

Executive Registry

6-3468

6 December 1954

Mr. Walworth Barbour  
Department of State  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Wally:

I enclose herewith a rough draft giving certain suggestions which you might wish to consider in connection with a reply to the Hungarian regime of 15 October 1954. Possibly this is a bit long. <sup>to note</sup> that you give consideration to the possibility of making some use of the Hungarian Peace Treaty; we have mentioned it twice. Whether or not this is wise, I can hardly judge.

When you have had a chance to look at this, I should like to have an opportunity to discuss with the Secretary and you, and anyone else you may wish, the over-all Hungarian problem

[Redacted]

STAT  
STAT

Sincerely,

Allen W. Dulles  
Director

*DD/P copy  
handed to  
Mr. Helms - 6 Dec.*

Encl.

AWD:hea

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SECRET

Suggested addition at end of second paragraph  
on page 1.

"The American people still remember the enthusiasm with which they greeted Louis Kossuth, the great champion of liberty and independence for the Hungarian people."

(NB - There are two post offices in the US called Kossuth (Pa. + Miss.) - I have been unable to verify where + whether there are statues, etc)

DRAFT

4 December 54

att. to:  
6-3468

The Legation of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic and has the honor to refer to the Ministry's note of October 15, 1954, concerning leaflets carried by balloons into Hungary.

The Legation is instructed by the United States Government to state that the activity in question was undertaken by the Crusade for Freedom and Radio Free Europe on their own initiative and responsibility. These are private organizations who speak on behalf of private American citizens. In view of the large number of Americans of Hungarian background and ancestry, the interest which our citizens take in the welfare of the Hungarian people is quite understandable.

Since this matter of the balloon leaflets was called to its attention the Government of the United States has obtained copies of the leaflets and has examined their content.

The consideration of these leaflets and of the Ministry's note leaves the Government of the United States at a loss to understand the basis of the Hungarian Government's concern. The leaflets in question suggest only that the people of Hungary employ legal means to achieve realization of rights *and in many instances specifically guaranteed under the Treaty of Peace* and benefits legally and constitutionally assured them.<sup>1</sup> Hence there appears no foundation for any allegation that the leaflets in question are in fact

"inciting", "slandorous", or "seditious".

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On the contrary, it is noted that in recent months the highest officials of the Hungarian Government themselves have in fact spoken officially in inciting language about the deplorable state of affairs in Hungary, including references to flagrant abuses of police power and judicial processes and deep-seated economic ills and political tensions. The leaflets in question sent by the American friends of Hungary appear mild in comparison as they are concerned solely with giving some suggestions as to the legal means of correcting evils whose existence the Hungarian Government have thus officially admitted. The United States Government cannot believe that the Hungarian Government wishes to put itself in the position of branding as "subversive" a genuine initiative by private citizens in this country to support the Hungarian people in their search for a more abundant and freer life, an objective truly common to all people throughout the world.

In view of the vague wording of the Ministry's note of October 15, the Legation is instructed to request from the Ministry that it make clear the nature of its objections to the leaflets in question.

Specifically, the United States Government would like to know if the Hungarian Government finds repugnant -- and if so, for what reasons -- the points made in the leaflets <sup>by private citizens</sup> that the Hungarian Government, in practice, could improve the condition of the Hungarian people by:

- a. Vesting real authority in popularly chosen Local Councils,

constitutionally responsible and accountable to the local population;

b. Enforcing the constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly;

c. Assuring the constitutional guarantee of equality before the law;

d. Guaranteeing the right of the working peasant to a just share of the fruits of his labor;

e. Respecting the responsibility of the working people freely to organize for the protection of their interests against all exploitation;

f. Observance of the constitutional right of the workers to proper rest and recreation, as well as other benefits necessary for a decent livelihood;

g. Affirmation that, to protect the wealth of the Hungarian community, the economic welfare of the Hungarian people must transcend the demands resulting from foreign economic levies;

h. Recognition that the forced nationalization of consumer goods outlets and services has deprived the Hungarian people not only of an important element of their guaranteed personal liberty, but also of their legitimate material needs;

- i. Realizing the requirement for adequate housing to assist in protecting the institutions of marriage and family;
- j. Establishing the principle of free education, and scholarly inquiry, and the constitutional right of freedom of worship and conscience.

Here in the United States we find none of these suggestions either inciting, slanderous, or seditious. In fact, we find them to be basic to a free way of life and essential to raise the spiritual and physical standards of any country and peoples.

Furthermore the United States Government feels impelled to point out that better understanding among peoples necessarily implies the right of peoples to communicate freely with each other and to live in neighborliness and friendship. If certain American citizens have adopted a somewhat unusual and possibly unorthodox method of communicating with the Hungarian people, this is due solely to the actions of the Hungarian Government and to those in and outside of Hungary who may be responsible for its policy in erecting barriers against normal intercourse among peoples. Not only are the airways in Hungary artificially jammed to prevent as far as possible communication by radio, but Hungary by a physical barrier has attempted to prevent the entry of friendly peoples into Hungary and the departure of its own people to other lands.

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The United States Government desires, therefore, to take this occasion to reiterate its belief in establishing and developing international freedom of communications and to express its conviction that the first steps in achieving peaceful relations between peoples will be frustrated so long as governments such as the Hungarian Government attempt to isolate and silence their own people. The United States Government hopes that the day will come when balloons will no longer be necessary as a means by which the people of one country may freely communicate with peoples in other lands.

It is not suggested in the note of the Hungarian Government that any physical harm has resulted to persons or to property within Hungary by the use of balloons to bring these messages from people to people. It must be, therefore, that the Hungarian Government takes umbrage at the specific content of the messages carried by these balloons. If such is the case it is believed that the precise nature of these objections should be made clear before the aforementioned note can be given further consideration.

This is all the more pertinent because it is clearly within the power of the Hungarian Government, itself, to take remedial action.

Should the Hungarian Government, in conformity with the obligations it assumed toward the United States and other signatories under Article Two of the Treaty of Peace, establish freedom of discussion, opinion, and assembly within the country and, in accordance with the spirit of that Article,

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remove existing barriers to free interchange with the outside world, the  
need for the friends of Hungary to resort to unconventional means of communica-  
tion will no longer exist.