

International Relations Section

Oskar Jaszi and Other "Traitors"

By EMIL LENGYEL

IT may not be known in America that among the reactionary countries of Europe Hungary furnishes the greatest number of political émigrés. Tens of thousands of professionals as well as laborers fled to the neighboring countries rather than submit to the autocracy of Admiral Horthy and Captain Gömbös. To give an idea of the number and the intellectual qualities of the émigrés it should be mentioned that in Vienna alone they have eight papers of their own, two of which are dailies. Another characteristic fact of the emigration is that the number of books printed in the Hungarian language, treating political subjects, published in Vienna, exceeds by far the number of books of the same kind published in the capital of Hungary. A glance at the names of the émigrés suffices to show that the list includes some of the representative men of science and letters, who are not unknown beyond the boundaries of their country. Foremost among them ranks Dr. Oskar Jaszi, professor at the Budapest University, Hungary's most prominent sociologist, who is at present on a tour of lecture and study in the United States. Hungary's greatest philosopher, Professor Bernhard Alexander, lives in exile, too, as well as Professor Tibor Peterfy, internationally known authority in anatomy; Louis Biro, author of the "Tzarina," Alexander Brody, author of "Liza Timar," and Baron Hatvany-Deutsch, one of Hungary's foremost journalists. Among the prominent politicians are Count Michael Karolyi, former president of the Hungarian republic, Erno Garami, former leader of the right wing of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, Martin Lovaszi, member of several cabinets, and the Right Rev. John Hock, popularly known as "father of Hungary's bloodless revolution."

As the press is muzzled in Hungary the papers of the émigrés undertook the task of supplying reliable news about the terroristic acts of the reactionaries to that part of the Hungarian public which they could reach. As the circulation of their papers is prohibited in Hungary proper they have to be smuggled into it. But their chief circulation is among those Hungarians who are living in the territories ceded by Hungary to the Succession States.

After a successful war of extermination upon the domestic liberal and democratic papers the Hungarian authorities tackled the much harder task of silencing those Hungarian papers that are published outside of the territory subject to Hungarian jurisdiction. In order to discredit these papers in the eyes of their readers it was found convenient to proceed along traditional lines and to indict for "high treason" those Hungarian émigrés who have been contributing articles about the white terror to the Hungarian papers published abroad.

This indictment was recently drawn up by Dr. G. Strache, "royal Hungarian chief prosecuting attorney," and was returned by the "judge of investigation," as is prescribed by the Hungarian laws. The indictment includes among others the name of Count Michael Karolyi (whose estates,

it will be remembered, have already been confiscated on another charge of "high treason"), Professor Oskar Jaszi, Father John Hock, Baron Hatvany-Deutsch, Erno Garami, Martin Lovaszi, and covers articles printed for the most part in the leading paper of the Hungarian émigrés, the Vienna *Hungarian Gazette*, edited by Professor Jaszi.

This most recent attack of the Horthy-Gömbös system on liberal thought is an eloquent example of present-day Hungarian methods and deserves special notice on account of the diplomatic complications to which it gave rise. It may be seen from the following extract from the indictment that it refers to the states adjoining Hungary as the "enemy" states, a designation which is very often found in the vocabulary of Hungary's self-appointed rulers, side by side with "high treason" and "traitor."

After speaking of the "calumnies" of which Hungary was the innocent victim during pre-war times the indictment continues:

We [the Hungarians] did not care much that the newspapers of the world devoted considerable space to complaints that a "minority," by which they meant the Hungarian race, oppressed cruelly the "national majorities" and that it was only the Hungarian reign of terror that prevented the falling to pieces of that artificial contraption called Hungary. Thus it came about that the Allies impudently adopted as one plank of their peace platform the dismemberment of Hungary which was actually effected through the Treaty of the Trianon. It can be determined, however, that up to the reply given by the Allies to the note of President Wilson of December 19, 1916, the dismemberment of Hungary had never been mentioned by them. The propaganda along these lines was and is being engineered mostly by the Czechs. The representatives of the Vienna Hungarian press are the mercenaries of this service of propaganda which menaces the very existence of Europe and, more particularly, that of Hungary.

As the Hungarian émigrés have not sufficient means to operate their presses they are dependent upon the material assistance of the enemies of Hungary. Therefore it is their aim to convince the enemies of the Hungarian state that they are the only depositaries of that political thought which, if permitted to be translated into action, would enable the "victors of the Trianon" to enjoy the possession of their loot. The émigrés proclaim that if they were in power the Succession States would have no reason to be afraid of any complications arising from territorial questions, because they are not extreme "jingoists" but protagonists of the idea of reconciliation, conceived in the spirit of international democracy. Consequently, the basis of the political existence of the Vienna fugitives is their hatred against Hungary. Their interests are identical with those of the enemies of Hungary.

The aims of the Vienna Hungarian press can be summed up as follows:

It makes every effort to represent Hungary as a country constantly engaged in military preparations and conspiracies against the neighboring states. Furthermore, it represents Hungary as a country where life is insecure, a country the very existence of which is a danger to European civilization, so that, as a logical conclusion of these premises, international intervention would be an inevitable necessity. With their malevolent accounts about the white terror, the persecution of the laborers, and the attempts to restore the Hapsburgs to the Hungarian throne, they wish to provoke the disdain of the world toward Hungary, thus depriving her of the possibility of being the beneficiary of the moral support of the foreign nations.

