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Speaking for the Silenced, Tortured, and Enslaved Hungarian Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 2, 1957

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following declaration regarding the Hungarian problem which has been signed by several leading Hungarian associations in this country:

SPEAKING FOR THE SILENCED, TORTURED, AND ENSLAVED HUNGARIAN NATION

Recalling that on February 10, 1947, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, together with the Allied and Associated Powers, "agreed to declare the cessation of the state of war" with Hungary and for this purpose concluded a treaty of peace which was "to form the basis of friendly relations between them," (see preamble of the Hungarian Peace Treaty);

Noting that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, an original member of the United Nations, has assumed the solemn obligation to refrain in her "international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations" (Charter of the United Nations, art. 2, point 4.);

Noting further that it is an expressed purpose of the United Nations "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" (Charter of the U. N., art. 1, point 2), and for these ends "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors," (preamble of the U. N. Charter);

Pointing finally to the wartime and post-war agreements concluded by two Western great powers with the Soviet Union by which Hungary, among other states, was promised undisturbed exercise of her inalienable right to choose by free and unfet-

tered elections a government under which she wanted to live; we herewith solemnly declare:

1. The Soviet Union is guilty of aggression against the independence of Hungary and of armed intervention in her internal affairs, as well as of massacre, hanging, deportation, mass arrest and various other crimes and atrocities committed against the Hungarian civilian population.

2. Since October 25, 1956, there exists a state of war between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Nation brought about by the Soviet Union's breach of peace within the meaning of article 39 of the United Nations Charter.

3. Peaceful attempts at halting the annihilation of the Hungarian Nation by the Soviets having proved futile, we herewith accept the Soviet challenge. We pledge ourselves to carry on all the duties and claim for Hungary all the rights deriving from the state of war existing between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian Nation. We will continue our fight until the criminal Soviet invaders have been ousted from the soil of Hungary.

We appeal to all free nations and to decent people all over the world to join in this struggle imposed on us by the Soviets for the restoration of peace and decency. Help us to save from extinction the brave Hungarian people who are sacrificing themselves for our common ideals.

Concerning the Hungarian tragedy, the following relevant facts should be noted:

(a) The United States Mission to the United Nations released to the press on May 2, 1957, a letter by Ambassador Lodge to Mr. Hammarskjöld transmitting a United States report to the Special United Nations Committee on the problem of Hungary and giving United States observations on developments in Hungary from October 23, 1956, to February 20, 1957. This report qualified the Soviet intervention in Hungary as an outright military attack opposed by the Hungarian people (point 7). The methods used by the Soviet forces to crush the independence of Hungary were those used in war. They included direct military action, with attendant slaughter and physical destruction, mass arrests, deportations of Hungarian citizens to the U. S. S. R. and elaborate efforts to deceive the Hungarians and the world by fraudulent negotiations. * * *

This military action involved conflict between the armed forces of one nation—in overwhelming superiority * * * and the people of another nation, people poorly armed and organized, but effectively united against the enemy (point 3). The Soviet intervention was imperialist by definition for a national opposition movement was crushed by foreign armed forces and a puppet government installed which represented the interests of the alien occupying power rather than those of the people (point 8). The present regime was installed by and continues to exist and to function solely because of the continued presence of Soviet armed forces (point 9). In conclusion the report remarks that the methods that Soviet communism used to suppress Hungarian independence were monstrous in the extreme.

The United States' report thus leaves no doubt that the Soviet Union is guilty of armed aggression against Hungary, a comparatively small neighbor indeed. The Soviets committed, and are committing, acts of war in order to prevent the Hungarian people from establishing a government of their own choosing and in order to keep the Hungarian people in bondage.

(b) According to the Soviet Union's own legal interpretation, the Soviet armed intervention in Hungary has to be condemned in the same way as has been done by the United States Government. In 1953, the Soviet Union submitted to the United Nations its "definition of aggression," article 1 of which stipulates that the invasion by forces of another State "without the permission of the government of the latter," is aggression. The Soviet definition even goes further for it provides in article 6 that no "revolutionary and counter-revolutionary movement, civil war, disorders or strikes" and no desire "to maintain in a state any political, economic, or social system" can be used as justification for a foreign military intervention.

(c) The Warsaw Pact of May 14, 1955, did not authorize Soviet military intervention in Hungary either, and cannot exonerate the Soviets. Article 4 of the Warsaw Pact allows the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary, but only "by agreement among the states in accordance with the requirements of their mutual defense." The same pact provides that the term "mutual defense" will only apply to an armed attack by another state.

There is no loophole left in the Warsaw Pact which could justify or excuse the Soviet aggression in Hungary.

(d) Since October 25, 1956, a state of war exists between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Hungary. From that day on, Soviet aggression cannot be explained away any more with a request for aid by the previous Hegedus-Gerö government. On October 24, Imre Nagy became the new Premier of Hungary and on October 25 he expressly asked for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. On the same day and for that purpose the Soviet government actually entered into negotiations with Imre Nagy's government. It is also a fact that on October 23 the Soviets agreed to withdraw their troops from Budapest, latest by October 31.

