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M E M O R A N D U M

PRESENTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS' COMMISSION ON HUNGARY

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Aims of the democratic Hungarian revolution.

Illegal and bloody intervention by the armed forces of the U.S.S.R.

National rights of Hungary based on national independence and social evolution.

After eleven years of Soviet military occupation, on October 23, 1956, the people of Hungary rose in arms against the colonial exploitation by the Communist dictatorship. The people of Hungary sought to throw off their yoke, to regain their national independence, and to free themselves from the misery to which they were subjected by the Communist regime. The economic and moral bankruptcy, caused by colonial exploitation and the totalitarian regime, was such that the people took to arms with a unanimity, the like of which cannot be found in history.

It is noteworthy that in this struggle for national independence even some Communists joined the armed revolution to fight against the foreign army of occupation and the fanatical, blind, followers of the Communist one-party system. As a matter of fact, it was the more sober elements of the usurping Communist Party, who realized the complete impasse which the situation had reached and gave the first forms to this development which finally expressed the peoples' will through revolution. Consequently, if we are to evaluate the justifiable and inevitable character of the revolution and the brutal and unlawful forms of Russian intervention, our first and foremost task must be to examine the significant aims of both. What were these aims?

AIMS OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

The Liberation:

Undoubtedly, the Hungarian people, terrorized by the Nazi occupation looked with great expectation to the liberation and the political and economic changes expected to come in its wake. The Atlantic Charter issued by the Allied powers was widely known in Hungary. There was great hope that all the rights contained therein would be introduced in our country.

The people of Hungary were fully aware of the fact that the U.S.S.R. had become their direct neighbor. They gladly accepted the Soviet occupation forces as liberators. They aimed for peaceful economic and political cooperation based on reciprocal, mutual, understanding.

With great regret did we realize, however, that the occupying forces treated Hungary solely as booty. Together with plundering and innumerable atrocities, there came the "friendly" wish -- more or less an order -- to build monuments all over the country, even in the smallest hamlets, "in memory of the heroic Russian soldiers." The enforcement of this glorification was highly resented by the Hungarians. Simultaneously, all the key-positions in the country were filled with those Communists who wholeheartedly and unquestionably followed the Soviet line -- despite the fact that the elections showed that the Communist Party mustered only a small minority of the votes.

Hand-in-hand with the occupation forces, there appeared on the scene even the N.K.V.D. In line with their methods, they began a series of frame-up treason trials. Thus did

intimidation and terror begin and result in the liquidation of the democratic parties and other institutions. Instead of carrying out the human rights promulgated in the Atlantic Charter, they introduced the dictatorship. It is a well known fact -- proudly proclaimed by Mihaly Farkas, former deputy Secretary-General of the Communist Party, as well as by György Marosán, member of the present Kádár puppet-cabinet -- that the guiding force behind the N.K.V.D.'s treason trials was none other than General Sviridov, Chairman of the Allied Control Commission, and that the liquidation of the democratic parties was masterminded by A. Puskin, at that time Soviet Ambassador to Hungary.

Hungary Under Communist Rule

Prior to 1948, people were arrested because they dared to say that the political aim of the Communist Party was to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to introduce total nationalization of industries and to force the farmers into kolkhozes. As soon as the Communist Party, through its reliance on the armed might of the occupation forces, was able to gain complete control over the coalition, by exterminating the democratic parties, it proceeded to establish the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat, total nationalization of commerce and industry, and to enforce the creation of kolkhozes. These were the very aims, the Communist Party had hitherto denied.

According to the Communists, the people's democracy is, in fact, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Practice, however, has shown that those who suffered most under this regime were the proletarians themselves. All the brutal methods of industrialization exercised by Stalin were transplanted to Hungary.

Through the speed-up system of "Stakhanovism", forced labor was introduced under the name of "corrective-educational labor", the drafting of youth for forced labor, prohibiting change of employment -- in short, through all these means -- the Department of Wages degraded into industrial slaves the proletarians who, according to Communist dogma, should have been exercising dictatorship.

The farmers lost their land when forced into kolkhozes. Because of the high compulsory quotas not enough grain was left for the farming families' own personal need. Even "Népszabadság", the official organ of the Kádár regime, admits the Communists' crimes in its issue of December 13, 1956:

"The farmers who did not join the kolkhozes lost their land and instead they received inferior, marsh-land or rocky fields."

Nobody can deny, continues the paper

"that the anger of the farmers against the clique of Rakosi-Gero was fully justified."

However, the question may arise whether only the Rakosi-Gero clique or the whole Communist Party administration can be blamed for these errors. The article cited above leaves no doubt as to where to seek those who are responsible. In regard to the Communist apparatus, this paper had this to say:

"They interfered with production, organization, administration; they were more slave drivers than tutors. They mainly concentrated on production, lacking the technical knowledge of it."

Speed and haste were the sole driving force of their work. On this, the whole state apparatus, the Communist Party and the trade unions were based. The latter, according to Lenin, were not to safeguard the interests of the workers, but merely to act as a transmission belt leading the masses to the Party.

The economic bankruptcy and the constant lowering of living standards were the logic results of this forced labor and inexperienced, incompetent leadership.

The "Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party" (Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt), which has been set up to serve as mere camouflage for the Soviet-type administration exercised by the puppet Kadar regime, has the following to say on the depredation of the "Hungarian Workers' Party" (Communist Party):

"In the administration of the Party and the State, as well as in management of the economic life, it (the Party) established a dogmatic policy and an imperious bureaucratic system. Their detrimental methods led us to severe failures and incorrigible errors. They prevented the broadening of party democratization and gravely sinned against the socialist order. The policy, which was forced upon the people, did not take the economic potentials of the country into consideration and hampered increasingly the living standard. Insulting Lenin's thesis on voluntary principles, they made the production-cooperatives ridiculous in the eyes of the greater part of farming communities. By copying slavishly the Soviet example and misinterpreting Soviet-Hungarian friendship, they gravely erred against Hungarian interests and traditions. Through all this, they severely injured the national and patriotic feelings of the Hungarian people."

