THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN THE OCTOBER EVENTS IN HUNGARY

IV

PUBLISHED BY THE INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE HUNGARIAN
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

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Volumes 1, 2 and 3 of *The Counter-revolutionary Forces in the October Events in Hungary* have given a detailed account of the counter-revolutionary revolt, which took place in the autumn of 1956 and was aimed at the overthrow of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The fourth volume traces the main lines that reveal the careful preparation of the counter-revolution of October and November 1956, the activity of the counter-revolutionaries and agent provocateurs, and provocateurs, and summarizes the initial period of consolidation.

This volume contains authentic and well-documented facts or summaries based on those facts.

Role of Western Imperialism in the Outbreak of the Counter-revolution in Hungary

The counter-revolutionary events of October 1956, followed a preparatory work of many years by the Western imperialist powers. This activity had proceeded along three different lines, namely :

(1) ideological preparation ;
(2) political and military organization ;
(3) smuggling of armed men into Hungary.

It Began Like This

On October 10, 1951, President Harry Truman signed the Mutual Security Act. By this Act, a hundred million dollars were allocated for the purpose of forming armed detachments, operating under the aegis of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, of individuals residing in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania or of selected persons who absconded from those countries, or for other purposes.

In 1956, those competent considered it necessary to raise this amount to 125 million dollars.

So the US Government passed legislation according to which Hungarians, Poles, Rumanians, etc. are recruited for foreign armed forces against their own countries. As for the meaning of the term "for other purposes," papers in the US and elsewhere have often written about it. It means the training of spies and saboteurs. According to the August 6, 1951 issue of the Congressional Record, Senator McCarran expressed his opinion that a maximum support given to clandestine groups of insurgents in the territories under "Communist control" was necessary.

Anthony H. Leviero, in an article which appeared in *Nation's*

Business (a publication of the US Chamber of Commerce) in April 1952, wrote that not a single government official will admit it, but the US is training men so that in the tougher phases of psychological warfare it will have spies, saboteurs and specialists at its disposal. They are learning how to blow up bridges, trains and war plants, they are taught how to use all sorts of weapons, both American and foreign types . . . They are taught the secret methods of travelling so that they will be able to return with what they have seen. They mix with the hostile population and spread disquieting rumours.

Thus, on the basis of the so-called security act a widespread espionage organization was built up, and sabotage and terroristic actions were organized, on the territory of the socialist countries.

The so-called Committee for a Free Europe was formed during the Cold War period. This was an organization that rallied counter-revolutionaries, reactionaries and fascists, who had fled from the socialist countries to the West. This Committee operates Radio Free Europe, which started its broadcasts in August, 1951. US Senator McCarran said, at the time and in this connection that this was but "a modest beginning," and that there were unlimited possibilities.

Among the founders of Radio Free Europe are to be found General Lucius D. Clay, former military commander of the US zone in Germany and at present a partner in the Lehmann and Morgan banking corporations ; Mr. John McCloy, former High Commissioner of the US zone in Germany and son-in-law of Herr Adenauer, who as a solicitor is a member of the Rockefeller group ; Mr. Dean Acheson, former US Secretary of State, a member of the House of Morgan ; Mr. John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State ; Mr. Morgan Schroeder, senior partner in the Rockefeller firm ; the automobile king Mr. Henry Ford, II. ; Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, son of the oil king ; Mr. Alan Dulles, brother of the Secretary of State and top-man of US Intelligence ; Mr. Bedell-Smith, chief of the central intelligence organization of NATO ; and Mr. C. C. Jackson, chief of the psychological warfare department of the Pentagon.

Radio Free Europe has twenty-eight short-wave broadcasting stations, one medium-wave station at Holdskirchen (the most powerful medium-wave station in Europe, broadcasting on 135 kilowatts), twenty-five studios and a multitude of agencies. It broadcasts programmes 20 hours a day. It cost $60,000,000 to put the Radio into operation, and its operational costs amount to $ 10,000,000 a year.

The programme policy of Radio Free Europe is determined by the US propaganda organization and its broadcasts are co-ordinated with the official radio stations of the NATO countries (Voice of America, BBC, Radio Paris, Radio Rome, etc.).

President Eisenhower has said in reference to Radio Free Europe that it also voiced the interests of the United States.

UN Five-Power Committee on Radio Free Europe

The UN Special Committee, referring to the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, states under point 131 of its report :

> "In a tense atmosphere such as that prevailing in Hungary during these critical weeks, optimistic and encouraging broadcasts, which paid tribute to the aims of the uprising, were welcomed. The generally hopeful tone of such broadcasts may well have been over-emphasized in the process of passing from mouth to mouth what various speakers were alleged to have said. The attitude of the Hungarian people towards foreign broadcasting was perhaps best summed up by the student (the report had referred to him previously) referred to above, who said : 'It was our only hope, and we tried to console ourselves with it.' It would appear that certain broadcasts by Radio Free Europe helped to create an impression that support might be forthcoming for the Hungarians. The Committee feels that in such circumstances the greatest restraint and circumspection are called for in international broadcasting."

Thus the UN Committee report says nothing about the facts presented below, namely that Radio Free Europe gave direct orders and instructions to the counter-revolutionary insurgents.

Radio Free Europe as Viewed by the "Hungarian Revolutionary Council"

The so-called Hungarian Revolutionary Council, headed by Miss Anna Kéthly, Mr. József Kővágó and General Béla Király, meeting at Strasbourg on January 5-6, 1957, discussed the Hungarian broadcasts of Radio Free Europe. We quote from their statement :

> "One of the most striking defects of the Hungarian-language broadcasts given by Radio Free Europe was the static character of its programme policy. The political situation in Hungary was in constant flux during its

various phases. Yet Radio Free Europe spoke and thought throughout in a tone which corresponded roughly to 1950. We feel that its propaganda was often broadcast in superficial formulations. This led to the none too happy role which Radio Free Europe played in the decisive phase of the revolution. At the outset Radio Free Europe became involved in contradictions : disregarding the position of Hungary and the actual relations of power, it proposed or discussed unfounded propositions. Radio Free Europe did not realize in due time — and this was a fundamental error of judgment — that Imre Nagy and his government were the only point of crystallization for development and consolidation — at least until free elections could be held."

The implication of this appraisal is that Radio Free Europe, urging the counter-revolutionary insurgents to drive Imre Nagy out of office, was blind to the fact that in the actual situation he was the most acceptable Prime Minister to the counter-revolution.

Le Monde, in its issue of November 22, 1956, writes on the score of the Radio Free Europe broadcasts :

"Top American personalities seized even the smallest opportunities to voice their interest in the peoples of Eastern Europe, to incite them to resistance and to stress that America's support would be assured to all those willing to fight for freedom. At the time of the rising a great many people responded to the appeals broadcast by Radio Free Europe. Did they not carry on a useless fight for several days, because they followed the advice given by Radio Free Europe on the eve of the US presidential elections, in which it assured its listeners that if the armed uprising would still be going on after the presidential election returns were made public, Washington would be able to intervene on the side of Hungary?"

The Scotsman wrote on January 3, 1957 :

"The charge is that Radio Free Europe broadcasts did, in fact, kindle the revolt with propaganda, and fanned the flames by definite declarations of forthcoming American military aid. . . . there is . . . some evidence that . . . the exiles broadcasting from R. F. E. to their countrymen gave assurances of American military help, under the stress of emotion . . ."

Extracts from Hungarian-language Radio Broadcasts of the West

Following the summer of 1956 broadcasting stations in the West stepped up their propaganda for the forceful overthrow of the people's democratic order in Hungary.

Radio Rome on July 17, 1956, broadcast the following comment on the anniversary of the Battle of Belgrade (1456) :

"If it had been possible to do so, the descendants of the heroes of Belgrade would have *taken to the streets not today but already yesterday*. Hungarians living in the free world have launched a powerful action in order *to obtain in the arena of foreign policy the assistance which will give the final push that will bring down the regime.*

"The names of John Hunyadi and Capistrano impart fresh lustre to the Hungarian valour of old, of which we are the upholders. *Today we are silent, but we may act tomorrow.*"

The Voice of America broadcast feature, "We Will Keep Everything in Evidence," said on August 13th, 1956 :

"This does not mean that the guilty representatives of the regime will not suffer some other kind of penalty at a future date — that punishment which will be meted out by an independent Hungarian judicature to the stool pigeons of the ÁVH and other informers. For retribution *shall* come . . . We shall continue our exposures ; we shall keep everthing in evidence !"

On August 13th, 1956, Radio Rome had this to say :

"At the worst, Titoism can be accepted only as a transitory state of affairs in the process of winning national liberation and independence. If the Hungarian Titoites will be able to attain the withdrawal of Russian troops, an end to exploitation by the Russians, and a relaxation of Russianization, let there be Titoism for a month or two — the time necessary for the Hungarian Titoites, the national Communists, to be swept aside by the common sense of the Hungarian nation and the accumulated discontent. The Hungarian Titoites should bear this in mind beforehand. If they really stand on a national basis and put the good of the nation before everything else, then they must be prepared to make this sacrifice as well. Let them be Titoites if they will — we wish them every success

in their efforts to expel the Russians and Russian influence from the country. As for the rest, they should leave it to the Hungarian people, who hate bolshevism of any kind."

Radio Free Europe said, in "Master Bálint's Column" (Bálint gazda rovata), on August 18th :

"This is my well-considered answer to the question whether there is any point about making sacrifices : In Hungary today there is no point in anything except making sacrifices and putting up resistance."

From "We Will Keep Everything in Evidence," over Voice of America, on August 30th, 1956 :

"As regards the State Security Authority (ÁVH) as a whole, the ÁVH police should not indulge in illusions that bygones will be bygones. Not in the least. *Retribution shall catch up with them.* We shall continue our exposures. We will keep everything in evidence."

Radio Rome, on October 11, 1956 :

"Hitler and Szálasi could not avoid the inexorable judgement of History; and the judgment of History will be just as inexorable over the general staff of world Communism and its Hungarian vassals. The Communists have fallen down in the economic field ; their political liquidation is now in progress."

In October the Voice of America and the BBC keynoted the demonstration of October 23, telling their listeners in Hungary what they should demand.

From the BBC labour broadcast on October 13, 1956 :

"They should demand the withdrawal of the *Soviet army ; the publication of Soviet-Hungarian agreements and accounts; democracy instead of democratism; and independence instead of foreign tutelage.* Failing this, the whole Communist bustle will be mere gammon and spinach."

October 16, 1956, Voice of America commented on concerning the rehabilitations of persons wrongly sentenced :

"The day will surely come when the Hungarian horizon will clear. But this will be preceded by a real rehabilitation of all those who have innocently suffered humiliation, by

the calling to account of all guilty Communists, and by the annihilation of the anti-Hungarian terroristic organization that is operating under the disguise of the State Security Authority."

Radio Free Europe Directs the Counter-revolution

During the counter-revolutionary period Radio Free Europe *directly took a hand in the armed events by issuing instructions.* The action of Radio Free Europe was guided by well-considered political and military objectives, such as :

(1) To prolong the period of fighting sufficiently to enable them to smuggle into Hungary, from the West, as many armed units of counter-revolutionaries as possible ; and

(2) to develop in Hungary, with the assistance of armed counter-revolutionaries, an alignment of forces in which political parties out to restore capitalism would be enabled to realize their programmes within the shortest possible time.

Protesting against the cease-fire, Colonel Bell, news commentator of Radio Free Europe, said :

"The cease-fire is just as dangerous a device as the Trojan horse. Imre Nagy and his associates are aspiring to put over a modern and cunning version of the Trojan horse. The cease-fire is, as the Trojan horse, necessary to enable the Budapest government, which is still in power at the moment, to keep its position as long as possible. Imre Nagy has every reason to use a smokescreen : the Budapest government, by styling itself "revolutionary," is clouding the acumen of the Hungarians. Muscovites, loyal to the line, still represent the majority in the Nagy team. Are these the guarantee of the better future which has been promised over and over again? Isn't this rather irony? The fighters for freedom must not for a moment lose sight of the designs of the government opposing them, lest the tragedy of the Trojan horse should be repeated."

Gallicus, commenting on the announcements of the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of the Interior, *advocated that the armed struggle should be continued :*

"The announcement which has just been issued by the Ministry of Defence in Budapest states that the centres of resistance in Budapest have begun, under the terms of the agreement, to hand over their arms to Hungarian

troops coming to relieve Soviet army units. This part of the communiqué is false and untruthful. It is impossible that the Budapest resistance — which, according to the latest reports, has taken 15,000 casualties — would have laid down its arms before the routed Red soldiery. This allegation is particularly improbable in light of the fact that the Budapest tyranny — the government of Budapest, propped up by Soviet bayonets — arrayed the ÁVH, at Sunday noon, in the garb of a militia, and thus the Budapest resistance-fighters would be handing over their arms to the inveterate enemies and ruthless henchmen of the revolution. This piece of news is improbable also because the fight for freedom has won a military victory and is still far from having achieved its political aims. Formally, the country is still led by the same gang against which the fight has been going on. Considering this fact, if it were to surrender its arms, that would be tantamount to the continuation of despotism and the maintenance of the nation's misfortune.

"Therefore, the communiqué of the Ministry of Defence is nothing more than a smokescreen designed to mislead the victorious revolution, to deprive it of the victory which it has won on the barricades.

"But that is not all. The Ministry of Defence communiqué alleges that the evacuation of Budapest by the Soviet Army units will begin 24 hours after the surrender. That is a tactic to make one's blood boil, an open avowal of an attempt to mislead and to deceive the nation. When the cease-fire was issued on Sunday, it was announced that the Soviet troops would immediately withdraw from the capital. After this announcement, the shooting stopped. But twenty-four hours later, a different tune is being sung: the Soviet troops will withdraw when the arms have been laid down. Things are shaping up the way we have predicted. The clique, which is willing to trample the whole country in the dust so as to remain in power, has not had the strength to defy the nation. So instead of force it employs artifice. It has hoisted the Kossuth coat of arms; cockaded in national colours the ÁVH police, dressed them in the uniform of a national militia, and in disguise is trying to smash the popular resistance.

"This then is the Ministry of Defence communiqué; it is nothing more than a wily and treacherous hoax. It has

been drafted with the intention and in the hope that it will confuse the interests of the freedom-struggle, that it will crush the dauntlessness of the freedom-fighters. But it has only served to expose its authors. This is borne out by the Győr County National Council's warning to the Muscovite government of Budapest that it should unmistakably and positively cease fighting; and that it should tell this to the nation forthwith, over the radio, for if this will not be done, the whole country west of the Danube will come to Budapest's assistance. That's the spirit. That is the true Hungarian spirit. This warning is evidence that the freedom-fighters refuse to place the destiny of the fatherland, the control over the life of the nation, in the hands of people who are responsible for the death of thousands of martyrs. Now, while we are analyzing communiqués, let's see another one. Here we have the announcement that Dr. Ferenc Münnich, the Minister of the Interior, is going ahead with the organization of the new democratic police force. The work has begun, and as a first step the ÁVH bandits have been garbed in the uniform of a national militia. The bloodhounds have been fitted with dog-collars, their flashing fangs have been varnished pink, the Kossuth coat of arms has become their national banner — this is how the reorganization has begun. The question now is: How will it continue? Or rather, this is not really a question at all, as we can imagine, from past experience, what kind of an organization this is going to be. Dr. Ferenc Münnich, himself a lieutenant colonel in the Soviet Army, was a commissar with the Rákosi Brigade during the Spanish Civil War. This gives us an idea of the type of organization his new democratic police will be. But even if we did not know this, other memories of the past would serve as information. The fact, for instance, that the Muscovites seized, in 1945, the right to organize the police only with the help of Soviet bayonets. It was out of this right that there sprang up, later on, the inquisitorial institution which sent the best patriots to the stake and clapped in irons the finest sons of the nation, beginning with the Prince Primate Cardinal Mindszenty. Give us a bit of a democratic police as a foothold, and we shall unhinge the nation, take it off its sovereignty, these red Archimedes say. We shall come back to this vital issue later, and will coment on it at greater length, as it deserves. For the

moment, we shall restrict ourselves to asking this question : 'Have the Budapest patriots died and has the homeland suffered destruction so that the Münnichs can again organize democratic police forces?"

Balázs Balogh, in a Radio Free Europe broadcast, *exhorted his hearers to overthrow the Imre Nagy government:*

"If anyone had a moment's doubt whether it was worth while, whether they should keep on fighting, whether there is a way to reach any acceptable understanding with the present government — there can be no doubts : Imre Nagy's speech last Sunday has dispelled all doubts. That speech, friends of my radio audience, was not harmless. That Sunday speech was intended as a stink-bomb to dope the people, and make them drop their weapons. It should be realized at last that the Hungarian people have risen against the Communist system as a whole. That is what they want to overthrow. And they are not such fools as to surrender their weapons of their own free will, thereby preserving that evil power, whose principal institutions have secured the fatuous attachment of Imre Nagy. Imre Nagy does not have the courage to grant the demands of the people. Yet he should not be afraid — they would not now have the audacity to deport him to a Soviet forced labour camp on account of this demand. And yet he clings tooth and nail to the basic institutions of the hated regime, institutions which have, as a matter of fact, become outworn in Hungary. If Imre Nagy still does not understand what all this is about, we will tell him again : The Hungarian people want to see the Communist dictatorship done away with. The Hungarian people will never accept Lenin's dogmas. The Hungarian people want to see the members of the so-called new government of Imre Nagy and the new party leadership in some other place."

By his appeal transmitted by Radio Free Europe, Colonel Bell *directly interfered in the counter-revolutionary events:*

"The Communist leaders of the Hungarian armed forces must go : they never had any business being there anyway. Soldiers ! Freedom-fighters ! Demand that the Ministry of Defence be turned over to you ! Demand the posts of Commander-in-Chief and Chief-of-Staff ! This would be your best guarantee."

Commentator Janus also *advocated the overthrow of the government:*

"A government must be formed which enjoys the confidence and support of broad segments of the people, a government which will be able to secure the speedy withdrawal of foreign troops from the whole territory of the country, and to annul international agreements which are detrimental to our national interests. Such a government can only be an interim government. It should govern only until the withdrawal of Soviet troops will have created the necessary conditions for free elections. This untenable situation, which is a characteristic of the government now in office — this duality created by the regime in its confusion — must be ended as soon as possible. An end must be put to the 'little' and 'big' cabinet. Twenty-one of the twenty-five members of the so-called Nagy government are Communists. The majority of these ministers stuck like leeches to their ministerial posts back in the Rákosi period. This government was defeated before it was formed. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers himself could not regard it as an acceptable government, and was compelled to form a more restricted cabinet to discharge the duties. This clumsy half-measure — to put it mildly — is not a satisfactory solution. The answer has been given by the Social Democrats, who refuse to participate in it. Mr. Kovács is not included in it, but Mr. Kovács's views are not known to anyone ; he is not in the capital at present. He must have a reason for his silence. The Peasant Party surely do not regard Mr. Erdei as their leader ; he is the man who bears most of the responsibility for the liquidation of the Peasant Party, and who until recently professed Rákosi as his leader. There is no use saying anything about Mr. Tildy : he has long been known as a Communist. Thus the 'little cabinet' is no guarantee of anything. This is so utterly incredible that it cannot be accepted even as a transition to something else. *The most important thing to do — and this is what the Free Radio demands — is to form without delay a new provisional national government that would discharge these duties.* Such a government should include only the true representatives of the political parties and the real leaders of the freedom-fight."

Radio Free Europe broadcast the following under the headline "The Szentgotthárd National Council Appeals to the Hungarian Nation" :

"(1) Abrogate the Warsaw Treaty at once, and declare that Hungary has withdrawn from the treaty.

"(2) The Soviet troops should withdraw from Hungary without delay, and once and for all.

"(3) All National Councils should demand the holding of free and secret elections, within a specified time.

"(4) The elections should be held under international supervision."

Radio Free Europe in its comment "He Who Has Arms Has the Power" *again demanded the continuation of armed struggle, the securing of positions of power :*

"He who has arms has the power also ! For this reason we say for the hundredth time — and shall say it a hundred times more — that the victorious people must keep their weapons, for only thus can they secure power for themselves. Nationally speaking, weapons mean the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Defence. The former has the disposal of the police force ; the latter of the military forces. Both institutions are headed by people whose designs reveal them unmistakably as utter scoundrels, out-and-out Muscovites. The one is Ferenc Münnich, Minister of the Interior ; the other, Károly Janza, Minister of Defence. Neither of them is a person fit for the popular victory ; there is no guarantee of this either in their personality, their past, or in their self-evident interests. It would be an impossible situation for the nation to win and for power to remain in the hands of the vanquished. What is needed is a triumphant revolutionary government — people with a clean record, new men from the first to the last. But if this is not possible because of the continued presence in our country of the villainous Soviet bayonets, then triumphant Hungary should secure for herself at least that which her progress, freedom and sovereignty depend upon. In 1945, popular rule acquired mastery by laying hands on the police, thereby sapping the honest forces of Hungary. The same tactics is being applied today. *Freedom-fighters, do not allow this to happen again ! Do not hang up your guns. Do not give a lump of coal, or a drop of oil*

to the government of Budapest until you have taken over the Ministries of the Interior and Defence."

And finally, here is the news broadcast by Radio Free Europe on November 4, which even the Western Press declared *had led the counter-revolutionaries to expect armed assistance,* so that they would carry on the hopeless fight :

"The Swiss Radio broadcast a special bulletin on the events in Hungary. According to its news commentator, the fate of Hungary will be decided tonight at about 2 a. m. when the American proposal is to be debated by the UN General Assembly. No military assistance can be dispatched to Hungary until that time, that is prior to 2 a. m."

In the light of the above quotations, the statement of one of the participants of the counter-revolution who fled to the West is fully justified :

"It was the radio link with the West which had taught [us] which way to go, what to hope for, what to demand." *(Newsweek,* November 12, 1956.)

Radio Free Europe after November 4

When the Soviet Troops stationing in Hungary in accordance with the Warsaw Treaty, in response to the request of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, took up the fight against the armed groups of the counter-revolutionaries, Radio Free Europe continued to encourage the fighting, explaining that US armed intervention would come to the assistance of the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries as soon as the US presidential elections were over. It also fed its hearers with promises that the UN General Assembly would sanction armed intervention, and then UN troops would be sent into Hungary by land and by air.

After the defeat of the armed counter-revolution, Radio Free Europe urged the so-called workers' councils to continue striking. It suggested that they should refuse to recognize the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government — the legitimate government of the Hungarian People's Republic — but to demand the reinstatement of Imre Nagy, who had fled to the Yugoslav Embassy, as Prime Minister.

Contact between the Counter-revolutionaries and Radio Free Europe

The following confessions bear evidence to the close contacts which existed between the counter-revolutionary insurgents and Radio Free Europe :

Maria Rzepka, who was arrested on suspicion of counter-revolutionary activity, stated that the Corvin Passage terrorists had kept in radio communications with Radio Free Europe. Radio Free Europe's signal would come through at 11 p. m. each night, she said, and the Corvin Passage gang would answer at 1 a. m.

Kálmán Konkoly, a Munich staff member of Radio Free Europe, went to Győr at the end of October, where he had talks with Attila Szigeti, chairman of the local revolutionary committee. He advised Szigeti to transform his revolutionary committee into a counter-government, and to request UN supervision for the whole area of Transdanubia. The so-called Transdanubian Parliament was convened as a result of this proposal. Szigeti gave Konkoly the letter asking for UN supervision and assistance.

Early in November, Radio Free Europe sent a two-way radio set to the counter-revolutionaries in Győr. The set was brought from Munich by Ferenc Kása, a local car-dealer. After November 4, the set was dissembled and smuggled out of the country to Vienna.

Sándor Szilárd, arrested American spy, said in his evidence recorded as early as March 25, 1955 :

> "As to how he was to learn that I had arrived back, it was agreed between us that on my return I would send a message, under the code-word 'Spulni,' on the Sunday morning programme of Radio Free Europe."

Mrs. Béla Nádas, giving testimony concerning Géza Jelencsics, a CIC agent, said :

> "Jelencsics, too, sent messages over Radio Free Europe to his contacts, informing them of the date of his arrival in Hungary."

Jenő Benes testified :

> "I asked Jelencsics when he would come back to Hungary again, and he said he would send a message in two weeks' time over Radio Free Europe, using the code-word 'Triumvirate'."

Csaba Ujlaki, a resident of Miskolc, took the secret files of the state security police. He fled to Vienna in December 1956. The US Embassy in Vienna sent him on to Radio Free Europe. Radio Free Europe sent him back to Hungary with the mission of smuggling out the ÁVH files. He was captured on the frontier.

During the counter-revolutionary events two two-way radio sets were operated in the official building of the US Legation in Budapest (Szabadság tér 12). By means of these instruments the US Legation was in communication with stations outside the country. These radio sets were operated without permission from the Hungarian authorities.

In a Note to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry the US Legation has admitted the above fact, which it explained by stating that its communication with its Government had several times been cut off during the counter-revolutionary events. This explanation cannot be accepted, for the US Legation could have asked for and obtained permission to operate two-way radio sets from the Foreign Ministry of the Hungarian People's Republic even after 23 October 1956. That the Legation failed to do so gives rise to some suspicions.

Radio Free Europe's Balloon Action

Radio Free Europe organized a large-scale balloon action against the socialist countries, including the Hungarian People's Republic. Some of these balloons were the causes of serious air accidents over Hungary.

These balloons are about 50 ft. in diameter and are filled with 1,600 cubic metres of hydrogen gas. Five cubic metres of gas is sufficient to blow the roof off a single-storey house. The balloons carried air-reconnaissance apparatus, photographic equipment, spring fuses, two-way radio sets and other equipment. They bore the stamp "Made in USA."

These balloons served a double purpose :

(1) Reconnaissance from the air.

(2) Carrying to Hungary propaganda material slandering the government of the Hungarian People's Republic and inciting to overthrow the legal order.

Mr. H. Baldwin, military correspondent of *The New York Times*, wrote in February 1956 that the balloons were serving many other purposes, including reconnaissance, besides meteorological observation, and continued by saying that these balloons could be fitted with photographic equipment, radar and TV apparatuses, and could transmit information to their basis.

By means of these balloons 300,000,000 leaflets were dropped upon the territories of the people's democratic countries in recent years.

During the counter-revolutionary events leaflets in Hungarian and Russian were dropped for soldiers of the Hungarian People's Army and of the Soviet Army.

Leaflets signed "Free Russia" called upon the soldiers to stop fighting the counter-revolutionaries and urged them to desert. The deserters were advised to get in touch by radio with Radio Free Europe, from which they would receive instructions.

