

3 February 1958

NEWS ITEMS RELATING TO HUNGARY

1. Foreign Relations

- (a) Relevant passages in the letter of Mr. Bulganin to President Eisenhower, released on 3 February 1958. (Reuters)

Moscow, 3 February, 1958 - As to the situation in East European countries, the Soviet Government's position requires no explanation and it is my opinion that any polemics on this question would be useless. It is permissible, however, to ask how is it possible while maintaining normal diplomatic relations with the People's Democracies or with some of them and consequently recognizing the sovereignty and independence of these countries, how is it possible to suggest to other countries to discuss the question of the internal situation in these countries? The Soviet Union cannot be a party to such a proposition which we can regard only as intolerable interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states. I could also ask another question: are there any grounds for any country to assume the role of arbiter and take it upon itself to decide what social and economic system must be established in this or that state?

It was just for this reason that at the Geneva conference of heads of government in 1955 my colleagues and myself declared quite definitely that problems of such kind could not be the subject of international negotiations.

In your argumentation in favor of your proposal for the discussion of this question you refer to the events in Hungary. But is it not a fact that the events in Hungary have demonstrated in the first place that the Hungarian people were able to give due rebuff to the elements which, acting on the instructions and with the support of definite foreign circles, have raised their hands against the social system chosen by the people of Hungary? For our part, we are firmly convinced that in the interests of consolidating universal peace it is imperative for all of us to concentrate our energies on those questions the solution of which would create conditions for the development of peaceful cooperation of peoples and not to allow relations between states to be poisoned by bringing up such questions which could sidetrack us from problems which are really important for the preservation of peace. In this connection, I think you would agree that if we are to be guided by a sincere desire to engage in fruitful negotiations, the persistent bringing up, the imposing, in fact, of such questions which do not meet the approval of other negotiators would be of little use.

- (b) Restatement of United States position on the Hungarian situation.<sup>1/</sup>

In the case of Hungary, neither the United Nations nor, for that matter, the United States, succeeded in freeing the Hungarians from Soviet oppression. But the United Nations did apply - and is still applying - every available effective pressure short of war. A special five-nation United Nations Committee made a report on the situation which was the most devastating report in United Nations history. Twice the General Assembly, by overwhelming majorities, has condemned Soviet crushing of Hungary's independence and of the rights of the Hungarian people, and has demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The second vote, on September 14, showed an even larger majority than the first. By that vote the Assembly also appointed Prince Wan of Thailand, a statesman of world

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<sup>1/</sup> Extracts from an address by Mr. Lodge at the University of Louisville, Kentucky, January 17, 1958.



reputation, to pursue the matter further with the authorities in Moscow and Budapest. In spite of callous indifference in both places Prince Wen's efforts have not been abandoned. Meanwhile the United Nations has twice refused to confirm the credentials of the Kadar delegates. As I announced on December 14, the United States will not hesitate to ask for a special session of the United Nations General Assembly on the Hungarian question if the circumstances warrant it.

That constant hammering on the Hungarian situation has been a real blow to communism is proved by the torrent of propaganda which has come out of Moscow and its satellite capitals, trying to discredit the United Nations Special Committee and everybody else who took a hand in the matter. What hurts them most is that through this experience so many people in the free world, even though thousands of miles from Hungary, have understood as never before the realities of life under communism. That, in turn, has given the lie to Moscow's efforts to persuade people that in the recent words of Mr. Khrushchev, "the communist ideology is the most humane ideology in the world."

It is tragically true that neither the United Nations nor the United States were able to liberate Hungary by peaceful means. But this does not mean, as is sometimes said, that there is a double standard of morality at the United Nations. The United Nations has a single moral standard, embodied in the Charter. What varies is its ability to enforce that standard.

The United Nations cannot ignore the realities of power in the world if it is to make progress, any more than a mariner can ignore the direction of the wind, however adverse that direction may be. Among those realities is the fact that the Soviet Union is one of the world's two greatest military powers and that, although it is often sensitive to the pressures of world opinion, it is totally callous to moral values. With or without the United Nations, we can no more change that fact in the short run than a mountain climber can change the height of Mount Everest.

