

STATEMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKER-
PEASANT GOVERNMENT ON THE REPORT OF THE U.N.
SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

The XIth Session of the G.A. appointed a Special Committee consisting of five members to investigate the so-called "Hungarian question" (Resolution A/1132), "to establish and maintain direct observations in Hungary and elsewhere, taking testimony, collecting evidence and receiving information, as appropriate, in order to report its findings to the General Assembly." This resolution is a grave violation of the basic principle contained in para. 7 of Article II of the U.N. Charter according to which "nothing contained in the Charter shall authorise the U.N. to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter."

The Hungarian Government declares again that the XIth Session of the G.A. has appointed the Special Committee contrary to the principles of the Charter, that this is an intervention in the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic and therefore its activity is illegal. The Hungarian Government, which pays homage to the U.N., regrets that the organisation, created for the fulfillment of the exalted aims of humanity, has been used for intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary.

In relation to the distorted facts and slanders contained in the Report the Hungarian Government deems it necessary to state the following :

I.

1. The armed uprising which erupted between October 23 and November 4, 1956 in Hungary had for its aim the overthrow by force of the constitutional state and social order of the Hungarian People's Republic, and restoration of the previous HORTHY fascist regime and was directed against the social progress of the Hungarian people. Therefore between October 23 and November 4, 1956 in Hungary the uprising was a counter-revolution.

2. The counter-revolutionary uprising was prepared, was started and was supported by Western imperialist circles.

3. The organisers and leaders of the counter-revolution in Hungary were members of the former privileged classes, and Horthy-fascist elements that had been driven out of power and members of the feudal, aristocratic and noble circles who had lost their privileges.

4. The armed counter-revolutionary uprising was supported by IMRE NAGY and by the treasonous and unconstitutional activity of his group that had infiltrated the Government.

5. The measures taken by the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government during the counter-revolution and after, were dictated by the mandatory obligations stipulated by the constitution that faithfully represent the interests of the Hungarian people. These measures were taken in defence of the legal order of the country.

6. The prevention of the revival of fascism is an international obligation of the government in power. Among others, Article 4 of the Peace Treaty signed by the Allied powers February 10, 1947 stipulates that Hungary will not tolerate the existence of any political or military organisation of fascistic nature on her territory.

7. Similar obligations are imposed on the government in power by the Charter of the U.N. to prevent the revival of fascism.

8. In compliance with the constitution and its international obligations, the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government opposed the counter-revolutionary uprising. Taking into consideration that the counter-revolution was organised by Western imperialist circles and that it gravely endangered the peace, the Hungarian Government - as one of the signatories of the Warsaw Pact - asked the Government of the Soviet Union, pursuant to the terms of the Pact, to make available Soviet troops located in Hungary, in order to help the Hungarian armed forces. The Hungarian armed forces with the support of the Soviet troops liquidated the counter-revolution and restored the lawful order of the country.

The liquidation of the Hungarian counter-revolution is an internal Hungarian matter. For the measures taken, the Hungarian Government is responsible only to the highest authority of the country which is Parliament.

9. In contradiction to the distorted picture painted about Hungary by the Special Committee, the fact is that the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian working people restored the constitutional and lawful order of the country. Our economic life became stabilised. The political and cultural life and the economic activity of the population is now proceeding normally.

These statements are proven by the following facts :

II.

Since 1945 the attempts of imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of our country followed one after another.

In the first years after the liberation of the country the imperialist circles thought that the remaining internal forces of HORTHY fascism were sufficient with support from abroad and through internal conspiracy would restore the HORTHY regime. Among the conspiracies we should mention are the coup d'etat organised by FERENC NAGY, which he had prepared together with the U.S. Minister in Budapest, MR. CHAPIN. Such a conspiracy was organised with the

direct assistance - and in violation of international law - of the American Legation by JOZSEF MINDSZENTY who is even now hidden in that Legation.

