

# THE WHITE TERROR IN HUNGARY

By Ernest Lorys, European Staff Correspondent THE FEDERATED PRESS.

VIENNA, May 31—(By Mail)—The downfall of proletarian dictatorship in Hungary, caused by the fact that the Red Troops had been defeated in open battle by the Rumanians whom counter revolution had called in to help, was followed, after a short democratic intermezzo, by the first period of White Terror. It lasted until the Rumanians evacuated Budapest on November 16th, 1919, and was characterized by the strange feature that the Rumanian troops were able to give the disarmed Hungarian workers some protection against the raging vengeance of the Bourgeoisie and especially of the Hungarian officers.

The second period of White Terror in Hungary is stamped by the personality of the Supreme Council's representative in Budapest, Sir George Clark, who, with unrivalled hypocrisy, played into the hands of the oppressing classes every constitutional and diplomatic advantage for enabling them to go on with the White Terror on a larger scale. This period lasts until the first meeting of the National Assembly and the election of Horthy as Governor on March 1, 1920, and differs from the previous period by a considerable increase, and above all, the systematization of White Terror. All political acts of this time, elections for the National Assembly, and the election of the governor by the National Assembly—may all be considered as functions of this Terror.

The third period lasts from March 1 until the signing of the treaty of Neuilly, expected shortly. This period is marked by serious attempts to deny and conceal the facts of the White Terror. Instead of decreasing, the terror shows a tendency to grow.

Yet the appeals of the tortured Hungarian workers have reached their comrades in western countries and the latter have, after all, been strong enough to extract from their respective governments the semblance of a protest against the terrible methods of Budapest. It was at the end of March that the Hungarian premier, Dr. Simonyi—Semadam, read to the National Assembly, a letter from the president of the Hungarian peace delegation, Count Albert Apponyi calls upon the country to reestablish legal conditions, warning it that the deeds of terror committed had changed the mood of Paris, not unfriendly towards Hungary in the beginning, to its reverse. He said the continuation of terror would but definitely estrange from Hungary those occupied territories for which the Hungarian peace delegation had demanded a plebiscite.

This letter, which seems to have been sent by wish of the Supreme Council, brought no results whatsoever. The White Terror went on as before, and even seemed to increase daily. Meanwhile the endeavors to throw sand in the foreign peoples' eyes were intensified. Impudent invitations followed for those workers' organizations who had tried to plead the cause of the victims with the present rulers of Hungary, to come and see that there was no such thing as a White Terror. These in-

itations were accepted—a fact which rather disconcerted the lords of Hungary. First came the delegates of the Socialist party of Italy, Alcide Della Seta and Arturo Vella, both of them members of the Italian parliament, who reached Hungary in the last week of April. Then there came, led by Colonel Wedgwood, member of parliament and leader in the Independent Labor Party, four delegates of the British Trade Unions: William Harris, Fred W. Jowett, G. H. Stuart Bunning, and Joseph B. Williams. They have just returned from Budapest. (To be continued)

The Toiler has received copies of "The Hungarian News", an information paper published by the Hungarian Socialist Information Bureau at Stockholm for the socialist press of the world.

Concerning conditions now extant in Hungary under the rule of the bourgeoisie after their victory over the communists, depicting the awfulness of the White Terror we reprint a few excerpts.

## TO THE WORKING CLASS OF ENGLAND.

COMRADES:—

You know how the Hungarian socialists are being treated by the White Guard government of the Hungarian bourgeoisie. During the last two months 127 legal murderers were executed,—other than numbers of socialists illegal and secretly killed.

Twelve thousand working men are interned, without sufficient food, cover, clothes, horribly treated, tortured, flogged, their eyes struck out.

In several cases prisoners have been maimed, hurled alive, and stabbed to death with bayonets.

In spite of those horrors an English bourgeois is vile enough to tell his superiors that there is no terror in Hungary. In these days corpses are fished up from the Danube every day. Hohler sends the "high-commissioner" a report which unmistakably proves that there exists a strong solidarity between the English bourgeoisie and that of Hungary.

The English delegation of workers which has already left will soon be able to ascertain if terror exists or not.

