

R/TP 96P



JEW S IN HUNGARY.

Correspondence with His Majesty's
Government, etc.

Presented to the Jewish Board of Deputies
and the Council of the Anglo-Jewish
Association, October, 1920.

LONDON :

Joint Foreign Committee of the Jewish Board of Deputies
and the Anglo-Jewish Association, 2, Verulam Buildings,
Grays Inn, W.C. 1.

1920.

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JEW S IN HUNGARY.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE JOINT FOREIGN COMMITTEE AND HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

THE following correspondence respecting the persecution of Jews in Hungary has passed between the Joint Foreign Committee and the Foreign Office. The earlier stages of the correspondence may be briefly summarized.

On April 12th, 1920, the Secretary of the Joint Foreign Committee informed the Foreign Office that information had been received from a thoroughly reliable source that a massacre of Jews was in contemplation at Debreczen, lately evacuated by the Rumanians, and that in many instances pogroms had already been organized in other parts of Hungary which had been in Rumanian occupation. The Committee asked that the necessary representations on the subject should be made to the Hungarian Government.

On April 17th the Foreign Office replied that a copy of this letter had been forwarded to H.M. High Commission in Budapest.

On May 21st the Foreign Office wrote:—'It would be of interest to learn from what source you obtained the information given in your letter of the 15th ultimo, and what leads you to apprehend that pogroms have already been organized in those parts of Hungary recently in Rumanian occupation, as Mr. HOHLER states that all his information, gathered from British officers recently returned from the districts mentioned, would tend to show that these statements have no foundation in fact.'

In reply, the Joint Committee stated that their informant was abroad, but was expected back in London shortly, when the information required by the Foreign Office would doubtless be forthcoming. The informant duly returned to London, when the following correspondence took place:—

No. 1.

The Joint Committee to the Foreign Office.

Sir,—With further reference to your letters of May 3rd, 1920 (No. 194686/3) and May 21st (No. 198090/3), in which the accuracy of certain statements

made in letters from this Committee relative to the persecution of Jews in Hungary was challenged, I am now in a position to submit to you the results of the investigations instituted by my Committee. They are embodied in the annexed documents (Enclosures 1, 2, 3, and 4).

1. I regret that my Committee is unable to give you the name of our original informant. He is a Hungarian Jew of high character resident in this country, but he has many relatives and friends in Hungary, and he is afraid that the disclosure of his name may compromise them and expose them to the vengeance of the White Terror. He has, however, been good enough to give my Committee a more detailed account of his original allegations and these will be found in extracts from his letters enclosed herewith (Enclosures 1, 2, and 3). On one important point, to which reference will be made presently, his statements are strikingly confirmed by the evidence of eminent Hungarians (see Enclosure 4).

2. In your letter of May 3rd you were good enough to inform me that the Secretary of State had received a telegram from H.M. High Commissioner in Budapest stating that

‘He has no reason to believe that there is any danger of a massacre of Jews at Debreczen.’

It will be seen from Enclosures 1 and 2 that the pogrom in that town apprehended by our correspondent nevertheless took place on May 20th. You will observe, too, that this pogrom did not stand alone and that Mr. HOHLER was apparently misinformed when he stated that the situation of the Jews had much improved.

3. In your letter of May 21st you stated that Mr. HOHLER was of opinion that the allegations contained in our letter of April 15th—it should have been April 12th—relative to the organization of pogroms in those parts of Hungary evacuated by the Rumanians ‘have no foundation in fact.’ Our correspondent’s reply to this *démenti* will be found in Enclosure 3.

4. Owing to the anonymity of our correspondent his evidence is no doubt open to question. But my Committee has no need to rely upon it exclusively. In Enclosure 4 will be found a testimony which is not open to the same objection. It consists of a translation of a signed statement made by certain Hungarian ex-Ministers to the British High Commissioner, Sir GEORGE CLERK, in November, 1919, in which a plan for conniving at, if not for actually

organizing, pogroms in the evacuated provinces is set forth with the utmost precision. This statement was probably overlooked when your letter of May 21st was written. The plan referred to therein was apparently carried out with the utmost cruelty. At any rate our anonymous correspondent's details on this subject appear to be sufficiently authenticated by the statement made to Sir GEORGE CLERK.