After the year of 1948, all industries and workshops were nationalized. The law on the factory constitution, on the legal status and rights of the factory committees, which had been promulgated by the democratic coalition government in 1945-47, has now being declared invalid. Instead, under cover of "democratic centralism" or similar slogans, the cadre section of the Communist Party appointed so-called "industrial captains", who introduced Stakhanovism, the norm system, worker competitions, and forced labor. They bound the workers to their job and the extremely low-level wages which were regulated and controlled by the State Wage Department, were even further reduced by the yearly levies, called "voluntary peace loans." They put an end to the free educational system, which had been introduced by the democratic coalition government. The right to study became either the privilege of members of the Communist administration or was used to train political janizaries. They continually decreased the free old age insurance and established separate levies for this purpose.

And after this "people's democracy" reached that point in its achievements, it surrounded the country with mine-fields and barbed wire entanglements, ^{prevent the} to/proletariat -- the man supposed to be in power -- to escape/this forced-labor camp, once called a country.

The Terror

The record of crimes was, ofcourse, put together by those who themselves were accomplices and partly responsible for those means and measures which were used and which are still in use to guard and preserve the Soviet occupation and the Communist one-party system. Consequently, their honesty is somewhat doubtful.

Therefore, our investigations should concentrate on those facts which might serve to explain why it was possible to commit the crimes and failures, which are now being criticized even by the Communists. To examine these facts is even more important because, should the results show the Communist regime as responsible for them, and should the Communist regime continue to exist in Hungary, we can be certain that these crimes and brutal errors would constantly repeat themselves.

Undoubtedly, such capital crimes against a nation's common interests can only be perpetrated where the people cannot exercise their right to choose their government and where the country is ruled by a dictatorship. The mere presence of the Soviet occupation forces was a force sufficient to annul the old Constitution, to abolish the democratic parties, and to establish and build up the despotism of the Communist Party. To keep this system intact, however, it was necessary to secure the establishment of a special terror-machinery. In Hungary, this institution is known as the AVO, e.g. state police.

Not economic, but purely political, aims motivated the nationalization of the small workshops and trade. The aim was to abolish every trace of individual enterprise and thought. An armed police squad was necessary to assure the fulfillment of such orders, for they were given without the approval of the people. Subsequently, the Communist Party hoped it would be able to indoctrinate the masses, to make them accept with but little reluctance the tyranny forced upon them. To begin with, a threefold^{state}/apparatus was developed:

1. The economic bureaucracy, which not only makes production unbearably costly, but hinders production;
2. The state police or AVO whose task was to control and enforce the execution of orders; and
3. The "educators", that is the institution of spies, who indoctrinate and simultaneously investigate in the interest of AVO.

This threefold terror system was the foundation of the regime. It is through these institutions that the "people's democracy", the "proletariat" dictatorship exercises its power over the people, over the proletarians.

According to the Communist doctrine, everyone has to work beyond his norm, that is more than was originally assigned to him or to his organization. Undoubtedly, this threefold terror system of the Communist regime has also carried out this dogma by exceeding its norm of terrorism. The "treason" trials were followed by "show-window trials". The citizens had no defense whatsoever against the absolutism of this terror-system. People were arrested and carried off without any court trial. The hearings were a combination of Middle-Age inquisition and the ancient Chinese interrogation system. Thousands of people were deported and kept in prison without any indictment or trial. And when a "trial" took place, the judge received his instructions and the sentence to be imposed from the authorized departments of the Communist Party. Consequently, the court procedure was but a tragic comedy. Hundreds of thousands of farmers who loved their land, workers who opposed forced labor, middle-class citizens deprived of their homes and belongings, intellectuals, who longed for freedom of thought -- all these people were brutalized by this terror apparatus.

Only during the time of the democratic revolution, could we get some insight to the horrors of the torture-chambers and dungeons. Only then could an approximate list of the massacres be made public. Prior to this, during the so-called rehabilitation procedures which took place after Stalin's death, during Imre Nagy's first premiership in 1953, the people began to get some inkling of what happened in these chambers.

The exhuming of the corpses of the brutally tortured victims revealed that they were not even buried properly but thrown into roadside ditches. The corpses were very often so mauled that not even the relatives could recognize them. It is, therefore, questionable whether the present tombs cover the bodies of those for whom they were erected. At the re-burial of Laszlo Rajk, the executed Communist leader, a mass of ten thousands gathered to demonstrate not for the late Communist leader but against AVO brutality.

This terror-agency apparatus of 200,000 fulfilled its norm to such an extent that in Hungary there was hardly a family that did not suffer directly or indirectly from AVO's ruthlessness.

As a reward for accomplishments, the members of the AVO enjoyed many privileges. They lived in luxury and, even during the years when consumption goods were very scarce for others, they could buy everything in the luxury shops for ridiculous prices. Their children were educated in special private schools.

This people's democracy was not the dictatorship of the proletariat but the dictatorship of the Communist Party's terror apparatus over and against the proletariat.

Soviet-Hungarian Friendship

The first and most important aim of the democratic revolution was the demand for the withdrawal of the Soviet military forces from Hungary. Our intention was to re-organize the relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union on a new basis, after the withdrawal of the military forces.

The proclaimed intention of the Soviet forces, upon entering Hungary in 1945 was that of liberation and friendship for the Hungarian people. This friendship did not hinder them, however, in taking as war booty the machinery of our factories, the stocks of raw-materials and all stored food stuff on which they could lay their hands. On "request" of the Hungarian Communists, a few morsels of this booty were given back at outrageous prices as graciously given presents from the Soviet Union!

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The 300 million dollars that Hungary was to pay, according to the Potsdam Agreement, as war reparation were calculated and enforced on such rates of payment that the real amount of the war reparations amounted to more than one billion dollars in gold.

Simultaneously, there was started the so-called joint Soviet-Hungarian enterprises setup. Through this setup, all wealth of Hungarian industry -- bauxite, uranium and ore mines and oil fields -- became Soviet property. In the same way, the Russians grabbed control of Hungarian navigation, air transport and all export trade.