The American imperialist circles, deceiving the millions of American and English people who hate the fascists and who made great sacrifices in the second world war, at the end of the war gathered together the fascistic armed units which had been driven to the West and kept them under arms in military barracks and centres built on the territory of Austria and of the German Federal Republic (in FRANKFURT A/M, DUSSELDORF, REICHENBACH, KAISERLAUTERN, STUTTGART, SALZBURG, etc.) From these places spy and saboteur activities are carried out against Hungary. The activities of the military and spy organisations on the territory of West Germany are directed from a centre in Munich located at 43 MARIE THERESIA STREET. One of the American leaders of the Centre now is Lt. Col. SINGER. These organisations are active under different code-names. At 8 ALIWERD STRASSE in ZIRNDORF, for instance, there is a Youth Hostel which is in reality a school of the American Intelligence Bureau (CIC). The Head of this school is REICHER who is of German origin.

Contrary to the deliberately untrue statement that last Fall there was a spontaneous popular uprising in Hungary, it can be proven irrefutably that on the night of October 23, in the Capital within a radius of 27 kilometres simultaneously in many points, according to an overall military plan, synchronised armed attacks were made on important military and state positions. The Radio Building, the long-distance telephone centre, the railroad stations and other railway junctions were attacked. Commandos, prepared in advance, attacked the military barracks in the VIII, IX, XII and XIIIth districts, the arsenals in the IXth district, military objectives in the II, VIII, XI and XIIIth districts and motor vehicle garages in the II, VIII and XIIIth districts.

The counter-revolutionary, fascistic nature of the armed uprising can be proven and emphasised by the fact that between October 23 and November 4 the fascistic political parties that were forbidden after the second world war, were re-established. Seventeen reactionary, fascistic parties set up their national headquarters and started to operate. Among them HORTHY's Government Party, the Party of Hungarian Life, The Race-protector Christian Party, etc. In many towns of the country, under different names, even more fascistic parties were created. In the villages of SZOMOD and TAT (county KOMAROM), in TET (county GYOR) a Nazi Party, the Arrow Cross Party was organised and one could see the swastika on the walls of houses. With the appearance of these reactionary parties started the encitement of international hatred, irredentism, anti-semitism and white terror.

The counter-revolutionaries murdered by the hundreds, in Budapest and in the whole country, people of different progressive ideologies, honoured workers, chairmen of farmer co-operatives and civil servants. At PAPA and in MISKOLC, workers were killed only because they were Jews. In Budapest 1700, and in the country more than 3000 people were put into jail and condemned to death and only the timely appearance of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government saved them. Among the murdered there was not a single factory owner, land-owner or member of the state apparatus during the HORTHY era.

A clear denial of the "popular" and "spontaneous" character of the uprising is that the armed groups of the counter-revolutionaries, according to a co-ordinated plan, liberated from the jails 3324 war criminals, enemies of the people, fascists, spies, conspirators, etc. and 9962 common criminals (murderers, robbers, thieves, etc.) in order to include them in their military units: They were immediately given arms.

The counter-revolutionary bands were robbing and burning. They set afire and robbed the Corvin Department Store, the Hungarian DIVATCSARNOK, MINOSEGI ALLAMI ARUHAZ, NAPSUGAR ARUHAZ (note: they are all large department stores). They set afire the National Museum, the Hotel Royal and other public buildings.

The counter-revolution caused great material loss to the Hungarian people. The value of the robbed and destroyed goods goes into many hundred millions of forints. The whole damage caused by the counter-revolution is 22,000 millions forints.

As a result of the incitement, irresponsible promises and the temptation of the Western imperialist circles about 180,000 persons - among them more than 30,000 youth - left their homes and are now lingering in misery abroad.