I should add that the English translation of this statement was made by the Hungarian correspondent who has been good enough to forward it to me, together with a large number of other documents which my Committee propose submitting to H.M. Government at an early date.

May I beg that you will bring these facts to the knowledge of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State ?

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

LUCIEN WOLF.

The Under Secretary of State,
Foreign Office, S.W. 1.

June 28th, 1920.



Enclosure No. 1.

Extract from letter from _____, a Hungarian Jew, resident in London, dated June 17th, 1920.

. . . As to the pogrom in Debreczen I do not think there is any need for an apology to the Foreign Office on your part as the pogrom unfortunately did take place. I have the following information as regards this from the son of one of the Chief Rabbis, whom I saw a few days later, on May 26th, in Budapest, whereto he had managed to escape.

Under the pretext of rounding up the Galician Jews, some 800 soldiers surrounded the streets mostly inhabited by Jews, looted and robbed their homes, beat them and cut their beards off, and a good many were seriously injured. Apart from about 300 Galicians, also 129 Jewish families, all Hungarians and mostly born in Debreczen, were interned and afterwards transferred to another internment camp near Budapest. Many Jews fled from Debreczen and sought shelter with the peasants in the plain near the town, called Hortobagy. This plain was likewise surrounded a day or two later and some 200 more families were captured, ill-treated and taken to prison.

The 'Komrover Rabbi,' a so-called wonder-Rabbi, was robbed of all his possessions which he had managed to bring with him on his flight from Poland. *Sifre Torahs*, silver bells, cups and other ritual implements were taken away from him, and a small quantity of jewellery was afterwards taken to the Town Hall and publicly confiscated.

A description, in veiled manner, of these outrages was reported on May 21st in the daily paper *Az Est*. I find my copy was taken away from me among other papers when I left Hungary, but I think a copy could be obtained from Vienna. I can vouch for the truth of these statements, but as mentioned before, I cannot risk disclosing my name for reasons already given to you. . . .

Enclosure No. 2.

Extract from letter from the same correspondent
dated June 20th, 1920.

. . . I have already written to Mr. EMANUEL all I know about the pogrom which took place in Debreczen on May 20th. Apparently, with studied cruelty, the agents of the Horthy Government coerced the two Chief Rabbis on April 27th to sign a letter—mentioned by Mr. EMANUEL—that there had been no pogrom, and a few weeks later organized one which in cruelty surpassed anything these bands had done before. There was a pogrom also at Mako in April, in Tisza-Füred already in March*, while in those parts which had not been in Rumanian or Czech-Slovakian occupation, the murder and pillaging of Jews occurred, and still occurs daily in nearly every town or village outside Budapest. So, *e.g.*, there arrived in Budapest, on the eve of the Pentecost Festival, the Rabbi and the Dayan of Halas, a congregation of considerable importance. Two days previously, the soldier-band of Lieutenant HÉJJAS—the brother-in-law of the Regent HORTHY—arrived at Halas, organized a pogrom in which many Jews lost their lives (among them the son of the Dayan), women and girls were violated, the Jewish houses pillaged, and, lastly, the remaining Jews simply driven out of the town, in spite of the protest of the Mayor and the majority of the inhabitants. This shows that, so far, the population is not in sympathy with these outrages, they give shelter to the per-

* Of these I know, but there were pogroms in many other towns which were mentioned by me, but I forgot to make a note of the names.

secuted Jews wherever they can, as happened also in Debreczen, where the Christian population consists mostly of peasant-farmers who, according to the anti-Semitic pamphlets and speeches of the Government Ministers, were impoverished by the bloodsucking Jews. A further anomaly is that the Czechs and Rumanians who organized pogroms at the time of the revolution in November-December, 1918, in order to get rid of the Jews, known to be everywhere the greatest patriots, are now regarded by the Jews of Hungary as their saviours. . . .

Enclosure No. 3.

Extract from letter from the same correspondent dated June 20th, 1920.

. . . I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, and I hope in the following to give you the information you require in order to save you withdrawing a true statement, namely, that wherever the Rumanians withdrew from occupied parts of Hungary, the organized robber-bands of which the present Hungarian Army consists, at once fell upon the Jews and committed unheard of barbarities, with the knowledge and connivance of the present Government.