Through such one-sided agreements, Hungary was compelled to buy all the necessary raw-material from the Soviet Union, while the manufactured goods could be sold only on Soviet controlled markets. Naturally, the prices which were fixed by the Soviet Union had no relation whatsoever to the prices prevailing in the world market.

As an illustration of the economic exploitation of Hungary, I cite, "Nepszabadsag" the official Kadar organ (issue of December 16, 1956:

"The value of the ruble compared to the forint was 1.50, but the exchange rate was raised to 2.93.

"As a consequence of this, the living standard was lower in 1952, after the termination of the first Communist Five-Year Plan than it was during and after the Three-Years Plan of the democratic coalition government. Why has the general wage situation been kept secret, or why is the public uninformed concerning the country's debts to other countries? Why does no one tell us which trade agreements have been concluded between Hungary and other countries and with which countries."

The truth is that the Communist government never gave any official statement to the public concerning the never-ending war reparations levies -- neither regarding the method of payment, nor about trade agreements. They did not dare to reveal the facts.

In the name of the Hungarian people and in behalf of the Nagy government, which was put into power by the free will of the people, I propose that the present Hungarian puppet-government and the government of the Soviet Union should be requested to make public all agreements of an economic character and their balance-sheets which have been concluded between the two nations.

The misery caused by the economic exploitation has only been further aggravated by Soviet Russia's insistence that the manufacture of consumers' goods be decreased in favor of heavy industry: This heavy industry was to serve and enlarge the Soviet's military potential. It meant that Hungary -- in exchange for the raw materials which she lacked -- had to pay with manufactured goods. Again, the price of the latter was fixed below their original costs.

Hungarian production which was mobilized to serve wholly the interests of the Soviet bloc was founded on ruthless exploitation. Hardest hit by this extravagant exploitation were our oil resources which, in a few short years, lost at least the equivalent to fifty years of production. I would like to cite some examples of such losses aggravated by lack of know-how.

Despite strong opposition by Hungarian experts, the Russians started to build a subway system in Budapest. After losing some hundreds of millions of forints in work and material, they were forced to abandon the plan as impossible to carry out.

Industrial products of this era have been inferior and, therefore, could not find buyers in a competitive market.

In the field of agriculture, the bankruptcy was not only caused by the forced setting up of kolkhozes but also by insistence of Soviet experts that we raise such products such as cotton and lemon, for which the Hungarian climate was not suitable. Here again, I quote from the paper "Nepszabadsag", to illustrate just one of the innumerable failures. (issue of December 6, 1956:)

"The Liberation kolkhozes is in debt to the Government for seven million forints because of its fiasco in cotton production."

I do not need to point out that the deteriorating Hungarian economy was directed and supervised by Soviet experts, hitherto heralded as the best in the world. It is also to be understood that the Hungarian press had to emphasize daily the "everlasting gratitude" of the country for the super-human Soviet achievements. Not only had Hungary to feed the occupation forces but also to maintain a score of "economic experts" who controlled her economy. They enjoyed all the privileges of colonialists.

At this point, I hasten to emphasize again that Hungary was transformed into a police state, where the human rights specified in the Atlantic Charter could not be exercised. Instead of becoming a liberated country, Hungary became a colony. These were the main reasons which gave rise to the Hungarian people's revolution.

UNJUSTIFIABLE, BLOODY AND ARMED SOVIET INTERVENTION

The First Experiment of Imre Nagy In 1953

At the time of Stalin's death, the anger and disillusionment of the Hungarian people were so acute that an eruption could be feared at any time. To prevent this, and as a result of the changes inside the Kremlin, Imre Nagy was asked to form a government. This government dissolved the concentration camps, terminated the deportations, set free the imprisoned Communists, in industry, it eased the burden of forced labor. On the field of agriculture, it introduced the voluntary cooperative movement to replace the compulsory kolkhoze system. Even small individual enterprises in trade and commerce were permitted.

Towards terminating the colonial status of Hungary, the Nagy government intended to buy back the joint Soviet-Hungarian corporations. To serve as a basis for this policy, the government introduced the so-called "Patriotic People's Front" (Hazafias Nepfront).

However, all these reforms, together with a reduction of AVO's power, proved to be insufficient. Nevertheless, even these inadequate measures provoked anger and resistance in the ranks of the old Stalinist Communists. When I said that the reforms of Nagy were not sufficient, I mean that the prison doors were opened only for the Communists. Tens of thousands remained imprisoned. Though the enforced speed-up in the factories was lessened, the trade unions continued to be mere transmission belts of the Party. Consequently, they did not represent the workers or help them to better working conditions. The promises on the field of agriculture remained mere promises because the Communist government agencies hampered their execution. Nor could one rely on the economic independence or on the independence of the re-bought enterprises. The prices paid to the Russians by Hungary for these plants were so high that the government did not dare to make them public. I consider this fact of such great importance that I believe a direct answer to these questions is essential.

The foundation of the Patriotic People's Front did not fulfill the expected political goals either, since this was not a coalition of political parties but a mere conglomeration of various Communist organs. Hence, the easing off of the Communist dictatorship remained an internal affair of the Communist Party. Yes, it was merely an internal "affair" while the Hungarian people were seeking real freedom for the entire nation.

Dangerous Game

While the internal fight between the Stalinists and non-Stalinist groups of the Hungarian Communist Party constantly increased, the propaganda machinery of the Soviet Union operated at full blast. The so-called World Peace Council, at all its sessions, adopted resolutions against foreign intervention. It called for the independence of the colonial countries and justified every armed struggle for the cause of national independence. The Hungarian press was filled with articles praising the heroic struggle of the colonial people for national independence. While all this propaganda was being poured out, our own country, Hungary, herself experienced every evil and the worst disadvantages of colonial exploitation.