Preparations in American Quarters

As far back as 1950 they organized in Washington the "Central European Christian Democratic Union," the members of which consisted of refugees of the Christian Democratic Parties of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Yugoslavia. At an international congress held in New York in 1953, they adopted the permanent rules of the organization. According to them the purpose of the organization was:

> "The liberation of the peoples of Central Europe from Communist oppression, the reconstruction of the freed countries on the basis of Christian Democratic principles . . .
>
> "We want an economic order based on private initiative and private ownership . . . no peaceful co-existence of the two worlds is possible . . . The free world must be determined to make every sacrifice for rearmament. Without such strength, not only will there be no liberation of the Communist subjugated world, but the still free world will live in mortal danger."

Senator Robert A. Taft, in a broadcast in June 1952, said the following:

> "We must marshal the forces of freedom, both this side and the other side of the Iron Curtain, so they are ready to go if a break in the Kremlin strength or unity ever comes.
>
> "It would be criminal to attempt today to foment national revolts in Russia and her satellite countries since that would produce only the murder of the anti-Communists . . . Nevertheless, we should help the anti-Communist underground to keep the hope of liberty alive among their people. Then, when the time is ripe, opportunities can be exploited . . . We ought to employ the native underground agencies in each oppressed country who, with us, believe in freedom, but know far better than we do the means by which their people can be converted to our side . . . It is reassuring to find that Mr. Dulles' present position is so close to my own . . ." (*The New York Times*, June 2, 1952.)

In 1950 the United States Congress enacted the "Lodge Act." (Henry Cabot Lodge, the present head of the US delegation to the UN.) The stated purpose of the Act was the recruiting of an anti-Communist "foreign legion" of about 12,500 men (annually 2,500), which later would be increased to 25,000 men, the members to come from among the refugees of the socialist countries. The men would receive special training and after five years of service in the US armed forces they would be granted US citizenship.

But the organization of an "anti-Communist foreign legion" had begun much earlier. In 1945, military camps in West Germany received the influx of Hungarian fascists and gendarmes who had fled from Hungary. These people were placed under command of the Horthy General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak, and were allowed to keep their arms even "in captivity." American money was provided to finance General Farkas de Kisbarnak's legions. Thus, certain circles in the United States financed fascist troops which had fought the Allied armies during World War II, and who had caused so many American, British and French lives to be spent in the struggle.

In 1953 President Eisenhower appointed an eight-man committee to "investigate methods to be used by the country (the United States) in conducting psychological warfare" against the socialist countries. The members of the committee

included C. D. Jackson, a millionaire, the President's special advisor; Robert Cutler, the White House's liaison man with the National Security Council; and Roger N. Kyes, Under-Secretary of Defence. The public only learned that the committee had recommended a stepping up of the Radio service, but *The New York Times* wrote on August 20, 1953, that a report was submitted to the President last month, but only a small part of it was permitted to be made public. One of the statements of the White House declared that many of the recommendations were of a very confidential nature.

General David Sarnoff's plan called for the following:

> "We must seek out the weakest links in the Kremlin's chain of power. The country adjudged ripe for a breakaway should receive concentrated study and planning. A successful uprising in Albania, for instance, would be a body blow to Soviet prestige and a fateful stimulus to resistance elsewhere . . . Eastern Germany is among the weakest links. Its revolt would ignite neighbouring Czechoslovakia and Poland. The time to prepare for such actions is now — whether the time to carry them out be in the near or distant future."

This plan was submitted to President Eisenhower on April 5, 1955, and when it was made public on May 9, 1955, the President declared he had carefully studied it and was in agreement.

On November 18, 1955, N. A. Rockefeller, President Eisenhower's advisor on foreign policy, reporting on his European tour to the leaders of the Hungarian emigrés in Munich, explained his plans concerning a counter-revolution in Hungary. He discussed this also with Mr. Griffiths, the American agent of Radio Free Europe, and promised and gave material support and arms. With their help the "Fraternal Society of Hungarian Fighters" (MHBK) began to organize and train their stormtroops for counter-revolutionary action in Hungary.

According to *The New York Times* of February 8, 1956, President Eisenhower urged continuous efforts to strengthen "the free will of the satellite countries behind the iron curtain."

George Abbot, former Chargé d'Affaires of the US Legation in Budapest, wrote a study entitled "American Policy for a Free Hungary." He listed points on how Hungary could be freed:

1. The overthrow of the present regime by an internal revolution.

2. Through the present government breaking away from Moscow (Titoism).

3. The defeat of Russia in a new world war (which would presumably be followed by the first point).

Abbot explained that the policy would have to be based primarily on the peasantry.

C. M. Ravndal former Minister of the US in Budapest, wrote the following in a memorandum addressed in 1954 to Mr. Thurston, the Deputy Director fo East European Affairs of the US State Department:

> "I shall repeat an earlier recommendation, that I may approach the government with such a proposal for the purpose of negotiation which would only multiply their troubles . . . On the one hand among the local Communists there are at least misgivings and resistance because of the spread and speed of the retreat and easing of tension. On the other hand, there are directives from Moscow. In my opinion the conflict presents a good opportunity to fish in troubled waters." (Retranslated from the Hungarian.)

Minister Ravndal wrote to the US State Department:

> "We have recommended a tactical change in the broadcasts of the 'Voice of America', which would aggravate the confusion and contradictions prevailing in the ranks of the Communist Party in Hungary." (Retranslated from the Hungarian.)

According to *Neues Deutschland* of December 25, 1956, in the US House of Representatives a committee was appointed in September 1956 to deal with the affairs of the South-East European countries. On September 10 and 11, this committee discussed the possibilities of the "liberation of Hungary." This committee heard the report of the leaders of the Hungarian emigrés, Béla Varga, President of the Hungarian National Committee, and Ferenc Nagy, former Hungarian Prime Minister. *The meeting was also attended by invited representatives of military emigré circles from West Germany, among them Emil Juszti, Horthyite general. The committee decided to co-ordinate the action of the American bodies with the Hungarian emigré*

organizations. For this purpose they set up a co-ordinating body which was charged with preparing the uprising in Hungary.

The *Neues Deutschland* also reported that at the end of October influential representatives of the United States held a number of secret talks with leaders of the Hungarian emigrés in Munich. On instructions from the United States representatives they drafted the programme of a counter-revolutionary government, which included the following:

The restoration of the system of landed estates as it existed prior to 1945; in industry the systematic nullification of the nationalization of factories and the return of the properties to the former industrialists; an invitation to be extended to US military and civilian advisors to come to Hungary; the extensive participation of foreign capital in the country's economy; the utilization of US economic aid under the supervision of US military advisors; Hungary's entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the establishment of NATO air bases on Hungary's territory.

According to the *Berliner Zeitung*, at the secret talks in Munich, Major Jackson, a representative of the US Armed Forces stationed in Western Germany, assured the leading military body of the Hungarian emigré organizations that he would immediately place at its disposal the necessary material assistance, including lorries and aircraft for the transport of men and arms. *Hugó Sónyi, former general of the Horthy army, declared that the previously trained unit of 11,000 men could be used to carry out military operations at any time.*

Western Arms Used by the Counter-revolutionaries

The *Welt am Sonntag* of Hamburg in its November 4 issue reported that it had received the following information from a Hungarian woman:

> "We received our first food consignment only on Saturday. A foreigner who spoke fluent Hungarian turned over four wagonloads of tins and warned us to open them with great care. Only later did we understand what he meant. Two hundred tins were filled with hand-grenades."

The *France Nouvelle* in its issue No. 8, Vol. 2, writes the following:

> "The main concern of the American diversionary service was to get arms to Hungary by the shortest route under the pretext of 'food relief' . . . Eyewitnesses say that on one day alone, on October 25, forty tourist, passenger and goods cars, bearing the signs of Red Cross, unloaded at the Austrian Legation. But the unloaded goods were not only foodstuffs; there were also arms."

György László Béla, one of the leaders of the Corvin Passage high command, testified that his unit had been armed with about 50 American-made Tommy-guns. He also knew that hand-grenades had arrived at the Corvin Passage in five-kilogram butter tins.

On the morning of November 3, a black, four-passenger car drew up at Corvin Passage. Its occupants were looking for László Iván-Kovács, one of the commanders of the Corvin Passage gang, by name. They informed him that they had been sent by one of the Western Great Powers and offered him the latest-type hydraulic weapons. They said that the arms were in an arsenal in Vienna and would have to be brought from there by lorry. Iván-Kovács went with the foreign agents to the Deák Ferenc Square Central Police Station to speak to Béla Király, his chief. But there was no longer any time left to carry out the deal.

The Right-wing paper *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* in its December 8, 1956 issue reported that Zákó, former Arrow-cross fascist general, had crossed the Hungarian frontier together with an armed escort and arrived in Győr. The arrival of the notorious Arrow-cross general must have touched the "freedom fighters" on their sore spot: they did not want to be compromised by him. They told General Zákó that if he wanted to help them he should obtain for them bazookas from the West, any freedom fighter would be pleased to take over the weapons.

Of considerable interest, too, was the report of the *Washington Daily News* that Donovan, the well-known American colonel, had crossed the Austrian-Hungarian frontier several times during the October-November events. When he returned to Washington he declared at a press conference that the best method of "assistance" was "to provide those who are still fighting with weapons." In reply to the question of whether the United States should provide assistance in contin-

uing the fighting, Donovan declared: "Naturally we must assist this."

*

The Hungarian Radio consulted Captain János Asztalos, professional arms expert, as to what kinds of weapons were used by the insurgents in the autumn of 1956. He replied:

"We have divided the arms seized while liquidating the armed resistance into two categories: the first category contains the weapons manufactured in this country. They obtained them from the Hungarian troops and arsenals. The second category includes arms originating from other countries. The police force confiscated a surprisingly large quantity of weapons of foreign make. They include many Borhardt, Luger and Parabellon pistols manufactured by the German armaments industry. They captured numerous 1930 seven-shot, 9 mm. calibre Browning pistols of Belgian manufacture. A considerable number of 11.43 mm. calibre seven-shot Colt pistols, which are standard side arms in the American armed forces, fell into our hands. An interesting weapon is the Mauser 6-10 and 20 shot pistol, which is also of German make. Even a novice could determine which pistols had been fired.

"The police confiscated many 11.43 mm. calibre Tommy-guns capable of firing 20-30 or 100 rounds, made in USA.

"We found also a number of MT-40 German submachine guns.

"But let us mention the rifles, too. Among these were the Garand semi-automatic rifle of 7.62 mm. calibre, which takes a clip with eight rounds.

"At present this is the standard weapon of the United States armed forces. Military experts have been informed that the West German armed forces are also being equipped with this rifle. Not a single weapon mentioned was ever a standard weapon of the Hungarian armed forces. These arms were brought secretly to Hungary from abroad."

Hungarian Emigrés and the Counter-revolutionary Rising

Under the headline "US Lets Magyars Down" *Le Monde* writes in its November 22, 1956, issue that the emigré organi-

zations cannot be regarded as *Hungarian* trends opposed to the Hungarian government. The authoritative emigré organizations, *Le Monde* says, are bodies and agencies financed by the Washington government, and their activities are a part of foreign machinations directed against the regime in Hungary. *Le Monde* adds:

"National councils were formed in New York of persons *selected and financed by the Americans* to the extent of enabling them to monopolize the representation of emigrés in the free world."

These persons — the leaders of the Hungarian emigrés — who have been selected and financed by the Americans were ready, long before October 23, to take part in an action directed against the people's democratic system. Pearson, columnist of the *Daily Mirror*, points out:

"By some strange coincidence, practically every exiled satellite leader now living in Washington went back to Paris just before the Hungarian revolt." Included were Mikolajczyk, formerly of Poland, Osusky, formerly of Czechoslovakia, Dimitrov (Gemeto — Ed.), formerly of Bulgaria, and Ferenc Nagy, formerly of Hungary. Mr. Pearson says: "Maybe they had a premonition of events to come."

In No. 8, Vol. 2 of *France Nouvelle* we read:

"And it was not accidental that from the beginning of October there was bustling activity in emigré centres in Munich, Salzburg, Graz, Linz, Vienna and other towns in West Germany and Austria.

"At Lockerstrasse 32, Munich, West Germany, the premises of Radio Free Europe, a veritable recruiting station was opened to send Horthyite officers and other emigrés to Hungary.

"They received special briefing and money to leave for Hungary at the first signal.

"In Hungary, Captain Gleason, the US Military Attaché attracted attention by making frequent trips to Vienna and Salzburg, and these trips were not in the nature of holiday-trips. Captain Gleason established liaison between the counter-revolution in Hungary and the subversive centres abroad, which took part in the preparation and unleashing of the uprising."

Berliner Zeitung writes on November 20, 1956 :

"The participation of trained Hungarian emigrés in the bloody events in Hungary is now a fact established beyond a doubt. It has become known in Munich that the Americans run a camp near Traunstein, Germany, in which officers from Franco's Spain and members of the Hungarian fascist organizations are training people in guerilla warfare. After October 20, a large group of Hungarians of German descent arrived in this camp, people who in 1945 fled to West Germany, because they had been members of the Waffen SS. They have an organization which operates from Himmelreichstrasse No 3., Munich.

"On October 24, 25 and 26, the guerilla trainees of the Traunstein camp were transported in groups to Austria, and then were smuggled into Hungary by ambulance aircraft and cars."

The October preparations of the emigrés are described in the fascist emigré newspaper *Hadak Útján* as follows :

"News of the events in Hungary brought all the Hungarian emigrés to their feet in a matter of a few hours, so to say. Putting aside earlier political differences, Hungarians throughout the world were motivated by one sacred purpose : to give armed assistance to the Hungarian freedom-fighters, if possible, or, if it is impossible, to use every contact in order to rouse world opinion. The central staff of the "Fraternal Society of Hungarian Fighters" (MHBK) put on additional people, and has set up an Emergency Headquarters with Major-General András Zákó in command, which, after discussing the most urgent tasks, would form a radio staff . . . The news inspired many people, and they set out for Austria ; many were held up at various national frontiers or were stopped in major cities on the way. From October 28 on news were pouring in of hundreds of people volunteering, individually or in groups, not only from Europe but also from overseas. Our fellow-emigrés of other nations not only expressed their heartfelt sympathies to the Hungarians, but numerous members of Iron curtain nations volunteered to participate in the Hungarian freedom struggle. The MHBK received a cable from oversea saying that a party of 100 Canadian comrades and enthusiastic Hungarians were taking a plane to Austria to fight in the freedom struggle.

"A few hours after the outbreak of the freedom struggle, President Eisenhower received in audience representatives of the Association of Hungarian Americans, and assured them of his full support."

In an editorial note the *Hungarist* (fascist) *Út és Cél* writes in its November issue :

"Accompanied by a member of our staff, the leader of the *Hungarist* movement crossed the frontier into Hungary, in order to get first-hand information about the situation. During their absence, groups of Hungarians keen on joining the fight arrived in Austria from almost every European country. Day and night our editorial office was open to our compatriots from other countries who called on us."

In one of the articles in the November issue of the fascist *Út és Cél* we read :

"The overwhelming majority of the displaced persons are ready at all times, if necessary, to fight with weapons for the liberation of their fatherland."

In its November 2 issue *Új Hungária* writes :

"The Hungarian emigrés have been stirred into activity. In their enthusiastic fervour the Hungarians in Walka Camp, the largest Hungarian refugee centre in Germany, have formed commando battalions. They intend to advance towards Hungary, regardless of all other events or Western opinion.

"Battalions of volunteers have been also formed in London . . .

"Hungarian youth and emigré soldiers from France, Germany, Austria and other European countries, acting on their own, are on their way to Hungary and may have crossed the frontier already."

Commenting upon the preparation of the uprising, a *United Press* correspondent writes that this is the only explanation of the fact that in a few hours after the outbreak of the uprising red-white-and-green badges and armbands were worn by thousands of the participants. Not to speak — the UP correspondent continues — about the arms (which, especially at the beginning of the street-fighting, could not be put down as "booty"), about the lorries which transported these men to points of strategic importance, about the relays, about the well-equipped motorcycles.

New York Herald Tribune of October 30, 1956, carried Ferenc Nagy's statement :

"... To preserve the anti-Communist uprising, he added : 'the great powers of the free world must intercede at once'."

Nagy added that on October 30 he was leaving for Vienna, and from there he would proceed to the Hungarian frontier. He refused to state the motive for his journey. It was supposed, however, that he would join other leading Hungarian exiles in meeting representatives of the insurgents.

A resolution adopted at a meeting of the International Peasant Union called upon the volunteers to join the fight in Hungary in case the Security Council failed to reach a cease-fire agreement.

On November 3, *Le Monde* reported that

"emigrés are flocking to Budapest, augmenting the strength of the Right-wing parties."

The *New Leader* writes on January 28, 1957, that Hungarian emigrés living in West Europe travelled to Hungary *en masse* to join the fighting.

In its issue for October 30, 1956, *Österreichische Volksstimme* of Vienna reports the existence of regular army headquarters in the Hungarian border zone where reactionary individuals and Horthyite agents "have recently crossed the frontier, together with Hungarian refugees, as they said, to join the insurgents."

Next day the AFP reported :

"Confirmation has been received that military organizations are being formed in great haste with a view to taking political action that should have far-reaching consequences."

In its issue of December 21, 1956, *Szabad Magyarország*, a Hungarian-language newspaper published in New York City, carries an article by Hugó Mártonfalvy, deputy group leader of MHBK, who writes :

"A small group of Hungarian soldiers, all belonging to the MHBK, has defied all obstacles and prohibitions to cross to Europe, in order to get in touch with the insurgents."

Fascists and other reactionary emigrés who arrived from the West were not idle in Hungary — this is testified to by Mr. István Kertész, head of the Department of Marxism-Leninism at the University of Sopron. During the counter-revolution Mr. Kertész was taken into the University building by a patrol of MEFESZ (university students' organization). He was taken into a room which was occupied by a counter-intelligence unit calling itself D/IV which had come from Munich. Mr. Kertész was interrogated by a person addressed as "Uncle Gyula." Mr. István Horváth, manager of the local Public Real Estate Company, was also interrogated there. The D/IV had several flying squads composed of armed university students.

As soon as the armed combat broke out in Hungary, a mass procession of armed men commenced through Austria. The Austrian police tried to disarm or halt these groups, but they were unsuccessful, for their passes were in order. An Austrian police report says the following about this :

"... Police officers have a very poor opinion of these people, as they are mostly criminal types against whom they have for years been unable to take action, since they were always protected by the Americans."

Béla Kohut's group arrived in Gratz at the end of October. They were given a reception at the Park Restaurant. They were briefed politically and supplied with money by Col. Dr. Balla. In an enthusiastic outburst Kohut wrote a "literary" piece, which he entitled "Austrian Impressions." Here are a few lines from it :

"Farewell, Austria! Here I have lived the most pleasurable days of my life, but now we are going to Hungary to fight the Communists and the Soviets."

Kohut and his cohorts arrived in Hungary on October 30, and on October 31 he joined the "revolutionaries" under the command of Dudás.

Károly Tóth got to Hungary in much the same way. On October 29, he arrived in Vienna, where he was given a journalist card and left the same day for Győr. He brought instructions for the so-called Government of Transdanubia which was then operating in Western Hungary. He had instructions from Russian emigré organizations to try to carry on propaganda among Soviet troops.

Lajos Gyulai left Zirndorf on October 28 and reported at Béla Király's headquarters on October 30. The five-member Revolutionary Committee appointed him liaison officer with the National Guards of several districts. He made the trip between Austria and Hungary on two more occasions, and on his return to Hungary, last December, was arrested by the Hungarian authorities.

In a similar way, groups of armed men or people carrying instructions concerning the organization of the counter-revolution came to Hungary from Wels, Puchheim, Passau, Innsbruck and other localities in Austria.

What Kind of "Freedom Fight" Was There in October 1956?

The Events of October 23

The counter-revolutionary uprising which began on October 23, 1956 bore countless signs of an organized and planned action. This was recognized and lauded by certain quarters in the West and by Western intelligence services. On October 27 the United Press reported that on October 23 "a fully prepared underground army emerged from the basements" of the Hungarian capital.

However, this report — as well as the facts of the counter-revolutionary uprising — do not tally with the theory advanced by the counter-revolution in order to conceal the fact of previous organization. According to this theory, the counter-revolutionary uprising should have been set off by Ernő Gerő's broadcast on October 23 and hatred for the "ÁVH who fired at peaceful demonstrators" at the Radio.

This theory — adopted also by the UN Special Committee — is refuted by the facts. The counter-revolution had shown its face long before Gerő's speech. It had spread its slogans among the demonstrating students, planted organized groups of people among the marching columns of demonstrators and initiated actions against People's Democracy.

Here follows a summary of events of the day on which the counter-revolutionary uprising began, as reconstructed from various notes.

On the Morning of October 23

On the morning of October 23, the appeals listing the demands of university students were posted up on the walls and shop-windows of the capital. The news got abroad that in

the afternoon the students of the universities would assemble at the monument of József Bem, the Polish general of the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848, to stage a demonstration supporting the "Polish people's movement for freedom."

Mr. László Farkas, a worker employed at the EMAG plant, in Budapest, gives the following eyewitness account of the morning of October 23 :

> "It was about five o'clock in the morning. A large group of people I did not know asked permission to enter the works. They were organizers, and brought the 'demands' of the university students. They said they wanted to talk to the workers. More 'deputations' like this one came later on in the morning. We did not admit any of them to the works premises and did not permit them to distribute the leaflets they brought along, but they found willing helpers inside the works. One of these, László Selyem, a former exiseman, got busy distributing the leaflets smuggled into the factory, and began to work on the workers. We listened to the news broadcasts with growing anxiety. We had learned about the meeting the university students had held the night before and were waiting to see what would come of it. Some trade union workers now feared that the agitation among the young might lead to some trouble. In that ominous atmosphere some fifty of us got together to discuss what was to be done. In the tense atmosphere of the meeting — in which workers, technicians and office workers (former factory hands) tried hard to find some solution — we condemned the projected demonstration of the youth. It was resolved that, should the parade take place after all, we would ask that, for reasons of safety, the workers should be given arms. In the afternoon we were shocked to hear the Radio announcement that the Minister of the Interior had granted permission to hold the youth rally . . ." *(Hétfői Hírek*, August 21, 1957.)

How It Began

Mr. István Gacsáji, a worker of the Budapest University of Economics, said :

> ". . . Our column started from Dimitrov Square, opposite the University of Economics . . . As we reached Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Street, several universities began to shout slogans. At this point we still held to the silent demonstration as had been agreed and did not pick up the slogans. When we reached the far end of Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Street, besides the slogans that were in the beginning patriotic and demanded Socialist democracy, some universities began to shout chauvinistic and anti-Soviet slogans. There were some insults shouted from the crowds concerning red flags, but our students stood firm by the red flags. At last, we reached Bem Square, shouting slogans. Here we found several lorries packed with people ; we had no idea who they were, and they were shouting extremist slogans." *(Tolnamegyei Népújság*, January 9—10, 1957.)

Concerted Action

The counter-revolutionary tactics worked well. The columns of the students, marching in closed ranks and numbering at the outset 8,000 or 10,000, swelled through an influx of bystanders as they continued their march through the streets. By 4 : 30 p. m., a group of 20 people arrived by lorry to the Bem statue. Dismounting, they went right into the middle of the big crowd, carrying a national flag from which the coat of arms of the People's Republic had been burnt out. This compact little group of people chanted slogans like "We want a new government!", "Long live Nagy — Down with Gerő !" The appearance of this group caused a perceptible flurry among the crowd, which had so far been orderly. Some of the bystanders were indignant at the burnt-out coat of arms and the slogans, and did not hesitate to say so. In the ensuing argument the orderly ranks of the crowd were broken, some of them making way for the group with the flag, while groups of people were clearly seen leaving the square. Gone was the illusion of a "peaceful" demonstration. Part of the crowd that remained on the square picked up the slogans. As the mass of people streamed from the square, more groups joined them. The slogans that were now shouted were clearly against the Communist Party and People's Democracy.

About the same time — 4 : 30 p. m. — a large group of people — the typical hooligan sort — threw in the slogan "On to Parliament !" among the crowd that had assembled earlier in front of West Station and in nearby Marx Square.

And still about the same time — 4 : 30 p. m. — as the group of 20 carrying the flag with the coat of arms of the People's Republic cut out mingled with the crowd on Bem

Square, another group, composed of similar types of people, shouting anti-government slogans and also carrying national flags with the coat of arms cut out, appeared on Parliament Square. The demonstration here lasted a short time : when the slogan "On to Parliament !" was given out on Bem Square, the demonstrators in front of the House of Parliament shouted "On to the Radio !".

From Bem Square and Marx Square the demonstrators marched to Parliament, but there they were given the new direction "On to the Radio !". Little did the unsuspecting demonstrators know that this sudden change in the slogans was but one stage in a well-prepared and concerted plan of action.

Organized Armed Attack on the Radio

The staff of the Hungarian Radio and Television, many of whom witnessed the siege of the Radio Building, have summarized their experiences in a memorandum in which they protest against the UN Special Committee report. They say :

> ". . . In its report, based on the testimony of witnesses, the majority of them anonymous, the UN Special Committee devotes attention to the siege of the Radio and even points to the incidents which took place in front of the Radio Building as a turning point. By doing so the Committee whises to 'prove' that it was these events which turned the 'peaceful demonstration into an armed rising.'
>
> "The UN Special Committee report claims that the situation late in the afternoon of October 23 was aggravated by the 'censor' of the Hungarian Radio who refused to permit the demands of the youth to be broadcast. According to the report, the volley fired by the security guards defending the Radio Building and the blood of the victims of that volley were the turning-point that exasperated the people beyond control and plunged them into the armed rising.
>
> "Even on this single minor detail we can defy the anonymous witnesses of the UN report by the evidence of more than 100 members of our staff, our co-workers and friends whom we know well and hold in high esteem — all of them eyewitnesses. These hundred-odd people saw those fateful events happen.

