

Hungarian emigré activities in Great Britain

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It would appear, however, that although the Government professes to give no help whatsoever to emigrés who seek the overthrowing of Governments recognized by H.M. Government, this principle is in abeyance, partly due to official negligence, partly to deliberate assistance given to such organizations.

It is, of course, not accidental, that these emigré groups in Britain all come from countries where left-wing governments are in charge. Many of these emigrés are members of organizations which have long been supported, financially as well as politically, by American sources.

Until summer 1948 there was no Hungarian emigré activity in Britain hostile to the present Hungarian régime. Since then the situation has markedly changed.

A group of rightist Hungarians have recently launched

in London a 20 page Hungarian political journal containing violent attacks on the present Hungarian regime and on the Soviet Union. This paper is called "Hontalan Magyarok Naploja", Journal of Homeless Hungarians. See Appendix No.1.

Official statistics reveal that in the past year British authorities have brought to this country more than 4000 Hungarian nationals. These Hungarians have been recruited for employment from the Western Zones of Germany and Austria. Though it has been established beyond a doubt that the greater part of them left Hungary with the retreating German Army in the spring of 1945. See Appendix No. 2.

Their papers, "Hungarian Week" and "Hungarian Life", published by Joseph Süli and Louis Füsti-Molnar, respectively, violently attack the Hungarian Government and the Soviet Union. Their organizations are as follows: "Hungarian Freedom Movement", "Hungarian Co-operation in the West", "Hungarian Christian Peoples' Movement", the London group of the "Hungarian Democratic Emigrés", "Hungarian Community Movement", "St. Stephen's Association of Hungarian Emigrés", "Association of Hungarians in Great Britain" (organized by Joseph Süli) and various allegedly religious bodies.

Surely the interests of this country lie in the maintenance of peace and co-operation with Eastern Europe and in the further extension of trading relations with those countries.

Our trade last year with Hungary alone brought £ 5m. worth of foodstuffs to the British people.

Is it not a disservice to this country to encourage militant rightist groups to create conflicts between Great Britain and Hungary? Is it in the interests of the British people that Nazis, fascists and their like should abuse British hospitality by carrying on political activities in Great Britain?

Appendix No. 1.

The "Journal of Homeless Hungarians" which is printed in Hungarian contained a remarkable news item in its second issue, concerning the formation in London, on September 3 of a Hungarian organization called "Committee of the Relief Organization of Hungarian Refugees in England". Leading members of this Committee are listed as follows:

1. Leopold Baranyai, President of the Hungarian National Bank under the Horthy regime.
 2. Victor Kruchina, officer of the former Hungarian Army and post-war Deputy-Chief of the Hungarian Military Police,
 3. Louis Nagy, formerly in the Hungarian Diplomatic Service, resigned in March last,
 4. Béla Menckzer, Correspondent of the London "Tablet",
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 6. Victor Stankovich, Staff member of the Hungarian Section of the B.B.C., formerly employed by the Political Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office,
 7. László Békéffi, Editor of the "Journal of Homeless Hungarians".
- Other Committee members named in the Journal's report include all-egged Hungarian political refugees - many of them displaced Civil Servants who belonged to the right wing of the Smallholders' Party led by Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary and now a member of the so-called Green International, a committee of Eastern European right-wing peasant leaders in U.S.A.

It is no secret that the twenty-odd men who have formed the "Committee of the Relief Organization of Hungarian Refugees in England" are not first and foremost interested in relief work but are a group of very active politicians who have now decided to create a branch of the pro-American "Green International" in England.

Activities of Mr. Ferenc Nagy

During an autumn tour in Europe, Mr. Nagy was expelled from Turkey in September for having politically abused his permit to stay in that country. On his way back to America Nagy had discussions with London Hungarian emigrés, and gave them directives.

It should be noted, however, that Mr. Nagy, who travels extensively with the helpful aid of a "diplomatic" document probably issued to him by the U. S. State Department, does not exclusively confine his organizing abilities to his fellow countrymen. He

also gives "guidance" to right wing and peasant party emigré groups of Poles, Rumanians, Yugoslavs, etc. It would appear, therefore, that the strategy of Mr. Nagy is primarily based on the creation of a united front of emigrés all over Europe, in accordance with a preconceived plan worked out by a mysterious "General Staff" in America.