The Communist so-called Trade Unions Congress also demanded at all its sessions that the colonial peoples be given the right to form free trade unions and the right to strike, as well as full national independence. Such articles were printed and such ideas were spread by the press of a country where it was forbidden even to talk of free trade unions and where strikers were condemned to forced labor.

The Soviet leaders' trip to India, the conference at Bandung, and last, but not least, the Declaration of Belgrade, emphasized every country's right to choose its own road towards Socialism. All these declarations were like oil on the fire -- a fire which was kept alive by the Hungarian people's love of and longing for freedom.

The Hungarian events reached their critical point with the now famous secret speech of Khrushchev. Khrushchev's condemnation of Stalin's policy brought to the surface all those forces which, up to this point, had been paralyzed by the belief in the infallibility and invincibility of a dictator. As a logical consequence of this condemnation of Stalin, an increasing number of Hungarians felt that all those who followed his policy, who executed his orders, who were accomplices in the Stalinist colonial exploitation of Hungary, had to be condemned too. In Hungary, this development and expression were initiated by the writers' revolution. The intellectuals took the lead in condemning the evil past and in pointing to a new path. It should be pointed out that the writers' revolution was led by Communist authors.

Their "self analysis" showed clear^{ly} that the Communist regime in Hungary found itself in a deep moral, political and economic crisis. A change had to take place most urgently!

Who Resorted to Intervention In Hungary?

If we take seriously the declarations given at various times by Soviet political organs, or if we accept the basic principles of the Belgrade Declaration which stated that the people of every country had the right to choose their own road to Socialism, then Hungary would have had every reason to expect that she was entitled to and it was perfectly legitimate and proper for the Hungarian people to straighten out and reorganize their own internal affairs. However, the fact of the matter is that this search for a solution of the critical Hungarian situation was interrupted by Soviet intervention in a manner which gravely injured the interests of the people.

Mr. Suslov, a leading member of the highest Soviet organs and one who is in charge of Satellite affairs, visited Hungary in the summer of 1956 to survey the whole situation. Mr. Mikoyan, another Soviet Minister, appeared soon after him at Budapest in order to relieve Matyas Rakosi of his duties as the First Secretary of the Hungarian (Communist) Workers' Party. Instead of Rakosi, Mikoyan placed his own man, Erno Gerö, the Hungarian-born Soviet colonialist pro-consul.

But the discontented Hungarian Communists did not accept this new arrangement which was in direct conflict with the principles proclaimed in the aforementioned recent Soviet declarations. They resisted the Gerö regime as well as Soviet intervention. These events were followed by the visit of the Soviet leaders to Yugoslavia and the trip of the Yugoslav leaders to Moscow. On both occasions, the solution of the Hungarian problem was the main theme of the discussions. In consequence of these talks, new Russian intervention took place. At one moment, the Russians thought they could find the solution in appointing Imre Nagy to the post of Prime Minister, while offering Gerö the post of First Secretary of the Communist Party. These facts clearly showed the continuous Soviet intervention. These Soviet moves revealed that the aim of Russian intervention was to keep Erno Gerö, their colonial "governor" of Hungary in an influential post. Moscow's aim was consistent throughout. It sought to perpetuate Hungary's colonial status and to leave USSR-Hungarian relations basically or actually unchanged. No one in Hungary, not even the Communists agreed to this solution.

The First Fusillade

It was against this Soviet policy to continue its colonisation of our country that the Hungarian youths demonstrated when they called their meeting on October 23, 1956. The students, who organized this peaceful demonstration, represented those privileged persons for whom the regime opened the universities. They got out a Memorandum containing sixteen paragraphs in which they suggested internal changes of the regime. They wished to submit this Memorandum to the competent authorities -- to the Minister of State. Afterwards, they took this Memorandum to the broadcasting corporation. It was their intention to broadcast it to the whole nation.

The armed forces of the AVO fired on the group of peacefully demonstrating students. This massacre kindled the fire of revolution. The struggles which, up to this point, had been fought inside the Communist bodies, were now in the open -- out on the streets. This provided the people themselves with the opportunity to clarify their relationship with the regime. The people joined the ranks of the youths who demanded a change.

The workers, who had hitherto followed with suspicion the disagreements inside the Communist Party, thought that the moment had come when they had to take active part in the events. However, in view of the fact that the people saw the root of the evil in the Soviet occupation and in the terror regime based on

the Communist one-party system, they, quite correctly, demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet occupation forces. The people demanded the preparation of free elections. These demands were directed to the Communists in power; and the workers urged that these demands should be adopted by the Communists. Erno Gerö, however, responded with the typical arrogance of a colonial ruler by slandering the people whose struggle against colonialism elsewhere was so often praised by Soviet propaganda. Gerö branded the workers as a counter-revolutionary mob. These were the very workers who, according to the principles of the Belgrade Declaration, wanted to choose their own road to Socialism.

It is necessary to emphasize most clearly and forcefully that the people of Hungary were determined to safeguard all these accomplishments which they had achieved in the past -- namely, during the period of 1945-47. But they wished to maintain these achievements within the frame of a democratic constitution -- for the benefit of the whole population. The Hungarian people did not seek to abolish the revolutionary achievements. This was not their aim. On the contrary, the people sought only the democratic, constitutional, realization of these achievements for the good of the whole population. This is most clearly confirmed by the fact that the Revolutionary Workers' Councils were elected by the factory workers themselves in free democratic elections. These Councils acted as the competent, authoritative, leaders of the plants, and, for a transition period, even as the political leaders of the workers.

The fact that among those who were elected to the Revolutionary Workers' Councils there were scarcely any Communists proves that the Communist dictatorship could not and did not have the support of the masses or the confidence of the proletariat. The industrial workers would not put their trust in the Communists. The Communist "trade union" leaders were aware of this total lack of confidence. That is why they voluntarily relinquished their posts in favor of those old-time trade union leaders who were chosen in free democratic elections and who represented the principles of a bona fide free trade union movement. The industrial workers approved and hailed with great joy the declaration of the trade unions severing relations with the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions and their accession to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. No Communist resisted or opposed these changes.

