself. ^{By far by}
 Autumn 1931 the continuous drain of ~~the year~~ depression was telling on
 the pound. The ~~public effort which brought about the collapse of the~~
 General Strike ^{in 1926,} ~~ensured~~, at the risk of civil war, against a further
 increase in the wage ^{level but did prevent} ~~but could not prevent~~ a rising ^{financial} ~~burden~~ of
 social services, among them the mainstay of ^{in the} ~~unionism~~: unconditional
 unemployment benefit. There was no need for a banker's ramp (though, of
 course, ramp there was) to set before the nation the alternative of
~~either~~ sound currency and sound budgets or ^{improved services} ~~increased~~ social ~~benefits~~ and
 a depreciating ^{ed} ~~currency~~ - whether ^{the} ~~depreciation~~ was caused by high wages ^{and falling exports or}
~~or~~ by deficit spending. In other words, there had to be either a cut in
 the social services or a fall in the exchanges. Since ~~the~~ ^P ~~labor~~ ~~was~~ refused
~~was not prepared~~ to undertake either - the cut was contrary to trade
 union ^{policy} ~~interests~~ and going off gold would have been deemed a sacrilege
^{Labor} - ~~it~~ was shoved out of office, and the middle class parties ^{eventually also} ~~eventually~~ went
~~and~~ off gold ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{and} out the social services. Unconditional unemploy-
 ment benefit was scrapped; a means test was introduced. At the same

Yet it is deeply gratifying for me to return on the way of
at a time, when the country as a whole is ~~unhappily~~ carrying out the
main ideas ~~from which the new Hungarian Republic~~ of my domestic
and foreign policy. A radical agrarian reform, universal suffrage,
and democratic civic liberties are the foundation of the new Hungarian
republic. ~~The restoration of the country is accompanied by that social~~
content which ~~is the basis of the new Hungarian Republic~~ distinguished ~~from~~
reactionary nationalism from true
patriotism. ~~I feel~~ ^{It is} ~~honoured~~ ^{passing} ~~by the recent enactment of the Karolyi~~
Bill ~~(by the Hungarian National Assembly)~~ ^{the Hungarian National Assembly} ~~that the infamous Lex Karolyi~~
~~(enacted by the Horthy regime) removed from~~
the statute book, but it was also ~~solemnly put on record~~
that "I have deserved well of my country"

The infamous Lex Karolyi, enacted by the Horthy regime, was ~~removed~~ removed from the statute book, and ~~was~~ replaced by ~~an~~ ~~generous~~ ~~recording~~ ~~of~~ ~~my~~ ~~name~~ an Act ~~of Parliament~~ generously recording my endeavours at serving my country.

Let me in parting express my gratitude to ~~the American~~ this country
for the ~~extended~~ hospitality extended to me. I shall never forget
that in the dark ~~days~~ ^{of 1940} ~~her people~~ ^{saved the freedom} ~~her people~~ ^{of the world}
~~of the world~~ the torch of freedom ~~on the east~~
~~relied on~~ not in vain on their valour. ^{the British}

I will never forget that in the dark days of 1940 the British people stood alone between mankind and perdition.

Az Angliai Magyar Tanács szervezeti szabályzatának
tervezete.

Az Angliai Magyar Tanácsot mint az Angliai szabad magyar mozgalom legfelsőbb politikai képviselői szervezet a New Democratic Hungary Mozgalom és a Londoni Magyar Klub alapították, Londonban, 1944 március 28-án.

1. A Tanács célja.

Az Angliai magyar Tanács célja a Tanács programjában van lefektetve.

2. A Tanács összetétele.

A Tanács az alapító szervezetek negy-negy rendes képviselőiből áll, és két-két pottagból. Pottagok a Tanács ülésein akkor vehetnek részt ha a rendes tagok nem tudnak megjelenni. *aki nem képviseli*
pozícióját, az tanácskozási jogot rendelkezik, nincs szavazati joga.
3. Új tagok felvétele.

A Tanács kibővítheti magát olyan magyar szervezetek képviselőivel, és neves magyar személyiségekkel akik a Tanács programját elfogadják és annak megvalósítása érdekében egyetelműkedésre hajlandók.

4. Tagok kizárása és visszahívása.

A Tanácsot alapító szervezeteknek joguk van képviselőiket a Tanácsból visszahívni és azok lemondása esetén a Tanácsnak való előzetes bejelentés után helyükbe új tagokat kinevezni. *a T. jóváhagyásával*

2/3 szökevényes
A Tanácsnak joga van kizárni kebeleiből a Tanács azon tagjait akik a Tanács érdekei és célkitűzései ellen vetenek. *programja*

5. Tisztikar.

A Tanács saját kebeleiből a következő tisztikart választja:
a) elnök, b) egy alelnök, c) egy titkar, d) egy jegyző, e) egy penztárnok, f) két ellenőr.

7(5)
8(6)
9(6)
10(7)
11(8)
12(8)

vató politikai kérdések eldöntéséhez a szavazatok két harmad része szükséges.

d) Képviselőt. A Tanácsot harmadik személyekkel szemben, tanácskozáskor és nyilvános megnyilatkozásaiban a Tanács elnöke és a Tanács által javasolt személyek képviselik.

A Tanács kiáltványait, fontos dokumentumait, harmadik személyekkel történt megállapodásait a Tanács elnöke és a végrehajtó bizottság többi tagjai írják alá. A Tanács leveleit a végrehajtó bizottság bármely tagja egyedül aláírhatja.

8. A Tanács működése.

A Tanács programjának megvalósítása érdekében elsősorban a következő módszereket veszi igénybe:

- a) Manifesztációs gyűlések tartása Londonban és Anglia más városában.
 - b) Radio felhívások és beszédek.
 - c) sajtó propaganda az angol és a többi szövetséges nemzetek különböző nyelvű sajtójában valamint a Tanács által önállóan kiadott nyomtatványokkal.
 - d) magyar és más nyelvű előadások tartása, a Tanács vagy más szervezetek rendezésében.
- 2) kapcsolatok felvétele és fenntartása a Szövetségesek ügyét támogató angol és külföldi szervezetekkel, a Szövetségesekhez tartozó szabad mozgalmakkal, Tanácsokkal és kormányokkal.

9. Pénzügyi alap.

A Tanács működéséhez szükséges anyagi alapot, gyűjtések, adományok, és a csatlakozott szervezetek hozzájárulása útján biztosítja. A Tanács pénzt a penztárnok kezeli, aki arról köteles könyvet vezetni, amelyet az ellenőrök havonta egyszer, vagy szükség esetén ellenőrzik. Kiadások csak a végrehajtó bizottság határozatai alapján eszközölhetők.

Felkutatás az otthoni és a külföldön élő magyarsághoz.

A magyar demokráciáról Vége

Az a ^{Vége} bűnös politika, amely Magyarországot a német hadi-
tervek szolgálatába állította vésszes helyzetbe hozta sodorta a
magyarságot. A Horthy-Bárdossy, majd később a Horthy-Kállay kormány
egészében kiszolgáltatták a németeknek az ország erőforrásait
és készleteit és vakon bízva az ígért zsákmány reményében, a ma-
gyar népet egy diosztelen háborúba kényszerítették bele a szabadsá-
gukért küzdő népek ellen.

A magyar nép létérdeke, hogy a szégyenteljes és végzetes hely-
zetből szabaduljon, hogy megtalálja az utat a demokratikus, függet-
lenségükért harcoló ^{harcoló} népek táborába. Ezért szembe kell, hogy szálljon
a németekkel és a németeket támogató Horthy rendszerrel egyaránt.

Mert aki a németek ellen hírdet harcot, de a Horthy uralmat kiméli,
azugy a demokráciának, mint a magyarságnak árulója. Csak elszánt,
következetes tettek, bátor kiállás, a demokratikus erők cselekvő töm-
mörülése menthetik meg népünk jövőjét. Véget kell vetni a háborúnak,
ki kell vonni a magyar csapatokat a Szovjet-Unió³ területéről
és beszüntetni minden hadműveletet a szövetségesek csapatai ellen,
hogy a ³ magyar nép el ne merüljön a németekkel együtt, hanem nyil-
tan szembeállva velük és a Horthy rendszerrel, a Szövetségesek ol-
dalán harcolva, biztosítsa helyét egy új, demokratikus Európában.

Ezért fogjon össze minden magyar demokrata, otthon, mint ^{mind} külföldön,

a következő harci program szellemében:

1. Azonnal abba kell hagyni a háborút, megszakítani a kapcsolatokat
Németországgal. A magyar csapatokat visszavonni a Szovjet-Unióból.
4 minden más hadműveletet.

2. A földalatti mozgalom támogatása és legszélesebb kiépítése a

Lehet
A
hadipar
Magyar Nemzeti Függetlenségi Front körül, minden német ellenes és Horthy ellenes erő mozgósításával olyan harci szervvé, amely célzottan segít a Szövetségesek hadműveleteit, hasonlóan Franciaország, Csehszlovákia, és Jugoszlávia népi mozgódulásaihoz. Ha a legális ellenzéki eszközök alkalmas volt egy bizonyos ideig arra, hogy hangulatot teremtsen az országban a demokrácia ügye mellett, ma a riasztó szolamok nem jelentenek semmit. Minden legális lehetőséget a Horthy-rendszer elleni harc erősítésére és népi ellenállás fokozására kell kihasználni.

A német és Horthy magyar
3. A hadipar és hadiipar elleni szabotázs minden rendelkezésre álló eszközzel való előmozdítása, mert csak cselekvő ellenállással menthetjük meg az országot.

4. A helyi ellenállás szerveinek kiépítése városban és falun egyaránt. Partizán csapatok létesítése és támogatása országsszerte. Vállvetett harctito hadseregével, és akárpátaljai ukrán partizán csoportok cselekvő támogatása és szláv népek szabadság harcosainak segítése.

5. Felhívás a magyar katonákhoz, hogy tagadják meg az engedelmességet, szökjenek át a szövetséges csapatokhoz, vagy alakítsanak partizán csoportokat és forduljanak szembe a németekkel és a kormánnyal.

mindkét / nem lehet
mindkét / nem lehet
6. Bátor kiállítás, amely az egész magyar néppel megérteti, hogy a szláv népekkel és a többi harcra kész szomszédokkal való baráti együttműködés az útja annak, hogy a magyarságnek helye legyen Európa népei között. *innen baráti együttműködésben harcolni kell a nemzeti ügyek ellen*
mindkét / nem lehet
mindkét / nem lehet
7. Harc az oralkodó klikk törekvése ellen, hogy az ezeréves történelmi jogokra hivatkozva uralmát a szomszéd népekre és államokra terjessze ki. A magyar felsőbbrendűséget hirdető imperialista politika akadályozza szomszéd demokráciákkal való kiegyezésnek, háborút akar, nem pedig békét a szláv népekkel, feudális fasizmust, nem a dolgozók Magyarországot, német orientációt, nem pedig orientációt a szláv népekkel való baráti együttműködésre. A bécsi döntéseket, akárpátalja és a jugoszláv területek megszállását nem ismerhetjük el helyesnek.

Rövid
és jogosnak.

8. Horthy Miklós, az ország első számú háborús bűnösének és az összes többi háborús bűnösnek a megbüntetése.

halálra
9. Harcunk végoálja a feudális fasizmus megsemmisítése és egy demokratikus Magyarország megteremtése. Az új demokratikus Magyarország csak úgy alakulhat ki, ha a Horthy rendszert a nép képviselőinek kormányzata váltja fel, amely a következő követeléseket valósítja meg;

a. Demokratikus szabadságjogok biztosítása. Demokratikus és antifasiszta pártok szabad szervezkedése. Helyi önkormányzati szervek demokratikus kiépítése. Reakciós törvények eltörlése (zsidótörvények, stb.) Fasiszta és reakciós pártok,

szervezetek feloszlatása (Volks-Bund, Nyíllás pártok, a Nemzeti Ujjászületés Pártja, Magyar Élet Pártja, Nemzeti Munkaközpont, Nemzetvédelmi Szövetség, Turáni Vadászok, Vitézi Székek stb.

- b. Az összes állami és közintézményeknek fasiszta és reakciós elemektől való megtisztítása és ezen szervek demokratizálása.
- c. A háború és a reakció ellen folytatott harcért bebörtönzött politikai foglyok szabadon bocsátása és rehabilitálása.
- d. Messzemenő földreform, a nagybirtok felosztása a nincstelenek, törpebirtokosok és kisgazdák között. A kisgazdák megsegítésére irányuló mezőgazdasági politika.
- e. A háborús bűnösök vagyonának elkobzása és népjóléti célokra való fordítása. Átfogó szociális politika a lakosság élet-színvonalának emelésére. A német tőke kisajátítása.
- f. Demokratikus kormány megalakítása minden olyan népréteg képviselőiből, amely aktívan részt vett a háború és a Horthy-rendszer elleni harcban. Alkotmányozó országgyűlés egybehívása általános, egyenlő, titkos választójog alapján, azoknak a szükséges intézkedéseknek a keresztülvitelére, amelyek biztosítják Magyarország szabadságát, függetlenségét, békéjét és felvirágzását.

* amely körülmények között az ország megmaradását.

X
Célunk az Angliai Magyarok Demokratikus Tanácsának megteremtése, amely összefogná mindazokat, akik hajlandók ezen harci program szellemében cselekedni. Ezen Tanács céljából tűzi ki, hogy úgy az otthoni, mint a külföldi magyarsággal való koordinációt megteremtse.

D.I. példány
Felszólítás az otthoni és a külföldön élő magyarsághoz.

Ha a tizenkettedik oraban cselekedeteinkkel nem huzunk elas hatart az uralkodo rezsim es a magyar nep közt, ugy mint nemzet elpusztulunk.

A magyar feudalis fasizmussal kell cselekvöen szembezzalnia annak, aki a magyarsagnak helyet akar biztosítani egy új demokratikus Európában.

Aki ^{csak} a nemzet fasizmus ellen hirdet harcot de a Horthy uralmat kimeli, az ugy a demokracianak mint a magyarsagnak aruloja. Csak elszant, következetes tettek menthetik meg ~~mmmmmm~~ ^{mind} ~~nepünket~~ ^{magunkat}. Felszólítom partkülömbökre valo tekintet nélkül mindazokat akik ugy a Hitler mint a Horthy elleni

küzdelmet akarjak, hogy tömörüljenek a következő harci program alapján:

1. ~~Földalatti tömegmozgalom megteremtése, amely celtudatosan segíti a Szövetségesek hadműveleteit, hasonlóan Franciaország, Jugoszlavia és Csehszlovákia népi megmozdulásaihoz.~~ ^{1. Földalatti tömegmozgalom megteremtése, amely celtudatosan segíti a Szövetségesek hadműveleteit, hasonlóan Franciaország, Jugoszlavia és Csehszlovákia népi megmozdulásaihoz.}

2. Vallvetett harc Tito hadseregevel és esetleg később letesítendő hasonló partizáncsapatokkal. ^{2. Vallvetett harc Tito hadseregevel és esetleg később letesítendő hasonló partizáncsapatokkal.}

3. A Horthy-magyar hadsereg felbomlasztása, mert ez a szervezet a magyar feudalis fasizmus egyik fő pillére. ^{3. A Horthy-magyar hadsereg felbomlasztása, mert ez a szervezet a magyar feudalis fasizmus egyik fő pillére.}

4. A nemzet és Horthy-magyar hadi erő és hadi ipar elleni szabotázs minden rendelkezésre álló eszközzel való előmozdítása, ^{4. A nemzet és Horthy-magyar hadi erő és hadi ipar elleni szabotázs minden rendelkezésre álló eszközzel való előmozdítása,} meg akkor is, ha ez az ország teljes nemzet megszállását vonna maga után.

5. Bátor propaganda mely az egész magyarsággal megérteti hogy a Csehszlovák, Jugoszláv, és a többi harci keze szomszédokkal való barati és őszinte együttműködés az útja annak, hogy a magyarságnak helye legyen Európa népei között.

6. Partizan csapatok letesítése a magyarországi ^{ahol lehet} ~~hegyvidékeken~~ ^{hegyvidékeken}.

7. Törekednünk kell arra hogy az oroszországi magyar hadifoglyok letesüljön egy brigád, amely a győzedelmes Vörös Hadsereggel vallvet küzd majd országunk felszabadításaért, úgy ahogy ezt a magyar hadifoglyokhoz intézett levelemben megírtam.

8. ^{8. Harcunk végcelje a magyar feudalis fasizmus teljes ki} Harcunk végcelje a magyar feudalis fasizmus teljes ki A parasztnak földet, a munkásnak kenyeret és szociális biztonság Magyarországot akarunk.

harcot folytat
London, 1944, február

6. Az egyes Magyarokat nem foglalt
vezetkedésük az életük. Magyarok, egyes
munkát az elkövetésük által Magyarok
szemre vetették, nem kaptak meg;
későbbi intézkedések, nem kaptak meg.
a Magyarok elkövetésük; kaptak, az
által elkövetésük; fennmaradt,
nem a Magyarok, kaptak, az
által Magyarok (Külső Bizottság)

Felzárkózás az otthoni és a külföldön élő magyarságnak.

Bethlen Az a bűnös politika amely Magyarországot a német hadi-
tervek szolgálatába állította véres helyzetbe sodorta a magyar-
ságot. A Horthy-Bárdossy, majd később a Horthy-Kállay kormány egészé-
ben kiszolgáltatta a németeknek az ország erőforrásait és készleteit,
és, vakon bízva az ígért zsákmány reményében, a magyar népet egy dicsé-
telen háborúba kényszerítették bele a szabadságukért küzdő népek ellen.

A magyar nép lotérdské hogy a szegényteljes és végtelen kénye-
szerhelyzetből szabaduljon, hogy megtalálja az utat a demokratikus, függé-
stlenségükért harcoló ^{magyar} népek táborába. Ezért szembe kell hogy száll-
jon a németekkel és a németeket támogató Horthy rezsimmel egyaránt.
Mert aki a németek ellen hirdet harcot, az a Horthy uralmat kimeli,
az úgy a demokraciának mint a magyarságnak árulója. Csak elszánt,
következetes tettek, bátor kiállás, a demokratikus ^{magyar} erők összelelvő
tömörülése menthetik meg népünk jövőjét. Végzet kell vetni a háború-
nak, ki kell vonni a magyar csapatokat az oroszok elleni hadműveletek-
ből, (hogy a magyar nép el ne merüljön a németekkel együtt,) hanem,
nyíltan szembeállva velük és a Horthy rendszerrel, a szövetségesek
oldalan harcolva, biztosítsa helyet egy új, demokratikus Európában.
Ezért fogjon össze minden magyar ^{magyar} demokrata, otthon, mint külföldön,
a következő harci program szellemében:

1. A földalatti mozgalom támogatása és legszelesebb kiépítése - minden
németellenes és Horthyellenes erő megmozgatásával - olyan harci szervez-
et, amely célravezetően segíti a szövetségesek hadműveleteit, hasonlóan Fran-
ciaország, Csehszlovákia, és Jugoszlávia népi megmozdulásaihoz. Ha a
legális ellenzékességek alkalmas ^{esetben} volt egy bizonyos ideig arra hogy har-
gultat látnak az országban a demokracia ügye mellett, az már ráveszt
szólamok nem jelentenek semmit.
2. A német és Horthy-magyar hadierő és hadiipar elleni szándotags min-
den rendelkezésre álló eszközzel való előmozdítása, mert csak összelelvő
ellenállással menthetjük meg az országot.
3. Résztvétel az ellenállás helyi szerveiben, városban és falun egy-
aránt. Partizan csapatok létesítése és támogatása országsszerte, min-
denütt, ahol mód van rá. Vallgatott harc fito hásseregevel, és esetleg
későbbteljesülő hasonló partizancsapatokkal.

magyarországi

and knowledge of the economic, social, and
ethical condition of Hungary, Austria,
France, and Morocco.
Thorough knowledge of the
European Labor Movements, ~~and~~

ORDRE DU JOUR

Les Hongrois vivant à Alger, par une majorité écrasante ont voté ordre du jour suivant le 26-3-1944 dans le local de l'Association Hongroise des Amis de la France, à l'occasion de la commémoration de la lutte de l'Indépendance de 1848.

"Nous Hongrois vivant en Algérie, suivons avec une profonde émotion les événements qui se déroulent dans notre pays.

Les chefs fascistes et leurs complices; les seigneurs terriens et les trusts, par suite de leur politique traître, ont inondé le pays par les bandes de pillards Hitlériens.

Par amour de notre peuple nous devons presser l'Union des forces démocratiques des Hongrois parsemés dans le monde.

Nous sommes persuadés que le peuple Hongrois comme en 1918 saura aujourd'hui aussi, trouver le seul chemin juste et possible.

Et la résistance armée commencée déjà prendra de telles proportions qu'elle sera digne des mouvements de Résistance de France et de ceux des autres pays européens, et prendra bientôt contact avec les glorieuses armées de Maréchal Tito.

Nous saluons le peuple hongrois luttant contre l'envahisseur hitlerien qui en suivant les traces de la Révolution Française est resté fidèle à l'esprit de Petöfi et Kossuth.

VIVE LA HONGRIE LIBRE ET DEMOCRATIQUE!

MORT AUX ENVAHISSEURS ALLEMANDS!

11. Porchester Court.
London. W.2.

1944. Szept. 12.

"Petőfi Zászlóalj" ügyében.
Angliai Magyar Tanács.
London.

Az Angliai Magyar Ifjúsági Bizottság örömmel hallotta, hogy a Magyar Tanács védnöksége alá veszi a Jugoszláv Felszabadító Hadsereggel küzdő Petőfi zászlóaljat. A Tanács ezen akcióját teljesen magunkévá tesszük és minden erőnkkel hozzá akarunk járulni sikeréhez.

Bizottságunk ezen akció keretében több részből álló műsrt tervez. Tervünket a Jugoszláv Emergency Committee Helyben hagyta és kérjük a Tanácsot, tekintse azt mint akciójának egy részét.

Tervünk: Kiállítás a jugoszláv ifjúság harcáról. (A kiállítás ünnepélyes megnyitás előadással egybekötve.)

Film. (A jugoszláv ifjúság 2. kongresszusáról.)

Nagyszabású táncmulatság a Worker's Musical Association fellépésével.

Ajándékok és pénz gyűjtése.

Gyűjtésünk eredményének ünnepélyes bejelentése a World Youth Council jugoszláv ifjúsági megbízottjának, Captain Slavko Komarnak jelenlétében.

Reméljük, hogy sikerülni fog olyan anyagi eredményt elérni, amely emelni fogja a Tanács akcióját.

Tisztelettel,

Salgo
Károly Ifjúsági
az Bizottság nevében

Before starting out to explore the following questions it might be wise to consider their mutual relations more closely. Much of the 'assumptions' is necessarily conjectural.