A few months ago the Nagy movement obviously decided to cross the political Rubicon and extend the hand of friendship to former Hungarian Nazis and Horthy officers living anywhere as "E.V.W.s" or "D.P.s". General Henyei, e.g., leader of a Horthy-Hungarian military organization functioning in the American Zone of Germany, supports the Nagy organization. This, in conjunction with information which follows later in this Appendix gives rise to well-founded suspicions that Nagy and his friends in the "Green International" are already preparing to form secret military organizations which may enter Hungary, at an appropriate time to play the traditional counter-revolutionary role of fascist organizations.

The Turkish Government, when it asked Mr. Nagy to leave the country declared, that rights of political exiles excluded any rights to participate in political activities or plots directed against any government. Does this principle, formerly adhered to by the governments of all civilized nations still apply to policies pursued by H.M. Government?

Relief or Counter-revolution?

It is reliably reported that the "Committee of the Relief Organization of Hungarian Refugees in England" was advised by a leading rightist emigré in London to adopt the title of a "Relief" Committee in order to facilitate assistance from the British authorities.

Relief Despite this facade, however, this Hungarian emigré Committee in London is affiliated to the American group of Hungarian emigrés who have actually formed a "National Committee" or "Parliament".

The members of the American based counter-Parliament are former Hungarian M.P.s who are actively opposed to the present, legally and democratically constituted Government of Hungary. Even M.P.s who served in the war-time collaborationist Hungarian Parliament are admitted as members of this so-called "National Committee" in America, and serve on its various "Commissions", which include a "Defence Commission", a "Foreign Affairs Commission", a "Finance Commission", etc. Their Presidents are re-

garded by members of the "National Committee" as "Cabinet Ministers". Some of them - such as Mr. Sulyok, former opposition leader in Hungary - regularly contribute to the "Journal of Homeless Hungarians", organ of the self-styled "Relief" Committee in London.

Obviously, the Hungarian "Counter-government" in America has now its branch in London, and it is therefore particularly objectionable that this "Relief" Committee should have confidently proclaimed its intention to "organize" the 4-5000 Hungarian pro-Nazis and militarists now living in Britain under the guise of "E.V.W.s".

Mr. Sulyok wrote an article for the "Journal of Homeless Hungarians" on the "Prospects of Our Liberation Work", in which he declared: "We can not reject the help of Horthy supporters... we can not permit ourselves the luxury of neglecting right-wing forces... Our ranks are open to them if they want to work for the liberation of Hungary." Declaring that "Towards the left we must bar those who have only recently opposed the Hungarian Government" he adds, "We are ready to criticise even those Great Powers which are our hosts if we do not think their attitude is just. We do not accept the present borders of Hungary, especially the Czechoslovak state as created by Benes and the Rumania of Titulesco."

Paris too has its mouthpiece of the Hungarian "National Committee" in America - written in the same style, and partly by the same contributors as the "Journal of Homeless Hungarians" in Britain. Both papers profess identical aims. The Paris paper is called "Nyugati Kirnok", Herald of the West, and here is a sample leading article in the issue of November 7 last by Tibor Eckhardt, a leading personality in Hungary during the "White Terror" in 1919, and during the Horthy era and at present head of the "Defence Commission" of the Hungarian "Counter-Parliament" in U.S.A. Mr. Eckhardt writes:

"The plan of the future United Europe was admirably outlined in a speech of Mr. Winston Churchill, delivered on March 11, 1948. It can be called the Magna Carta of Europe. In his speech at the Conservative Party Conference on October 9, 1948, Churchill again re-affirmed his faith in the true Unity of Europe..

"We must acknowledge with great gratitude that Churchill does not allow any falsification of the idea of European Unity, and does not accept a divided Europe.

"In contrast, we are deeply depressed by the declaration of Mr. Ernest Bevin of October 14, 1948 in which he says that

if the Russians stay on their own side of the fence, he will not countenance any intervention. This official English declaration is a grievous disappointment to us because this readiness to accept the present situation is contrary to solemn promises given by the British Government... It is the duty of every supporter of European Unity to protest against this new appeasement which seeks to accept a division of Europe into two opposing camps.

"Now, on October 20 I was consoled by Mr. Dewey's speech to a small, select gathering in New York. Mr. Dewey - America's most prominent politician - declared that the U.S. must hasten the pace of rearmament, and must arm all free peoples in order that, after the realization of Western Unity, we could begin, by pressure, to push back Russian influence. Dewey says, life can not stop and we either advance or go down. I am now quite confident that Dewey, who commands the allegiance of the American masses, correctly understands the idea of European Unity.

