

MOVEMENT FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE HUNGARIAN NATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS

In recent months Hungarian organizations in the Free World have been expressing their serious concern about press reports that the United States might not renew its request to have the Hungarian problem placed on the agenda of the United Nations next [Seventeenth] General Assembly Session. The elimination of the Hungarian problem would involve the open recognition by the United Nations that its solemn resolutions can be totally defied with impunity and without penalty, thus, destroying the moral authority of the United Nations as an agency to promote peace by opposing aggression. It would remove the main obstacle to the acceptance of the Hungarian Delegation's credentials in the United Nations and to the establishment of full American diplomatic relations with the present puppet regime in Budapest. As for the United States, the final abandonment of American efforts even to seek justice for Hungary through the United Nations would constitute a long step toward the fulfillment of Khrushchev's main purpose, which is to bury the West by destroying faith in the courage and steadfastness of the United States.

The consequences of dropping Hungary from the United Nations agenda are examined in the following Memorandum in greater detail.

I. The United Nations Resolution 1133 [XI] of September, 1957, stated that

"[a] The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in violation of the United Nations Charter, has deprived Hungary of its liberty and political independence and the Hungarian people of the exercise of their fundamental human rights;

"[b] The present Hungarian regime has been imposed on the Hungarian people by the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

This situation remained unchanged and János Kádár, the chief of the puppet government in Hungary, admitted himself on March 4, 1962, that the majority of the Hungarian people reject Communism.

It must be recorded that according to international law the Soviet Union continues to be in a state of war with Hungary. The report of the United Nations Special Committee on Hungary in its final conclusion [point 13] has stated that there has been

committed "a massive armed intervention by one power [the Soviets] on the territory of another [Hungary] with the avowed intention of interfering in the internal affairs of the country ." This correct conclusion in itself qualifies the so-called "situation" in Hungary as being a "state of War ." Soviet armed intervention has created a lasting condition in Hungary resulting in a total breach of the peace but nothing has been done since then by the Soviet Union to end that condition. The Soviet military occupation, the destruction of Hungarian independence and a long series of cruel repressive measures have remained unchanged, and the controls imposed by the Soviets on Hungary have been tightened instead of being released. Soviet controls have been enforced despite the apparent relaxation of terrorism and Kádár's conciliatory words -- never followed by deeds -- are aimed at winning the good will of the West in order to surmount with Western aid the growing economic crisis.

Even though this year it may be difficult because of the increased membership in the United Nations to win a majority to uphold the past United Nations resolutions on Hungary, we are confident that such a majority can be obtained if the United States Delegation provides courageous leadership. Moreover, it is vital for the honor of both the United States and the United Nations that the fight should be made even if in the end it should fail. For in any just cause it is better to try and fail than not to try at all. If the Delegation of the United States stands steadfastly by its principles -- even if it must stand alone -- we can rest assured that the majority of humanity will stand with us, whatever the attitude of the diplomats in the United Nations.

2. Developments in Hungary after 1956, following the destruction of the Hungarian people's fight for freedom have taken in recent years a tragic trend:

To the present day, the persecution of Hungarian patriots continues relentlessly with no amnesty in sight.

The stepped-up war on religion has assumed a terroristic character with 700 Catholic priests and 500 laymen arrested last year in the course of the anti-Church drive.

The backbone of the Hungarian peasantry -- the strongest factor in resisting Communism -- has been broken by forced collectivization of the farmland which by now may be considered as completed [95.5 percent at the beginning of this year].

It is most characteristic for the decline of the Hungarian agricultural production that Hungary, the one-time "bread-basket" of Europe, is now compelled to import wheat from the West. To avoid servitude in the Kolkhoz the peasant youth -- admittedly about 700,000 -- have fled in the last years to the cities, leaving on the accursed land the old people to toil until released by death. Due to the Soviet fear of a recurrence of the Revolution -- as in 1956 -- led by students and workers of the cities, the standards of living in the cities have improved and attract the plundered rural population.

Party control over the Army has become total; the colonial exploitation of the Hungarian economy has been tightened by increasingly overcharging imports from the Soviet Union and underpaying the Hungarian goods exported to Russia. As a result of this draining process, the growth of industrial production in Hungary is the lowest among the European captive nations.

In the field of justice, there also is a consistent retrogression towards harsher forms of "socialist legality."