My informant was Chief Rabbi S. of T., in Czecho-Slovakia, who wrote me on March the 7th last: ' My relative, Mr. WEISS, of T.F., in Hungary, arrived at my house on Purim last, as a refugee from the White Terrorists. He had been imprisoned by the Red Army and miraculously escaped death at the hands of the Bolsheviks. His four companions in prison were put to death, but he managed to escape, after being imprisoned for many months. When the Bolshevik Government was overthrown and the ' Whites ' came, they imprisoned him again with 84 others, of which 24 were Jews, and took him to the fortress of Eger (Erlau in Hungary). From there he now managed to escape and to come to me, and now implores whether I could not, through friends in allied countries and especially in England, do something to help these unfortunate Jews who have to share the same lot and are still imprisoned—there are hundreds and thousands of them. Especially sad and sorrowful is the message which he brought me from Debreczen—now a town full of Jews—where a pogrom and slaughter of Jews is feared as soon as the Rumanians evacuate it. Could you perhaps open the eyes of leading English Jews and soften their

hearts to do all they can to help and save our unfortunate brethren. . . .

Enclosure No. 4.

Statement sent to Sir George Clerk, High Commissioner of the Entente, by the ex-Ministers Garami, Vazsonyi, Lovaszy, and the Minister Nagyatadi Szabo.

November, 1919.

We have been informed of an astonishing fact which we cannot keep to ourselves without grievously transgressing our duty.

Before the undersigned, there appeared a perfectly reliable and trustworthy person well known to us and enjoying our confidence, who related the following facts within his personal knowledge :

Last week, that is to say in the last days of October, the commanders of the 'auxiliary force' (Brachial Gewalt) of Budapest, about forty in number, met at the Ministry of War for a conference. The 'auxiliary force' of Budapest was formed partly by the police force, gendarmerie and frontier police, partly by a corps composed of civilians, and formations of the so-called auxiliary forces. The conference was presided over by a colonel, whose name is known to us. This colonel gave to the commanders present the following instructions :

'After the Rumanians will have evacuated the country, the task will be ours to maintain order, and it is I who will dispose of the whole auxiliary force. We are forming an armed force of the State and therefore we cannot arrange pogroms. Should, however, other groups arrange pogroms, I forbid you to use weapons against them. Try to prevent the pogroms without the use of arms, you may eventually arrest people engaged in such movements, but the arrests must be carried out in such a way that the arrested ones should have means to escape. It is of no use at all to kill, say 3,000 Jews out of the number of 600,000. Should we do this, that may, perhaps, cause us at the conclusion of peace the loss of several comitats, but you know that the Jews are superfluous in Hungary and we must try that within the space of one year the National Assembly shall remove every Jew from the country. We, the members of the auxiliary force, have to ask that, and it is in this spirit that you have to instruct the rank and file and every member of the force.'

At the same time the colonel declared that this was the last instruction given previous to the moment when the Rumanians will have evacuated the country.

All of us confirm with our signature that these were the facts which were related to us by the person designated above, and whom we consider as being absolutely trustworthy, and who was prompted by his patriotic fears only to show us the danger of the situation.

With reference to Colonel YATES, there appeared a proclamation promising to re-organize the police and gendarmerie force in such a manner that these forces will not be in the service of a religious denomination or of a political party. The occurrence related in the above is a proof of what spirit they want to organize and to instruct the political practice. They want to hoodwink people by nice words proclaiming humanity, but secretly and in practice they incite the hatred and transgression of duty in spite of the so-called 'controll,' the traces of which, however, so far nobody has ever seen.

There appeared, further, another proclamation, also with reference to Colonel YATES—referring to the establishment of the so-called 'civilian auxiliary force.' This proclamation—its day of publication which happened to be a Sunday not including (*sic*)—gave only a delay of one single day to make an application for joining that force. Of course, we could not take the whole matter as being serious at all for in a single day the different organizations and societies could not even make a list of application. But the object of the whole thing was again to mislead people as all the formations of the so-called auxiliary forces were completely settled up weeks before, and namely, with close co-operation of the organization of the so-called 'Arousing Hungarians,' who, according to their publicly avowed purpose, demand the removal of all the Jews from Hungary. The person mentioned above, who is entirely acquainted with the circumstances, confirmed these facts before us.