1. A number of Hungary's neighbours may be considering a mass migration of their Hungarian subjects to Hungary. Some ~~and~~ moving of populations for purely political reasons will certainly have to be envisaged.
principle of
2. The introduction/~~and~~ voluntarism (optional methods) into such a harsh and violent process would be to the obvious benefit of all concerned. (Cf. the Three partition agreement on Russia's Eastern frontiers).
3. Hungary might offer land to the repatriated and combine this offer with the breaking up of the big landed estates especially in the frontier zone.
4. Practical items: The UNHRA should be ^{at once} warned off resettling populations which would have to be shifted again in the process of their permanent rehabilitation.
5. A rectification of frontiers might be required in order to facilitate the solution of the resettlement of the ~~repatriated~~ repatriated.
6. Where to procure the material (^{more} figures and facts) for a ~~de-~~tailed treatment of the subject?

~~the~~ center in the flow and the Mayan around the
 double basin (and under the influence of the H. Coy.)
 had ~~the same~~ ^{more or less} a common history.

Since the 14th cent. they have lived not only side by side but
 have ~~been~~ ^{remained} ~~intermingled~~ ^{intermingled}. Of course this long together
~~intermingled~~ ^{intermingled} meant also a mixing of to a great extent
 racial intermingling, and even the language, though pretty
 different by origin - for there are an Iroquoian,
 the Mayan, an Arawak-Algonquian race - was
 the H. Coy. for centuries with Spanish words.

This being so, ~~it is not surprising~~ ^{it is not surprising} and having seen
 1526 ~~in the same~~ ^{permanently the} ~~relation~~ ^{might} ~~one~~ ^{might} ~~imagined~~
 that the fact, i.e. ec. a unit of history would have been
~~the same~~ ^{emerged}. Strangely enough the coupling
~~and instead of an encounter, say, between the two, as before~~ ^{and instead of an encounter, say, between the two, as before}
 has happened, ~~what I will try to say is that~~ ^{what I will try to say is that}
~~nothing explains as briefly as possible~~

I shall try, as briefly as possible, to ^{explain to you} ~~you~~ the reasons
 for this unusual relationship. ~~From~~ ^{From} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~time~~ ^{time} ~~when~~ ^{when}
 people were interested in seeing up ~~the~~ ^{their} permanent antagonism -
 between the H's, the H's and also the Spaniards.
 One was the H's dynasty, who ~~was~~ ^{could never rise to} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~never~~ ^{never} ~~capable of~~
 trying to make the land of broad popular policy but
 only a petty family policy.

the F. Rev. French Constituent Assembly. This Jacobin Emperor
wrote me when abolished serfdom, robot, aristocratic privileges,
even ~~but the Emperor~~ for the ^{republic} ~~same~~ cause he
called one of the most great rulers of the 18th cent.
Also, he made one great mistake. He not only wanted to
^{abolish the ancient regime,}
~~enforce the worst reform,~~ but at the same time he
wanted to enforce the French language ~~through~~ throughout his
Empire. The effect was to rouse the nat. feeling, ^{among the people who} were
not willing to give up their cultural individuality. The only
class, viz. the H. arist. & the usual aristocracy made a
valiant campaign against the introduction of for. ~~and~~
~~seemingly~~ ^{more} ~~the~~, thus seemingly embracing the popular
cause. Of course ~~the first~~ ^{the} main object for
fighting for. was not the language, it was the social
reforms. The H. nobility class was not fighting for the
H. language, ~~but for the Latin~~ ^{but} for keeping the
Latin language, which up to 1844 was the official language
of the Administration & Parliament. This movement
naturally succeeded. Nevertheless the pop. feeling
of for. ~~remained~~ ^{remained} ~~in an unconquered way~~
in the great masses.

As I said, when the tide was high for H., it was
absolute - when it was low, ^{the river was} ~~at~~ ⁱⁿ flood.

During the rule of Frederick I and up to Frederick II the
 the rigid absolutism, the Principle of Metternich was
 maintained. In 1848 under the pressure of the great
 European upheavals, the Habsburgs had to give way,
 and broad ~~their~~ freedom to give over to federalism.

In 1848 the Principle of Metternich such a const. was elaborated

~~Principle~~ ^{Principle} ~~Principle~~ ^{Principle} the same spirit. But the
 ready work in this work. But when this plan,
 with all its merits, seemed on paper work.
 Austria ~~Principle~~ ^{Principle} called it a centralist -
 federalist Constitution. The Gauh statesmen of
 that time and nearly to the very end were inclined
 to think that it would be possible to have got the
 Habsburgs to accept reform ~~that~~ the Aust. Empire
 into a liberal, modern, federal state. This, of course,
 was an illusion. This was the great mistake of the
 Claves, who, in this effort of getting over the idea
 went much further than too far, and played the game

of ~~their~~ ^{key} reaction which ^{later} they bitterly had to regret.

Princess Polykhi said, that the ^{low} nation-makers, for killing
 the Habsburgs and ~~knowing~~ ^{it} got as reward whereas
 the Hungarians got as punishment.

In reality all this was sham.

Under these conditions the measure had to fall dead,
mainly, because it was built on a monetary -
system, of the form in America, the Negro in
Europe.

You, ~~as the tragedy~~ this long sequence of
tragedy has not been forgotten. We must learn
from it. But - Madame Loppin, the same
+ the Negro must not be against each
other, but hand in hand with the white.
They must fight for their mutual
welfare. One must put only
what is one of his members were
that the suffering of the K, the Negro,
and French, are the same. And therefore
we must reach and fight on the banner
of the progressive human spirit.

+

①

S.O.S. -1944.

1944 is bound to be a crucial year in Hungarian history. Before it has run its full course, the fate of the Magyar people will have been determined, perhaps for ^{all times} ~~ever~~. A year hence the Allies will probably have won the war. ~~Thereafter~~ ^{at the most} a few months, ~~perhaps~~ ^{the} separate us from the final decision.

At this ~~unprecedented~~ ^{supreme} secular juncture the Magyar people are faced with ~~a~~ ^{an} alternative: ~~either~~ ^{to} continue on the millennial road of an exclusive nationalism, or to break ~~completely~~ ^{once and for all} with the isolationist past and choose their future in the closest fraternal cooperation with ~~our~~ ^{their} neighbours. Either to hold on, to ~~our~~ ^{their} utter destruction, to ~~exaggerated~~ ^{unbearable} ~~exaggerated~~ ^{exaggerated}

~~territorial~~ ^{claims} ~~against our neighbours~~, or to throw off the Nazi yoke, and save ~~that which~~ still can be rescued of ~~our~~ national ~~and~~ existence. Precisely

because the victorious armies of the Allies will ~~decide~~ ^{shape} our future, our own acts and deeds in the remaining few months will ~~determine~~ ^{like} our fate.

Our situation is, indeed, calamitous. Horthy, ~~and~~ ^{like} Tisza before him, in 1914, has lead our country ~~annex~~ to the brink of the abyss. And as little as in 1918 will it be possible to ~~save~~ ^{save} the country ~~from~~ ^{from} grievous harm. The Magyar people have already paid an ~~enormous~~ ^{enormous} price in this war for the ~~mismanagement~~ ^{handling} of ~~their~~ ^{their} affairs, but the ~~worst~~ ^{worst} ordeal is still to come. For if we are not ~~able~~ to be engulfed by the maelstrom of history, we must

~~now~~ take our fate into ~~our~~ ^{our} hands, and act as long as it is not too late.

Assuredly, it is ~~our~~ ^{our} people at home that the ~~burden~~ ^{burden} of action must ~~not~~ ^{not} fall. Yet to those of us who live abroad and benefit by the wider freedoms and larger scope of foreign parts falls the duty of uttering a ~~solemn~~ ^{solemn} warning in this ~~great~~ ^{great} predicament, and to ~~state~~ ^{declare} the plain truth: ~~which is this~~: Unless the Magyar people can muster the ~~own~~ ^{own} courage and determination to break away within the coming few months from the ~~Nazi~~ ^{German} regime ~~root and branch~~, and to repudiate the domestic Hungarian system which is ~~responsible~~ ^{responsible} for its rule and influence, ~~then not~~ ^{then not} ~~less~~ ^{less} ~~but~~ ^{but} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~subsequent~~ ^{subsequent} ~~consequence~~ ^{consequence} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~regime~~ ^{regime}, ~~then~~ ^{then}

(more than four centuries ago)
ever after Mahacs will finally

on Today is closely

to the position
of northern

to ally themselves
~~with the alliance~~

~~and~~ Traditional
prejudices and

There
the unborn are given
upon a people

part ^{on which} ~~was~~ the ^{from}

by me

break the German steel ring as well as the ^{to 1} ~~the~~ claim on loss

shutty shaloring

There must be an end to the ~~political~~ methods practised by the ~~legal~~ ^{in Hungary} opposition. ~~Illusions and distorting slogans~~

Political

Illusionary and distorting slogans must be dropped before it is too late. ~~must~~ must be started in all seriousness. The time ~~for~~ ^{for} whispering campaigns, draft platforms, and ~~and~~ ^{usual expedients} the other ~~methods~~ ^{of a} "of a

Dietrich

safe transition", is over, and the time for deeds has come. The Social Democratic ~~party~~ ^{daily} ~~in~~ in an article celebrating ~~an~~ ^{an} anniversary of Governor Hertly's ~~speech~~ ^{at} ~~the birth of the day that~~ ^{wrote} "the flames of

world on fire should be kept from our ~~frontiers~~ ^{frontiers} (The task is, on the contrary, ~~to make~~ ^{to make} those flames consume all the fascist incendiaries in Hungary itself. This ~~can be~~ ^{can be} ~~only in~~ ^{only in} open struggle. It is not enough to press for social reforms, to promise an improved agrarian legis-

innumerable

lation and to hint by indirection, ~~through~~ ^{through} by the means of subtle ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~elliptic~~ ^{elliptic} sentences at our enmity to the Germans. It is

with weapons in their hands that the Hungarian people must enforce their claim to rights and witness to ~~their friendship to the cause of~~ ^{their friendship to the cause of} ~~the Allies~~

~~the~~ the Allies. Their weapons must be directed against ~~Hitler~~ ^{Hitler} and against Hertly alike. No longer shall ~~the American~~ ^{the American} ~~Ady's~~ ^{Ady's} bitter sally be true ^{that} "No ~~acts of courage~~ ^{lays of bravery} have here sounded down the ages". If we really throw ourselves with all we are worth unto the sides of the Allies then we must fight as ~~courageously~~ ^{bravely} as Marshall Tito and his partisans, and attack the enemy in the ~~mountainous~~ ^{mountainous} hills and woods even as the French do.

The activities of a legal opposition may have helped ~~formerly~~ ^{in the past} to crystallize opinion, ~~under the circumstances~~. To-day, on the eve of the invasion of the Balkans, and at a time when the Red Army has crossed the ~~the~~ Dnieper in its full length ~~and~~ ^{and} there is no ~~any more~~ ^{any more} sense in wincing ~~words~~ ^{words}. ~~ly~~ ^{ly}. The Allies gauge every action according to its effectiveness in helping their war-effort and in shortening the war. ~~secret radio transmitters, secret printing presses, and~~ ^{secret radio transmitters, secret printing presses, and} ~~all the other~~

*in short with
means of
powerful*

must be

~~of an effective~~ underground movement ~~which~~ ~~unambiguously~~
~~set against~~ ~~Germany~~ ~~the enemy~~ ~~as well as the administrative which supports him and thus~~
~~effectively~~ ~~assist~~ ~~the Allies~~ ~~indeed~~ ~~culminate~~ ~~in the~~
~~creation of a Partisan Army.~~ ~~which amounts to a revolution, and~~

will secure the future of the Magyar people as well as its place in a new,
democratic Europe.

(directing force) *(in the struggle of the people)*
In order to become the ~~overt~~ ~~Hungarian~~ ~~people~~

present ~~opposition~~, the block of peasants, ~~and~~ workers
and ~~the~~ intelligencia, must provoke ~~the~~ ~~rupture~~ with
the Germans. While the opposition ~~uses~~ ~~of~~
the change over, it must establish contact with the existing under
ground movement, construct the cadres ~~for~~ ~~growth~~ ~~and~~

~~and~~ pave the way for ~~when~~ mass action. Time is pressing. In-
stead of ~~demonstrating~~ ~~priding~~ themselves on the alleged absence of an under-
ground movement, *(which I strongly doubt)*, the opposition should urgently
coordinate the activities of the overt and the ~~underground~~ ~~movements~~.
even attempted.

All this cannot be ~~done~~ without an adequate ideological plat-
form. It is ludicrous to offer ~~an~~ ~~descending~~ ~~unpopular~~ ~~factor~~
on "internal right hand" *obviously*

to the neighboring peoples, expecting ~~them~~ to
forget ~~that~~ ~~that~~orthy and his regime were responsible for the
destruction of their respective countries. ~~the~~ ~~truth~~
must ~~recognize~~ ~~that~~ the question is not anymore, primarily,
that of ~~frontiers~~ ~~country~~, but ~~first~~ and foremost that
of the survival of ~~the~~ ~~people~~ itself. The sooner we break with the

Germans, the quicker we succeed in organizing active resistance, the
more *justified* *the hope* *solid*
that we will still be able to lay down the ~~foundat~~
tions of ~~the~~ ~~new~~ ~~Hungarian~~ ~~nation~~. ~~active~~ ~~struggle~~

together with the ~~partisans~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~neighboring~~ ~~people~~
Only the fight *was fought*
to join ~~actively~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~common~~ ~~struggle~~ with the partisans of the
in the national development

of the neighbouring peoples, ~~and out of this~~ ^{will be the single} ~~which will replace the~~ ^{which will replace the} ~~spirit of~~ ^{spirit of} ~~enmity~~ ^{enmity} fostered by nationalistic incendiaries. The common struggle will ~~unhappily~~ ^{unhappily} help to overcome differences and the Magyar people will no longer be isolated in the midst of Europe. We must be determined to make use of the weapons supplied to us by the Anglo-Saxons, the Russians as well as ^{by} our neighbours. We should not hesitate to accept weapons from the Russians. In 1943 the Hungarian revolution was ~~strangled~~ ^{strangled} by the armies of the Tsar, ~~another revolution~~ ^{another revolution}, the new rising will be kindled ~~happily~~ ^{happily} with the assistance of the heroic Red Army. ~~At this eleventh hour,~~ ^{In this eleventh} ~~and we must now try to establish an understanding with the Czech people~~ ^{and we must now try to establish an understanding with the Czech people} and dispel the foolish ~~legend~~ ^{legend} bolshevist bogey. Teneban means ~~that Russia is going to have a decisive say in Eastern~~ ^{that Russia is going to have a decisive say in Eastern} Europe after the war, ~~including the problem of Hungary.~~ ^{including the problem of Hungary.} ~~From the~~ ^{From the} Checho-Russian treaty, ~~on the other hand,~~ ^{on the other hand,} means that the road to Moscow leads via Czechoslovakia. Immediately after the close of the Teneban meetings the Anglo-Saxon powers themselves drew closer to Marshall Tito and dropped ~~the notorious~~ ^{the notorious} tyrant the Russians the notoriously anti-Russian Mihailovics. The ~~program~~ ^{program} and ideology of the opposition must ~~carefully~~ ^{carefully} avoid ~~all~~ ^{all} ultra-nationalistic tones and must put the situation ~~before the~~ ^{before the} masses of the people in ~~the terms of~~ ^{the terms of} ~~its own social problems.~~ ^{its own social problems.} The oppressed peasants and workers of Hungary are waiting for their liberators, and is tired of ~~clinging~~ ^{clinging} will-o'-the-whips. It is the fault of ~~its~~ ^{its} leaders, if the people are still lethargic to the call of the hour.

Hungarians abroad ^{must} ~~must~~ regard it as their chief duty to take care that this S.O.S. should reach the Magyar people. ~~endorse this revolutionary appeal, and to do all they can to ensure~~ ^{should regard it as their chief duty to} that this S.O.S. reaches the ^{Magyar} people at home.

President and members of the Hungarian Council in Great Britain.

Count Michael Károlyi.

On the 31st October 1918, Emperor Charles, the King of Hungary nominated Count Michael Károlyi as Prime Minister of Hungary. On the 16th November 1918 Count Michael Károlyi became the President of the Hungarian Republic. This was the will of the people, as a result of his uncompromising anti German attitude and Entente friendship, as well as his progressive ideas on social and nationality problems before and during the last war.

The Hungarian Republic, under his leadership instituted social reforms and passed the law for radical landreform which aimed at eliminating the feudal system. Count Michael Károlyi started the distribution of the land on his own estates in Kaposna. Ever since he has been known amongst the people of Hungary as the "land distributor of Kaposna".

Breaking off the traditions of the feudal system, the Hungarian Republic worked for complete agreement amongst its minorities and with the neighbouring states.

Since the establishment of the Counter Revolutionary Horthy Regime in 1919, Count Michael has been living abroad (in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and since 1924 in France and in England). He went several times on a lecture tour to America. In 1931 and 1934 he spent several months in Soviet Russia. In 1932 his pamphlet "The Land is Yours" was illegally distributed in Hungary. In exile he remained faithful to his progressive ideas, and is known and respected as a courageous fighter for a new democratic order amongst the freedom loving peoples of the world. He is the President of the New Democratic Hungary movement in London.

Dr. George Buday, A.R.E.

Born in (Kecelzvár) Transsylvania, in 1907 and was educated at the college there and later in the Royal Hungarian University in Szeged, where he took his Doctor's degree in 1934. Next year he became a lecturer in the same University. In 1929, after a visit in this country, where he studied the social settlements in the slums, he founded the first agrarian-settlement movement in Hungary, which was one of the first progressive institution of young Hungarian intellectuals since the counter revolution, with close collaboration with similar movements ("Sarló") in Czechoslovakia. Later it worked within the framework of the Hungarian Trade Unions and the Labour Party. This agrarian settlement developed under G. Buday's leadership into the well-known "College of Arts", an active group of progressive artists, writers, sociologists, producers and educationalists doing pioneer work amongst peasant workers during the dark periods of counterrevolutionary feudal-fascism in Hungary. Buday and his comrades were several times detained in the early 1930s for distributing Count Károlyi's pamphlet "The Land is Yours", amongst the landless peasants, which reached Hungary from abroad.

George Buday's art, like Béla Bartók's in music, is considered as the expression in a "high brow" standard the artistic genius of his people in the Danubian Basin in the medium of the visual instead of the oral arts. Critics referred to him as the Bartók of the creative arts (R. Ignatus, C.K. Jenkins, Hugh Walpole). More than half of his illustrative works, now amounting some 40 volumes, -were devoted to Hungarian folklore (peasant tales, ballads, etc.) the rest being classics, such as illustrations to Shakespeare, Goethe, Mauriac and Hungarians like Madach, Arany, Ady, etc.

George Buday (in 1938) was elected an associate of the Royal Society of Painter Etchers and Engravers, being one of the very few foreign members of this distinguished British Society.

Last Christmas he produced a "Little Book of Hungarian Folk tales" with illustrations, in English, which was well received on both sides of the Atlantic.

Mrs. Ilona Duczynska.

Scientific research worker, born near Vienna, in 1897, from a Hungarian landowning family. Studied in Zürich, Budapest, Vienna and Troy, N.Y. Court martialled in 1918 in Budapest for instigation of the January munitions strike. She was liberated on 31st October, 1918, by the Károlyi Revolution. Lecturer in Science at Bennington College, Vt. U.S.A., 1941-43. Now working in the war industry. She is Mrs. Karl Polányi.

Dr. Béla Iványi-Grünwald.

Born in 1902. He is a historian. From the year of 1931 until 1939 he was lecturer of the Budapest University for Modern Hungarian History. He took part in the Hungarian Catholic opposition movement and was correspondent of the anti German periodical "Korunk Szava" which was suspended by the Imrédy government. Dr. Iványi-Grünwald was one of the contributors of the anti-dictatorial daily paper "Magyar Nemzet", the publication of which has been prohibited after the German occupation.

After the breach of diplomatic relations between England and Hungary he decided to remain in England and he took active part in the free Hungarian movement. In 1942, he was deprived of his Hungarian nationality by the Kállay government.

Countess Catherine Károlyi.

Wife and comrade in arms of Count Michael Károlyi. She is the grand daughter of Count Julius Andrássy, the famous Foreign Minister of the Habsburg Monarchy in the last century, and the daughter of Count Julius Andrássy junior, former Foreign Minister of Hungary. She was president of the Hungarian Red Cross.

She followed her husband into exile, and is working at his side. She is an author and a member of the F.E.W. Club. Between the two wars she worked as a journalist in English, French and German languages, and was collaborator of the French weeklys Lu and Vu. She made a lecture tour in America.

After Hitler seized power in Germany she undertook the daring excursion to go illegally to Germany, and succeeded in bringing out from Nazi Germany the material which led to the publication of the Brown Book.

Countess Károlyi is the member of the British Red Cross, and works as a nurse and ambulance driver.

Mr. Zoltán Ferenc Kellermann.

Born in 1912, studied in a grammar school in Budapest and at a Technical High School in Vienna. Organised underground student movements in Hungary in 1929/31. Took part in the Socialist Movement in Vienna. Left Hungary in 1937 for France where he volunteered for the French Army. After the collapse of France he escaped to Morocco. Took part in the de Gaullist organisation in Casablanca and Tangier. Arrived in this country in 1942 and is employed by the Government as a technician.

Mr. George Kellner.

Born in 1913, in Győr, Hungary. From his early youth he took a prominent part in the Social Democratic, Youth and Trade Union movements. He became one of the leading personalities of the underground movement in Hungary. A member of the Committee of the Hungarian Club in London. He is engaged in the war effort in this country as an engineering worker.

Mr. Hugó Markovics.

Born in 1905. He was a member of the Executive Committee of Leather Workers in Hungary, and represented his Trade Union Council in 1934 and 1935. He was president of the Trade Union of Leather Workers and played a very active part in the Social Democratic Movement.

Dr. Karl Polányi.

Lecturer for the Extra-Mural Delegacy of the University of Oxford. Founder of the Galilei Club, the center of Hungarian student movement, 1908-18. Foreign Editor of "Der Oesterreichische Volkswirt", Vienna, 1924-34. Secretary of Oscar Jászi's Radical Citizens Party of Hungary, 1918. Lectured widely in the U.S.A. since 1934 for Social Sciences at Bennington College, Vermont, 1940-43. Author of "The Great Transformation", published last month by Farrar & Rinehart, New York, a recommendation of the Book of the Month Club, New York. Joint Editor of "Christianity and the Social Revolution", Gollancz, 1935. Member of the Executive of the American Federation of Democratic Hungarians (Chairman Oscar Jászi).

Dr. Andrew Révai.