"Whatever the official British point of view may be, we Hungarians shall never accept that foreign powers should help to stabilize as permanent the present state of our country. We can not let great powers decide our fate without us. That is why the Unity of Europe - and inside this unity the unity of the Danubian valley - provides the core of our political thoughts. This unity, as Mr. Churchill well understands, is also in the interests of the British Empire, the future of which is closely connected with the organization of a satisfactory Order in Europe!"

Conclusion

It is a common feature of the many and widely scattered emigré groups united under the "Green International" of Nagy and Mikolajcik, that no genuine Social Democratic organization supports them. Charles Peyer - a former Trade Union leader in Hungary, who long ago deserted his own party - has repeatedly and unsuccessfully endeavoured to secure accreditation to the International Committee of European Socialist Parties, of which Mr. Healey is Secretary.

Peyer has therefore created a pseudo Socialist group of international emigrés in Paris, but this organization is accepted by nobody except the "Green International", for the British Labour Party and its sister parties on the Continent have so far rightly regarded these people and their organization as anti-Socialist puppets of Wall Street. Unfortunately, however, the British Labour Party so far does not appear to have taken effective steps to translate judgment into action, for it seems

to tolerate official help being given to dubious emigré organizations in Britain.

The leaders of these movements - in Britain and elsewhere - undoubtedly believe that they enjoy the support not only of influential American politicians, but also of American, French and, alas, British military circles in the Western Zones of Germany and Austria.

Beyond doubt these emigrés also enjoy high society and clerical connections which should not be underrated, and also receive substantial financial support from business sources on both sides of the Atlantic.

Obsessed by the hope of a coming war to make Europe safe for reaction they do everything they can to foster friction between East and West, for they believe a new reactionary and neo-fascist European Order can be erected with the help of such politicians as Churchill, Dewey, and De Gaulle.

Appendix No. 2.

Hungarian Nazis and Fascists in Great Britain

The greater part of Hungarians recruited for employment in Britain from the Western Zones of Germany and Austria belonged to those Hungarian Army units which, in spite of the Armistice concluded by the Hungarian Democratic Government with the Allies, chose to fight on to the bitter end alongside the German Nazis. A substantial majority of the Hungarian Army adhered to the Armistice terms and laid down arms. Thus it is indisputable that those Hungarians who chose to fight on together with the Nazis were obviously Nazis or Nazi sympathizers. Many were Horthy officers, compromised in the White Terror after the first World War, many of them were actually members of Nazi parties and military organizations. Many are personally responsible for the deportation of Hungarian citizens to concentration and extermination camps and for crimes committed against members of the Labour Battalions.

The Hungarian Labour Force in Britain may include some recent emigrés, but obviously all those who came from Western Germany and Austria are Hungarians who preferred to stay there rather than to return to Hungary, despite the verdict of Allied observers that conditions in Hungary were not dangerous to anybody "except very dangerous collaborators".

In the light of these facts it is difficult to understand why the authorities concerned did not take the obvious precaution of adequately investigating the political antecedents of thousands of these "E.V.W.s" and "D.P.s" - not only Hungarians, but Poles and others as well - who have been invited to live and work in Britain.

High ranking Hungarian Army officers of the former Horthy Army, officers who fought to the last with the German Nazis are now employed in Britain, posing as agricultural labourers and as industrial experts. Members of the notoriously pro-Nazi Hungarian Air Force live in the Cotswolds, while former Hungarian gendarmerie officers travel freely between their camps in the Midlands and London, where they contact the organizers of a so-called Relief Committee. See Appendix No. 1. It must be emphasized that the Hungarian gendarmerie was not a police force of the normal type, but the typically Hungarian counterpart of the German S.S., which willingly collaborated in the deportation

and extermination of hundreds of thousands of Jews, Trade Unionists and intellectuals. A recent Foreign Office decision precludes acceptance by the British Government of claims of extradition from Continental countries regarding wanted war criminals.

The authorities do not seem to be interested in the political records of these men who have come to Britain in their thousands from Nazi infested parts of Europe. It is particularly disquieting that the Home Office gives permits of indefinite stay and Labour permits to any Continental emigré who signs a declaration to the effect that he is an enemy of the present régime in his own country.