A UNITED NATION IN COMBAT

It was the AVO, pillar of the Communist terror system, that transformed, through its murderous fusillade, the peaceful demonstration into a revolution. The people took to arms for their own defense. The unity of the country was complete. Students, professors, workers in factories, farmers in the villages, all took to arms. They were joined even by the police and the Hungarian military forces. Neither martial law, AVO's resistance, nor armed intervention by the Soviet troops could halt this movement now. A nation demanding her freedom, the right of self-government, did not retreat. Like one man they roared their wish to the rulers: "We want the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet forces and speedy preparations for free elections."

It was to reflect and to respond to this unconquerable spirit and demands that Imre Nagy formed his coalition government. Around himself as Prime Minister, and Pal Maleter, a leader of the armed Hungarian revolution, as Minister of Defense, he gathered all the leaders of the democratic parties. These democratic parties were the ones that had been approved and accepted by the Allied Control Commission after the armistice in 1945 and had taken part in re-building the country after the war.

I must emphasize to you that these parties functioned as democratic parties, beyond any doubt, until their destruction by the Communists. Istvan Dobi, Chairman of the Presidium, took the official oath from those representatives who formed

the coalition government. Consequently, neither the democratic nature nor the constitutional character of this Imre Nagy government can be legitimately or justifiably questioned by any one. Most probably these were the main reasons which led the Commander of the Soviet occupation forces to accept this Imre Nagy government as the negotiating party. The agenda comprised discussions on restoration of order, on production and even took up the question of withdrawal of the Soviet forces.

It is most regrettable that this spontaneous will of the Hungarian people for negotiating honestly was not met with equal honesty by the Soviets. Despite all their promises to withdraw their army of occupation, the Soviet authorities called for more armed forces to drown in blood the democratic revolution of the Hungarian people.

A R M E D I N T E R V E N T I O N

I hasten to point out that not all the representatives of the democratic parties, who were called to take seats in Imre Nagy's cabinet, desired to take ministerial responsibilities. Imre Nagy and his Communist friends, as well as the Chairman of the Presidium, Mr. Istvan Dobi, were those who invited the leaders of the democratic parties to take posts in the government. This invitation came because of the request of those ad hoc committees who represented the revolutionary forces throughout the country. But, as a precondition for their joining the government, the leaders of all the democratic parties demanded that the reorganization of their parties must be made possible and that the government should be only temporary in character ~~to~~ to act as negotiator for the withdrawal of the Soviet occupation forces and to be in power only until free elections are held.

The policy of this coalition government was based on principles of those social reforms and revolutionary achievements which were adopted during the period of 1945-47. It is not true that the government wished to restore and reinforce the pre-war social order. Its intention was to replace the dictatorship with a democracy inside the country. In foreign policy, the government wished to terminate the dependent colonial status of Hungary and to enter the ranks of the sovereign, peace-loving countries. This policy was in full accord with existing international law, with the principles of the United Nations Charter, with the provisions of the Hungarian Peace Treaty. And yes, even with the professed and proclaimed propaganda slogans and promises fanfared by the Soviet government and all international Communist organs in connection with their calls for independence for colonial nations in Africa and Asia.

The democratic revolutionary forces, in full harmony with the country's constitution, abolished the dictatorship and, in line with the principles of democracy formed a multi-party-coalition government. Negotiations for the withdrawal of the Soviet occupation forces began between the Soviet military commander and this Imre Nagy government. The democratic revolution had attained its goal and a peaceful reorganization of the country could have taken its start.

However, the Soviet authorities, contrary to all international law, interrupted the negotiations, arrested the authorized Hungarian negotiators, and over-ran the country with more tank units. The Soviet armed forces destroyed, with furious anger, scores of buildings. They deported and murdered the civil and armed population. Hungary suffered heavier losses as a result of this unlawful Soviet military intervention than during the battles of World War II.

Pretext for Russian Military Intervention

In justifying their military intervention, the Soviet dictators generally give three motives. These are: (1) Danger of a counter-revolution; (2) The Warsaw Pact, and its clauses on mutual military aid; (3) The request of what they call the competent Hungarian government.

What I said above proves that the government of Imre Nagy represented the principles of democratic human rights and the social and revolutionary achievements already accomplished in previous years. Founded on revolutionary rights and constitutional principles, this cabinet was the legal government of the country. By no means did it represent any counter-revolutionary danger. The definition "counter-revolutionary" which was so often used by the Kadar regime and by his Soviet masters, as well, cannot be taken seriously. This wording has been often used by the Kremlin and its puppets as camouflage in a drive to get rid of top Communists whom they wished to liquidate. Such unfounded accusations are nothing else but a return to threadbare old clichés.

Nor does the Warsaw Pact justify any foreign military intervention against the Hungarian revolution. The original text of the Warsaw treaty reads as follows:

Article Four

"In the event of armed attack in Europe on one or more of the Parties to the Treaty, by any state or group of states, each of the Parties to the Treaty, in exercise of its right to individual or collective self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations Organization, shall immediately, either individually or in agreement with other Parties to the Treaty, come to the assistance of the state or states attacked with all such means as it deems necessary, including armed force. The Parties to the Treaty shall immediately consult concerning the necessary measures to be taken by them jointly in order to restore and maintain international peace and security.

"Measures taken on the basis of this Article shall be reported to the Security Council in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations Organization. These measures shall be discontinued immediately the Security Council adopts the necessary measures to restore and maintain international peace and security."

According to the Warsaw agreement, Soviet intervention would have been justified only in case of foreign aggression on Hungarian territory. The only foreign aggressor on Hungarian territory, however, was the Soviet Union itself. Against this foreign intervention, military aid from the other parties to the treaty would have been justified. For reasons which can be understood but not approved, the other signatory powers did not extend any aid to Hungary. On the contrary, they backed the Soviet Union in its illegal and bloody action against Hungary, its freedom-loving people, and its great democratic revolution.

The Warsaw Treaty cannot justify but indict the Soviet intervention.