Born in 1903, in Budapest. He was educated at Budapest and studied in Germany. He got his degree of Ph.D at the University of Leipzig. He lived alternatively in Hungary and Germany until 1935 where he worked as a Publisher and journalist and contributed to Hungarian and German newspapers and periodicals. Since 1935 he has lived in England where he became the London Correspondent of the "Pester Lloyd". He gave up his post in April 1941 after the breach of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Hungary and took part in the organization of the Association of Free Hungarians in Great Britain. He was deprived of his citizenship in October 1941. After the death of Mr. Anthony Zeilinszky he was elected Acting President of the Association of Free Hungarians in Great Britain in March 1943.

Mr. Mathias Seiber.

Born in 1905 in Budapest. He was a pupil of the famous Hungarian composer, Kodály. He travelled through many European countries and the United States as a conductor and lecturer. He has contributed to many B.B.C. programmes and has organised the first Hungarian choir in London. He is a Committee member of the Hungarian Club in London.

Dr. Victor Francis Anthony Stankovich.

Born 1908, Public School and University studies 1918-1930, army service and commissioned Sec/Lt. in the reserve of the Royal Hungarian Horse Artillery 1930-31. Doctor of Political Sciences Budapest University 1932, Doctor of Law 1934, Secretary General Hungaria Electric Co. Ltd. 1932-35, political commentator Hungarian Broadcasting Co. 1935-37, parliamentary lobby correspondent later diplomatic correspondent of the Pester Lloyd 1937-39, Chief Editor of the Anglo-Hungarian Telegraph agency "Külföldi Hírek" 1940-41. Went into emigration following Paul Teleki's suicide April 1941. Political work in cooperation with British authorities in the Middle East 1941-43. Since January 1936 member of the Independent Smallholders' Agricultural Workers' and Citizens' Party.

Mr. Nicholas Szász.

Born in 1910, in Győr, Hungary. Is an electrical engineer by profession, a graduate of the Technical University of Brno. He took an active part in the Socialist Youth, Trade Union and Students movements. He is working in a war factory as a radio engineer and is the representative of the workers as a shop steward of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. He is the honorary secretary of the Hungarian Club in London and of the Joint War Effort Committee of Hungarians.

- 1 -

Count Michael Karolyi's appeal
to the Hungarian people.

The year 1944 will be crucial in Hungarian history. Zero hour is at hand. Before this year runs its course the Allies may have won the war. ~~A few months only separate us from fateful decisions.~~ *200 hours is a hour!*

At this ~~crucial juncture~~ *historic moment* the Magyar people are faced with a supreme alternative: either to continue on the thousand year[#] old road of ~~an exclusive~~ *several* nationalism or to break once and for all with the past and choose their future in the closest fraternal collaboration with their neighbours. Either to hold on to untenable territorial claims and court destruction or to throw off the National Socialist yoke in time and thus save what still can be saved of their national existence.

~~The~~ *of Hungary* Hungary's situation is indeed calamitous. Admiral Horthy, like Count Tisza before him led the country to the brink of ~~the~~ *an* abyss. And as in 1918, the Magyar people will again have to suffer for the mistakes committed by their leaders. In this national predicament *(it falls to us)* those of us who live abroad and benefit by the larger freedom and the wider vistas of foreign parts to utter a solemn warning and to declare the plain truth: Unless the Magyar people can muster the courage ~~and determination~~ to break away within the coming few months from the National Socialist regime and to repudiate, root and ~~branch~~ *that regime*, the domestic Hungarian system, subservient to ~~it~~ *the* the doom from which Hungary was retrieved ~~more than~~ *the Battle of* four centuries ago after Mohacs, will finally overtake ~~the country~~ *her* in World War II.

The position of the country Hungary's situation ~~to-day~~ *today* is closely similar ~~to that which~~ *what* it was in 1918. When, in the Summer of that year I advised the late King-
Emperor Charles IV to break openly with the Germans, he answered that "this was

impossible since the Germans would then occupy Austria-Hungary."
"You should do it in spite of that," I said, "for the occupation
would be the lesser evil, since it would only be temporary. Of course, it
would have been even better if you had braced yourself to take this step
already in 1917." ^{when} But I proposed that King Charles should grant univer-
sal suffrage and the secret ballot and thus ensure the approval of
his policy by Parliament the King answered that he would not be willing to
grant a democratic suffrage. To-day I call on the Hungarian people
to say "No" to the Germans whatever the consequences, even though this
might reduce our country temporarily to the position of Northern Italy.
The sooner we succeed in organizing active resistance against the Ger-
mans, and their feudal supporters in Hungary, the more
justified is the hope that the country will still be able to lay
down the solid foundations of a ^{late} ~~vigorous~~ national development ^{growing out of the life of the working} ~~based on a~~
peasantry freed at last from all feudal serfdom. Out of the fight waged
together with the partisans of the neighbouring peoples the bonds of a
new friendship will be born which ^{will} ~~shall~~ replace the spirit of enmity
fostered by ^{intemperate} chauvinistic ~~incendiaries~~. In the eleventh hour we must try
to establish ^{an understanding} with the Czechoslovaks, the Yugoslavs, the Austrians
and our other neighbours as well as dispel the confusion created by
the Bolshevik bogey. The Magyar people will ^{then} no longer be isolated
in the midst of Europe.

(Text as known 100% ~~correct~~ → Signed)
Copy with R.)

Nagygyűlés, 1946 jun. 21, Denison House, Victoria

Nagy Ferencz, Rakosi Matyas, Gyöngyössy, Riesz.

Nagy Ferencz: ...érezzük, és tudjuk, hogy velünk szemben áll egy vad...

...azok akik a harc kimenetelét előrelátták, az igazságosság követelményeinek és az erőviszonyoknak megfelelően... a demokraciát adtuk az

országnak mint örökkevelő politikai életet... elhatároztuk, hogy a

hatalmat meg fogjuk osztani a magyar nemzet minden társadalmi rétege

között. Egyréteg se érezze hogy kimarad a társadalom fejlődéséből.

Véget vetettünk az ezeresztendő uralkodó rendszernek, kihúztuk lábunk alól

a földet és odaadtuk annak a magyar népnek, aki rajta szolgáskodott

mint gazda vagy mint cseled. ...a szántóföld 93%-a be van vetve.

Az elhurcolt javak:

a magyar nemzeti bank egész aranykészlete,

az összes magyar dunai és tiszai hajók,

260 gyar,

200 gyar gépeit,

korházainkat, muzeumainkat.

demokracia: a magyar nép optimizmusának szervei alapja, hogy nem az uraknak épít Magyarországot, hanem önmagának, a dolgozók széles rétegeinek.

Rakosi Matyas: 32 évvel ezelőtt ugyancsak hasonló magyarok előtt mondtam búcsúbeszédet.. fiatal diák voltam, a Labour party tagja, soha sem felejttem el mennyit köszönhetek ~~annaknak az államnak~~ ennek az országnak tudás, széles látkör

A háború alatt azután, amikor úgy látszott hogy mindent elönt a fasiszma hulláma akkor az angliai magyarság volt az aki igyekezett felvenni azt a zászlót amelyet Kossuth, Petőfi, Ady, Karolyi vitt .. akik Londonból végeztek azt a munkát amit mi Moszkvából végeztünk.

2)

Ez a szellem meg sokakban mozog. Segítsenek nekünk a fiatal magyar demokracia megvedeseban.egy orszagba sem lehet egy mas orszag berendezéseit atültetni. ..Azok a kísérletek amiket 1948-19ben kezdtünk, nem jartak sikerrel, mert mechanikusan probaltuk az orosz intezmenyeket atültetni. Itt az oka a változott vonalnak. Nyugaton azonban nem mentek keresztül ezen az iskolán. Az angol demokracia 300 éves. Az amerikai demokracia 200 éves. Varjunk egy kicsit míg a magyar demokracia is felnöl. Majd azutan beszélgessünk. Nyugatról nem egyszer csalódottan ~~menten~~ kerültek vissza Magyar orszagrol. A tyuk-kacsa mese. Egy fiatal demokraciának a gyemekszobaja nem mindennapos jelenség. Csak egyszer lát az ember ilyet életében. Segítsenek itt a nyugaton megerteni es meréttetni. A 300 angol éves/demokracia intezmenyeit nem lehet Magyarorszagra atültetni. Nagyon boldog lennek, ha lehetne. De olyan almodot nem fognak találni, aki egy jövendo Magyarorszag melle odaalmodik egy 400 millios gyarmati birodalmat.Ki egy magyar talajbol nőtt demokraciat építünk fel, amelyik igyekszik majd at venni a ketelről is, a nyugatról is, amit szervesen magabe fel tud venni. De a magyar demokracia csak akkor lesz allando ha hazai talajbol fakad. ... ellensegei szama legio. Kallai: nem kell tanulnunk Musszolinitól, Hitlertől. Rettentő nehez egy 27 éves fasista rendszert kiirtani. Azt szoktam mondani a kishitűeknek: kétszer ne nem fogjuk a demokraciat kiengedni a kezeinkből. Most jön majd 7 nehez esztendő, azutan meg het talan meg nehezebb esztendő. Es ez így lesz körülbelül a következő harminc evben. De csak egyszer volt Budán kutyavasár. Segítsenek nekünk megvedeni egy erős, szabad, független es népidemokraciat Magyarorszagon.

3/
Gyöngyössi: ...Debreczentől Hajduböszörményig terjedt a kormány hatalma.
Moszkva-Washington-London. (A külügyi analízist Nagy adta meg). A Londoni
magyarságról szólva: ők voltak a legnehezebb napokban a magyar külpoliti-
ka követői és letétemenyesei.

Rieszi: léber, Leydeni pszichológikus kongresszus, léber, Mirbeau, Léber,
a lalkaknek kell atváltozni. léber, hiába adunk földet, ha... léber, fel-
szállott a pava, léber, léber, léber.

Rakosi az LMK-ban. Amerikáról,, Kezfogás Trumannal, a mozisok,
a Waldorf-Astoria, a TVA, /

Magyarországról: a választások, Minden szentek, nov.lén, ~~magamm~~
Mindszenty körlevele, azután vasárnap a prédikáció. ~~amampham~~

Korán mentek szavazni a parasztok, azután a templomba. Onnan a paraszta-
szonyok sírva jöttek a parttitkarságba, hogy nem-e lehetne a szavazo-
cédulat kivenni az urnából, mert hiszen nem tudtak ők hogy ilyen
halálos bűnbe estek azzal hogy a kommunista partra szavaztak...

The document contains the demand that the name of the person of the signer of the document, as well as the names of the members of the Committee he is connected with should be mentioned in future by the Hungarian Service of the BBC instead of leaving them anonymous, as it had done up to the present.

This demand appears to be based on the signer's interpretation of an understanding reached between him and the BBC. It is hardly credible, however, that such an interpretation can be correct, since it would impose upon the news service of the BBC impracticable limitations. An interview, e.g., granted by Karolyi to Reuters which may happen "to be news" could then be broadcast by the BBC only if Reuters would agree to interview some (or all) members of the signer's Committee simultaneously. This would appear to stretch the meaning of equal treatment too far.

Politically the interest of the document appears to lie in its endorsement of the idea of a resistance movement in Hungary, while objecting to the leadership of Count Karolyi in such a movement. According to the document such leadership is more likely to be forthcoming from the present parliamentary opposition. This is a surprising conclusion to draw, since the document expressly states as its conviction that the parliamentary opposition has been recently moving more and more towards a support of the government, a fact which certainly could not be the result of Karolyi's line to which no publicity had as yet been given.

obvious

The inference is that while the signer of the document wishes to be thought of as a supporter of a resistance movement in Hungary, he actually wishes to safeguard the freedom of manoeuvre of those groups in Hungary which are now spontaneously drawing closer to the government.

As to the point of Karolyi's leadership: It was almost exactly thirty years ago that Count Karolyi, in 1914, came out for a Russian orientation of Hungary's foreign policy. He upheld this view as leader of Hungarian parliamentary opposition - the Kosuth Party - all through the First World War, stood to it in 1918 and stands to it to-day. His consistent opposition to the German orientation of Hungary's foreign policy made him the natural leader of the country in 1918. He followed this up by making Oscar Jaszi his Minister for the Affairs of Racial Minorities, a statesman, commanding the confidence of many Czechoslovaks, Rumanians, Yugoslavs. Simultaneously Karolyi took the lead in partitioning the land by distributing his family estate in Kaposna to the peasants. For a quarter of a century his name has been the symbol of a new democratic Hungary which breaks radically with the baneful inheritance of feudalism and chauvinism. When military events caused his government to resign, and, eventually, himself to leave the country, he and his wife retired into twenty-five years of poverty and exile maintaining their integrity in a manner rare in the annals of history. The day has come for Hungary, when Karolyi's foresight stands revealed and his name must once more be the hope of the Hungarian people. This necessarily elliptic synopsis of Karolyi's career is set down as a studiously restrained commentary on the signer's accusation that Karolyi is forcing his person upon the resistance movement in Hungary. It is doubtful whether even his Committee would endorse such a statement.

*The above has not been seen by the signers
and is my personal opinion.*

KL

Stoker Odložik, Prague, Professor of History (1) Dec. 27th

Chairman's opening speech

Friends of the New Democratic Hungary lecture meeting,

16th Dec. 1943

Concert & Social Gathering

*Br. V. Votica
Rastko Vukobratovic (2) Jan 3rd
Alley Taylor
Dragoslav Vukobratovic*

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I welcome you to this meeting of the Friends of a new democratic Hungary. In our circle, I may say, it is fairly agreed, that a new democratic Hungary means not only a new Hungary but also a renewed democracy. Political and constitutional democracy is not enough - unless economic and social democracy is added to it, the future of the Danube will be black. In this region of mixed settlement no boundary or frontier can be both sovereign and satisfactory, unless nationalism itself loses its ^{present} virulence and intolerance. Here, primarily, lies the European mission of a renewed ^{Danubian} democracy. Tito of Yugoslavia is a remarkable instance of its efficiency. ^{easy. He} Tito is much less bound to vested interests than the ~~so-called~~ Yugoslav government in ~~Belgrade~~ ^{called}, since it is not ^{only} Yugoslav, that is, South Slav, at all, but simply Pan-Serbian. The old Serbian families, the military and commercial top-flight, regard the Triune Kingdom as their private domain. The Tito movement meant a definite step forward in the social democratization of the country. - And what do we see? The first fruit of this step ^{was} ~~is~~, as we witness to-day, a tremendous ^{institutional} achievement in the way of the reconciliation of the peoples forming Yugoslavia - a feat no government in Belgrade has ^{succeeded in performing} ~~accomplished~~ ^{ever} ~~achieved~~. I need not say that the ^{resounding} ~~triumphant~~ success of the USSR was, to ninety percent, the result of its ^{secular} ~~achievements~~ in the sphere of ^{national &} national freedom.

In Hungary at present a similar reconciliation is needed, not internally, - it consists to-day mainly of Magyar - but externally, that is, in respect to its neighbours, the Yugoslavs, the Rumanians, ~~and~~ the Czechoslovaks. In Hungary, too, this

slovak^{ians}. In Hungary, too, this can be done only by a ~~lower~~ democracy which has utterly and completely broken with the historical past, dismembered the latifundia of the aristocracy and its gentry vassalry, and thus vindicated the birth-right of the landless peasant and the ~~man~~ scrap-holder, who, also, has a claim to the soil of his fatherland. In the agrarian countries of Eastern Europe the peasantry is the ^{least} ~~most~~ nationalistic of the broad strata of the population, at least it does not share the patriotic megalomania of the trading classes and the intelligentsia. These traders in words and raiment, the most chauvinistic of all human artefacts, ~~do not share~~ the chauvinism of the bankers and brokers, of the editors and exporters. Together with the industrial working class the peasantry is the only class co-operative and tolerant towards its neighbours. Stambuljeki in Bulgaria, Radić in Yugoslavia, were the heroes and martyrs of this co-operative and creative spirit of the tillers of the soil in Eastern Europe; Stalin may ^{yet} go down to history as its greatest living representative.

That is why a radically renewed democracy - a peasants' and workers' democracy - is imperatively needed in Hungary today. Few eminent Hungarians have more clearly seen this connection than Oscar Jaszi, whose ~~whole~~ life work ^{spring from} ~~was based on~~ the conviction that only a democratic peasant Hungary can be a reliable agent in the fraternal solution of the national problems of the Danube. And President Karolyi himself, in his October address of this year, said this: In 1867 the feudal aristocracy of Hungary made its peace with the Habsburg Emperors in Vienna, the famous 'Ausgleich', or Compromise, made by ^{Francis} Deak and ^{John} Andrássy, - in order to mutually secure ~~their~~ social privileges, ^{including} ~~and~~ their rule over national minorities such as the Slovaks in Hungary, the Czechs in Austria. The Ausgleich, that the workers and peasants of Hungary need ^{today}, is an Ausgleich of similar scope and similar historical significance not with German reaction, but with Czech democracy: a permanent, close

co-operation of Magyar and Czech. In conclusion, let me ^{express my conviction} ~~say~~ that,
~~If one thing is more certain than another, it is this. Such a peaceful,~~
permanent co-operation of Czech and Magyar ^{if it should ever come into being} can be only the work of a new
democratic Hungary ^{a Hungarian democracy} renewed in words and slogans merely, but renewed
in the spirit ^{and the deeds} of its trusted and ^{not tried} ~~new~~ leaders.

~~and the deeds~~

Október első napjai

1918 november 7-én Pétervári és Moszkva proletárjai elindul-
tak világra szóló küldetésük elebe. Tíz nappal később negy-öttszáz
munkás bejött Csepelről tüntetni a budapesti Oktogorra. Azt kiáltották
hogy "Béke vagy forradalom". Rendőrség, csendőrség és katonaság fogadta
és verte szét őket. Ettől a naptól fogva tüntetés tüntetést követett.
A százakkal ezrek és tízezrek lettek. Csak három hónap telt bele és 1918
január 16-án általános munkások sztrájk tört ki Budapesten. A vasutások
alreit vitték. Leállt az iparüzem és a hadiipar. Röviddel rá
sztrájkban állt Berlin. Ettől kezdve a béke kérdése napirenden ma-
radt.

Nem volt Magyarországon ennek az úttörő megmozdulásnak a
forrása? A munkásság ezerszereket átíró szervezeteiben? A hivatalos
partokban és munkaszervezetekben? Nem, távolról nem. Ők az uralkodó
császári háborút támogatták, ők nem látszottak kezét fogni, hátarokon
és frontokon keresztül. Prosztorozag munkásaival, parasztaival,
katonáival.

Magyarországon egy csoportnyi csoport mozgott. Meg Budapest
munkástársait a háború ellen, a forradalom mellett és vezette őket
Október fele -- a Csepeli szász Manfred gyár, az Úrszabotfalvi egy-
vergyár, a Matyasföldi repülőgépgyár néhány bizalmi tőrője, és vagy
fél százat diák és munkásokkal. Nem volt ennek a csoportnak se
multja, se gyűlési helye, se szervezete, se sajtója, se pénze, meg
csak neve és volt. Utatlan úton jart, a hivatalos szervezeteket
mellőzve, csak a gyárak bizalmi embereire támaszkodva az utcáiban --
és az utcákból építve fel, összehozva ki a mozgalom új szerveit. Így
nőtt egy jövőbeli népkormányzat, a budapesti munkástanács, első
elcsiraja.

Akcióiban egyenesen a tömegekre támaszkodott. Ha plakátokat kellett ragasztani éjjel Budapest utcáira, eljöttek a Matyasföldi nemzetionokok. Ha röpirátot kellett nyomtatni, elhoztak a szedést a Globusznyomdából az ott dolgozó orosz hadifoglyok. Ha szakértő kellett a titkos nyomda felállításában, eljött a nevtelen orosz megfogott hadifogoly aki arról azt mondta hogy a cári Oroszországban több mint száz földalatti nyomda szervezett. Ha a frontokra kellett eljuttatni röpirátot, elvitték a harminckettes bakak. Ha a busnyak katonákhoz kellett röpirátot írni, hogy ne lőjjenek a Budapesti munkástömegekre, eljöttek megfogalmazni a nemzetiségi diákok. Mikor a januári sztrájk előtt arulás történt és lefogtak majdnem az egész csoportot, új emberek vettek kezükbe a zászlót és vezettek a nevtelen mozgalmat a júniusi általános sztrájkba.

De a nepek sorsa, tudjuk, a harctereken dől el. A központi hatalmak veresége Budapesten is megremegtette a háborús urak kormányát. A mozgalom ellenállhatatlan erővel tört az adott évi: Október fele.

Szerintem a történelem nehezebb utakon halad, hogy mozgásba hozza döntő társadalmi erőket. Ezek az erők Magyarországon ma is a földnelküli pártusztaság és a gyarak népe. A csatatereken erik a roppant döntés. Majd ha elindul Magyarország népe hogy vegetáljon egyszer és mindenkorra a magyar urak hatalmának, hogy kiszajátítsa a földjeiket, megtörje gazdasági és politikai uralmukat, ki tudja, hol veszi elejét a földindulás? Olyankor eltörpülnek a klubok és kaszinók, a sajtó, a partok és a szervezetek. És jönnek talán Matyasföldről új bizalmiak, jönnek új Galileisták, parasztek, hadifoglyok, börtön szabadítottjai, partizánok. Az ő Magyarországuke a jövő.

6 A katonai nyomdákban új erők születnek, és az elcsúszkallott társadalmi cél - a fennmaradó Magyarország megőrzése - nyílt szeméremmel megfogalmazódik.

Message to the Hungarian prisoners of war in Russia

Hungarian prisoners of war!

Far from your homes and families you are now awaiting the end of the war, pondering what curious fate flung you to these distant parts. What brought you into this war? What made you attack the Russian people who were building up their great country in peace? The Soviet Republic had no quarrel with the Hungarian people. Nor did you want to go to war against them. How, then, did it all come to pass? The answer is simple and clear: The Hungarian ruling class made you go to war to serve German interests, for only by serving the Germans can they hope to prolong their hold over the Hungarian people. For the second time in thirty years they have driven the Hungarian people into a bloody war, contrary to its vital interests. They did not deal out the land to the Hungarian peasantry, though they had promised often enough to do so. They dealt out to them, instead, suffering and death in an inglorious new war. Let it be enough of this. Let these gentry know that Hungary's workers and peasants demand their right to live. They demand land and a life worth living. And, what's more, they will get it this time.