> "Between 5 and 6 p. m., people well-organized and deliberately worked up into a state of great excitement came flocking *en masse* to the Radio Building. Provocators, who mingled with the crowd, were shouting slogans — including some that were already at this early stage fascist and anti-Semitic — confusing even the well-meaning people who came just to see what was happening, and making calm and sober negotiation impossible. Things became worse, and part of the demonstrators showered stones at the building. The windows were smashed, the microphones of the loud-speaking equipment mounted on the balcony were broken ; whoever stepped out into the balcony was greeted with a hail of stones and bricks. This was what happened also to the deputation of four or five, who had been sent in by the mob for parley, when they came out to announce the result of their negotiation. We now realized that talks were out of the question. Some groups were clamouring for cutting off the broadcast programme and demanding a 'free mike' for the street. They even stormed the sound car which the Radio authorities had sent into the street to record statements, and sheltering behind it and using it as a shield, they broke in the locked entrance door.
>
> "While this demonstration and attack upon the Radio, which grew more menacing as time passed, was in progress, we, the eyewitnesses and participants, learned that arms were being handed out and groups of armed men were assembling at various points of the city, and that these groups were sent by counter-revolutionary organizers to the Radio with the false and provocative slogan that 'the ÁVH-men in the Radio are slaughtering the youth.' We who were inside the Radio Building had been receiving well-meaning phone warnings from many points of the city since late afternoon : from György Dózsa Road, the river embankment, Lajos Kossuth Square, the Great Boulevard and the 8th District Party Committee HQ. We, the eyewitnesses and participants, saw and knew that the first death-dealing bullets were fired by armed provocators between 9 and 10 p. m. They had brought along their weapons and had been lying low in the crowd and occupied, evidently according to plan, points of advantage in the buildings surrounding the Radio. For several hours the armed guards, together with the reinforcements

that had arrived in the meantime, defended the building in a nerve-racking struggle, using nothing but smoke-bombs, hoses, dummy warning-shots and their bodies. Their commanders, even after the counter-revolutionaries had begun their armed attack against the Radio Building, made repeated attempts to talk and calm the excited mob. Among the defenders the first victims of the counter-revolutionary attack — Major of the state security force László Magyar and army Major László Kovács, who were picked off by counter-revolutionary snipers in the mob — met their death in this way.

"Up to midnight October 23, not a single shot that might have wounded or killed anyone was fired by the defenders of the Radio Building. The claim made in the UN Committees report that it was a volley fired by the defending state security force which exasperated the people and drove them into the armed uprising, is a falsehood.

"We, eyewitnesses and participants, testify that the defenders of the Radio Building received their order to fire only half an hour after midnight, but even then they tried to avoid any bloodshed. Even then they were instructed by their commanders to try to calm the mob by level-headed argument. We can say emphatically that the defenders of the Radio Building did not even fire until 1 : 05 a. m. on October 24. This is the authentic story of the siege of the Hungarian Radio . . ."

Another Well-timed Action

While the siege of the Radio was going on, the counter-revolutionaries were extending the scope of their action. To arm new groups, attacks were launched simultaneously against arsenals, army barracks, factories and a shooting-range and district arsenals of MÖHOSZ (Hungarian Volunteer Defence Association).

". . . in the morning of October 24, several District branches and the rifle-range of MÖHOSZ reported that their premises had been invaded by groups of armed men, who looted their stores and took away arms, clothing and ammunition.

These were the times of the attacks :

20th District branch	0 hour Oct. 24
9th District branch	1 a. m. Oct. 24
7th District branch	1 a. m. Oct. 24
2nd District branch	2 a. m. Oct. 24
8th District branch	3 a. m. Oct. 24
14th District branch	3 a. m. Oct. 24
Gamma Works rifle-range	3 a. m. Oct. 24
Marcibányi Square range	3 a. m. Oct. 24
6th District branch	4 a. m. Oct. 24
5th District branch	5 a. m. Oct. 24

"The haul taken by the armed groups is estimated at some 400 to 450 weapons of different kinds and a considerable quantity of ammunition." *(From a summary report on the incidents in the MÖHOSZ branch organizations on October 23.)*

The first attack upon the Timót Street arsenal was launched at 11 p. m. October 23.

At 11 : 45 p. m. a mob including armed men launched a successful attack against the Lamp Factory.

About midnight, a mob, part of which was armed, some 600 strong, launched a second successful attack against Bem Barracks.

An armed action against the Józsefváros Telephone Exchange in Budapest was launched at 11 p. m. Obviously, the participants of a "spontaneous" uprising would not think of storming an international telephone exchange in the early hours of the fighting. This is an action taken by people determined to use such a special telephone exchange in a deliberate attempt to overthrow the system.

Yet the UN Special Committee reports : —

"The demonstrations on 23 October were at first entirely peaceable and no evidence had been discovered that any demonstrators intended to resort to force. The change was due to the action of the ÁVH in opening fire on the people outside the Radio Building and to the appearance of Russian soldiers in Budapest as enemies in combat."

And it is added that :

"The anger of the crowd was intensified when white ambulances, with Red Cross license plates, drove up. Instead of first-aid teams, ÁVH police emerged, wearing doctors' white coats. A part of the infuriated crowd attacked them . . ."

Yet, had the UN Special Committee cared to study the pertinent reports in newspapers that were published during the counter-revolution, it might have found that the above statement was untrue. In its October 26, 1956 issue *Népszava* writes :

> "With bullets whistling and shells exploding all round, the small white ambulance went racing on. It turned up where it was needed . . . At the risk of their lives doctors, nurses and drivers . . . were doing their duty. And yet, despite their heroic efforts, the rumour spread among the infuriated crowds, 'They're carrying arms supplies', and people among the misinformed crowds opened fire on the ambulances. Several ambulances were shot to pieces, others got only a few bullets. The ambulance officer Dr. Ödön Rónafalvi was killed on duty ; a bullet took the sight of another doctor ; several nurses and a driver were wounded."

Thus *Népszava*, a newspaper sympathetic to the insurgents, wrote that the counter-revolutionaries had fired at ambulances, doctors and nurses. A few days later, the "Revolutionary Committee" of the National Ambulance Service, anxious to deny this shocking fact, invented the story about ÁVH police being transported in ambulances, and the UN Special Committee has readily given credence to it.

Another allegation of the UN Committee that

> "at the offices of the Communist Party newspaper, *Szabad Nép*, other ÁVH guards opened fire on unarmed demonstrators"

is likewise pure invention.

There had been no ÁVH guards at the *Szabad Nép* offices since 1952 and no one opened fire from the offices. This is the description of the siege of the *Szabad Nép* Building as broadcast by the Hungarian Radio on October 25, 1956 :

> "It is customary for the Hungarian Radio to give a summary of the *Szabad Nép* editorial daily. Today, this cannot be done : the central organ of the Party did not appear yesterday and it will not reach the readers before noon today. The reason for this is the succession of tragic events which have taken place in the capital since Tuesday evening, of which *Szabad Nép* offices were one of the targets. Early in the afternoon, on Tuesday, deputation after deputation of university students called at the *Szabad Nép* offices and demanded that their resolutions and claims be published in the paper. Later on, in the evening, there was a change in both the tenure and the substance of the demands. Some of the demonstrators went upstairs into the offices to give disturbing accounts of the tragic consequences of the demonstration which had by then degenerated into mob violence. The most sober-headed among the deputations repeated in despair : "We did not want this." They went back into the street to try to calm the crowds, and came back to say that the clamour of the provocators was beginning to dominate the scene. Nevertheless, up to about ten o'clock in the evening, there was nothing in the attitude of the demonstrators assembling on Blaha Lujza Square to suggest that an armed resistance would have to be made. After ten p. m., however, the situation changed radically. The composition of the crowd on the square had, for the most part, changed, and the character of the demonstration was altered in a few minutes, too. After ten o'clock, the mood on Blaha Lujza Square was dictated by infuriated counter-revolutionaries and hooligans. They demanded that *Szabad Nép* issue a call for a general strike. The siege of the *Szabad Nép* Building began, with provocators throwing stones. The glass entrance doors and the windows were smashed one after the other. The staff never gave up hope to bring out the daily issue, and the printers carried on with their work with discipline. About midnight, however, the besiegers forced their way into the building. They set fire to the *Szabad Nép* bookstore, upset the parked cars on the square and set them on fire. While work was going on on the first floor, several intruders had reached the fourth floor where they tore down the red star. The armed attackers — for the hooligans had by now obtained arms — demanded the loudspeaker in the building. This was refused, but the terrorists found it eventually and put it into operation. Outside, the square was ringing with seditious slogans and inciting appeals. The crowd, pushing their way upstairs foot by foot, smashed up or looted everything they could lay their hands on. A woman came out of one of the rooms. She was one of the demonstrators, but was mistaken for a member of the staff and was shot down."

All this goes to show that there is no truth in the claim that the counter-revolutionary uprising broke out, on October 23, spontaneously, in reprisal for the "action of the ÁVH police in opening fire." That is a false statement based on a few lies and on the suppression of the facts. It is not accidental that the UN Special Committee report suppresses the evidence of the premeditated organization of the counter-revolution — the simultaneous attacks against the MÖHOSZ branch premises and other carefully timed actions to obtain arms and occupy strategic positions.

The Parties of the October Counter-revolution

The counter-revolutionaries in Hungary and their allies abroad deny that the October counter-revolution was directed at restoring the bourgeois — big landowners' system. Anna Kéthly, former chairman of the Social-Democratic Party, and the Minister of State appointed by the Imre Nagy Government, although she did not take the oath of office, is also attempting to deny it. During the counter-revolution, Anna Kéthly viewed the situation differently and called public attention to the danger of restoration. She wrote in the November 1 issue of *Népszava*:

> "Today the *counter-revolution is saying in undertones* that it will not begin again what it had done at the time. We should be on the alert and take care that by building the party these undertones do not become triumphant laughter."

In November 1956 therefore Anna Kéthly called the events that had occurred, a counter-revolution.

After November 4 Anna Kéthly forgot about the warning she herself had given. This, however, cannot alter the fact that between October 23, 1956 and November 4, 1956 an attempt was made in Hungary to restore the bourgeois big landowners' system. This was proved by the parties and organizations, which were established during the counter-revolution, as well as their programmes. Some of the leaders of these parties did speak against the attempts aimed at restoring capitalism, declaring that it was necessary to preserve the socialist achievements. But these parties too — whether deliberately or otherwise — helped the forces aiming at restoration to gain ground by way of their programmes which were nationalistic and opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The majority of the parties which were formed after October 23 served the aims of restoration both directly and indirectly.

The majority of the organizers of these parties were representatives of the former ruling classes, people who had been engaged in Right-wing, fascist and royalist activities under the Horthy regime.

The following are profiles illustrating the social origin and political loyalties of the leaders and organizers of the counter-revolutionary parties.

Dr. István Paraczky, a former landowner initiated on October 31 the organization of the *Christian Democratic Party;* Kálmán Mester, ex-secretary of the reactionary Baross League and István Szecsődy, member of the fascist armoured unit "Hunyadi" and Ferenc Szerdahelyi wholesale-dealer, member of the Horthyite "Order of Heroes", and of the notorious reactionary Magyar Élet Pártja ("Party of Hungarian Life") were active in the organization. As a matter of fact, initial steps were taken to organize the "Party of Hungarian Life" as well.

One of the organizers of the *Christian Hungarian Party,* dr. Károly Zajgóváry, a lawyer, had headed the general agencies in Hungary of several Western factories. Dr. Zoltán Gyula Meskó, lawyer and son of the notorious Arrow-cross politician Zoltán Meskó, played an important role in the organization of the party, together with Pál Sebő, an Arrow-cross fascist, artist and former stockholder; Dr. Attila Krompaszk, former Arrow-cross lawyer; and Dr. Rezső Stöckl, former district secretary of the Arrow-cross fascist party.

The Christian Hungarian Party was successor to the rightist, legitimist Christian Party so well-known from the times of the Horthy regime. The origin of the party goes back to the initial period of Horthy's White Terror. It was at that time that István Friedrich, Prime Minister of the counter-revolutionary government which had removed the "trade union government" after the defeat of the Republic of Councils, founded — with the tag "Christian" — the Party of Christian National Unity, which was one of the most extreme Right-wing party groups. This party split into several parts in 1922. One wing was led by Károly Wolff, the politician of whom a Hungarian encyclopedia published in 1935 wrote in dubious praise: "He pursued

at all times an extreme Right-wing policy of uncompromise." In 1923, Károly Wolff and Count János Zichy established the Christian Economic Party by uniting diverse "Christian national" forces. This party pursued a Right-wing policy of backing the Horthy government at all times. According to an article appearing in the April 29, 1939 issue of *Nemzeti Ujság*, the party considered fighting against "accursed Jewish liberalism" as its major task and, at the same time, were anxious to apply the "valuable social achievements" of fascist Italy and Germany to Hungary. This party was an avowed royalist party to the very end.

The director of the Christian Hungarian Party set up during the October 1956 counter-revolution was Mihály Reibel, a priest and politician, who, according to the encyclopedia, "took part in the country's political life from the outset, and successfully co-operated in organizing the Christian Economic Party" under the Horthy regime. In 1935 he was elected an MP on the Christian Party ticket, and remained in Parliament until the collapse of Horthy's rule. In 1946 Reibel was found guilty of crimes against the people.

Dr. Károly Khuen Héderváry, big landowner and industrialist was selected to head the *Catholic People's Party*. Dr. Géza Bornemissza, former Horthyite Minister of Industry, and Dr. Sándor Knob, one-time managing director of the National Association of Industrialists, took an active part in organizing the party.

The well-known legitimist politician, Hugo Payr wanted to keep two irons in the fire and took part in the organization of two parties. He was an organizer of the *Liberty Party* (Sulyok's old extreme Right-wing party) and promoted the organization of the *Christian Democratic Party* as well. Payr, a lawyer and journalist, came from a very wealthy family. In 1918 he was secretary to Archduke Joseph, and later became the Town Hall leader of Count István Bethlen's party. He was sent to Parliament in the 1930's as a representative of the National Legitimist Party. After liberation he was found guilty of participation in a legitimist conspiracy, and he was released from prison in 1954.

The chief organizer of the *Hungarian Revolutionary Youth Party* was István Illés, formerly a functionary in the Arrow-cross party.

President of the *Hungarian Liberty Party* was Ábrahám Dezső Pattantyús, counter-revolutionary Prime Minister in

1919. György Szilviusz Kálmán, one-time royalist leader, one of the former chiefs of the National Legitimist People's Party, was marked out for the post of secretary general.

Dénes Farkas a kulak and former MP, was the general secretary of the *Democratic People's Party*. Sándor Keresztes, legal adviser to the French Legation, was a member of the party's executive committee.

The *Fraternity of Hungarian Political Prisoners*, which was established by prisoners of the internment camp at Recsk freed by the counter-revolution, consisted in total of ex-Arrow-cross fascists and war criminals. On November 2, 1956 this organization applied to the Council of Ministers for a newspaper licence. They said in the application, that the paper would be written in a "democratic spirit." The editorial board would, however, not have been exactly fitted to write in a democratic spirit since they had never been democrats. One of the editorial board members would have been, as listed in the application, Erzsébet Rácz, a notorious Arrow-cross journalist, and daughter of Jenő Rácz, the Arrow-cross ex-Minister of Defence. The members of this editorial board, as they boasted in the application, had been sentenced by the court of the People's Democracy to several years in prison for editing an underground anti-People's Democracy periodical.

The report of the UN Special Committee comments on the founding of these reactionary parties, typical products of the counter-revolution, as follows:

> "An indication of the speedy revival of political freedom was the establishment of more and more organizations after 31 October as well as the establishment of several minor political parties between 31 October and 3 November. Among these was the Christian Democratic Party . . . Other parties re-established included the Democratic People's Party . . . and the Hungarian Independence Party. In addition, the Hungarian Revolutionary Youth Party was established and the existence of the Hungarian Conservative Party, which functioned 'for ten years in illegality' was announced."

The programmes of the parties formed during the counter-revolution, which were directed toward restoration of private property, exemplified their characteristics as organs of restoration.

Some parties did not disguise their intentions of restoring private ownership.

The first circular published by Győr-Sopron County executive committee of the Independent Smallholders' Party, dated October 31, declared that the party stood on the platform of "the bourgeois way of life and absolute private ownership," and that it was "definitely committed to private farming."

The programme of the Christian Democratic People's Party included the freedom of the Radio and the Press, liberty of opinion and other "democratic" demands, and remarked "incidentally" : "We guarantee the protection of private property."

József Pásztor, a Social-Democratic leader said in an interview given to the country paper *Szabolcs-Szatmár Népe* that

> "The Social-Democratic Party is the party not only of the common people, but of everyone who adopts its programme. It stands for private property."

The Hungarian Independence Party — the former Pfeiffer-Party — which at the time did all it could to obstruct progress in the People's Democracy and the victory of socialism — declared in a petition submitted during the counter-revolution to the Council of Ministers :

> "For reasons beyond our control we have not been able to carry out the programme we made public at the 1947 elections. Now the opportunity is here not only to further that programme of our militant party but to implement it."

And if there are still doubts as to whether the Hungarian Independence Party had any plans for restoration, or whether it desired to safeguard the achievements of the Hungarian People's Democracy then read the stuff and substance unobtrusively concealed by the "democratic" demands and slogans :

> " . . . the basic principles on which our objectives rest — and should we win we shall implement them — are briefly the following . . . the sanctity of private property . . . the realization of unblemished and eternal bourgeois democracy in Hungary."

Other parties preferred to popularize the principle "limited private ownership" instead of coming out with the slogan of "sacred and inviolable" private property. They claimed

that the new bourgeois state, which would be built on the ruins of proletarian power, would be capable and willing to take important restrictive measures against the capitalists, to reach down to the roots of private property. The clerical parties displayed a special preference for this method. The Christian Democratic Party, for instance, gave out the slogan of "Hungarian socialism." It declared in its programme that "Hungarian socialism rests on the idea of restricted private property." Then it went on to explain what it meant by the system of restricted private property :

> "As long as there is no institutional provision for the natural right to life, the subsistence, health and old age of all members of the community who want to work, there can be no recognition of unrestricted privileges, property rights, etc. Over and above this, however, that is, above the institutionally guaranteed subsistence fund for the entire community, everyone may dispose freely of the surplus of the basis of limited private ownership . . ."

This proposal is nothing but a thinly veiled scheme for capitalist restoration ; the proposed "limitation" of private property more or less corresponds to the demand of progressive taxation under capitalist relations. It should be noted that the party came out with this "far-reaching" proposal only after November 4, when it no longer believed in the possibility of "classic" capitalist restoration, but still had hopes of some kind of new course towards capitalism.

The Democratic People's Party, the former Barankovics Party, was also satisfied as a first step with the restriction of private ownership rooted in "natural right." In its petition to the Council of Ministers, the party affirmed its stand "for a Christian ideology . . . It wishes to regulate social coexistence on the basis of natural rights, Christian morality and social justice." Nevertheless the paper *Hazánk* demanded, in its November 4 issue, on the platform of restricted private property, based on natural rights, that

> "Business forms of a normal type and the tenement houses should be returned to their former owners — although with certain reservations and conditions".

Some parties did not overtly take a position for the complete or partial restoration of private ownership, but in essence their proposals meant exactly that. The Christian Hungarian

Party, for instance, insisted in its programme that in Hungary "a free economic life" should be developed "on the model of Switzerland," and furthermore demanded that "every enterprise under state ownership should be turned into a share-holding company."

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The aspirations and role of the newly formed parties is exemplified not only by the social origin of their organizers, but also by the statements and programmes of their leaders. These parties, of course, were unable to come out with a rounded-out and comprehensive programme within a few days' time — though they had been preparing to seize power for a long time.

Not even the Christian Front had the chance to publicize all its objectives — although it had a draft constitution running to 96 pages — since, for lack of time, it still had not been able to rescue its programme, confiscated in the summer of 1956 when the leaders of the party had been arrested, from the State Prosecutor's Office in Budapest. Nevertheless, most of the parties elaborated brief draft programmes, and their leaders made statements over the Radio and in the Press about their intentions in the near future.

Although the catchwords of "democratic" and "socialist" may screen the genuine intentions expressed in these programmes, often a hint between the lines or a casual remark are sufficient to expose the essence of these objectives, the restoration of capitalism and of bourgeois rule.

The attempt at restoration by the counter-revolutionary parties and organizations became clear primarily in their schemes aimed at overthrowing the political power of the working class, and winning political power.

Some parties and organizations had intentions of establishing a liberal bourgeois democracy in place of the power of the proletariat. They believed that the path to this goal would have to lead through a coalition like in 1945; and then with the help of elections supervised by the Western Powers, and by completely isolating the Communist Party, they could clear the way for a liberal bourgeois democracy. This conception was adopted in the first place by the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Social Democratic Party.

János Csorba made the following statement in the November 1 issue of *Igazság* on behalf of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Independent Smallholders' Party:

> "The Smallholders' Party wants a new coalition government based on the ratio of parties in 1945. They want a new constitution and the abolition of the Presidential Council — in effect a Republic instead of the People's Republic."

Ferenc Aknási, an active participant in the armed fighting during October related the following story. On October 30, 1956, he said, a group of the insurgents, realizing that continued fighting was incorrect, resolved to read an appeal over the Radio. The appeal stated that the group condemned gangsterism and acts of counter-revolutionary terror.

> "The typed appeal was shown to Tildy. Tildy ... corrected 'People's Republic' to 'Republic', and 'our socialist aim' to 'our great aim'. He deleted 'counter-revolutionaries' because 'fighting against them would diminish the mass base of the insurgents', he said."

On October 30, 1956 the following conversation took place between the commander and deputy commander of the officers detachment ordered to defend the Parliament building, and Zoltán Tildy's legal counsel Hámori, when the members of the guard reported for duty at the Tildy Secretariat.

Lieutenant Colonel D.: I have an incidental question. What is Tildy's present role and what do you mean by 'Minister of State'?

Mr. Hámori (Smallholders' Party attorney): To understand this problem you should know that probably from tomorrow on the country will no longer be called Hungarian People's Republic, but simply Hungarian Republic. At present Tildy, as Minister of State, fulfils the duties that would be exercised by the President of the Republic. After the promulgation of the Republic, Tildy will be President of the Republic, officially as well.

Major A.: How will this lead to a people's democracy?

Mr. Hámori: Well, there won't be a people's democracy by any means.

Major A.: What then? A bourgeois democracy?

Mr. Hámori: That is a little too strong a term. I would prefer to call it civic democracy.

At the constituent meeting of the Social-Democrats held in Nyergesújfalu, László Balogh, a teacher, stressed time and again that the task of the party was "to establish a bourgeois

democracy in place of the people's democracy in this country." (From the Komárom County Events of the Counter-revolution, Vol. I.)

The principal objective of the counter-revolution was, however, neither the restoration of the state of affairs prevailing in 1945 nor the establishment of a liberal bourgeois democracy. This was indicated by the trend of events, by the White Terror which grew more and more through the whole country. The appeals, statements and demands, reflecting lack of confidence in the Imre Nagy government, was another indication of that.

This is testified by the fact that the majority of the "revolutionary committees" and "national committees" were not established on a coalition basis. The Budapest National Committee, which was perhaps the closest to a coalition — went a long way beyond the *status quo* of 1945. The Right-wing Christian Hungarian Party — a party which would not even have been considered in 1945 as a coalition factor — was the most energetic constituent of the Budapest National Committee.

Most of the parties formed during the counter-revolution implied in their draft programmes and statements that the premise in building the Hungary of the future should not be the 1945 state of affairs. In the November 2, 1956 issue of *Valóság* the National Radical Party set forth its views on this subject, saying:

> "We should insist on the understanding that the basis for the provisional Government is the four coalition parties formed in 1945, supplemented by representatives of the fighting youth and of the revolutionary organizations as the fifth constituent."

And they demanded that:

> "A council should be formed of an equal number of delegates from these five constituents. This body may be supplemented by a limited number of prominent figures in Hungarian public affairs, for instance Mindszenty, László Ravasz, Zoltán Kodály, etc. This body will reach decisions by a simple majority vote within the scope of its authority as outlined below. This body should change the ministers outside of the inner cabinet and constitute a cabinet independent of party considerations which will be fitted for administering affairs."

Thus the former National Radical Party intended to invest the right of appointment and control belonging to the Government in an organization far more to the Right in its composition than the 1945 coalition, until such time as a new parliament with a reactionary majority could be established.

The proposal to involve Mindszenty in the political power in itself gave expression to the aspirations aimed at feudal and capitalist restoration. The political alignment represented by Mindszenty is a matter of public knowledge. In fact, the leader of the Hungarian Revolutionary Youth Party demanded at the constituent meeting of the party on October 31, too, that Mindszenty should head the government. After November 1, leaflets demanding a Mindszenty government flooded the country when Radio Free Europe broadcast the statement by the head of the Information Bureau of the American government designating Mindszenty as the man best fitted to head the Hungarian government.

Mindszenty, in his notorius speech on November 3, hinted overtly that he wanted to see the restoration of the political and economic system of old Hungary. Indicative of this was the fact that, although he was widely known as a royalist, he did not deem it necessary to say a single word about dissociating himself from the aspirations of the royalists. Added to this, he expressed his distrust of the final variant of the Imre Nagy government and reclaimed the "institutions" of the Church (read: the big estates), and stated that he was an adherent of "limited" private ownership.

> "The partners of the defeated regime and their successors (that is, the Imre Nagy Government. — Ed.) bear special responsibility for their own activities, for their omissions, delays or incorrect measures . . . We want to be a nation and country with a spirit solely cultural and nationalistic, based on private property limited fairly and correctly by social interests: a nation with a constitutional state, a classless society, developing democratic achievements," said Mindszenty.
>
> "The Hungarian people," he added, "find it only natural to devote attention to our institutions which have a great past and are of great value. In this same respect, I wish briefly to mention, for the information of the six and a half million faithful Catholics living in

the country, that we shall liquidate every trace of the violence and deceit of the defeated regime along the lines of the Church."

But Mindszenty stressed his schemes for restoration clearly when he repeated, as he had time and again since 1945, that he condemned not only the dictatorship of the proletariat but rejected as well the legality of the democratic state power established in 1945.

"From 1945 on," he said, "the system here was built by force, after a war which for us was lost and pointless."

The programme and activity of the Christian Hungarian Party also exemplified the attempt to restore conditions prevailing prior to 1945. A representative of this party, Dr. Károly Zajgóváry, a lawyer, attended the November 1 and 2, 1956 sessions of the Budapest National Committee. The minutes of the sessions recorded that Zajgóváry took the floor twenty times demanding twelve times a full "change of guards," — the restoration of the old reactionary Horthyite-fascist apparatus — in the municipal administrative and economic organizations and institutions of Budapest.

The following extract has been taken from the minutes of the November 2 session of the Budapest National Committee :

"Károly Zajgóváry stated that he wished to make a motion on behalf of the Christian Party. He moved that the National Committee pass a decree instructing the Budapest municipal administration and the factories to re-instate all employees discharged since 1945 because of their political attitude, to the posts from which they had been dismissed."

Nevertheless, the report of the UN Special Committee alleged that

"At no time was any proposal made for the return to power . . . of any figure associated with pre-war days."