Imre Nagy and his group in the Government with his unconstitutional measures attacked the lawful order of the country and supported the counter-revolution. His most flagrantly illegal and unconstitutional measures were:

- (a) He disregarded the highest state authority of the country, the Parliament, indeed he took arbitrary steps to dissolve Parliament;
- (b) He set aside the Presidential Council and did not submit for approval not even one of the measures he had taken;
- (c) He abolished the government and was governing unconstitutionally with a narrow cabinet;
- (d) Furthermore, contrary to Law No. 3 of 1955 and contrary to international law, he denounced the Warsaw Pact, and forced the removal of the Soviet troops from Budapest. All this demonstrates plainly the betrayal of Imre Nagy and his associates.

The imperialist circles of the U.S.A. and of other great Powers - as we have already stated - in spite of their obligations that are stipulated in the Peace Treaty, were for years helping and organising the fascistic propaganda and were preparing the October counter-revolutionary uprising.

We can prove this by the following :

- (a) For the purpose of underground work against the popular democratic countries, immediately after the second world war, great amounts were spent; later the Senate of the U.S. adopted the so-called "Mutual Security Act of 1951" which gave \$100 million and since 1956 \$125 million for undermining the popular democratic states;

- (b) The American Congress in 1950 promulgated the so-called LEX LODGE the aim of which was to help the recruitment of an anti-Communist legion. The strength of the Legion was supposed to be 12,500 and it had to be raised later to 25,000. The members of the Legion were supposed to be recruited from among refugees from socialist countries. These people were supposed to receive different training and after their service in the American Army they were to receive American citizenship;
- (c) A so-called strategic plan in two steps was worked out for the overthrow of the popular democracies. According to this plan the imperialist circles were supporting, by every means, internal force which could be mobilised against the people's democratic order;
- (d) In order to realise their strategic plans and to make their underground work more efficient, they created in Munich a propaganda centre which is working in close co-operation with the spy - and saboteur - centres. Two radio stations are operating (Radio Free Europe and Voice of America) which transmit a programme abusing the regime and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic. They incite the counter-revolutionary elements and they call on them to overthrow the regime. These two radio stations during the counter-revolution were among the main guides of the activities of the insurgents. Colonel Bell of the Radio Free Europe, who we know is in the services of the American Intelligence Agency, laid down the tactical plans and gave the orders. When, for instance, the Hungarian Government ordered a cease-fire in order to stop bloodshed, and the cease-fire was observed by the armed units, Colonel Bell ordered the insurgents not to observe the cease-fire order, not to give up their arms but to continue fighting until the legal order was completely destroyed. The imperialist circles of the U.S.A. and of other great powers sent spies, saboteurs into our country and with the help created by counter-revolutionary organisations (for instance: White Partisans, Loyalist Movement, etc.) Their activity was directed through the Radio Free Europe which kept contact by code messages with enemy units parachuted into Hungary;
- (e) In the Propaganda Centre in Munich, balloons were also organised to drop leaflets into Hungary. Some of these leaflets served the purposes of the counter-revolution. Thus, for instance, the leaflets of the fascistic "National Resistance Movement", were delivered at the beginning of 1956 by this method. These leaflets were printed in Munich;
- (f) From among the escapee-politicians, who wanted to restore the HORTHY-SZALASI regime, some formed a general staff of the counter-revolutionary emigration. They were supplied all the necessary means, and were assured free movement from the U.S.A. to the Hungarian border. They supported the professed fascistic emigrant organisations, like the "Hungarian Liberation Movement" under the leadership of the

HORTHY-General KISBARNAKI-FARKAS, the "BROTHER-IN-ARMS Community of Hungarian Fighters" whose leader was Major General ANDRAS ZAKO and the group of the HORTHY-General, HUGO SONYI. They supported SZALASI's "HUNGARIST" movement which published a newspaper in Salzburg;

- (g) Several leaders and attachés of the Budapest legations of the Western powers were working in cooperation with the organisations mentioned above. Their reports on Hungarian internal affairs was used to establish the tactical steps for overthrowing Hungary's lawful order. On this question, for instance, a telegram of the American Legation, No. A.349 of April 28, 1949 made some suggestions. In 1953 C.R. RAVNDAL, American Minister, and George Abbot, Councillor prepared a detailed tactical programme for the overthrow of the lawful order in Hungary

These legations were before, during and after the counter-revolution in close contact with the counter-revolutionary organs in Hungary and abroad, they advised them and established contacts among them. Such an activity was displayed by the Military Attaché of the British Legation in Budapest, Mr. COWLEY, who was in regular contact with PAL MALETER during the counter-revolution. He advised Maleter on the movements of the Hungarian and Soviet armed forces and assembled data about the equipment of the Hungarian people's Army. After a conference between Maleter and Cowley, Radio Free Europe demanded that Maleter should be appointed Minister of National Defence.

