

Annex I



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QUESTION CONSIDERED BY THE SECOND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION  
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY FROM 4 TO 10 NOVEMBER 1957

Letter dated 4 February 1957 from the Permanent Representative  
of Hungary to the United Nations, addressed to the Secretary-  
General

New York, 4 February 1957

I have the honour to send you attached a memorandum on the question of  
Hungary in connexion with the events on 23 October 1956 and after.

I would be grateful if you would be good enough to circulate it among  
the Members of the United Nations as an official document of the United  
Nations at your earliest convenience.

(Signed) Péter MOD

Permanent Representative

4 February 1957

MEMORANDUM

ON THE "QUESTION CONSIDERED BY THE SECOND EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION  
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY FROM 4 TO 10 NOVEMBER 1956"

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has categorically stated on a number of occasions that the recent events in Hungary are to be considered exclusively as an internal affair of Hungary.

The Hungarian Government made a declaration to this effect on 28 October 1956, when the question of investigating the events in Hungary was first raised in the Security Council. Following this, on 4 November, the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government declared that the appeal made by Imre Nagy to the United Nations had no legal force and could not be regarded as an appeal sent by Hungary as a State. In a telegram addressed on 12 November to the Secretary-General of the United Nations the Hungarian Government once again stated that the events in Hungary and the problems connected with them fall under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hungarian State.

In spite of this the question was artificially kept on the agenda upon the initiative and pressure of certain western Powers and discussed by the United Nations at a forced pace. In this manner gross interference in Hungary's internal affairs occurred, resolutions infringing Hungary's sovereignty were passed, and the forum of the United Nations was used to increase tension and prevent the restoration of order and calm in Hungary. The situation is still being utilized generally to conduct political propaganda in the United Nations against the socialist countries.

In protest to the attitude of the General Assembly, the Hungarian delegation was forced to retire from the work of the eleventh session of the General Assembly. It is to be regretted that the attitude of the General Assembly has until now made it impossible for Hungary to take part in the work of the eleventh session of the General Assembly as a State with equal rights.

The General Assembly is continuing to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary. A special ad hoc committee was set up on 18 January upon the proposal of the United States and twenty-one other countries. The Hungarian Government categorically protested in its statement of 16 January against the setting up and functioning of this committee.

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This committee interrogates various individuals who are slandering the Hungarian People's Republic and its Government and who are making completely unfounded statements. The aims are quite obvious for which the United States wishes to utilize these so-called interrogations when it broadcasts these statements by individuals over television and radio.

It should also be noted that the United Nations radio station is broadcasting the statements by these individuals, for which there is no precedent. It is very doubtful whether the procedure of the United Nations Secretariat to transmit the political propaganda speeches of certain non-official persons to all parts of the world complies with the conditions of impartiality.

Various statements have been made to the committee, whose work the Hungarian Government still refuses to recognize as legal, which do not reflect the actual situation, distort the facts and are, moreover, liable to mislead the United Nations agencies and the Member States. It is, therefore, necessary to point to certain basic facts without, however, setting up the claim of dealing with all false assertions.

#### I.

At the special ad hoc committee, and prior to that at the General Assembly, the facts were distorted when the legality was discussed of the Hungarian Government and other organs set up after 23 October 1956.

According to the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Chairman and members of the Council of Ministers are elected by the National Assembly. If the Assembly is not in session, they are elected by the Presidential Council of the People's Republic. The oath of office of members of the Government and the proclamation of the Government are necessary for its legal inauguration

The Constitution also states that the Presidential Council alone is empowered to appoint envoys of the Hungarian People's Republic to heads of foreign States and to international organizations, which fall into the same category. Their credentials are signed by the President and Secretary of the Presidential Council and stamped with its seal.

A number of government changes have taken place in Hungary following the events of 23 October 1956. On 24 October 1956, Imre Nagy was elected Prime Minister of the Hungarian Government by the Presidential Council. Some changes were made in

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the Government on 27 October 1956; this new Government under Prime Minister Imre Nagy had eighteen members. This Government did not prove strong enough, it underwent internal crises, one minister after another left the Government, and each day new ministers took their place.

On 4 November, a new revolutionary Government was formed with János Kádár as Prime Minister. The members of the new Government were sworn in by István Dobi, President of the Presidential Council, in the building of the General Assembly. The Presidential Council of the People's Republic created a law decree on the formation of the Government and made this public. This Government completely liquidated the anti-government groups formed earlier and today exercises exclusive power in the whole territory of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic exercised its legal right without interruption and the President of the Presidential Council, Mr. István Dobi, has continued in office during the events. The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic to the eleventh General Assembly of the United Nations was appointed by the Presidential Council.