The selfish and criminal policy of Horthy and his confederates has not only brought unnecessary sufferings to the Hungarian people, it has also plunged Hungary into ruin. The victorious Red Army and their great western allies are dealing out the decisive blows against the German war machine, which was deemed invincible. Hitler has irretrievably lost the war. His Hungarian vassals await inescapable defeat. Hungary's existence is in danger. The Horthys have cast away the country's honour. It falls to the true Hungarian patriots to regain their country's lost honour. They must see to it that such treason is never again repeated in Hungary's history. The true Hungarian patriots must recognize who are the enemies of their country. They must realize that the German Nazis are the gravediggers of Hungarian freedom and independence, and that Horthy and his like have handed over the country to them. There is but one thing we can do. It is, to stand to those who are fighting Hitler and Horthy alike. In this you can take your share. You were privileged by fate to become prisoners of war in Russia. Many of your comrades lost their lives at Voronezh and on other sectors of the front, others are still being driven on to fight against the Red Army, with Hitler's and Horthy's machine guns in their backs. You, however, are free amongst your Russian friends. Put yourselves at the disposal of the Red Army under Stalin's leadership, which fights for the freedom of the downtrodden peoples of Europe. It also fights for the freedom of the Hungarian people. Volunteer to fight with the Red Army, organize your Hungarian battalions, fight in the vanguard for the salvation of Hungary. Ask the Russians to provide you with arms and to lead you on against those who wrenched you from your homes, robbed you of your rights and of your freedom. Your enemies are neither the Russian, nor the Czechoslovaks, nor the Yugoslavs, nor other neighbour peoples, or the barbarously persecuted Jews, but those who forced you to fight against them. Fight side by side with the Red Army, with the Czechos-

slovak, and the Rumanian resistance movements, with the Yugoslav Partisan Army, with the Armies of the Western Allies for a new and happier Europe and a new life for its peoples. If you take up the fight you give the signal for the setting up of a Partisan Army at home, in Hungary. Your friends and comrades there will draw new strength from the example you set them and together with you wipe out the shame that Horthy's name left on the Hungarian nation. Fight for the future of your children, for the land that is yours by rights, for your freedom, for peace. Fight for a new, democratic, free Hungary.

Michael Karolyi.

London, 15th January, 1944.

HUNGARIAN COUNCIL IN GREAT BRITAIN

Angliai Magyar Tanács.

Chairman: COUNT MICHAEL KÁROLYI.

Telephones: MOUNTVIEW: 2748.

49A HORNSEY LANE GARDENS, N.6.

N.6.

1940. évi; és Dussindha Tagtárs!

Értesítem, hogy főgőz 15 in, este 6 órakor által
tartandó a L. H. K. helyiségekben.

" Naprend.

1. Folyó. ügyek intézése.

2. A Tanács feladatai teendői az új helyzet beálltával.
Kértem híves megfigyelését.

A. Angliai Magyar Tanács
Eltkarosa; nevében

Tyag. J

Vágnér

I think it is an exc. idea to come out with books
of this kind giving a summary of the history
of the so-called small countries round the
Danube & the Balkans. In this connection one
of the most important countries is Hungary not
because it is large, but because of its position.
The Magyars are placed like a bridge
separating the North & the South
Slavs and being racially &
linguistically different ~~from them~~
~~different~~ for they represent a
certain difficulty, ^{in fact} when the
necessity is seen of bringing
things up.

But another aspect in dealing
with the H. problem is that the
world at large and only the English,
but even the Magyar world has
been ~~unwilling~~ for centuries

~~History of Propaganda~~ - Quaker journals
by the M. Delany, historian &
particular by the as well as
by the former members. These
form ~~an~~ ^{best} artificial
legend of legend which obstructs
reality. Especially these last
25 years since in the year when
propaganda has taken an incredible
dimensions and became a real
war weapon. ~~Their further~~
~~misdrawing narrow the heart,~~
of it lies it becomes a
contribution -- many words
of it. [It is the result
of their hatred to those
the other side of the place,
it, as it were, another]

before this world. I am sure Mrs. M. would be
violently attacked for tearing down her feathers and
her boasts which she H. modestly claims were
taken and ~~was~~ made. And for reasons. For
the H. only class has lost its backbone and they
have exist only with a skeleton of boasts
which are there to cover the decay of
a country which they have ruined. They even
wrote or wanted to show Hungary in a short booklet
it is a ~~triumph~~ very daring enterprise. ~~For~~
~~even for the simple reason~~

For while it is possible to write the H.
of France, Spain, Switzerland or without
necessarily giving a picture of the other countries as
well, for Hungary this is impossible. The H.
country is can be only understood at the same
time as when an analysis is given of the
the R. Empire, of the Habsburg family,
especially, one must be ~~very~~ familiar with
the H. of the Czechs, the Serbs, Croats,
Rumanians, and, of course of but last
not least of Germany. To give this survey
in these few pages was impossible
I think on reading these pages

will open the eyes. The reader has the
 problem as not as simple as a rack H.
 top would like to put it. The most important
 for the Pro. people is to well understand the
 connection between the H. they claim & former.
 Since the middle of the 18th century
 the Habsburgs and all those people making their
 money, books, etc. were found with 3 paragraphs:
 The absolute centralised centralistic power,
 federalism, or a dual centralism (Lands Vienna
 & Budapest). The H. by endorsing class
 were always opposed to absolutism, even
 to the so-called enlightened absolutism
 because they feared that in the end
 inevitably they would lose their
 special prerogatives. But they opposed
 just in vain the federalism,
 which would have been the only way
 of saving the Habsburg rule. They opposed
 federalism, because wrote it down in law
 democracy was unavoidable.

15: proposition. This means absolute
 and always absolute, even if we
 nationalise the land.

W. Th.

Joseph II, Francis, Maximilian, and fr. Jos. all had
a try, all tried to centralize the Aust. Empire
and make it a united former country, just as France
became a united country. ^(note) It all

This failed on the simple mathematical
fact that whereas you do, 2 and 2 will
be 4 and ten million Germans ~~would~~ ^{would}
~~cannot~~ ^{cannot} absorb 62 million other
non-Germans. Federalism has been

also tried several times, especially when Austria
was the Habsburgs were endangered. This

was the case in '48. For a very short
time ⁱⁿ ~~scarcely~~ ~~I mention~~ in fact, for
a few months a fed. pact was

summoned in ^(bei Olmutz) ~~Linz~~. After being

done the run in Vienna it was thrown over
and they ~~came~~ ^{fell} back to the ~~absolutist~~ ^{formula}
of absolutism. Hard pressed by the

Habsburgs in 1861 against a ~~fed. pact~~
trial was made which failed once more.

After 1867 came the German Empire
which was a sort of double - centralization,
with Vienna & B. as respective centers.

Kronen
Farkov

decks!

John
mum

The compromise was the direct effect of
 Sadava and it was forced on ~~the~~ family
~~Bismarck & Andrey~~ ~~on~~ ~~leaving~~ an actor's
 selfish. ~~Save~~ by Bismarck & Andrey. ~~for~~ ~~fourth~~
 after 67 still did not pick up all boxes of
 pieces, himself from the clutches of Bis-
 marck. The last chance for with-
 drawal at that time was Chap. III. with his
 help a range for Sadava would have
 been possible. But with ~~drawal~~ seldom
 became true. Bismarck & Andrey became still
 more powerful after Sadava, and with only
 the ~~other~~ ~~for~~ ~~had~~ ~~to~~ ~~accept~~
 the current ~~to~~ to the double alliance
 which takes on ~~leaving~~ a ~~double~~ alliance
 & which was in fact ~~the~~ ^{Sadava's} backbone of
 the Amper. It is through this former
 compromise or ~~amper~~, that the M.
 meeting got ~~feel~~ ~~right~~ over the
 nationalities, over the ~~Colombians~~.
 The women ~~was~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~happy~~ ~~but~~ ~~the~~
 H. Count, ~~knowing~~ ~~this~~ ~~background~~
 the Tupper, Andrey, Appony, the Balthus.

knowing this development it is not only because we
 were people were forming, but the form
 itself, but, and, plus. dominated things
 that it was a well planned consequence of
 the de-allocation which were much more
 an act, like. But surely then an act.
 like. Utters & Berlin. It is determined
 This is the act. for how it happened that
 it was the things as nothing who even
 looking up the reason to see very
 much. After the collapse of the Amer-
 ican Empire the H. Reg. broke with
 the tradition. Before the collapse, 17th Dec 1911
 Eng. Ch. with the last most belated effort
 tried to save himself once more by
 his ^{step of} ~~intervention~~, 12 days before the collapse.
 It was too late. The H. Reg. wanted to
 turn over a new leaf, break away from
 forming, seek an understanding with the
 nations, the four. Germanians. But
 he wished to do this, not only for saving
 the standard of living, but to clear the
 path, it had to break the false supposition
 of the collaborationist with forming.

If he has to choose between Pétain or the faults
Nepin in France, well his choice is ^{really} simple.

and then, and I hope, ^{my} ~~the~~ work.

I am confident that she will embrace
the cause of her people. (For the sake of
millions like her of Andropkin)

My confidence is based on the 28 years past
 which I have concluded ~~with~~ there is
 a f. point here. If you have seen B. you
 must believe my B. If you go in for
 a bare & so young, if you want to
 know more + believe there is no relation to
 unbelief, see through surely of the Blue Danube
 and you cannot go back to the 18th century;

you cannot go back to the steady parking
and to the ~~uninterrupted~~ charm of the
H. children life.

The ^{real} business of Hungary is most
important, for the peace of security
is dependent of what will happen after
the war. If H. the H. aristocracy
seem - feudal spirit will remain,
even only if a little portion of it would
be saved, the peace is threatened
if the old & new competition between
the old and the new will go on as
they did before the war, the H.
nobility will again seek help by the
same form as in the past. There is

an English saying: once bit, twice shy.
~~but what if~~ ~~there is no answer to~~ ~~the~~ ~~question~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~war~~ ~~to~~ ~~what~~ ~~happen~~, if there is bit?
May I venture? I suppose. I suppose, since
~~I have I dare suggest and~~ I suppose.

A tanács megalkakulásáról kiküldött értesítésekkel kapcsolatban azt hoztam a lengyel kormánynak a névsorból történt kihagyását sérelmezik. Nem óhajtok ezzel kapcsolatban arra hivatkozni hogy a tanács tagok többsége által megszavazott határozatról van szó amely / amely szavazás során felesége többségi határozattal a lengyel értesítés me llett szavazott/ hanem azt mondom hogy minden okom megvan azt hinni hogy az angol kormány maga nem volt olyan érzékeny mint Önök., mintahogy me vagy ok arról győződve hogy az angol kormánynak az egyik feladata az amellyel szavazott hogy a lengyel kormánnyal semmilyen kapcsolatban nem álló Szabó Osztrák Mozgalomnak küldjünk értesítést - nem óhajtotta az angol kormányt sérteni.

Ami a területi igényfeladást illeti a leghatározottabban kijelentem hogy senkivel semmilyen megállapodást nem kötöttem. Teljesen felesleges volna a magyar határkérdésben álláspontot most vallanom hiszen a Magyar Tanács harci programjában egy, minnyajunkra egyformán kötelező állásfoglalás található.

Önök úgy ismerik mint én az orosz kormánynak a müncheni megállapodásokat és azok következményeit hatálytalannak nyilvánító nyilatkozatát az szovjetországi kormánynak a csehszlovák köztársaság 1938 előtti határait elismeréséről. Ilyen körülmények között azt hiszem jogosan tölthet el engem hazafiúi örömmel azt a tény hogy Jan Massaryk nekem tett ígéretet, a nyilvánosság előtt is megismételt ígéretet

hogy az elkövetkező demokratikus Magyarországgal területi kérdésekben is meggyezni.

A 4. pontban bevezető mondatát igazságtalannak vélem, hiszen a tanács minden egyes tagja úgy vesz részt a tanács tevékenységében a nemzeti bizottságokat tisztelő, a nemzeti szempontokat elsődlegesen figyelembevev álláspont képviselője. Nincs okom kétni kedni hogy a magyar nemzeti bizottságok legnemesebb kifejezői közé számítják Dózsa Györgyöt, Thökölyt, Rákóczyt, az 1848, 1918, és az ellenfordalom 25 éven át szedett magyar áldozatait.

Akarmenyire is ajánlom egy tárgyi tévedéseket kikell igazítani. Mikor a keuter helyre hozítás mellett foglaltunk állást, biztosíthatom Önöket hogy köznyelvem az én álláspontomat az adott kérdésben egy közös álláspont elérése érdekében módítottam és nem pedig az Önök kilépéstől való aggodalmamban. Remélem az a körülmény Önöket csak meglepődéssel tölti el.

Önök tanácsotága a Nagybritanniai Szabad Magyarok Egyesületének megbízatásán alapul. A Sajtó és Propagandabizottságban az bizottságot alkotó 7 tag közül három az Önök egyesületének választmányának tagja. Elképzelhetem ennek találok hogy a másik két kiküldött tanács tag kevésbé képviselné az egyesületben tömörült magyarok álláspontját mint Önök - ha igaz lenne, nem tartoznák sem a Tanács többi tagjaira, - vagy kevésbé volnának bármely alkalommal a bizottsági tagokra, hiszen mindketten ölethivatásszerűen szolgájak az szövetségek sajtó és propagandatevékenységét.

A tájékoztató jellegű és kifejezetten nem hivatalos tárgyalásaimról annyit közöltem és a jövőben is közölni fogok, amennyit a másik társul

a másik tárgyaló fél jóváhagyásával közölhettem és közölhetek.
Szükségtelen hangsúlyoznom hogy minden esetben amikor ~~XXXXXX~~ hivatalos
és a tanácsot alkötő lezáró tárgyalást folytatok annak minden mozzanatáról
előzetesen tájékoztatom a Tanácsot.

Két további kijelentésekre ösztönöztem volna
megjelenést tenni, de ezt még fel kell támasztanom amíg további
felvilágítást értelmesebbekről illetően onktól nem kapok, ami rendszer
hamarosan megtörténik

1/ Mit értenek Önök a "minden eszköz" alatt
amire a 2. oldal, 4/. pontjában utalnak

2/ milyen és melyik körülménytől nyert felhivatalos
termékek megbízásokra gondoltak a 2. oldal 3/. pontjában.

Nem ~~XXXXXX~~ megfogalmazhatom el, befejezve, hogy
közönség mondják memorandumokban, - a súlyos kifogások ellenére is-
határozott formában történt ~~XXXXXX~~ politikai bizalom, ilvanításukért
és ama megfogalmazásuk kifejezéséért hogy én minden tárgyalást úgy vezetek
ahogy azt én a magyar nép érdekében legelőnyösebbnek tartom.

Fodjak őszinte nagyrabecsülésen kifejezést.

Submitted to the Hungarian Council in J. K. Kellner
Memorandum of the Sub-Committee formed by:

Mr. G. Kellner, Dr. Károly Polányi and Mr. Andrew Révai
on the subject of ^{the} relations to be established between the
Hungarian Council in Great Britain and the Hungarian
fighting unit in the Army of Marshal Tito.

We consider it as ^a primary task of the Hungarian Council
in Great Britain to do everything in their power for the
support of the only Hungarian military unit which fights
on the side of the United Nations. ~~For this reason the~~
London representatives of Marshal Tito should be informed
of this intention of the Council and they should be
consulted ^{on such matters} ~~in what way such~~ support would be most welcome
for the Yugoslav Committee of National Liberation. The
Council should use all its authority in England and in
America to mobilise moral and material strength of Hungarians
in these countries to the benefit of the Hungarian fighting
unit. **

The Council should not undertake any step before
it has reasonable assurance ^{that} ~~for~~ the consent and agreement
of Marshal Tito's Committee will be forthcoming.

^{In this report we suggest the following recommendations:}
The Council considers the question of supporting
Hungarian fighting unit ^{with a twofold aim} from a twofold angle; viz.,

- 1, to make this unit as effective as possible to
contribute to the fight of this unit by giving
all possible help within the scope of the Council.
- 2, ^{the} ~~to help to build up~~ the existing unit into an important
fighting factor ⁱⁿ in particular view of the effect
on the people of Hungary, the resistance of which

undoubtedly cannot be stimulated more by any other factor than by the existence of a Hungarian military unit fighting on the side of the United Nations. ~~12/18/44~~

It is understood that we are keeping the competent British authorities informed of any step which may be undertaken. We have every reason to assume that the British authorities will not object to any useful step which may be taken in this direction.

^{we}
~~The Hungarian Council~~ considers it of great importance that the people of Hungary should be informed of the fact that a Hungarian military unit is fighting on the side of the allies ^{and} that Hungarians living abroad are doing everything in their power to support this Hungarian military unit ~~and~~
~~the Soviet Union believe that effective help given by Hungarians to the military unit and information conveyed to the people of Hungary~~ ^{to this effect} ~~of this fact~~ represents a real contribution to the effort of mobilising the people of Hungary on the side of the Allies.

Peasantry and Intelligentsia.

Sir,

On the Danube and in the Balkans the inter-war years have radically refuted the Nineteenth Century myth of the reactionary peasant. Indeed, it is this myth to-day which appears as reactionary for it ignores the most hopeful signs of progress in that part of the world. The Bulgarian peasantry produced in Stambuliiski a martyr of the ideals of civic enlightenment and national federation, his assassination was the work of the chauvinistic dishards of the Macedonian Committee. The Croats had their Radic, a disciple of Tolstoy and Gandhi; his pacifistic statesmanship endowed his people with that spirit of racial tolerance in which a Tito may speak for all South Slavs with the voice of a true humanist. Even in Rumania with its efflorescence of monopolistic capitalism the peasant parties brought about a regeneration of national existence which infused new vigour into the liberal forces. And one would have to be blind to miss the fact that the triumphs of mother country of the Slav peasant peoples, the Soviet Union, are the result of a ~~gigantic~~ process of transformation in which the inexhaustable resources of a gifted peasantry have been called by a revolutionary working class - the essence of Leninism - unprecedented feats of creative spontaneity and humanistic piety. It was Hungary's misfortune in the inter-war period ever since Karolyi's noble attempt at the emancipation of the peasant had failed, the counter-revolution succeeded in driving

split.

between the peasantry and the workers. The intelligentsia was ~~divided~~.
Alone the
genius of Attila József (like Petőfi and Ady before him) avoided
this false alternative. But the bulk of the writers was ~~split~~ ^{divided} between
those who understood the supreme importance of the landless for the
future of the nation but turned towards nationalistic solutions, and
those who (like Paul Ignatus) stood for Western ideals but turned away
from the children of the soil, thus helping to isolate urban liberalism
and condemning it to political impotence. The former enriched Hungarian
literature and research by work which compare favourably with ^{those of} ~~Arthus~~
Young and Cobbett, and even with those of their Russian counterpart,
the Narodniki of the 1880ies, though some of them were unable to with-
stand the Nazi bait of a false agrarian radicalism; the latter's li-
beralism and socialism estranged from the land, threatened to degenerate
into mere ~~the~~ littérature. In the Hungary of the Kossuths, the Jászis,
the Karolyis, which is now on the way, this breach must be healed.
The Hungarian narodniki must be saved for the country; the urban wing
of the intelligentsia ^{should} ~~must~~ cast off the inane pessimism of a counter-
revolutionary atmosphere and turn towards the latent strength of the
nation, the peasantry.

KELLERMAN TELEFONSZÁMA: WOR 6628

1. Az alábbi beszámolóink összefoglalása:

Polányi Kellerman

1/ Abban az esetben, ha az egyesületek által delegált tanácsosok bármilyen okból fogva megszűnnek, / visszahívás, lemondás, elhalálozás stb/ az új egyesületi tanács-kiküldött elfogadásához a tanács szavazatainak 60 %-a szükséges.

2/ Abban az esetben, ha azt nem tudjuk keresztülvinni, megelégszünk egyszeri szótöbbséggel is.

3/ A tanács teljes egészében gyakorolni fogja határozatainak végrehajtását. A folyó ügyek intézését az elnök koordinációja és vezette mellett a tanács tagjainak munkamegosztása alapján fog történni. Az egyesület nem jelent kizárólagos körök alkotását, hanem csak a koordinációs elv gyakorlati kivételét. Így lehetővé tudjuk tenni tanácsunk kívül álló személyek aktív közreműködését is, természetesen a tanácsul kíván továbbra is csak a tanács tagok lehetnek jelen a tanács plénuma az, amely az minden dologban határoz és megszabja nemcsak elvileg, hanem kivételében is az ügyek menetét.

A következő munkafelosztást javasoljuk:

Törvényhozó

Műkészt
Szervező

A/ Az amerikai magyarság egységeinek megteremtése és annak koordinációja az angliai magyar tanácsal.

/Károlyi, Polányi, Révay, Szűsz/

B/ Sajtó és propaganda:

/Károlyiné, Andrássy Katinka, Sztankovics, Ferencz, Havas /IGNÓZ/

C/ Pénzügy:

/Lévy, Révay, Krammer./

D/ Szervezési ügyek:

/Lévy, Kellner, Kellermann/

Az elnök permanenciát fog tartani a hét bizonyos napjain amelyen az egyes munkacsoportok őt konzultálhatják. Javasoljuk továbbá, hogy a tanács az elnök mellé egyelőre "part time" személyi titkárt alkalmazzon és amint a pénzügyi helyzet megengedi, úgy "full time."

Ezre az állásra kikést javasoljuk.

A beszámoló során nem került szóba, de ajánlatos volna javasolni, hogy az USA-ban élő magyarsággal való kapcsolat felvételére a tanács bízta meg Budait, Polányinét és Süss.

Szeretne kinyitni. Elnökség és Elnök

A mellékelt levelet Lévynek - Jánosnak is.

Polányiékhoz küldöttém el.

Írt levelem Rostás bevonására a legmegfelelőbb

mód az lenne ha tudós irodalom megismeréséről

őket bíznánk meg. Lévy és Ferencz társaságában.

Polányi megismerés és megismerést az LMK

sein továbbra is csak a tanácsstagok lehetnek jelen s a tanács plénuma az, amely az minden dologban határoz és megszabja nemcsak elvileg, hanem kivitelezésben is az ügyek menetét.

A következő munkafelosztást javasoljuk:

A/ az amerikai magyarság egységének megteremtése és annak koordinációja az angliai magyar tanácsal.

/Polányi, Polányi, Révay, Szűcs/

B/ Ismertető és propaganda:

/Polányi, Anarissz Katinka, Sztankowicz, Ferencz, Révay /IGNOLY

C/ Pénzügy:

/Révay, Révay, Krammer./

D/ Organizációs ügyek:

/Iványi, Kellner, Kellermann/

Az elnökök permanenciát fog tartani a hét bizonyos napjain amelyen az egyes munkacsoportok őt konsultálhatják. Javasoljuk továbbá, hogy a tanács az elnökök mellé egyelőre "part time" személyi titkárt alkalmazzon és amint a pénzügyi helyzet megengedi, úgy "full time."

Erre az állásra Mikest javasoljuk.-

A beszélgetés során nem került szóba, de ajánlatos volna javasolni, hogy az USA-ban élő magyarsággal való kapcsolat felvételére a tanács bízta meg Budait, Polányiét és Süss.