During the counter-revolution in the building of the U. S. Legation in Budapest, two secret radio receivers and transmitter stations were put in operation. Through these senders, reports were received and transmitted.

- (h) During the counter-revolution the Western imperialist circles were sending from Austria, Western Germany and from other places, fascist groups into Hungary. Under the pretext of Red Cross consignments, small arms were sent to the insurgents. The Hungarian authorities captured among others the following different arms that were sent from Western countries:

- (1) U.S. carbine submachine guns manufactured in America
- (2) M.P.44 thunderbolt carbine of German product
- (3) The newest sort of Tommy guns of British make
- (4) West German automatic pistols made by WAFFENFABRIK MAUSER OBENDORF A. NECKAR.

- (i) The gross intervention of the imperialist circles becomes evident from the fact that during the counter-revolution and later, armed groups crossed the Hungarian borders from Western Germany and Austria.

The Hungarian authorities arrested one of the leaders of these groups, JOZSEF KATONA who crossed the border with an armed group consisting of 35 persons. This group was sent by the Caritas organisation in Salzburg which is a cover organisation of the U.S. Intelligence Agency. JANOS NAGY, a former member of the Revolutionary Council at Strasbourg gave evidence about sending 300 foreign legionnaires.

- (j) Western intervention can be proven further that during the counter-revolution several former HORTHY politicians were sent to Hungary; for instance, Count APPONYI and Count FESTETICH. Prince LOWENSTEIN also came to Budapest and he had conferences with MINDSZENTY. FERENC NAGY rushed to Vienna but could not move further so gave instructions to his friends by telephone.
- (k) When the leading imperialist politicians saw that the counter-revolutionaries were successful, they made no secret in their declaration that the counter-revolution was prepared by them. Allan Dulles, the brother of the Secretary of State, and Head of the American Intelligence Agency, said in answer to a question of a newspaperman, that he knew about the Hungarian uprising long before it started. The London radio did not make any secret of its aims either, although now it says that the uprising was a spontaneous one. In October it was urging in several of its transmissions that the state apparatus be overthrown.

III.

As a result of the Western intervention, the independence of the country and the peace became endangered, and the Hungarian people were in danger that fascism would be restored. The danger was increased when IMRE NAGY arbitrarily denounced the Warsaw Treaty which was approved and confirmed by Parliament. At the same time on the advice of imperialist circles in Transdanubia a counter-government was formed which wanted to divide the country in two parts.

In this situation the 16 Ministers of the Government, following their oath, in the interest of restoration of constitutional order and for the sake of avoiding a war, turned against Imre Nagy's traitorous group. The Ministers turning against Imre Nagy's group on November 3rd reorganised the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic under the name of Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government. The members of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government were appointed by the Praesidium of the People's Republic and they were sworn in.

The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government accepted the challenge against the counter-revolution. It declared null and void the illegal, anti-constitutional measures of Imre Nagy and his friends and asked the Soviet Government that the Soviet troops located in Hungary should support the fight of the Hungarian armed forces in Budapest.

The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government after November 4 restored the constitutional order of the country. Through its political and economic measures

the Government gained the confidence of the working masses who in mass meetings, attended by hundreds of thousands, and through production results have given proof of their confidence. The industrial production in August of this year has already reached a 98% level of the production before October. The healthy economic life and the growing confidence can be proven by the fact that the savings in the banks, which decreased by half, is now 1-1/2% higher than it was before October 23. The taxes paid in the first half of the year were 6.2% higher than last year.