Obviously, it was the ridiculous accusation of "counter-revolution" and the self-defeating reference to the Warsaw Pact which made necessary the third Soviet explanation, i.e.: It was upon the request of the "revolutionary-worker-farmer" government that the U.S.S.R. intervened.

When stating this lie, they sought to forget that, at the time of Soviet intervention, there was only one government in Hungary -- the legal and democratic government of Imre Nagy. This legal government did not call for military help, but, on the contrary, it negotiated with the Soviet Union about the withdrawal of its troops.

It was well-known that some units of the Soviet forces had been mobilized even during the first weeks of October, 1956 when the discontent and resentment of the Hungarian people were beginning to manifest themselves more and more clearly.

On October 20 and 21st, 1956, the Soviet Union set up floating bridges at Zahony, of the Russian-Hungarian border. On the night between October 23 and 24, 1956 at 1 a.m., the first Russian motorized units crossed the Hungarian border. At that time, no mention was made of the Warsaw Pact. Then, no references were made to any Soviet obligations under this Pact.

While the withdrawal of certain Soviet forces from Budapest was in progress on October 31st, reliable news reached the government to the effect that new Soviet troops had entered the country. When this news reached Imre Nagy, he officially protested to the Soviet authorities. At first, the latter denied the presence of any new troops. Later on they explained that these troop-movements were necessary for consummating the ultimate withdrawal. It was then suggested by the Soviet authorities that all political questions should be discussed and agreed on at Warsaw, while the military negotiations were to take place in Budapest.

On November 2nd, 1956, it became evident that the Russian moves aimed at only one thing: to win time. Their military actions only served to enforce their occupation. At that time, Imre Nagy, in his capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs, sent his now famous message to the United Nations. Permit me to read it to you:--

"As the President of the Council of Ministers and designated Foreign Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, I have the honor to bring to the attention of Your Excellency the following additional information:

"I have already mentioned in my letter of November 1st, 1956 that new Soviet military units entered Hungary and that the Hungarian Government informed the Soviet Ambassador in Budapest of this fact and, at the same time, terminated the Warsaw Pact, declared the neutrality of Hungary, and requested the United Nations to guarantee the neutrality of the country.

"On the 2nd of November further and exact information, mainly military reports, reached the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, according to which large Soviet military units crossed the border of the country, marching toward Budapest. They took over railway lines, railway stations and railway safety equipment. Reports also have come that Soviet military movements of an East-West direction are being observed on the territory of Western Hungary.

"On the basis of the above-mentioned facts, the Hungarian Government deemed it necessary to inform the Embassy of the U.S.S.R. and all the other Diplomatic Missions in Budapest about these steps directed against our People's Republic.

"At the same time, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic forwarded concrete proposals regarding the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary as well as the place of negotiations concerning the execution of the termination of the Warsaw Pact and presented a list containing the names of the members of the Government's delegation. Furthermore, the Hungarian Government made a proposal to the Soviet Embassy in Budapest to form a mixed committee to prepare the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

"In request, Your Excellency, to make known the above to the Members of the Security Council.

"Please accept, Your Excellency, the expression of my highest consideration.
Budapest, November 2, 1956

(Signed) Imre Nagy
President of the Council of Ministers
Acting Foreign Minister."

It is an undeniable fact that the legal Hungarian Government which officially negotiated with the Soviet authorities, did not call for armed Russian intervention. On the contrary, this legal government protested against it, severed its ties with the Warsaw Pact countries, announced the country's neutrality, and appealed to the United Nations for help against the Soviet aggression.

Only after these steps were taken by Imre Nagy, did the Soviet Ambassador to Hungary, Antropov, call for Ferenc Munich and Janos Kádár; on the premises of the Soviet Embassy, they started negotiations for the formation of a puppet regime. What was this if not undeniable illegal intervention in Hungary's internal affairs? This puppet-regime made its existence known only on November 5, 1956. Two days after that, the Soviet military units opened fire against the defenseless Hungarian cities.

In view of these facts, it is quite clear, that if anybody called for intervention it was only Kádár's so-called "revolutionary-workers-farmers" puppet government. This puppet government called for Russian help to crush the non-existing counter-revolution. The armed military forces that invaded Hungary put aside and arrested the members of the legal government. The establishment of the puppet Kádár regime was nothing but a resort to camouflage, to disguise the armed Soviet intervention, to deceive the foreign missions in Budapest. This puppet regime then, in its turn, sought to put the stamp of legality on the Soviet Union action.

The Crime Committed Against The Nation's Future

The Kádár regime which has been forced upon the nation had no power whatsoever. It is not true that this government was supported by the revolutionary workers or farmers. The Hungarian revolution was not crushed by the workers and farmers, who themselves fought for the ideas of the revolution. It is not the workers or farmers who wished the re-birth of dictatorship and Soviet colonisation. These were the aims of the Soviet military forces who drowned in blood the people's revolution.

Against Soviet military intervention and against the puppet-regime, the Hungarian industrial workers demonstrated by declaring and organizing a most effective general strike. At their meetings, the Workers' Councils demanded anew that the Kádár-government should negotiate for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops.

K.Grebenyik, Russian Major General and Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Units in Budapest, declared: "You have to understand that it is not the Kádár government who governs here, but the Soviet military dictatorship and they have sufficient power to force the Hungarian workers to take up their work."

The same Soviet officer published and distributed the following leaflet:

"Citizens of Budapest!

"We crushed the main centres of the counter-revolution. The remnants of the Fascist hordes infiltrated into the west^{ern} parts of the city. They penetrated into private and public houses and intentionally started new fights in parts of the city where there are many shops, churches, cultural institutions, and historic buildings.

"These bandits threaten the life of passers-by and even peaceful homes, because they provoke the Soviet military units and force them to shoot. Citizens of Budapest! For the sake of a speedy restoration of order and to avoid more victims I ask you to watch and guard carefully your ~~house~~-blocks, streets and dwelling houses! Organize a guard-system for dwelling houses and public buildings; don't let the counter-revolutionary gangsters enter your homes, cellars or attics!