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The Christian Front has earned special mention. This party, which had organized underground for many years against the People's Democracy, had drafted, for May 1956, as has been mentioned, a programme of almost 100 pages. In October 1956, the leaders of the conspiracy were released, but they were unable to secure their programme from the Prosecutor's Office. However, at an inter-party conference, held on November 2, the representative of the Christian Front recommended on behalf of his party that the fusion should take place according to the programme of this party. Consequently the Christian Front had identified itself with the confiscated programme in October.

This programme set the aim of *restoring the monarchy.*

The programme reads in part :

"The Christian Front supports the election of a king at the time of every succession, and recognizes the existence of the Holy Crown in constitutional law.

"The crowned king is the possessor of supreme power to the end of his life, and his person is sanctified. His title is Your Majesty. The king is the supreme commander of the armed forces."

The chapter entitled "The Rights and Duties of the King" is an interesting commentary :

"The rights and duties of the king :

"He watches over enforcement of the constitution ;

"he appoints the judges (from candidates recommended at the plenary session of the higher courts) ;

"he designates the chancellor and appoints the governing body, or the individual ministers ;

"he calls the governing body or individual ministers to account, or recalls them . . . If he deems this request justified he fulfills it ; if he does not regard it to be justified he returns it for renewed consideration and discussion to the petitioning department, or to both departments if it is a joint petition, and at the same time, referring it to the non-petitioning department. If the petitioning department — or both departments, if it was a joint petition — vote with a two thirds majority for the issue and the issue is supported by the department to which it has been referred the king is obliged to fulfil it ;

"he sanctions the laws or withholds sanction (in which case he refers them back to the legislative body). If the department of that body supports it with a majority of two thirds this time, he is obliged to sanction it. If, how-

ever, the Senate refuses to ratify the Bills voted by the Lower House, for the second instance again, the king has the right to withhold sanction;

"he decides on affairs of grave concern to the life of the nation, such as declaration of war, the ratification of a peace treaty, concluding alliances with other peoples, agreements of friendship, non-aggression and mutual aid, military pacts in general, annexation, renouncement of royal prerogatives, general amnesty, amendments to the constitution;

"he orders partial or general mobilization (with the prior, approval of the Parliament or in emergencies with its subsequent approval;

"he sends envoys to foreign states and receives the envoys of other states;

"if the government ceases to govern, he may dissolve Parliament and order new elections (the government may be deemed unable to govern if Parliament withholds its vote of confidence from the appointed government on two occasions)."

But the Christian Front did not want simply the restoration of the monarchy. Its programme contained outright fascist ideas as well. The chapter entitled "Social Policy" urged the introduction of the notorious Italian fascist corporate system, which not even the Horthyites had been able to realize although they made several attempts to do so. The Christian Front again produced its proposal for the establishment of a so-called "occupational corporation" bringing employers and employees in the same organization, which it, of course, linked with guaranteeing the principle of private property.

"The law should state" the programme reads, "that all Hungarians should be divided into corporations according to their occupations, and should join these corporations.

"Joining these corporations should be compulsory for all Hungarian citizens.

"All Hungarians should rally into ten corporations.

"The corporations shall be autonomous organizations, subdivided into village, district, municipal, country, regional and national corporations according to the administrative divisions of the country, that is built up from below in this manner.

"The corporation takes over the factories and places of industrial production, but only to hand them over to the individuals of the corporation. If it does not exceed the limits of private property, it may remain undivided; if it does exceed the limits of private property, it shall be divided, on the basis of simple shareholding. In its self-government, the corporation shall see to it that the breaking up of private property aimed at its liquidation should be excluded from the order of succession. The corporation shall establish the fact of this breaking up, propose the manner of succession to the competent authority of the state so as to guarantee the maintenance of private property."

In addition the draft programme of the Christian Front raised the idea of the restoration of the Upper House as well.

"The members of the legislative body shall be elected directly by the people, from among the candidates of the political parties. (Thus the legislative body will give direct expression to the political opinions and will of the people.) If the legislative body has two chambers, the members of the upper chamber shall be elected either directly by the people or appointed by the head of the state."

Characteristic of its aspirations for restoration, this party, in its final programme, took a stand for universal suffrage and the secret ballot, but in the first draft of the programme they still flirted with the idea of the plural vote. Since, however, the leaders of the party considered probable that there would be strong resistance to this obsolete and reactionary concept, they jotted next to this clause: "However wonderful and just, it cannot be done." Well, here is the suffrage bill considered so wonderful and just by the Christian Front:

"It should be considered whether there should be differential voting (that is, someone having two or at the most three votes) and if so, whether this plural vote should be valid at the election of both the political and social organizations. Wise rules should be set up to determine the basis on which a person may be given the right to the plural vote.

"Note: According to the idea outlined here there is a chance for an elite group to separate and arise from

the people, a state-executive corporate, the aristocracy of political life which will be best fitted and most worthy of exercising power."

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If to the forgoing we add what happened in reality besides the programmes and statements, if we take into account how the White Terror ravaged the country between October 23 and November 4, and how former capitalists and big landowners tried to impose themselves again upon the people — the picture will be quite clear : A sanguinary counter-revolution took place in Hungary in October 1956, and not a revolution. The self-evident aim of that counter-revolution was to overthrow the workers' and peasants' power and to restore the Hungary of the former ruling classes.

The Appearance of Capitalists and Landlords

The counter-revolution was able to carouse for only a few days in Hungary. But even those few days were enough for prominent capitalists and big landlords to emerge and commence to regain the power they had lost 12 years ago. The few instances which we enumerate here give an idea of what would have happened in Hungary had the counter-revolutionaries calling themselves "freedom-fighters" not been crushed.

The *National Association of House-owners* was one of the notorious organizations of the old capitalist order in Hungary. This organization "protected the interests of the house-owners," which very frequently meant the eviction of families struggling with unemployment and small earnings. A typical feature of the Hungary of the Horthy era was the sight of families thrown into the streets with their children and furniture, and without a roof over their heads.

This notorious capitalist organization was reorganized during the October counter-revolution. It seized the building at 10, Népköztársaság útja where it put up its signboard.

In several factories the capitalist ex-owners showed up and conferred about the restoration of ownership. In the Special Screw Manufacturing Enterprise, Mr. Oszman, one of the former

owners, at the Heating Installation Enterprise former owner Ernő Hajtó turned up. The latter, referring to the name of Zoltán Tildy, began to organize the Smallholders' Party in the factory and had himself appointed chairman of the workers' council.

A similar situation arose at the General Repair Enterprise in District 11 where only 50 to 60 per cent of the employees were present at the election of the workers' council. The leading lights of the workers council were Dr. János Körmöczy, who had served a four-year sentence for embezzlement ; Géza Maksai, a former captain of the Royal Military Academy during the Horthy days ; László Takár, one-time factory-owner ; and Baron Tibor Bökönyi, former owner of 2,840 acres of land in the vicinity of Gyöngyös.

The workers' council's first act was to inform Lajos Ungvári, worker-manager, that he was no longer manager from that day on and he should not set foot in the factory again. And Baron Bökönyi was immediately appointed the new manager.

At the end of October, the representative of the Siemens Works arrived in Budapest to conduct talks about regaining the old subsidiary of the Works, the present Electrical Machine and Cable factory. The representative arrived in Budapest in a diplomatic car with US licence, and conferred with several veteran experts of the Electrical Machine and Cable Factory, among them the former manager of the factory. After the talks he returned to Vienna on November 3. As for the results of the talks, a conclusion may be drawn from the fact that the workers' council of the Cable Factory signed its appeal addressed to the workers, 'The Workers' Council of the Siemens Works'."

In a considerable number of villages former landowners showed up to re-acquire the land distributed in the course of the 1945 land-reform. In Tét, Dr. Béla Guoth, lawyer, former lord of 700 acres of land and many landless agricultural labourers, made his appearance on the scene. He did not carry on any "political" work ; he only wrote letters. On October 26, 1956, he sent one of them to Károly Varga, a small farmer with 7½ acres of land and a non-party man. He demanded in the letter the immediate return of the land and the payment of the 1956 rent within 8 days. "I reserve the right to the fee for the use of the land paid retroactively and, if necessary, I shall file suit," wrote Dr. Guoth.

On November 1, Rudolf Kaprinai Botthermann, the former steward of the Flandorfer estate, turned up in Csepreg; what is more, Flandorfer's wife also returned. At the same time, Ferenc Hilbert showed up in Rezi (Győr County), demanding back his estate of 2,840 acres. István Lászlóffy, a big landowner, went back to Szarvas. The wife of "His Honour" Cettli also demanded that the co-operative farm at Révfülöp should hand back their former villa and vineyards.

During that time the relatives of the former Baronesses Szebák appeared in Rábahidvég. The two Békásis came back from Austria, claiming their relatives' estate, and demanding from 1,000 to 1,500 acres of land. They called on the district National Committee leaders and submitted their demands to them, too.

András Büszke Tóth arrived in Turkeve to reclaim his 142 acres of land which had been distributed among the peasants. At Pusztaszentlászló the "national committee" recalled András Nagy, a former big landowner, who demanded 280 acres of land, 30,000 forints in community relief, and enough grain to provide for his family for a year. The "national committee" wanted to grant the demands of the landowner at the expense of the land and property of the Progress Co-operative Farm.

The first representatives of the old feudal-capitalist world put in their appearance hastily at the moment when the political parties aspiring to restore the capitalist system, were constituted. These parties would have provided the proper weight and political representation for the capitalists and landlords out to regain their power.

The hurried return of the capitalists and big landowners was not pure coincidence. They coveted prosperity, and sensed that the forces usurping power at the end of October and early in November belonged to them.

The champions of the counter-revolution hold their tongues today about these attempts at capitalist restoration, and even deny them. The report of the UN Special Committee ventures the following statement:

> "No suggestion was entertained to return the estates to the former landowners or to undo the nationalization of Hungarian industry. Even aristocratic landowners such as Prince Pál Eszterházy repudiated any such intention . . ."

People may believe perhaps somewhere in the Dominican Republic that Prince Pál Eszterházy opposed the return of his former vast estates. But in Hungary this statement sounds the same as if someone in the United States would allege that Ford and Rockefeller were Communist agents.

Not at all! The appearance of Eszterházy in the House of Parliament (as was reported in Vol. 3 of the *Counter-Revolutionary Forces in the October Events in Hungary*) was one of the clear indications to the Hungarian people that their socialist achievements were in danger, that the counter-revolutionary forces were seizing the positions of power.

Common Criminals in the Service of the Counter-revolution

One of the characteristic features of the October counter-revolution was that it activized and enlisted the criminal underworld — thieves, robbers, prostitutes, etc. — who assumed an important role and played an active part in fighting for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and mainly in the anti-Communist acts of terror. In many instances they committed outrages against policemen and members of the State Security Authority — which certain Western newspapers claimed was "the vengeance of the people" — because as criminals they hated the law-enforcing authorities.

The misled young people who were dragged into the vortex of the counter-revolutionary events tried to curb the criminals and prevent looting and robbing. The underworld characters were more welcome allies of the leaders of the counter-revolution because most of them were reckless and desperate. This was why the counter-revolution opened the doors of the prisons and institutions of correction and let loose the criminals to prey upon the country.

The counter-revolution released 9,962 common criminals and 3,324 political prisoners (many of them spies) from the prisons and institutions of correction. (The report of the UN Special Committee states in this connection that it seems that a *few* criminals were also freed, when the political prisoners were released.)

One of the prisoners who were freed by the counter-revolutionaries was István Kulcsár, 36, unemployed, without a definite occupation, who had been five times convicted for larceny and burglary. He gives the following account of his liberation from gaol:

"On 1 November, a group of armed men who called themselves Revolutionary Committee, came to the Concentration Prison. They led us into the prison yard where they read a list of names to us. Those whose names were read, were released. Some prisoners protested that their names had not been read yet they were innocent and still in gaol, so then they released all of us in groups of 100. I thought we were free to go wherever we wanted to. But as we came into the street, they told us that they would give us clothes and arms and we could fight for the revolution. The group I was a member of was packed on three lorries that had been waiting in front of the prison, and we were taken to a house in Práter Street where we shed the prison garb and changed into civilian clothes and were given arms. I was one of a party of about 30 ex-convicts who were told to stay there, and the others were taken away to some other place . . ."

This is how István Kulcsár, a convict with four years to serve of his term, became one of the Práter Street "freedom-fighters." He was recaptured after the counter-revolution had been put down. The police found a haul of stolen goods valued at several hundred thousand forints at his sister's flat.

In protest against the robbing and looting, Béla Kovács, former general secretary of the Smallholders' Party, released the following statement to the Hungarian Telegraphic Agency on October 28 : "The public should observe discipline, it should condemn the looting and defend the property of the people." *(Szabad Nép*, October 29, 1956.)

Hundreds of thousands of people saw the looting and very many were victims of the robberies. Yet the report of the UN Special Committee stresses that according to "credible witnesses . . . no looting occurred . . ."

In reality — as the figures of the Ministry of Home Trade indicate — the damage from robberies alone exceeded 580,000,000 forints (excluding damages to shop furnishings and buildings, which run into high figures). Big department stores in Budapest suffered the major part of damage. For example, the Rákóczi Street Verseny Department Store was robbed late in October, and the looting went on even after November 4. They took 9,200,000 forints worth of underwear and sport suits from the Pesterzsébet warehouse of the Röviköt Wholesale Enterprise. Ferenc Pálházi, a lieutenant of József Dudás, "changed clothes," together with three hundred of his men, in the Corvin Department Store. One hundred and ten of the

gang found this very urgent, because coming directly from the prisons they were still in prison garb. After changing clothes from tip to toe, they looted the camera and typewriter departments which were next to the ready-to-wear goods department. The damage caused here was 5,500,000 forints. After overcoming the guard at the Liberty Department Store on Calvin Square, convicts also forced their way in and hauled away 5,300,000 forints worth of clothing. Instead of paying they displayed their convict identification card, saying that it entitled them to a "change of clothing."

Thieves also broke into several store rooms of the Radio and Electrical Appliances Wholesale Enterprise. They hauled off stoves and stovepipes worth 1,000,000 forints ; vacuum cleaners and record players worth 500,000 forints ; fluorescent lamps appraised at 324,000 forints ; and radio parts evaluated at 280,000 forints. They stole 3,000,000 forints worth of clothing from the Pesterzsébet warehouse of the Wholesale Garment Enterprise. Led by János Szabó, notorious boss of the Széna Square gang, they dynamited the doors of the Színház Street warehouse of the Budapest Wholesale Textile Enterprise, and hauled away 4,300,000 forints worth of goods. It is common knowledge that they also looted the Fashion Department Store, the Quality Department Store and numerous other clothing and food shops.

The counter-revolutionary centre with headquarters in Sándor Péterffy Street was able to reconcile its "political" activity with looting. This could not have been too difficult for them because the gang — at the time of its arrest — included 28 common criminals. The following convicts, among others, were seized there : József Németh, sentenced for 12 burglaries and thefts ; István Mészáros, convicted time and again for robbery ; Irén Szőllősi, who had served in prison for embezzlement and fraud ; Béla Majoros and Benjamin Herczeg, who had been sentenced for embezzlement ; Zoltán Vörös, who had been sentenced for theft and forgery, and Erzsébet András, prostitute, previously convicted for fraud and theft. At the time of their arrest, the authorities found vast quantities of clothing items stolen from the Fashion Department Store. The authorities found goods stolen from the Fashion Department Store in the Korányi Hospital, too, which had also been occupied by armed counter-revolutionaries. The soldiers who on October 25 made a surprise raid on the counter-revolutionary centre in the Continental Hotel found tremendous quantities

of stolen clothing – men's suits, shoes, coats, underwear, nylon goods, gloves, hats, raincoats, overcoats, boots and, of course, wine and brandy. On November 1, the gang, which had grown in the meantime, looted the Közért Food Shop on the corner of Nyár Street and Rákóczi Street, and also looted and set fire to the Szikra Handicrafts Co-operative fashion salon. The gang also looted and set fire to the Quality Department Store. On November 8, the group fled, leaving their loot behind ; the police found 2,500,000 forints worth of goods.

The criminals let loose to prey upon the population put their filthy hands on everything within reach and which had any value. Many cars, bicycles, lorries and motorcycles were stolen from enterprises and offices at that time. They broke open and looted goods cars standing in the railway yards. A young woman living near the South Terminal, in Budapest, related that she had heard an uproar and, looking out of the window of her flat, had seen the mob looting the goods wagons. They were fighting over a sealed package. Although nobody knew what it contained, they fought tooth and nail for "possession" of the package. A person, more resourceful than the others, seized the loot in the tumult, and eagerly broke the package open — and he became the new owner of two shrouds.

The robbing was not confined only to state property. The counter-revolutionaries broke into private homes — mainly those of members of the ÁVH, the police, and Communists — and plundered them. But this was not all they did.

The Corvin (Kisfaludy) Passage gang earned a big name among the counter-revolutionary groups. This gang occupied a number of flats on October 24, and thus sealed the fate of the people living there. Many people became homeless and lost all their belongings as the result of the gang's lawlessness.

The released convicts had a prominent role in this gang, like in many others. The porter of the house at 4, Kisfaludy Passage recalled the following :

"This house became the headquarters of László Iván-Kovács and Gergely Pongrácz, the two leaders of the gang. Those men hated everything that was progressive and were sadistic killers. When they returned from the attack on Köztársaság Square, Pongrácz came rushing in, shouting "We wiped out the Communists ; we hanged and stabbed all of them !" But they murdered other people, too. They shot three residents of our house, Károly Falus, Egon Hajnóczi and Ferenc Csont, simply because they wanted to put out the fire when the house began to burn.

We became frantic when a whole gang of men in convict uniforms joined the gang. It was obvious that they had just been released from prison. I then went to Maléter — I did not know yet that he was a traitor — and requested him, on behalf of the tenants, to get rid of this scum. Maléter promised . . . And the very next day his lorries brought military uniforms, weapons — and heavy guns, too — to the convicts. Many of them stripped off their convict uniforms and dressed immediately in military uniforms."

The second main headquarters of the Corvin Passage gang was the Práter Street School. They executed people here. The caretaker of the school, speaking of that time, said :

"The insurgents pounded on the door every day, beginning with October 23, because they wanted to occupy the building. I refused to let them in, despite their threats, because I was afraid the children would no longer have a place to study if something happened to the school. Finally several men who looked like bandits shot off the locks and broke into the building. They were furious and I escaped through the rear entrance. I went into the house across the way and tried to keep an eye on the school. Once when there was a lull in the fighting I tried to go over to my flat to save a few valuable belongings for which my husband and I had worked all our lives. The gang reassured me that they were revolutionaries and would not touch anything. But when they left I saw what kind of revolutionaries they were. Convict uniforms in which they had escaped from prison were scattered along the corridor . . . There was practically nothing left in my flat. They had hauled away my sofa, broken into my wardrobes and stolen all my bed linens, and even the few pieces of jewelry which my mother had left to me. They were common thieves and robbers."

. . . And killers. István Sarkadi, a lawyer, had to die because a member of the Dudás gang, Zoltán Preisz, had sworn to get even with him. Preisz was a convict who escaped from prison at that time, and Sarkadi had been the prosecutor at his trial. A gang of criminals, in Miskolc, made the policemen their first target of attack — the police who upheld law and order and protected the public from the criminals. Suffice it to list but a few of the Miskolc vandals and killers : Géza Balázs, convicted three times for vagrancy and theft ; László G. Tóth, convicted for crimes committed while drunk ; Károly Szász and Ferenc Komjáti, three-term convicts ; Dezső Siko, convicted for

embezzlement; Zoltán Nagy ten-term convict; Sándor Kovács and István Lapsánszki, each convicted once; and Lajos Tóth, convicted twice.

These criminals hated the police. They attacked and captured the county police station, murdered the police commissioner and several officers with unheard-of cruelty.

In Budapest, on October 31, bandits lynched and hanged Ferenc Tóth, ÁVH captain, on the corner of Lenin Boulevard and Aradi Street. They hung a sign on his body reading "This is what every ÁVH man will get."

The following is a list of some of those who participated in the lynching:

Antal Mayer (residence: 30, Vágóhíd Street, Budapest 9), convicted before the liberation eight times and after the liberation once for theft and other crimes. In spring 1944, he joined the SS troops and later became a lance corporal. In May 1945, he became an American prisoner. He came home and hid himself for about a year. On October 29, 1956, he joined the national guard and received a weapon and a national guard identification card. On October 31, he was in the house at 25/a, Eötvös Street when Captain Tóth was brought in. Mayer pushed Tóth out of the house and called upon the people in the street to kill the "ÁVH murderer." Mayer later participated in the looting of a warehouse on Cegléd Road.

István Erős, born in Üllő and residing in Budapest, had been convicted three times prior to the liberation of the country: for theft, fraud and violence against the authorities. He is illiterate and weak-minded.

Erős assisted in the lynching of Captain Tóth.

József Törzsök (residence: 229, Rákóczi Street, Salgótarján) was convicted five times since 1949 for theft, embezzlement, fraud, forgery and bigamy. He was serving a four-year sentence when the counter-revolution freed him from prison, on October 31. A few hours after his release he participated in the lynching of Captain Tóth.

Mihály Tóth, carter (residence: 8/1, Fiastyúk Street, Budapest 13). Illiterate. His father was a beggar. He took part in the lynching of Captain Tóth. He stabbed the captain several times with a knife and helped to hang him. Later Tóth took part in the looting of the Rákosrendező railway freight

yard. He was serving a prison sentence for that. Meanwhile it became known that he had also been an accomplice in the murder.

In Budapest, the backbone of the attackers on the Köztársaság Square Party Committee Building consisted of common criminals. This was the scene of the crimes of János Mész, known in the underworld as Peg-leg Jankó. Mész had been convicted 16 times for theft, violence against the authorities, vagrancy, disturbing the peace while drunk, and robbery; Maléter appointed him a lieutenant colonel of the National Guard. He was one of the lieutenants of the Corvin Passage insurgents, and made his headquarters in the Práter Street School. His picture with the caption "One-legged Hero" appeared in the November 12 issue of *Life*. His death, even if it was not worthy of this title, was worthy of his life: he lost his life after November 4 in the robbery of the Verseny Department Store on Rákóczi Street.

A major worthy of Peg-leg Jankó was Gábor Dilinkó, known to the underworld by the name of Bijou. He was appointed a major by Maléter personally. He had been convicted since 1946 seven times for theft, embezzlement, vagrancy and causing serious bodily harm.

At the same time István Kocsis, nicknamed the "Evil One," was "fighting for freedom" in Corvin Passage. Kocsis had been convicted four times of theft and burglary. He deliberately ran a stolen car over an enlisted soldier lying wounded on Köztársaság Square and crushed him to death. He also took part on the looting of the Fashion Department Store.

One of the typical criminals committing the horrible deeds on Köztársaság Square was Mrs. Dezső Nagy, called "Filthy." Her picture, like that of Peg-leg Jankó, became known to the world via *Life* magazine and shows her spitting on the butchered body of a soldier hanging by his feet. This prostitute was to some Western newspapers the "personification of the people's wrath". They wrote in a similar vein about Eszter Zilcsák, one of the most vicious torturers of the victims on Köztársaság Square. She was, as early as 1934, registered as a prostitute. She became a stool-pigeon in the 1940's. After that she lived under an assumed name, until October 1956. But she turned up in October, and attended the demonstration in front of the House of Parliament on the 23rd. She was "active" on Köztársaság Square as an ammunition carrier, inciter and brawler.

Eszter Zilcsák participated in the robberies and lootings, too, and was very active in organizing the women's demonstration on December 4.

Endre Csoszor, a young man with several past convictions, was deputy commander of a group of 20 armed counter-revolutionaries in the Ministry of Transport and Post. He had been arrested not long before for beating his landlady to death. His trial had been set for October 29, 1956 . . . Naturally he was freed as one of the victims of the "Rákosi tyranny" . . .

Kálmán Oláh, also a convict with a lengthy record, escaped from prison early in November and immediately joined the counter-revolutionaries. He had been imprisoned in October because he had beaten his stepfather to death with a stool and a scabbard.

Zsigmond Sipos was also an active counter-revolutionary. He participated, after November 4, in the counter-revolutionary actions in Csepel and at the West Railway Station in Budapest. He wrote and distributed seditious leaflets, signed: "Underground Revolutionary Workers' Council," "Hungarian Youth," etc. He, too, had been freed from prison by the counter-revolution where he had been serving a four-year sentence for burglary. Among his companions were József Erdész and Pál Bakosi, criminals both with a past record of burglaries. They murdered an army major in the street at the end of last year. After that they broke into a villa to rob it and murdered two aged women. But they had to flee without their loot. They committed a few other burglaries before their arrest.

The criminals also were there in the various workers' councils and "revolutionary committees." The vice-chairman of the national committee of the Mór district, for instance, was a criminal named Onodi with a record of seventeen convictions; his secretary was a criminal named József Kiss who had been sentenced to eleven years in prison. None of this was pure coincidence.

Most of the robbers, burglars, murderers and prostitutes fled abroad following the defeat of the counter-revolution. The Western newspapers have reported time and again cases of these people robbing, stealing, and even murdering in the countries which have taken them in.

Anti-Semitism and Anti-Jewish Violence during the Hungarian Counter-revolution

The alleged absence of any anti-Semitic excesses during the events of last autumn is an argument frequently advanced by the foreign Press sympathetic towards the Hungarian counter-revolution, as proof of the "revolutionary character" and "purity" of the October revolt in Hungary.

Just the opposite is, however, true. The counter-revolutionary upsurge brought to the fore, encouraged and activized the fascists, many of whom were convicted criminals freed from jail and celebrated as persecuted victims of the "Rákosi era." Many of these fascists, former Arrow-cross men, managed to get into positions and played a considerable part in the anti-Communist acts of terror.

The following is a collection of facts about anti-Semitic occurrences during the events. They have been taken from a memorandum drafted by the National Bureau of Hungarian Israelites (Magyar Izraeliták Országos Irodája) by Mr. Endre Sós, President of M. I. O. I., and Dr. Jenő László, General Secretary of M. I. O. I.

Fascist Attacks on Inmates of Tápiógyörgye Home for the Jewish Aged

The Hungarian government authorities converted a mansion at Tápiógyörgye, which once belonged to a landowner, into a home accommodating 120 aged, disabled persons of the Jewish faith. On the night of October 25, 1956, a fascist gang staged an anti-Semitic attack upon the inmates of the home. Mr. Mór Hajós, 75, a former engineer and one of the inmates, gave the following account of what happened that night:

> "About midnight on October 25, 1956, a large group of armed men attacked our home. They were met at the entrance by Miss Ilona Varga, a Christian woman, and book-keeper in our home, who pleaded with them to give up their intentions of entering the premises. Several armed youngsters, however, pushed her aside with their Tommy-guns and forced their way into the rooms on the ground floor. You can imagine the terror of the inmates, most of whom are over 80, at the sight of men armed with

Tommy-guns dashing into their rooms, shouting: 'Come on, Yids, get out of bed!'