Under such circumstances it is hardly surprizing that the B.B.C. Foreign Service is permitted, almost daily, to broadcast to Hungary and other East European countries comments subversive to them, employing foreign political emigrés for this purpose.

Appendix No. 3.

Both the political activities and the political mentality of Hungarian emigrés in this country can best be gauged from their own utterances in their press. The following quotations are taken from the issue of November 28, 1948, of "Hungarian Life" edited by Louis Füsti-Molnar. He describes the paper as a "national political, as distinct from party political, fortnightly, given to the systematic study of the great political problems of Hungarian, Danubian, European and World destiny." The paper lists as its ideal a Christian way of life; freedom of the individual and social justice; the restoration of Hungarian unity; an independent, free, self-governing, democratic Hungary, as a free member of an eventual European Union.

Political organizations

"To my knowledge", writes the Editor, "the following Hungarian movements are active to-day in England on political lines: the "Hungarian Freedom Movement" under the leadership of Vitéz Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak; the "Hungarian Rassemblement in the West", under the leadership of the "Bridgebuilders"; the "Hungarian Christian Peoples' Movement", under the leadership of Joseph Kozihorvat; the London branch of the "Hungarian Democratic Emigrés", under the leadership of Ferenc Nagy."

Political adherences and mentality

"It is painful that the Horthyite, the Arrowcross and the democratic Hungarians should hate each other...It stands to reason that, as long as the Liberation of our country has not taken place, and at least to that end, the two or three rival Hungarian emigré groups should find a way to co-ordinate their battles and endeavours - in the measure demanded by the Cause of Liberation - since, after all, as long as we are here abroad, neither group can have the other hanged."

After "Liberation"

The way of liberation appears as the "mass ejection of the Slav element settled in Hungary since 1945". Since not a single Slav settler is known to have been settled in Hungary since 1945 this sentence is particularly revealing.

"Hungarian Life" is first and foremost racialist and directs the following warning to the other groups: "Some anxiety must be felt that the flood of revenge, once released, would not stop at Cabinet Ministers, but would extend to the persons of national, municipal, county and village leaders of the Smallholders' Party

and the Peasant Party, i.e., to Magyars of purest stock who shall be brave enough to stay put...and thus, once again, upright Magyars will have to pay the toll of blood for the sins of others!"

Some points of propaganda

Hungary, when entering the war on Hitler's side, "knew what she was fighting for". The West is called upon to "take note, at long last, of this martyr nation", since, as distinct from the Czechs, who "treacherously undermined the Danubian lands and acted as quartermasters of Moscow", the Magyars "fought, thereby protecting also the West, lest pestilence engulf humanity." The West is called upon "to blush in shame and repent while there is time" and "the judgment of God" is called upon it, should it "remain idle".

Appendix No. 4.

The "Journal of Homeless Hungarians", described as the official organ of the Relief Committee of Democratic Hungarian emigrés in England publishes in its issue of November/December 1948 a disquisition by Dr. Lipot Baranyai, former Director of the Hungarian National Bank on the constitutional rights of emigrés and on the principles which should govern their behaviour. In an editorial note Dr. Baranyai is described as the London representative of the Hungarian National Committee (in Washington) and the leading figure among Hungarian emigrés in Great Britain, and the document published over his signature as of great future significance. The following are excerpts:

On the relation obtaining between the nation and its emigrés

"...the political emigré turns against the government in power, leaves the territory of his country and, in the country which admits the emigrés - if that country allows it, or tolerates it - endeavour to bring about the overthrow of the government in their country.

"The attitude of the country which admits the emigrés will depend on whether the government which the emigrés denounce is held by public opinion to have come to power or to remain in power by means which are contrary to decency and good sense, i.e., to Divine and natural law.

"Since the whole world knows that the Hungarian government is unconstitutional, the Hungarian emigrés are allowed freely to build up their organizations and to pursue their political activities provided, of course, that they accommodate themselves to the world political situation."

The ius resistendi

"In general no specific sanctions in law and public opinion can be applied to the crime of usurpation of power. Hungary is a rare exception, where sanctions against usurpation of power are provided for in the constitution. In the Golden Bull, more than 700 years ago (1220) the ius resistendi was inaugurated. This means that the usurper - whether King or Communist - is an outlaw and every Magyar may resist him without committing the crime of rebellion. By the provisions of the Hungarian constitution not the insurgent citizen, but the usurper of power is the rebel."