The gendarmerie, the police and the auxiliary forces of Budapest are consequently being organized as a party-instrument, and in a spirit of hatred against a certain religion, and stands under military direction. The Trans-Danubian districts offer even the strange view of the military exercising the rights of civil administration, as if they were engaged in warfare against Hungary.

Our patriotism does not allow us to enter more deeply into the details of this question, but we are



threatened by the situation of getting under military dictatorship.

The danger of Bolshevism passed away and there are no symptoms whatever which would justify a fear of its resurrection. We accept in totality every strict measure against Bolshevism. Yet here we are confronted not with such objects in view but with the aim to annihilate by force all liberal and democratic views, or more precisely to annihilate every opinion which is not reactionary. According to the Hungarian law, it is the civil authority which has to direct the armed force, and the civil authorities are those which are responsible before the civil tribunal for the manner in which they make use of the armed force. The military forces are only then entitled to intervene when called up to do so by the civil authorities, and they must act upon the latter's instructions only. Military administration is a thing not unknown in Hungary. Such is the business of the armed force in every constitutional country. The armed force cannot follow party politics but must be impartial, otherwise tyranny and anarchy will follow each other.

The catastrophic results of a partisan army were already experienced by our country during the revolution, when the army formed the part, first of the socialist and then of the communist party, and when the bourgeois members of the revolutionary government were first condemned to passivity and were later on removed. Lieutenant-Colonel VYX, who was at the moment representing the Entente, was from the first warned of the evil and was asked to prevent it by his intervention at a moment when it would have been easy to remove it. But there was no intervention and unmeasurable sufferings and losses amounting to milliards were the consequence of the highly comfortable views which were taken up by the gentlemen who at the time represented the Entente.

We, in the full knowledge of our patriotic responsibilities, are exposing now in proper time this grave situation, and as we have no other means at our disposal, because in consequence of our patriotic feelings we do not wish to resort to other means—we are at the same time discharging a duty allotted to us. So that after the above described occurrences it will perhaps be easy to understand that so long as the evil is not remedied in its root, as long as there are no guarantees that it is the civil government which is unquestionably disposing of all armed forces, and that such forces are respecting im-

partially the equality of all citizens, we cannot see any sense whatever in a government of concentration.

We cannot allow that those of our party-followers who would take part in such a cabinet shall in other times and in another shape share the same sad fate which the bourgeois and not even the extreme socialist members of the revolutionary Government had to undergo. Without a radical redress of the evil, nothing remains to us but a complete passivity in all matters politic, inclusive of the possible elections for the National Assembly, and we put the responsibility for this upon the government which is boasting of the English protectorate, and upon the representative of the Entente Powers who fully know the situation.

We remain your Excellency's, etc.,

Dr. WILLIAM VAZZONYI.

Dr. MARTIN LOVASZY.

STEPHEN SZABO (of Nagyatéd).

ERNEST GARAMI.

No. 2.

The Foreign Office to the Joint Committee.

July 8th, 1920.

No. 206720/3.

Sir,—I am directed by Earl CURZON OF KEDLESTON to inform you that your letter of the 28th ultimo, with enclosures, dealing with the persecution of Jews in Hungary, has been sent to His Majesty's Acting High Commissioner at Budapest for his information and observations.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,
ERIC PHIPPS.

No. 3.

The Foreign Office to the Joint Committee.

August 9th, 1920.

No. C.2568/541/21.

Sir,—With reference to your letter of June 28th last, regarding the alleged persecution of the Jews in Hungary, I am directed by Earl CURZON OF KEDLESTON to inform you that, in view of the statements made therein, the Acting British High Commissioner in Budapest decided to proceed to Debreczen, in company with General GORTON, in order to make a personal investigation on the spot.

2. Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON and General GORTON arrived at Debreczen on the 18th ultimo and at once called upon the Chief Rabbi, VILMAS KRAUSZ, to

whom they handed a German translation of your letter under reference. The Rabbi after reading the letter remarked that the only way to stop these statements, which he characterized as 'dangerous falsehoods,' was for him to write to Dr. HERTZ, the Chief Rabbi in London, denying that there had been any pogrom. This letter has been forwarded by Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON and is being delivered to Dr. HERTZ, and I enclose a copy of it herein.

3. The Rabbi suggested that the letter should be communicated to the Jewish members of His Majesty's Government, and, if the Chief Rabbi of London saw no objection, to all those who might be able to prevent the circulation of what he characterized as 'political propaganda.'