Szeretve üdvözlök Elnököt és Elnököket

A mellékelt írottat Lóczy - Tyndusnak is.

Polányinak küldöttem el.

Azt hiszem Rostas bevonására a legmegfelelőbb mind az lenne ha tudna hivatalos megnevezéssel őt bírálni meg Frigyes Lóczy és Ferencz "dinasztia"-ban.

Polányi megnevezés egy megnevezést az: L.M.K vezetőjével az L.M.K. politikájáról elkötelezettségre. Itt fogja nyilvános vetély Lóczy és Frigyes is akkor nem támogatásuk mindezt a tanácsban.

Örömtelül

Kellermann

Angliai Magyar Tanács
- Elnök: Károlyi Mihály -

Ismertetés a külföldi magyarok tájékoztatására.

Az Angliai Magyar Tanács 1944 november 7-én felhívást közzé-
csatolt ki amelyben a külföldi magyarságot erejének egyesítésére
és a felhívás szellemében való együttműködésre szólítja fel.
Ezzel kapcsolatosan kívánatossa vált egy a Tanácsra vonatkozó
tájékoztató ismertetés kiadása.

1. Az A.M.T. ~~haza~~ létrejöttének körülményei és annak programja.

Szinte attól a naptól kezdve amelyen Magyarország Hitler ol-
dalan a háborúba lépett kísérletek történtek a külföldi magyarság
egyesítésére a célból, hogy a szerencsétlen útra vezetett hazánkról
a balsorsot elhárítani segítsék.

Ugy mint mindenütt, Angliában is súlyos akadályok álltak
ezen igyekezetek elébe. Érthető ha sokáig nem sikerült a politikai
és világnézeti különbségeket áthidalni, noha valamennyi angliai
magyar mozgalom már a Tanács megalakulását megelőző időben is odaadón
igyekezettel fáradozott az egység létrehozásán, amely számos esetben
együttműködésre és konkrét feladatok megoldására vezetett. Végezetül
az események kerlelhetetlen menete minden oldalon előmozdította annak
a meggyőződésnek a kikerülését, hogy az összefogas parancsosan
szükségessé vált.

1943 december 30-án Károlyi Mihály kibocsátotta Ujevi S.O.S-ét
a magyar népnek. E proklamáció szelleme megteremtette azt a helyzetet,

amelyben a Karolyi körül csoportosuló Új Demokratikus Magyarországi Mozgalom a Londoni Magyar Klubbal közös programot dolgozhatott ki. Ennek alapján 1944 március 28-án megalapították az Angliai Magyar Tanácsot. E program néhány pontjának módosítása lehetővé tette a Nagy-britanniai Szabad Magyarok Egyesületének április 22-én történt csatlakozását a Tanácshoz, amely, most már mint valamennyi angliai magyar mozgalom közös szerve, a Holborn Hallban tartott nagygyűlésen április 23-án lépett a nyilvánosság elé.

(2. kiegészítés a Tanácshoz
1944. 4. 1.)

Vajont -
A Londoni Magyar Klub elsősorban az Angliai magyarság dolgozó-
retegeit fogja össze ~~maig~~ Nagybritanniai Szabad Magyarok Egyesületébe
olyan polgári és intellektuális elemek tömörülnek, akik a hazai tár-
sadalom különböző retegeit képviselik. Ezzel jár a hazai partcsoporto-
sulasokhoz való azon viszonyulás amely ezen egyleteket jellemzi és
amely szereplésüknek politikai jelentőséget ad, akkor is, ha kultu-
rális és önszegelyző egyleti tevékenységre szoritkozni kénytelenek
és az egyesületi keretek nem felelnek meg egymast kizaro part-
kereteknek. Ezenfelül még az egyletek tanácsi képviselleteinek össze-
allitasa valamint a kooptalt tagok személye is hozzájárult a Tanacs
politikai jellegének olyan értelmében való kidomborításához hogy
az mint az otthoni harcolo ellenallas erőinek külföldi tükrözese
jelentkezhessek.

.....

Az Angliai Magyar Tanacs elkitüzeseit az említett aprilis
23iki nagygyűlésen elfogadott programban fektette le. A fentemlitett
1944 november 7én kibocsátott felhivas ~~akciónak~~ akciónk jelenlegi sza-
kaszat tükrözi. A Tanacs végcelja egy új, a nepies erökre tamaszkodo
demokratikus Magyarország megteremtése. (Az A.M.T. Programját és
a külföldi magyarsaghoz intézett felhivas szöveget csatoljuk).

2. A Tanacs összetetele.

Az A.M.T. Karolyi Mihaly vezetese alatt működik akit a Tanacs
elnökül választott. Szervezeti szabalyzata szerint a Tanacs a nevezett
három csoport negy-negy képviselőjéből, ~~am~~ valamint (jelenleg három)
szemely szerint kooptalt tagból áll. Az Tanacs tagjainak a száma tehát
ezidő szerint 15.

A Tanács folyó ügyeit a Szervező Bizottság titkara intézi. Mint állandó bizottságok még a Sajtó és Propagandabizottság, valamint a Külföldi Magyarok Bizottsága működnek. (A Tanács tagjainak névsorát és személyes adatait csatoljuk).

3. A Tanács statusa.

Az A.M.T. minden angoliai magyar csoport összefogását képviseli. Az A.M.T. a Szövetséges Nagyhatalmaknak letesüleset bejelentette akik e bejelentést tudomásul vettek és a Tanáccsal érintkezést tartanak fenn. De Gaulle tábornokkal még a francia ideiglenes kormány elismerése előtti időkben vette fel a kapcsolatot.

Szomszédaink közül különösen a csehszlovák és jugoszláv kormányokkal tart fenn a Tanács szorosabb kapcsolatot, akik többek között a Tanács támogatásával rendezett Októberi ünnepélyen magas hivatalos kiküldöttekkel képviseltették magukat.

A Tanács küldéseit esetről-esetre az angol hivatalos rádiószolgálat továbbítja.

4. A Tanács működése.

White Hungary, 1944.

I went to hear Reval's lecture on "Hungary before and after the occupation". He stood looking past his nose, onto the floor, his arms hanging down his side limply. When he reached the point on which he asserted that, due to their regrettable menshevik complex, which the Hungarian Social Democrats shared with all other former members of the Second International, they courted the idea of an Allied, i.e., Anglo-American occupation, but shrank from the possibility of a Russian occupation, thus failing to grasp the chances which were offered by the appearance of the magnificent Red Army in the Carpathian foothills - I stopped taking further notes of what Macartney's man had to say.

Richter was, indeed, right when he said that Reval will try to save as much of the old Hungary as possible, but - he will not get off the Communist train, wherever it be going. Incidentally, this deluge of declaration of his newly adopted insights was followed up, on Reval's part, by definite signs of sabotaging any genuine action the Council might go in for - and on the part of the Communists by an appreciable stiffening towards Reval.

(2)

with whom the blast of explosion never turns inward, (and who knows no delayed action, either) took up the receiver to tell Karolyi in his sweetest, most persuasive and suave manner (and he felt like it, too) that he, Karolyi should define his line by trying to destroy as much of the old, feudal, Hungary as he can, ~~without~~ while never, under any conditions whatever, turning against Russia, i.e., the exponents of Russia's foreign policy, the Communists; no policy on the Danube without Russia, and, consequently, without the Communists being possible in the next three hundred years; that he should, as contemplated before embarking on the Council, stand aside if and when the Communists take up a line of appeasement of the existing regime and one which he can not in fairness to his convictions, follow. - From what I gathered the answer was that on Friday's banquet in Manchester Square he shall put forth his program of Hungarian home policy and it will be ~~as~~ radical to the point of making their flesh creep. Nor shall the renaissance of the left restrict itself to South Eastern Europe. A Benes-Karolyi-Tito combination shall be the historical force destined to put a stop to the Russian ~~Threat~~ —

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The receiver had hardly come to rest when Zoli rang up to say that Karolyi had now asked Richter to see him in the morning to negotiate with him, and myself, to take his place in the Chair of the Council on Saturday in case his illness prevents him from attending. Zoli was not for nothing a man of the ...; he knows how to read signs and can tell temperatures. Only three hours earlier Richter told me that they are contemplating to withdraw from the Council if its constituting itself as an effective body is further frustrated by Karolyis, and I, that I would then, as far as I am concerned, regard ^{The Council} it as non-existing.

Next morning I rang Karolyi to say that I could not deputise for him if a. his intentions are not made clear to me, b. if they are clear but I happen to be in fundamental disagreement. However, by that time he had recovered and there was no need of a deputy. He poured forth his theory, which had grown overnight in breadth. The Russian Revolution after stupendous military victories grown tired, grown into a dictatorship of the generals, will be deeply influenced by the young and vigorous democracies of South East Europe, will recover her meaning and content, change from totalitarian.

3

to democratic forms, become "left" again, in short. As to the Communists, there is no need to take them too seriously. They will go any length to the right. He shall disregard them. Let them go to hell. He ended ^{the outburst,} /overcome by exhaustion. Zoli, whose gifts in this respect are remarkable, was connected up on the line all the time.

It must have been Zoli's groping for some kind of solid foundation in a political scene of sheer scheming (in which he is surpassing Karolyi's wife) which has brought the left issues in home policy again to the fore. With geometrical exactitude the emergence of these issues re-state those postulates of personal freedom which ~~ma-~~ go with ~~minimum~~ economic liberalism, and their claim to uniform spreading validity. This is the mechanism by force of which all "left" positions, by their necessarily being universalist, become ~~unhindered~~ cellules of Anglo-American power-policy, breaking into the already pre-formed "regions" in which the ~~queer~~ ^{queer} new nations are ^{grouping} aligning themselves.

in

.....

In Woodley I went for a long walk on a dull colourless May evening, to Sonning Village and across the River,

where I stayed looking at a herd of black-and-white cows, also two heavy horses grazing on the banks against the pale sky, and a young donkey. Also, a field of wild orchids.

Was it like this, Skinny, wading through those pools?

. . .

Apparently we need a new concept of tolerance in a state of transformation, like the one in which we live. Liberal tolerance is out. It only is meaningful in a state of things where the foundations do not shift. There is fair agreement on those foundations, and, being agreed on them, ~~when we differ in purpose.~~ we differ in purpose. ~~Our aims and purposes are set independently of those foundations, and are, therefore, capable of being well defined and not subject to a change in meaning with a changing reality.~~ But let that reality itself be ~~is~~ shifting and he who produces an instrument ~~adequately~~ capable of describing ~~the~~ ^{very} adequately the mechanism of that change will react on the/formation of aims, ^{and} on their re-definition... For a short while, we are thrown into the same boat, all, and only when a re-

(4)

definition of aims has taken place, and clashes^{may}/come to carry meaning again, does tolerance come into its own again once more, along with the free-for-all. This is a sequence to an unexpected touching-on-the-quick, when D. said, he did not want to send the only copy of his book to Franz. He ^(S)is a lost soul anyhow. ^{Perhaps} ~~whether~~ it was pain felt over D.'s book not "working". ~~unthatunpandunata~~
~~backofmteerentatakenontheatnetyendngentummeann~~
~~may~~ Or was it a post-Christian afterthought on those ninety-nine?

The Council meeting was sheer mortification. - Why, ~~aidunaffanwundunhemantKendyupann~~ is Karolyi, said D. afterwards, once he is such an opportunist, such an impossibilist as well? An inopportunist, as it were.

Reading Juenger, whom D. calls the ILPer, or the Trotzkyite of Nazism. ~~unomgwithunannschotngm~~

A Londoni Magyar Klub tagjainak.B e s z á m o l óa K l u b o k t ó b e r i t e v é k e n y s é g é r ől.A CSÜTÖRTÖKI ÉS
VASARNAPI ELŐADÁ-
SOK.

Örömmel közöljük, hogy a Klub őszi előadásainak sorozata érdeklődést kelt az LMK tagjai és barátai körében. A rendszeres csütörtök esti előadások során október 21.-én Klubunk vendégül látta K o l m e r Évát, a Free Austrian Movement végrehajtó bizottságának tagját, aki az osztrákok felszabadító harcának kérdéseiről beszélt. Ezt az estét több hasonló előadás követi. Kulturbizottságunk elhatározta, hogy minden hónapban meghívja a szövetséges nemzetek egyik képviselőjét. Ezeknek az előadásoknak kettős céljuk van. Egyrészt behatódobban ismertetik a londoni magyar közönséggel egy-egy szövetséges nemzet szabadságharcát, másrészt kifejezésre juttatják az itt élő demokratikus magyarok együttérzését a szövetségesekkel és így a megértés útját egyengetik a jövő demokratikus Magyarországa és a demokratikus országok között. ~~November 18.-án Miss P. Shield-Collins az International Youth Council végrehajtó bizottságának tagja a nemzetközi ifjúsági mozgalomról beszél. Előre is felhívjuk különösen a ma-~~ gyar fiatalság figyelmét erre az előadásra.

Október 17.-én volt a Londoni Magyar Klub hangversenycyk-lusának megnyitó estje. Frederick H e r m a n n hegedűművész szerepelt nagy sikerrel. A Klub legközelebbi zenei eseménye a híres len-gyel vonósnyégyes fellépése lesz. November 28.-án, vasárnap délután 5. órakor tartják hangversenyüket a Klub nagytermében. Jegyeket elővételben a titkárságban és az étterem pénztáránál lehet kapni.

Nagy visszhangot keltett a kulturbizottság egy másik ujtá-sa is, az Angliában élő magyar írók és művészek szerzői estje. Ezeket az estéket egy-egy itt élő írónak és művésznek szenteljük és a műsor keretében maga az író is fellép. Az első, októberi szerzői estén H a v a s Endrét láttuk vendégül. Dr. M i k e s György tartott bevezető beszéde a szerzői esték jelentőségéről, Havas Endréről, az em-berről és a költőről, Havas Endre a patriotizmusról és nacionalizmus-ról beszélt. A közönség lelkes tapssal fogadta a szép előadást. S i n g e r Frida, a k t S z a b ó k y János kísért zongorán, ének-számaival és U j v á r y Anna Havas verseinek előadásával teljessé tették az est nagy sikerét.

Az ifjúsági bizottság október 24.-én az International Youth Council magyar delegációjának tiszteletére tea-délutánt rendezett, amelynek ötletes műsora kellemes szórakozást nyújtott a Klub tagjainak és barátainak.

A KLUB NYILATKOZATA
A MOSZKVAI
KONFERENCIARÓL.

A Londoni Magyar Klub vezetősége rögtön a moszkvai konferencia határozatainak közlése után foglalkozott ennek a döntő jelentőségű tanaácskozásnak az eredményeivel. A szövetségesek konferenciája olyan kérdésekre is kiterjedt, amelyek Magyarországot közvetlenül érintik és elhatározó befolyással lesznek az egész további magyar fejlődésre. A Klub álláspontját vezetőségünk nyilatkozatban foglalta össze, amelyet az angol sajtónak és a BBC magyar osztályának küldött el. A Klub nyilatkozata így hangzik:

" A moszkvai konferencia nagyszerű eredményei súlyos csapást mérnek az uralkodó Horthy-klikkre is, amely a szövetségesek közötti egyenetlenségre számítva próbál kibujni a felelőség alól azért a rablóháborúért, amelyet Hitler-Németország szolgáltatásban folytat. A konferencia egyuttal félreérthetetlen nyíltsággal kifejezésre jutatta, hogy a magyar népnek alkalma van - éppen úgy, mint Ausztria és Olaszország népének - a független, szabad és demokratikus Magyarország elérésére és hogy ő is elnyerheti politikai és gazdasági biztonságát, mint a tartós béke alapját. Ezt a célt azonban csak a németek szolgáltatásban álló, áruló Horthy-klikk uralmának megdöntésével lehet elérni. Felhívjuk a magyar népet, valamint összes németellenes pártjait és mozgalmait, hogy erőiket egyesítve használják ki a moszkvai konferencia határozatai által nyújtott nagy lehetőségeket. Vessenek véget a háborúnak Németország oldalán és szakítsanak meg minden kapcsolatot a hitlerista állammal. A magyar nép jövője azonnali cselekedeteket követel. Az angliai magyarokat ebben az állásfoglalásukban az a meggyőződés vezeti, hogy a magyar nemzet sorsa attól függ, hogyan járul hozzá felszabadulásának kiharcolásához és a Hitlerizmus megsemmisítéséhez."

Nyilatkozatunk a három nagyhatalom konferenciájának határozataira utal, amelyeket a szövetségesek közötti háború utáni együttműködés, valamint Olaszország és Ausztria kérdésében hoztak. Ezek a határozatok hangsúlyozzák, hogy a szövetségesek célja az európai államok függetlenségének és szabadságának helyreállítása és az olasz néppel kapcsolatban kijelentik, hogy " minden lehetőséget megadnak kormány- és más intézményeinek demokratikus elveken alapuló kiépítésére." Nyilvánvaló, hogy ezek a határozatok a magyar népre is alkalmazhatók. A moszkvai konferencia egyik jelentősége Magyarország szempontjából éppen abban van, hogy lehetetlenné teszi a magyar nép megfélemlítését, amit a magyar kormánypropaganda tervszerűen folytat. A Horthy-Kállay klikk az utóbbi időben azt igyekszik elhitetni a magyarokkal, hogy az olasz nép példájának követése nem békét és szabadságot hoz, hanem súlyosabb szenvedés és elnyomás lenne a következménye. Ezzel szemben a szövetségesek moszkvai határozata után világos, hogy felbecsülhetetlen értékű lehetőségek állnak nyitva a független és demokratikus Magyarország megteremtésére. A magyar nép és demokratikus szervezetei teljes mértékben számíthatnak a szövetséges nagyhatalmak támogatására, ha szembefordulnak az ország élén álló német ügynökökkel és harcot indítanak a háború azonnali befejezéséért és a magyar szabadságért.

Horthy és kormánya azt várta, hogy a három külügyminiszter moszkvai tanácskozásán nem tudnak meggyőezni. Az egységes határozatok eltemették reményüket, hogy kivonhatják magukat a felelősségrevonás alól azokért a bűnökért, amiket a háborúban a szövetségesek és a magyar nép ellen elkövettek. Az utóbbi időben azzal tetézték bűneiket, hogy magyar katonák további tízezreit áldozták föl a keleti front harcaiban még a legutóbbi időben is, egyes területeken kiterjesztették a gazdasági szállításokat Németországba (gyümölcs és zöldség) és új terrorintézkedésekkel üldözik a békét követelő magyar hazafiakat. Kállay miniszterelnök úgy nyilatkozott, hogy "a magyar politika nem lehetséges másképpen, mint Németországgal való szoros és őszinte együttműködésben." Antal István, Horthy propaganda-minisztere pedig ilyen szavakat intézett azokhoz, akik a németekkel való szakítást követelik: "Tévednek, akik elhamarkodva alkotnak véleményt a nemzetközi helyzetről, akik azt hiszik, hogy rendszerváltozásról, a bűnösök felelősségrevonásáról és hasonló dolgokról beszélhetnek. Keserű meglepésükben lesz részük és megégethetik az ujjukat.....Azzal szolgáljuk a békét, ha fegyverrel a kezünkben kitartunk."

Ezeket a körülményeket vettük figyelembe és a magyar népi ellenállás győzelmének főfeltételeit tartottuk szem előtt, amikor nyilatkozatunkban újból arra hívtuk fel a magyar népet, de különösen a legális ellenzéki pártok figyelmét, hogy

"csak a Horthy-klikk uralmának megdöntésével"

lehet elérni a békét és egy olyan mélyreható demokratikus átalakulást Magyarországon, amiről a moszkvai konferencia határozati Olaszországgal és Ausztriával kapcsolatban beszélnek.

A Klub vezetősége elhatározta, hogy november végén taggyűlést tart, amelyen a szövetségesek moszkvai egyezményének jelentőségét fogja ismertetni a magyar helyzet szempontjából.

Erre a fontos taggyűlésre külön meghívót küldünk szét, de már most felhívjuk rá tagjaink és barátaink figyelmét.

Abból az alkalomból, hogy Nagybritánia, Amerika és a Szovjetszövetség kimondták Ausztria állami függetlenségének visszaállítását a Londoni Magyar Klub üdvözlőlevelet küldött a nagybritániai Free Austrian Movement végrehajtó bizottságának. Levelünkben többek között ezt írjuk:

"Bizonyosak vagyunk benne, hogy ez a nyilatkozat megkönnyíti minden igaz osztráknak az egyesítését, aki egy szabad, független és demokratikus Ausztriát akar. A Free Austrian Movement Nagybritániában az egyetlen mozgalom volt, amely következetesen harcolt a független Ausztriáért és ezért joggal tekintheti magát az osztrákok igazi képviselőjének."

A NAGY MAGYAR WAR EFFORT RALLY. A közös magyar war-effort bizottság október 30.-án a Conway-Hallban nyilvános gyűlést tartott, amelynek előkészítésében és rendezésében a Londoni Magyar Klub is résztvett. K e l e m e n Kálmán üdvözölte a nagytermet teljesen megtöltő magyar és angol közönséget. A gyűlésen a F o l d e s Jolán

elnökölt és B a l o g h Tamás, a neves magyar közgazdász, D u r o -
v e c András egy kanadai magyar katonája és S z ú s z Miklós a kö-
zös war-effort bizottság titkára voltak a gyűlés szónokai. Beszédeiket,
amelyek a közös war-effort bizottság munkájának eddigi eredményeit és
további céljait ismertették és a magyarok részvételéről számoltak be
a háborús erőfeszítés támogatásában a közönség lelkes helyesléssel
fogadta. A gyűlésről az angliai magyar hadimunkások felhívással for-
dultak a magyar hadimunkásokhoz, amelyet a BBC is közvetített ma-
gyar küldetésben. A felhívásban, amelyet E n g e l M. magyar ATS-lány
olvasott fel többek között a következők mondják:

"Aggódó és szerető szívvel küldjük figyelmeztetésünket hozzátok
munkástestvéreink! Ti menthetitek meg a nemzetet a legszörnyűbb
katasztrófától. A Ti kezetekben van az ország termelése, ami lehe-
tővé teszi a háború továbbvitelét. Ha a Ti munkátok tovább eteti
Hitler és az áruló Horthy-klikk háborús gépezetét, ti lesztek azok
akik halálukat lelke a szövetségesek bombázta gyárak romjai kö-
zött.

Mindenki aki benneteket háborús munkára serkent, az a magyar mun-
kákat és vele a magyar nemzetet dönti halálos veszedelembé.