## GRIEVOUS DOCUMENTS.

Budapest, May 15th, 1920.

A Hungarian paper edited by social-democrats in Vienna publishes the following documents:

In November the police got a report that three socialists had been killed in the military prison. — At the barracks of Kelenfold two corpses were found which were killed by the officers and then hidden. — The paper also is in possession of a document which undoubtedly proves that the manufacturer, Menait, was buried alive by the Danube detachment. By some bands also six comrades—all of them honest and brave combatants—were murdered.

All those occurrences were reported to the police. However, without any result whatever. No inquiry was started, and Captain Pronay is still an officer of the national army and Horthy's best friend.

## 120 COMMUNISTS PROSECUTED.

Budapest, May 14th, 1920.

The ferociousness of the Hungarian executioners does not diminish. On 12th inst. a communist process was opened against some comrades charged with complicity in the execution of some counter-revolutionaries at Szolnok. More than 120 persons were prosecuted, and possibly the scandalous Hungarian "justice" now will sentence several of them to death.

## A POWERFUL PROTEST AGAINST THE WHITE TERROR IN HUNGARY

Budapest, May 15th, 1920.

The social-democratic post official, Oskar Leval is in Budapest charged with murder.

Leval belonged previously to the Red Army, and then he had to bring into execution all death warrants against soldiers of his detachment. Because of those "crimes" he is now treated as a murderer. It is proved that he acted on compulsion, but this fact is not at all mentioned by the prosecutor at court.

The post officials of Germany, Italy, France, and Belgium have by wire informed the Hungarian government that the telegraphic and telephone communications with Hungary will be broken, in case Leval will be executed.

## THE TREATING OF THE HUNGARIAN CHILDREN.

Budapest, May 16th, 1920.

Eighteen persons in Budapest were recently dragged out of their homes, and then quite disappeared.

A paper states that nearly all proletarian children in Hungary are shut out from the charity institutions and even from the places for feeding arranged by the foreign missions. The Hungarian workers' society for the protection of children, which had nothing to do with politics at all, was dissolved without any reason being given.

## EXECUTIONS WILL BE DONE IN THE COUNTRY.

Budapest, May 16th, 1920.

The police court of Budapest got a secret order from the government in which it is charged to bring some of the communists now imprisoned — those who surely are to be sentenced to death—into the country, so that the execution may not be easily known among the public.

## THE LEARNED ARE PERSECUTED.

Budapest, May 16th, 1920.

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences has at its last meeting expelled the following members, well known in all Europe:

Oscar Asboth (Slavic philology), Bernhard Alexander (philosophy aesthetics), Emanuel Beke (mathematics), Ladislaus Eber (art history), and Adolph Lendl (zoology), because they did not leave their posts when communists were in power. Further, the faculty of philosophy at the university of Budapest refused the former popular deputies Joseph Poguy, George Lukacs the former section leader of the educational commissariat, Bela Forgarasi their doctor's degree, although Hungarian Law does not authorize denial of doctor's certificates as a punishment for common crimes.

## Robins Unveils Free Speech

(Continued from page 1.)

Basis of Free Government.

Robins said three fundamental principles underlie free government—Americanism, as he persisted in calling it. He named them as: Religious freedom, political freedom and the right of private property and economic freedom in industry. The audience appeared to believe that the rose would smell just as sweet under another name as "Americanism". Perhaps that was because they were mostly Internationalists. Just what he meant by economic freedom was rather cloudy but in answer to a question, he stated that "some American workers receive less than they produce and some receive more, but if a majority believe they are not getting justice and refuse to change the system, they have only themselves to blame."

Robins favors the exploitation of the workers as long as the workers don't object. But if they do object we would their objections to take a perfectly legal course, not at variance to the rules of the capitalist political game.

Robins favors the ballot and its freely permitted use as the proper method to institute all changes in government. He is violently against the use of force, but when the point was raised by a questioner as to what means should be taken when legal means were overruled by governmental use of violence, he admitted that under such conditions, the use of force is necessary.

That Robins' audience was composed largely of socialists and communists was evident the minute questions were allowed. Here are some of the questions and answers.