## II.

The committee has been told that there was nothing to indicate organized counter-revolutionary activity during what happened in Hungary and that no danger existed of the counter-revolution coming into power, thereby turning Hungary into a hotbed of war. The opposite is proven by facts that have come to light during the events and every day since then. The deposed ruling class, the remnants in Hungary of factory owners and estate owners, and groups of them who absconded abroad after the Second World War and have ever since been financed, organized and kept in reserve by foreign Powers, have long been waiting for an opportunity to utilize the discontent of the people to return to power under the smoke-screen of deceptive slogans.

The aim of the Hungarian counter-revolution was to reinstate the system of capitalists and estate owners who have never given up hope since their defeat in 1945. Right from the start, the counter-revolutionary forces participated in an organized manner in the events of 23 October and in their preparation. On the evening of 23 October, organized guerilla groups attacked the Radio. Simultaneously attacks were made on the international department of the Józsefváros telephone

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exchange, the radio transmitter at Lakihegy, the Ferihegy airport, the ammunition plant and the military arsenal in Timót Street.

Obviously the peacefully demonstrating masses had not planned to storm these objectives. The fact that these events broke out almost concurrently, and were carried out in an organized manner, clearly shows that the counter-revolution had a well prepared purpose and a unified military command.

The world Press had given detailed accounts on the robberies, individual and mass murders by the counter-revolutionary elements and published horrifying pictures.

The efforts of the counter-revolutionary elements to restore the pre-war order are also evident from the fact that political parties were formed, and sprang up like mushrooms after the rain, which wanted to restore capitalism in Hungary and abolish all the achievements of the Hungarian people since 1945; such parties were among others the Hungarian Independence Party, the Catholic People's Party, the Catholic National Association, and the Smallholders Party, which openly admitted that it no longer stood on the same platform as after 1945, but on its 1931 programme which did not include a land reform, like that of 1945, and thereby it threatened one of the great achievements of the People's Democracy. The programmes and aims of bourgeois and various Catholic parties were most vividly demonstrated by Mindszenty's attitude, who wanted to return to conditions prior to 1945.

Apart from Mindszenty, B. Szabó, the Prince of Lichtenstein, the Prince of Esterházy, Count Takách-Tolvay and others came forward with demands and aims to restore capitalism.

On 2 November in Vienna, at the meeting of the Socialist International, the Chairman of the newly formed Hungarian Social-Democratic Party, the same Anna Kéthly who tried to prove the opposite to the special ad hoc committee, herself spoke of the real danger of the counter-revolution gaining the upper hand. Among others, this is what she said then, according to a Hamburg paper:

"The Hungarian popular movement is in danger of coming under the influence of other forces. Hatred of the AVO has turned into mass hysteria threatening everyone with liquidation who is under suspicion of being a Communist member or functionary. Their wives and children were also hunted down and killed and not just killed but murdered in an indescribable manner. The events can only be compared to the horrors suffered by the Hungarians in 1919 after the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Republic at the time of the Horthy rule. Mindszenty became the symbol of these white terror elements."

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The counter-revolution came out into the open after 28 October. In spite of the cease-fire order, they attacked the Budapest Party Committee headquarters and other party premises. They did not comply with the Government's cease-fire order. For instance, Dudás gave orders that the armed men under his command, as special detachments, should not put down their arms, but wear them openly, and that neither the army nor the police could check their passes. Dudás also issued military ranks which had no legal foundation. He appointed Tibor Szeifert lieutenant-colonel of the army; men under his command attacked the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Before 4 November, Béla Király himself brought units to the Ministry to oust Dudás and arrested Szeifert. In front of the committee, however, Király tried to glorify Dudás as a hero.

Dudás and his group produced fascist leaflets and distributed tens of thousands of them all over the country. They declared that they refused to recognize the very government in whose name witnesses are now testifying to the committee.

Criminal and gangster elements of the counter-revolution tried to obtain power in the provinces as well as in the capital. It is worth mentioning a few examples of what happened in the town of Debrecen, which cannot even be called extreme cases.

Most of the workers' councils were dominated by open fascist and counter-revolutionary elements. The chairman of the provisional workers' council of the Debrecen Tramways was Sándor Dobi, a former Arrow-Cross gendarme. The so-called Socialist Revolutionary Committee was formed on 26 October. The first act of this Committee, which called itself socialist, was to draw 800,000 forints from the National Bank. The chairmen of the town and county council executive committee and twenty-nine Communists were illegally arrested. During one of the house searches Captain Lovas, a counter-revolutionary, said this: "Today we are collecting the Communist weapons, tomorrow we shall round them up. They have ruled for ten years, now it is our turn, the world of the proletarians has come to an end".