"Some, out of sheer terror, jumped out of bed, but others, mostly women, lay paralyzed with fright. Those who did not instantly obey the order, were simply tipped out of their beds by the attackers. Mrs. Mór Markovits, e. g., 82, a rather heavyweight woman, was turned over with her bed, and the resulting bruises are still visible all over her body.

"Mr. Márton Kohn, 88, was also treated in a similar way. His health had been frail for a long time, and, owing to the shock he had to be taken to hospital. The attackers kicked him viciously as he lay on the floor.

"When she saw the gunmen enter the room, Mrs. Mihály Rosenstock, 64, took off her wedding ring, unfastened her thin gold neck-chain, produced what little money she had and implored the men, saying: 'This is all I've got. Please take this and spare our lives.'

"The attackers knocked the modest valuables out of her hand, and answered, jeering: *'That's just what we're after — your lives, you dirty Jews!'*

Why They Killed Salesman Lajos Freimann

Mrs. Lajos Freimann, of 17, Szemere Street, Budapest, told the following about the incident:

"My husband left home on his usual business trip on Tuesday morning, October 23, 1956. He was in Miskolc when the counter-revolution broke out. There, at 2 p. m. on October 26, a mob brutally murdered a Mr. Gáti, an officer of the criminal police. His body was mutilated, and as he was dying from the savage treatment, he was hanged opposite the hotel. My husband happened to be standing in front of the hotel, and was an accidental eyewitness to the assassination. Some people heard him say: 'They should not do such a thing to a human being.'

"At that the a counter-revolutionary mob fell upon my husband, who, unfortunately, although neither a relative nor a friend of Gáti's, did have some resemblance to the murdered police officer. His attackers — some of

whom were identified subsequently as former convicts — wanted to drag him away, shouting, 'There's the Jew Gáti's brother; he is an ÁVH man, too.'

"My husband ran into the hotel. The reception clerk, who knew him and knew that he was not related to Gáti and had nothing to do with the ÁVH, tried to hold up the mob by telling them that Freimann was a salesman from Budapest. But the mob was after blood. They beat up the clerk and also several waiters who had stood up for my husband.

"Meanwhile my husband slipped through a window of the mezzanine floor, but the glass roof below gave way under his weight, and he fell into the hotel's soda-water works.

"There the mob overtook him, and ignoring the chef's protestations that he really was a guest from Budapest, one of them hit him with a meat-axe that he had taken from the kitchen. When they realized that he was not Gáti's brother, they laughed, 'Never mind. Now there's one Jew less.'

"Then they proceeded to tear off his clothes in order to make sure that he was really a Jew, and after that they took his body and hanged it up next to the police officer's.

"One of the crowd had even shouted: 'Don't kill him yet; let's string him up alive!'

"I wish to add that my husband was 36 years old; he had never been engaged in politics; he went through Auschwitz 12 years ago.

"He was robbed by his murderers in Miskolc. They took the 15,000 forints he had collected on his business trip and stole his wrist-watch."

This Happened in Tarcal

Antal Zafir, 58, resident of Tarcal, and president of the local Jewish community, testified at the M. I. O. I. offices, on November 28, 1956, to the following:

"On Friday, October 26, a young man turned up in Tarcal, who allegedly had come from Miskolc. First, he

tore the coat of arms of the People's Democracy off the parish hall, then harangued the villagers, telling them: 'The day has come. Now you have a chance to get rid of these blood-suckers who thrive on your blood. String up every Jew!'

"The well-known loafers, former gendarmes and well-to-do farmers among the crowd cheered him. Seeing that the general mood had become enflamed, Mr. József Reich, the caretaker, and I went to the Council Hall to ask for protection.

"By Sunday a rumour was about alleging that a radio transmitter had been hidden in the synagogue, and that five carloads of armed Jews had arrived from Budapest and were being hidden by the village Jewry. Influenced by this rumour, a mob of people and armed counter-revolutionaries raided and searched the homes of the Jews. Then they searched the synagogue and dug up several holes in the yard. In the afternoon there was a meeting, at which a man called Pelsőczi yelled:

"'All people are human beings, only the Jews are lower than vermin. They ought to be trampled in the dirt.'

"Béla Galik, commander of the so-called 'revolutionary youth', pounded the desk at the Council Hall, shouting:

"'I'm giving orders here; I'm in power now. *By three o'clock this afternoon every Jew will be strung up on this chestnut tree here.*'

"Anti-Jewish violence increased after the 'revolutionary council' had been elected. Thus, for example, a man called Béni Horváth *drew his knife on Jenő Ungár, József Spitz and Márton Sternberg.* Someone working at the Council Hall informed Samu Friedmann that *a list had been drawn up of those to be put to death, that the Jews topped the list, and next came the Communists.*

"The Jews of Tarcal, including myself, took their families and fled the village, leaving behind their chattels and immovables."

Jew-baiting in Borsod County

The Deputy Rabbi Aladár Friedmann, of Mezőkövesd, took down on record, on December 11, 1956, the following:

"On Thursday evening, October 25, in Mezőkövesd a man armed with a rifle stepped out of the crowd of counter-revolutionary demonstrators, and shouted at Jakab Kohn, a one-armed man: *'You Jew, I'll shoot you.'*

"Kohn ran away, pursued by the man with the rifle. When Kohn stumbled and fell, the man levelled his Tommy-gun at him, but a a good-hearted woman prevented him from firing.

"At the same time, the chase was on after too other Jews, Jenő Bozsóki and László Gellért. The two men, having taken a couple of blows from the counter-revolutionaries, managed to escape their pursuers.

"Mrs. Miklós Weisz, of Mezőnyárád, whose husband is seriosuly ill, went to fetch some medicine from Bükkábrány, after October 23. On her way back, just outside Mezőnyárád, *she was attacked, was called a 'dirty Jew' and was beaten.* Her cries for help brought out the villagers, who stopped the beating."

The deputy rabbi related also that the counter-revolutionaries had threatened that they would set fire to his beard.

Armed Attack at Balkány

Mr. Jenő Hauser, president of the Jewish community of Balkány, and Izidor Weisz, co-operative worker, also of Balkány, called at the offices of M. I. O. I. on December 11, 1956.

They related that *there had been no personal safety for the Jews of Balkány following the outbreak of the counter-revolution.* The demonstrators had threatened their lives. On Sunday evening, November 11, 1956, at 8 o'clock two armed bandits called at Izidor Weisz's flat. As soon as he saw the gunmen, Weisz jumped out of the window. He meant to run to the Council Hall to take refuge there. *The counter-revolutionaries fired after him,* but missed their aim. Then they dashed off in pursuit of Weisz and captured him. He was dragged back to his home, and beaten with hand-grenades *by the two bandits* until his head was a bloody pulp. When they had reached his home,

the bandits held Mrs. Weisz and their 8-year-old daughter at gun-point, then they stole all the cash the family possessed — 2,500 forints.

After that incident the Weisz and all the other Jewish families at Balkány deserted the village and fled for their lives.

Mr. Weisz is an artisan, an Orthodox Jew. He has never been either a member or an official of any political party.

Bloody Outrages against Jews in Hajdunánás

Mr. Bernát Wiesel, a Jewish teacher from Hajdunánás, gave the following testimony on December 14, 1956 :

"I had a service flat in the Hajdunánás synagogue. *Demonstrators forced their way into my home and beat my wife and me within an inch of our lives.* As a result of this assault, I received severe head injuries and my left upper arm was broken. My wife, too, was bestially manhandled, *and we both were taken to the Debrecen County Hospital* with serious injuries. I wish to make it clear that both my wife and I are deeply religious, and have never been members of any political party.

"At the same time they attacked old Hermann Jakubovics, our kosher butcher, and he, too, had to be taken to hospital. Sándor Glücklich was manhandled in the same way. They did not find Jenő Schlosser, another inhabitant of the village, at home, so they 'only' burgled his home and what they could not remove they smashed into pieces. Lajos Pécsi, an upholsterer and a Christian by birth who had adopted the Jewish faith on account of his marriage, also had his home burgled."

*

József Oberländer, 51, of Tarpa, testified that at the time of the counter-revolution Árpád Varga, Elek Botos, Jr., Károly Hegyi and István Debreczeni came to his home. They called him a "dirty Jew" and started beating him up. They were looking for an alleged radio transmitter and guns in the synagogue. Oberländer's calls for help brought several people, who tried to defend him, but they were unable to hold off the counter-revolutionaries. Árpád Varga, trying to strangle Oberländer, shouted :

"I'm thirsty for Jewish blood. I won't rest till I've drunk Jewish blood !"

József Oberländer added that two other demonstrations were held in his village when the counter-revolutionaries gave out the slogan :

"String up all the three Jews in the village."

150 Jews on the "Death-list" in Mezőcsát

There were anti-Semitic outrages committed by counter-revolutionary ruffians even after November 4. On December 10, 1956, Rabbi Ernő Rosenberg of Mezőcsát, who had fled from the village, gave the following testimony :

"Two armed counter-revolutionaries called at Vilmos Grünberger's flat at 6 : 30 p. m., on December 5, 1956. Grünberger was not at home, but his brother Pál, and his wife Mrs. Vilmos Grünberger were. István Schwartz's two little children were visiting the family at the time. The attackers levelled a Tommy-gun at Mrs. Grünberger, and, under pretext of searching the house for arms, stole all the money the family possessed — 2,500 forints, the monthly salary.

"The counter-revolutionaries in Mezőcsát, drew up a list of 150 Jews, and *they boasted everywhere that they would not rest until they had put all Jews to death.*

"As a result of these incidents, all the Jews have fled from Mezőcsát."

Former 'Ghetto' Mayor called back to Office in Pécs

At Pécs, the so-called "Town Revolutionary Council" organized a rally. The first speaker of the evening — a lawyer well-known for his fascist sympathies — proposed that *Dr. Lajos Esztergár, erstwhile mayor of the town in 1944, and whose name is associated with the setting up of the most horrible ghetto in western Hungary, be reinstated in his office.*

Dr. Esztergár appeared at the meeting a few minutes later and was greeted with a tremendous ovation. However, the fascist leader, who was responsible for the deportation of 5,000 Jews, in Pécs, did not resume office, owing to the arrival of Soviet troops.

The counter-revolutionaries also smashed the windows of the local synagogue which is regarded as an architectural monument.

Anti-Semitism in Hajdunánás

According to the testimony given by Frigyes Steinbach and József and Ferenc Stuhlberger, *the local Jewish teacher of religion, Ábrahám Wiesel, was beaten up* and his home burgled, at the end of October. Anti-Semitism was whipped up for some time, and even at the Council meeting there were several speakers who declared :

"We don't need Jews in this village. Give us time and we'll finish them off."

The Chairman of the Council advised the 80 leaders of the local Jewish community, to leave the village.

*

According to the testimony of Mrs. Béla Schwimmer, of Mándok, a group of seven counter-revolutionaries smashed the windows of the Jewish homes, of the synagogue and of the former school on November 18, 1956. At 11 p. m. they broke into Mrs. Schwimmer's flat, threw her on to the floor and slashed her on the face and body with knives, and ruined the furniture. The attack was made by János Kantár and József Huszti-Polakocky.

*

A deputation of thirty Jews from the County of Hajdu called on the President and Vice-President of the National Bureau of Hungarian Israelites (M. I. O. I.). The deputation included Mr. Emil Grosz, of 4, Andrássy Street, Debrecen ; Mr. Lajos Fried, of 23, Enyingi Török Bálint Street, Hajdúböszörmény ; Mr. Izidor Schwartz, of Aranyosapáti, and others. The members of the deputation stated that a vicious anti-Semitic campaign had been whipped up in their villages and towns during and after the counter-revolution. The counter-revolutionaries had, for instance. painted on the walls of buildings the following slogan :

'Jew, you won't get as far as Auschwitz !'

Cutting diamonds had been used to *cut swastikas and arrow-crosses on window-panes and shop-fronts.*

*

On October 23, in the village of Mérkváralja, János Mezei and some of his cohorts went to the flat of Sámuel Bárd, a

Jewish citizen. Brandishing arms they fell upon Bárd, and began to shoot wildly in the flat, *severely wounding Bárd's eight-year-old child.* The child was receiving medical treatment as late as December 15.

*

The National Bureau of Hungarian Israelites adds the following remarks to the above-mentioned facts :

"It should be added that instances of anti-Semitic violence resulting from the events that began on October 23, and similar to those related above, occurred in Tét, Tinnye and other villages. During these incidents non-political Jewish citizens were manhandled and robbed. Many cases of violence could not be recorded owing to the fact that the victims — who 13 years ago had lived through the horrors of nazi extermination camps and dreaded a revival of those horrors — have emigrated from Hungary.

"In Újpest — District 4 of Budapest — a list of Jews was already prepared, and it is worth noting that *after October 23 the counter-revolutionaries released from Budapest gaols some of the foremost Arrow-cross leaders, including such well-known propagandists and organizers of rabid anti-Semitism as Zoltán Meskó and Lajos Dövényi Nagy.*

"It is the opinion of the Jewish leaders, including the secular and spiritual leaders of small village communities, that *if the counter-revolution had not been put down within a comparatively short time, it might have spelt death for Hungarian Jewry whose ranks had been so terribly decimated by fascism.*"

White Terror

The White Terror of October-November 1956 in Hungary was widely reported in the world press at the time. The horrors of that White Terror have been given detailed treatment in the White Books 1, 2 and 3 on *Counter-revolutionary Forces in the October Events in Hungary.*

The terror flared up with particular vehemence following the cease-fire of October 28, a very one-sided affair. Its terms were respected by the armed forces opposing the counter-

revolutionaries, and the Soviet troops were withdrawn from Budapest. But it was precisely then, as a matter of fact, that the counter-revolutionaries began to make full use of their arms — primarily against unarmed people.

This is how these events appeared in the world press:

The correspondent of Belgrade *Politika* reported that the homes of communists and Jews had been marked with white and black crosses, respectively.

"There is no doubt anymore," *Politika* wrote, "that we are witnessing a classic example of Hungarian fascism and White Terror."

The most horrible blood-bath was staged on October 30 when the Budapest Party Committee building was captured after a siege. This took place a few hours after the Soviet troops had been withdrawn from District 8 of Budapest, where the Party headquarters were located.

The *Deutsche Volkszeitung* of Düsseldorf wrote as follows:

"As soon as the Soviet troops left Budapest, there followed an appalling massacre, a veritable St. Bartholomew's Night."

Sefton Delmar wrote in the *Daily Express* that the people who were lynched were hanging in windows, on trees and on lamp-posts. Sefton Delmar went on to say that simple peaceful citizens were also hanged.

Westdeutsches Tagblatt wrote of those terrible days as follows:

"Horrors that defy the imagination — that's what the events led to. Guilty and innocent alike were among the victims. Lynch law ruled the country, turning it into a blood-bath."

This frightful blood-bath is referred to in the UN Committee's report as an "isolated skirmish."

"Although a cease-fire had been ordered on 28 October, a few isolated skirmishes took place after that day, but the cease-fire became fully effective by the time the new Cabinet took office on the 30 October."

In another place the UN report says that on October 30

"... the cease-fire came into full effect and thereafter the armed truce was respected by both sides...,"

It was in the respect of the armed truce" in the UN Committee's terminology that the Party headquarters in Republic Square was besieged under fire from small arms and artillery pieces; that Imre Mező, secretary of the Party Committee of Greater Budapest, who was carrying a white flag, was shot down as he stepped out of the door of the building and started towards the counter-revolutionaries to negotiate surrender; that army colonel János Asztalos had his heart cut; that Col. Papp and Lt.-Col. Szabó were murdered; and Péter Lakatos, a Party school teacher, and many others of the defenders and workers of the Party headquarters were shot. Artillery Colonel Papp was murdered in the most brutal manner: his torso and face were soaked in petrol, then he was hung up by the feet, and his body was set on fire.

But at the time the White Terror was still in its early stages. It is difficult to imagine the river of blood that would have flowed in Hungary, if the rule of the counter-revolutionaries had not been ended on November 4. Early in November, nearly 3,000 people were imprisoned by the counter-revolutionaries in the various country and municipal prisons and in the district county and town central police stations alone. There were many prisoners in the Corvin Passage and other counter-revolutionary centres in Budapest, as well as in the villages. The majority of prisoners were Communists: most of them had been told that they were under a death sentence, and the executions were scheduled to take place on November 5 and 6. It was planned by the counter-revolutionaries to stage, on November 6, on the Vérmező ('Field of Blood') in Budapest, a spectacular funeral of those who had been killed in the fighting, and Cardinal Mindszenty was to deliver the funeral oration. The funeral was intended as a provocation to whip up a mass hysteria for the large-scale massacre that would have followed.

The counter-revolutionaries had carefully prepared plans for a merciless showdown with the representatives of the legal government and tens of thousands of Communists and other progressive-minded people. Their plot was two-pronged: first, they meant to arrest the members of the highest government leadership; secondly, "death-lists" were prepared containing the names of thousands of ordinary working men and women in every government department, in the county, municipal district and village committees, in the various institutions, factories and offices, and at the co-operative and state farms.

Mr. Mihály Panyók, an ex-official of the National Peasant Party, wrote a letter to the Writers' Association from the village of Boldog. In his letter, which contains some sharp criticism of earlier defects of the people's democratic system, he comments as follows on the counter-revolutionary terror:

"... The one-time ring-leaders in every village were busy drawing up lists of persons to be executed, never omitting, by any chance, the local party secretary, the local Council chairman and others. In my village, for example, all members of the Hungarian Working People's Party — some 70 to 80 people — were marked for deportation ... In my village, and also in Budapest, the opinion is widely held that bloody massacres like this are an inevitable evil accompanying every revolution, and, also, that such vindictive actions would surely have petered out anyway in one or two weeks' time. Would they, indeed! Thank you, I would rather not see such free rein given to popular wrath. Why, the blood of hundreds of thousands of people could be spilled in one night, provided you go ahead in a duly organized way! That bloody Massacre of St. Bartholomew was delayed only because the reactionaries did not yet feel sure enough of themselves."

Such a "death-list" was drawn up also in the Bridge Constructions Company. Mrs. András Loss, employee of the company, told the following story:

"The 'Revolutionary Committee' was formed in the Budapest head offices of the Bridge Constructions Company on October 29. The following persons were included on the Committee:

"Károly Csermely, First lieutenant in the Armoured Corps of Horthy's army; Sándor Nagypál, ex-industrialist; János Gyimesi, one-time leader of the Kaposvár branch of the Arrow-cross Party; Lajos Dorthoff, ex-Horthyite army officer; and Ödön Tolnai, First lieutenant in Horthy's army. They set up a so-called screening committee, which divided the workers of the Company into five categories; 'Completely reliables (people who took part in the revolt); 'Fence-sitters'; 'Fellow-travellers'; 'Rank and file Communists'; and 'Fanatic Communists'. They agreed on a 'suitable' treatment for each category. It was decided to found a joint-stock company, with the

shares going to members of Category A, that is, the active counter-revolutionaries. They wanted to win over the fence-sitters, while the 'fellow-travellers' were to be discharged by stages, and the Communists to be sacked forthwith. A 'Board of Investigation' was called together, with Károly Csermely in the chair, which drew up a list of those to be dismissed summarily and one of those who — to use Csermely's words — were to be 'got rid of', that is they were to be killed. On the first list the names of the Communists were included — 27 in all — and they were given notice immediately. Their discharge was explained by stating that these people were supporters of 'the defeated anti-democratic regime'. The 'death-list' included the names of Jenő Tárnok, the company manager; Mrs. Ernő Szabadkai, the caretaker; and Bálint Szanyi. They collected a number of small arms that were to be used in the executions, which were scheduled to take place on November 5, on the shooting-range adjacent to the company offices which had formerly been used for sporting practice by the Association of Hungarian Freedom Fighters.

"On November 3, the rumour was spread that 'the Soviet troops were up to some mischief.' This induced Károly Csermely, head of the 'Board of Investigation', to declare that the executions would have to be postponed."

Various reprisals were being readied throughout the country, and the counter-revolutionaries made no bones about the purpose of these actions. In the town of Eger, a detachment of former Horthyite army officers and gendarmes was formed under Major Holczer of Horthy's army. That detachment organized a "revolutionary reconnaissance and punitive service." The purpose and activity of this organization are clearly defined in the following leaflet, which was issued by the organizers:

"Hungarians,

"In the present phase of our freedom struggle it has been necessary to form a Revolutionary Reconnaissance Service and a Revolutionary Punitive Service operating as joint bodies. The units of these Services are formed of persons or groups of persons independent of one another.

"The Revolutionary Reconnaissance Service has the following duties:

"To trace those individuals who give support to the occupying Power (including those who tear down our posters); and to display repeatedly the names, occupations and addresses of such people on the walls of the buildings.

"The Revolutionary Punitive Service has the following duty:

"Having ascertained the validity of the investigations, to destroy the individuals in question by the means at their disposal."

A similar fascist organization was set up at Gödöllő. In that locality a "secret political police" was organized by Tibor Benkő, an ex-major in the Horthy army; Sándor Miklós, ex-first lieutenant in the Horthy army; Dániel Kasza, former Military Prosecutor in the Budapest Area Command of the Horthy army; and Tibor Ódervald, a former field security oifficer in the Horthy army. The aim in view was "to prevent Leftist conspiracies against the victorious freedom struggle." This new Hungarian version of the Gestapo arrested several people under the pretext that they "oppose the freedom struggle." The arrested persons were manhandled. József Dallos, a Machine and Tractor Station worker, was threatened with a pistol in his cell.

Of this terrible fascist terror the UN Committee takes the following view:

"A number of lynchings and beatings by the crowds concerned, in almost all cases, members of the ÁVH or those who were believed to have co-operated with them."

The counter-revolutionary terror and the formation of terror organizations show that efforts were being made to revive the former Hungarian Gestapo of the Horthy and Szálasi eras. It was preparing for a bloody showdown with the adherents of the Hungarian people's power — Communists and non-Communists, Party and government officials and tens of thousands of ordinary workers and peasants alike. This was the beginning of a revival of Admiral Horthy's bloody White Terror of 1919. In some places this substance was disguised, while elsewhere it appeared openly and in the same form as in 1919 (officers' detachment).

All these events took place while Imre Nagy, the man who was styled "champion of law and order" by his adherents (and the UN Committee report), was Prime Minister. This champion of law and order did not have a single word of protest to say against lynchings and mass murders, he negotiated shook hands and collaborated with the assassins of the Communists and Communist-sympathizers.

Role of Imre Nagy

During the night of October 23, 1956, top Hungarian statesmen reached agreement with Imre Nagy that he would take over the post of Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Imre Nagy took over as head of government at dawn on October 24 as the armed attack against the state order was in progress at the Radio, and other points in Budapest.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic had resolved several important measures designed to defeat the counter-revolutionary attack. They had decided also to request the aid of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Treaty. This was followed by a governmental decision to declare martial law in view of the emergency situation and the threat menacing the state system and public safety. Imre Nagy instructed the Minister of Justice to formulate the declaration of martial law and he himself endorsed the text.

These facts should be presented at the outset because at the end of October Imre Nagy's closest followers alleged that Imre Nagy had had no part in requesting Soviet assistance and declaring martial law, and that he had not known of the two decisions. A statement had been made public as early as October 30, in the name of the Council of Ministers, reading :

> "With full awareness of our responsibility, we declare in the presence of history that Imre Nagy, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, had no knowledge of these two decisions."

The statement appeared unsigned, but obviously it had been approved by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Imre Nagy.

It was evident, however, to the population of the whole country that this government communiqué was untrue. On October 24 and the next few days thereafter Imre Nagy delivered several broadcasts and issued statements from which it was apparent that he had not only known about the request addressed to the Soviet Government and the proclamation of martial law, but that in fact he, the Prime Minister of the country, had backed both measures.

For instance Imre Nagy speaking over the Radio on October 25 stressed that

> "*Intervention in the fighting* (by the Soviet troops) *was necessitated by the vital interest of our socialist system.*"

And Imre Nagy appealed over the Radio on October 24 :

> "People of Budapest ! All those who stop fighting and lay down their arms by 2 p. m. today in the interest of preventing more bloodshed, will be exempt from martial law."

At the same time Imre Nagy said, in an interview granted to the Hungarian Telegraphic Agency that

> "never since its existence has an attack of such grave dimensions been launched against the Hungarian People's Democracy. Large numbers of armed counter-revolutionary bandits have attacked public buildings in Budapest, the Radio, the *Szabad Nép* offices, and the Telephone Exchange."

Therefore the statement of the Council of Ministers was not at all substantiated by the speeches and statements of Imre Nagy. On the contrary, they prove that this statement was false. Imre Nagy's adherents attempted to cover up the transparency of this untruth with another, even bigger falsehood. They alleged that Imre Nagy had been a prisoner of the ÁVH for a few days after he became Prime Minister and had been compelled at gun point to deliver his speeches.

Of all the fabrications of the counter-revolution this was the biggest, the most absurd and the most dishonourable. Nevertheless the report of the UN Special Committee takes this falsehood seriously and discusses it at length. According to the UN Committee report,

"... the first addresses that he made over the radio after he became Prime Minister were made with a gun at his back."

According to a leaflet published by the Revolutionary Students' Committee of the University during the counter-revolution, Imre Nagy delivered his first radio speech "at the point of a machine gun."

It is fascinating to examine the "proofs" presented by Imre Nagy's followers to substantiate the fantasy of the Prime Minister's captivity. On October 31, poet Zoltán Zelk said over the "Free Kossuth Radio" that he and a few other writers had gone to see Imre Nagy at Party Headquarters, late in the evening on October 23, but could not speak to him. "He was actually held prisoner then ; we saw only his son-in-law Ferenc Jánosi, who had been stripped of his military rank, as he stood lonely and despondent in the ante-room, anxious about the fate of his father-in-law Imre Nagy.[1] This is how it was ; this is what happened ; this is what the eyewitness can tell you," said Zoltán Zelk.

So the eyewitness "concludes" that Imre Nagy was held prisoner at the time he was unable to speak to him, in the period when leading statesmen were engaged in fateful conferences. And his evidence? — He did not see anything.