Az egyetlen út a cselekvés! A halogatás ezrek és tízezrek életébe
kerülhet. Kövessétek példáját Európa elnyomott nemzeteinek: a fran-
ciáknak, jugoszlávoknak, görögöknek és a többi hősiess népnek, ahol
a munkásság a nemzet élén haladva sztrájkol, üzemeket és erőműveket
robbant és szabotálja a termelést. Mindenütt a munkásság az, amely
a legszörnyűbb terror ellenére minden eszközzel küzd a német ban-
diták és áruló zsoldosaik ellen.

Csak a ti harcos fellépésetek vezetheti ki a nemzetet a háborúból
és ragadhatja ki azok karmaiból, akik Magyarországot elárulták és
a magyar vért a német érdekekért ontják.

A ti megmozdulástok minden magyar hazafit fel fog rázni! Magatok-
kal ragadhatjátok a nemzet színe- javát, mindenkit aki a háború,
a németek és az áruló Horthy-klikk ellensége. A ti harcotok egye-
sitheti a magyar nemzetet párt és valláskülönbőség nélkül. Francia-
országban is a munkásság elszánt és hazafias fellépése egyesítet-
te a nemzet minden pártját.

Ha tovább is résztvesz a háborúban, mindent elveszithet, elszánt
és áldozatkész harccal mindent megnyerhet a nemzet; visszaszerzi
szabadságát, szomszédainak és a világ népeinek tiszteletét és a
békés jövőt. A tett ilyen időben nemcsak szükséges, de hazafias
kötelesség, mert a nemzet léte, jövője ezen dől el.

Keltse életre a magyar munkásság harcos és haladó tradícióját, mert
csak önfeláldozó küzdelme biztosíthatja a független és demokrati-
kus Magyarországot."



Common history
Tenth century

For centuries the Slavs and the Magyars ⁱⁿ around the Danubian basin had a ~~common history~~ ^{history in common}. Since the 10th Century they had lived in those parts, not only side by side, but more or less intermingled. This, of course, ~~was~~ ^{led} to some extent

⁵ ~~meant~~ ^{also} racial intermixing, and ~~the~~ adaptation of ~~their~~ languages.

The Magyar language, though of quite ^a different origin - ~~languages are~~ ^{is a Fin-Ugr} the Slav ~~Indo-German~~ ^{Magyars} ~~an Indo-German~~ ^{is a Fin-Ugr} race - became saturated with Slavonic words.

Given this close community of neighbourhood, and the fact that the peoples of the Danube basin lived, since ¹⁴¹⁹ 1526, permanently under the same rulers, ^{the suspension of} political, social, economic and cultural harmony ~~might~~ ^{might} have been expected to ~~emerge~~. Strangely enough, the ~~contrary~~ ^{opposite} happened, and instead of friendly relations, a lack of understanding, sometimes bordering on hatred, was the outcome.

A 2. Two main forces were at work in ~~keeping up~~ ^{the maintenance of} permanent antagonism among the Magyars, ~~the~~ ^{also the} Slavs, and ~~also the~~ Rumanians.

One was the Habsburg dynasty, ~~which~~ ^{which} never succeeded in ~~raising~~ ^{raising} its policy to the level of following a broad, popular policy, but ~~moulded~~ ^{shaped} its policy on petty dynastical lines. The ~~Austrian~~ ^{Habsburg} Empire thus, remained a theory, ~~it never became reality~~ ^{more of a theory than a reality}. ~~As someone said of it~~ ^{As it was rightly said} once, that it will never go under, because it never existed.

B. The other force ^{working for disunity} which was also interested in preserving this antagonism, was ~~the ruling class~~ ^{the ruling class}, the landed aristocracy.

~~the~~ ^{the} blindly pursued their ~~class-line~~ ^{class-line}, and had only

Koranyi
Start

2.

one aim; to ~~keep up~~ ^{maintain} their prerogatives.

These two forces ~~hand in hand~~, through centuries played with unparalleled adroitness the game of divide et impera.

Taaffe, Austrian Prime Minister from ~~1880 to 1892~~ 1880 to 1892,

Taaffe

is recorded to have said that "all nationalities should be maintained in their well-tempered dissatisfactions". ~~These~~ ^{the}

methods ~~of this policy~~, of course, varied ~~and fluctuated~~, for,

whenever the Habsburgs found themselves strong, they ruled,

in the absolutistic way; when weakened, they took up the federa-

listic line, which, seemingly, was giving equal rights to all

~~and~~ ^{while oppressing them all} nationalities. Nevertheless, there was one exception,

when policy, although absolutistic, was conceived of in a

progressive way. Joseph II who ruled from 1780 to 1790, intro-

duced reforms which were as radical as those later proclaimed

by the French Constituent Assembly. This ~~Jacobin~~ ^{under the influence of Voltaire and he writes} Emperor abo-

II Joseph
Jacobin

lished, with one stroke, serfdom, robot, ~~aristocratic~~ ^{and means} preroga-

and the

Jesuits

tives. For these daring reforms he stands out as one of the most

eminent rulers of the Eighteenth Century. Alas, he made one

great mistake. He not only wanted to abolish the ~~absolent regime~~ ^{absolent regime}

but at the same time to enforce the German language throughout

his Empire. The effect was to rouse the national feeling among

^{common} the peoples, who were not willing to give up their ~~national~~

cultural individuality. The ruling class, especially the Hun-

garian ruling class, with their usual adroitness, made a violent

campaign against the Josephinian institutions, thus seemingly

embracing the popular ^{but true} cause. Naturally, ~~the main objective~~

German
language

Noted

the Emperor's 3. *not for the Magyar but Latin*
in this fight was to ~~counted~~ ^{actually} ~~the~~ social reforms, not to protect
the Magyar language. ~~At any rate,~~ ^{in what they were but little interested at the time} up to 1844 the official
language of the Administration and of Parliament was not Magyar,
but Latin. This ~~misleading~~ maneuver succeeded. Nevertheless,
the memory of the progressive ideas of Joseph II lived on,
even though ~~in an~~ unconscious form, in the ~~great~~ masses of the people.
~~As I said,~~ when the tide was high for the Habsburgs,
they went out for absolutism; when it was low, for federation.
During the ~~reigns~~ ^{Reigns} of Francis I and Ferdinand V the rigid
absolutism, the ~~Polizeistat~~ ^{of Francis} of Metternich was maintained.
In 1848, under the pressure of the great European upheavals,
the Habsburgs had to give way and tried to veer over to feder-
ation. In 1848, at Kremsier, such a constitution was elaborated.
The eminent Czech Palacki ^{Richter, Mayor} took the leading part in this work.
But even this ~~manuscript~~ plan, in spite of all its merits remained
a patchwork. Anton Springer called it a centralist-federalist
constitution. The Czech statesmen of that time and nearly to
the very end were inclined to think, that it might be possible
to induce the Habsburgs to reform the Austro-~~Hungarian~~ ^{imperial} Empire
into a liberal, modern, federal state. This, of course, was an
illusion. Here lay the great mistake of the Slavs, who, in the
effort of seeing this idea realized, sometimes went much too
far and thus ~~humans~~ allowed themselves to become the instruments
of Habsburg reaction, which later they bitterly had to regret.
On the other hand, the Magyars, even the revolutionary Magyars,
like Kossuth himself, fell into the deplorable mistake of want-

When
Tide
high
low -

Kremsier



40

ing to fight for Magyar liberty only, an attitude, which resulted in having the Slavs fighting against them on the side of the Habsburg reaction. Stur's offer of making a united front with the Magyars was most unwisely rejected by Kossuth. In this lay the main reason of the defeat of the Hungarian revolution of 1848. The divide et impera worked well. With bitter irony, Pulszki remarked, that the Slav nationalities, for helping the Habsburgs against Kossuth in 1848 got as a reward what the Hungarians got as a punishment.

After 1866 the Habsburgs, beaten by the Germans, had to abandon their absolutistic methods. This time ~~maintaining~~ it was not in the form of federalism, but of dualism. Absolutism was divided between Vienna and Budapest. The Hungarian magnates successfully blackmailed Francis Joseph, who had safeguarded the prerogatives of the landed aristocracy, giving them a free hand in home policy, which, from then onwards, was directed against the Slovak, the Rumanian, the Serbian, and last but not least, against the Hungarian people themselves. On paper, everything was beautiful: democracy, liberalism, a modern state. In reality all this was sham. Under these conditions the Monarchy had, ultimately, to fall, mainly, because it was built on the domination of the Germans in Austria, of the Magyars in Hungary.

Yes, (this long sequence of tragedies ~~has not been forgotten.~~) It is for us to learn from it. Whatever the future may hold, the Slav and the Magyar must not go against each other, but must hand in hand, and shoulder to shoulder they must fight ~~for their common welfare. Our great pro~~

Stur
Divide et impera
Pulszki

1866
67
Dualism
Vienna
Budapest

F.F.
Trials
Fiume Revolution
Justi-Tribune
Winwood
Luttwak

BAY 273

5

for their common welfare. Our great poet Ady wrote in one of his memorable verses that the suffering of the Hungarians, the Slovaks, the Rumanians, are one and the same. This is why they must meet and fight together on the barricades of the human spirit.

30.3.44.

14 RCE MOSCOU 181 266 28 1717.

As reported from Berne, the Hungarian radio station

*Ross
Kard*

"Kossuth" broadcast the following appeal to the Hungarian National Independence Front: Thousand year old Hungary has now become a German province. The Nazi scum is sucking the peoples blood. ^{is the/} This payment for the death of the 300,000 Hungarian Honveds who gave their lives for the Germans at Voronezh. But all the sacrifices already made by the Hungarians seemed too small to Hitler. He wants our whole army at his disposal to the last Honved, our whole State. He attacked us to transform the land of the Hungarians into a German forepost. Millions of people are asking: "Who is responsible for all that has happened?" The responsibility rests with the Hungarian ruling circles who hired themselves out to Hitler, who "demanded defense frontiers from Russia" leaving them undefended against Germany, Hungary's bitter enemy. The responsibility rests with all those who nurtured such reptiles as the "Crossed Arrows", the Swabian "Volksbund", who encouraged Hitler's hired henchmen and assassins, persecuting with fire and sword the progressive fighters of Hungarian democracy.

The Hungarian national independence front at one time declared: He who becomes Hitler's hireling will surrender our country to Germany's mercy! We warned against the menace of the German invasion, demanding the defense of our borders against the Germans. We demanded the defense of Hungary against Hitler's agents. All the forecasts of the national independence front have come true! This gives us the right to accuse before the

whole people the ex-regime: it is responsible for the misfortune which befell our country. Nevertheless, we ~~ix~~ say this is no time for demanding account for recent crimes. The time has come for uniting all honest Hungarians who are ready to collaborate with us. We call the people to arms, to the sacred war of self-defense, to the national struggle for freedom! Our lot today is tears, blood and suffering, but now we have a splendid opportunity of proving that flowing in the veins of the Hungarian people is the blood of their ancestors who fought for freedom. We now have a splendid opportunity for washing away the disgrace brought upon us during the last accursed years by the hitlerite hirelings. The realisation of ~~the~~ inevitable doom has compelled Hitler to attack our country but he will break his neck here.

The victorious Red Army is already driving the German troops towards the Carpathians. Marshal Tito's Peoples' Army is fighting on our Southern frontiers. The Anglo-Saxon troops are preparing for the great battle in the West. The end is nearing to the terrible German rule. The days of Hitler's agents in Hungary are numbered. Our struggle will be brief. All the more resolute, severe and heroic must it be. God helps those who help themselves! Our order of the day: to arms! We appeal to the national army, to the generals, officers and soldiers! The peoples' eternal gratitude will be won by those troops who, loyal to their oath, have resisted the German bandits and

resisted the German bandits and continue fighting against them today. You must organise armed uprising, spread and widen it.

~~cons~~ ^{troops} loyal to the country must help to arm the patriots. Soldiers in the Carpathians must establish contact with the Russian Army approaching Hungary to join forces with it for the liberation of our country. Soldiers billeted in the Ukraine should make their way to the Russians. Honveds in the Southern provinces of our country should establish contact with Marshal Tite's Peoples Army! Everything must be done to prevent Hitler from laying his hands on the Hungarian Army. Let no-one obey the mobilization orders. No Hungarian officer, no Hungarian Honved must obey the illegitimate government of the German agents. Rather than do that let the officers and soldiers abandon their Units taking along their arms to begin guerrilla warfare! Guerrilla struggle throughout the country is on the order of the day! Guerrilla strongholds must be set up in the Buda mountains, in the Carpathians, in the Baska, Mecsek, ~~xxx~~ Matre and Bihara mountains, in the Bakoni forests, in the acacia groves between the Danube and the Tissa. Every factory every mine and village must become an armed fortress of national resistance!

A further appeal calls upon the workers to sabotage war production, to destroy the factories working for the Germans, to declare strikes: upon the railwaymen to prevent the Germans from using the railways; upon the peasants to hide food; upon the Statesmen and public men to follow the example of the missions abroad in disobeying any puppet government; upon the gendarmes and police to dedicate themselves to the freedom of Hungary and not to the Gestapo. The Hungarian dregs ~~xxx~~ who are in the service of Hitler must feel the people burning with hatred at

every stop! They must be gen to understand that they ~~must~~ are outlawed and hunt beasts which will not escape their fate. All base traitors to the country, from the party secretaries of the "Crossed Arrows" and siding with the ministers, must be destroyed like mad dogs. Death to the traitors! Help to the persecuted patriots! All disanded organisations and political parties must begin illegal activities. Banned newspapers must be published illegally and widely circulated. Committees of national resistance must be organised for leading the struggle for the liberation of Hungary. All honest Hungarians, both of the right and of the left, Communists and Social Democrats, ^{the} Small Peasant Party and Liberals, Catholics, Protestants and Jews must today unite in the Hungarian national independence front. The time has come for the Small Peasant and Social Democratic Parties, driven underground, to align with the independence front. In the interests of the sacred struggle for the freedom of Hungary the Hungarian national independence front stretches out its hand to all those who are conscious of being Hungarians and who act as Hungarians, members of the Party, of Hungarian life and of the Christian Peoples Party. The unity of the Hungarian people, this is the solid foundation upon which ~~there~~ ^{/will/} be revived an independent Hungary and it will be built. Our programme may be expressed in one name: "Lajos Kossuth"! Under Kossuth's banner, forward to an independent and free Hungary! Thousand year old Hungary, land of St. Stephen, Mathias, Hunyadi, Ferenc, Rakocsi, Lajos and Kossuth will come back to life! Drive the Germans from Hungarian territory! Death to the German agents! Let the Germans perish! Long live the Hungarians. END

HUNGARIAN NEWS SURVEY

A Summary of News from Radio and Press sources.

FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY.

Edited by:

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No. 26

3rd May, 1944

EDITORIAL NOTE !

The March issue of the News Survey was just ready for publication when news reached London of the German occupation of Hungary. As the material, which was based on the Hungarian press of February, seemed obsolete in the light of this event, the March number was withheld. The object of the present number is to give a short outline of the history of the occupation and at the same time convey information on the members of the newly formed Hungarian Government. Hitherto the News Survey has been based almost exclusively on Hungarian press and radio sources. Since the suppression of the Hungarian opposition press and the control of Budapest radio by Germany, these sources will convey in the future much less relevant information. Accordingly the News Survey will have to be adapted to the altered position by devoting its space mainly to the analysis of particular events or problems connected with Hungary. The Editors will appreciate any suggestions from readers as to which subjects they desire to be dealt with in this way.

THE HISTORY OF THE OCCUPATION.

It is still not possible to form an opinion on all the details of Hungary's occupation. This is due to Hungary's geographical position. All the countries surrounding Hungary are occupied by Germany. Hungary has no common border with any of the neutral countries, nor has she a seaboard. It was therefore possible to seal her off entirely from the outside world. Although all the details will probably not be known before the end of the war, the following facts can be stated.

On Friday, April 17th the Regent flew to Hitler's Head Quarters. There are three different versions of the events preceding Horthy's journey. According to Swiss and Turkish reports the Germans had presented demands falling under four points. According to some Swedish press versions the German demands consisted of altogether ten points. The object of all these demands was the total mobilisation of Hungary on Germany's side, the liquidation of all elements in sympathy with the Allies, and the total "Gleichschaltung" of Hungary's internal policy. Another Stockholm version alleged that Horthy's visit was initiated by

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All three versions must be accepted with reserve as far as the details are concerned. In fact negotiations had been

F.T.O.

on foot between Berlin and Budapest for some time. These negotiations were conducted in Berlin between the Hungarian Minister Sztójay and the Reich Foreign Minister Ribbentrop. In the course of these conversations probably all the points arose which were mentioned by the neutral press reports. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry informed the Hungarian envoys in neutral capitals of these negotiations. After the breach of communications between the neutral capitals and Hungary, circles which had obtained information from the Hungarian envoys reconstructed the immediate background of Horthy's journey on the basis of previous reports. Explanations emanating from Stockholm must be accepted with the utmost reserve, since they contradicted each other day after day.

The military occupation of Hungary began during the night from Saturday to Sunday, the 18th and 19th March. On Sunday, however, people in Budapest were not yet aware that the occupation had started. Budapest radio changed the character of its broadcasts on Sunday night. After then only news of German origin was broadcast. By Monday the 20th all public buildings in Budapest were already guarded by German troops.

The first indication of the German occupation noticed in London was the change in the broadcasts from Budapest. The first actual news of the occupation arrived on Monday afternoon the 20th March. It was contained in a message from the Bucharest correspondent of the Agence Anatolique which was broadcast by Ankara radio. On the same day news reached London from all the neutral capitals that telephone and telegraph communications with Hungary had been cut. Spokesmen of the Wilhelmstrasse were reluctant to give any detailed information but they hinted that important events were taking place in South East Europe.

The Hungarian press of the 19th, 20th, 21st and 22nd of March did not mention at all either Horthy's journey to Hitler's Head Quarters, or the subsequent German occupation and the Government crisis. The papers published news of the war and home news as if nothing had happened. All news on the war and on the political situation was from German sources. "Népszava" still appeared on the 19th and "Magyar Nemzet" on the 21st and 22nd of March. "Népszava" ceased publication on the 21st March, presumably because the entire editorial staff had been put under arrest. "Magyar Nemzet" was still published on the 22nd March but in the issues of 21st and 22nd none of the political editors and contributors were represented. Only news from German sources and feature articles appeared. It seems probable, therefore, that the political editorial staff: Barankovics, Parragi, Wesselényi, Imre Kovács and others were arrested on the 20th of March.

Only the following items in these papers gave any indication of the change of regime:

- a) All the morning papers on March 20th announced that the Minister for Internal Affairs had prohibited all theatre and cinema performances as well as dancing and public meetings. The order was dated

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Only the following items in these papers gave any indication of the change of regime:

- a) All the morning papers on March 20th announced that the Minister for Internal Affairs had prohibited all theatre and cinema performances as well as dancing and public meetings. The order was dated March 19th and countersigned by Sándor Blässy, the Chief of the Budapest police;
- b) On March 21st the morning papers had an item to the effect that the Kossuth anniversary celebrations, which were to be held in the morning of March 20th in the House of Parliament and in the afternoon of the same day in the Vigadó Hall, had not taken place in view of the ban on public meetings: P.T.O.

- c) On the same day the morning papers printed an item issued by the Hungarian Telegraph Agency announcing that the meeting of the "42" Parliamentary Committee, which was due to take place on the morning of March 21st had been cancelled.

No reference whatsoever was made to the government crisis, arrests and resignations, with the exception of the evening edition of "Pester Lloyd", on March 21st which announced the resignation of the Editor in Chief George Ottlik. The announcement stated that Ottlik's health deteriorated to such an extent that he was no longer able to edit the paper. "After having informed the committee of the "Pester Lloyd" Society of his decision, he was therefore compelled to withdraw finally from his post. The post of Editor in Chief of the "Pester Lloyd" will remain vacant for the time being."

The first announcement of the changes which had taken place was issued only on the 22nd, when it was reported that the Regent had sworn in a new Cabinet composed as follows:

Prime Minister and Foreign Minister - Döme Sztójay;
Vice Premier - Jenő Ráts;
Minister of the Interior - Andor Jaross;
Education and Justice - István Antal;
Finance - Reményi-Schneller;
Industry - Lajos Szász;
Supply and Agriculture; - Béla Juresek;
Commerce and Communications - Antal Kunder;
Defence - Lajos Csatay.

On the same day the Wilhelmstrasse announced the appointment of a new German Minister and Plenipotentiary of the Greater German Reich with special powers Dr. Edmund Voessenmayer.

What happened between the 19th and 22nd is still not quite clear. The few facts which are available prove, however, the inaccuracy of the rumours spread by Stockholm sources alleging that the Regent, his War Minister and the Chief of Staff were prisoners at Hitler's Head Quarters. On the contrary, those three men - the only ones who could have instructed the army to put up organised resistance - continue to hold their posts under the German occupation. They prevented any possibility of an organised armed resistance and the Regent gave legal acknowledgment to the new government. +)

On the other hand one can assume that Kállay and those of his Ministers who vanished with him from the political platform refused to carry out the German demand, though this does not necessarily mean that they tried to organise resistance, as has been alleged in some of the first reports leaking out from Hungary, although they may well have done so. It seems evident that the Regent betrayed Kállay on this occasion just as he betrayed Paul Teleki in 1941. Kállay took refuge in the

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* According to neutral reports important changes have taken place in the staff of the Foreign Office. The official

+) Subsequently the Chief of Staff resigned on April 19th.

announcement referred only to resignation of the head of the Press Department, István Bede, and the appointment of Jenő Zilahy-Sebess as his successor. During the following days a number of Secretaries of State resigned and following were appointed in their place: László Bakó and László Endre, Secretaries of State to the Ministry of Interior, Baron István Splényi to the Ministry of Commerce, Lajos Huszovszky and Mihály Kolozsváry-Borcsa to the Prime Minister's office, Lajos Vasváry to the Ministry of Industry, Endre Kiss de Balásfalva to the Ministry of Supply, and Dániel Mócsary to the Ministry of Agriculture.

The willingness of the Regent, the War Minister and the Chief of Staff to collaborate fully with the Germans ruled out from the first any kind of organised resistance. There are indications, however, that resistance was put up in various parts of the country on the initiative of individual regiments and commanders who decided not to obey their orders. This is perhaps also indicated by the fact that the military occupation, which began on the 19th of March was not announced until the 22nd, which suggests that it may not have gone too smoothly. According to reports emanating from Moscow Hungarian troops put up a fierce resistance at Miskolc, Debrecen and Szolnok. The accuracy of these reports was confirmed by a broadcast on Budapest radio announcing that in these three towns sports fixtures had been cancelled. According to reports from all neutral countries, several military units stationed on the Yugoslav frontiers put up armed resistance to the Germans and some of them succeeded in fighting their way through to Tito's army.