The measures of the Government were unanimously approved during the May session of Parliament by 293 members present out of the total 298 elected.

As evidence of the confidence enjoyed by the Government are also the results of the council elections in the first half of the year. In the Spring of the year 7.7% of the posts of members of the councils were vacant. At the elections 94.95% of the 265,630 persons entitled to vote, cast their ballot. By secret ballots 99.4% of the voters voted for the candidates of the People's Front.

IV.

The imperialist circles of some Western countries do not reconcile themselves to the defeat. They are continuing in their inciting propaganda. Such was the purpose of the Report of the Special Committee of the U.N. which was not intended to reveal the factual situation in Hungary, but to carry out enemy propaganda against the Hungarian People's Republic. This is evident from the fact that the Report was printed and distributed in great numbers in several languages before the General Assembly of the U.N. could take a position in the question of the Report. Such practice compromised the U.N. That the Report has a propaganda purpose is demonstrated by the fact that the Foreign Office of the United Kingdom, contrary to all diplomatic practices, has written an introduction to the shorter version of the Report published in England.

The composition of the Special Committee and the methods of the so-called "investigation" were not in accordance with the rules of the Charter, neither with the practices of international law. It is typical of its composition that the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Andersen, who was during the second world war the Minister for National Defence in Denmark, and helped the occupation of his country by the Nazis, by handing over his country to Hitler caused terrible sufferings to the people of Europe, not the least among them, to the Hungarian people.

It is also typical of the work of the Committee that in the Report it depends on anonymous witnesses and persons as for instance BELA KIRALY who was sentenced for spying. The Special Committee attaches great importance to the statements of ANNA KETHLY who was called in the Report always as a member of the IMRE NAGY Government. Contrary to this statement of the Report the truth is that, although ANNA KETHLY was invited to become a member of the IMRE NAGY Government - according to documents in our possession - she did not take the oath. As she had left the country on October 30, she could not have become a legally appointed member of the Hungarian Government.

On the basis of these facts the Hungarian Government is entitled to state that the composition of the Committee and its rules of procedure are unworthy of the U.N. Regarding the falsehoods of the Report, Mr. Hammarskjöld could also convince himself if he were to accept the invitation of the Hungarian Government and visit Hungary.

The Hungarian Government wishes to prove these statements in details by distributing documentary material to the Representatives of the Member States.

V.

The Hungarian Government considers it necessary that the General Assembly:

1. should decide that since the appointment of the Special Committee is in contradiction with para. 7 of Chapter II of the Charter, resolution A/1132 should be repelled and the Special Committee should be dissolved;
2. should condemn the Report of the Committee of Five as an intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary, and for being slanderous and inciting to war. The G.A. should condemn the imperialist forces who for years are undermining the institutions of the Hungarian People's Republic and are intervening in the internal affairs of the sovereign Hungarian state and for endangering peace;
3. should call upon the interested states to dissolve the organisations created for carrying out subversive work against Hungary, as for instance the Radio Free Europe. The U.N. should condemn the steps taken by the United States Government calling upon her to withdraw the financial means which were granted by the "Mutual Security Act" in 1951 for undermining the internal order of other states;
4. should be concerned with the prohibition of the nuclear weapons in order to safeguard peace for the Hungarian and other people of the world, should be concerned with questions of vital importance such as that of disarmament and with the prohibition of the German re-armament which especially is endangering the peace of the Hungarian people.

The Hungarian Government supports the recommendations of those member states who are asking the G.A. to place on the Agenda the imperialist bloodsheds perpetrated in Algeria, Cyprus and Oman.

Finally, the Hungarian Government recommends:

(a) that the G.A. should call on all interested Western Governments to permit and to help the return of the Hungarian minors now living on their territories, and

(b) that illegal and inhuman measures which are preventing the return of the greatly disappointed Hungarian people from the West should be brought to an end.