

TOWARDS A NEW OCTOBER REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY.

*White line*

From the fourth time in the course of a century the fate of Hungary <sup>was</sup> being decided on the battle field.

In 1849, at Világos, the armies of the Tsar forced the capitulation of the Hungarian revolution; in 1866, at Sadowa <sup>and Sadowa</sup>, Bismarck's army <sup>defeated</sup> defeated the Habsburg Empire and gave Hungary a chance to restore her lost <sup>freedom</sup> freedom; in 1918, Foch's armies in the West and Franchet d'Esprey's <sup>in the East</sup> before Salonika shattered the Central Powers and began the liquidation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In 1944, the battle <sup>was</sup> in the Carpathians, and <sup>once more</sup> the fate of Hungary <sup>was</sup> in the balance.

<sup>mark</sup> Three names designate roughly <sup>stand out</sup> the turning-points: Louis Kossuth, Francis Deák and Michael Károlyi. <sup>Each</sup> Every time the decision was part and parcel of <sup>a larger</sup> a larger event <sup>so big</sup> so big that it belonged to European history. In 1848, Hungary <sup>stood</sup> in the vanguard of the fight for constitutional freedom.

In 1867, she <sup>had turned</sup> became the cornerstone of the Dual Monarchy and initiated the German system in Central Europe. In 1918, <sup>she</sup> for a brief period recovered the authentic <sup>of Kossuth</sup> voice.

<sup>of 1848</sup> This episode, even shorter than that which made Kossuth famous, was linked with the name of Michael Károlyi. Only a <sup>few months</sup> few months after his fall, counter-revolution was victorious and proved the starting point of European fascism, which began its career in Hungary, <sup>led to</sup> led to the Hitler-Horthy alliance, to the <sup>amalgamation</sup> amalgamation of some experts on Hungarian affairs abroad, in the most unexpected quarters.

In 1944, again, a decision is pending. What will it ~~mean~~ mean to Hungary? And what to Europe? <sup>Once more</sup> Hungary had initiated a <sup>fatal</sup> fatal broken away from the path of progress <sup>and given</sup> and given the lead <sup>to</sup> to <sup>fatal</sup> fatal <sup>through</sup> through the <sup>indeed</sup> indeed <sup>opened</sup> opened the gates to <sup>dark</sup> dark <sup>forces</sup> forces.

Hungary is a laboratory base of the interdependence of external and internal politics. The Magyar ruling class <sup>has shown</sup> showed a remarkable awareness of this fact. But the <sup>interdependence</sup> interdependence <sup>was exhibited</sup> was exhibited also in Hungary's revolutions. <sup>Nothing</sup> Nothing is more certain than <sup>that</sup> that the new October Revolution will be a culmination of this development: It will bring a <sup>radical</sup> radical change in <sup>the</sup> the

Hungary's internal condition, and external

-2- Ever since the awakening of national consciousness in the 18th century, the involved

The ~~domestic~~ <sup>domestic</sup> problem of the Magyar ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> twofold: ~~social~~ <sup>social</sup> and national.

It centered ~~around~~ <sup>around</sup> the monopoly of land and of political power. ~~Let us~~ <sup>let us</sup> ~~remember~~ <sup>remember</sup> that Hungary was an ~~agrarian~~ <sup>agrarian</sup> country and ~~second~~ <sup>moreover</sup>, that she was a ~~multinational~~ <sup>multinational</sup> one.

The monopoly of land ~~annihilated~~ <sup>in an agrarian</sup> in such a country ~~deprived~~ <sup>deprived</sup> the ~~majority~~ <sup>majority</sup> of the people of the ~~possibilities~~ <sup>possibilities</sup> of a sound ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~healthy~~ <sup>healthy</sup> existence, while the monopoly of power ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> concentrated in the hands of a ~~single~~ <sup>single</sup> class of ~~one~~ <sup>one</sup> race.

Since the ~~majority~~ <sup>majority</sup> of the ~~subjected~~ <sup>subjected</sup> peoples ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> the country ~~were~~ <sup>were</sup> Slavs, ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Magyar ~~policy~~ <sup>policy</sup> inevitably directed its ~~external~~ <sup>external</sup> policy towards an alliance with a Teutonic power.

In 1848, Kossuth's ~~social~~ <sup>social</sup> revolution failed because ~~he~~ <sup>he</sup> ~~undertook~~ <sup>undertook</sup> ~~only~~ <sup>only</sup> ~~half~~ <sup>half</sup> of the task of liberation; ~~he~~ <sup>he</sup> freed the serfs, but refused ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> give ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> equal freedom to the non-Magyar ~~part~~ <sup>part</sup> of the population.

Had the Magyars in brotherly alliance with the Slavs, ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> is, with the Slovaks, the Serbians, the Ruthenians, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> the Croats, as well as ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> the Roumanians -- an anticipation of Tito's army -- faced the Habsburgs in battle, maybe ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> other Switzerland would have emerged out of the war of independence, ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> the place ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> the cemetery ~~where~~ <sup>where</sup> Tsarist generals acted as executioners of Magyar and non-Magyar ~~freedom~~ <sup>freedom</sup> alike.

In Palsky's famous ally, the absolutist Constitution ~~can~~ <sup>introduced</sup> ~~be~~ <sup>be</sup> ~~traced~~ <sup>traced</sup> on Hungary by the Habsburgs ~~offered~~ <sup>offered</sup> as a recompense to the non-Magyars ~~what~~ <sup>what</sup> it inflicted as a punishment on the Magyars...

Hungarian freedom was lost at Vilagoš, because the Magyar ruling class refused to share freedom with the racial minorities of the country. Thus, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~ended~~ <sup>ended</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~defeat~~ <sup>defeat</sup> ~~revolutionary~~ <sup>revolutionary</sup> Hungary's ~~first~~ <sup>first</sup> attempt to assert her ~~external~~ <sup>external</sup> independence ~~from~~ <sup>from</sup> the Hapsburgs.

Twenty years later the shattering defeat of the Habsburg rulers on the field of Bohemia at the hand of Prussia, gave the Magyar ruling class a chance which they did not fail to take. At one blow they regained ~~ascendancy~~ <sup>ascendancy</sup> ~~their~~ <sup>their</sup>

belonging to one race

in an agrarian country prerequisites of a sound & concentrated in the hands of a class of a multinational state the population of a multinational state and the country was bordered to the East were Slavs, & the Magyar

Foreign

it stopped halfway

in the place of of freedom

after 1848

of Hungary

their

dancy at home and ~~started~~ <sup>launched</sup> a foreign policy ~~which~~ <sup>binding</sup> ~~bound~~ Hungary <sup>this time</sup> not to Vienna but to Berlin, ~~directly~~, Francis Deak and Julius Andrassy, Sen. between them concluded the same <sup>second</sup> compromise with the dynasty, which made the Habsburg Empire a Dual Monarchy ~~that is~~ half an Austrian, half Hungarian.

During the twenty years which separated Deak from ~~Kossuth~~ <sup>had</sup> Vienna, Vienna threatened to submerge the Magyars in the non-Magyar population of Hungary. The compromise <sup>removed his dangers. It</sup> meant the firm establishment of the rule of the German bourgeoisie in Austria and of the Magyar feudal class in Hungary, over Czechs, Poles, ~~Slovaks~~ <sup>Slovenes</sup> in Austria, over Slovaks, Rumanians, Serbs, Croats, and Ruthenians in Hungary.

<sup>Magyar rule</sup> The Magyar aristocracy became the bearer of the foreign policy of the Dual Monarchy. Foreign policy was made a 'joint concern' of the two countries, with the peculiar result that it ceased to be an affair of Hungarian politics altogether, since the Magyar aristocracy succeeded in monopolising foreign affairs to the point of eliminating <sup>it</sup> from the sphere of ~~national~~ discussion and removing it altogether <sup>indeed</sup> from the consciousness of the nation.