How should the war debt be paid? By the profiteers.

Would you release Eugene V. Debs if you had the power? Yes, Debs was guilty according to the law but for political expediency I would not have sent him to prison. He is more powerful for wrong in jail than out. That the audience frankly disagreed with Robins' statement, that Debs was guilty was evident by the applause that greeted his name.

What do you think of the action of the New York Legislature in ousting the five socialists? It was the most un-American action in the political history of the country.

Why should not the American workers do what the Russians have done to reestablish free speech in this country? The conditions are different. The will of the majority has not been thrust aside like it was in Russia. This answer brought forth a round of protests. How about our two socialist councilmen? How about our socialist school director? The audience shouted, referring to the action of the local Chamber of Commerce in directing the ousting of socialist officials in Cleveland during the war. How about Albany and Berger, they answered back.

Do you think our soldiers should have been sent into Siberia and do you favor the blockade of medicines and hospital supplies from America? I was always against the sending of American troops into Siberia. It was an act in violation of our historic American policy. I favor the sending of medicines to Russia.

## A Butting of Heads Against Stone.

To one who has read "Raymond Robins' own Story" of the Russian Revolution, listening to his speech is like reading for the second time the concluding chapter of that cleverly written and intensely interesting book. Robins is one among the army of intellectual liberals who has enlisted in the futile effort to turn back the tide of financial and industrial evolution. His philosophy is one in which the underlying economic forces which rule human society do not exist. He is battling for that which has forever vanished from the face of a capitalistically ruled world. He is seeking a renaissance of an age that is past, utterly unknowing of the principles of economic evolution. Robins does not know that the principles of "Americanism" have been cast aside by the ruling class, not because it is "wicked" and soulless, but because the raging class struggle which has developed with the intensification of the industrial processes, necessitates the extinguishing of popular liberties if the present ruling class is to survive.

It is no more coincidence that liberals such as Robins are, allowed the freedom which would be denied any class which really threatened the power of the ruling class. Their pitiful pleas for the return of a dead age may well be listened to and tolerated by the ruling class. The Gargys, the Morgans, the Guggenheims know that the social cesses of industry and the capitalist system will not be turned backward—and a little which might be hard to land upon a little platform.

No, we take it that Misses Free Speech and Free Assembly will not be allowed in company of the rude proletarians and communists on Cleveland's Public Square—unhappened by the City Club by permission of the Chamber of Commerce.

Hie ye, fair Damsels, to your Nursery behind the portals of the Chamber of Commerce! But if you are coming out on parade each Saturday noon as the City Club promises, we shall be present and shall see if there dwells not a sly twinkle in the corners of your eyes.

We suggest that our readers may learn a great deal about Russia from Robins' book which can be had for \$1.50 by addressing The Toiler.

Alien THE EDITOR.

## SOVIET HOMES APPEAL

(Continued from page 2.)

again his food is provided by the state. After school hours he goes to one of the neighborhood children's clubs, where he has games, books, and school books and is watched over until his mother has finished her work and is ready to have him at home.

When he has attained the age of 16 he either enters the university on state pay or becomes a worker in the industrial life of the community.

## British Labor Demands Self-determination for Ireland

SCARBOROUGH, England— Full self-determination for Egypt and India and a just settlement of the Irish question were demanded June 25 by the British Labor party conference in session here. The Irish plank called for the establishment of a constituent assembly to determine the form of government to be adopted by Ireland, without any condition or limitation imposed by Great Britain, and the complete withdrawal of the army of occupation.

At the sessions thus far held, there unanimously passed resolutions calling for revision of the peace treaties, for recognition of the soviet government of Russia, abstention from direct or indirect attacks upon Russia, full freedom of trade with her. The abolition of secret treaties and control of food and raw materials by an international body were demanded.

The conference decided to send a joint deputation composed of members of the Labor party executive committee and the parliamentary committee of the Trades Union Congress to call upon Premier Lloyd George and insist upon the necessity of immediate peace with Russia and the lifting of the blockade. The committee was also instructed to lay before him the report of the Labor party delegates who have been investigating the White Terror in Hungary.