Apparently the stupidity and transparent falsehood of this fairy-tale about Imre Nagy being prisoner disturbed the UN Committee itself, and that is why the report said of Imre Nagy :

"... in the days immediately after 24 October, he appeared to be hesitating between loyalty to his Marxist training ... on the one hand, association with the cause of his countrymen on the other. His predicament between 24 and 28 October is by no means wholly explained by *force majeure*. From his Marxist and Communist anchorage, he was carried along by events beyond his control, gradually aware of the intensity of the passions which the uprising had evoked ..."

In other words even the UN Special Committee report is at a loss to explain Imre Nagy's earlier October speeches by the fact that he was "locked in a room" or that they were delivered "with a gun at his back." The UN Special Committee should

[1] According to the UN Committee report Jánosi was locked up in a room together with Imre Nagy. One falsehood contradicts the other.

have made up its mind. Either Imre Nagy was influenced by "loyalty to his Marxist training" or "the revolver pointed at his back," as it is self-evident that these two statements are contradictory. If Imre Nagy took a stand for suppressing the counter-revolution because of his loyalty to his Marxist training — then why would they point a gun at his back? And if he had been compelled to take a stand at the point of a gun, then what did his Marxist training have to do with the matter?

Here the UN Special Committee got mixed up in its thinking and unwittingly exposed the counter-revolutionary falsehood.

The fabrication about Imre Nagy being held prisoner by the ÁVH becomes particularly preposterous in the light of the UN Special Committee's comment that Imre Nagy was released from captivity when he dissolved the ÁVH. No wonder that *Népszabadság* ridiculed this statement.

"Let the reader imagine a prison," wrote *Népszabadság*, "where ÁVH-men are the prison guards and Imre Nagy is the prisoner. All at once the prisoner declares 'I am going to disband my guards', and the prisoner then goes free."

What is the truth about Imre Nagy's position between October 24 and 28? The truth is that Imre Nagy accepted the post of Chairman of the Council of Ministers while disguising his political aims and views. And he continued to disguise his aims and views as long as he deemed it necessary. The UN Special Committee report remarks :

"The announcement of neutrality apparently did not come as a complete surprise to those Hungarians who had been in contact with Mr. Nagy prior to the October events. It has been reported to the Committee that during his retirement from active political life in 1955, Mr. Nagy had in his writings referred to the possibility of Hungary adopting a neutral status on the Austrian pattern ..."

The report adds that Imre Nagy had informed the Hungarian Working People's Party about his views. This, however, was not exactly true. Imre Nagy's writings to which reference has been made were published abroad under the patronage of a body calling itself a "Revolutionary Council," and the preface emphasizes that he had intended to submit these writings to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party, but he had not got around to it.

Actually Imre Nagy concealed the views expounded in these writings, when late in the evening on October 23 the Central Committee of the HWPP elected him to the Political Bureau, and the Presidential Council of the People's Republic appointed him Chairman of the Council of Ministers. He concealed his views just as the organizers of the demonstration concealed their real activities.

The principal slogan of the organizers of the October 23 demonstration was "Imre Nagy to head the government!" The immediate aim of their tactics was to put Imre Nagy in control of the government. But at this time the Hungarian Working People's Party and the Hungarian working class had a decisive influence in the country. In view of this fact the organizers of the demonstration put forward slogans like: "For the development of socialist democracy" or "For a genuine Leninist policy," making it appear that Imre Nagy and his group stood for socialism, and that the helm would remain in socialist hands if entrusted to Imre Nagy. Imre Nagy could not have come forward otherwise than as a solid champion of socialist power, a friend of the Soviet Union, and an inveterate enemy of the counter-revolutionary attackers. The government headed by Imre Nagy consisted of Communists and non-Communists loyal to the People's Democracy and socialism. The same was true of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic, which appoints the government. Had Imre Nagy come out against the Warsaw Treaty and for "a neutral status on the Austrian pattern" as early as October 23, he certainly would not have become Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

This was the state of affairs on the night of October 23, and for the first few days after Imre Nagy became Prime Minister. But the situation changed a few days later. The counter-revolution was able to get a foothold because Imre Nagy and other traitors barred the way to the struggle against the counter-revolutionary gangs. The counter-revolution found its voice and some of the counter-revolutionaries openly demanded a Right-wing government, refusing to recognize Imre Nagy. In order to gain the confidence and support of these counter-revolutionaries, Imre Nagy vied with the most reactionary groups in expressing anti-Sovietism and in backing the counter-revolution in all possible ways. Imre Nagy, as was typical of him, did not utter a single protest against the massacre of Communists, because he wanted to court favour with the fascist elements of the counter-revolution too. Some of his

supporters were horrified by the atrocities committed by the White Terror, but they tried in vain to convince Imre Nagy to intervene.[2]

Imre Nagy found himself in a predicament because of his own speeches and statements. It could not be said here that he knew nothing about them, as he had claimed concerning the request to the Soviet Government and the declaration of martial law. The speeches had been delivered and the country had heard Imre Nagy's voice.

This is the history of the falsehood concerning Imre Nagy's captivity and the revolver pointed at his back.

On October 31, Imre Nagy gave a statement to foreign journalists on this issue. The statement was published in several foreign papers and broadcast on the French-language programme of "Free Kossuth Radio."

Here it is:

Question: A few minutes ago you said that you were compelled to call in Soviet troops, that you were not the one who had requested Soviet troops to enter Budapest. Who requested them?

Imre Nagy: It was not I, that much I can say. At that time I was not Prime Minister, nor was I on the Central Committee of the Party.

Question: Where did the belief that you had called them come from?

Imre Nagy: I don't know. At that time I was not in the leadership. But it could have happened the following way: at first they said that the Government had done it; and *two or three days* afterwards I became Prime Minister and the masses were not able to make a distinction. Two days earlier, or now, is all the same to them.

Question: But did you not agree with the calling in of Soviet troops later?

Imre Nagy: No.

Question: Did you say that the restoration of public order and peace required that step?

[2] This attitude of Imre Nagy, as well as other violations of the law for which he was responsible explains the statement in the UN Special Committee report that some people found it particularly difficult to believe that Imre Nagy had signed the declaration of martial law, for he was, the report says, a champion of legality.

Imre Nagy : No, no, no. I did not say anything of the sort, and I must add that their appearance on the scene caused a great deal of harm.

This statement proves one thing beyond a shadow of doubt. Imre Nagy was lying shamelessly. The first question reveals that Imre Nagy said at one time that he had "been compelled to call in the Soviet troops," and then he insisted that he had not called in the troops at all. Some Western papers published the statement without commenting on this flagrant contradiction.

In answering the second question, Imre Nagy said that first the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Treaty had been requested to come to Budapest, and then he became Prime Minister "two or three days later." What did he mean by "two or three days later?" Or is it possible that Imre Nagy did not know when he became Prime Minister? Was he appointed on October 26 or 27? No! Imre Nagy was made Prime Minister at dawn on October 24 and in that capacity he spoke over the Radio on the same day. Clearly Imre Nagy was not telling the truth here either, and he went about it in a stupid and transparent manner.

Finally Imre Nagy insisted that he had not said that the assistance of the Soviet troops was required to restore order. But on October 25, at 3 : 25 p. m. Imre Nagy did say in a broadcast that the assistance of the Soviet troops had been "necessitated by the vital interests of our socialist order," — and this is mentioned in the report of the UN Special Committee too.

So once again Nagy Imre was not telling the truth. This was Imre Nagy, the man, the personality, the kind of Communist and head of government about whom the UN Special Committee report said :

> "Though he was a Communist they still considered him to be a 'good Hungarian,' and an honest, able and courageous man . . ."

On October 24, 1956 Imre Nagy took the oath of office vowing that he would fulfil his duties with loyalty to the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic. And he violated that oath.

An armed attack was in progress against the constitutional order of Hungary ; the enemies of the People's Republic had attacked public buildings (the Radio, the Telephone Exchanges, the Central Police Station, the district police stations, and the barracks) and units of the armed forces of the Hungarian People's Republic. The obvious and express purpose of the attack was to overthrow the existing state order by force. The forces allied for overthrowing the existing constitutional order received assistance from foreign powers (as amply documented in Chapter One of this publication), and, in the hope of armed assistance from foreign powers, they attacked the state order of the Hungarian People's Republic. This fact is recognized by practically all Western newspapers and books reporting the October events in Hungary.[3]

Violating his oath, Imre Nagy failed to defend the state order of the Hungarian People's Republic against the hostile attack : on the contrary, he headed this offensive.

Grossly violating constitutional order, Imre Nagy set aside the constitutional bodies of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Presidential Council and the National Assembly. Acting in violation of the constitution and the law, he abrogated the Warsaw Treaty, which had been ratified by the supreme organ of the state, the National Assembly, and which the Chairman of the Council of Ministers has no right to terminate.

Disdaining legal measures, Imre Nagy issued a statement declaring that the charges against József Mindszenty had been groundless, and reinstituted Mindszenty's rights. He issued this statement without reviewing the legal verdict and monopolized the functions of the judiciary by setting aside a non-appealable sentence. This unlawful statement meant that Imre Nagy did not consider conspiracy against the state order of the Hungarian People's Republic a criminal act ; in fact he identified himself with the enemies of the state system.

Imre Nagy did not assure the safety of life and property of the Hungarian people against the outrages committed by the White terrorists and criminals ; he permitted and countenanced the mass lynchings and the unlawful imprisonment of thousands of people.

[3] For instance, Fritz Molden, publisher of the Vienna *Die Presse*, and Eugen Géza Pogány, a correspondent of the same paper, write in their book *Ungarns Freiheitskampf (Hungary's Freedom Fight)* :

"We were halted by desperate fellows armed with Tommy-guns and rifles. 'You are Americans ; you must have brought us ammunition' . . . The good man could not and did not want to understand that we were only peaceful journalists. The same story was repeated over and over again."

Imre Nagy permitted and encouraged the fascist forces to become active although the Hungarian Government had pledged in the Paris Peace Treaty that it would not allow the revival of fascism.

The following conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing:

1. The request to the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Treaty was a legal act of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic aimed at restoring order and avoiding more bloodshed and destruction.

2. Imre Nagy as Chairman of the Council of Ministers plainly stated in his public appearances and in his October 25 broadcast as well that he deemed it necessary to call in the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Treaty.

3. The proclamation of martial law took place at Imre Nagy's instruction and with his consent. As a matter of fact Imre Nagy himself has never denied this; it was his followers who claimed that Imre Nagy had no knowledge of the proclamation of martial law.

4. Imre Nagy was on the issue as a whole guilty of shameful conduct for a head of government, and he lied successively in his statements.

5. On October 23 and thereafter Imre Nagy's acts were deceptive, concealing his real objectives, to allow him to get into a secure position of power. Later he utilized this position of power against the Hungarian People's Democracy, and in the interests of the aims of the counter-revolution.

6. Imre Nagy violated his oath of office, and instead of defending constitutional order, he exploited his post of Prime Minister to uphold the attempt at the violent overthrow of constitutional order.

The Workers' Councils in Hungary during the October 1956 Counter-revolution

A chapter in Vol. 3 of the White Book, *Counter-revolutionary Forces in the October Events in Hungary*, gives detailed facts concerning the composition and role of the "revolutionary committees." The chapter makes it clear that the bodies termed "revolutionary committees" or "revolutionary councils" were not elected by the people; that they were constituted of self-appointed candidates, and in most places their members included representatives of the old fascist system of exploitation — Horthyite army officers, Arrow-cross fascists, former gendarmes and their cohorts — who were the influential members of those committees.

Suffice it to mention only one example here, that of the "National Committee" of Monor district:

In the district of Monor the chairman of the national committee was László Szente, former high sheriff of the County of Fejér, who had been convicted for complicity in the Ferenc Nagy conspiracy against the state. The vice-chairman and secretary was Ferenc Baranyi, former Horthyite village clerk of Monor; members of the committee included Sándor Lengyel, former manorial bailiff, the brother of a Horthyite general, Ferenc Lilik, Arrow-cross Party organizer, Imre Füzi, a kulak, and Dr. Antal Karbach, an Arrow-cross lawyer.

The commander of the national militia was János Maróthy, Horthyite captain of the Hussars, while the head of the subsection for political and criminal investigation was Ferenc Mátyás, former gendarme company sergeant-major. Mátyás's subordinates were József Wallner, former gendarme sublieutenant and counter-intelligence officer, Pál Kovács and Sándor

Dávid, former gendarme sergeant-majors, and Gábor Bara, former gendarme lieutenant. The "district national committee" returned the Monor Brush Factory to its former owner, Ferenc Kovács.

These facts did not in the least deter the UN Special Committee from stating the following in its report :

> "No aspect of the Hungarian uprising expressed its democratic tendencies or its reaction to previous conditions more clearly than the creation of Revolutionary Councils in villages, towns and on the county level, and of Workers' Councils in factories. Within a few days these bodies came into existence all over Hungary and assumed important responsibilities. Their chief purpose was to ensure for the Hungarian people real, and not merely nominal, control of local governments, and of factories, mines and other industrial enterprises. There was even a suggestion that a National Revolutionary Committee might replace the National Assembly, while another proposal was that a Supreme National Council could exercise the prerogative of head of the State. While nothing of the kind took place, the fact that such proposals could be put forward at all suggests the degree to which they were felt to reflect the desires of the people."

The following deals with the founding, composition and role of the workers' councils.

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The workers' councils in Hungary were not set up as the result of a spontaneous process — although there is no doubt that the mass demand for the extension of labour democracy played a substantial role in their establishment. The first workers' councils were formed by the Party organizations in the factories. These workers' councils which were organized earlier were generally under Communist leadership. Naturally, many honest non-party workers were also included in them. After the outbreak of the counter-revolution they considered their main task to be the protection of the factories, and they collaborated in establishing the factory armed guard. They dealt with the real problems of concern to the factories and the workers — the defence of the factory, wages, etc. Most of these workers' councils which had been established earlier were organs of the workers' power, as far as their objectives and composition were concerned.

In the early days the counter-revolutionaries acquired experience and saw that their agitation and weapons were not having the desired effect on the workers. The overwhelming majority of the workers not only failed to support the counter-revolutionaries, but they took their stand in support of the system and the factories, both vocally and with weapons. The telegrams sent by the workers of a whole series of factories, on October 24 and 25, to the leaders of the Party and the Government gave expression to that fact. The employees of the Hidas Mining Works, for exemple, sent the following telegram :

> "The miners, technical and office staff of the Hidas Mining Works indignantly condemned, at fly-meetings held on the 24th of this month, the provocative attack of the enemy. They assure the leaders of the Party and Government that they stand like one man behind our Party and Government."

Employees of hundreds of factories sent similar telegrams. At the same time the armed factory guard in the capital and the province alike, although poorly and inadequately armed in most cases, courageously defended the factories in the face of the armed attacks of the counter-revolutionaries. The counter-revolutionaries, in order to intimidate the workers and to paralyze work, launched armed attacks against many factories, chiefly in the capital. One report states the following about one of these attacks :

> "Two lorries filled with civilians drove up to the Kőbánya Enamelware Factory on October 24 and issued orders to stop working. About 60 per cent of the employees were on the job. They told the workers to leave the factory and then, after posting a guard, they went away."

They attacked the Dej Shipyards on the same day :

> "Two TEFU lorries loaded with armed youth stormed the shipyards and demanded that the star be removed. The workers, who were mobilized, took away from them two guns, two machine guns and one lorry. The routed attackers sneaked back and even prodded children to throw rocks, which they picked up along the railway tracks, at the factory."

The factory workers' guard had to repulse numerous assaults of the counter-revolutionaries between October 24 and

27. The bitter resistance of the factory workers' guard showed the counter-revolutionaries that it would be no easy matter to deal with the working class. Therefore, the counter-revolutionaries rallied all their forces to undermine the factories from within. For this purpose they needed to utilize the declassed elements and the scum in the factories, to liquidate the workers' councils which were controlled by forces loyal to socialism, and to establish new workers' councils under counter-revolutionary leadership.

Only a small segment of the employees went to work in the factories at that time. Work was not proceeding normally; fighting was going on in the streets of the capital; transport was almost at a standstill. It is quite obvious, therefore, that the overwhelming majority of the workers did not go to work.

Under these circumstances it was impossible to elect workers' councils by democratic means, but it could be done by violent means. The re-election procedure followed in the Orion Factory was this: a former Arrow-cross fascist, Á. D., joined by his armed companions, disarmed the workers' guard defending the factory, and turned out the elected workers' council. In the Óbuda Shipyards, the purity of democracy was "guaranteed" at the re-elections by an armed insurgent of the Corvin Passage gang and his buddies. The "re-election" of the workers' council in the United Incandescent Lamp Factory was conducted by the armed delegates of the Újpest revolutionary committee in the presence of about 20 persons. The chairman of the workers' council in the Chinoin Factory admitted at the council meeting that "The people did not elect me; whoever was at hand took the lead."

The workers' councils after the "re-elections" became, in many places, organs of the counter-revolution, and the declassed and riff-raff elements, former Arrow-cross fascists, nazi fascists, gendarmes, army officers, capitalists, big landowners, etc., who had found jobs in the factories, got busy. A few examples will illustrate who were the rabble-rousers in the factories at that time, who sparked the "re-elections" of the workers' councils. Sándor Ignáczi and Jenő Vadhy were the prime movers in the Kőbánya Light Metal Works. Ignáczi had been interned for three and a half years and had owned 70 acres of land; Vadhy had owned 85 acres of land. In the Milling Machine Factory, the top organizer was Károly Gömöri, former Chief Counsellor of Financial Affairs, who later became chairman of the workers' council in the plant. There were

rabble-rousers in other factories, too, like: Attila Fogarassy, son of a Horthyite colonel, and Ferenc Duka, son of a district administrator appointed by Horthy, in the Deep-Boring Equipment Works; Mrs. Levente Magyar, the wife of a former mine tycoon and Horthyite army officer, in the Orion Factory; Gyula Kazi Dégi, former big landowner, in branch factory 14 of the AKÖV; Géza Návay, the son of a former chief administrative officer under Horthy, and Dezső Papp, Horthyite army officer, in the Danube Canning Factory; László Vörös, former capitalist factory manager, and Károly Ruzics, lawyer, the son of a big landlord. in the Office Supplies Factory; and Baron Bódog Orbán, in the Electrical Machine and Cable Factory. The "revolutionary committees" in the provinces were constituted of individuals similar to these persons. According to the report of the UN Special Committee the chief purpose of these workers' councils was "to ensure . . . real control . . . of factories" for the workers. Actually, the workers' councils, consisting of counter-revolutionaries, politically isolated and terrorized the employees loyal to the People's Democracy, disarmed them, and ousted many of them from the factories.

An important task of the new-fangled workers' councils was to remove the barriers in the factories standing in the path of the counter-revolution. Therefore, they dissolved without preamble the factory guard which consisted of veteran and honest workers. The workers' council of the Electrical Machine and Cable Factory, after appointing new commanders of the guard, declared that "it is their task to organize the guard, to remove the old guard and to disarm them." Individuals who were fully reliable in the opinion of the counter-revolutionaries became, of course, members of the guard.

Former convicts, who had been released by the counter-revolutionaries, played a prominent role in the factory guards of many factories. Very often the guardsmen were not drawn from the employees of the factory. The workers' council of the Klement Gottwald Electrical Equipment Factory, for instance, was compelled to announce, well after November 4, that "The Executive Committee of the workers' council has learned that there are still members of the factory guard who are not employed by the factory and are not yet 20 years old." The National Committee of District 15, in Budapest, sent armed units to the factories in the district, and a good part of them were convicts.

After disarming and ousting the armed guard consisting of honest workers, the counter-revolutionary workers' councils set about removing the Communists from the economic management and Party leadership. And that exposed to the glare of reality the counter-revolutionary role of these workers' councils. The Communist Party workers, economic executives and rank and file Party members — and often non-Party workers loyal to the People's Democracy — were ousted from the factories by the use of the most savage and inhuman, fascist methods. Their sole inducement was to get rid of the Communists. The meeting of the workers' council in the Chinoin Factory illustrates that this motive was the substance of their action: The council members themselves admitted that the manager "is well-liked by everyone, an absolutely honest person, as anyone with even a bit of good will can see." But because the manager adhered to his Communist convictions, the workers' council decided after all that he would have to be driven from the factory. At the same time they began to employ inveterate fascists and other reactionary technical and economic executives.

In addition, the workers' councils compiled what they called "workers' demands" although these demands had nothing in common with the workers. They did not ask the workers what complaints they had, but the demands were drawn up by top leaders of the workers' councils, who were given "theoretical" guidance from above. They omitted entirely, or only sometimes included genuine workers' demands concerning improvement of the workers' economic and social position and the actual extension of their political rights. Instead, they put forth demands inciting against the Soviet troops, and chauvinist and nationalist slogans.

The workers' councils — which had the audacity to boast that they represented the workers — put forward demands like that of the workers' council in the Goldberger Factory, for example:

> "We demand... that handicraft and retail trade licences be issued exclusively to citizens loyal to their country. An agriculture in keeping with the Hungarian way of life... that the education of the youth be placed on the basis of religious morality."

The workers' council in Keszthely demanded that Mindszenty be freed. There was no limit to the demands. A good part of the workers' councils refused to recognize even the

Imre Nagy government and wanted a government even farther to the Right. The workers' council at the Istvántelek Railway Depot declared:

> "We refuse to give even provisional recognition to the government which has arbitrarily appointed itself. We demand that the provisional government be formed of representatives of the democratic parties of 1945, in proportion to the votes they received at that time."

The counter-revolutionary forces did their utmost to subordinate the workers' councils to the national and revolutionary committees, the national guard and other counter-revolutionary bodies. One of the high-lights of their manoeuvres was the appeal issued on November 2 by the fascist All-Hungarian National Committee, a brain-child of Dudás, calling the delegates of the workers' councils to a meeting to be held in the Sports Hall on November 4. The district and national "revolutionary committees" not only urged supervision over the workers' councils in their appeals but they put it into practice as well. Many national committees officially ordered the factory workers' councils to stop work. They even had a voice in saying who should be members of the workers' councils. The counter-revolutionary "Újpest Revolutionary Committee," which was the most successful in controlling the workers' councils, was able to secure official recognition of the authority of the "revolutionary committee." The workers' council of the United Incandescent Lamp Factory decided in the presence of the armed delegates of the Újpest Revolutionary Committee that their members "would subordinate themselves to the Újpest Revolutionary Committee." Dudás' notorious counter-revolutionary paper, *Magyar Függetlenség*, wrote on October 31, in an article entitled "The National Revolutionary Committees at Work":

> "They are paying special attention to the political work of the greatest importance, the organization of the workers' councils... Reports are coming in from many quarters that the workers' councils are being formed by circumventing the Revolutionary National Committee, by precluding it, clandestinely, so to say... The National Committee does not recognize these councils, but shall have them re-elected in the spirit of genuine democracy... The National Committee quite properly interfered in District 2 and District 18".

It is evident from this that the workers' councils were not elected by the workers but were set up by the counter-revolutionary organs from above, and they had nothing in common with democracy, or the will of the workers. It is well worth while tracing the course of these events, for it clearly shows the objectives of the counter-revolution in connection with the workers' councils. These "revolutionary," or "national" committees were outright anti-socialist bodies, which did not deny that they aspired to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to restore bourgeois order. There were precious few workers among their members ; in most instances, the key role in them was played by old inveterate reactionary politicians.

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On November 4, 1956, the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government swung into action to halt the counter-revolutionary stream which was gaining momentum across the country.

The Hungarian armed forces, which were quickly organized, and the Soviet Army dealt a smashing blow to the counter-revolution. The ranks of the counter-revolution were shattered and disorganized ; its political conceptions and general line suffered a fiasco. It could be noticed that the masses would be disillusioned with the "national freedom struggle" because of the fascist pogroms early in November, and the return of Mindszenty and other capitalist and feudal forces. This became clear when the workers in many factories resumed work on November 6 and 7, and in the capital somewhat later, on the 10th. The miners of Nógrád began working on November 7, and so did the workers in the factories of Zala County, Szolnok County, and elsewhere. On November 9, the representatives of Sztálinváros were already holding fruitful talks with the representatives of the government. On November 11, the representatives of a number of factories conferred in the Ministry of Light Industry and the Ministry of Metallurgy and Engineering, where they decided that on the 12th they would resume work. The workers' councils of many other factories made similar decisions. These events indicated that the workers had had enough of the street fighting and fascist pogroms ; that they wanted to work, and at the same time they recognized the government and wished to secure their demands through normal negotiations.

Adherents of the counter-revolution found themselves in a serious predicament as events progressed, and the counter-revolutionary armed groups collapsed in the face of the resolute action of the Soviet troops. And the counter-revolutionaries, seeing that they would no longer be able to propagate their demagogic views without counter-propaganda, adopted new tactics; they knew they could not afford to repeat the old mistake : permitting public figures who had been compromised to come to the fore, and constituting a score of parties which could not be described democratic by any stretch of the imagination. Their tactic, in essence, was to line up the workers' councils in the interest of their aims. The role of the workers' councils, their counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist activity really developed after November 4. The Greater Budapest, or Central Workers' Council (CWC) had a decisive part in this trend of development of the workers' councils.

The CWC was formed in the cultural hall of the United Incandescent Lamp Factory on November 14. The Writers' Association advocated the formation of that body. The Writers' Association issued the first counter-revolutionary leaflet of importance, on November 12, attacking the Kádár government, and gave considerable assistance in organizing the various district workers' councils.

The CWC was set up in an undemocratic manner without previous consultation with the workers, or even with the members of the workers' councils. At the meeting where it was formed the representatives of a number of important factories were not present. To mention just one : the workers of the Csepel Iron Works were not represented. One of the delegates declared at the meeting held on November 15 that at the constituent meeting of the CWC "there was nobody from District 16 present because they did not know that this Greater Budapest top committee existed." These facts show unmistakably that the CWC lied when it declared, "We were elected democratically by the working people of Greater Budapest" — a statement later broadcast by the counter-revolutionaries to the whole world.

There were many honest workers, too, among the members of the CWC but they were not the ones who controlled its actions. This was done by such persons like Miklós Sebestyén, the son of a lawyer and real estate owner, who later defected to the West ; and József Nemeskéri, whose police record reads, "Convicted in 1952 for theft of public property. Following

the period after October 23, Nemeskéri became the commander of a group of armed counter-revolutionaries fighting in the Party Building of District 7 . . . He obtained credentials from 10 wounded counter-revolutionaries with whom he had fought, and wormed himself into the CWC." The secretary of the CWC, István Babay, had been the deputy military commander of the Hazai Woollen Mill, a war plant then, during the Horthy-Szálasi era. The respectable workers who were members of the CWC were mere puppets in the hands of the confirmed counter-revolutionaries.