The point bears some elaboration. Since the Hungarians are a politically minded people it seemed hardly credible that foreign affairs should have been left <sup>for half a century</sup> in the scope of <sup>public discussion</sup> politics. Yet this was the case. Hungary and Austria appeared now as one state and only an Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, Austro-Hungarian embassies, ~~embassies and an~~ Austro-Hungarian foreign policy existed. This policy moreover seemed to be settled once and for all by ~~an~~ <sup>appeared</sup> alliance with Germany, ~~which was~~ a long term military and political ~~agreement~~. Without ~~any~~ exaggeration it can be said, that from the Congress of Berlin, 1878, to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 1908, that is, for forty years, no issue of foreign policy was <sup>as much serious</sup> ~~so much~~ discussed in the Monarchy. In Hungary, the <sup>existence</sup> ~~existence~~ of a <sup>with Austria</sup> joint Army ~~was~~ <sup>more very notion</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>of</sup> a ~~single~~ Hungarian foreign policy appear as rank treason, since it would have implied sub-

This has the peculiar effect of removing foreign affairs policy from the control of the nation.

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subversion of the ~~army~~ <sup>armed forces.</sup> The <sup>Compromise</sup> had so successfully linked ~~the~~ Hungary with Austria that the ~~concept~~ <sup>before long</sup> of an independent Hungarian foreign policy ~~had been eliminated from the minds.~~ <sup>would have almost appeared as a contradiction in terms.</sup> ~~Reasons~~

Indeed, a military alliance with Berlin had become ~~an~~ indispensable requirement of ~~the~~ <sup>to</sup> the system existing in Hungary which ~~(aimed) consciously~~ ~~at the~~ keeping in subjection ~~of the~~ ~~so-called~~ racial minorities. ~~in the court~~ The ~~nobility~~ aristocracy and ~~nobility~~ <sup>gentry</sup> refused to ~~put in effect~~ <sup>give</sup> the laws of 1868 <sup>which ad</sup> requiring equal treatment of ~~nationalities~~ of all ~~the~~ <sup>peoples</sup> nationalities of the country, whether Magyar or non-Magyar. Gerrymandering ~~prevented~~ <sup>(of non-Magyars)</sup> representatives, except a ludicrously few, from getting into Parliament. At the same time it was ~~essential~~ <sup>vital to the political system of the country</sup> to refuse ~~political~~ rights to the people as a whole, irrespective of nationality, since ~~universal~~ universal suffrage would have endangered <sup>(not only)</sup> the latifundia of the magnates, but also Magyar supremacy. Thus was national ~~privilege~~ <sup>privilege</sup> used as a shield for social privilege. No wonder that the racial minorities were more and more looking ~~to their~~ ~~nations~~ for support. The military power of the Monarchy backed by that of the German Reich could alone safeguard the ~~security~~ security of a state which contained a very large and powerful Slav minority and was surrounded <sup>along a</sup> great part of its frontiers by Slav states such as Russia, Serbia, Bulgaria comprising besides Russians, Serbs and Bulgars also Poles, Ukrainians, Bosniaks, and so on, one of these states being the potentially <sup>strongest</sup> military power in Eastern Europe, Russia.

Baron Cetoacs and Francis Deak followed the policy not of the Kossuth of 1849, but of the Kossuth of the emigration who had learnt from past mistakes and had become an adherent of a Danubian Confederation based on a liberal policy towards Hungary's racial minorities. Cetoacs and Deak in 1867/8 <sup>introduced laws for the</sup> ~~did not~~ ~~down in their legislation on the~~ protection of racial minorities a system so tolerant and enlightened that, <sup>these laws</sup> ~~if it had been only put into~~ effect <sup>(them) their successors</sup> by their successors (instead of being obstructed and sabotaged by the Magyar governments).

they would have fully <sup>completely</sup> safeguarded the cultural freedom and the administrative influence of the racial minorities, as well as their linguistic and other rights. The 1868 Law Act on racial minorities continued to adorn the Statute book and to mislead the unsuspecting foreigner into a belief in Hungarian freedom and national equality, while in practice ~~the mere~~ the mere invocation of ~~this Law~~ <sup>this Law</sup> was deemed an act ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> disloyalty ~~and a~~ (bordering on treason) against ~~the Hungarian state~~, the Magyar character of which had by ~~become~~ become axiomatic.

The effects of ~~as~~ <sup>(practiced)</sup> constitutional indoctrination were, in this respect ~~as~~ as remarkable as in regard to foreign policy. <sup>(secondary)</sup> Hungarian schools, at least some of them, were not bad. Yet a Hungarian boy who had passed through them, need not have ~~known~~ <sup>learned</sup> that Hungary was not a Magyar country. This seems entirely incredible ~~until it is~~ remembered <sup>before the appearance of 'Sybil'</sup> that at least one of the <sup>(equally)</sup> two nations ~~was~~ was unconscious of the existence of the other (though not vice-versa). When I was a school-boy, fifty years ago, we certainly did not as much as take note of the 50% of the population who were of non-Magyar race; most of us ~~had~~ had not even ~~heard of~~ <sup>heard of</sup> ~~their existence~~. <sup>Actually,</sup> ~~their~~ <sup>what not</sup> ~~majority~~ <sup>and yet</sup> ~~belonged~~ to that underprivileged part of the population with which middle class Hungarian boys had not much contact, <sup>anyhow</sup> <sup>way</sup>. I ~~remember~~ <sup>remember</sup> distinctly having learnt at the age of ~~12~~ <sup>twelve</sup> with disgust ~~how~~ <sup>how</sup> ~~unpatriotic~~ <sup>how</sup> some of our fellow citizens were. ~~What~~ <sup>what not</sup> ~~did~~ <sup>did</sup> these fellows ~~do~~ <sup>do</sup> by living in our country, eating "our" bread, and not even troubling to learn ~~our~~ <sup>our</sup> language ~~of the country~~. This was worse than ingrati- tude; ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> revealed a stubborn and refractory character. You ~~might~~ might think such an outlook worthy of Colonel Blimp, yet it was precisely ~~such~~ <sup>such</sup> a ~~rigidly~~ <sup>rigidly</sup> ~~Blimpian~~ <sup>Blimpian</sup> ideology ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> made us regard the mere assertion that Hungary was not a Magyar country as an insult... A very patriotic member

- his name was Louis Mocsary-  
of the Kossuth party /who to his undoing uttered a speech in Parliament warn-  
ing the country of the dangers and asking for the fulfilment of the liberal  
nationality law of 1868 was hounded from public life for this ~~astounding~~  
and ~~deed~~.

The Great War, 1914-1918, sprang directly from the ~~annihilation of the~~ Mon-  
archy ~~and its~~ and its Serbian neighbour. Hungary was in permanent conflict with Croa-  
tia, formally autonomous and represented in the Hungarian Parliament by  
forty members, but actually ruled by a Viceroy, called Banus, imposed  
upon them by means of administrative coercion. /Bosnia, occupied in 1878, was  
Hungarian landlords profited from 'patriotic' embargoes on Serbian ~~proper~~ pigs;  
agitated by South Slav subversion; even the Serbian parts of Hungary -  
the Bácska and Vojvodina - showed signs of disaffection. Since the aim of  
South Slav irredenta was to join up with the neighbouring Serbia, which  
had the backing of Tsarist Russia, the policy of the Magyar oligarchy rested  
on massive military suppositions. The internal policy of Hungary was nourished  
by the Schimmernde Wehr speeches of the Berlin Lohengrin. Not only his speeches  
but also his acts. The refusal to allow Serbian pigs to cross the Hungarian  
border was accompanied by a distinctly Wagnerian flourish.