The despair of the Hungarian people is being tragically expressed in the decline of the birthrate which from twelve per thousand in 1954 dropped to 4.4 by the end of 1960 -- again the lowest level in captive Europe.

The recent legalization of abortions in spite of the decay of the birthrate betrays the Soviet intention of wasting away the yet unborn youth of the Hungarian people.

During the pretended "liberalization" of the Soviet rule, the systematic integration of Hungary into the Soviet Empire is progressing rapidly. With the planned proclamation of Hungary having become a "Socialist Republic" the country will de facto enter as a member State into the Soviet Empire, following in the footsteps of Czechoslovakia, already absorbed in a similar way.

3. In view of the rapidly deteriorating situation in Hungary, a few questions demand conscientious consideration:

a. Can the Hungarian people be deprived with tacit collaboration of the West of their last hope to improve their miserable lot through peaceful means and through the instrumentality of the United Nations?

b. The Hungarian question being the only problem regarding a European captive nation in which the United Nations still takes an interest, is it advisable to demonstrate to more than one hundred million once-independent Europeans now behind the Iron Curtain that a double-standard of international morality has been developed, with the worst form of colonialism accepted in Soviet-dominated Europe, while in compliance with Article 73 of the United Nations Charter, scores of former colonials are being set up on other continents as independent new nations?

c. In case of a tacit deal -- as reported by the press -- between East and West concerning the election of a Secretary General of the United Nations, would it be fair to place the entire burden resulting from that deal on the shoulders of the down-trodden Hungarian people by abandoning them definitively to the mercy of the Soviets?

d. Can it be assumed that the Hungarian nation -- dedicated for over a thousand years to freedom and independence -- will ever accept its inclusion into the Soviet Empire as the final solution of its destiny? What decisions would sprout from Hungary's complete disenchantment with the West? What reactions would be roused by despair in the hearts of the brave Hungarian people?

Whatever decisions may be taken by the West concerning these questions, grave responsibilities attach to the formulation of the answers.

4. Moreover, any failure to place the Hungarian question on the United Nations agenda would sacrifice a principle for tactical advantage which would be resented behind the Iron Curtain as political and moral surrender to the evil forces of a totalitarian dictatorship. In the Cold War, America would find herself deprived of the superiority which she still enjoys by standing up for the human rights and self-determination of all nations, large and small. It would be interpreted as a retreat from those principles on which the life of this great nation is based, without any worthwhile advantage accruing from America from this act of appeasement. And the fact should certainly not be lost sight of that the irreparable failure of the West to brand the subjugation of Eastern and Central Europe as aggression has allowed the Soviet Union to build up her image as an anti-colonial power in the countries recently liberated from colonial rule.

5. In connection with the Hungarian problem the reputation and the future of the United Nations is also at stake. The contemptuous handling of the United Nations' past resolutions by the Soviets and their puppet administration in Hungary, is undermining the very foundations of the United Nations as established in the Preamble of the Charter. It would seem that the time has come for the United Nations to take action in line with its Charter [Article 40] and to "duly take account of [the Soviets'] failure to comply with such provisional measures" as were recommended by the United Nations.

In order to prevent extremist reactions and eventually recourse to violence brought about by despair behind the Iron Curtain as well as for the maintenance of respect for the United Nations in the Free World, it appears indispensable that the Hungarian question be placed on the United Nations agenda and that the United Nations use its influence effectively for the amelioration of the situation in Hungary.

Progress, eventually step by step, could be achieved by carrying out the demands proclaimed by the Hungarian people themselves in their sixteen point program during the 1956 Revolution. They have been and still are:

a. - to prevail upon the Soviet Union to withdraw the Red Army of occupation from Hungary;

b. - thereby to enable the Hungarian nation to exercise freely its inalienable right to self-determination;

c. - and to use the influence of the United Nations to have the basic human rights of the Hungarian people restored. It is a minimum demand that a general amnesty be granted to all Hungarians condemned for participation in the fight for freedom; that the concentration and forced labor camps be dissolved in Hungary; that the secret political trials and executions be terminated; and that discrimination among Hungarians based on class prejudice be abolished particularly in the fields of education and employment.

Not alone the fate of the Hungarian people, the future of the United Nations itself may also depend on the solution of these problems.

New York, N.Y., July 31, 1962.