4. During his stay in Debreczen, Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON took occasion to speak with all classes of society, and from these conversations he was able to confirm the accuracy of the statements made in the reports already received from His Majesty's High Commissioner at Budapest, the purport of which has been given to you. Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON also had conversations with the son of the Rabbi, WILHELM KRAUSZ, who told him that from first to last there had been more danger to Jews in Budapest than in North East Hungary, and that all statements to the contrary were of a political nature emanating from Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia and Austria.

5. Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON explains that the population of Debreczen has been largely increased during the war, and since the Armistice, owing to the influx of refugees from Transylvania and Czecho-Slovakia.

6. The resident Jews of Debreczen are not (with the exception of a few hundred) Chassidim Jews, though the majority of the refugee Jews were of this orthodoxy.

7. In Enclosure 1 of your letter it is stated that these Galician Jews were maltreated, etc., etc. This was not the case; they were brought from the interment camps in North Eastern Hungary at the request of the Polish Minister in Budapest in co-operation with the Jewish Societies in Hungary, and repatriated to Poland. The question of lodging is, as in all Hungarian cities to-day, an acute one, and Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON understands their comfort was not particularly well looked after, but the habits and customs of these Jews do not permit of their being in close proximity to the native Jews or Christians of Debreczen. It so happens that Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON went with the Polish Minister to the railway station at Budapest about two months

ago to see a train load of these very Jewish refugees from North Eastern Hungary repatriated to Poland. Count SCHEMBEK questioned them and they stated that though they had suffered considerable hardships until they arrived at Budapest, from the moment they had been in the Polish Committee's hands, they had nothing to complain of.

8. It is true the Komron Rabbi has had his ritual taken away from him, but it has not been sold, and the Jews in Debreczen think it will probably be returned to him. An examination of the 'Az Est' of May 21st fails to substantiate anything in the nature of a 'pogrom.'

9. Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON can find no foundation for the statements made in Enclosure 2 of your letter, but enquiry shows that it may be possible that the statements originated from the fact that, towards the end of May, certain officers of the Detachments in Budapest arrived at Debreczen, and tried to inflame the population against the Jews. They failed, and the Military Governor eventually meted out appropriate treatment to the ringleaders. A few placards were posted up in the town depicting a military arm holding a whip; nothing was printed on them, but the populace understood what they meant. A meeting was announced to take place on or about May 20th, at which about 100 people demonstrated against Jews on the chief square, and were dispersed by the authorities. It is therefore possible that Jews leaving Debreczen a few days before may have reported what they thought was going to happen, as if it had happened.

10. This enclosure states what is a fact that the population of Debreczen is not in sympathy with outrages against Jews.

11. The anomaly of the Czechs and Rumanians being regarded to-day as sympathisers of the Hungarian Jews is due to the political attempts being made to-day to discredit Hungary abroad.

12. For example, Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON was shown a statement from a Rumanian newspaper which had been forwarded from Transylvania by a relation of Dr. FREUND to the effect that Dr. FREUND had been barbarously executed on the market square of Debreczen. This gentleman is to-day still in prison, and is probably absolutely innocent, but there is a delay in his trial, and Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON proposes to speak to Count TELEKI with a view to expediting the hearing of this case.

13. With regard to Enclosure 3, the Rumanians evacuated the town of Debreczen on March 29th; there have been two Jewish murders since that date.

14. Enclosure 4 is signed by, amongst others, the Minister of Food, STEPHEN SZABO NAGYATED.

15. Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON took this report to the Minister and asked him if he had ever signed it. He denied ever having even seen it; the only document of this nature he ever signed was one of about twelve lines, pointing out to Sir GEORGE CLERK the danger there was in Budapest at that time of unlicensed soldiery pillaging and maltreating Jews.

16. He somewhat naively added: 'I am only an old peasant, and any schoolboy can forge my signature.'

17. Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON concludes by stating that although there is a certain amount of moral injustice done to Jews in Hungary, nevertheless, except amongst the military reactionaries, who are not perhaps sufficiently under the control of the Government, this injustice does not develop into physical outrages against the Jews. As soon as the civil authorities obtain full control over the military this should cease.