Ever since the <sup>Bosnian</sup> annexation crisis of 1908 it had been clear that the Dual  
Monarchy was drifting towards a ~~major~~ military conflict. After all, what  
else ~~what else~~ <sup>could be</sup> the ~~purpose of~~ <sup>purpose of</sup> Aerenthal's  
activism ~~than to vitalise~~ <sup>reestablish the strength of</sup> the Dual Monarchy ~~through~~ <sup>through the vitalising effects of</sup> successful exploits  
in the international field? ~~This would~~ <sup>But this</sup> ~~lead to a showdown with~~ <sup>obvious</sup>  
Russia. From the ~~Austrian~~ <sup>Austrian</sup> view-point ~~such a policy~~ <sup>Aerenthal's suicidal</sup> might have appeared ~~reas-~~ <sup>as not</sup>  
onable, ~~since~~ <sup>for after all</sup> there is a ~~logic of the mortuary.~~ <sup>even</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>authentic</sup> Austria ~~might~~  
was ~~condemned to death~~ <sup>she was</sup> ~~to try to postpone the execution of~~ <sup>to postpone the execution of</sup>  
the sentence, and, ~~possibly~~ <sup>possibly</sup> ~~to choose between~~ <sup>the most acceptable</sup> ~~the method of execution.~~ <sup>mode of death</sup> But  
Hungary's was ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~very~~ <sup>different</sup> ~~case, or~~ <sup>case, or</sup> ~~about~~ <sup>about</sup> ~~being.~~ <sup>being.</sup> Why should she be involv-  
ed in Habsburg power-policies, which ~~had~~ <sup>aimed at</sup> ~~no~~ <sup>purpose</sup> ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~their~~ <sup>their</sup> ~~rational~~ <sup>rational</sup>  
the proof of the right of survival of the Habsburg Empire? Hungary, ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup>

At this point Hungarian & Austrian interests ~~clashed~~ <sup>clashed</sup>.

when all is said, was a sovereign state; this at least was the view of the  
 Kossuth Party. Why not try ~~therefore~~ <sup>and</sup> to sway the policy of the Dual Monarchy  
 away from ~~imperialism~~ <sup>its</sup> ~~And why~~ <sup>course?</sup> ~~of herself~~ <sup>to</sup> the ~~was~~ <sup>chariot</sup> of a Lohengrin  
 grin whose swan might ~~any day~~ <sup>turn</sup> into a snorting war-horse? ~~And why~~ <sup>should</sup> ~~all~~ <sup>should</sup> Hungary follow such a policy for herself even though no other  
 might be left to Austria? Why not start out on an independent line of Hungar-  
 ian foreign policy, whatever Vienna, and Berlin, would think of it?

Karolyi saw the danger. In the joint Austro-Hungarian <sup>legislative</sup> ~~legislative~~  
 session ~~called~~ <sup>called</sup> 'Delegation' which met once a year to vote <sup>on</sup> the  
 joint Ministry of War ~~budget~~ <sup>budget</sup> appropriations, as well as on the budget of the  
 Foreign Office, Karolyi argued, in 1912, that the Dual Monarchy should ~~take~~  
 the side <sup>with</sup> of the ~~small~~ South Slav states ~~in~~ the current war,  
 instead of leading its diplomatic support to ~~their~~ <sup>reactionary</sup> Turkish enemy. ~~Next~~

Next year when the two Slav countries went to war with one another, he ~~said~~  
 sided with Serbia <sup>against Bulgaria</sup> thus expressing his conviction that the Monarchy should ~~make~~  
 friends <sup>preferably</sup> with its ~~neighboring~~ <sup>neighboring</sup> ~~states~~. ~~When~~ The fatal year 1914 found Karolyi in  
 Paris where he succeeded in convincing some leading French statesmen,  
 amongst them Caillaux, of the possibility ~~that~~ <sup>of</sup> Hungary might strike out on a  
 foreign policy of her own ~~and~~ <sup>turn</sup> away from her German orientation altoge-  
 ther. Promising negotiations for a loan were started-- the first <sup>French</sup> ~~loan~~ <sup>over</sup>  
 have been ~~promised~~ <sup>promised</sup> to ~~supply~~ <sup>supply</sup> the Hungarian capital. Hungary

on the other hand, would cease to support the Vienna-Berlin <sup>axis</sup> ~~axis~~ and charge over  
 to the Franco-Russian side. Simultaneously, Karolyi's visit to St. Peters-  
 burg was being prepared by the Quai d'Orsay. It was this attempt of Karolyi  
 to ~~avert~~ <sup>bring over</sup> World War I or ~~minimize~~ <sup>bring over</sup> it, if it cannot be avoided, at least <sup>bring over</sup>  
~~bring~~ <sup>bring</sup> to the Slav side, which singled him out for a leading part in the  
 events of 1918, and ~~led~~ <sup>led</sup> us straight to the meaning of the October Revolution.

For by 1913 Karolyi had also joined in the agitation for universal suffrage  
 and thereby combined his new orientation in foreign affairs with the need

"Rst" →

- Healy (2)
- Pub'ory WA
- Motors
- Rostas
- Reviny 10<sub>2</sub>
- Potawit 2
- Salgo
- Wavas 1 / ~~1~~
- Mike (for)
- Ben Dept of H.C. 1
- (B.S.)

Mr. [unclear]  
Mrs. [unclear]

Centre of [unclear]  
for [unclear]

Wavas (Secretary)  
Karl Blantz  
'address

Speakers:  
non-MP -

Mount on [unclear]  
Counselled + interpreters

NYC speaker



for a democratization of the country itself.

Hungary was also an agrarian country. <sup>as in England,</sup> Not 9% but almost 66% of the Hungarian population were engaged in agriculture (1910). Under these conditions the preponderance of latifundia-- vast domains of thousands, tens of thousands, indeed, in some cases, of ~~xxxxxxx~~ hundreds of thousands of acres-- constituted the most deadly social disease. Apart from a continuous underemployment of the rural population it implies lack of habitations, of domestic facilities, of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ habitations of healthy villages, of a social life of any coherence and substance. The morbus latifundii destroys the social fabric -- or rather prevents its growth -- by preventing family and village life from taking roots. What the peasant needs is land. The Hungarian latifundia whether managed by their owners or leased to large capitalistic tenants, are states in the state, an insuperable obstruction to the movement of the population, and, indeed, one of the chief sources of depopulation. In present day Hungary, according to Professor Oscar Jaszi, 71% of agricultural holdings of less than seven acres, cover only 11% of the land, the average holding being 2.13 ~~xxxx~~ acres. Forty per cent of the agricultural population owns no landed property whatsoever. Adding to their ~~xxxxxxxx~~ number that of those in the category of small proprietors mentioned above who ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ cannot make a living on their scraps of land but must eke out a starvation wage as casual workers on the large estates one reaches a figure of around 3,500,000 out of an ~~xxxxxxx~~ agrarian population of about 4,500,000. That is to say almost 80 per cent of the total agrarian population is living on the outer fringe of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ proletarian existence. This situation has given rise to the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ slogan of the three million beggars of Hungary. It has been calculated that the maximum ~~xxxxxx~~ yearly income of a peasant family (including the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ equivalent of the farm produce received in natura) living in the wretched barracks provided by the landowners and working from three in the morning until nine at night, amounts to some 18 to 20 pounds a year. This means that for each member of a normal

family there is a daily budget of ~~threepence~~ <sup>three pence</sup>. In the eight years between 1905 and 1913 some 900,000 people emigrated from Hungary, two thirds of whom remained permanently ~~abroad~~ <sup>overseas</sup> and were lost to the country. These are portentous figures. The condition of the landless proletariat and of the scrap holders is shameful beyond description. The social degradation of the farm hands puts them on a level with Mexican ~~peons~~ <sup>peons</sup>. Let us ~~have~~ <sup>take</sup> a glance at the consequences:

A country the agricultural proletariat of which has sunk to such a depth of degradation cannot hope to maintain its industrial working class ~~on a decent standard~~ <sup>on a decent standard</sup>, except, perhaps, in the short run, in one way: by isolating the agrarian proletariat and establishing a kind of tacit alliance between the industrial working class and the feudal system on the basis of a compromise which would ensure some measure of freedom and security to the urban workers on the understanding that they ~~leave~~ <sup>leave</sup> the rural worker to his fate. In such a country trade unionism of course, never be an independent force, that is, independent of the pleasure of the government which represents the big landowners.

