

up bad blood for the sake of settling grievances which a higher court than that of Paris must needs solve by arbitration.

We must read the lessons of the war from a broader standpoint than that of

Everyman

a partisan. We must study the war in the light of history as well as in the light of the present, and not only study war, but study peace as well, which can never be lasting if built on the shifting sands of injustice.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE BOLSHEVIST RÉGIME AT BUDAPEST

A BUDAPEST journalist, who participated in the Soviet Government as a member of the Communist party, sends to Vorwärts the following communication:

During Karoly's régime Paul Keri, an intimate friend of the easily influenced premier, resided in Switzerland and flooded his country from that point with predictions of the coming world revolution. These reports, together with the increasing pressure of the Entente, turned Karoly's sympathy more and more toward Soviet Russia. The Social-Democratic party was quite unaware of this change. It might have seized the reins of government as early as February, and ought to have done so in view of the constantly recurring cabinet crises and the growing agitation against the government. But the Social-Democrats did not wish to take over the administration, because they feared that they would only disappoint the people in view of the critical situation the country was facing, and thus disparage the Socialist movement itself.

Suddenly the whole nation was shocked by the ultimatum of the Entente, presented by Colonel Vix, demanding the evacuation of extensive territories inhabited solely by

Hungarians. To comply with this demand would cut off Budapest from essential sources of food supply. A few weeks previously the Bolshevik leaders had been imprisoned. This had increased the sympathy for them among the working people, who were suffering fearfully from unemployment and under-nourishment. The relief granted the unemployed by the government was 15 crowns a day, which hardly sufficed to buy a single meal. As a popular appeal the Communists demanded that the government pay discharged soldiers and war invalids in a lump sum 5400 crowns, equal to unemployment benefits for an entire year. This measure would have put a burden of about 40,000,000,000 crowns upon the Treasury. However, such trifles did not trouble the Communists. On the one hand Minister Piedl was roughly handled at his office by a mob advocating these demands, while on the other, capitalists were resisting bitterly a direct levy upon property — the only measure that would restore public solvency.

The ultimatum of the Entente was followed by an outburst of Chauvinism. The Social-Democratic party faced the choice of either establishing a party dictatorship in opposition to

many of the working people, or of coöperating with the Communists. The metal workers threatened to withdraw from the party if a dictatorship were not proclaimed. This is the reason the Socialists united with the Radicals.

The Entente made no further demands. Three weeks later General Smuts arrived in Budapest and negotiated with Bela Kun. At first the situation seemed hopeful, since both patriotic sentiment and proletarian interests were united in opposing the surrender of purely Hungarian territory to foreign imperialists.

Bela Kun, who is now about forty years old, was originally a bourgeois journalist, but he has always been a Socialist at heart. He had served as a party secretary for the Social-Democrats, and as director of a hospital fund. During the war he was captured by the Russians, and after the Bolshevik victory in that country he organized the first Hungarian Red Guard, which fought the counter-revolutionary Czecho-Slovaks. Among the war prisoners who were Kun's companions in Russia were Tibor Samuely, Bela Szanto, and Karl Bantus, all of whom later became members of the Communist government. Subsequently, during his sojourn in Russia, Bela Kun directed a school for Hungarian agitators in Moscow, and organized the Hungarian Communist party there. After the armistice Lenin sent him to Hungary. He brought several million rubles with him. A Russian Bolshevik intelligence committee was stationed in Budapest and Vienna under the guise of a Red Cross delegation. The members were later arrested and handed over to the Entente. They are still interned in the vicinity of Salonica.

Before long nearly everybody in Hungary was disgusted with the

Soviet administration, and if Budapest had not been attacked by counter-revolutionary warships on the Danube, the government would have fallen from its own unpopularity and the moderate Social-Democrats would have assumed control. In fact the Bolshevik dictators faced an impossible situation. The nation expected a miracle from them, and they were helpless. Factories had no raw materials or coal, but they had to continue paying wages. The only establishment that remained in full operation was the munition works at Esepel. Illicit trading was more general than ever; for legitimate merchants had been put out of business by the socialization of shops, and agencies to take their place had not been created. A new class of capitalists arose, composed of shady speculators of every kind, and of Soviet officials from the frontier. The latter did a tremendous business. A new bureaucracy was created, consisting largely of ignorant loafers from the proletariat and the lower bourgeoisie, much more corrupt and incompetent than the old one. All these things compromised Socialism itself. Increasingly radical measures were adopted, and at last a true dictatorship was established. This resulted in constant conflicts between the Soviet government and the mass of the working people, who had been trained in Social-Democratic doctrines.

So far as the factories worked at all, they were managed by their former superintendents. Shop committees were authorized merely to approve measures but not to initiate them. The efficiency of the workers continued to decline in spite of all the exhortations addressed to them. Finally, it was necessary to introduce piece-work, and the adoption of the Taylor system was seriously considered. Large landed

estates were turned over to associations of peasants, but innumerable and conflicting orders regarding division of land soon made Communism unpopular with the country people. The latter were still further prejudiced against the government by the currency system. The old Austro-Hungarian bank notes could no longer be issued, and the new notes were printed on one side only. The conservative peasantry refused to accept this 'white money.'

For a time every business house in Budapest was closed. Members of the middle class were permitted to draw not exceeding two thousand crowns a month from their bank deposits. Those who had no ready money were appointed public agents to manage their former businesses. Those who had had no previous business must look out for themselves as best they could. All the newspapers, with two exceptions, were permitted to continue publication, but under

strict Communist censorship. Curiously enough the bourgeois papers printed more brilliant editorials in favor of Communism than the former labor press. Nevertheless, some bourgeois journalists found a way to evade the censorship and publish their real opinions. This at last resulted in orders being issued daily by the authorities, prescribing what should appear on the editorial page. There were no advertisements.

The accounts circulated abroad of the reign of terror in Budapest were greatly exaggerated. It was not unusual to meet in the cafés men who had been sentenced to long periods of imprisonment only a few days before. The reign of terror instituted by Samuely was limited to executing people who were captured with arms in their hands at places where members of the Red Guard had been assassinated. The people thus executed were not so numerous as the Red Guards who had been killed.

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THE WIND

BY FREDEGOND SHOVE

THE wind is sweeping up the clouds
 From the pavements of the sky;
 The wind is sweeping up the leaves,
 Clean and pure the pathways lie.
 The wind is new — is always new —
 And a new broom sweeps clean.
 O that the wind might sweep my soul
 Where so much dust has been!