The International Commission of Jurists issued on November 16, 1956, at its headquarters at the Hague a paper on "Hungary and the Soviet Definition of Aggression." The paper states (point 3/f) "that the Soviet government committed and continues to commit clear acts of aggression against the Hungarian government, according to its own definition of aggression." In point 4, the paper adds that "in the illegal detention of the Hungarian representatives sent to negotiate with the Soviet military authorities on November 3, in the forcible overthrow of the Nagy government and in the setting up of the Kadar regime, the Soviet government is self-condemned of 'indirect aggression.'" The final conclusion (point 5) is the following: "The Soviet intervention in Hungary therefore is 'direct' and 'indirect' aggression according to its own definition."

(e) The official record of the United Nations shows that on November 1, and again on November 2, the United Nations received communications from Imre Nagy, at that time Prime Minister of Hungary, which left no doubt concerning the Government's firm stand against the presence of the Red army in Hungary. The first communication stated that the Hungarian Government on that day had demanded of the Soviet Ambassador in Budapest the withdrawal of the Red army from Hungary; that the neutrality of Hungary has been declared; and that the Government asked the United Nations for help in maintaining Hungary's neutrality. The second communication, dated on November 2, informed the United Nations that large new Soviet military units were crossing the border and marching toward Budapest. On November 3, Zoltan Tildy, the newly appointed Minister of State, correctly informed the foreign correspondents in Budapest that the Imre Nagy "Government de-

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clared on its very first day that it cancelled the request of the preceding government and asked for the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops then involved in our (Hungarian) internal affairs." This request removed all legal and political foundations for the interference of Soviet troops. Without the slightest provocation on the part of the Hungarian troops which had orders not to shoot at the Russians, next morning (November 4) at 4.20 a. m. Premier Imre Nagy pathetically announced over the radio Free Kossuth: "Attention, today at daybreak Soviet troops attacked our capital with the obvious intention of overthrowing the legal democratic Hungarian Government. Our troops are in combat. The Government is at its post. I notify the people of our country and the entire world of this fact." With tanks, paratroops, airplanes, and incendiary bombs the Soviets put into effect the wholesale massacre of a peaceful people.

(f) Although refraining from effective action which could have prevented, or, at least, ended the Soviet war waged against Hungary, the United Nations verbal condemnation of the Soviets expressed in 11 resolutions between November 4, 1956 and January 10, 1957, qualified "the intervention of Soviet military forces in Hungary" as "armed attack on the people of Hungary" and as "armed intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary" (Resolution 1004, ES-II). Another United Nations resolution (1005, ES-II) states that "the repression undertaken by the Soviet forces in Hungary constitutes a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the peace treaty between Hungary and the allied and associated powers." Resolution 1006, ES-II "calls upon the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to cease immediately actions against the Hungarian population which are in violation of the accepted standard and principles of international law, justice and morality." Resolution A/Res/407 referring to received information "that the Soviet army of occupation in Hungary is forcibly deporting Hungarian men, women, and children from their homes to places outside Hungary," recalls "the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular the principle embodied in article 2, paragraph 4, the obligations assumed by all member states under article 55 and 56 of the Charter, the principles of the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, in particular article II (c) and (e), to which Hungary and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are parties, and the treaty of peace with Hungary, in particular the provision of article 2."

Resolution A/Res/413 notes "with deep concern that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has failed to comply with the provisions of the United Nations resolutions calling upon it to desist from its intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary, to cease its deportations of Hungarian citizens and to return promptly to their homes those it has already deported, to withdraw its armed forces from Hungary and to cease its repression of the Hungarian people." Resolution A/Res/424 "1. declares that, by using its armed force against the Hungarian people, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is violating the political independence of Hungary."

The United Nations in its 11 resolutions has branded the Soviet Union's intervention in Hungary as a breach of the peace and an act of aggression. There exists, in the sense of the United Nations resolutions, an undeclared state of war between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian nation.

Joseph Kövágó, Alexander Kiss, National Representation of Free Hungary; Dániel D. Szántay, National President, Béla Báchkay, Secretary General, American Hungarian Federation; Msgr. Béla Varga, President, Hungarian National Council; Péter Sütő, President, Stephen L. Segedy, Secretary, American Life Insurance Association; Anthony Szápáry, President, Frank Chase, Vice President, Hungarian National Sports Federation; George E. K. Borshy, President, Joseph Kecskemethy, Secretary, the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America; Arch Dean Zoltán Béky, Free Magyar Reformed Church in America; Rt. Rev. Msgr. John S. Sabo, President, Rev. Julius A. Kiss, Executive Vice President, Hungarian Catholic League of America; Rev. Stephen M. Boszorményi Bessemer, President, Magyar Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church; Dr. Anthony Czermann, President, Paul L. Csanády, Vice President, Hungarian Rural Association; Rev. Alexander St. Ivany, S. T. M., D. D., President, American Hungarian Library and Historical Society; Dr. Vince Nagy, President, Dr. László Varga, Secretary General, Federation of Free Hungarian Jurists in America; Dr. László Acsay, Elmer Kovács Kézdi, the American Hungarian Fine Arts Association; Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, Rev. Joseph A. Batori, S. P., Ph. D., the Hungarian Plarist Alumni Association.

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