Similar is the condition of political democracy. Take its chief instrument, universal suffrage. Since the vote <sup>combined with the secret ballot</sup> would unfailingly mean the end of such an anti-social property system, the vote cannot be granted to ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> agricultural proletariat, or it must be combined with ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> open voting so as to ensure that the pressure of the ~~landowning class~~ <sup>landowning class</sup> remains effective.

Finally, industrial capitalism cannot develop under these circumstances since the conditions for the ~~development~~ <sup>establishment</sup> of a domestic market are lacking. A definite limit is set here to the rise of the standard of life of the masses of the landless and of the scrap holders, thus setting an equally definite limit to ~~the~~ <sup>their purchasing power and the corresponding</sup> expansion of the internal market. This explains the permanent weakness of capitalism and the crushing weight with which feudalism bears down ~~on the representatives of the bourgeoisie~~ <sup>politically</sup> on upon its representatives. Under conditions such as these, -- take the

examples of Spain or Mexico- the capitalist class feels too weak to  
join issue with the big landowners, and resigns itself to a leonine pact  
with ~~those~~ those who are stronger. The banks and the industries  
supported by them are thus married to the system of latifundia, and instead  
instead of fulfilling their historical task of fighting to rid the country  
of the rule of the aristocracy they prefer to strengthen that system until  
its pernicious effects threaten to strangle the country and only the  
popular forces called into action could rescue it from the grip of the  
alliance of feudalism and monopoly capitalism.

Here lay the roots of the October Revolution, with its close connection  
of internal and external politics. The ~~question~~ issue of a new Hungary  
was up for decision, in all its breadth and depth. Freedom for the racial  
minorities meant the democratisation of the country and a complete change  
over from a German to a Slav orientation in foreign affairs--precisely the  
solution Karolyi had stood for at a time when Russia was still Tsarist.

It is ~~the~~ the early realisation of the need for a radical  
change in foreign policy which gave Karolyi the precedence over the other  
political leader of the October Revolution, with whose person ~~modern~~ modern  
Hungary is identified, Oscar Jaszi, now an American citizen. Jaszi's  
stress on radical land reform, on freedom and equality for racial minoritie  
ties and popular democracy was otherwise ~~the~~ identical with Karolyi's.  
It became their common privilege to ~~be~~ be the two ~~men~~ men  
men most hated by the feudal classes of Hungary, and their house-bankers,  
and to embody for a quarter of a century the hope of all those who continued  
to believe that the <sup>principles of the</sup> October Revolution of 1918 were destined to redeem  
the country.

October 1918. The Western front had crumbled away under the blows of  
Foch's united command, the Balkan front had been pierced by the  
Salonika armies, only the Italian front still stood thanks to the peculiar  
capacity of ~~the~~ modern Italians to cross the Rubicon in the wrong direction.

W. W.

"Requies"

also

"Atom megal"

(110)

"No further mutation"  
see sent

The fulness of time was reached. Not Trianon and its specific injustices, ~~mmmm~~ but the blind class policies of a Stephen Tisza and his supporters had wrecked the Monarchy. On 3rd October Nicholas Horthy, Admiral of the fleet, had handed the fleet to the Croat National Council. On 26th October the Czechoslovak Republic was proclaimed, on 28th the Yugoslav National Council was proclaimed; the Hungarian Revolution broke out in Budapest on the 31st of October -- a fortnight after the French government had recognized the Czechoslovak National Council a Provisional Government, de jure. The War had been an attempt to subdue inter-racial animosity by force; the Dual Monarchy broke down under the strain of a war fought to this end; the Peace Treaties merely ratified a state of affairs brought about by other factors. To argue that Trianon and the <sup>other</sup> Paris Treaties broke up the Monarchy is ~~ridiculous~~ ludicrous; the Monarchy had broken down more than 1 1/2 before. To accuse the October Revolution of having destroyed the military resistance of Hungary is equally phantastic; at the time of the October Revolution the Army had dissolved <sup>on the battle field</sup> and the Monarchy had ceased to exist.

X On ~~some~~ <sup>one</sup> day in the second half of October Count Tisza got up in the Hungarian Parliament and said 'Károlyi <sup>was</sup> ~~has been proven~~ right. We have lost the War.' From that day onward <sup>nothing happened that was not</sup> ~~everything was~~ historically inevitable. It was <sup>the</sup> supreme victory for the common sense and good nature of a whole people that the dissolution of the army <sup>and</sup> ~~as well as~~ of all civil authority in the night of 30th October, coupled with the ~~real~~ <sup>real</sup> release of ~~all~~ the passions engendered by the horrors of a long war <sup>that</sup> which had tormented the people beyond endurance, resulted in the perfectly peaceful manifestation of the Revolution of the Autumn Rose of 31st October 1918. <sup>It</sup> ~~which~~ swept Károlyi and his staff irresistibly into power.

The discipline of the masses was the achievement of the Social Democratic party and the Trade Unions, the only organized force capable of supplying an administration for the decapitated country. The enthusiasm and moral fervour was partly the contribution of the Students' movement, the so-called Galilei-Kör, which had raised a generation of young Hungarian intellectuals devoted to the idea of public service. But above all there were the leaders, whose foresight and moral courage made it possible for a new democratic Hungary to crystallize around their persons almost instantaneously. <sup>The</sup> ~~long~~ death of Count Tisza, the single victim of the bloodless revolution, killed <sup>alone</sup> ~~by~~ by the bullets of unknown soldiers, <sup>cast</sup> ~~the~~ shadow ~~over~~ over the scene.

But the course of the Revolution proved that history will not be cheated. Neither the ~~internal~~ internal nor the external forces upon which successful construction could rest, was yet ripe for the task, and ~~time~~ time was too short to allow them to mature.

In the retrospect it is obvious that the problem of Hungary could have been solved only within the framework of a new ~~states~~ states-system, <sup>which</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>had</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>been</sup> ~~yet~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~existence~~ <sup>existence</sup>. To ~~fall~~ <sup>fall</sup> the ~~task~~ <sup>task</sup> which was not yet given. ~~Jaszi~~ <sup>Jaszi</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~unable~~ <sup>unable</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~perform~~ <sup>perform</sup> the impossible task of solving after ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~war~~ <sup>war</sup> the problem of racial autonomy ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~rationale~~ <sup>rationale</sup> of which ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>that</sup> ~~it~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~might~~ <sup>might</sup> ~~have~~ <sup>have</sup> ~~prevented~~ <sup>prevented</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~war~~ <sup>war</sup>, ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~loss~~ <sup>loss</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~which~~ <sup>which</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~irrevocable~~ <sup>irrevocable</sup>.

The Social Democratic party followed ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~tradition~~ <sup>tradition</sup> in the wake of a ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~tradition~~ <sup>tradition</sup> which regarded the peasantry as 'a single reactionary mass' in Marx's famous phrase, and the ~~experience~~ <sup>experience</sup> of the Russians who ~~owed~~ <sup>owed</sup> so much to Lenin's ~~re~~ <sup>re</sup> ~~interpretation~~ <sup>interpretation</sup> of that phrase, was still ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~come~~ <sup>come</sup>.

The third and equally decisive factor was the utter inability of the victorious Allies to grasp the need for a democratic revolution in Hungary, <sup>They thus</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~who~~ <sup>who</sup> ~~blindly~~ <sup>blindly</sup> ~~destroyed~~ <sup>destroyed</sup> ~~what~~ <sup>what</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~most~~ <sup>most</sup> ~~promising~~ <sup>promising</sup> ~~attempt~~ <sup>attempt</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~establish~~ <sup>establish</sup>

lish a true foundation of freedom and progress on the Danube. In Jaszi's words, written a year later, but <sup>surprisingly repeated</sup> deliberately upheld by him after two decades: 'We overrated the value of the phraseology used by the Allies and realized too late the enormous organizational power of international reaction! It was an act of force--and unwise force--~~in the path of the~~ Allies which compelled Karolyi to resign, and after the brief episode of the Communist experiment restored Counter-Revolution to power in Hungary.