## 2. State - The death of Foreign Minister Horvath

### (a) Reuters

Vienna, Austria, January 31 - Hungarian Foreign Minister Imre Horvath has had a serious gall bladder operation, Budapest radio announced tonight. His condition is satisfactory, the radio said.

### (b) Associated Press

Budapest, 3 February - Hungary's Communist Foreign Minister, Imre Horvath, died last night following a gallstone operation. He had been Foreign Minister since July 1956 - before, during and after the Hungarian revolt. An active communist since 1918, Horvath was a member of the Party's Central Committee.

Horvath was representing Hungary at the U.N. General Assembly session when the anti-Russian revolt broke out in 1956. He held his post under the short-lived regime of Premier Imre Nagy, then was retained when the Russians crushed the revolt and installed Premier Janos Kadar.



Horvath also headed the Hungarian delegation at the last session of the U.N. General Assembly and attacked the five-nation report which condemned the Russian intervention in the Hungarian revolt. Since his return from New York he had been seen little in public and was not present at the last two sessions of the Hungarian Parliament. Announcing his death, Budapest radio said he had been seriously ill for a long time. However, Ferenc Muennich, who succeeded Kadar as Premier last week, retained Horvath as Foreign Minister.

Andre Sik, Deputy Foreign Minister and Hungary's Chief Delegate at the U.N., appeared a likely choice to succeed Horvath.

(c) Reuters

Budapest, February 3 - by Henderson Gall - Imre Horvath, Communist Hungary's Foreign Minister and voice at the United Nations, died on Sunday night after a gall bladder operation, a Foreign Ministry spokesman announced today. He was 56. The silver-haired, bespectacled statesman, whose son turned against him to join the "freedom fighters" during the 1956 October revolution, was a life-long Communist.

Horvath became foreign minister during the summer of 1956. He lost his post during the short-lived anti-communist Government of Imre Nagy, but regained it after Russian troops crushed the October uprising.

Born in Budapest Nov. 19, 1901, of a worker's family, Horvath joined the Hungarian Communist Party in 1918 and went to the Soviet Union during the 1920's. Returning in the thirties to Hungary, he worked in the Communist underground. During World War II, he was a prisoner in the Nazi concentration camp at Dachau. From 1945 onwards, he represented his country abroad as Minister or Ambassador in Moscow, East Berlin, Washington, London and Prague.

Flags of the Foreign Ministry Building and all public buildings in Budapest today flew at half mast. The date of his funeral has not yet been set.

Horvath sprang into world prominence in November, 1956, when he flew from revolt-torn Budapest to United Nations Headquarters in New York to defend the actions of Russian troops during the revolt and the Russian-backed regime of Premier Janos Kadar.

Defeated in his attempt to keep the Hungarian question off the U.N. agenda - he argued it was a purely "internal" affair - Horvath made a last-ditch effort to defeat a U.N. resolution calling for withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary. It failed.

On November 19, Horvath took the rostrum to flatly deny that any "freedom fighter" arrested during the uprising had been deported from Hungary. Nevertheless, the General Assembly overwhelmingly passed a Cuban resolution calling on Russia to cease deporting Hungarians.

On December 4, Horvath delivered a long defense of the Kadar Government and an attack on the "fascist elements" which he claimed had been the main force behind the revolt. He said the "counter-revolution" had been defeated only because the Hungarian Government had called on Russia for military assistance. During the same debate, he suggested that U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold visit Budapest,



but the following day the Kadar Government turned thumbs down on his proposal.

Faced with Hungary's refusal to admit Hammarskjold, permanent United States Delegate Henry Cabot Lodge said Horvath had put himself "outside the pale of accepted international behavior and common decency."

On December 11, at the height of the debate on Hungary, Horvath walked out of the General Assembly in protest against "insults and calumnies".

Three days later, Australian External Affairs Minister Richard Casey demanded Horvath's expulsion from the United Nations because "the world knows that Mr. Horvath represents Russia, not Hungary".

In May last year, Horvath signed an agreement in Budapest together with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko on the legal status of Russian troops "temporarily stationed" in Hungary.