The Habsburg cause. The Legitimist interpretation

"The nation disposed of its right to resist ~~until~~ for the last time at the coronation of King Charles IV (Xin 1916), by abrogating it in return for the Royal Brief for the time of the reign. The reign having come to an end (in 1918) the ius resistendi revived again and is at present in force."

Rights and duties of the emigrés

"By virtue of the ius resistendi the emigrés become the chargés d'affaire of the nation. They are allowed and in duty bound to do all that which promotes the restoration of the order prior to the usurpation of power and to further all that which serves the stabilization of the regained order which is apt to ~~maintain~~ secure it against a new usurpation of power. Activities beyond the above do not lie within the province of the emigrés."

Political unity

"The affairs of the nation being indivisible, the chargés d'affaire of the nation must act in unison. To secure this an appropriate organization must be created, for, without such an organization the emigrés would be incapable of action"

The National Committee

"The centre of gravity for the Hungarian emigrés lies in America for it is there that the best conditions were given for them to prepare for their tasks. Thus, organizing activities were started there and it was in the United States that the National Committee was founded. Its ends, its organization and its activities make it equally suited to conform to the principles outlined above. The Hungarian emigrés who are concerned with politics have almost to a man rallied round the National Committee."

Those who dissent

"Whosoever keeps apart from the political unity of the emigrés or organizes a counter-movement commits felony against the ~~nation~~ nation" (Translator's note:- This passage is directed against the group of genuine Social Democrats in Paris who publish "Népszava" there, and are led by Mr. Ben, and are affiliated to the International Socialist Bureau in London. Although bitterly antagonistic to the present régime in Hungary, they believe in a middle way and have with commendable constancy refused to have any dealings with the National Committee. Conversely, Mr. Payer, who is a member of the National Committee, has never been accredited to the International Socialist Bureau).

The Korthy era

"We have no right to refute 30 whole years of the nation's past. We must have clarity on this: to defile the past means to destroy the future".

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"Hungarian Week", a paper edited by E.V.W. Joseph Süli, in its issue No. 18 starts the compilation of a card index register of reliable Habsburg supporters among E.V.W.s in Great Britain, by means of a "plebiscite". Two questions are put to E.V.Ws.,

1. Are you inclined to collaborate with Ferenc Nagy?
2. Would you support Otto on the throne, provided he inaugurated a system of popular government in the Western sense?

The E.V.Ws are asked to answer "Yes" or "No" to each question and "to send their answers to Joseph Süli, Depot R.N.F., Fenham Barracks, Newcastle-on-Tyne, together with their Certificate of Registration number, their name in block letters, their precise address and their signature".

Many E.V.Ws now in this country are members of the closely-knit organization of the "Hidverök" (Bridgebuilders) from the U.S. Zone of Germany, a militant Catholic Arrow Cross formation of Hungarian Nazis who made the last ditch stand for Hitler. They are, like all Hungarian emigrés ardent followers of Cardinal Mindszenty. They adopted the name of Bridgebuilders in commemoration of the Cardinal's inaugural speech of 7 October 1945, when he said: "When the present calamity shall have passed and the nation's sobriety shall have built a bridge to arch over the cataract, then, by the right held sacred for over 900 years, the Primate of this country, as Pontifex and First Peer of the Realm shall take his share on the restoration of our constitutional life"

This group puts special stress on ideological indoctrination and professes "Christianism". Their paper, "Hidverök", a 32-page fortnightly photolithoed magazine shows on its cover a bridge arching over the abyss and leading the way towards the Holy Crown of St. Stephen. The motto on the paper is the wild revisionist slogan: I believe in one God, I believe in one homeland... The following are quotations of the issue No. 14/15:

"The putting into practice of a right-wing ideology is inseparable from the doctrine of Christ. We do not recognize any right of non-adherence to religious denominations. We refute every and any form of ~~godless~~ godlessness. We shall make an end to irreligiosity. Every member of our nation shall be compelled to belong to one of the legally recognized Churches!...."

...."We have shown above that a right-wing philosophy can readily be defined as faith in God, nationalism, socialism and an economic system based on private property."

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"We must acknowledge with great gratitude that Churchill does not allow any falsification of the idea of European Unity, and does not accept a divided Europe.

"In contrast, we are deeply depressed by the declaration of Mr. Ernest Bevin of October 14, 1948 in which he says that, if the Russians stay on their own side of the fence, he will not countenance any intervention. This official English declaration is a grievous disappointment to us because this readiness to accept the present situation is contrary to solemn promises given by the British government... It is the duty of every supporter of European unity to protest against this new appeasement which seeks to accept a division of Europe into two separate camps.

