

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

New Developments in the Hungarian Labor Movement

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** The profound changes in the camp of the Hungarian counter-revolution which are forcing the various classes of the counter-revolution, up till now rulers of the country, into open civil war, and which are destroying their Christian-legitimist ideology, have also caused very profound changes in the structure of the Hungarian labor movement.

The Horthy counter-revolutionary system has been forsaken by its most important supporters, the legitimist large land owners and capitalists and the antisemitic petty-bourgeois. Horthy and his premier, Count Bethlen, are now employing the celebrated tactics of Napoleon III. in playing one party in the National Assembly against another and trying to balance one class against another. The military absolutism, left hanging in the air, is attempting to gain a footing in one class of society after another. First, it seeks the support of the rich peasants and throws the legitimist counts in prison, then it turns to the legitimist magnates and expels the peasant minister from its Cabinet. Its most recent supports are the old Tisza Party, the liberal gentry (allied to Jewish finance capital) and the Social Democratic trade-union bureaucracy. In this connection it is very significant of the omnipotence of the military clique that neither the Tisza nor the Social Democrats have a seat in the National Assembly.

Premier Count Bethlen has concluded a formal pact with the Social Democrats. The Social Democratic Party desired to keep the provisions of this agreement secret, but Bethlen boasts almost every day in the domestic and foreign press, "The White Terror in Hungary has become so mild that it signs agreements with Social Democrats".

According to this agreement Horthy grants an amnesty to each of the thousands of political prisoners for whom the Social Democratic Party *gives a guarantee*; the holding of meetings is permitted *under police supervision* and several of the interdicted trade-unions are permitted to resume. On its part the leadership of the Social Democratic Party binds itself to *carry on propaganda for the Horthy government in foreign countries* and to employ the Second International for propaganda for the territorial integrity of Hungary. In other words, the Hungarian White Social Democrats undertake to sing hymns of praise to Horthy and Bethlen in foreign countries. They are determined to renounce the 7000 political prisoners whose existence is admitted by the White Terror itself, the thousands of interned workers and the 24,000 workers compelled to report daily to the police as even the White Terror, constrained to self-revelation, must admit. They promised to take part in the work of "national development", which only means that Horthy will institute military supervision in the mines and the Social Democrats will set up the supervision of the trade-union bureaucracy and "guarantee" higher production.

The pact also provides for the surrender by the Social Democrats of their "passivity" and for their participation in the coming elections to the National Assembly. Furthermore, they promise to withdraw from the "*Bloc of Citizens and Workers*" which threatens to become an ever-growing danger to the Horthy-Bethlen system. We had repeatedly and vigorously protested against the participation of the Social Democrats in a *Bloc* with the bourgeoisie and the *Association of Big Industry*. Now they are withdrawing from this *Bloc*, but only in order to enter in the much more reactionary *Bloc* of Horthy-Bethlen-Gömbös-Hejjas, with an even more shameful record of suppression of the workers.

And finally this pact contains the most shameful *betrayal of universal suffrage*. The Social Democratic Party is satisfied with a "reasonable" limitation of the suffrage, in other words with the confiscation of the right to vote of the poor peasants and the working proletarian women.

The White Hungarian Social Democracy has always in common cause with the counter-revolution. Its leaders and members of that government that not only hanged Communists but also imprisoned and interned thousands of ordinary Social Democratic workers. They only withdrew from this government when the armed detachments of the government began to murder Social Democratic leaders as well. Since then the leaders of the Social Democratic Party have repeatedly attempted to conclude an agreement with Horthy.

Vanczak, the editor of "Nepzava", offered his "hand" to Horthy in token of peace just after his predecessor editor, Somogyi, had been murdered by Horthy's commandos in arms.

Now the leadership of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party will openly and officially be an organic member of the Hungarian counter-revolution.

This extremely significant fact is an important milestone in the Hungarian labor-movement.

The small clique of labor traitors has been forced to admit that the unanimous decision of the Party Central Committee of the Executive was all in vain. The masses refuse to have anything to do with this party; they can not understand this shameful betrayal and refuse to give their approval to it. Even the Hungarian Social Democratic Party has never before committed such a miserable, shameful act of treason against the working class. Thus, it is understandable that this has given rise to the *gravest crisis in its entire history*. The seriousness of this crisis shows that not only are the Hungarian workers protesting against their "leaders", but—for the first time since the revolution—that even the *exiled Social Democratic group* protested against the present leadership of the Social Democratic Party. For two years Garami, adherent of the Second International and Kunfi, of the International 2½, silently tolerated all that the Vanczaks and Miakits were doing in Hungary. Although they could find nothing else to do during all these years but to sling mud at the Communist Party they did not say a word against the trade-union bureaucracy, haggling and scheming in the name of the Hungarian working-class. Finally they are beginning to move. Garami declared that he cannot approve the pact with Horthy and Buchinger stating that the concessions of Count Bethlen are not worth a cent. He now discovers that offering the "horny hands of Labor" to the bloody hand of Horthy is despicable treason. He goes so far as to repeat the statements of the Communists word for word almost to the point of plagiarism and says that the Vanczak clique have through this pact become a *Social Democratic movement* alongside of the officer detachments of Gömbös and his

The Social Democratic emigrant groups are inflaming their opposition to the Hungarian Social Democracy by their actions. The Peyer-Vanczak Social Democratic group has this time betrayed not only the working-class but through its offer of a half amnesty the emigrants as well. Garami and Kunfi will soon pardon the betrayal of the working-class but they will not forgive their being forced out of the leadership through this agreement. The second important fact is the indignation of the *Hungarian working-class against the present party leadership*. The Garamis and Kunfis are afraid that if they do not act that there are also Social Democratic leaders who commit an unprecedented treason the Hungarian working-class will free itself from the claws of all Social Democratic deceivers.

The shameless treason of the leadership of the Social Democratic Party and of the trade-union bureaucracy in every political and economic question and finally in the Horthy pact has led to a wide-spread opposition in the Social Democratic Party and the trade-unions under its influence such as has not existed since spring 1919. *The first step of the workers is to the complete severing of all connections with the Christianists; the second is their present preparation for a new Social Democracy.*

The transformation in the Hungarian working-class has also set the Hungarian Communist Party new tactical tasks. Up till now our party faced two problems: firstly the isolation of the illegal party organizations; secondly, connecting the party organizations with the opposition movement in the working-class in order to solve the latter we demanded of the Garami group, affiliated to the International 2½, that they *together with us* a determined fight for all those who have been betrayed to Horthy by the Vanczak-Peyer clique dominating the Hungarian labor movement.

We called upon them for collaboration on the basis of the following program:

1. A fight for an amnesty extending to *all* political prisoners.
2. A fight for *universal suffrage*, for the right to vote of the poor peasants, the rural workers and working women and for unrestricted freedom of assembly, organization and the press.
3. A fight for the *downfall of the Vanczak-Peyer-Miakits pro Horthy trade-union bureaucracy* and the final driving out of these traitors from the labor movement.

If the Garamis and Kunfis accept this cooperation we will be able to tear the majority of the Hungarian proletariat from the grip of the White Social Democracy. If they do not accept it, the development will be slower but more fundamental—downfall of the Peyer-Miakits clique will carry with it Garami and Kunfi as well.
