

BEHIND THE RAPE OF HUNGARY, by F. Fejto, David McKay Co.

Background: 1/30/45 Matyas Rakosi arrives from Moscow; 2/13 Budapest libera
11/4/ elections Smallholders party obtains 57.5
2/1/46 Hungary proclaimed republic with pastor "oltan Tildy
1st pres.
3/7/47 Formation of bloc of left, CP, SD, t.u., peasants; 5/30
Ferenc Nagy, pres. of Smallholders, charged with
conspiracy & resigned
6/13/48 -FP-SP merger; 12/26 Cardinal Mindszenty arrested
3/16-24/49 RAJK TRIAL --only after that peoples dem. "specific form" of dia
4/15/51 -Bread rationed; 6/1-6/15 part of Budapest population deported
8/14/52 -Matyas Rakosi becomes premier
7/4/53 Formation of Imre Nagy govt with new policy; 10/14
150,00 were Istvan Kovacs, 1st sec. CP, announces rehabilitation
in prison. of those "unjustly convicted."
3/9/55--Imre Nagy charged with righting deviation; 4/18 expelled from
Polburgo & party; Anaras Hagedus becomes premier; 12/14 Some CP
writers resign from Writers Union. NB: MALENKOV "RESIGNATION"
3/29/56--Rakosi announces rehabilitation of Rajik & in April socialists
Zoltan Tildy & Bela Kovacs released from prison.
7/8. 56 WRITERS DERY & TARDOS EXPELLED FROM PARTY; large scale amnesty
& rehabilitations at same time. Erno Gero appointed 1st sec.
Sept. 11--writers demand complete freedom; Oct. 14 Imre Nagy readmitted to
party; 10/20 writers demand convocation of special party
congress.
OCT. 23 STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE. REV. BEGINS.

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1956 REVOLUTION

Poet Sandor Petofi (1823-1849) having touched off 1848 revolution
by talking to a group of students in park which
was attended by great crowds of peasants who had
left mktplace because of rain and came with big
umbrellas, from which nickname of "the umbrella
rev." got its name. Janos Arany, greatest epic poet.
In 1918 spark also given by literary groups, Galileo Society led by
poet Endre Ady & sociologist Oscar Jaszi while minister
of education in short-lived rev. was Gyorgy Lukacs

1956--Hungarian Wkrs. Union a sort of "state within a state" with its
Literary Gazette having circulation of 410,000 in country of 10 mln
"One might almost say that they did not choose to play such a
part & that the part chose them." Organ of CC Szaband Nep attacks

1/18/57 Gyula Hay arrested & Writes Union dissolved.

ORIGIN goes back to 6/53; effect Imre Nagy speech therefore was electric.
TIBOR DERY, Istvan Orkeny & Hay subjected to persecution, 1949-52.
Stalinists led by Sandor Gergely recovered somewhat with Rakosi, with
Darvas--leading propaganda machine against poets.
By May 1955 however Hay, Dery & young novelist Tamas Aczel, only Hungarian
Stalin prize winner, took over leadership against "intell. bur."
proletarian Laszlo Benjamin attacked Rakosi directly in poem & Literary
Gazette ordered confiscated & its editor, Gyorgy Hamos removed.
Highhanded actions produced memo by Tibor Dery protesting "violation
of Union's autonomy." This was 1st evidence of opposition & was transmitted
to CC fall of 1955. On 12.10 Rakosi has inserted into Literary Gazette
CC views of this "anti-party & anti-people's views". Dery who dared org.
faction asked to see his "errors." Then came 20th RCP & Khr's revelations

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Struggle develops from one against censorship to one against dict.
 e. that when Rakosi spends only 2 sentences "rehabilitating" Rajik writer
 Jandor Lukacsy shouts in stormy meeting of union "This is an explanation
 worthy of a Judas."
 3 days later, rep. of CC, Marton Horvath, announces Lukacsy had been ex-
 pelled from party. Some days later PETOFI SOCIETY invites insurgent
 writers to give a public exposition of their point of view. By May G.
 Lukacs delivers passionate speech against party's cultural bur.
 (formerer Vladimir Farkas & Rakosi are still at their high posts.)
 6/23/56 Literary Gazette speaks of "the death of all spontaneity"
 in t.u. among peasants; Petofi society begins to attract more than
 literary attendees on 6/27, 6,000 boo party reps.
 6/30 Dery & Tarajos expelled from party. (Rakosi stands in background &
 Gero & Kadar take over.)