The supporters of the old capitalist and estate owners world in Hungary would have been too weak to carry out any major action without help from abroad. Ever since they were deprived of power they have pinned great hopes to the Hungarian fascist emigrés in Western countries and to certain western Governments which supported them. The events in October did not come as a complete surprise to them. Some even knew what was going to happen, having had a hand in preparing plans to

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exploit with all means available any opportunity to get back into power. As events took their course, they wanted to take more and more control, abusing the names of the workers and youth organizations, and distributed thousands of instigating, subversive leaflets in accordance with instructions from the West.

Typical of this was the work of a group of 180 operating from the hospital in Sándor Péterfy Street, under the guise of the hospital and Red Cross. This group was mopped up on 17 November. At the emergency exit of the hospital underground shelter a camouflaged two-way radio set was found tuned to Salzburg and in touch with Radio Free Europe. The captured material included a duplicating machine, typewriters, 4.5 q. duplicating paper. That is where fascist leaflets instigating to strikes were produced in the name of the young people of Ujpest and Kőbánya, the workers of Caepel, welding and steel workers. The gang transported weapons and leaflets to various parts of the capital in lorries bearing the Red Cross. Among the captured arms there were large quantities of automatic sub-machine guns, hand grenades and small arms. The gang operated not only from the hospital, but also from other premises in the vicinity, for instance, the coal depot at Sándor Péterfy Street 19, and a mechanical works at Garai Street 10. Under the stage in the club of the enterprise they hid large quantities of arms, 142 loaded sub-machine guns, 4 light sub-machine guns, 70 rifles, 14 pistols, 350 charged grenades and 4.5 q. ammunition. The gang violated the International Geneva Convention by using Red Cross cars for such purposes and they purposely abused the Red Cross sign to disguise their attacks and plundering.

The already infamous Radio Free Europe gave concrete instructions from counter-revolutionary elements outside Hungary. At the time of the cease-fire, after Soviet troops had evacuated Budapest the radio transmitted orders to violate the cease-fire and to overthrow the Government. Colonel Bell, the military commentator and newscaster of Radio Free Europe, said on 29 October: "Imre Nagy and his supporters are trying to use the modern Trojan horse tactics in a cunning manner. The cease-fire was needed like the wooden horse in Troy so that the Budapest Government which is now in power could keep its position as long as possible. Those fighting for freedom must not for one minute lose sight of the plan of the Government which is opposed to them, because otherwise the tragedy of the Trojan horse will be repeated." On 31 October, Colonel Bell had this to say: "The Communist leaders, who had no business to be there up til now anyway, must

be removed from the command of the Hungarian armed forces. Fellow freedom fighters! Immediately put forward your demand for the Ministry for Home Defence and the posts of commander-in-chief and the general staff. This would be your best guarantee".

On the same day, Radio Free Europe sent the following message to the counter-revolutionaries in the form of a commentary: "The Ministry of the Interior is still theirs, the Ministry of Home Defence is still theirs. Don't leave it at that, fighters for freedom! Don't shelve your rifles. Don't let the Budapest Government have a single ounce of coal or a drop of oil until the Ministries of the Interior and Home Defence are /not/ in your hands".

So as to avoid any misunderstanding, it should be stressed that the appeals of Radio Free Europe were directed against the Government of Imre Nagy.

All these instructions received from abroad appeared on leaflets as demands of counter-revolutionary forces in the country, and abusing the definition of "freedom fighters", the armed and unarmed masses were prompted to fight.

A spy, Sándor Visnyoi, was captured by the Hungarian authorities when he was going to meet two of his agents on the Austro-Hungarian frontier. He absconded from Hungary in 1948, first joining the Americans and later the West-German Gehlen intelligence service which is financed by the Americans. He testified on interference by certain Western Powers, the preparations and counter-revolutionary aims of intelligence organs and Hungarian fascists financed by them. He himself had sent more than twenty agents to Hungary. Former Horthy army officers, members of the Gehlen agency, were employed to prepare the Hungarian counter-revolution, such as György Kellényi, László Szita, Jenő Andreánszki, who was deputy Foreign Minister under the Arrow Cross rule, Frigyes Laczkó and others. Some members of that organization were continuously at the Austro-Hungarian frontier during the October events. Kellényi instructed his agents who were sent to Hungary on 1 November to report to Major General Béla Király, the same Király who testified to the Committee.

Arms of foreign make were supplied to the counter-revolutionary forces sent from abroad and to those in Hungary themselves. This is proven by the arms captured by the armed forces, among which were found Berhardt, Luger and Parabellon pistols manufactured by the German armaments industry, Brownings of Belgian make, Colt type sub-machine guns 11.43 mm. with seven cartridges also used

in the United States Army and Tomson sub-machine guns, 43 mm. with 20, 30 and 100 cartridges, as well as Garan type, 7.62 mm. rifles with eight cartridges, which are standard weapons in the United States Army.