18. A great deal of the harm is done by the anti-Semitic press in the country, and efforts to stop this should be made privately by the whole civilized press of Europe.

19. He finally expresses the opinion that until the civil authority has an absolute control over the military detachments, it is difficult to say that there will be no pogrom in Hungary, but he suggests that the circulation of such statements as were submitted by you can only increase the danger to the lives and property of Jews in Hungary.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ERIC PHIPPS.

Enclosure.

To His Reverence,

Dr. Hertz,

Chief Rabbi of Great Britain,

London.

Your Reverence,

As I am informed that false reports concerning so-called Jewish pogroms are being spread about abroad, as having taken place here, I feel it my duty to state to Your Reverence the truth, which is, that so-called pogroms, that is to say Jewish murders and excesses against Jews, have not taken place here, nor in the neighbourhood, and, having regard to the present feeling of the populace, are not to be anticipated.

With brotherly greetings, etc., etc.,

(Signed) WILHELM KRAUSZ,

Chief Rabbi.

No. 4.

The Joint Committee to the Foreign Office.*August 10th, 1920.*

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant (C. 2568/541/21) regarding the alleged persecution of the Jews of Debreczen in Hungary. I am communicating it at once to the Presidents of my Committee, but I am sure I shall be interpreting their wishes, as well as the wishes of the Joint Foreign Committee, in asking you to convey at once their thanks to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the prompt and painstaking enquiry he has caused to be made into the allegations contained in the documents I had the honour of forwarding to you on June 28th.

I am also forwarding a copy of your letter to the author of Enclosures 1, 2 and 3 in my letter of June 28th, and asking for his observations thereon.

There is only one point in your letter to which I think I ought to refer at this stage of the correspondence. Paragraph 3 contains a wholly unjustifiable imputation on my Committee of having 'circulated' what the Chief Rabbi of Debreczen is alleged to have characterized as 'political propaganda.' Again, in paragraph 19, Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON is reported as suggesting to His Majesty's Government that 'the circulation of such statements as were submitted by you can only increase the danger to the lives and property of Jews in Hungary.' On this I have to state that there has been no circulation and indeed no publicity of any kind, of the documents appended to my letter of June 28th, which are referred to in these quotations. A reference to my previous letters on this subject will show that it was only with considerable hesitation that my Committee decided to communicate these documents to His Majesty's Government in view of the anonymity of their original informant, and it was only when confirmation of certain of his allegations seemed to be supplied from another source that they took any action. That action has, however, been strictly confined to this correspondence and there is consequently no ground for the suggestions contained in the above quotations from Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON'S Report.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

LUCIEN WOLF.

The Under-Secretary of State,
Foreign Office, S.W. 1.

No. 5.

The Joint Committee to the Foreign Office.*August 26th, 1920.*

Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 9th instant, (No. C. 2568/541/21) relative to the alleged persecution of Jews in Hungary, I am directed by the Presidents of this Committee to ask you to be good enough to submit the following observations thereon to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State.

1. The Presidents desire, in the first place, to express their gratitude to His Lordship for his prompt action in causing what appears to have been a most painstaking enquiry to be made into certain of the allegations concerning excesses against the Jews of Hungary contained in the documents enclosed in their letter of June 28th.

2. It appears from paragraphs 2-13 of your letter that, so far as these allegations relate to events in the town of Debreczen, the British Commissioners, Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON and General GORTON, assured themselves that the excesses as reported to this Committee had been greatly exaggerated. It is true that there are some discrepancies in the evidence. Thus, while the local Chief Rabbi, VILMAS KRAUSZ, characterized all the statements contained in our letter as 'dangerous falsehoods' and 'political propaganda' and, in a letter which he gave Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON for the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain, stated that no 'Jewish murders and excesses against Jews' had taken place in Debreczen, the Commissioners nevertheless find that the Galician Jews who were deported from Debreczen 'suffered considerable hardships' (paragraph 7), that a pogrom was, in fact, attempted in the month of May (paragraph 9), and that since the evacuation of the town by the Rumanians on March 29th, two Jews have been murdered (paragraph 13). The Presidents recognize, however, that on the whole, the investigations conducted by Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON and General GORTON do not confirm the main allegations transmitted by them in their letter of June 28th and, since they are unable to obtain the consent of their correspondent to disclose his name, they desire to withdraw them.