The CWC was not satisfied with styling itself the representative of the workers of Budapest, but at its November 15 meeting it also demanded the establishment of a National Workers' Council. They regarded it as a central body which, in the given situation, would have actually played the role of a counter-government. Naturally, the government rejected this plan; in fact, when the CWC announced the convening of the constituent conference of the National Workers' Council the government banned the conference. The CWC answered by calling for a 48-hour strike on November 21.

The strike, however, was not united. The Csepel workers issued a statement in which they condemned the CWC decision to call for a 48-hour strike as rash and risky, and declared they would continue to work despite the decision.

The counter-revolutionary role of the workers' councils became clear in the vicious anti-Communist campaign unleashed in November. One after another they adopted decisions banning the Party organizations and dismissing the Communists. For example, the executive committee of the workers' council in Gyula declared:

> "We do not think it proper at this time to organize the Party on the premises of the factories, enterprises and other state bodies, — in fact, we cannot permit it."

They decided to dismiss those honest workers whom they thought had remained Communists or, if they did remain in the factory, they put them on difficult jobs which made it impossible for them to organize the Party. The workers' councils operated with a large apparatus — one might say, a personnel staff — in order to compile the material for the discharge of the Communists. The dismissal of the Communist managers, technical executives, etc., continued — and at the same time counter-revolutionary elements were placed in leading posts.

The dismissal of the Communist technical staff assumed such proportions that 100 were sacked from the mines, while 60 managers of factories belonging to the Ministry of Metallurgy and Engineering were dismissed.

The workers' councils launched also a wide attack against the old traditional organizations of the working class, the trade unions. In many factories, like in the Screw Factory, they scattered the trade union leaders, and at the Automobile Repair Enterprise Branch 1 they appointed a workers' council's man to head the TU committee. The economic activity of the workers' councils was confined to executing financial and wage measures, in a bid for popularity and with utter disregard for the future of the workers and the country. They paid out extraordinary sums of money in wages, which were not backed up by actual labour; they distributed foodstuffs free to the employees; and in many places they embezzled the funds of the enterprises. The chairman of the workers' council in the Kőbánya Textile Mill — as the workers' council later stated in the minutes — "Otto Sugár, left the country . . . with 80,000 forints in cash he had taken from the enterprise." Some workers' councils did not hesitate to distribute the products of the factory among the workers in lieu of their pay packets, or to sell the products in order to obtain money. They generally abolished the piecework wages which, in the given situation, led to the complete disorganization of wage and labour discipline.

At the beginning of December the CWC launched into counter-revolutionary activity on a scale which surpassed anything that had gone before. A sign of that activity was the drafting by the CWC of a comprehensive platform and rules. The platform stated that a provisional parliament of the working people should be established, and that any Hungarian could be a member of it "irrespective of the job held by the person in question, now or in the past." To make it clear, it was immaterial whether the person had been a capitalist or a big landowner in the past. The parliament of the working people would have been invested with the right "to defeat by their protests any government measure whether of a national importance or of a general nature." There is no need to enlarge on the objectives of this provisional parliament which would have been constituted of all and sundry. The platform also declared that the counter-revolutionaries who had been arrested should be released.

The economic section of the platform gave primary consideration to the fact that "humane treatment shall be accorded to the former owners of the land, mines, banks and large estates. These people, too, should be extended the necessary prerequisites for earning a living, in accordance with their skill and ability to work, and without any discrimination . . . The smaller industrial plants or similar establishments which are not profitable under state management, shall be leased to Hungarian citizens by public tender." The platform also called for the re-examination of the activities of the state and cooperative farms, and if they were found to be working at a loss, their lands were to be leased to Hungarian citizens. Without any further quotations it is apparent that the leaders of the CWC — even if in guarded formulations — took in practice a stand supporting the restoration of the capitalist social system.

Yet, according to the report of the UN Special Committee, the establishment of the workers' councils

> "represented the first practical step to restore order and to organize the Hungarian economy on a socialist basis . . ."

The CWC intensified its contacts with foreign circles. Press conferences were systematically organized to inform foreign, mainly Western, press correspondents and radio reporters. This is how Radio Free Europe broadcast news about CWC resolutions earlier than Budapest workers learned about these resolutions directly.

Sebestyén, the head of CWC press department, was the initiator of the underground armed organization. The police record regarding this states the following:

> "Around the middle of November the head of the press department of the Greater Budapest CWC, Miklós Sebestyén, an engineer — the delegate of the Hungarian Optical Works (MOM) who has since absconded — instructed his friend Csaba Varró, who was a member of the MOM workers' council, to collect weapons. He informed Varró that he had concealed weapons in the MOM Cultural Centre. The police authorities did in fact find a large cache of weapons at the MOM when they conducted a search there, although part of them had been taken away previously by Varró and his accomplices. Later Sebestyén and Varró recruited Ernő Pollinger, a member of the MOM workers' council, to take part in the armed struggle at the opportune time."

The final act of the CWC was the meeting it held on December 8. Although several delegates argued against the senseless strike, still the will of the rabble-rousers, who spoke vociferously in favour of the strike, won the day. One of the delegates proposed a 2 or 3-day strike, one that would affect "all facets of life . . . Turn off the electric lights, cut off the gas supply. . ." As the result of this irresponsible demagogy the CWC called the 48-hour strike for the 11th and 12th.

This strike was the last test of strength of the CWC, and it ended in defeat. The weakness of its mass influence and the unpopularity of the strike among the working people became evident. As a matter of fact, the strike was a fiasco; and where it did take effect, violence and terror played a major role as they did in the earlier period.

The counter-revolutionary leaders of the workers' councils, and the counter-revolutionary elements on the outside resorted to a great extent to terroristic methods to ensure the success of the strike. Armed counter-revolutionary gangs attempted to intimidate the workers, and in several places they threw hand-grenades into shops which were working. The armed guard of the workers' councils — and, as previously mentioned, we know the kind of elements they included — likewise did their utmost to ensure the success of the strike. Let us take only a few examples of the many. At the Transport Equipment Factory "many workers did not enter the factory premises because a guard armed with Tommy-guns stood at the gate." The workers' councils posted guards to prevent the workers from entering the factories at the Bus Garage in District 14, the Electrical Appliances Factory, the Priming Tube Factory and at the Crane Factory. They made a special note that at the Priming Tube Factory "about 65 to 70 per cent of the workers reported for work, or tried to get into the factory to work, but the chairman of the workers' council, standing at the gate, prevented everyone from going into the factory to work." Armed counter-revolutionary gangs attacked tramcars that were running at Bosnyák Square, the Móricz Zsigmond Circus, near the People's Park, etc. But despite this terror the strike proved a fiasco. A good part of the factories began working on the 11th, and many more on the 12th. Many workers' coun-

cils also took a stand in opposition to the strike as, for example, at the Dej Shipyards, the Lamp Factory and the United Incandescent Lamp Factory.

The situation changed in a flash when the two-day strike failed and the CWC was dissolved. That force ceased to exist which after November 4 was the chief hope of the counter-revolutionary forces and obstructed the consolidation of order.

The facts presented here are clear proof that:

1. The workers' councils were not formed by democratic methods, but by trampling under foot all elementary rules of democracy;

2. the workers' councils, during the counter-revolution, were not directed by representatives of the working class, but, in part, by individuals inseparable from capitalism and, in part, by criminals and adventurists;

3. the workers' councils acted as a front organization covering the counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist activities of those individuals.

Evidence of Hungarian Abscondees

"Only a small fraction of the 190,000 Hungarians who fled the country have accepted the invitation to return."

This statement was made by the UN Special Committee in an effort to substantiate their allegation that the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government is not supported by the Hungarian people.

But the Western Press and a considerable proportion of the Hungarians in question have a wholly different view of this matter.

Economist, a weekly which could scarcely be taxed with Communist bias, writes:

> "The mistake of some Western countries has been to think of the Hungarian exodus in terms of the premeditated escape of other political refugees from Communism. Although for many years the Magyar instinct for migration had been frustrated by closed frontiers, the minefields and the barbed wire barriers on the border had been removed as part of destalinisation. (In 1956. — Ed.) The discontented could have left their country without very much difficulty several months before the insurrection. But for most of these young men and women, their eventual escape was not a conscious journey to a paradise of Western freedom and opportunity. Many of them had seriously thought of leaving their country before the revolution. Decisions were made in fear, anger, and the turmoil of a mass flight. Some seized a chance; others were blown out of their country as if by an earthquake and landed in a capitalist world . . ."

In another article (June 29, 1957) in the *Economist* we read that Hungarians in Austrian and Yugoslavian camps

> "are a very mixed lot. Some were freedom fighters or ex-political prisoners who held on until all hope was lost; some are women who hope to join husbands or fiancés from whom they got separated in the struggle; some are former farmers who were deprived of their lands and had been living as fugitives in the hills; some are under eighteen and came over without their parents' consent, looking for a better academic or technical education than they could get at home, or afraid of being deported to the Soviet Union. Some, it can be admitted, have come solely in order to better themselves economically."

Other evidence proving that a considerable proportion of the abscondees are by no means opposed to the people's democratic system comes from Dr. Folberth, who told a conference of the Austrian social welfare institute, on June 21, 1957 at Salzburg, that

> "in spite of all their efforts the Hungarian refugees, who have had a thorough schooling in Communist life, are unable to adapt themselves to living conditions in the capitalist countries and regard most political and economic institutions here as antiquated and unjust. This, above all, is the reason why so many refugees — disappointed in their hopes and illusions — are determined to return to Hungary at all costs."

Even the Western Press must be hard put to deny the fact that the majority of the abscondees do not represent the Hungarian people. Dr. Richard Saunders is reported in *The New York Times* early in March 1957 as saying that

> "it was a fallacy to believe that all of the Hungarian refugees were freedom fighters seeking political asylum." It has been established, Dr. Saunders said, that only one-fifth of the thousands who fled were freedom fighters. Another two-fifths, he said, were criminals and adventurers, and the remaining two-fifths "people trying to escape their harsh, meager life, of which Communism was only one aspect."

As regards that "harsh, meager life," one may quote *Die Welt* of Hamburg, which in an article written at the end of

March 1957 on the "Dissipation of Hungarian Refugees' Hopes and Expectations in the West" wrote that initial discontent was daily growing into bitterness against the West. All that the refugees had been told about the West while in Hungary was now coming back to them and many now believed that the facts tallied completely with what they had heard before. And the inconceivable was now coming to pass: while Western newspapers were writing of horrors that were taking place in Hungary, of Stalinist restoration gathering strength daily, a growing number of refugees were saying that the Hungarian Government had promised them impunity. They said they believed that government and wanted to go home. Others were saying that, even if they would be brought to trial, they would at least be back home. What could the West give them?, they asked.

Concerning the social composition of the abscondees, the Austrian weekly *Nachrichten für Sonntag* writes:

> "Under pressure from the UN, Austria is compelled to feed and accommodate the lowest of the low among the Hungarian refugees. In Wels, for instance, these parasites refused to follow the instructions of the Austrian authorities and, what is more, heaped abuses on Austria. The greater part of the Hungarian women who were accommodated in Wels plied the trade of prostitution, although the Red Cross provided them with every necessity... On crossing the Austrian frontier, these abscondees posed as 'political refugees'; it is now clear, however, that it is the scum of the Hungarian population that has come over to us — people who have left their country not for political reasons but for immoral and selfish motives."

It would be difficult to ascertain the proportion of criminals and adventurers among the abscondees. But that it is very high is best seen from the frequency of reports in the Western Press concerning murders, crimes and offences committed by Hungarian abscondees. Here is a random selection of such instances to illustrate this point.

On January 17, in Ried, Austria, János Pataki, 20, a Hungarian abscondee, was arrested since he was identified as the János Mihályi who had murdered and robbed a worker in Budapest on July 1, 1956.

Early in March András Lévi, 19, a Hungarian abscondee, fell down in the street while drunk and broke both legs, a report from Mulhouse says. About the same time, in Nemours, France, four Hungarian abscondees — Ferenc Gugus, András Simák, Imre Móricz and András Berkó — started a row and fired several shots from a cap-pistol at the proprietor of a café who wanted to call the police.

On February 27, a jury in Steyr sentenced János István Kondorosi, 27, to jail for one year for having robbed a 15-year-old Austrian boy of 350 schillings.

On the night of April 1, four young abscondees were arrested in the Klosterneuburg refugee camp for sexual offences.

In Grafenberg, Austria, a 23-year-old abscondee Gyula Schwarzkopf, was arrested because he attempted to attack with a knife Ludwig Andre-Mayer, a butcher's assistant.

The *Liverpool Post* reported on April 24 that Lajos Varga, a 22-year-old Hungarian abscondee, was brought to trial on a charge of burglary, in Rhyl.

It was reported by *La Renaissance de Seine-et-Oise* on May 18 that the French authorities had arrested Tibor Noskó, 24, for assaulting a 9-year-old French girl.

An Austrian Ministry of the Interior statement of July 2 reported that there had been in the Siezenheim refugee camp a tussle between the police and the abscondees, because the former wanted to arrest László Göndör for committing outrages while intoxicated.

On July 9, Gusztáv Horváth, a Hungarian abscondee was arrested in Wollersdorf camp, Austria, for raping a young girl.

Sándor Sós, 23, Kálmán Pusztai, 20, and Tivadar Kassai, 22, Hungarian abscondees attacked the proprietress of a gin-shop in a hold-up in Chesnay, near Paris. The investigation established that the three abscondees were convicts who had escaped from prison.

Béla Kocsis-Deák, 45-year-old Hungarian abscondee was arrested for bigamy, in Austria, on May 23.

On May 27, at Sonderborg, Denmark, eight Hungarian abscondees were sentenced for smashing the furnishings of a hotel and attacking a group of policemen on duty, wounding several of them.

The *Yorkshire Post* of May 28 reported the case of a Hungarian abscondee, Péter Ékes, 18, who was placed under police supervision. Ékes had stolen various clothing articles from

his compatriots, which he sold, and had beaten up the manager of a restaurant where he was employed as a dishwasher. It is possible that in passing judgment the court considered the fact that Ékes had earlier served a prison term in Budapest for distributing leaflets and abetting people in illegally crossing the frontier.

On May 29, János Kelemen, 37, a Hungarian refugee, was sent to gaol for three months on charges of theft, in London.

The police magistrate in Doncaster sentenced János Halanyos, 18, a Hungarian refugee, to one month's imprisonment for assaulting a 14-year-old girl, *Associated Press* reported on July 20.

Dezső Antalek, owner of a travelling circus, murdered one of his employees, Johann Weissenböck, an Austrian, near Gmünd.

Tibor Papp, 22-year-old athlete, a Hungarian abscondee, was brought to trial in London, at the end of July, on a charge of counterfeiting banknotes.

In the coastal town of Skegness, England, Antal Horváth, 24, a Hungarian abscondee, murdered his landlord, Mr. Alan Bentley, and severely wounded Mrs. Bentley. He faced a jury in Lincoln on the charges of wilful homicide, attempted murder, assault and battery, and larceny.

In June 1957, István Mezec, 19, and József Blaskovics, 20, attempted to rob a jeweller's shop in Gudrunstrasse, Vienna. A week before they had burgled the tractor plant at Simmering.

On June 17, János Szabó and four accomplices broke into the Swedish Red Cross depot at Enns and stole clothing valued at 2,000 Schillings.

On July 24, in Essen, West Germany, a Hungarian abscondee became involved in a brawl with several young Germans, severely wounding one and killing another.

On June 27, the Vienna County Court sentenced Bálint Tóth, a Hungarian abscondee, residing at Kaposvár, to prison for swindling.

József Horváth, 27, was arrested in Vienna, on July 18, for stealing the motor car of a physician.

On July 22, János Schlag, 19, Ferenc Iván, 18, and Ernő Honti, 18, Hungarian abscondees were brought before the District Criminal Court of Vienna for threatening to kill members of the Austrian police force, and for assaulting a policeman. They were sentenced to prison and to deportation.

On July 24, in a camp near Freiburg, nine Hungarians were arrested for assaulting and injuring several Germans. Peasants in the vicinity had reported the abscondees to the police for thefts of crops.

For knocking down an Austrian policeman Mihály Németh, 27, a Hungarian abscondee, was arrested in the Mödling refugee camp on May 13.

As regards the return to Hungary, here again the Western Press is a source of plenty of evidence which reveals that many people would willingly return to their country if they had the opportunity and could find the way to do so. The governments of the West, apart from recent minor relaxation of restrictions, do their utmost to prevent the return of abscondees to Hungary. The fact that despite present restrictions more than 20,000 abscondees returned to Hungary would hardly substantiate the allegation that the honest people among them have turned their backs on the People's Democracy. On the contrary, it shows that more and more of them are determined to return to their country, despite the difficulties and often harassment, and are prepared to face the consequences involved in their return decision.

An organized and concerted action to prevent the return of refugees to Hungary is going on in all the countries where Hungarian refugees are now residing — with the exception of Yugoslavia.

As early as January 1957 the Vienna *Wochenpresse* called the attention to

> "*exceedingly delicate problems which would crop up if, after a lapse of time, escapees returned to Hungary in great numbers. Western politicians are of the opinion that a re-migration wave would entail disagreeable propagandistic repercussions.*"

At the end of January the Italian paper *Il Paese* reports that

> "the US State Department and *US authorities in Europe have made various arrangements to prevent the return of Hungarian escapees to their country. US Legations accredited in Western Europe received instructions to request the government of their respective host countries to help in preventing Hungarian escapees from returning home. At the same time, the US asked the Austrian Government to tighten up control on the Hungarian border as the number of re-migrants is constantly on the increase.*"

At first, the refugees were fed absurd tales in an attempt to discourage them. The *News Chronicle*, for instance, has been circulating the rumour that those who returned would be executed. On July 11, 1957, it wrote of the Hungarians that

> "more and more they're getting browned off. Some have gone back to Hungary. Three were reinstated in their jobs, but three at least are known to have been executed. 'Now we know we cannot go back until Hungary is free again' some of them told me."

At the end of May, *El Bien Publico* of Montevideo concocted the lie that people were being forcibly exiled to Siberia.

> "There are Hungarian leaders among those who have been deported," it reported. "To *produce* these leaders, soldiers have without discrimination arrested persons qualified for deportation and put them on trains bound for Siberia."

Volksstimme of Vienna reported on January 22 that the Hungarian refugees in Austrian camps were

> "either belatedly or not at all informed of the Hungarian amnesty, although the Hungarian Legation in Vienna has urged in a Note that the refugees be informed. People who have returned relate that refugees intending to go home are being deterred by the false rumours that people crossing the frontier into the country are either deported or hanged."

The Hungarian-language newspaper *Szabadság* of Cleveland carries a report from London, which is typical of the false rumours which are being spread in an attempt to dissuade refugees from returning to their country.

> "According to information received by the British Government," they write brazenly, "the Communists have killed 16 Hungarian refugees who have been lured by the repatriation committees into returning."

Where brazen intimidation is ineffectual they try other means. For instance, it was spread in Austrian camps that identity cards of people returning to Hungary are stamped and they can only get work at lower wages.

Spokesmen of the organizations of Hungarian student-abscondees topped these preposterous rumours when they said, at a Press conference held in New York on June 26, 1957, that

Hungarian students were being deported *en masse*, the aim being to destroy systematically Hungary's future political and cultural leaders. A Reuter dispatch reported that Béla Jankó, a spokesman of the Free Hungarian Students, and László Papp, speaking for the association of Hungarian students in the United States, stated that over 30 per cent of the Hungarian students had been deported or compelled to flee the country since the uprising of last year. Papp claimed that it was known that some 46,000 young people between 12 and 28 years of age were in concentration camps in Russia, and there was information that another 12,000 youths were still being held in camps in outlying districts of Budapest. Assuming, he said, that only one-third of those 58,000 youths were university students, then more than 30 per cent of Hungarian university students were being held in prison. It seemed that the Soviet Union aimed to destroy the Hungarian people and Hungarian culture, he added.

Not a single government of the West has informed the refugees of the Presidential Council's amnesty decree, under which any refugee who has committed no crime is free to return to Hungary with impunity. While they are granted a free hand and unlimited publicity to spread the calumnies quoted here deliberate efforts are made to suppress or discredit the official attitude of the Hungarian Government.

The agonizing uncertainty to which refugees wishing to return to Hungary have been reduced — just because of these rumours — is revealed by the following letter, written by the youthful refugee Miss Magda Barth, from St. Joseph Konvikt, Ried, Austria, on May 21 :

> "I am already taking steps for my return," she writes. "I have received the application form and have sent it in ; what's more, I have even written a letter and am expecting a reply. I think though that I'll have to go to Vienna after all, I would, too, but I have no money for the fare. Please, write me frankly the truth about what's going on at home. Here they are spreading frightful rumours. If the amnesty were effective longer than it is, many more people would return. Mummy, please, I wish you folks could do something too to get me home ; I should like so much to be back home again. I'm sending my clothes by mail, so I won't have much luggage to carry. Please, write if it is possible for me to go home."

When asked by the Hungarian authorities to acquaint the abscondees with the amnesty decree, the Swiss authorities replied cynically that the text of the decree would be made available to anyone requesting it.

As for the Danish Foreign Ministry, it informed the Hungarian diplomatic representation that the refugees were free to listen to Radio Budapest, and, consequently, were in a position to know about the amnesty.

News of the amnesty was withheld from the inmates of those camps — except in Yugoslavia — which had been visited by members of the Hungarian repatriation commission.

The governments mentioned here go even further than simply boycotting the intention of refugees of returning to Hungary. Many instances have been recorded of more direct methods being used — from baton charges to imprisonment — to prevent abscondees from returning to their country. This is evident from the many reports published in the Western Press and especially from the accounts given by refugees who have returned to Hungary. The following instances may cast some light on the aggressive and shrewd methods employed in an attempt to hinder Hungarians in their efforts to return to Hungary.

In January 1957, 170 inmates of the Marina di Ravenna camp attempted to break out of camp after their demand to return to Hungary had been rejected.This attempt was repeated several days afterwards. On both occasions Italian police, armed with batons and guns, appeared promptly on the spot and drove the refugees back into camp.

Gyula Kulcsár, a labourer in the Győr Machine Tool Plant, on his return to Hungary told of a similar incident in Metz, France, where 1,150 people were herded in a camp. One hundred and fifty of them wished to return to Hungary ; but, about ten miles outside the town, they were intercepted by gendarmerie, who threw tear-bombs and wielded batons and rifle butts to force them to return to their camp.

On January 20, 106 Hungarian abscondees assembled in a school building in the old quarter of Passau. They had come from various camps in West Germany and were on their way back to Hungary. When the police were called to escort them back to Schalding camp, the Hungarians went on a hunger strike, and some of them attempted, under cover of the night, to slip across the frontier. The West German authorities alerted the

frontier police and would have succeeded in catching the fugitives but for the wits and determination of the refugees, who reached the Austrian frontier in time.

About the middle of January, *Deutsche Volkszeitung* of Düsseldorf, West Germany, wrote that the majority of the Hungarian inmates of Bocholt camp were keen on returning to Hungary.

> "Is it surprising then," it asked, "that twenty-five of them went to the railway station? The police, however, drove them away, and the train sped on without stopping."

Twenty-one Hungarians who, on January 30, left Bocholt camp and attempted to cross over into Holland (to reach the Hungarian Legation in The Hague), were handed over to the West German authorities by the Dutch police, and were sent back to Bocholt.

In Austria and several other countries, especially early this year, refugees who had declared their intention of returning to Hungary, were arrested for illegal frontier crossing and were kept in gaol while their return was being settled. In its January 21 issue *Pravda* writes about a document given to its Vienna correspondent by a Hungarian refugee. The description of this document is as follows:

> "On top: a stamp with the inscription 'Central Police Station — Innsbruck'. There follows the text: 'This is to certify that Béla Patkó, born in 1930, was under arrest between December 20 and 22, 1956.' Reason for arrest: 'Expressed desire to return to Hungary'. Signed Egger-Stany, inspector, governor of prison."

There is a mass of evidence as to the hardships endured by refugees whose return to Hungary was an almost unbroken trip from one goal to the other.

József Kovács, 18, of 78, Rákóczi Street, Szerencs, relates how he fled from Metz to Paris, but, as he could not pay the fare, the conductor handed him over to the police. He was locked up in Paris for five days, and afterwards was escorted back to Metz, where he suffered a nervous breakdown. He went through the same experience in Salzburg where he was again imprisoned, this time for 51 days.

József Kuti, 20, of 5-7, Ceglédi Street, Budapest, was imprisoned first in West Germany, then in Austria, because he wanted to return to Hungary. He said:

> "As soon as you said you wanted to go back to Hungary, you could consider yourself a prisoner. When I told the police that I wanted to return to my country, they fingerprinted me and took the imprint of both of my hands. I was photographed from both sides and from the front. I am sorry for the chaps who stayed behind because they were afraid to start out."

Géza Mezei, a toolmaker, of Újpest, Budapest, who works at the Coating and Kitchen Range Factory gave the following account of his experiences in the refugee camp at Ried:

> "On January 23 it was announced that those who wished to return to Hungary should declare their intention to do so. About 100 reported and they were locked up in gaol. After ten days of gaol many of them said 'let us out; we'll stay here'."

There are instances of refugees having been put in lunatic asylums for expressing their desire to return to Hungary. Miss Katalin Tóth, a Hungarian refugee in Canada, writes in her letter to the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs:

> "Having overcome my fear of the Canadians, I now have found courage to address myself directly to the competent authority in writing this letter . . . I am very sorry for having left Hungary, and wanted to turn back, right from the first, but have been prevented from doing so. I at first thought, since my parents are old, that I should manage my return trip myself but eventually realized that I couldn't do it by myself, although a Canadian family was then willing to pay for my trip back. In Kentville, I repeatedly said I wished to return to Hungary, but the last time I said so, the head physician called the police and I was threatened, in the presence of the police, with being put in an asylum. Under the circumstances I wrote a letter to György Miszerák and Katalin Száraz, of 31, Czobor Street, Budapest 14, asking them to 'take steps' to get me back home, since I would be clapped in an asylum if I continued to harp on the return home theme. It's a very real threat, that about the asylum, as they've shut up Mária Pelládi in such a place, and she is completely sound in mind. Before being taken to the Dermuthy Lunatic Asylum, she sent the enclosed letter to me. In her letter, 'E' stands for her fiancé, Mr. Emil

Hilscher, and by 'the Lady' she means her interpreter. A few days after writing her letter she was taken to the asylum she is still being kept . . .

"I should be very happy if I could have your assistance. Unfortunatelly, I could not possibly refund, that is, pay back, the expenses before I'm back home. My home address was: 45, Kossuth Street, Halásztelek, Csepel Island. I close my letter in the hope of receiving a favourable reply soon.