### III.

It is the undisputable sovereign right of every State to take through its Government any measures it considers necessary and proper in the interest of guaranteeing the State order and a peaceful life for the population. No international rule of law exists which could serve as a basis to foreign States or international organizations for interference in the exercise of rights by Governments springing from the sovereignty of the State.

When it became evident, on the basis of what has been said, that in Hungary the peaceful life of the population was being seriously threatened by anti-democratic elements and that there existed the danger of a non-democratic, fascist-type system opposed to social progress coming into being, the Hungarian Government exercised its sovereign right and called for the assistance of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Defence Pact so as to avoid further bloodshed and disorder and to defend the democratic order and people's power. With this step the Government warded off anarchy in Hungary and the creating of the situation which would have seriously imperiled peace and security.

The Peace Treaty, signed with Hungary in Paris on 10 February 1947 by the Allied and Associated Powers, put Hungary under the obligation to maintain a democratic order on its territory. Article 4 of the Peace Treaty stipulates that Hungary shall not permit non-democratic, fascist type organizations to exist and carry on activities on her territory. It becomes evident from what has been said that it was precisely the non-democratic elements defined in the Peace Treaty which made their appearance, threatening the democratic order and human rights. The Hungarian Government requested the Soviet Union, one of the signatories to the Peace Treaty, to assist in restoring the democratic order.

As far as the presence and withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory are concerned, this question comes under the exclusive purview of the Hungarian and Soviet Governments and of the other Member States of the Warsaw Treaty. The Hungarian Government once again stated on 6 January that it intended to settle questions in connexion with Soviet troops stationed in Hungary by

negotiations between the Hungarian and Soviet Governments. The principles on which the settlement will be based are laid down in the well-known statement made by the Soviet Union on 30 October.

#### IV.

The allegation that the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, ignoring the interests of the masses, is reverting to the methods of leadership employed prior to 23 October 1956, can only be qualified as having been made with the intent to mislead. The fact is, however, that ever since it came into office the Government has repeatedly confirmed that it intends to solve the country's basic problems by categorically liquidating the mistakes of the past, by deepening democratism and by developing further the great achievements of the Hungarian people in building the democratic, socialist system over the past twelve years.

Obviously the same intention prompted, among others, the malicious misrepresentation that the Government has dissolved the workers' councils. The actual position is that the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic has passed a law decree, upon the Government's initiative, which enables elected workers' councils at industrial plants to share in industrial management, evolve a wage and premium system and promote the workers' social welfare. With the support of the Government, a committee has been set up to work out detailed proposals for greater workers' autonomy.

Other Government measures could also be quoted to prove the complete lack of truth of similar allegations.

It is well-known that the State and party leaders responsible for past mistakes have been dismissed and banned from Hungarian political life.

As for serious infringements of legality in the past, the AVH has been definitively dissolved and those of its members who committed breaches of law will be examined by special committees set up for this purpose. At the Ministry of Justice, the courts, and the prosecutor's offices disciplinary committees have been constituted to call to account such persons.

A number of wage and labour measures have been taken which benefit broad sections of the working population; wages for low-paid jobs and heavy physical work have been raised, such as the wages in mining and the salaries of technical

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personnel; a number of holidays, abolished in past years, have again been declared holidays, such as 15 March and Boxing Day; the 4 per cent tax on childless people has been abolished; those entitled to pensions, which were unlawfully discontinued since 1948, will be compensated.

Private small industry and trade will receive support through credit materials, tools and commodities, and by lower taxation and advantageous price policies.

The housing shortage will be alleviated by vacating office and party premises and turning them into 20,000 flats; 12,000 new flats are being built in 1957 by the State, and altogether 400 million forints will be made available in loans for house-building.

The powers and economic autonomy of the local councils, which are the broadest representative organs of the population, will be increased.

In agriculture the excesses that occurred in developing the co-operative movement have been abolished and co-operatives, whose members wish to cultivate the land individually, can be dissolved.

Those who pursue agriculture as a career have been enabled to purchase and sell agricultural property up to the limit of thirty-five acres. All land can be leased or let. The obligatory sale of agricultural produce to the State has been abolished, as has compulsory agricultural insurance. A special tax, collected from individual peasants as a contribution for agricultural development, has been discontinued.

Considerable changes have been made in education. Religious education has been made optional and secondary-school students are free to choose the foreign language they wish to learn; forms of greater autonomy for universities are being worked out.

A number of demands to make amends for past neglect of national sentiments have already been met. The Kossuth emblem is once more the national emblem of the Hungarian People's Republic, 15 March, the anniversary of the 1848 revolution is again a national day of celebration, and in the army the traditional uniform will be re-introduced.

All these and other similar measures of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government show its determination to make a decided break with all mistakes which caused widespread discontent hampering both the building of socialism and the development of democratic institutions.

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