"For your and their own benefit make them surrender. Inform the Soviet military authorities and the Commander of the City about the location of these counter-revolutionaries as well as their arsenal.

"The better the citizens of Budapest cooperate to regain order, the sooner will the peaceful, calm life return to the city!

Commander-in-Chief of the
Soviet Military units in Budapest.
K. GREBENYIK
Major General of the Guards"

This leaflet not only admits proudly that the Soviet troops crushed the Hungarians' fight for freedom but openly asks the citizens to denounce their compatriots. Not one word about the puppet regime! The leaflet only stresses that the Soviet military authorities are the sole rulers.

It was not sufficient for the foreign aggressors to crush the Hungarian war of independence. They took hostages and the captured independence fighters were imprisoned. Deportations en masse soon began.

According to a railway worker of the Budapest-Zahony line, on one day he met five trains which carried deported persons toward the Soviet Union. The deportees threw out addresses and messages through the railway windows. I am in possession of several such letters, which cry out for help. Let me quote one as an example:

"We beg our countrymen who find this wallet to inform our families about this sad news.

"We are about 1,500 persons in this train. They take us to the Soviet Union. Please inform our families."

This message was signed by nine persons giving their names and exact home addresses.

All other messages contain similar texts; and they all give detailed, exact addresses. Two railway workers found these messages on November 13, 1956 near the tracks of the Cegled railway station.

In my possession is also a list containing the names of four professors and 26 students of the university of Veszprem. This list was brought to me by a youth member of the group who was released at Ungvar (USSR).

The Budapest Workers' Council sent a message to Ferenc Munich in protest against these deportations. Ferenc Munich, who held the post of Minister of the Interior in the Kadar puppet regime, did not deny the occurrence of deportations. He promised to intervene to assure their termination by the Soviet authorities.

It is well-known that Istvan Szirmai, at a press conference, given for foreign journalists, admitted the deportations, but he emphasized also that all deported had been brought back already. Though this statement was recalled the day after it was made, it cannot alter the fact that even the Kadar regime admitted the deportations.

The pressure of the public was so great, however, that the Kadar administration felt itself forced to publish the following statement. "Nepszabadsag" December 1, 1956:

"The prisoners captured by the Soviet forces are gradually handed over to the Hungarian authorities.

"...the Soviet Military Commander supports the Hungarian High Court in its work."

All this makes it quite evident that the Soviet military units hold thousands of Hungarians imprisoned. They hand them over only "gradually" to the Hungarian authorities -- to Hungarian authorities who, according to the paper, enjoy the full support of the Soviet military forces. With the help of certain Hungarian Quislings, the Soviet authorities wallow in revenge.

The armed aggressors turned their full rage against the youth. They wanted to punish them -- the very youth whom they themselves trained for guerilla fights, and who, in their turn, inspired and guided by their national feelings, turned against their tutors.

On account of the mass kidnappings and deportations, a great part of the Hungarian youth felt themselves compelled to take to flight. Out of approximately 160,000 refugees, 56 per cent are workers, 26 per cent public school pupils, and 5 per cent university students. 70 per cent of the refugees are younger than 30 years of age, while 50 per cent of them are between 16-25 years old.

If we add to these figures the number of victims and those who have been deported, we can come to the conclusion that the Soviet intervention into Hungary's internal affairs not only deprived the people of their freedom and right of self-government but also made the nation's future uncertain. The lack of these workers and academic youths not only paralyze the economic life of the country, but, as they are mainly men, even the country's further population progress is at stake. Soviet armed intervention can, therefore, be defined as assassination of a nation. Here we have a case of ruthless genocide by Russia against the Hungarian people.

Here I wish to point out that the Convention on "The Crime of Genocide", which has been adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, has been ratified as of July 1956 by fifty-two governments among others also by the government of Hungary and the government of the U.S.S.R.

I believe that the member states of the United Nations Organization should exert all their influence in order to re-establish Hungary's right for self government and to make the speedy return of all deported possible.

A NATION'S DESIRE TO LIVE

The Soviet Arrangements In Hungary

It is well known that the arrangement and agreement reached between the Yugoslav Government and the so-called Kádár government guaranteed complete freedom of movement for Imre Nagy, Prime Minister, and his group who had taken refuge at the Legation of Yugoslavia. Only because he was cognizant of and relied on this agreement, did Imre Nagy and his associates leave the premises of the Yugoslav Legation. It is well known that when Imre Nagy and his party, which comprised several legal Ministers of State, left the Yugoslav Legation's building they were kidnapped by the Soviet authorities. They were abducted to a secret place in order to prevent them from exercising their legal authority.

This fact demonstrated the brutal reality that Kádár and his administration are not the masters of the situation. Despite Kádár's agreement with the Yugoslav government, the Soviet authorities handled this issue independently and flagrantly violated the above-mentioned agreement. Moreover, this further proves that the legal Hungarian government did not resign and that it is prevented by foreign military forces from exercising power.

In accordance with the Hungarian constitution, no new government can be elected before the resignation of the old one; and as the Nagy government did not, but had even no possibility (on account of their having been kidnapped by Soviet military units) to resign, the Kádár administration cannot be considered as the legal government of the country. Consequently, Hungary

has, at the moment, one legal constitutional government -- that of Imre Nagy. The Kádár government is a puppet outfit put into power by the armed aggressors merely to camouflage foreign influence and rule in Hungary.

Taking all these legal motives into account, I submitted to the Credentials Committee and the Secretary General of the United Nations my protest against the acceptance by the U.N. of the Hungarian delegation which represents nothing but an illegal, non-constitutional government. I repeat this protest now before your distinguished Commission and request, therefore, that the representative of the constitutional Hungarian government, myself should be recognized as Hungary's official delegate to the United Nations.