"Now, on October 20: I was consoled by Mr. Dewey's speech to a small, select gathering in New York. Mr. Dewey - America's most prominent politician - declared that the U.S. must hasten the pace of rearmament, and must arm all free peoples in order that, after the realization of Western Unity, we could begin, by pressure, to push back Russian influence. Dewey says, life cannot stop and we either advance or go down. I am now quite confident that Dewey, who commands the allegiance of the American masses, correctly understands the idea of European unity.

"Whatever the official British point of view may be, we Hungarians shall never accept that foreign powers should help to stabilize as permanent the present state of our country. We can not let Great Powers decide our fate without us. That is why the Unity of Europe - and inside this unity the unity of the Danubian valley - provides the core of our political thoughts. This unity, as Mr. Churchill well understands, is also in the interests of the British Empire, the future of which is closely connected with the organization of a satisfactory Order in Europe."

Conclusions

It is a common feature of the many and widely scattered emigré groups united under the "Green International" of Nagy and Mikolajczik that no genuine Social Democratic organization supports them. Charles Peyer - a former Trade Union leader in Hungary who long deserted his own party - has repeatedly and unsuccessfully endeavoured to secure accreditation to the International Committee of European Socialist Parties, of which Mr. Healey is Secretary.

Peyer has therefore created a pseudo Socialist group of international emigrés in Paris, but this organization is accepted by nobody except the "Green International" for the British Labour Party and its sister parties on the Continent have so far rightly regarded these people and their organization as anti-Socialist puppets of Wall Street. Unfortunately, however, the British Labour Party so far does not appear to have taken effective steps to

translate judgment into action, for it seems to tolerate official help being given to dubious emigré organizations in Britain.

The leaders of these movements - in Britain and elsewhere - undoubtedly believe that they enjoy the support not only of influential American politicians, but also of American, French, and, alas, British military circles in the Western zones of Germany and Austria.

Beyond doubt these emigrés also enjoy high society and clerical connections which should not be underrated, and also receive substantial financial support from business sources on both sides of the Atlantic.

Obsessed by the hope of a coming war to make Europe safe for reaction they do everything they can to foster friction between East and West, for they believe a new reactionary and neo-fascist European Order can be erected with the help of such politicians as Churchill, Dewey and De Gaulle.

Appendix No. 2.

Hungarian Nazis and Fascists in Great Britain

The greater part of Hungarians recruited for employment in Britain from the Western zones of Germany and Austria belonged to those Hungarian Army units which, in spite of the Armistice, chose to fight on to the bitter end alongside the German Nazis. A substantial majority of this Hungarian Army adhered to the Armistice terms and laid down arms. Thus it is indisputable that those Hungarians who chose to fight on together with the Nazis were obviously Nazis or Nazi sympathizers. Many were worthy officers, compromised in the White Terror after the first World War, many of them were actually members of Nazi parties and military organizations. Many are personally responsible for the deportation of Hungarian citizens to concentration and extermination camps and for crimes committed against members of the Labour Battalions.

The Hungarian Labour Force in Britain may include some recent emigrés, but obviously all those who come from Western Germany and Austria are Hungarians who preferred to stay there rather than to return to Hungary, despite the verdict of Allied observers that conditions in Hungary were not dangerous to anybody "except very dangerous collaborators".

In the light of these facts it is difficult to understand why the authorities concerned did not take the obvious precaution of adequately investigating the political antecedents of thousands of these "E.V.Ws" and "D.Ps" - not only Hungarians, but Poles, and others as well - who have been invited to live and work in Britain.

High ranking Hungarian Army officers of the former Horthy Army, officers who fought to the last with the German Nazis are now employed in Britain, posing as agricultural labourers and as industrial experts. Members of the notoriously pro-Nazi Hungarian Air Force live in the Cotswolds, while former Hungarian gendarmerie officers travel freely between their camps in the Midlands and London, where they contact the organizers of the so-called Relief

Committee. See Appendix No. 1. It must be emphasised that the Hungarian gendarmerie was not a police force of the normal type, but the typically Hungarian counter-part of the German S.S., which willingly collaborated in the deportation and extermination of hundreds of thousands of Jews, Trade Unionists and intellectuals. A recent Foreign Office decision precludes acceptance by the British government of claims of extradition from Continental countries regarding wanted war criminals.