The British Socialist party delegation urged the calling of a national conference for the purpose of organizing a general strike; and Robert Smillie, who received a tremendous ovation, swept the whole meeting by his declaration that something more than a deputation to the Premier would be necessary to carry out the demands of the conference. Should the deputation be rebuffed, he said, a special conference should at once consider plans for a nationwide withdrawal of labor.

## RED ARMY RELEASES MINERS.

MOSCOW—(via Helsingfors)— The Labor Council has decided to mobilize all miners between the ages of 18 and 50. All miners will be released from the army and transferred to the mines. The Soviet government has recognized the newly formed republic of Eastern Caucasus and its provisional government. Diplomatic and commercial relations are soon to be opened.

The "work week" in Belshov resulted in a triumph. During the week 22 river boats were repaired. The metal workers have voluntarily prolonged their working day to ten hours.

## FIND TAYLOR "GUILTY"

SAN FRANCISCO—John C. Taylor, fourth Communist to be tried in Oakland, has been found guilty. After eight hours deliberation, the jury finally agreed that he advocated force and violence. This, in spite of the fact that Secretary of Labor Wilson has ruled that the platform of the Communist Labor Party does not advocate force and violence, and that membership in that organization is not sufficient cause to deport an alien. Taylor was sentenced Monday, June 21 and will appeal.

Eleven "Criminal Syndicalists" are serving sentence in San Quentin, two are out on bail and one is awaiting the transfer. Of these, not one has actually committed any act of violence. John Craig of Sacramento was sentenced to five years after pleading guilty. J. E. Dolson's retrial has been postponed to some time in September. J. E. Snyder was to come up July 1 in Oakland.

All the deportation cases have been dismissed, due to the efforts of Frederick Dubovsky, attorney.

## PALMER'S CASES STILL FALLING

NEW YORK—Many of the raised 100% perfect cases of the Department of Justice are dwindling to zero. The Department of Labor has notified Harry Weinberger, Max Gendlin, David Orlick, Lona Chenovsky, Johnio Lapidus, that their warrants of arrest have been cancelled and their bonds released. Many of these had originally been arrested without warrants, and warrants obtained later; some had been beaten up in the raids.

In the case of Voto Mariani, long held on the state charge of criminal anarchy, arrangements have been made whereby he was discharged without bail on that charge, and ordered deported to Italy as an anarchist. This is just what Mariani desired. He will be deported shortly.

Carl Voss and Emile Foltman who had long asked to be deported to Germany, and who had been kept a long time in jail, have finally been deported to Germany while Thomas Martinez who fought deportation to Mexico on the ground that his life would be in danger, has been released on bail.

## Old King Canute

— By Anise. —

Old King Canute  
Lived ages ago  
He had so many courtiers  
Who praised him so much  
That he thought at last  
He could do  
ANYTHING!  
So he set up his throne  
On the shore of the sea  
When the tide was low  
And said: "Go BACK, sea!"  
"For I am KING!"  
Then the tide turned  
And the little waves  
Were coming NEARER,  
But old King Canute  
Kept waving his scepter  
Over them,  
Saying, "I command you, waves,  
NOT TO ADVANCE!"  
Then one little wave first  
Sneaked up one side,  
And another little wave  
Sneaked up on the other,  
Paying no attention to the words  
Of the King,  
For they were drawn  
By a POWER  
Greater than Old King Canute!  
High and invisible  
The call of the MOON  
Kept pulling them up the sand,  
And before very long  
The king had to run  
For his LIFE  
And it isn't on record  
Whether his throne was saved,  
Or engulfed in the flood.  
It all depended, I guess,  
On whether he MOVED  
In TIME!  
II.  
Somehow or other  
I can't help thinking  
Of old King Canute,  
When I see our rulers  
Waving the bills and injunctions  
Over the railroads,  
Saying complacently:  
"Go back STRIKES!"  
Don't any of you workers  
DARE TO ADVANCE!  
For WE are government!"  
And first one little strike  
Sneaks up on one side  
And another little strike  
Comes on the other side,  
But still the senate waves  
Its mighty scepter  
Over the strikers,  
Saying: "Go back! Go back!"  
But THEY are drawn by a power  
Higher than government,  
Planted ages ago  
In the spirit of MAN  
And it isn't on record yet  
If even the mighty throne  
Of CONGRESS  
Is to be saved  
Or engulfed in the flood,  
It all depends, I guess,  
On whether they MOVE  
In TIME!