After a quarter <sup>of a</sup> century events are ~~now~~ taking almost exactly the same course as they <sup>have</sup> ~~were~~ on the eve of the October Revolution. <sup>Indeed, he</sup> The resemblance is uncanny. Again Hungary's feudalist rulers have involved the country in war; again they did <sup>this</sup> in order to retain their sway over non-Magyar territories; again, <sup>they lost the war</sup> that war has been lost and the Magyar ruling class finds itself engulfed in the military defeat of <sup>them</sup> its reactionary ally; <sup>and</sup> again, the country itself finds itself in extreme danger, <sup>and</sup> without an organized public opinion and a democratic party system <sup>capable</sup> of meeting the crisis <sup>is</sup> ~~is still more~~ are the <sup>crucial</sup> ~~great~~ problems of political democracy, radical land reform and ~~of~~ Hungary's co-operation with her neighbours. And <sup>this time</sup> again ~~as then~~ power is slipping from the hands of those who have abused it, and may be <sup>pass</sup> ~~switched over~~ night into the hands of those who have warned in vain of this outcome.

Yet ~~at~~ the same time the situation is very different. ~~Some~~ ~~of the~~ forces <sup>the</sup> immaturity of which made the failure of Karolyi's first Republic inevitable, <sup>grants maturity</sup> ~~have found their maturation~~ since.

What The racial minorities of Hungary have founded their own states and have settled down to establish their own lives in the Danube Basin; today ~~is~~ ~~to them~~ a truly democratic and cooperative Hungary can ~~be~~ look for understanding.

The industrial workers <sup>have learnt a</sup> ~~are~~ terrible <sup>lesson.</sup> ~~lesson.~~ The

attempt to ignore the land problem in Hungary ~~was~~ <sup>led</sup> them into catastro-  
 phe. In 1918/9 the workers neglected the necessity for a  
 racial redistribution of the land, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> paid for this mistake ~~human~~  
 with the ~~easy~~ <sup>easy</sup> victory of the counter-revolution, which ~~found~~ <sup>found</sup> could  
 count on a peasantry indifferent to the cause of the workers. ~~Yet~~ <sup>Yet</sup> the  
 mistake was repeated in the two ~~decades~~ <sup>decades</sup> that elapsed between the two wars;  
 again the urban workers left the proletariat ~~at least~~ <sup>at least</sup> to their  
 fate. And again, the outcome was ~~the most staggering~~ <sup>of smashing</sup> defeat of the  
 working classes, which became the helpless victims of the ~~desperate~~  
 gamble staged by the ~~feudal~~ <sup>feudal</sup> proprietors of the country.  
 The same is true of that fraction of the intelligencia -- a stratum of  
 great importance in an agrar <sup>ian</sup> country struggling to make ~~its people~~ <sup>itself</sup>  
 vocal -- who were blinded by the values of urban culture to the basic  
 fact that the hidden reserves of a backward agricultural country can be  
 released only by giving vent to the pent up forces of a radical agrar-  
 rian reform. For the true role of the industrial working class and  
 the urban intelligentsia is to give a lead in this <sup>great</sup> process of rational  
 regeneration. We can confidently hope that this time the lesson has  
 been learnt.

*Last* not least, there is the emergence of a ~~slav~~ <sup>great</sup> power, ~~the Soviet-Union~~  
 strong enough to ensure peace in Eastern Europe and in no way compelled  
 by her own internal structure to obstruct the need for social regenera-  
 tion with her neighbours.

The revolutionary traditions of Hungary whose unforgotten martyrs  
 from Somogyi Bela to Sallai Imre, are *enshrined* in the  
 hearts of all Hungarian progressives, may still find their fulfilment  
 in the events of the near future.



*are pamphlets*  
poets can be prophets. 1948 had its Patöfi. 1918 could speak through  
an Ady. In counterrevolutionary Hungary the spirit of the nation was  
kept awake by the supreme genius of a Jozsef Attila. I am still  
Hungarian enough to ~~feel~~ <sup>feel</sup> proud at the mere mention of <sup>these</sup> ~~their~~ names.

In conclusion let us sort out the perspectives of history and  
fix their meanings:

To the sociologist of history the Hungary of 1944 is an extreme  
case of the interconnection of internal and external policy.

To the Hungarian it is a supreme challenge.  
Europe and the

To/ann world at large it may mean that at last a free people will  
live on the Danube.

.....

*Handwritten notes:*  
Dudor  
Soviet

*Handwritten notes:*  
Dudor  
Soviet

*Handwritten notes:*  
Dudor

*Handwritten notes:*  
Dudor

*Handwritten notes:*  
"WINGMAN" "WITNESS"  
WINGMAN  
WITNESS  
ORGANIZING  
FINANCIAL

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC HUNGARY MOVEMENT

24 CONNAUGHT SQUARE, LONDON, W. 2.

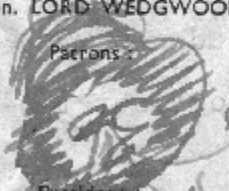
Honorary President :  
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A. J. P. TAYLOR,  
Fellow of Magdalen College.

President :  
COUNT MICHAEL KAROLYI.

Secretary :  
ANDREW HAVAS.



*Handwritten notes:*  
Cot. in the  
Keri  
Keri  
Keri  
Keri  
Keri

*Handwritten notes:*  
Keri  
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Keri

*Large handwritten notes, mostly illegible:*  
Mrs. Henry...  
Margaret...  
G. V. ...  
G. V. ...  
G. V. ...

«VALENTIN» "NARODNIKI"  
NARODNIKI  
ORGANISING  
FINNISH

SEABO  
BARTON  
Ungarische  
NARODNIKI

REINER  
LANG'S REAL-TAIST  
Sussman  
Baker  
Kerker  
Kerker  
Kerker

2. Dobos

TOWARDS A NEW OCTOBER REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY.

For the fourth time in the course of a century the fate of Hungary is being decided on the battle field.

In 1849, at Vilagos, the armies of the Tsar forced the capitulation of the Hungarian revolution; in 1866, at Sadowa-Königgratz, Bismarck's army defeated the Habsburg Empire and gave Hungary a chance to restore her lost freedom; in 1918, Foch's armies in the West and Franchet d'Esprey's before Salonika shattered the Central Powers and began the liquidation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In 1944, the battle is in the Carpathians, and again the fate of Hungary is in the balance.

Three names designate roughly the turning-points: Louis Kossuth's, Francis Deak's and Michael Karolyi's. Everytime the decision was part and parcel of even bigger events, so big that it belonged to European history. In 1848 Hungary was in the vanguard of the fight for constitutional freedom; in 1867, she became the cornerstone of the Dual Monarchy and initiated the German system in Central Europe. In 1918 Hungary for a brief period recovered the authentic voice of Kossuth. This episode, even shorter than that which made Kossuth world famous, was linked with the name of Michael Karolyi. Only a few months after his fall, counter-revolution was victorious and proved to be the starting point of European fascism which began its career in Hungary, led to the Hitler-Horthy alliance, to the stupefaction of some experts on Hungarian affairs abroad, in the most unexpected quarters.

In 1944, again, a decision is pending. What will it mean to Hungary? And what to Europe?

.....

Hungary's is a laboratory case of the interdependence of external and internal politics. The Magyar ruling class showed a remarkable awareness of this interdependence. The same close interdependence showed also in Hungary's revolutions. We may confidently expect that the new October Revolution will bring a radical change in

Hungary's internal and external condition.

The internal problem of the Magyar ruling class was twofold: social and national. It centered around the monopoly of land and of political power. Let us remember that Hungary was an agrarian arian country and a multinational one. The monopoly of land in such countries deprived the vast majority of the people of the preconditions of a sound and hale existence, while the monopoly of power in the hands of a ruling class belonging to one race meant the subjection of half of the population to foreign rule. Since the majority of the subjected people were of Slav extraction and the country bordered on Slav neighbours, the Magyar ruling class naturally directed its external policy towards an alliance with a Teutonic power, since only in this way could its social and national privileges be maintained.