The newspaper articles signed by the defendants prove beyond controversy that the intention of their writers was to injure the credit and good name of Hungary abroad. That the articles were written with a view to induce foreign countries or organizations to commit hostile acts against the Hungarian nation is proved by those proclamations, addressed to foreign countries and organizations, which were published in the newspapers of the émigrés. The general tenor of these papers furnishes another evidence that they are in the service of that hostile propaganda whose aim it is to have the independence of Hungary crushed, its national existence annihilated, and to find some pretext of an armed intervention in Hungary.

On the basis of the foregoing the criminal intention of the defendants can be proved. The indictment is, therefore, justified. When considering the criminal responsibility of the defendants the provisions of the press law could not be applied, inasmuch as the validity of this law is restricted to press matters published on the territory of the Hungarian state.

The indignation of public opinion and the foreign offices of the states adjoining Hungary which were referred to as "enemy" states carrying on a "hostile" propaganda against Hungary compelled the Hungarian minister of justice to declare that he did not "identify himself with some parts of the explanation of the indictment" drawn up, by the way, by one of his subordinates, the chief prosecuting attorney. Despite this statement the wording of the indictment has not been changed so that its monstrous absurdities will form the basis of the criminal prosecution of the liberal émigrés.

As it seems unlikely that the persons indicted, who are living abroad, will present themselves at their trial, provision has been made to convict them in their absence.

How criminal processes of this type are handled in Hungary was recently illustrated by a trial which was held before the Hungarian Royal Tribunal at Budapest in the case of two "fugitives from justice," Father John Hock and Martin Lovaszi, in connection with a "criminal offense" similar to those mentioned in the indictment. Both of them contributed to the Chicago Hungarian weekly *Magyar Tribuna* articles about the white terror which, in the opinion of the prosecuting attorney, "were calculated to induce a foreign country to an armed intervention against Hungary." Translated into everyday language this means that the articles of Father Hock and Martin Lovaszi, published in a Chicago Hungarian weekly paper, had the purpose of inducing the Government of the United States to declare war on Hungary on account of the white terror prevailing there. The court, which apparently shared the opinion of the public prosecutor regarding America's belligerent intentions, convicted both defendants *in contumaciam*. The proceedings did not take more than an hour because the presiding judge declined to admit evidence on the part of the lawyers for the defendants proving the correctness of the statements of their clients concerning the excesses of the present regime. The refusal of the court was explained by the laconic pronouncement that "the assertions of the defendants are generally known to be untrue."

What happens when a "traitorous" journalist presents himself at his trial is shown by the outrageous sentence which sent Zoltan Szasz, one of Hungary's most respected journalists, to prison for four years. Zoltan Szasz, who is the author of several popular books, sprang into political prominence during the Hungarian bolshevist regime when, in a public speech, he very courageously attacked the terroristic methods of Bela Kun. Utterly dissatisfied with the equally terroristic methods of Messrs. Horthy and

Gömbös he contributed a number of critical articles to one of the papers of the Vienna émigrés, the *Jovo*. After having been indicted for the articles, he returned from Vienna to Budapest and presented himself at the trial of his case. He was found guilty and sentenced in the first quarter of 1922 to two years in prison. He appealed to the higher court, which, setting aside the verdict of the lower court, sentenced him to four years in prison. He, too, was charged with having written articles which "might have provoked some foreign country to an armed intervention in Hungary."

This sentence, pronounced in September last, raised a storm of protest on the part of newspapers and journalistic organizations in many European countries. Scores of telegrams have been dispatched to Count Bethlen, Prime Minister of Hungary, asking him to extend amnesty to Szasz. In each case, however, the stereotype answer of the Premier has been that he cannot interfere with the verdict of the "independent" Hungarian bench. Learning from this lesson the Hungarian émigrés will keep out of the way of what is called in the succession states, "Horthy justice."

The End of Passive Resistance

THE text of the imperial proclamation announcing the end of passive resistance in the Ruhr, issued on September 26, 1923, was as follows:

To the German People!

On January 11 French and Belgian troops, in defiance of justice and of the treaty provisions, occupied the German territory of the Ruhr. Since then the Ruhr and Rhineland have had to suffer the severest tribulations. More than 180,000 men and women, old folks and children, have been driven from house and home; for millions of Germans the conception of personal freedom no longer exists. Countless acts of violence have accompanied the occupation. More than a hundred of our citizens have had to sacrifice their lives. Hundreds are still lying in prison. Justice and patriotic sentiment protest against the unrighteousness of this invasion. The population refuses to work under foreign bayonets. For this loyalty and devotion to the German Reich in its hardest days the entire German people is grateful. The Federal Government undertook to care for its suffering fellow-citizens to the extent of its resources. That has caused a constantly increasing drain upon the resources of the Reich. Last week the expenditures for relief in the Rhineland and Ruhr reached the sum of three and a half trillion marks. For the current week at least twice that amount will be required. The former production of the Rhineland and Ruhr has ceased. The life of occupied and unoccupied Germany has been thrown into confusion. There is a serious danger that continuance in the present policy will make it impossible to establish a sound currency, to maintain economic life, and to assure the mere existence of our people.

In the interest of the future of Germany as well as in the interest of the Rhineland and Ruhr this must be avoided. In order to maintain the life of the people and the state we must face the bitter necessity of ceasing the struggle. We know that this means a greater moral sacrifice by the people of the occupied region than we have hitherto asked. Their struggle has been heroic, their self-discipline unexampled. We shall never forget what those who have suffered in the occupied district have borne. We shall never forget what they have sacrificed who left their homes rather than violate their loyalty to the fatherland.

The principal task of the Federal Government is to see to it that the prisoners are set free and that those who have been deported return to their homes. The struggle for these elementary human rights stands above all economic and material