The authorities do not seem to be interested in the political records of these men who have come to Britain in their thousands from Nazi infested parts of Europe. It is particularly disquieting that the Home Office gives permits of indefinite stay and Labour permits to any Continental emigré who signs a declaration to the effect that he is an enemy of the present régime in his country.

Under such circumstances it is hardly surprizing that the B.B.C. Foreign Service is permitted, almost daily, to broadcast to Hungary and other East European countries comments subversive to them, employing foreign political emigrés for this purpose.

Appendix No. 3.

Both the political activities and the political mentality of Hungarian emigrés in this country can best be gauged from their own utterances in their own press. The following quotations are taken from the issue of November 28, 1948 of "Hungarian Life", edited by Louis Fisti-Molnar. He describes the paper as a "national political, as distinct from party political, fortnightly given to the systematic study of the great political problems of Hungarian, Danubian, European and World Destiny." The paper lists as its ideals a Christian way of life; freedom of the individual and social justice; the restoration of Hungarian unity; an independent, free, self-governing, democratic Hungary, as a free member of an eventual European Union.

Political organizations

"To my knowledge", writes the Editor, "the following Hungarian movements are active to-day in England on political lines: the "Hungarian Freedom Movement", under the leadership of vitéz Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak; the "Hungarian Rassemblement in the West" under the leadership of the "Bridgebuilders"; the "Hungarian Christian Peoples' Movement" under the leadership of Joseph Közi-Horvath; the London branch of the "Hungarian Democratic Emigrés", under the leadership of Ferenc Nagy."

Political adherences and mentality

"It is painful that the Horthyite, the Arrowcross, and the democratic Hungarians should hate each other...It stands to reason that, as long as the Liberation of our country has not taken place, and at least to that end, the two or three rival Hungarian emigré groups should find a way to co-ordinate their battles and endeavours - in the measure demanded by the Cause of Liberation - since, after all, as long as we are here abroad, neither group can have the other hanged."

After "Liberation"

The way of liberation appears as the "mass ejection of the Slav element settled in Hungary since 1945". Since not a single Slav settler is known to have been settled in Hungary since 1945 this sentence is particularly revealing.

"Hungarian Life" is first and foremost racialist and directs the following warning to the other groups: "Some anxiety must be felt that the flood of revenge, once released, would not stop at Cabinet Ministers, but would extend to the persons of national, municipal, county and village leaders of the Smallholders' Party and the Peasant Party, i.e., to Magyars of purest stock who shall be brave enough to stay put...and thus, once again, upright Magyars will have to pay the toll of blood for the sins of others."

Some points of propaganda

Hungary, when entering the war on Hitler's side, "knew what she was fighting for". The West is called upon to "take note, at long last, of this martyr nation", since, as distinct from the Czechs, who "treacherously undermined the Danubian lands and acted as quartermasters of Moscow", the Magyars "fought, thereby protecting also the West, lest pestilence engulf humanity". The West is called upon "to blush in shame and repent while there is time" and "the judgment of God" is called upon it, should it "remain idle".

Appendix No. 4.

The "Journal of Homeless Hungarians", described as the official organ of the Relief Committee of Democratic Hungarian emigrés in England publishes in its issue of November/December 1948 a disquisition by Dr. Lipot Baranyai, former Director of the Hungarian National Bank, on the constitutional rights of emigrés and on the principles which should govern their behaviour. In an editorial note Dr. Baranyai is described as the London representative of the Hungarians National Committee (in Washington) and the leading figure among Hungarian emigrés in Great Britain, and the document published over his signature as of great future significance. The following are excerpts:

On the relation obtaining between the nation and its emigrés

"...the political emigré turns against the government in power, leaves the territory of his country and, in the country which admits the emigrés - if that country allows it, or tolerates it - endeavour to bring about the overthrow of the government in their country.

"The attitude of the country which admits the emigrés will depend on whether the government which the emigrés denounce is held by public opinion to have come to power or to remain in power by means which are contrary to decency and good sense, i.e., to Divine and natural law.

"Since the whole world knows that the Hungarian government is unconstitutional, the Hungarian emigrés are allowed freely to build up their organizations and to pursue their political activities, provided, of course, that they accommodate themselves to the world political situation."