In 1848, Kossuth's revolution failed because he undertook only half of the task of liberation: he freed the serfs but refused to give an equal freedom to the non-Magyar peoples of the country. Had the Magyar in brotherly alliance with the Slavs, that is with the Slovaks, Serbians, Ruthenians, Croats as well as with the Rumanians -- an anticipation of Tito's army -- faced the Hapsburgs in battle, maybe another Switzerland would have emerged out of the Hungarian war of independence, instead of the cemetery of liberty, where Tsarist generals acted as executioners of Magyar and non-Magyar freedom alike. For in the words of Pulasky's famous sally, the new absolutist constitution introduced by the Hapsburgs offered no recompense to the non-Magyars what it inflicted as a punishment on the Magyars.... Hungarian freedom was lost at Vilagos, because the Magyar ruling class refused to share freedom with the racial minorities of the country. Thus collapsed modern Hungary's first revolutionary attempt to assert her external independence.

Twenty years later the glittering defeat of the Hapsburg rulers on the field of Bohemia at the hand of Prussia, gave the Magyar ruling class a chance which they did not fail to take. At one blow they regained their ascendancy

dancy at home and started a foreign policy which bound Hungary not to Vienna but to Berlin, directly. Francis Deak and <sup>Count</sup> Julius Andrássy, Ser between them concluded the famous 'Compromise' with the dynasty which made the Habsburg Empire a Dual Monarchy that is half Austrian, half Hungarian. During the twenty years which separated Deak from Kossuth, Vienna threatened to submerge the Magyars in the non-Magyar population of Hungary. The Compromise meant the firm establishment of the rule of the German bourgeoisie in Austria and of the Magyar feudal class in Hungary over Czechs, Poles, Slovaks in Austria, over Slovaks, Roumanians, Serbs, Croats, and Ruthenians in Hungary, while at the same time the Magyar aristocracy became the bearer of the foreign policy of the Dual Monarchy. Foreign policy was made a 'joint concern' of the two countries with the peculiar result that it ceased to be an affair of Hungarian politics altogether, since the Magyar aristocracy succeeded in monopolizing foreign affairs to the point of eliminating it from the sphere of national discussion and removing it altogether from the consciousness of the nation.

The point bears some elaboration. Since the Hungarians are a politically minded people it seemed hardly credible that foreign affairs should have been left outside the scope of politics. Yet this was the case. Hungary and Austria appeared now as one state and only an Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, Austro-Hungarian embassies, consulates and an Austro-Hungarian foreign policy existed. This policy moreover seemed to be settled once and for all by the Alliance with Germany which was a long term military and political arrangement. Without any exaggeration it can be said that from the Congress of Berlin, 1878, to the Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in 1908, that is for forty years, no issue of foreign policy was as much as discussed in the Monarchy. In Hungary the institution of a Joint Army would have made the mere mention of a separate Hungarian foreign policy appear as rank treason, since it would have implied

subversion of the Army. The Compromise had so successfully linked up Hungary with Austria that the very concept of an independent Hungarian foreign policy had been eliminated from the minds.

Indeed, a military alliance with Berlin had become an indispensable requirement of the system existing in Hungary which aimed consciously and immediately at the keeping in subjection of the so-called racial minorities of the country. The Hungarian aristocracy and nobility refused to put in effect the laws of 1868 requiring equal treatment of all the 'nationalities' of the country, whether Magyar or non-Magyar. Gerrymandering prevented any representatives, except a ludicrously few, from getting into Parliament. At the same time it was essential to refuse political rights to the people as a whole, irrespective of nationality, since universal suffrage would have endangered not only the latifundia of the magnates, but also Magyar supremacy. Thus was national privilege used as a shield for social privilege. No wonder that the racial minorities were more and more looking over the border to their co-nations for support. The military power of the Monarchy backed by that of the German Reich could alone safeguard the security of a state which contained a very large and powerful Slav minority and was surrounded on a great part of its frontiers by Slav states such as Russia, Serbia, Bulgaria comprising besides Russians, Serbs and Bulgars also Poles, Ukrainians, Bosniaks, and so on, one of those states being the potentially biggest military power in Eastern Europe, Russia.

Baron Oetvoes and Francis Deak followed the policy not of the Kossuth of 1849 but of the Kossuth of the emigration who had learnt from past mistakes and had become an adherent of a Danubian Confederation based on a liberal policy towards Hungary's racial minorities. Oetvoes and Deak in 1867/8 laid down in their legislation on the protection of racial minorities a system so tolerant and enlightened that, if it had been only put into effect

would have fully safeguarded the cultural freedom and the administrative influence of the racial minorities, ~~as well as their linguistic and other rights~~. The 1868 Law Act ~~on racial minorities~~ continued to adorn the Statute book and to mislead the unsuspecting foreigner into a belief Hungarian freedom and national equality, while in practice ~~it is very~~ the mere invocation of ~~annam~~ <sup>this Law</sup> was deemed an act ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> disloyalty, ~~and bordering~~ <sup>bordering</sup> on treason against ~~the Hungarian state~~, the Magyar character of which had ~~by now~~ <sup>by now</sup> become axiomatic.

The effects of ~~as~~ <sup>practiced</sup> ~~constant~~ <sup>indoctrination</sup> were, in this respect as remarkable as in regard to foreign policy. Hungarian schools, at least some of them, were not bad. Yet a Hungarian boy who had passed through them, need not have ~~known~~ <sup>learnt</sup> that Hungary was not a Magyar country. This seems entirely incredible ~~until it is remembered~~ <sup>until it is remembered</sup> that at least one of the 'Two Nations' ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~unconscious~~ <sup>equally</sup> of the existence of the other (though not vice-versa). When I was a school boy, fifty years ago, we certainly did not as much as take note of the 50% of the population who were of non-Magyar race; ~~most~~ <sup>most</sup> of us indeed had not even heard of ~~this fact~~ <sup>their existence. Actually</sup>. In their ~~majority~~ <sup>majority</sup> they belonged to the underprivileged part of the population with which middle class Hungarian boys had not much contact anyhow. I remember distinctly having learnt at the age of 12 with ~~disgust~~ <sup>disgust</sup> ~~than~~ <sup>disgust</sup> how unpatriotic some of our fellow citizens were. ~~Not~~ <sup>What not</sup> even able to speak Hungarian? What did these fellows mean by living in our country, eating our bread and not even troubling to ~~learn~~ <sup>learn</sup> ~~the language~~ <sup>the language</sup> of the country? This was worse than ingratitude; ~~this~~ <sup>it</sup> revealed a stubborn and refractory character. You might think such an outlook worthy of Colonel Blimp, yet it was precisely such rabidly ~~Blimpian~~ <sup>Blimpian</sup> ideology that made us regard the mere assertion

- his name was Louis Mocsary- of the Kossuth party /who to his undoing uttered a speech in Parliament warning the country of the dangers and asking for the fulfilment of the liberal nationality law of 1868 was hounded from public life for this dastardly deed.

The Great War, 1914-1918, sprang directly from the <sup>tension between the</sup> ~~monarchical~~ Monarchy <sup>and its</sup> ~~and its~~ Serbian neighbour. Hungary was in permanent conflict with Croatia, formally autonomous and represented in the Hungarian Parliament by forty members, but actually ruled by a Viceroy, called Banus, imposed upon them by means of administrative coercion. <sup>The province of</sup> Bosnia, occupied in 1878, was Hungarian landlords profited from 'patriotic' embargoes on Serbian ~~goods~~ <sup>proper</sup> agitated by South Slav subversion; even the Serbian parts of Hungary - the Pacska and Vojvodina - showed signs of disaffection. Since the <sup>natural</sup> aim of South Slav irredenta was to join up with the neighbouring Serbia, which had the backing of Tsarist Russia, the policy of the Magyar oligarchy rested on massive military suppositions. The internal policy of Hungary was nourished by the Schimmernde Wehr speeches of the Berlin Lohengrin. Not only his speeches but also his acts. The refusal to allow Serbian pigs to cross the Hungarian border was accompanied by a distinctly Wagnerian flourish.

