

constitution shall be equally subordinate to the sovereignty of the people of Puerto Rico."

#### POWERS OF PEOPLE

Territorial status has always been interpreted to mean the status of an area which is subject to the plenary authority of Congress. Whatever political authority is exercised by the people of the area is delegated to them by Congress. The political powers now exercised by the people of Puerto Rico emanate from themselves. Therefore, since the proclamation of the Commonwealth, two governments operate and coexist in Puerto Rico similarly as in the States of the Union—namely, the Federal and the Commonwealth Governments, each within its respective sphere. To hold that the status of Puerto Rico continues to be territorial is to ignore the true meaning of territorial status and give the term a new meaning.

Neither Governor Muñoz-Marín nor anyone who has had any significant part in the advent of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has ever claimed that commonwealth is independence, for it is not separation but rather it is freedom in association.

It is unfortunate that because commonwealth status, as created for Puerto Rico, has no precedent in the United States political system, it is not always properly comprehended. For this reason the recognition given to the Commonwealth by the President in his recent address in San Juan was not only enlightening but extremely valuable, while editorials such as yours of February 23 are most helpful and commendable.

A. FERNÓS-ISERN.

WASHINGTON, March 10, 1960.

### The 112th Anniversary of Hungarian War of Independence of 1848

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

**HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 17, 1960

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, by leave previously obtained, I insert in the RECORD my address delivered to the United Hungarians Societies of Cleveland, on Sunday, March 13, on the 112th anniversary of the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848:

Hungary has a proud record of more than 1,000 years of history. In my judgment, the outstanding chapters in this long history point up the unbroken record of dedication by the Hungarian people to human values and the dignity of man. These same values are the foundation of all our liberties and freedom and the high road to national independence.

King Stephen, who reigned in the 10th century, set these goals for the Hungarian people. Down through the ages the Hungarian people have remained staunch defenders of these ideals and basic spiritual values. The long history of Hungary in world affairs is replete with heroic chapters of sacrifice in support of these ideals. This record of deeds by the Hungarian people has earned for their nation the merited accolade of "defender of the West."

It is little wonder then that King Stephen is the patron saint of Hungary and a great saint known and revered by all the Christian world.

The war of independence of 1848 led by Louis Kossuth was based on the historic

ideals of the Hungarian people. But Louis Kossuth also received much stimulation from the events which had taken place here, beginning with the American Revolutionary War. Kossuth knew well the ideals and methods of the new American experiment in representative government.

Kossuth was aware that we were pledged to constitutional government and that our Constitution was a guarantee for government of, by, and for the people.

Kossuth also knew that our form of government under law, which took its authority from the consent of the governed, was in sharp contrast with government by the whims and fancy of the few—whether that few be a hereditary aristocracy or an imposed autocracy.

Kossuth felt the powerful stimulation of the meaning of national independence of all Americans, and saw in it the answer to the strivings of his people for complete self-government.

In our times we have seen the Hungarian nation realize the full flower of its national independence. We have also seen that national independence snuffed out by the new colonialism, the new imperialism of the Russian despots. Hungary was a victim of World War II—a victim of profound ignorance on the part of the leaders of the Western World concerning the true nature and intent of imperial Russian communism. This profound ignorance led our leaders to believe that the Russian Communists were our allies and that they would support the pledges of the Atlantic Charter. What a price we paid to dispel that ignorance. Hungary, along with Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Rumania, and Bulgaria, were subjected to the nightmare of Russian occupation which today plagues all those once independent nations. It is tragic that the leaders of the Western World failed to realize that the Soviet Union was nothing more than a prison of nations, that is, non-Russian nations. It is equally tragic that they failed to understand that these captive non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union desire their national independence just as much as any subjugated nation of the world. Had the leaders of the Western World understood these basic facts, the world of our times would be quite different than we find it today.

All the world knows that Hungary, true to her long and rich traditions, rose up in total political revolution against Russian occupation in October 1956. The people, from small children to aged grandmothers, rose up spontaneously against the organized tyranny of the Russians. That is why I call the Hungarian freedom revolution a total political revolution. In 5 days the Red Army, which had been publicized as an unbeatable force, was completely defeated and driven from Hungarian soil; and I repeat, this was done by the Hungarian people without any assistance from the outside world. Then, for 5 historic days, the Hungarian people were free of alien rule and on the road to reconstructing their national independence and restoring freedom to all the people.

The events which followed are known equally well to all the people of the world. In the absence of any support from the free world—even words of encouragement from the heads of any Western nation—the Russian despots reinvaded Hungary to crush the provisional government and to smother all liberty and freedom. Here again the leaders of the Western World, particularly the United States, as leaders of the free world coalition, maintained a strange silence. The many pleas for assistance from the Hungarian patriots in their hour of greatest need went unanswered.

In these circumstances, I telegraphed President Eisenhower requesting that he take the lead in supporting the cause of the freedom fighters. Allow me to read to you

from my telegram to the President—which I sent to him before the revolution was 3 days old, and 9 days before the Russians reinvaded Hungary:

"I urge you instruct our Ambassador to the United Nations to take necessary steps to bring about emergency session of the United Nations Security Council in order to take positive measures to support the brave people of Poland and Hungary in their great struggle to throw off Russian occupation of their homelands. The cruel acts of aggression committed by the Russian armies against these brave people stand as a serious and imminent threat to the peace of the world. We cannot help but aid the cause of human freedom and dignity throughout the world by taking this step. Our many millions of allies behind the Iron Curtain look to the United States to take the lead at this critical hour in history."

I received no answer from President Eisenhower to my appeal for the Hungarian patriots. The State Department, however, provided an answer to my appeal and the appeal of millions of other Americans to act in support of freedoms cause. Forty-eight hours before the Russians reinvaded Hungary the State Department sent a cable message to the Dictator Tito informing him that "the Government of the United States did not favor governments unfriendly to the Soviet Union on the borders of the Soviet Union." This message was sent in the certain knowledge that Tito would relay this good news for communism to his cronies in the Russian Kremlin. This message stands as clear and precise notice to the Russian tyrants that our Government would not intervene in any action taken by them to crush the freedom revolution then taking place in Hungary. Within 48 hours after the message was sent by our State Department to Tito, the Russians reinvaded Hungary—in the certain knowledge that they could do so without fear of provoking a counteraction by the United States.

I am confident that if this message had not been sent to Tito the Russians would not have dared to reinvade and today Hungary would be free.

Long after the Russians had reinvaded Hungary and when they were in the process of carrying out mass terror and reprisals against the people, then and only then did the United Nations General Assembly take up the cause of human freedom in Hungary. The wave of public indignation which swept the world forced this action.

You and I know that the General Assembly of the United Nations, after a long and bitter debate, adopted a resolution which condemned the Russians for their aggression against Hungary and called for the immediate and complete removal of all Red army elements on Hungarian soil. The only votes against the resolution in the General Assembly came from the Russian delegation and their trained seals who have been put up as alleged representatives of seven of their captive nations. The record is clear that the Russian imperialists have since not only ignored this resolution, but have exposed it to contemptuous attack.

As of this late date, almost 4 years after the action taken by the United Nations, nothing whatever has been accomplished to support the purposes of the resolution. Recognizing the danger of this situation, the dangers to the cause of peace when one member of the United Nations completely disregards a resolution to prevent war, I have carried on a campaign, the objective of which is to cause the Russians to adhere to the United Nations Resolution on Hungary or be ejected from membership in the United Nations.

The most powerful sanction the United Nations has against aggression is the denial of membership in that body to an aggress-