## Entente's Support Strengthens Russia

(Continued from page 1-st.)

of the old land proprietors. I assure you that at the present time the peasants not only accept us, but they love us, and that is a source of great power. They feel that they amount to something in our state. For instance, our president, Kalenine is a peasant of the Province of Twerska, who continues to own his own piece of land and returns to it frequently. It is the peasants who now enable us to resist Poland, and who will enable us to resist Poland as long as necessary.

## Bourgeois Rally to New Regime.

That brings to me the third great service that the Entente has rendered us. It is bringing to our aid a great part of the former Bourgeois and Intellectuals. In permitting Poland to start against us an entirely useless war, the Entente persuaded a great number of our former adversaries to rally to us. This factory manager, this General, that engineer, began to see that we were actually the only force in Russia able to resist the foreign assailants. If Poland fights long enough you will see every one in Russia united with us."

"But how about your reverses on the Ukrainian front?" Krassin was asked.  
"Fine business," he answered. "Who ever saw Russian ready at a given moment? We always begin by getting beaten. Then, as soon as we have learned our lesson, we come back in marvelous style. Poland has not been sincere with us. We have proposed peace on several occasions. Her Nationalist Government pretended it wished to negotiate, but all the while was preparing the offensive ordained by the Entente."

"But the Poles maintain it is the Russians who lack sincerity," the interviewer remarked.  
"That is untrue," affirmed Krassin. "What do you think we ask of Poland? We are delighted at her independence, for which the Polish people fought so long and so heroically. Even if we are fighting her we do not wish at all to destroy Poland. However, Poland under one pretext or another wishes to continue the war. At present it is a question of the Ukraine. However, from December of last year up to March of this year we were proposing peace to Poland, and we would have accepted a proposition for the withdrawal of both armies from the Ukraine and for a plebiscite."  
"Then there was the story of Boris, which shows in tangible manner the bad faith of the Polish Govern-

ment. It demanded that the peace parliaments take place at Boris. It did not wish any armistice except at the spot where peace was to be discussed. Boris was the most vulnerable spot on the Polish front and at this time the Poles were preparing their offensive against Kiev. We proposed all sorts of places for meeting, but they refused. They would go only to Boris. We refused.

"Above all we continue to wish for peace, for continuation of war hinders our economic recovery. We can with our present resources keep up the war for years without being beaten, but that will increase the burden of privations which we have so long borne. That is all the Entente accomplishes in throwing the Poles against us. For that country were it not for the aid of the manufacturers of munitions and arms would not think of fighting us on its own resources. But despite our privations the Entente obtains a result which is only negative—it reconciles with us a great part of our former adversaries in Russia."

"On the other hand the people of other nations, and especially France, deceive themselves in believing that we wish to carry on propaganda in other countries. There are men among us who believed that Soviet Russia could endure only through a world revolution. The events of the last few years have clearly proved that the Soviet regime can endure in the midst of a world of capitalist Governments. We now accept this state of things and our engagements with foreign states are sacred."

## The Black Sheep

(Continued from page 2.)

I for one am going to Colorado this summer and learn the truth about all this, if I have to go barefoot, ha, ha."

The rest of the letter dealt with personal matter relating to her school work, and other common places which need not be recorded here.

When he returned to the cabin Collins wrote the following note.  
"My Dear Miss Anderson:—

I am glad to notice that you have entered into a correspondence with my friend, Jack Thurston. I feel that your words have inspired him to greater and nobler efforts in behalf of humanity.

The boy has a wonderful mind, and will grow up to be a power in the world, especially if he has some one to spur him on. Already they have brought a wonderful effect. He has dedicated himself to the cause of human good. Greatfully and sincerely,  
E. C.

That afternoon it was decided that the time for getting busy was at hand and accordingly they began preparations for the storing of their accumulated effects and incidentally to quarrel about the best places to look for the necessary job.