

their husbands and sons be given back to them. A further factor was the fact that although the distinctions of the officers were abolished, the officers kept all the habits of capitalistic militarism and relations with the ranks were all but comradely.

The peasantry of Hungary, entirely reactionary, could not possibly be satisfied in the short time, because the agrarian question could not be solved with the necessary speed.

Finally the main reason for the collapse of the Soviet Republic was the blockade of the new capitalistic Holy Alliance of the League of Nations.

The aristocratic oligarchy, the magnates of the Austro-Hungarian regime, who oppressed the Hungarian proletariat, who were for half a century the solid pillars of German and Central European Imperialism, the gang of the kind Tisza rallied around the Government of Szegedin, were the supporters of the Entente in the battle against the World Revolution, against Socialism. Together with the Entente they waged a dirty campaign against the Soviet Government. The chief of the Entente mission, Lieutenant General Romanelli, used his couriers, protected by immunity, to keep up connections between the counter-revolutionaries of Hungary with the counter-revolutionaries of the world.

BEFORE THE COLLAPSE.

At the moment when the Czechs were beaten, Clemenceau demanded from the Soviet Government the withdrawal of the Red Army from all occupied territory, at the same time notifying the Soviet Government, that its representatives would be summoned to Paris for the purpose of concluding peace and promising that the Roumanians would withdraw from all occupied territory. Bela Kun did not suspect this promise—and submitted. At the very moment when Czechoslovakia stood on the verge of the revolution, Kun ordered the Red Army to stop and to evacuate the occupied territory, consenting to an armistice. This was the most futile error. In Bohemia, where under the pressure of the "bolshevist danger" the government of Kramarz, the direct counter-revolutionary cabinet, had to resign, the reaction was strengthened. In Austria the very same thing happened. And the voluntary withdrawal, with the negative political results, necessarily had a demoralizing effect on Hungary itself.

The Entente used the armistice to deliver the Roumanians tanks, machine guns and other war material through Jugoslavia in order to strengthen the Roumanian army, and to start an instant unexpected offensive on the front of the River Theiss.

There was only one more hope left to the revolution in Hungary. An alliance with Russia could not be accomplished. The Russians concentrated all their strength to break the opposition of Kolchak in the Urals, and were not able to extend any help to Hungary. The hopes of Bela Kun in the movement toward the left in France and England were not in vain as to the fact, but they were in vain as to the tempo. The movement toward the left was alive but proceeded much more slowly than Bela Kun hoped. Only the international demonstration on July 21st could still assist the revolution in Hungary. Doubtless, the postponement of the demonstration by the French Confederation of Labor meant the final blow to the Hungarian proletarian republic. Hungary was isolated, without the hope of speedy and effective assistance by Russia, betrayed by the international and Hungarian social-patriots.

And thus Soviet Hungary's offensive against the Roumanians on July 21st, at first successful, instantly came to a standstill. The Roumanian officers gave the order on July 28 to cross the Theiss and on August 1 the social-patriots reported to the People's Commissaires the demand of the Entente, that Kun's government must resign, in which case the blockade would be lifted and the Roumanian offensive discontinued. The Social Democrat Haubrich, the commander of Budapest, described in the blackest colors the dissolution of the Red Army. Bela Kun without opposition consented to the resignation, but Tibor Samuelyi, the Robespierre of the Hungarian revolution, energetically opposed resignation and demanded a fight to the end—"The duty of the Hungarian Communists",—he said, "is to fight on the barricades for the liberation of the proletariat of the whole world" But his voice was not heard. It was decided to summon the general assembly of the 500 representatives of the proletariat of Budapest and vicinity, which should receive the resignation and name the new government.

LAST ADDRESS BY BELA KUN AND COLLAPSE.

With full consciousness of the gravity of the hour, the representatives of the Hungarian working class assembled in the afternoon. When Bela Kun appeared he was greeted by a frantic ovation. The courageous fighter, the soul and the brain of the Hungarian revolution, was very depressed. On his tired face, with eyes red from lack of sleep, one could feel the whole tragedy of this episode of the World Revolution.