Another example of why the Kádár regime is not a real government but solely a puppet in the hands of the Soviet masters is the Kádár declaration as of January 6, 1957. His earlier promises for the re-establishment of human rights, for the forming of a coalition government which is based on the will of the people were revoked immediately after Khrushchev's and Malenkov's visit to Hungary. Following their instructions, Kádár again called into life the one-party dictatorship.

The Kádár regime serves not only as camouflage for the revenge campaign of the Soviet forces, but uses force itself. The democratic Workers' Councils were dissolved and the Kádár regime tried to place its own men into the newly formed Workers' Councils. Those who resisted this arrangement were arrested and imprisoned. The free trade unions which had been reorganized during the revolution became again the slave-driving agencies of the Communist state. Strikes are again being punished by death penalty. The Kádár regime continually intimidates the people with the threat and use of the death penalty against the population demanding freedom and independence. While the people struggle again in the face of savage terror, the old-Stalinist figures are re-appearing on the scene to commit new and repeat old crimes-- crimes which they themselves have admitted to have perpetrated.

AGAINST THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP!

The statement promulgated by the Kádár regime and published in the January 6, 1957 issue of "Nepszabadsag" again and again refers to the Leninist theory of dictatorship of the proletariat. There can be no doubt that the Kádár regime intends to rebuild the Communist dictatorship. But the workers fight against this ghastly attempt by strikes and passive resistance. And not even the Kádár regime dare openly to call the Hungarian workers Fascists -- especially since it wants to appear as a regime based on broad working class support.

Their initial proclamation of ruling in favor of the workers and the Workers' Councils has been quickly turned into a dictatorship ^{and terror} against the workers. The facts are the following. Let me quote the editorial of "Nepszabadsag", December 16, 1956:

"The Revolutionary-workers-farmer government, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party has confidence in the Workers' Councils and considers them as the most important organs and as the greatest achievement of the working class."

But the Workers' Councils do not trust the Kádár "workers-farmers"-government and its Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. There is no doubt that the workers do not want the return of a Lenin-type proletariat dictatorship.

On November 16, 1956, the leaders of the Workers' Councils met Janos Kádár for negotiations. During these negotiations, they openly told Kádár that they considered him a traitor to his country and presented their demands, which are:

- a) The immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Budapest, further their withdrawal from the whole country within a certain time limit;
- b) The complete dissolution of the AVH -- secret political police, and the trial and punishment of those members who committed crimes against the people;
- c) A newly organized armed force recruited among those who were selected by the revolutionary forces. In order to strengthen these forces, a workers' militia should be organized to safeguard the workers' interests.
- d) Free elections with the participation of several parties;
- e) Public discussions to clarify the position of Imre Nagy;
- f) Permission should be given to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to visit Hungary;
- g) Possibilities for the start of a full-scale production;
- h) To secure the right of the workers to strike;
- i) To secure a loan from the West in order to rebuild the country.

The above memorandum comprises the ~~wishes~~ wishes of the broad Hungarian masses, while the program of the Kadar regime -- which calls itself the true representative of these masses -- in fact stands for and lives by the following policies in practice:--

- a) The presence of the Soviet troops represent the source of its power;
- b) The AVH, political police, are not to be dissolved but, on the contrary to be used as a complementary force to the occupation troops. No juridical trials will be held against the Communist terrorists of yesterday, but sentences, often the death penalty, will be applied against the participants of the revolution;
- c) No armed force will be established in accordance with the demands of the revolutionary committees, but only in accordance with the instructions received from the foreign interventionists. No armed workers militia is to be organized. Instead all armed worker units who do not lay down their arms are to face the death penalty.
- d) Instead of instituting free elections with several parties participating, it insists on the maintenance of the one-party system.
- e) It does not give any possibilities for the clarification of Imre Nagy's position; instead it continually denounces him.
- f) Having continually rejected and disregarded the repeated United Nations resolution to date, it has given no opportunity for the Secretary General and the United Nations observers to fulfill their task;
- g) Concerning production, it wishes to maintain the work-methods introduced by dictatorship;

- h) Instead of according the right to strike, it imposes the death penalty against strikers;
- i) Instead of seeking the suggested loan from Western powers to rebuild Hungary, it binds our land with new obligations to the Soviet bloc countries.

If we add to all this the fact that the Kádár regime has proclaimed martial law, that the leader of the Independent Small Holders Party had to retire from political life, and that the Petöfi Party had to dissolve itself, it is quite evident that this regime is not supported either by the workers or the farmers. The people of Hungary persist in their will for democracy and the Kádár regime does not wish to serve the interests of the people but follow fully the armed aggressor's instructions.

Consequently, it is not the people's will which prevails in Hungary. It is a regime, put into power by foreign armed intervention which rules the country and exercises tyranny. This is a brutal violation of existing international law, the principles laid down in the United Nations Charter, and the Hungarian Peace Treaty. And this was only made possible by the invading armed Soviet forces.

Taking into consideration that the United Nations Charter comprises a paragraph on infringement of lawful rights and that the Charter also provides for measures to be taken in remedy thereof, I urge that these measures should be applied. In this spirit, I request that:

1. The United Nations should use its influence and intervene for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory, whose presence there is contradictory to international law.
2. The United Nations should guarantee the personal freedom of the members of the Nagy government in order that this government should be able to undertake preparations for free elections.
3. That until such time as free elections can be held, there should be pursued a course of action, similar to the one taken in regard to the Egyptian situation -- to which even the U.S.S.R. gave its consent. That is, a United Nations Supervisory Police Force should be sent to Hungary.
4. That the United Nations should call for the extension of loans and grants to the Nagy government in order to enable it to rebuild and restore those damages and losses which have been caused by the Communist dictatorship and foreign armed intervention.
5. Until such time as these measures can be put into effect, I request that the ^{present} Hungarian delegation to the United Nations, which represents a regime put into power by armed foreign intervention, should be excluded from the United Nations Organization and, as the only member, on free soil, of the legal constitutional Hungarian Government, I should be recognized as Hungary's delegate to the United Nations.

New York JAN 28 , 1957

ANNA KÉTHLY
Minister of State