The ius resistandi

"In general no specific sanctions in law and public opinion can be applied to the crime of usurpation of power. Hungary is a rare exception, where sanctions against usurpation of power are provided for in the constitution. In the Golden Bull, more than 700 years ago the ius resistandi was inaugurated. This means that the usurper whether King or Communist - is an outlaw and every Magyar may resist him without committing the crime of rebellion. By the provisions of the Hungarian constitution not the insurgent citizen, but the usurper of power is the rebel."

The Legitimist (pro Habsburg) interpretation

"The nation disposed of its right to resist for the last time at the coronation of King Charles IV (in 1916), by abrogating it in return for the Royal Brief for the time of the reign. The reign having come to an end (in 1918) the ius resistandi revived and is at present in force. "

Rights and duties of the emigrés

"By virtue of the ius resistandi the emigrés become the chargés d'affaire of the nation. They are allowed and in duty bound to do all that which promotes the restoration of the order prior to the usurpation of power and to further all that which serves the stabilization of the regained order which is apt to secure it against a new usurpation of power. Activities beyond the above do not lie within the province of the emigrés,"

Political unity

"The affairs of the nation being indivisible, the chargés d'affaire of the nation must act in unison. To secure this an appropriate organization must be created, for, without such an organization the emigrés would be incapable of action."

The National Committee

"The centre of gravity for the Hungarian emigrés lies in America for it is there that the best conditions were given for them to prepare for their tasks. Thus, organizing activities were started there and it was in the United States that the National Committee was founded. Its ends, its organization and its activities make it equally suited to conform to the principles outlined above. The Hungarian emigrés who are concerned with politics have almost to a man rallied round the National Committee."

Those who dissent

"Whoever keeps apart from the political unity of the emigrés or organizes a counter-movement commits felony against the nation." This passage is directed against the group of genuine Social Democrats in Paris who publish "Népszava" there, and are led by Mr. Ban, and are affiliated to the International Socialist Bureau in London. Although bitterly antagonistic to the present régime in Hungary, they believe in a middle way and have with commendable constancy refused to have any dealings with the "National Committee". Conversely, Mr. Peyer, who is a member of the "National Committee", has never been accredited to the International Socialist Bureau.

The Horthy era

"We have no right to refute 30 whole years of the nation's past. We must have clarity on this: to defile the past means to destroy the future."

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"Hungarian Week", a paper edited by E.V.W. Joseph Süli, in its issue No. 18 starts the compilation of a card index register of reliable Habsburg supporters among E.V.W.s in Great Britain, by means of a "plebiscite". Two questions are put to E.V.W.s,

1. Are you inclined to collaborate with Ferenc Nagy?

2. Would you support Otto on the throne, provided he inaugurated a system of popular government in the Western sense? The E.V.W.s are asked to answer "Yes" or "No", to each question, and "to send their answers to Joseph Süli, Depot R.M.F., Fenham Barracks, Newcastle-on-Tyne, together with their Certificate of Registration Number, their name in block letters, their precise address and their signature."

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Many E.V.W.s now in this country are members of the closely-knit organization of the "Hidverök" (Bridgebuilders) from the U.S. Zone of Germany, a militant Catholic Arrow Cross formation of Hungarian Nazis who made the last ditch stand for Hitler. They are, like all Hungarian political emigrés ardent followers of Cardinal Mindszenty. They adopted the name of Bridgebuilders in commemoration of the Cardinal's inaugural speech of October 7 1945, when he said: "When the present calamity shall have passed and the nation's sobriety shall have built a bridge to arch over the cataract, then, by the right held sacred for over 900 years, the Primate of this country, as Pontifex and First Peer of the Realm shall take his share in the restoration of our constitutional life."

This group puts special stress on ideological indoctrination and professes "Christianism". Their paper, "Hidverök", a 32-page photolithoed fortnightly magazine shows on its cover a bridge arching over the abyss and leading the way towards the Holy Crown of St. Stephen. The motto on the paper is the old revisionist slogan: I believe in one God, I believe in one homeland... The following are quotations of the issue No. 14/15:

"The putting into practice of a right-wing ideology is inseparable from the doctrine of Christ. We do not recognize any right of non-adherence to religious denominations. We refute every and any form of godlessness. We shall make an end to irreligiosity. Every member of our nation shall be compelled to belong to one of the legally recognized Churches".

"...We have shown above that a right-wing philosophy can readily be defined as faith in God, nationalism, socialism and an economic system based on private property."