On March 27th Budapest radio announced that communication through the Tisza line had been re-opened. Communications must have been cut for over a week, which indicates armed resistance in this region, too. The announcement was made to inform all conscripts who were unable to join their units on account of the closing of the Tisza line, that they should join their respective units immediately. The announcement also implied that an order of mobilisation had been issued although it did not reveal which age groups were involved. The mobilisation order had not been mentioned by Hungarian radio or press prior to this broadcast.

Reports emanating from Moscow have also given some confirmation of armed resistance in Transylvania. General Nagy is supposed to have organised this resistance, put up by the Transylvanian regiments.

The German occupation and the new Quisling government took immediate measures for the liquidation of all opposition elements. According to reports from neutral countries all members of the Social-Democrat Party, of the Smallholders' Party and the editorial staffs of the opposition papers were the first to be interned. This was followed by the dissolution of the Social-Democrat Party, the Smallholders' Party and the Peasant Union, and the expropriation of the Trade Unions in favour of the fascist National Labour Centre under the government-commissar Béla Marton. +)

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A number of anti-Jewish measures followed. Since then the Gleichschaltung of Hungary has been in full swing. Details of these measures will be given in the next issue.

+) See News Survey No.12 Page 6 & 7.

GERMAN EXPLANATION OF THE OCCUPATION.

Since the announcement of Hungary's occupation and the formation of the new government on the 22nd March 1944, the Wilhelmstrasse and the German press have given great prominence to events in Hungary. German comment emphasised the military aspect of this event and stressed that the occupation took place in agreement with Hungary

"for the protection of Hungary against Bolshevism."

Several German comments, however, referred to internal conditions in Hungary prior to the occupation as an additional motive for the steps which were taken. The following comments from German and neutral sources reveal that the occupation was decided upon for both military and political reasons:

Transcontinent Press, 21.3.44. In the Wilhelmstrasse . . . the spokesman refused to go into further details since he said that certain questions must first be cleared up before further comment was made. Asked what kind of questions these were, the spokesman replied that they were primarily of a political nature;

Transcontinent Press, 21.3.44. The diplomatic correspondent of "Dienst aus Deutschland" states: There are at present no fresh German comments on the Hungarian question, beyond yesterday's general directive by the Wilhelmstrasse, that cooperation was to be intensified in order to ward off the Bolshevik danger . . . ;

NPD, 23.3.44. At a press conference in the Wilhelmstrasse yesterday evening Sturm informed the correspondents of the changes in the government in Hungary and of the entry of German troops. He emphasised that the German troops had arrived in Hungary in the interest of the defence of Hungary and of the whole of Europe against Bolshevism . . . ;

Nya Dagligt Allehanda, 23.3.44. The Berlin correspondent reports: The political reason which compelled Germany to take a new line vis-a-vis Hungary is directly linked with the country's internal development. It is a wellknown fact in Berlin that certain Hungarian circles were increasingly inclined to jump off the train. It must be particularly stressed that the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party has increased rapidly in recent months. It is no secret either that differences between Hungary and Germany regarding several political questions have increased lately . . . ;

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57/2
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Dagens Nyheter, 24.3.44. Berlin correspondent writes: . . . The German counter-measures are primarily directed against the external enemy, but the constitution of the new Hungarian cabinet also shows their determination to eliminate for good the harmful influence exercised by certain circles inside the country. According to the Wilhelmstrasse, these circles have played no insignificant part in Hungary and certain elements spread feelings which Berlin characterises as defeatist and doubting, and which must be eliminated . . . ;

P.T.O.

Berliner Börsenzeitung, 27.3.44. . . . The Budapest drawing-room Bolsheviks spoke in praise of the menacing Bolshevik danger. In certain newspapers they found the same phrases and humanitarian talk which sapped Hungarian resistance 25 years ago. . . . responsible people, despite their own experience, not only tolerated the disintegrating activities of the left-wing opposition, but even promoted them. The Social Democrats and Smallholders were very active. The defendants at the big Kolozsvár Communist trials admitted that Moscow had advised them to join the Social-Democratic Party . . . All sober minded people were surprised at the Anglo-American mania of the aristocratic and literary set which expressed its opinion in periodicals such as "Unnep" and "Híd" and in the daily "Magyar Nemzet" . . . ;

Transcontinent Press, 29.3.44. Questioned on the nature of the reshaping of Hungary the Wilhelmstrasse mentioned the following three points:

- 1) the entry of German troops into Hungary with the Regent's consent;
- 2) the appointment of a Reich plenipotentiary who in addition to his duties as the German Minister has special authority concerning the intensification of German-Hungarian cooperation . . .
- 3) Speedy and thorough liquidation of a certain clique in which there were organised those Hungarian elements who tried to keep down as much as possible the country's contribution to the war effort . . . ;

Stuttgarter NS Kurier, 25.3.44. (do not quote) says: The reconstruction of the Hungarian Government and the entry of the German troops to protect the Carpathian is everywhere appraised as an important development in Europe. We cannot tolerate any weak point in the fortress of Europe . . . ;

The Münchner Neueste Nachrichten, 25.3.44. writes: . . . The enemy's partial plan for a war of nerves against Hungary is based less on an acute military threat than on the hope of internal apathy and war-weariness. The events of the last few days seem to us to have clarified sufficiently the "case of Hungary" . . . ;

The Bodensee Rundschau, Constance, 25.3.44. . . . The occupation of Hungary by German troops and the change of political leadership . . . are not merely a question of assuring the protection of the Carpathian front, the food supply and the railways to Rumania, or

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THE HUNGARIAN NAZI PRESS EXPLAINS . . .

The position in Hungary before the occupation can be partially reconstructed from the attacks made by the right-wing press in the days following the occupation against the various factors of Hungarian opposition and resistance. Here are a few quotations from the mouthpieces of the present government, "Magyarország", "Uj Magyarország", and so on.

"Uj Magyarország", 25.3.44. (do not quote) István Milotay in an article entitled "Martyrs" describes as follows the activities of the anti-German opposition:

. . . The Soviet Union, they whispered, is no longer the boggy which we have hitherto believed it to be. The Hungarian nation must not indulge in any illusion about Moscow and Bolshevism based on false information, hatred or prejudice. Aristocratic politicians, Jewish capitalists, Smallholders, Democrats, representatives of Kossuth's independence movement, all began, together with the Jewish revolutionary Social-Democrats and with the leaders of the secret Communist movement, to develop a policy of understanding and conciliation with Stalin . . .

"Magyarország", 29.3.44. quotes a speech made by Kálmán Hubay at the Little Council of the Hungarian National-Socialist Party on the 27th March:

. . . a repetition of the Badoglio coup had been prepared. A list of those whose execution had been decided on was found in Conti street . . . We know that the German government has irrefutable evidence of complete preparations for the coup-de-main which was to be carried out in Hungary in accordance with the Badoglio model;"

"Magyarország", 30.3.44. . . . No articles by Vince Görgey were published in the press for several months . . . We were sincerely glad to report that those 'technical obstacles' which prevented even the name of Görgey from appearing in the papers have now been removed. At the beginning of this year, Görgey sharply attacked Pál Szvatkó, editor of the Kállay government's semi-official organ "Magyarország". Szvatkó had published an unprecedentedly defeatist article on December 31st, 1943, headed 'The principle of unconditional surrender'. In this he explained that the enemy should be able to find a 'better' and 'cleverer' way than unconditional surrender, so that we should be able to abandon the war entirely and betray our allies. . . Görgey took a bold risk and stigmatized the editor of "Magyarország", the consequence of which was that not even Görgey's name was allowed to appear in the press. . . ; +)

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"Magyarország", 30.3.44. (do not quote) refers as follows to the letter received by Arpad Szakasits:

. . . Davidson declares that they - that is the enemies against whom this unfortunate country is fighting for its life - feel sympathy towards the

+) See News Survey Nos. 22-23, Page 4.

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'establishment of freedom groups' and hope that 'the work of the movements and groups which follow the way of Petöfi will achieve great results'. He mentions the well-known demonstration of the Christmas issue of "Népszava" in 1941, when Professor Gyula Szekfü for the first time publicly shook hands with the Hungarian reds.

Thus was revealed the treachery by which our Jews and their adherents attempted to surrender Hungary to Stalin, Bolshevism and the GPU. What will József Almásy, the former deputy director of the Central Training College for Catholic Priests, say about all this? He saw new Miklós Bercsényis and Blind Bottyáns in all these Büchlers, Peyers, Monuses, Brandsteins and other Jews. There is evidence that the enthusiasm for Petöfi was only aroused by order of the British Secret Service. The masters in London gave the orders and gave out the payments, while their servants in Budapest humbly obeyed. With the foreign 'money of Judas' in their pockets and with their innermost characters blackened by the consciencelessness of assassins they prepared the great act of treason so that not the smallest part of Hungary should continue to be Hungarian. These are terrible things. There is only one thing still more terrible, and that is the question who was allied to that underground gang? . . . ; +)

"Magyarország", 30.3.44. (do not quote) Our official news service reported that our former Stockholm Minister Ullein-Reviczky, the Stockholm press attache Honti, the Lisbon Minister Ambrósi, and recently also Helsinki Minister Szabó have abandoned discipline in these critical days . . . the most dangerous among these renegades is Ullein-Reviczky . . . (who) declares that he does not accept (the government's) policy. Then why did he serve that policy for four years, if it led to impossible situations and was against his convictions? . . . All . . . who are still at home keep suspiciously silent, although they think exactly the same as the renegades with whom they are connected . . . ;

"Pester Lloyd", 1.4.44. . . . On July 31st 1943 the leaders of the Smallholders' Party with dictatorial arrogance presented a memorandum to Kálley demanding the dismissal of all ministers, high officials and other persons holding high offices who encouraged cooperation between Germany and Hungary. They also demanded that all those who did not treat the Jews, various refugees and partisans kindly enough should be punished. . . ;

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"Magyarország", 2.4.44. (do not quote) In spite of the great historic change there are still a few unfortunate people who are prepared to undermine the nation at war. According to the "Kiskunfélegyházi Közlöny" some of the communist leaflets signed by the Peace Party have reached Hódmezővásárhely, where they were spread by Sándor Pozstós, János Borai and Ferenc Kádarsanyi . . . ;

++) Ambró was in fact Minister at Madrid

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+) See News Survey No. 22-23, Page 13

"Magyarság", 2.4.44. (do not quote) . . . The ill-famed Peace Party, which issued the pamphlet entitled "Peace and Freedom" a few weeks ago, had a new pamphlet printed, inviting the population to establish partisan bands and oppose the German troops who were defending Hungary's territory side by side with Hungarian troops . . . ;

"Magyarság", 2.4.44. Hubay writes: . . . However, the evidence will soon be furnished in proof of the fact that those malicious and stupid political organisations were only camouflage for a single fundamental organisation - viz., the ill-famed Peace Party, which was in thing but the Hungarian section of the Comintern, the dissolution of which caused a tremendous sensation . . . ;

"Magyarság", 4.4.44. (do not quote) quotes a speech made by Kálmán Hubay at the Grand Council of the National-Socialist Party on April 2nd:

. . . All of us are reassured by the fact that a great change has come about in accordance with the decisive will of the highest constitutional authority, and on the basis of his convictions, since he felt anxious about the future . . . ;

"Uj Magyarorság", 7.4.44. . . . It was rumoured that Ullein-Reviczky conveyed the ultimatum of Stalin and Molotov to us in the form of a ready made agreement . . . (he) believed that we were capable of such treason . . . ;

"Uj Magyarorság", (as quoted by Transkontinent) 13.4.44.
. . . Hungary was fighting in the east, her soldiers were perfectly equipped, but they lacked the essential spirit of readiness to make sacrifices and spiritual strength. The entire nation had dedicated itself to defeatism. . .

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

THE MEMBERS OF THE SZTÓJAY GOVERNMENT.

Döme Sztójay Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs was born in 1883 in Versec in the county of Temes. He comes from a Great-Bunyevac family of the name of Sztojakovich. Sztójay chose a military career and was educated as a cadet at the Military College at Pécs. In 1902 he obtained his commission, and he completed his military studies in the Vienna College for Higher Strategical Studies. In 1910 he was posted to the General Staff and served in the Intelligence Branch of the General Staff until 1918. He took part in the operations against Serbia as an assistant of the military commander of Bosnia and Dalmatia. Subsequently he became Chief of Staff of an Alpine Brigade, fighting in the Dolomites against

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After Horthy's counter-revolution he went for
Hungary and became Head of the Intelligence Department of the
newly established Military Intelligence Bureau of the Honvéd

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General Staff. In 1925 he was appointed Military Attache in Berlin with the rank of a full Colonel of the General Staff. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of a General. He kept his post until 1933 and he conceived there a strong admiration for the German nucleus Reichswehr of highly skilled professionals which was organised by General Seckt in view of the military clauses of the Versailles treaty. In Berlin Sztójay made many friends among the higher ranking German officers, which also accounts for the extension of his term of office to seven years instead of the usual three.

In 1933 Sztójay was recalled by Gombás to the Ministry of Defence where he became Head of the Presidential Department. He retained this post until the end of 1935, when he was promoted Lieut.-General. Since the 1st of January 1936 he was placed on the retired list. In 1936 he was appointed Hungarian Minister to Berlin. His appointment was made at the request of Gombás who wished to make it a rule to appoint professional soldiers as diplomatic representatives, in the same way as he tried to place his friends and followers from the MOVE clique into the internal administration. The only time Kánya agreed to such an appointment was in the case of Sztójay, who succeeded Constantin Masirevich in Berlin. Masirevich was transferred from Berlin to London owing to his controversies with Göring, and it seems that the appointment of Sztójay, who had the best connections with the German army-circles, would solve difficulties which might have arisen in case of a carrière diplomat. Sztójay continued to remain en poste in Berlin for almost nine years up to his nomination as Prime Minister on March 22nd 1944. He was appointed Privy Councillor in 1940.

His former friendship with German military circles developed into a close friendship with the leading German Nazi circles. Being a narrow-minded man nothing could suit his tastes better than the authoritative structure of German National-Socialist society in which a leading part is played by the professional soldiers.

Jenő Récz de Nagylak Minister without Portfolio and Deputy Prime Minister was born in 1882 at Nagybecskerek in the county of Torontál in the Bódát, where there is a large Rumanian and German population. He is a Roman Catholic. He first intended to become a Roman Catholic priest, but he studied theology for only one year. He then decided in favour of a military career and completed his military studies at the Ludovica Academy in Budapest. He got his commission in 1904. In 1909 he was sent to the Vienna College for Higher Strategic Studies and was subsequently posted to the General Staff. At the beginning of the first world war he had the rank of a major. During that war he served as a staff officer with various Austro-Hungarian units on the Eastern and Southern fronts. After the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy he continued to serve in the Hungarian army and was posted in Kassa from the 19th November 1918 until 21st March 1919. He did not serve during the Soviet regime, but he joined Horthy's army on 1st September 1919. In the new army he held alternately higher commanding and staff posts. He was promoted to General in 1930 and became Commander of the Military College.

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Rácz was elected a member of Parliament when he was Minister of War and remained a member of the Government Party until the expiry of the term of the Lower House in the spring of 1939. He did not seek reelection. Later on, however, when Imrédy left the MEP and began organising his National-Socialist movement under the name of the Party of Hungarian Regeneration, Jenő Rácz became deputy leader of the Party of Hungarian Regeneration. Rácz assisted Imrédy in establishing his National-Socialist movement by merging the seceding wing of the MEP with the Fidél Pálffy fraction of the Arrow Cross party. Jenő Rácz is supposed to be an efficient soldier, but extremely narrow-minded in political matters, a violent pro-German, pro-Nazi and anti-Semite. Although a former Cabinet Minister under Imrédy and one of the first to follow him into secession at the formation of the Hungarian Regeneration Party, he has sometimes given vent to his opinion that Imrédy was not suited for national leadership owing to his partly Jewish ancestry.

István Antal Minister for Justice and Education was born in 1896 at Kenderes. He is a Roman Catholic. He studied law at the Budapest university where he obtained the degrees of a doctor in law and of a solicitor. He fought in the war between 1914-18. It was after the end of the last war that he organised at the Budapest university a nationalist and reactionary youth movement. Subsequently he became president of the University Union. During the communist regime he went to Szeged where he had close contacts with Gombös, who was undersecretary of State for War in the counter-revolutionary government. Antal was later private secretary of the Prime Ministers of the Szeged government: Count Gyula Károlyi and Dezső P. Ábrám.

Then after the communist regime's fall it was not the Szeged political set-up but the Budapest counter-revolutionary group which first came into power, Antal returned to the youth-movements and was active in its right-wing, antisemitic and reactionary sections. He was a contributor to extremist newspapers and was active in the political party for Race-protection, established by Gombös. As the President of the largest Hungarian youth organisation (MEFHOSZ), he represented the Hungarian youth movement at many of the international youth conferences. At the same time Antal was active as the secretary of the Central-Credit Cooperative and was also editor of the Bulletin published by the Credit Cooperative. In 1930 he was elected Secretary General of the Association of Hungarian Cooperatives.

His participation in public life began when Gyula Gombös became Prime Minister in 1932. He was appointed head of the Press Department in the Prime Minister's Office. He was considered as the closest friend of Gombös and an adversary of the entire liberal press. It was assumed that he wrote Gombös' speeches as well as composing his political programmes. It was also due to him that a new and powerful government press-organisation was built up in support of Gombös' person and programme. He utilised for this end rather obscure provincial journalists, as for instance Kálmán Hubay who has been made Editor in Chief of the principal mouthpiece of Gombös, "Függetlenség", and who is now the leader of one of the Hungarian National-Socialist parties. He was extremely unpopular

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His activities were rewarded by Gömbös appointing him in April 1935 Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Justice. He resigned this post after the death of Gömbös in November 1936. Previously in 1935 he was elected a member of Parliament and after his resignation he represented in Parliament and in the Government Party the extremist right-wing and primarily the pro-German trend. Fundamentally there was hardly any difference between Antal and the Hungarian Nazis. They were both anxious to see full cooperation with Germany in the spheres of foreign affairs and "Gleichschaltung" in the spheres of internal affairs. The only difference was that after the death of Gömbös, Antal was no longer anxious to promote the dictatorship of one person but wanted to make the Government Party the instrument of dictatorship. His aim was to condition public opinion for a so-called right-wing revolution by press and propaganda.

In April 1936 Darányi invited him to join the Cabinet again as Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Justice. In this capacity he prepared the new and authoritative press-law and the first Jewish-law. He kept this post in the László government and Teleki government, and he was also one of the authors of the second Jewish-law. In both cases he advocated a more radical version. Thus, the peculiar situation arose that while Parliament was debating the laws which Antal introduced, he attacked them simultaneously in his own papers urging a more radical solution. When the second Jewish-law was formulated Antal declared himself responsible for introducing the clause which discriminated against the Jews on a racial basis. He was permanently driving for a more radical extremist direction both in foreign affairs and in home policy. It was his technique to incite public opinion & to promote tension in order to strengthen his own position because in the Government Party he alleged that he was the only man who could disarm the unrest which actually was initiated by himself.

Antal has been persona grata in Berlin since Hitler's access to power. He maintained close relations with the German press representatives and the so-called German cultural organisations. He often lectured in Berlin and was always treated there with the utmost cordiality. During the Teleki government Antal's position deteriorated. Teleki established a government-press of his own by taking over "Magyarország" and "Pest" from its former liberal owners. Since then these two newspapers were considered as the semi-official government mouthpieces. The popularity of the papers of the press-concern guided and supported by Antal (Függetlenség, Esti Újság, Új Magyarország) decreased. After Hungary entered the war on the Axis side, Antal came again into the limelight. He was appointed by Bárdossy Minister for Propaganda for National Defence on April 17th 1942. Since then he was the chief spokesman of the government whose main task was to build up the Bolshevik bogey and to try to convince the Hungarian population of the necessity of Hungarian participation in the war. Within the Kállay government he was the most extremist representative of collaboration "à l'entrance" with Germany. On May 1st 1943 he was appointed Privy Councillor.

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István Antal is best known in Hungarian political circles as the living encyclopedia of Hungarian law and history. He is an excellent debater and conversationalist who would never be at a loss to quote some authority, verbatim, in support of his argument. His public speeches, however, are for that very reason dull and doctrinaire. In some of his recent speeches, at the time of the Kállay government, he returned to advocating a Christian-Corporative State in the spirit of Quadragesimo Anno.

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Antal's main trait of character is his unscrupulousness and passion for intrigue. He is said to have conspired even against Gyula Gömbös, who first called him to the post of head of the press department of the Prime Minister and had always been his devoted friend.

Lajos Csátay de csatai, Minister for War was born at Arad in 1886. After having finished his studies at the Military schools and the Technical Academy at Müdling he got his commission in the Austro-Hungarian army in 1907. During the first world war he served as an officer of the General Staff with several infantry and artillery commands and later on he was posted to the operational department of the High Command. He obtained many decorations during his service in the last war. From 1919 until 1921 he lectured at the Military Academy in Budapest. Later he was posted to various units and from 1926 until 1933 he was commander of the 1st Honvéd Artillery Unit at Miskolc. Between 1933 and 1935 Csátay was commander of the Anti-Aircraft Artillery School and from 1936 until 1941 commander of the Field Artillery School. In 1941 he became commander of the 4th Honvéd Corps at Pécs and in this capacity he saw active service on the Eastern front from 1st May 1942 until 3rd December 1942. On the 1st February 1943 he was promoted Major General and he took over the command of the 6th Honvéd Army.

As an officer of the General Staff he specialised in artillery problems and he published two works on this subject. He was considered one of the best Hungarian experts in artillery and his activities in the interwar period were devoted mainly to training problems connected with the Hungarian artillery.

When Gusztáv Jány was wounded on the Russian front, Csátay took over the command of the Second Army. He was appointed War Minister on 12th June 1943 as successor to Vilmos Nagy.

The family of Ludwig Csátay belongs to the old Hungarian nobility. Their family name was originally Tuczenhaller. Fabian Tuczenhaller from the County of Pozsony has been created a member of the nobility in 1587. Gyula Tuczenhaller a minor official of the Hungarian State Railways received permission in 1888 to change his family name from Tuczenhaller to Csátay. The present War Minister is the son of Gyula Tuczenhaller who has changed his name to Csátay. Thus, the War Minister was born as Tuczenhaller. His Mother's name was Erzsébet Frileczky, his grandmother's name Lujza Kosztolányi and his great grandmother's name Róza Majtányi. Thus, the Tuczenhaller family apparently intermarried with the Hungarian gentry. The family was resident for some time in the counties of Pozsony and Sopron, both adjacent to Austria.

Lajos Remónyi-Schneller, Minister for Finance was born in Budapest in 1892. He is of Lutheran faith. He studied at the Budapest university where he obtained his degree as Doctor of Law. He started his career at the Hungarian Discount and Exchange Bank where he became a manager in 1923.