Ever since the annexation crisis of 1908 it had been clear that the Dual Monarchy was drifting towards a major military conflict. After all, what else what else was the meaning of the activist foreign policy of Aehrenthal than to vitalise the Dual Monarchy through ~~successful~~ <sup>successful</sup> exploits in the international field? This would evidently lead to a showdown with Russia. From the Austrian view-point such a policy might have <sup>even</sup> appeared reasonable for after all there is ~~no~~ <sup>no</sup> logic of the mortuary. Even though Austria ~~might~~ <sup>might</sup> be condemned to death, it was up to her to try to postpone the execution of the sentence, and, possibly to choose between the <sup>various</sup> methods of execution. But Hungary's was a very different case, one should think. Why should she be involved in Habsburg power-policies, which had ~~no~~ <sup>no</sup> rationale for their rationale the <sup>proof of the</sup> ~~right of survival~~ <sup>right of survival</sup> of the Habsburg Empire? Hungary, ~~was~~



then all is said, was a sovereign state ; this at least was the view of the  
 Lossuth Party . Why not try therefore to sway the policy of the Dual Monarchy  
 away from imperialism? And why bind herself to the war chariot of a Lohengrin  
 whose swan might any day turn into a snorting war-horse? And why above  
 all should Hungary follow such a policy for herself even though no other  
 might be left to Austria? Why not start out on an independent line of Hunga-  
 rian foreign policy , whatever Vienna, and Berlin, would think of it?

Karolyi saw the danger. In the Joint Austro-Hungarian legislative  
 session ~~in 1911~~ called ~~the~~ 'delegation' which met once a year to vote <sup>on</sup> /the  
 Joint Ministry of War ~~budget~~ appropriations, as well as on the budget of the  
 Foreign Office , Karolyi argued , in 1912, that the Dual Monarchy should take  
 the side of the small South Slav states ~~against~~ in the current war,  
 instead of lending its diplomatic support to ~~the~~ their Turkish enemy. Next  
 year when the two Slav countries went to war with one another , he sided  
 with Serbia <sup>against Bulgaria</sup> / thus expressing his conviction that the Monarchy should make  
 friends with its Slav neighbours. ~~His~~ The fatal year 1914 found Karolyi in  
 Paris where he succeeded in convincing some leading French statesmen,  
 amongst them Caillaux of the possibility that Hungary might strike out on  
 a foreign policy of her own and turn away from her German orientation alto-  
 gether. Promising negotiations for a loan were started-- the first <sup>French</sup> / loan to  
 have been given to ~~the~~ the Hungarian capital. Hungary  
 on the other hand, would cease to support the Vienna-Berlin <sup>axis</sup> and charge  
 to the Franco-Russian side. Simultaneously, Karolyi's visit to St. Petersburg  
 was being prepared by the Quai d'Orsay. It was this attempt of Karolyi  
 to avert World War I or ~~at least~~, if it cannot be avoided, at least bring  
 Hungary to the Slav side, which singled him out for a leading part in the  
 events of 1918 , and led us straight to the meaning of the October Revolution.  
 For by 1913 Karolyi had also joined in the agitation for universal suffrage  
 and thereby combined his new orientation in foreign affairs with the need

for a democratization of the country itself.

Hungary was also an agrarian country. <sup>as in England,</sup> Not 9% but almost 66% of her population were engaged in agriculture (1910). Under these conditions the preponderance of latifundia-- vast domains of thousands, tens of thousands indeed, in some cases, of ~~hundreds~~ hundreds of thousands of acres-- constituted the most deadly social disease. Apart from a continuous underemployment of the rural population it implies lack of habitations, of domestic facilities, ~~of healthy villages~~ of healthy villages, of a social life of any coherence and substance. The morbus latifundii destroys the social fabric -- or rather prevents its growth -- by preventing family and village life from taking roots. What peasant needs is land. The Hungarian latifundia whether managed by their owners or leased to large capitalistic tenants, are states in the state, an insuperable obstruction to the movement of the population, and, indeed one of the chief sources of depopulation. In present day Hungary, according to Professor Oscar Jaszi, 71% of agricultural holdings of less than seven acres, cover only 11% of the land, the average holding being 2.13 acres. Forty per cent of the agricultural population owns no landed property whatsoever. Adding to their number that of those in the category of small proprietors mentioned above who cannot make a living on their scraps of land but must eke out a starvation wage as casual workers on the large estates one reaches a figure of around 3,500,000 out of an agrarian population of about 4,500,000. It is to say almost 80 per cent of the total agrarian population is living on the outer fringe of proletarian existence. This situation has given rise to the slogan of the three million beggars of Hungary. It has been calculated that the maximum yearly income of a peasant family (including the equivalent of the farm produce received in natura) living in the wretched barracks provided by the landowner and working from three in the morning until nine at night, amounts to some 18 to 20 pounds a year. This means that for each member of a normal

family there is a daily budget of ~~shrapens~~. In the eight years ---  
 1905 and 1913 some 900,000 people emigrated from Hungary, two thirds of  
 whom remained permanently ~~abroad~~ overseas and were lost to the country.  
 These are portentous figures. The condition of the landless proletariat  
 and of the scarp holders is shameful beyond description. The social degrada-  
 tion of the farm hands puts them on a level with Mexican ~~pejens~~. Let  
 us ~~have~~ glance at the consequences:

A country the agricultural proletariat of which has sunk to such a  
 depth of degradation cannot hope to maintain its industrial working class  
~~innshannngna~~ on a decent standard, except, perhaps, in the short run, in one way:  
 by isolating the agrarian proletariat and establishing a kind of tacit  
 alliance between the industrial working class and the feudal system on the  
 basis of a compromise which would ensure some measure of freedom and  
 security to the urban workers on the understanding that they ~~annanhan~~  
 leave the rural worker to his fate. In such a country trade unionism of  
 course, never be an independent force, that is, independent of the  
 pleasure of the government which represents the big landowners.

Similar is the condition of political democracy. Take its chief  
 instrument, universal suffrage. Since the vote/would <sup>combined with the secret ballot</sup> unfailingly  
 mean the end of such an anti-social property system, the vote cannot be  
 granted to ~~ann~~, or it must be combined with ~~the~~ open voting so as to  
 ensure that the pressure of the ~~annshannnhan~~ <sup>landowning class</sup> remains effective

Finally, industrial capitalism cannot develop under these circumstances  
 since the conditions for the ~~annshannnhan~~ <sup>establishment</sup> of a domestic market are being  
 A definite limit is set here to the rise of the standard of life of the  
 masses of the landless and of the scarp holders, thus setting an equally  
 definite limit to ~~the~~ <sup>their purchasing power and the corresponding</sup> expansion of the internal market. This explains the  
 permanent weakness of capitalism and the crushing weight with which  
 feudalism bears down ~~on the masses~~ <sup>politically</sup>  
 upon its representatives. Under conditions such as these, -- take the

examples of Spain or Mexico- the capitalist class feels too weak to join issue with the big landowners, and resigns itself to a leonine part with ~~thunamungars~~ those who are stronger. The banks and the industries supported by them are thus married to the system of latifundia, and instead of fulfilling their historical task of fighting to rid the country of the rule of the aristocracy they prefer to strengthen that system until its pernicious effects threaten to straggle the country and only the popular forces called into action could rescue it from the grip of the alliance of feudalism and monopoly capitalism.

Here lay the roots of the October Revolution, with its close connection of internal and external politics. The ~~unresolvable~~ issue of a new Hungary was up for decision, in all its breadth and depth. Freedom for the racial minorities meant the democratization of the country and a complete change over from a German to a Slav orientation in foreign affairs--precisely the solution Karolyi had stood for at a time when Russia was still Tsarist.

It is ~~unhappily~~ the early realization of the need for a radical change in foreign policy which gave Karolyi the precedence over the other political leader of the October Revolution, with whose person ~~modern~~ Hungary is identified, Oscar Jaszi, now an American citizen. Jaszi's stress on radical land reform, on freedom and equality for racial minorities and popular democracy was otherwise ~~not~~ identical with Karolyi's. Thus it became their common privilege to ~~become~~ be the two ~~most~~ hated men most hated by the feudal classes of Hungary and their house-bankers, and to embody for a quarter of a century the hope of all those who continued to believe that the <sup>principles of the</sup> October Revolution of 1918 were destined to redeem the country.