3. In justice to their correspondent, however, it should be said that he maintains the accuracy of his information and that if he is unable to support it personally it is because of the terrorism which prevails in Hungary, and which would certainly victimize his own informants and relatives. The reality of this terrorism is beyond question, and it has a very

direct bearing on all investigations of the kind conducted by Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON and General GORTON. The Report of the British Joint Labour Delegation to Hungary (p. 22) bears emphatic testimony to it. The eminent American journalist, Mr. HERMAN BERNSTEIN who has just returned from a mission of enquiry in Hungary cites distressing avowals of the Hungarian Jews themselves on the subject. He states that Jews suspected of having furnished information to the High Commissioners of the Allies have been brutally punished and some have disappeared. Two such cases are within the knowledge of His Majesty's Government. One is that of the eminent Rabbi LOEW of Szeged who, for a simple protest against the persecuton of his co-religionists, was thrown in prison where he still remains. The other is that of Dr. FREUND which is referred to in paragraph 12 of your letter. Dr. FREUND is the President of the Debreczen Jewish Community, and he was arrested after the alleged pogrom in that town because he desired to proceed to Budapest to state his view of the disorders to the authorities. He has not yet been brought to trial and is still in prison. Moreover, it is to be noted that a Bill is now before the Hungarian Diet in which it is proposed to legalize this terrorism. The Bill enacts severe penalties in cases where Hungarian subjects communicate to foreign journalists accounts of acts of violence committed in Hungary.

4. In paragraphs 14-16 of your letter Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON is quoted as throwing doubt on the authenticity of the document given in Enclosure 4 of our letter of June 28th. The evidence is a little confused and the Presidents do not quite understand whether it is contended that the document is a forgery, or that it is an undue amplification of an authentic document of the same character. It was explained in our letter of June 28th that this document had been unskillfully translated from the Magyar by our Hungarian correspondent, and it is possible that, in some respects, it deviates from the original. Since, however, the original was presented to Sir GEORGE CLERK, and is no doubt still in the possession of the British High Commission in Budapest, it should be easy to ascertain whether the translation is or is not substantially accurate.

5. Paragraphs 17-19 of your letter deal with the general situation of the Jews in Hungary at this moment and with its remedies. Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON is quoted as stating that 'although there is a certain amount of moral injustice done to Jews in Hungary, nevertheless except amongst the military

reactionaries, who are not perhaps sufficiently under the control of the Government, this injustice does not develop into physical outrages.' The Presidents confess to having read this statement with some surprise, since it seems to indicate that the atrocities from which the Jews of Hungary have lately suffered are in the main only 'moral injustices' and therefore negligible. The truth is that all over the country they have been the victims of great barbarities, and there is nothing to show that the authorities, whether civil or military, have made any serious effort to punish the perpetrators of these crimes or even to discourage them. Some of these barbarities as reported by credible witnesses reach a degree of bestiality and horror for which it would be difficult to find a parallel (*see Report of Joint Labour Delegation, pp. 14-15*).

6. The chief remedy suggested by Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON does not appear to the Presidents to be practicable. It is that efforts to restrain the anti-Semitic activities of the Hungarian anti-Semitic Press 'should be made privately by the whole civilised press of Europe.' How such efforts could be made privately is difficult to understand. It is clearly the duty of the Hungarian authorities, whether civil or military, to restrain these mischievous activities, and it has ample powers for doing so in its Press Censorship. This Censorship is, however, chiefly exercised in preventing the publication of protests against anti-Semitic outrages, while it allows perfect freedom to the incendiary propaganda which Mr. ATHELSTAN-JOHNSON rightly judges to be one of the chief causes of the anti-Jewish pogroms. This fact suffices to show that the responsibility for the terrible sufferings of the Jews does not rest with the military reactionaries only but is shared by the whole machinery of the Hungarian Government.

7. With regard to the suggestion of the Secretary of State that the Chief Rabbi should publish the letter addressed to him by Rabbi VILMAS KRAUSZ of Debreczen, the Presidents direct me to say that they offer no objection. They are, indeed, prepared to publish the letter themselves as part of this correspondence, which they propose, with the consent of the Foreign Office, to give to the Press at an early date.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

LUCIEN WOLF.

The Under-Secretary of State,
Foreign Office, S.W. 1.