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Lajos Reményi-Schneller, Minister for Finance was born in Budapest in 1892. He is of Lutheran faith. He studied at the Budapest university where he obtained his degree as Doctor of Law. He started his career at the Hungarian Discount and Exchange Bank where he became a manager in 1923. At the end of the twenties he was commissioned by the Central Corporation of Banking Institutes (Pénzüntézeti Központ) to take over the management of the Budapest Saving Bank (Egyesült Budapesti Takarékpénztár) which was in financial difficulties at that time. He was responsible for the financial reorganisation of this bank, changed its name to Budapesti Székesfővárosi Takarékpénztár. He became General Manager of the reorganised
P.T.O.

Saving Bank in 1928 and kept this post until 1935. In 1935 he was invited to become the head of the Association of Hungarian Agricultural Credit Institutes.

Reményi-Schneller began to play an active part in politics in 1935, when he was elected a member of parliament of the Government Party for the Baja constituency. On the 9th March 1938 Tihomér Fabinyi resigned his post as Minister for Finance and Reményi-Schneller succeeded him in the Darányi government. Since then he has held this post in all subsequent government and is thus the only Minister in the present government who has held the same post since the beginning of the war.

He was appointed Privy Councillor in 1940. For some time Reményi-Schneller was also Minister of Economic Coordination, a post which Kálley took over from him in December 1943.

Reményi-Schneller, who is of German origin, was always one of the most pro-German members of the previous government. At the ministerial council preceding Teleki's suicide Reményi-Schneller voted against Teleki, who wanted to prevent Hungary's participation in the attack against Yugoslavia. After Hungary became an active partner of Germany, Reményi-Schneller was instrumental in satisfying as fully as possible Germany's economic demands.

Ander Jaross, Minister for Interior was born in 1896 at Komáromochi. He is a Roman Catholic and a landowner by profession. He read law at the Budapest university but he did not finish his studies as he was called up for military service in 1915. After the end of the last war he took over the management of his father's estate. He began his political activities in 1921 as a member of the Hungarian Smallholders' Party of Czechoslovakia. He became co-president of the agricultural section of this party. In 1925 when the Smallholders' Party and the Party of Hungarian Right merged into the Hungarian National Party of Czechoslovakia he became vice-president of the Party. In 1926 he became a member of the county-assembly. In 1933 he was elected acting president of the Hungarian National Party and in 1934 took over the direction of "Prágsi Magyar Hírlap", the daily paper of the Hungarian Nationalist parties of Czechoslovakia. In 1935 he was elected a member of the Czechoslovak Parliament and in 1936 when the Hungarian Nationalist Party and the Christian Socialist parties merged he became president of the United Hungarian Party.

In 1938 after the first Vienna award the Hungarian Parliament invited the participation of the former Hungarian members of the Czechoslovak Parliament. This group of 13 members continued to function for some time as an independent party collaborating with the Government Party. Imrédy invited Jaross into his government as Minister without Portfolio and he retained this post at the beginning of Teleki's government. When Imrédy and his followers seceded from the Government Party in 1940 Jaross resigned and followed Imrédy with whom he became closely associated. He is Deputy Leader of Imrédy's Party of Hungarian Regeneration.

It is an established fact that when Ander Jaross, following the first Vienna Award, became Minister for the

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Andor Jaross, Minister for Interior was born in 1896 at Komáromoséhi. He is a Roman Catholic and a landowner by profession. He read law at the Budapest university but he did not finish his studies as he was called up for military service in 1915. After the end of the last war he took over the management of his father's estate. He began his political activities in 1921 as a member of the Hungarian Smallholders' Party of Czechoslovakia. He became co-president of the agricultural section of this party. In 1925 when the Smallholders' Party and the Party of Hungarian Right merged into the Hungarian National Party of Czechoslovakia he became vice-president of the Party. In 1926 he became a member of the county-assembly. In 1933 he was elected acting president of the Hungarian National Party and in 1934 took over the direction of "Prigai Magyar Hirlap", the daily paper of the Hungarian Nationalist parties of Czechoslovakia. In 1935 he was elected a member of the Czechoslovak Parliament and in 1936 when the Hungarian Nationalist Party and the Christian Socialist parties merged he became president of the United Hungarian Party.

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It is an established fact that when Andor Jaross, following the first Vienna Award, became Minister for the coordination of the northern territories restored to Hungary, he received a grant of 500,000 peng³ out of the secret fund of the Prime Minister for services rendered to the Hungarian State under the Czechoslovak Regime. He is a notorious spend-thrift and has, therefore repeatedly been submerged in debts. He is corrupt but a very good street-orator.

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Antal Kunder, Minister for Commerce was born in 1900 at Magyarkároly in the county of Szabolcs. He is a Roman Catholic. He was a cadet at the Ludovica military college in Budapest, where he completed his course in 1920. In 1919 he took part in the counter-revolutionary move of the cadets of the Ludovica. He also studied at the Technical High School at Budapest, where he got his degree in 1924. He served in the technical unit of the army until 1935. During this year Gyula Gömbös invited Kunder, who had the rank of a captain, to become head of the Clearing Office and in 1936 he was appointed head of the Office for Foreign Trade. Kunder became wellknown in the Hungarian economic life in this capacity and at that time he was on excellent terms with Jewish High Finance and Industry. In May 1938 he was appointed Secretary of State for Commerce and Communications under Géza Bornemissza. In September 1938 when Bornemissza resigned from the Ministry of Commerce, Kunder became his successor and he kept this post in the Imrédy government. In November 1938 he took over in addition the Ministry for Industry from Bornemissza. He continued to hold both posts at the beginning of Teleki's government. At the elections in 1939 he was elected member of Parliament in the constituency of Baztergom on the programme of the NEP. When Imrédy seceded from the Government Party Kunder joined him and since then has remained with Jaross the main supporter of Imrédy.

Antal Kunder comes from exactly the same stratum of pre-1918 Hungary to which Gömbös belonged. A professional soldier of humble birth, no crack regiment was open to him. He has always hankered after money rather than a political career. His pro-German sympathies originated in the atmosphere of the first world war when some of the regular army officers were imbued with the spirit of comradeship in arms with the German Imperial army. That streak has always been at the back of Kunder's mind and this, together with his craving for wealth drove him inevitably to the point where he sold himself lock stock and barrel to the Germans.

Lejos Szász, Minister for Industry was born in 1888 at Szatmárnémeti. He is a Protestant. He studied law at the Budapest university and afterwards entered the civil service in the administration of Berégszász. From there he was transferred to the Ministry of Finance, where he was gradually promoted and in 1937 he was appointed an Undersecretary of State in the Darányi government. He is one of the bestknown specialists of budget-law and is a lecturer at the Budapest university. He took an interest in protestant ecclesiastical life and was also one of the Government's delegates at the Vitézi Szék.

He was elected a member of Parliament in 1939 when he stood for the Government Party in two constituencies, at Miskolc and Kecskemét. He was elected in both constituencies and kept the Miskolc mandate. When Losonci resigned in the autumn of 1942 Szász succeeded him as Minister for Supply and since then he was the dominant force in planning and carrying out the Kállay government's economic policy.

Béla Jurosek, Minister for Supply and of Agriculture was born in 1895 at Heszterjén in the county of Borsod. He is

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Béla Juresek, Minister for Supply and of Agriculture was born in 1893 at Tiszesterjén in the county of Borsod. He is a Roman Catholic and a landowner by profession. He visited the agricultural academy at Debrecen and later worked on an estate in Germany. After 1914 he took over the family estate. He took an active part in the political life of the county of Péjér during the inter-war period. He was elected president of the

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Sérbogárd group of the Revisionist League and of TESZ. At the elections in 1935 he was elected as member of Parliament for the Sérbogárd constituency on the programme of the Government Party. In Parliament he devoted himself mainly to agricultural questions. He was member of the select-committee which prepared the second Jewish law. Jurosek always belonged to that section of the Government Party which took an extremist right-wing view in all political issues. In June 1940 he was appointed government commissioner for agricultural production and marketing, and he kept this post until February 1941. In 1942 he was appointed Secretary of State for agriculture in the Kállay government. He introduced the so-called Jurosek-plan, a scheme for compulsory delivery of agricultural products in proportion to the gold valuation of the farmland. Béla Jurosek has always maintained friendly relations with German national-socialists.

THE NEW SECRETARIES OF STATE.

László Endre, Secretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior was born in 1896 of a family belonging to the lesser nobility of the Danube-Tisza region. After having fought with distinction in the first world war, Endre entered the administration of his county and in 1931 became district officer (főszolgabíró) in Gödöllő, the district some 30 km from Budapest where the Crown Estate and Summer Residence of the kings of Hungary is situated. There he began organising the destitute peasantry and the desperadoes of the petty bureaucracy. Being an extremely unscrupulous and versatile man and a very able demagogue too, he soon succeeded in enlisting a fairly large group of followers for his political philosophy, a somewhat confused and parochial brand of race-protectionism plus anti-semitism. While living under constant financial difficulties, and with his wife's business depending largely on Jewish money, Endre went on gaily organising his flock of Jew-baiters in the neighbouring districts of the Pest county. Eventually these elected him Chief Constable of the county against the official government-candidate, Count László Szapáry in 1938. In this office Endre continued until, following Hungary's total occupation by Hitler, he was appointed Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior. It will be his task to carry out the "final solution of the Jewish question" and there can be no doubt that he will discharge his duties with the utmost brutality, occasionally, perhaps, mitigated by bribery. From a disciplinary action taken against him by Keresztes-Fischer in 1943 it appears that he already indulged in such practices when Chief Constable of the Pest County, by illicitly issuing or denying special certificates to Christians of Jewish extraction entitled to certain exemptions under the 1940 anti-Jewish law.

László Bakó, Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior was born in 1898 in Budapest. He is a Calvinist and originates from the lesser nobility. Bakó is a retired major of the Gendarmerie. During the first world war, he fought as a lieutenant on the Russian front. After the end

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László Baky, Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior was born in 1898 in Budapest. He is a Calvinist and originates from the lesser nobility. Baky is a retired major of the Gendarmerie. During the first world war he fought as a lieutenant on the Russian front. After the end of the last war he took part in the Szeged counter revolution and in 1921 in the irregular armed opposition to the Austrians in the Burgenland. Subsequently he joined the Gendarmerie. In 1931 he was promoted to the rank of major and was retired with this rank in 1938. After having been retired he joined the Hungarian National Socialist Party (Hungarist movement) of

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Szili. Since then he has taken an active part in the Hungarian National Socialist movement. At the elections in 1939 he was elected member of Parliament for Abony as an independent member with a race-protectionist (Arrow-Cross) programme. Later on he joined the United Hungarian National-Socialist Party (Arrow-Cross front) which was led originally by Kátya Matolcsay. Later on when the competing Nazi organisation, the Arrow Cross Party seceded, Kálmán Hubay and some of his followers joined the United National Socialist Party of which Hubay became the leader. Baky was one of the formal spokesmen in Parliament of the National Socialist Party. At the budget debate and the appropriation debate at the end of last year Baky was the chief spokesman of his party. It was through his appointment that the National Socialist Party became the third partner in the Sztójay government together with the Imrédy party and the right wing of the MEP.

He never missed an opportunity of denouncing the forces of the left as traitors to their country and has for the last 18 months frequently and furiously advocated the dissolution of the Social-Democrat Party and the Trade Unions. Both physically and mentally Baky is the very prototype of the Gestapo bully and only the worst kind of terror reign can be expected from him.

Baron István Splényi, Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Commerce was born in Budapest in 1891. He chose a military career and was trained in the Austro-Hungarian Artillery Cadet School at Treiskirchen. He obtained his commission in 1913 and as an officer he took part in the first world war. After the end of the last war he joined the newly formed Ministry of Defence where he worked until 1923. In that year he left the active military service with the rank of a major. He was transferred to the Royal Hungarian War Material Factory, of which he became a director. In 1934 he was appointed a director of the Office for Foreign Trade where he worked under Antal Kunder. In 1938 when Kunder was appointed Minister, Splényi succeeded him as the president of the Office for Foreign Trade, which post he retained until 1942. In the course of the last two years he accepted important and remunerative posts in Industry and Commerce. His appointment as Secretary of State in Kunder's ministry is probably due to Kunder's friendship to his former collaborator. His career ran on similar lines as Kunder's. Both began their careers as active officers and subsequently they switched over from military activities to economic life. Splényi's past record does not show any particular distinction or accomplishment. He likes to give himself the appearance of a straightforward man of sombre dignity but he has always been known as apt to sail close to the wind.

Lajos Vasvary, Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Industry was born in 1889 at Szilőskislak in the county of Somogy. He is a locksmith of Roman Catholic faith. He had an elementary school education and worked since 1913 for 25 years as a mechanic in the workshop of the Hungarian State Railways. From 1913-1915 he served as a private. In 1914 he was called up again and he remained in the army until 1917.

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year he left the active military service with the rank of a
major. He was transferred to the Royal Hungarian War Material
Factory, of which he became a director. In 1934 he was appointed
a director of the Office for Foreign Trade where he worked
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He had an elementary school education and worked since 1913
for 25 years as a mechanic in the workshop of the Hungarian
State Railways. From 1910-1913 he served as a private. In 1914
he was called up again and he remained in the army until
November 1918. He participated in the Christian workers
movement. He was a member of the Economic Association of
Christian Socialist Railway workers. He began to participate
in political life in 1935 on the side of Gyula Gömbös, who
on the pattern of fascist policy endeavored to include such

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representatives of the various social strata who were willing to give up the interests of their own class. He was elected member of Parliament on the list of the Government Party in the electoral district of the surroundings of Budapest. During the last few years Lajos Vasvári has tried to make up for the lack of a proper political and ideological education, and joined the Sociological Research Group of Béla Erdő-Harrach, Professor in the Faculty of Arts at the Budapest university. Here an attempt was made to build a nucleus of strongly nationalist workers who could be enlisted for the defence of the realm against German penetration as well as against bolshevisation. As soon as it appeared to him that it was no longer possible to fight against both in conjunction, Vasvári seems to have decided to support wholeheartedly Germany.

Lajos Huszovszky, Undersecretary of State in the Prime Minister's Office was born in 1894 at Aranybánya in the county of Sáros. He is a Roman Catholic and a lawyer by profession. He studied at the Eperjes Legal Academy and later on the Budapest university. He was also interested in agricultural problems. After having finished his studies he worked at the Ministry of Food under the Minister Béla Tériffy. In 1925 he became legal adviser to the "Futura", the government-subsidised company which controlled the corn trade. He became engaged in political activities when Gömbös reorganised the Government Party. He took an active part in the metropolitan organisation of the Government Party. He was elected member of Parliament in 1935 for the constituency of Pécs in the county of Zala. He became legal adviser to the Government Party and has kept his office up to the present. He has also been appointed legal adviser to the Hungarian-German Society which was founded in 1939 under the presidency of Kálmán Darányi.

As a parliamentarian, Huszovszky never played a role worth mentioning except that he always voted faithfully for the Government both in committees and in plenary sittings. Having always been a model yes-man, he never uttered a personal opinion of his own. This may account for the fact that although he cannot be said to have ever revealed himself as a supporter of extreme right-wing ideas, he has now been selected for an important post when the Government Party suddenly found itself in need of reliable men who were not compromised in the eyes of the Germans.

Dániel Mocsáry, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Agriculture was born around 1900, landowner in the county of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun, was elected deputy to the Lower House in 1935 under the auspices of the United Party (Egységes Párt) of Gyula Gömbös. He was an enthusiastic personal follower of Gömbös and his semi-fascist policy of "reforms" and "race protection". In Parliament he won notoriety as one of the members of the extreme-right-wing group of young deputies in Gömbös' government party, nicknamed the "rotten corner" (viharsarok). He did not stand for election in 1939 on grounds of ill-health and retired to his estate. Later on he was elected by his county to become their representative in

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cultural problems. After having finished his studies he worked at the Ministry of Food under the Minister Béla Tótfi. In 1925 he became legal adviser to the "Futura", the government-subsidised company which controlled the corn trade. He became engaged in political activities when Gömbös reorganised the Government Party. He took an active part in the metropolitan organisation of the Government Party. He was elected member of Parliament in 1935 for the constituency of Pécs in the county of Zala. He became legal adviser to the Government Party and has kept his office up to the present. He has also been appointed legal adviser to the Hungarian-German Society which was founded in 1939 under the presidency of Kálmán Darányi.

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Mihály Kolozsváry-Borcsa was born in 1896 at Kolozsvár. He comes from an old Transylvanian family belonging to the lower nobility. He was educated in Kolozsvár and obtained his degree as Doctor of Law at the Kolozsvár university.

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During the last world war he served as an officer and subsequently joined Horthy's national army, which he left in 1921.

After the war he became active as a journalist. He was a contributor to the race-protectionist anti-semitic daily paper "Szózat". In 1922 he became editor of the provincial paper "Debreceni Ujság", which was the only mouthpiece of the race-protectionist party of Gyula Gömbös at that time. He was one of the closest collaborators and friends of Gyula Gömbös and he worked a great deal in favour of the right-radical Gömbös policy in Debrecen's political life. In 1935, during the Gömbös government he joined the press department of the Prime-Minister's Office with the rank of a departmental councillor. In 1937 he was appointed editor in chief of "Függetlenség". He kept this post until 1938 when Imrédy invited him to become the head of the press department of the Prime-Minister's Office. In this capacity he was responsible for the establishment of a press-chamber and the suppression of a number of periodicals and daily papers. He became an intimate friend of Imrédy. In the autumn of 1938 he was a member of the Hungarian delegation which negotiated at Komárom with the Czechoslovaks over the frontier question. When Imrédy resigned in February 1939 Kolozsváry-Borcsa gave up his post in the Prime-Minister's Office and returned to his editorial desk at "Függetlenség". He was elected member of Parliament at the by-election of Győr in January 1939 and in June 1939 he became the president of the Press-Chamber.

Kolozsváry-Borcsa who has always been a violent anti-semitic, demanded the elimination of Jewish journalists from the Hungarian press, which step has been carried out by the Press-Chamber under his guidance. As a close friend of Gyula Gömbös and later on of Béla Imrédy he was always an exponent of the right-radical, pro-German and pro-Nazi orientation. He has now been appointed Government Commissioner for Press Affairs, the Hungarian Telegraph Agency, the Hungarian Broadcasting Company and all questions connected with publishing, with the title of a Secretary of State. Thus, Kolozsváry-Borcsa holds at present a post which corresponds to the functions of a Minister of Information.

Endre Kiss de balásfalva, the new Secretary of State in the Ministry of Supply, comes from a Kacskekém gentry family. He is just under fifty. At the time of the counter-revolution he joined the terrorist movement of Iván Hédjas and the Kovács brothers. Although it has not been proved that he took an active part in the atrocities of Orgovány, his name is generally associated with these events.

When Miklós Kozma was appointed by Horthy in 1920 to reorganise the Hungarian Telegraph Agency (MTI), Kiss became the Kacskekém correspondent of the Agency. At the end of the twenties he took over the editorship of the local government newspaper of Kacskekém. Shortly after the access of power of Gömbös he became mayor of Kacskekém. A few years ago he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Kacskekém and he kept this post up to the present when he became Secretary of State in

and daily papers. He became an intimate friend of Imrédy. In the autumn of 1938 he was a member of the Hungarian delegation which negotiated at Komárom with the Czechoslovaks over the frontier question. When Imrédy resigned in February 1939 Kolozsváry-Borcsa gave up his post in the Prime-Minister's Office and returned to his editorial desk at "Figyelőnők". He was elected member of Parliament at the by-election of Győr in January 1939 and in June 1939 he became the president of the Press-Chamber.

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P.T.O.

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THE HUNGARIAN COUNCIL IN GREAT BRITAIN.

A Hungarian Council in Great Britain has been formed by representatives of the three Hungarian organisations in England, the New Democratic Hungary Movement, the Association of Free Hungarians in Great Britain and the London Hungarian Club. Count Michael Károlyi, former president of the Hungarian Republic has been elected President of the Council. The three organisations are maintaining their independence. Each organisation has delegated four members to the Council, which consists now of the following members:

Count Michael Károlyi, President
Countess Károlyi, Mrs. Ilona Buczyńska, Mr. Zoltán Kellermann representing the New Democratic Hungary Movement;
Mr. George Búday, Mr. Béla Iványi-Grünwald, Mr. Andrew Révai, Mr. Victor Sztankovich representing the Association of Free Hungarians in Great Britain;

Mr. George Kellner, Mr. Hugo Markovics, Mr. Mathias Seiber and Mr. Nicholas Szűsz representing the London Hungarian Club.

This united body of Hungarians in England has been formed on the basis of a programme of action which has been accepted by all three organisations. In the preamble to the programme the Council states that during the past 25 years the criminal policy of the counter-revolution made of Hungary a tool of German conquest and has brought her to the verge of ruin. Only by openly defying the Germans and the Horthy regime can the Hungarian people secure a place in the community of peoples of a new Europe. Let, therefore, all Hungarian democrats unite and pledge themselves to the following programme of action:

Expel the invading German hordes and by force of arms wrench the power from the Horthy-Sztójay puppet Government. Support the underground movement of Hungary. Develop the underground activities of the recently dissolved opposition parties. Encourage sabotage, develop local organs of resistance. Fight shoulder to shoulder with Tito's army and the Ukrainian partisan troops. Encourage Hungarian soldiers to refuse obedience. To live in close friendship with Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovaks, and Yugoslavs and other neighbours, in the spirit of the decisions taken at the Conferences of Moscow and Teheran.

The programme calls upon Hungarians to fight against the imperialistic policy which professes Hungarian superiority. The Council considers the Vienna Awards, the occupation of Sub-Carpathian Russia and of Yugoslav territories as neither right nor justified. It is the Council's firm conviction that by their fight against Hitlerite Germany and the Horthy Regime the Hungarian people will gain the trust and help of the Allies. The Council trusts that the territory of the new democratic Hungary will be settled at the Peace Conferences by the Allies and the interested nations in the spirit of rightfulness and equity.

Our ultimate aim, the programme concludes, is the creation of a progressive, democratic Hungary fulfilling the following demands: The securing of democratic freedoms, the dissolution of fascist and reactionary parties, far-reaching agrarian reform and the establishment of a democratic government composed of representatives of all strata who actively participate in the fight against the war and the Horthy regime. The Council held its first public meeting on April 23rd and the final text of the programme was released for the British and Foreign press on May 3rd.

The Hungarian Council in Great Britain hopes that Hungarians

Mr. George ... and Mr. Nicholas Szűsz representing the London Hungarian Club.

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The Hungarian Council in Great Britain hopes that Hungarians in America will also unite on the basis of this programme, and

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ba
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/ tagjai közül .

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