"The Uranium revolution" --summer of '56 rumors spread in Budapest
 that important uranium deposits have been discovered at Pess in the
 Meseck mts. near Yugoslav border. 6/56 famous physicist Prof. Janossy
 at Petofi Society attacks Rakosi for causing "a major injury to
 the nat. interests of Hungary" to Russia. It would seem that Nagy's
 resistance to Soviet demands had been one of the main reasons for
 his fall from power, 3/55/. One of chief demands of Oct. rev. is abroga-
 tion of those agreements with Russia.

Guy Hay, 52 yrs., launched slogan in Sept. '56 "absolute freedom of mind"
 June '56, as Tibor Darvos pointed out, CP divided, 6/27/56 "For some
 time there has been no unity in the party. We can observe 2 distinct
 currents..." When accused by Rakosi of criticizing "from the outside"
 Tibor replied "but this circle is not the party. The party is
 ourselves, those who belong to the other current,
 who fight for the ideas and principles of humanism,
 and whose aims reflect in ever-increasing measure
 those of the people and of the country."

Party with more than 800,000 members evaporated. In its place
 arose wks. councils & the rev. committees. On very 1st day of uprising
 wks. councils had formed in a no. of factories & t.u.s collapsed.
 Gen. strike proclaimed; then the Miskolc students formed "student
 parliament", which proclaimed its solidarity with the wks. & together
 they seized radio station & all administrative offices. Made distinction
 bet. Nagy whom it recognized as premier & govt whose orders it did not
 obey for resumption of work. Wks. answered Yugoslav journalist's
 question why the removal of Red star: "We donot remove those stars
 because we are against int'l'ism, & socialism. We are Socialists. But the
 Red star has become for us the symbol of Stalinism & for oppression."
 Wks. militia formed by councils replaced police. p.196 "In the 1st days
 of insurrection I described as a 'rev. marked by the emergence of anti-
 Soviet soviets." Encouraged formation of rev. committees representing
 other classes of population & cooperated with those committees. For
 instance, at Gyor, which is the site of Hungary's greatest factory of
 rrd. equipment, rev. councils of soldiers, peasants, intellectuals, & the
 youth were formed, along with town's wks. council. On 10.27 a mtg.
 of those 5 councils made it possible to constitute a provision nat.
 comm. of the Gyor dept. It was this nat. comm. that negotiated with the
 Rus. commanders."
 In addition to Malster insurrection also won General Bela Kiraly.
 THE YOUTH AND THE MORAL PURITY OF REV. "contempt for death of
 Hungarian youth of Oct. '56" after Oct. 30th when many party
 formed so was there a movement among youth for youth party.

Demand for end of one-party system. On 10/28 Nagy replaced his Cabinet by a coalition govt. incl. Smallholders, National Peasants, Social Democrats; then new parties emerged. 3 days later Hungary had 40 different parties!

Each of the parties had its own newspaper: Socialists: ~~Magyar~~ Nepesava Petofi party, formerly National Peasant Party, Uj Magyarozas; the C-ists, Hegvazabadsag; tus Nepakarati; Dudas's Nat. Rev. Comh, Fuggetlenseg; rev. young journalists Igazsag (Truth) & Catholic Sziv (Heart)

Also asked for neutrality

p. 253: In downtown Budapest resistance continued until 11/7. And it was the wkrs. who fought with greatest stubbornness.

Citizens were saying about Russian charge of counter-rev. "At least the Russians found 8 genuine Hungarians to defend the country against 9 mln. counter-revolutionaries & agts. of for. imp."

180,000 or 2% of total population chose self-exile. "the rev. continued even after it had been defeated." General strike on 11/4/

Rev. abolished central state control & gave rise to autonomous govt. bodies, rev. comm., wkrs. councils. No doubt also Hungarian writers'

Congress of Sept. 1956 will stand as a landmark in the his. of the human mind. p. 252: "It must be granted that the Hungarian intellec-

tuals, altho they enjoyed a tremendous prestige, did not reveal themselves as leaders & organizers at the moment of crisis. The rev. with its excesses bewildered them... One of the most moving aspects

of the Hungarian uprising was precisely the mtg. of the youth with the intellectual elite, their communion in the idea of freedom.

Who will ever forget the nobility, purity, boldness of the Budapest students, who were the vanguard of the uprising?"