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Mr. Chairman

Gentlemen of the Assembly of Captive European Nations

A discredited slogan, demanding co-existence with Soviet tyranny is again being spread in the Free World with growing insistence, as if that experiment had never been made. I therefore avail myself of this opportunity to tell you how this attempted solution has affected Hungary, my homeland and what dangers might result from it for the Free World.

1. At the end of World War II the Hungarian people did not freely choose to collaborate with the Soviets. Hungary had been fighting against the Soviets and only against the Soviets. The entire country was occupied finally by the Red Army. At that time, somebody had to take care of the people's needs and save whatever could be rescued from the wreckage. This is how and why collaboration with the Communists in Hungary began.
2. From the first days on, that collaboration proved to be a cruel ordeal. In the wake of the Red Army came a wave of unheard of terrorism intended to create panic among the people, to thereby force them into submission to the Communists. This was and is the only expedient method used by the Communists to achieve collaboration with free nations. The Red Army, upon entering Hungary, had found no Communist organization whatsoever and even hardly any individual Communists. But they dumped 162 Moscow-trained, Hungarian-speaking Communist professionals into the country, among them Rakosi, the present dictator. This was their entire Hungarian outfit, a very weak one indeed, in view of the people's traditional mistrust. Wisened by Béla Kuns failure, whose first attempt at establishing a Communist dictatorship in Hungary was drowned in shame and ridicule, the Moscow imported gang posed at first as champions of national freedom and promised to the people democratic institutions, in accordance with the Yalta Agreement. A coalition government was also formed in which the Communists, from the very beginning, reserved for themselves the key positions. Reluctantly the Hungarian political leaders, whom the Soviets accepted as such, had to yield to the pressure of the Red Army of occupation, commanded by Marshal Voroshilov. It should also be noted for the record that the Western military and diplomatic delegations in Hungary were not consulted, even on major questions, by the Soviets, although according to the Armistice Agreement, they were to exercise equal rights with the Russians.
3. Co-existence according to the Soviet interpretation meant in Hungary unconditional subservience to the Communist Party. This imposition, however, was not accepted by the Hungarian people and Communist ambitions were administered a severe shock in autumn 1945, when at the national elections, instead of gaining a majority, the Communist Party polled less than 17 percent of the votes. Co-existence with the Communists did not prove attractive in view of past and present experience to the Hungarian people; the Soviet charm and their "whip and candy" methods, empty promises and unending terrorism did not work in Hungary. Undeterred, the Soviets proceeded to secure co-existence by destroying or nationalizing the nations material values, all the reserves on which the professional classes depend.

The lasting foundations for political co-existence were also established by the Communists in the first two years with the aid of the Red Army. The non-Communist political parties were disrupted or merged into the Communist Party. The non-Communist political leaders were squeezed out of their office and even of their homeland and, if unwilling to yield, as was the case with Béla Kovacs, Secretary General of the majority Small Holders Party, they were arrested and deported to Soviet Russia by the Red Army.

4. Thus, by June 1947, the destruction of the Hungarian nation's economic and political fabric was completed. Yet "peaceful co-existence" as the Communists wanted it, still remained insecure. The Soviet Army after conclusion of the peace treaty therefore stayed on in Hungary to repress that type of growing resistance, which they found no other means to tackle, that is the moral resistance of the Hungarian people. The traditional way of life maintained in the Hungarian family is based on the Christian faith. The first waves of Communist terrorism had achieved no success in the Churches, nor did their plans for co-existence between state and church bring any tangible results. These attempts at Communist penetration, particularly of the Roman Catholic Church, were directed from Moscow and were resolutely rejected by Cardinal Mindszenty, who led the moral resistance against co-existence with atheistic Communism and deliberately accepted to be crucified. Cardinal Mindszenty, even in jail, inspires the entire Hungarian nation, he has become the symbol of Christian idealism and heroism, whereas the Soviet goal a *modus vivendi*, i.e. co-existence with the church would mean the use of the church at the service of the Communist regime. At the last Moscow congress of the Bolshevik Party, in October 1952, the Party bosses from all lands were ordered to organize "Progressive Christianity" and to draft "peace priests" as their agents to subvert the resisting churches from the inside. Yet Malenkov and Rakosi still have to find out what, from times immemorial on, every tyrant has been wondering about, how brute force could overcome the spirit, immortal and unbroken in men of faith?
5. After almost 10 years of subjection to occupation by the Red Army the resistance of the Hungarian nation remains not only unbroken, but has developed ways and means which appear to be more effective in the fight against Communism than any violent uprising could be, which immediately would be stamped out by the Red Army, the sole guarantor of the continuation of the Communist's role in Hungary. This new form is passive resistance, spontaneous, unorganized, often improvised under the inspiration of the moment, whenever an opportunity presents itself. Therefore, it is impossible to destroy it by any as yet known police measures. The people just don't work. They take it easy. Production is lagging behind schedule. The output is faulty. Stachanovites are treated by the workers as the enemies of the people. As much damage is inflicted on nationalized industry as workers and even passers-by can afford to commit-- windows broken, walls soiled, machines damaged, etc. By the end of May 1953, the Moscow wire-pullers had to recognize that Rakosi's regime was facing the same fate as did that of Béla Kun--that it was being drowned in contempt and ridicule. They had to revert to the soft approach to assure co-existence with the recalcitrant people. Rakosi was told to withdraw from his leading position, production of consumer goods was increased, prices lowered, forced labor returned to their homes in the country. Even the immensely boring Communist propaganda and Marxist indoctrination has been somewhat reduced to improve the nasty mood of the people. Quite recently, the Communist Party also reverted to the discredited system of a political coalition, now called

"Patriotic Front". It should prove how sincerely the Communists desire co-existence with the non-Communists. The people's answer to these tricks is a slogan - "Let us go on as heretofore". This is the worst that can happen to the Communists.

In conclusion I wish to warn my countrymen back home, as well as all Westerners who still believe that co-existence with the Soviets is possible, of the grave danger which this absurd theory comprises, not only for the nations behind the Iron Curtain, but also to the, as yet, free Western World. As early as in 1947, after the Warsaw Kominform Conference Zhdanov had discussed the plan to include the countries behind the Iron Curtain as members states in the Soviet Union. Zhdanov had to die because he had disclosed this Soviet plan prematurely. So let us all be aware that once co-existence of our nations with the Soviets has been lastingly established, the next step to be taken very shortly thereafter would be the final Sovietization of our countries, in order to transform them into military bases for future aggression against the West.

In full realization of this menace I send the following message to my unyielding Hungarian compatriots: God bless you and "go ahead as heretofore"!