The hearty ovation made Bela Kun only more nervous. While leaning on the back of a chair, he started to weep like a little child. Then he became more calm and began to speak. Among other things he said:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat rested on three fundamental factors: on the spirit of the Hungarian proletariat; on the possibility of establishing contact with Communist Russia, and on the progress of the World Revolution. Those three factors partly or entirely failed to realize themselves and therefore the Hungarian Soviet Republic is given up to an early death." He would like to fight on the barricades rather than resign without a struggle. But he knows that the majority is opposed to such a proposition. And then the Soviet Government resigned.

Then came the short-lived government of Peidl, composed entirely of social-patriots, who during the whole period of the war stirred the chauvinistic instincts of the proletariat and were supporting Austro-Hungarian Imperialism; and of the bureaucracy of the trade unions. Peidl's government returned the means of production, which were expropriated by the Communists to the former owners and established again private ownership of the means of production; in short, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie again came into existence. During that time the paid hordes of the Roumanian Boyars (feudal landlords) approached Budapest, looting and destroying everything they got hold of.

The Government of Peidl did not exist three days. In the shadows of the Roumanian bayonets and in the person of Grand Duke Joseph, the Hapsburg dynasty came like a vampire to life again. The monarchists carried out a Coup-d'etat.

The very same rulers, the same oligarchy, speculators, officers, Christian Socialists and their appendages, and the whole corrupt of-

ficial bureaucracy of which Budapest has more than enough who for four years poisoned the Hungarian proletariat and drove it with the proletariat of other countries into that terrible human butchery, the very same cruel element sat again on the back of the Hungarian proletariat. Immediately armed formations were established, composed of former officers, non-commissioned officers and non-conscious soldiers, who fought for the defense of the old monarchy. A terrible roundup of the Communists began in the streets and the houses. Whoever was caught, was shot on the spot and his body thrown in the muddy water of the Danube. On the first day hundreds of our comrades were killed. The prisons were transformed into human slaughter-houses.

The Hungarian proletariat now feels what it has lost. The Hungarian people never was subdued. Even the history of Hungarian Socialism does not show any serious persecution, because it always was social-patriotic. This is the great difference between the Hungarian revolution and the Russian revolution. In Russia since the uprising in 1830 the sparks of the revolution always were glowing. In the cells of the prisons, in the icy fields of Siberia, in the blood of the crushed strikes, and in the numberless insurrections—the Russian workers developed class consciousness, revolutionary intelligence and a revolutionary tradition. All this Hungary lacked. For the first time the Hungarian proletariat has to go through all the terrible consequences of making an error in measuring the tempo of the World Revolution. The World Revolution is developing, but much slower than Bela Kun supposed. Still Hungary has not lost its revolution, but only postponed it. The struggle Hungary was engaged in and will have to go through again, will create the necessary class conscious, revolutionary intelligence and revolutionary tradition for final victory.

The New Life In Russia.

(Continued from Page 3.)

volutionary Government. The crux of the whole matter, in so far as internal politics are concerned, is that the Government and the Communists in general have to suffer the consequences and take the responsibility for the acts of enemies, of traitors, of impostors, who find their way into our ranks, of employees and officials who act contrary to the good faith, carry out acts of sabotage and strive by every means in their power to put obstacles in the way of normal life.

In spite of all this the country lives and is reconstructing itself; new organisations spring up, although the flower of the working-class must needs leave the work of public administration and go to the front. If you but knew with what joyful spirit of sacrifice the work of recruiting goes on here. I have been present at meetings of "Red" officers which, in the spirit of enthusiasm and courage shown, were truly religious in the best sense of that word. One always feels the difference between the war for the masters and this war, which is our war.

The people and their leaders are firmly convinced that the workers of other countries will not allow the Russian Revolution to be drowned in blood, nor the German Revolution either, which, through untold difficulties, is slowly steering towards victory. At the present time the fate of the peoples depends on the proletariat of the Entente. Encouraging news continues to reach us.