October 1918. The Western front had crumbled away under the blows of Foch's united command, the Balkan front had been pierced by the Salonika armies, only the Italian front still stood thanks to the peculiar *capacities of numbers. Italian's to cover the Russians in the wrong direction*

The fulness of time was reached. Not Trianon and its specific injustices, ~~mmmm~~ but the blind class policies of a Stephen Tisza and his supporters had wrecked the Monarchy. On 3rd October Nicholas Horthy, Admiral of the fleet, had handed the fleet to the Great National Council. On 26th October the Czechoslovak Republic was proclaimed, on 28th the Yugoslav National Council was proclaimed; the Hungarian Revolution broke out in Budapest on the 31st of October -- a fortnight after the French government had recognised the Czechoslovak National Council a Provisional Government, de jure. The war had been an attempt to subdue inter-racial animosity by force; the Dual Monarchy broke down under the strain of a war fought to this end; the Peace Treaties merely ratified a state of affairs brought about by other factors. To argue that Trianon and the Paris Treaties broke up the Monarchy is ~~and~~ <sup>other</sup> ludicrous; the Monarchy had broken down more than 1 1/2 before. To accuse the October Revolution of having destroyed the military resistance of Hungary is equally phantastic; at the time of the October Revolution the army had dissolved and the Monarchy had ceased to exist.

On some day in the second half of October Count Tisza got up in the Hungarian Parliament and said 'Károlyi has been proven right. We have lost the War.' From that day onward everything was historically inevitable. It was supreme victory for the common sense and good nature of a whole people that the dissolution of the army as well as of all civil authority in the night of 30th October, coupled with the real release of ~~all~~ the passions engendered by the horrors of a long war <sup>that</sup> which had tortured the people beyond endurance, resulted in the perfectly peaceful manifestation of the Revolution of the Autumn Rose of 31st October 1918 which swept Károlyi and his staff irresistibly into power.

The discipline of the masses was the achievement of the Social Democratic party and the Trade Unions, the only organized force capable of supplying an administration for the decapitated country. The enthusiasm and moral fervour was partly the contribution of the students' movement, the so-called Galilei-Kör, which had raised a generation of young Hungarian intellectuals devoted to the idea of public service. But above all there were the leaders whose foresight and moral courage made it possible for a new democratic Hungary to crystallize around their persons almost instantaneously. The lone death of Count Tisza, the single victim of the bloodless revolution, killed by the bullets of unknown soldiers, cast <sup>only</sup> the shadow ~~announcing~~ over the scene.

But the course of the Revolution proved that history will not be cheated. Neither the ~~announced~~ internal nor the external forces upon which successful construction could rest, was yet ripe for the task, and the time was too short to allow them to mature.

In the retrospect it is obvious that the problem of Hungary could be solved only ~~within~~ in the framework of a new ~~international~~ states system, which was not yet given. To <sup>fall the</sup> ~~Jaszi~~ impossible task of solving <sup>after</sup> the lost war the problem of racial autonomy the rationale of which was that it might have prevented the war, <sup>and rendered that problem insoluble.</sup>

The Social Democratic party followed ~~the~~ in the wake of the tradition which regarded the peasantry as 'a single reactionary mass' in Marx's famous phrase, and the ~~latter~~ experience of the Russians who owed so much to Lenin's reinterpretation of that phrase was still to come.

The third and equally decisive factor was the utter inability of the victorious Allies to grasp the need for a democratic revolution in Hungary <sup>they have</sup> and who ~~blindly~~ destroyed ~~was~~ what was the most promising attempt to establish

publish a true foundation of freedom and progress on the Danube. In Jászai words, written a year later, but ~~deliberately un-appealed~~ <sup>un-appealed</sup> by him after two decades: 'We overrated the value of the phraseology used by the Allies and realized too late the enormous organizational power of international reaction. It was an act of force--and unwise force--on the part of Allies which compelled Karolyi to resign, and after the brief episode of a the Communist experiment resorted Counter-Revolution to power in Hungary.

After a quarter-century events are ~~ahhhhhhhhhhhhhhh~~ taking almost exactly the same course <sup>which had</sup> as they were on the eve of the October Revolution. The resemblance is uncanny. Again Hungary's feudalists rulers have involved the country in war; again they did it in order to retain their sway over non-Magyar territories; again that ~~war has been lost~~ <sup>they lost the war</sup> and the Magyar ~~class~~ <sup>themselves</sup> finds itself engulfed in the military defeat of ~~the~~ <sup>its</sup> reactionary ally; ~~and~~ <sup>as it</sup> again, the country ~~itself~~ <sup>is</sup> finds itself in extreme danger, and ~~without~~ <sup>capable</sup> an organized public opinion and a democratic party system ~~meeting~~ <sup>meeting</sup> the crisis. ~~Still~~ <sup>still</sup> ~~unresolved~~ <sup>are</sup> the ~~great~~ <sup>great</sup> problems of political democracy, radical land reform and of Hungary's co-operation with her neighbours. And again ~~as their~~ <sup>this time</sup> power is slipping from the hands of those who ~~have~~ <sup>have</sup> abused it, and may be ~~switched~~ <sup>switched</sup> over night into the hands of those who ~~have~~ <sup>have</sup> warned in vain of this outcome.

Yet ~~at~~ <sup>at</sup> the same time the situation is very different. ~~Some of the~~ <sup>Some of the</sup> forces ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> immaturity of which made the failure of Karolyi's first Republic inevitable, have found their ~~natural~~ <sup>natural</sup> stage.

What The racial minorities of Hungary have founded their own states and have settled down to establish their own lives in the Danube Basin; today ~~it is to them that~~ <sup>to them</sup> a truly democratic and cooperative Hungary can look for understanding.

The industrial workers <sup>have learned their lesson</sup> had had their own terrible experience. T

attempt to ignore the land problem in Hungary has led them into catastrophe. In 1918/9 the workers parties neglected the necessity for a radical redistribution of the land, and paid for this mistake with the easy victory of the counter-revolution which could count on a peasantry indifferent to the cause of the workers. This mistake was repeated in the two decades that elapsed between the two wars again the urban workers left the proletariat more or less to its fate. And again, the outcome was the most staggering defeat of the working classes which became the helpless victims of the desperate gamble staged by the feudal proprietors of the country. The same is true of that fraction of the intelligencia -- a stratum of great importance in an agrarian country struggling to make its people vocal -- who were blinded by the values of urban culture to the basic fact that the hidden reserves of a backward agricultural country can be released only by giving vent to the pent up forces of a radical agrarian reform. For the true role of the industrial working class and the urban intelligentsia is to give a lead in this process of national regeneration. We can confidently hope that this time the lesson has been learnt.

East not least, there is the emergence of a Slav great power, the Soviet- strong enough to ensure peace in Eastern Europe and in no way compelled by her own internal structure to obstruct the need for social regeneration with her neighbours.

The revolutionary traditions of Hungary whose unforgotten martyrs are enshrined from Somogyi Bela to Sallai Imre, are enshrined in the hearts of all Hungarian progressives, may still find their fulfilment in the events of the near future.



*It was sometimes*  
THE NEW DEMOCRATIC HUNGARY  
Post Office, 481 St. Peter's Street, London W.C.2  
an Adv. In counter-revolutionary Hungary the spirit of the nation was

kept awake by the supreme Genius of a Jozsef Attila. I am still  
feel

Hungarian enough to hang proud at the mere mention of their names.

In conclusion let us sort out the perspectives of history, and  
fix their meanings:

To the sociologist of history the Hungary of 1944 is an extreme  
case of the interconnection of internal and external policy.

To the Hungarian it is a supreme challenge .

To the world at large it may mean that at last a free people will  
live on the Danube.

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