Yours faithfully,

(sgd) Katalin Tóth

Toronto Hospital, Western Ontario,
Ward G., Canada.

"P. S.—Please send your
reply in plain envelope S. O. S."

In his letter dated June 2, László Péter, a Hungarian abscondee in Britain, writes that letters addressed to the Hungarian Legation are intercepted. He is not the only one who has had this painful experience.

"I meant," he writes, "to return to Hungary when order was restored there. Unfortunately, I was not allowed to stay in Austria any longer, and had to go to some other country, so I flew to Britain. Here, I spent some two months in a Hungarian refugee camp. As I couldn't stand camp life any more, I wrote a letter, together with other Hungarians, men and women who had arrived here in the same batch with me, to the Hungarian Legation in London. However, the letters were not forwarded, since we all wrote that we wanted to go back to our country, so they destroyed our letters, those precious interpreters of ours, for they always censored the letters we wrote . . . I am very sorry to have left my Hungary, for I'm not happy here, and never shall be.

"Once again I ask for a passport to be issued and sent me at your earliest convenience so that I may return to Hungary.

Yours very sincerely,

(sgd) László Péter

c/o MSS "Talent" Whiteoak,
Elmhan Road, Bentley, Dernham,
Norfolk, England."

As to the utter defencelessness of young Hungarian refugees some idea will be given by the letter written to the Red Cross by Miss Aranka Molnár, from Montreal, Canada. She writes:

"Sirs, — As under-eighteens we have long wished to return to our country but have lived in the hope that the Red Cross at home would arrange for our return trip. The young people who have this request are all under eighteen, but the Red Cross in this country have refused to meet our request. They say they can't be expected to send people back to their countries.

"As to jobs, we can't find any, for we wish to go back to Hungary, and they regard even under-eighteens as Communists.

"It is now over a month since we were registered at the Immigration Office for repatriation, and we still have no idea what will happen to us. Most of the youth sleep in parks or in the hills, and starve, living in the expectation of the day when we may go back at last. Those who wish to go back are treated by the leaders here as you would treat dogs. I'm speaking for very many youth when I ask you to please make arrangements very urgently. We have been registered as wishing to return to Hungary, but we're growing suspicious as it was a month ago and still nothing's been done. What do they want with that data? Why don't they send us back? The Red Cross people say they don't know anything nor does the Legation in Ottawa. What'll become of us youth? We don't want to live in a capitalist country of exploiters and starve to death. We want to study, not here but back home, in our beloved country where we can be with our parents. Most people here, the young as well as the older ones, say if they won't get us back home, there'll be suicides because of poverty. Here in Montreal two people have committed suicide and hundreds have been taken ill. Please, I ask you on behalf of hundreds of young people to take steps without delay, for the youths here are growing desperate and may even go so far as to murder or rob because of hunger and having no jobs.

Yours faithfully,

(sgd) Aranka Molnár
1116, Saint George,
Montreal, Canada."

It is particularly hard for young people who cannot speak any language but Hungarian and are totally unfamiliar with official matters. Here is a letter written by a young Hungarian girl from Baden-Baden, on June 30, 1957 :

"Dear Hungarian Brothers and Sisters,

"Please receive this letter kindly. I am a young Hungarian girl writing this letter and, please, I do want to go home so very much. I really can't stand it here any longer, for I'm homesick and cry and cry all the time. I can't speak German and it's exactly as if I was dumb. There's no Hungarian here I could speak to. And ever since March last I've been asking to be allowed to go back to my country but I've received no reply to my letter so far. Dear Hungarian Brothers and Sisters, I should like so much to go back to my home, to my parents. I am 17 years old. I'm always terribly homesick, I can't stand it any longer. Please be so kind as to arrange for me to go back to Hungary and please answer this letter.

With all good wishes,

from a Hungarian girl who would like so much to be back home again.

My address : Magdolna Horváth
Hildastr. 30,
Baden-Baden."

Refusal to cover the expenses of the journey is another effective means of retaining the refugees, especially in distant countries. To raise the money for the travel expenses is an almost hopeless problem for Hungarian refugees wishing to return overseas to their country. Many are working obsessed by the single aim of having their money for the trip home. The government authorities of the countries of reception are besieged with requests for help.

As the Hungarian-language newspaper *Kanadai Magyar Munkás* reported, a false rumour was spread at the Immigration Centre in Montreal that the government would provide free transport for refugees registering a second time for repatriation. Some gullible refugees quit their jobs in the hope of an early return to their country, only to meet with bitter disappointment when the news turned out to be a hoax.

György Sáros and Zoltán Márkus, Hungarian students, had their request for exit visas turned down by the French

authorities. They eventually managed to get back to Hungary via the Orient Express. They hid under seats and in luggage racks to avoid passport examination. After hiding all the way to the Hungarian frontier — some 1,560 miles — György Sáros fainted from exhaustion at Hegyeshalom just across the frontier.

In its February 7, 1957 issue *Kanadai Magyar Munkás* carried a letter written by József Török, a Hungarian refugee, in which he told several Canadian ministers that he had registered with the Immigration Office, asking them to grant him free transport facilities to get back to his country.

"*In that office,*" Mr. Török wrote, "*our request was handled by a tall, white-haired gentleman, who spoke Hungarian. He was a bully and treated us very roughly, and slapped me in the face twice in front of my wife.*"

Török asked that he and his wife be given jobs which would enable them to earn the necessary sum for the return journey within a short time.

"... That gentleman said twice that he saw nothing urgent about the matter, and that even if we should get jobs, he would make it sure they were the lowest-paying. Today, I was offered a job at 75 cents an hour, a wage just sufficient for me to get along on, it is too little to allow me to lay aside the amount of money that would get me out of this country within a reasonable time. I should be most grateful to Your Excellency if you would exert your influence to have us sent back without delay to London from where we were forcibly removed by the Canadians. From there we would be able to pay our journey to where we wish to live. So long as I am in Canada my face will burn with the humiliation of the slap I got from Canada. I wish to make it clear again that *I do not want* to live in Canada any more."

And *Kanadai Magyar Munkás* writes again, on January 31, 1957 :

"Half of the refugees now residing in Montreal and Toronto would gladly return to Hungary if they were permitted to get in touch with the Hungarian Government, or if they had the money to pay for the trip back."

This is borne out by the following letter, which has been received by the World Federation of Hungarians:

"Dear Fellow-countrymen,

"We are writing this letter to you, as there is no organization in this country which would make arrangements for our return to Hungary. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to raise the travel expenses, because we have neither jobs nor money. We are two families — seven persons altogether, four grown-ups and three little kids. Please help us return to our country as people who were misled. The sooner the better. Once again, asking your help, we are

Yours faithfully,

(sgd) János Palucz and József Kállai
and families
Canadian Immigration
15, Ontario Street,
Victoria, B. C."

And what about the four people who wrote a letter dated June 8, 1957, from Sydney, to the Hungarian Government? How could *they* afford to pay for their return trip? They wrote :

"This letter is written by four homeless Hungarian lads who have left their country, driven by a desire for adventure and to see what that 'famous' West was like.

"We left the territory of Hungary on November 15, 1956. After spending a month in a refugee camp in Austria we yielded to the temptation of the Australian Consulate and on December 19 took a ship to Australia where we arrived on January 24, 1957. We now realize how rash and heedless we were to come here.

"We are now fed up with the West, with going jobless and living in want. We should like to return to our beloved country, if this is possible for us. We shall be grateful to you if you will be so kind as to arrange for us to return, so we may spend Christmas 1957 back home, with our parents.

"Our home addresses are: (1) Kálmán Giczi, Bogyoszló, County Győr ; (2) Gyula Németh, Bogyoszló, County Győr ; (3) József Kocsis, Bogyoszló, County Győr; (4) Lajos Német, Rábcakopi, County Győr. Our ages are : (1) 20 years ; (2) 19 years ; (3) 17 years ; (4) 28 years. Asking you again to help us, we remain, true Hungarians,

Yours sincerely,
(sgd)

Please write as soon as possible to :
414, Riley St., Surry Hills,
Sydney, N. S. W."

Hungarian parents and dependants are obviously indignant that tens of thousands of people, including a large number of under-eighteens, should be kept from returning to their country by force and threats. The UN Special Committee's report shows that there are political motives to this force and these threats. By preventing refugees from returning to Hungary they are attempting to prove that "the Kádár Government is not supported by the people."

Consolidation

After November 4, 1956, many people abroad and in Hungary believed that it would require many difficult years before the country would recover from the losses suffered. The situation then was indeed very difficult. In December the coal mines produced only 25,000 tons of coal daily (a third of the requirement), and in the factories production was resumed slowly and sluggishly. The shops had been looted. Counter-revolutionary gangs were still marauding and obstructing the normalization of life. The threat of inflation and unemployment was imminent. Many well-intentioned people left the country at that time because of this outlook.

The Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government went to work in this exceptionally critical situation. And anyone visiting the country today would see little trace of the bloody counter-revolution and destructive events which took place in Hungary nine months ago.

Within a very short period the government restored constitutional order.

1. The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic remained in office throughout the counter-revolution, and it has remained in office ever since. The Presidential Council, which exercises the functions of the supreme executive power between two parliamentary sessions, acted in full harmony with the Constitution when it appointed the Government under the premiership of Mr. János Kádár.

2. In its resolution the Presidential Council, exercising its constitutional right, relieved the government of Imre Nagy from office, since the head of that Government and several of its members had broken their oath of office.

3. A factor of cardinal importance in the restoration of constitutional government is the fact that the highest organ of state power, *Hungary's National Assembly, elected by 6,370,519 votes on May 17, 1953*, is continuing its legislative functions in a legal, constitutional manner. The National Assembly, at its session in May 1957, confirmed the appointment of the Hungarian Government and voted the measures it had taken. Mr. Sándor Rónai remains the Speaker of the National Assembly, which office he has held ever since his appointment in 1953.

4. The Councils, local organs of popular rule which were instituted in 1954, could continue their constitutional functions after November 4, 1956. *The Local Councils have had their authority and field of activity greatly extended.*

After November 4, 1956, both the National Assembly representatives and the delegates of the Local Councils were able to carry on their public activities without encountering any difficulty or restraint; they met their constituents at various meetings and received them in their offices. During this past period, the various special committees of the National Assembly have been able to pursue their work without interruption.

The government gave extensive consideration to economic consolidation, the organization of production, and the avoidance of inflation and unemployment. Its main aim was not just to maintain the living standard of the working people, but if possible to raise it in 1957 as well. Two major factors contributed to the progress made in economic consolidation. One was the immediate and exceedingly vast assistance of the Soviet Union and the people's democratic countries. These states extended 700,000,000 forints worth of aid to Hungary. Immediately following the defeat of the counter-revolution, thousands of railway wagons delivered goods, foodstuffs and building materials needed to restart life. The other factor was the love of their country on the part of the Hungarian working people, workers, peasants and intellectuals; their support of the government; their unselfish labour in organizing and increasing production amidst the many difficulties, ensuring, by July 1957, a level of industrial output equal to that of July 1956.

The first step towards normalizing everyday life was to restore transport in the capital. The damaged tramway tracks and trolley wires were repaired in quick order. At present there are more tramcars and buses in service than a year ago. In November and December the repair of buildings damaged in the fighting was begun. The major part of reconstruction

has been completed except for a few buildings which were badly damaged and will be torn down. Apart from this, work has begun on building thousands of new houses in the capital and the provinces alike. In 1957, 10,000 houses are being built from state resources for the miners alone.

The government has raised the wages and salaries of practically all sections of the working people. The earnings of the miners increased by 30 per cent. The wages of industrial and building workers were raised 10 per cent. In 1957 salary increases were granted teachers, civil servants, trade and public health workers, transport workers, and the technicians and engineers. The government abolished the system of compulsory produce delivery in agriculture, and the tax for childlessness, and reduced the taxes paid by tradesmen and shopkeepers. It passed several decrees aimed at improving the position of certain categories of working people. For example, the government made it possible for the peasants — with certain restrictions — to purchase and sell land ; several measures eased the position of tradesmen and shopkeepers. We could mention numerous other measures which were greeted with approval by the working people.

All these measures were welcomed by the working population. The trend in labour discipline and industrial output are tangible signs of this development. In the mining industry order was completely restored by the end of April; thus the government coal commission established during the emergency situation could be dissolved. By January 1957 the daily coal output had risen above 50,000 tons, and in August 1957 to more than 70,000 tons. This factor had a decisive role in avoiding unemployment and the depreciation of money in the country. The manufacturing industry recorded the following results at the end of January :

	January 1956	January 1957
Overall production of enterprises	100	74
Coal output	100	62
Number of workers	100	99
Per capita output of enterprises	100	75
Average monthly earnings of workers	100	130

Retail trade sold 339,000,000 forints worth of goods more in January 1957 than in January 1956.

By July the industrial output had risen to the level of July 1956, with light industry output going up 10 per cent and that of food industry 5 per cent above last year. The output plan was overfulfilled by 5 per cent in the first six months by the ministerial industries.

Foreign trade met its import plan by 101 per cent, and its export plan by 115 per cent. But since imports had risen because of the destruction caused by the counter-revolution and exports had been reduced, the country's foreign trade balance has become passive. A task of the near future is to eliminate this discrepancy. Despite the grave difficulties the government managed to meet its goods delivery and payment obligations to the West on time. This naturally caused a pleasant surprise among Western business clients.

In conformity with the government's expressed aims there has been an increase in the populations standard of living, in real wages. We have already referred to this in connection with wage increases. According to statistics the average earnings of industrial workers in July 1957 were 20 per cent higher than last year. The state spent on the average 21 per cent more on wages, sickness benefits, pensions, family allowances and scholarships, than in July last year. The peasantry's income was 13 per cent higher in July 1957 owing to purchases by the state.

The higher standard of living is reflected by the figures of retail trade too which, in January 1957, were 11 per cent higher than in January 1956. The composition of trade also indicates a considerable shift in favour of consumers goods :

	1956	1957
	First half year	
Foodstuffs	36.8%	32.3%
Restaurant meals	16.9%	17.1%
Clothing	23.6%	27.2%
Miscellaneous	22.7%	23.4%

The shift in demand towards consumer goods is a definite sign of a rise in the standard of living.

Working men and women approve the government's economic policy, as indicated by facts and figures :

(1) In the first two months of the year bank savings rose by 440,000,000 forints, and by July had exceeded 1,000 million forints, the figure for last year. (In November most people, fearing inflation, drew their money from their savings accounts.)

(2) In the first six months of the year tax payments increased by 20.3 per cent, which is also a sign of growing confidence, of the stability of the forint and normalization of life. The peasantry's frame of mind is reflected by the fact that in the first six month of 1957 they sold produce and animals 9 per cent above plan to the state purchasing agencies.

What is the reason for the peasantry's growing confidence? What did the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government give to the Hungarian peasantry?

a) It abolished compulsory deliveries, which alone will add 4,500 million forints to the peasantry's annual income;

b) It regulated the relations of ownership and leasing of land;

c) It set favourable purchasing prices, which also ensures higher earnings for the peasantry;

d) It elaborated an agrarian policy in agreement with the working peasantry. It encourages their efforts towards intensive farming and ensures the conditions for it. In the co-operative farm movement it adheres strictly to the principle of voluntary membership, and gives an opportunity to any form of association considered proper by the working peasantry.

All this improved the peasantry's desire to produce by leaps and bounds. Since the counter-revolution could not record any successes among the peasantry, with even the co-operative farm movement, which actually suffered losses, passing muster — we can speak of an upswing in agricultural production rather than of consolidation.

Practical life has demonstrated that a shock as severe as that suffered by Hungary occurring in capitalist countries has been followed by large-scale price increases, inflation and a sharp rise in the cost of living. Economists and politicians of the West anticipated that this would happen in Hungary too. Instead:

a) In the first six months of the year the wage adjustment added 2,400,000,000 forints to the income of wage and salary employees.

b) Whereas on December 31, 1956 there was 1.28 forints worth of goods available for every forint in circulation, by March 31 this figure had gone up to 1.64, and by June 30 to 2.06 forint.

Naturally the consolidation has not been confined in the least to the economic situation. It has reached out to all domains of life, as is attested to by the crowded department stores, and the packed amusement places; the tens of thousands of Sunday excursionists; the big audiences in theatres and cinemas; the gay life of the summer resorts where, similar to past years, workers sent by the trade unions spend their annual holidays. In the second quarter of 1957, for instance, the cinemas had an attendance of 33,500,000, a million more than last year. This means that (including the babies for the sake of calculation) every person went to the cinema four times in these three months. The theatres and opera houses were attended by 1,935,000 people, or 116,000 more than last year. Book publishers released 900 books in 9,700,000 copies in the first six months.

The achievements in consolidation and the consistent political line pursued by the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party also brought about a change in political life within the country. The labouring population is supporting the government with ever greater confidence. The relationship of the working people and the leaders of the country is becoming ever closer.

The members of the government, and the leaders of the Party go regularly to the working people at their places of work — in the factories, the villages, mines and mills — and discuss with them the tasks and problems of the country. The first open rally of workers was held on March 23, 1957 in Csepel, the great factory district in the southern part of Budapest. Following this, on March 29 four workers' rallies were held in working class districts of Budapest (Köztársaság Square in District 8, District 13, District 10 and Pesterzsébet). The meetings, which were attended by about 100,000 people, demonstrated that ever wider segments of the population were firmly supporting the policy of the Party and the government, and friendship with the Soviet Union.

In the middle of April successful rallies were held in the provinces at Kaposvár, Miskolc, Szombathely, Pécs, Szeged and Tamási with the participation of about 95,000 people. The members of the government and the Party leadership

also visited the biggest factories: in Budapest the MÁVAG, the Ganz Wagon and Engineering Works and the Csepel Automobile Factory.

These meetings projected the success and atmosphere of the great rallies held on May Day. The most impressive rally was held in Budapest, where Prime Minister János Kádár spoke. According to modest estimates, about 400,000 people attended the rally and parade in spite of the inclement weather. The government, the Party, Soviet-Hungarian friendship and international socialist solidarity were applauded enthusiastically by the vast crowd. Demonstrations with hundreds of thousands of enthusiastic participants were also held in the provinces.

At this time the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party had a membership of about 300,000 with about 50,000 of them in Budapest. Hence, the overwhelming majority of people attending these rallies were obviously non-Party people. Therefore, the sympathy of the entire country for the policy of the government and the Party was exemplified by the rallies held at the end of March and April and on May Day. This sympathy, the political attitude taken by hundreds of thousands of people, established the basis for the government in the future, and for newer achievements of consolidation. This was already a sign of the new upswing in the political life of the country.

This sound political upsurge was clearly revealed in the May session of Parliament. The members of differing Party affiliations and ideologies agreed on the main line of the government's policy and unanimously endorsed János Kádár's report. Miklós Beresztóczy, protonotary canon and vicar general said in his speech: "It is our task to seek and serve that which holds us together," and went on to quote from the declaration of the Bench of Bishops: "The Bench of Bishops observes with confidence the efforts of the government which are aimed at eliminating and rectifying the mistakes of the past . . . It condemns all endeavours which are aimed against the state and social order of the Hungarian People's Republic." And he declared: "The thinking section of the Hungarian peasants, workers and intellectuals shall not halt or turn back on the path of development."

A few months later, on July 27, the National Presidium of the Patriotic People's Front met in session. It was attended by Lajos Dinnyés, former Smallholder Party prime minister; Géza Féja, writer; László Gillemot, scientist, Zsigmond

Kisfaludi Strobl, sculptor, Áron Tamási, author, Bishop Lajos Ordass of the Evangelican Church, and others. Bishop Ordass told the gathering:

"The participants of the meeting are united in their desires and hopes for the country's prosperity and future. I would like to believe that the counsel and service of the Church of Christ will have a place in the activity of the People's Front. And that they shall welcome the service we are capable of giving in ministering to the souls and directing the faith.

These facts and statements sharply refute the — foreign — rumours, alleging that the government is working in isolation. On the contrary. Relations between the government and the working people are full of confidence: the government relies on the working people in everything. A proof of this is that the government has given arms to the working people. This fact was particularly stressed by the delegation of Scottish miners which visited Hungary. "We must mention another interesting thing," they wrote in their report, "and this is the workers' militia. They put the question to us, if the government did not have contact with the working people would they have distributed arms among them? The government took the arms away from the counter-revolutionaries; at the same time it confidently placed arms into the hands of the working people." And we may add, that in the workers' militia, apart from the majority which are workers – working peasants, technicians and engineers, and other intellectuals also seized arms in defence of the people's democratic order.

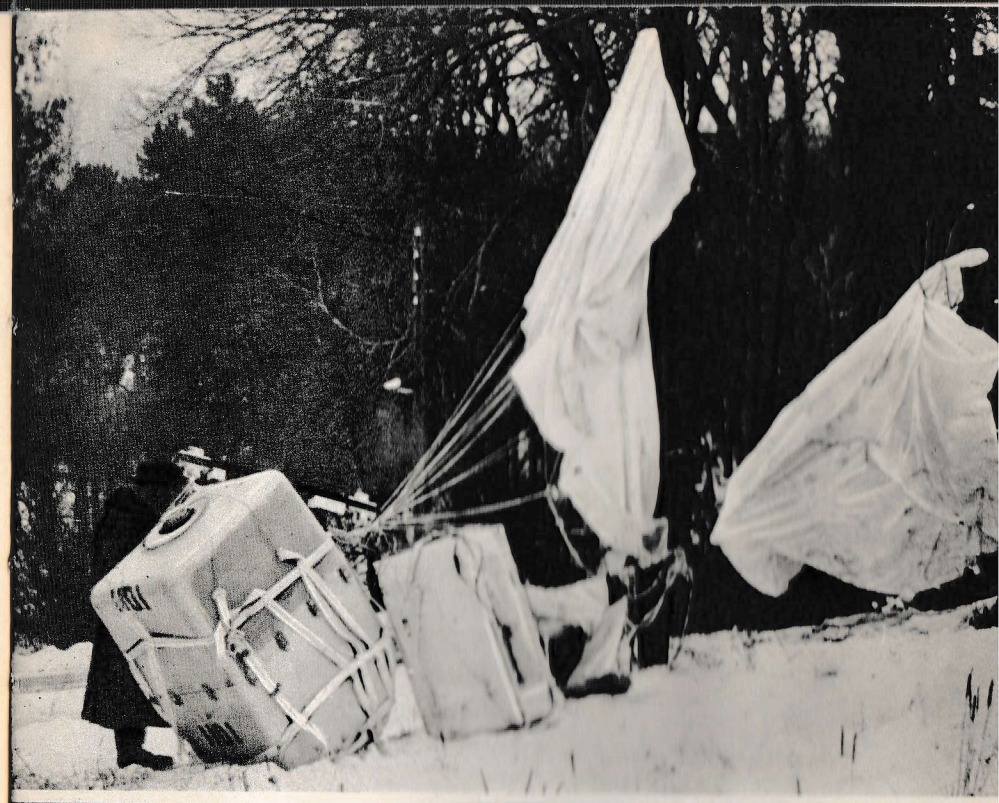
Something should be said about the relations between the government and the intellectuals. Naturally it is not correct to speak about the intellectuals in general. A considerable part of the intellectuals was from the outset a firm supporter of the government and took part in crushing the counter-revolution and restoring order. But there are still problems to be clarified with another part of the intellectuals. This is desired not only by the government but also by the intellectuals themselves.

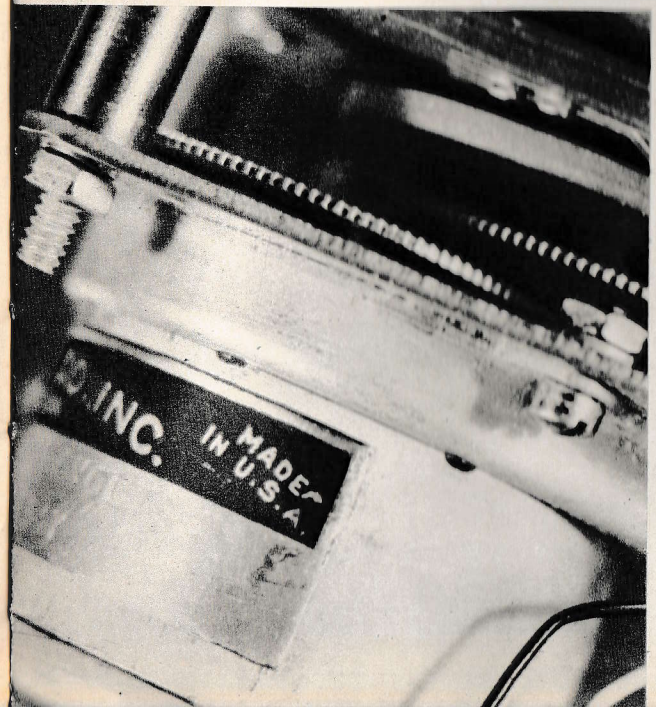
The government ensures the prerequisites for the creative work of the intellectuals. Commensurate with our economic possibilities it has adjusted — as we have already mentioned — the salaries of technical experts, teachers, etc. The necessary material assistance is available for science, the arts and literature. The budget of the Academy of Sciences for scientific research in 1957 — despite the havoc wrought by the counter-

revolution — amounts to 148,000,000 forints. Among the 900 books published 158 were written by contemporary Hungarian authors, a fact which best refutes the allegation of a "writers' strike." Among the authors of these books are Milán Füst, Miklós Szentkuthy, István Fekete, László Németh, János Kodolányi, Emil Grandpierre, Pál Szabó, Péter Veres, J. Jenő Tersánszky, Ferenc Jankovics, József Darvas, Gyula Illyés, Jenő Heltai, Béla Illés, Gábor Goda, Sándor Rideg, Kálmán Sándor, Lajos Kassák, Ákos Dutka, Ferenc Juhász, Lőrinc Szabó, György Bölöni and Géza Hegedüs.

In conclusion, therefore, life in Hungary has returned to its normal channels. The most recent proof of this was the celebration of Constitution Day of the People's Republic on August 20. The Patriotic People's Front announced the holding of 100 meetings in the country. Prominent among these was the great rally at Kisujszállás where István Dobi, President of the Presidential Council, and Prime Minister János Kádár spoke. The Kisujszállás meeting was attended by 100,000 people, and about the same number of people attended the other meetings of the Patriotic People's Front. All 100 meetings expressed the self-confidence of the working people, their approval and support of the policy of the government and the Socialist Workers' Party. A sign of this approval and support is the fact that the Party's official organ, *Népszabadság*, is sold in 550,000 to 600,000 copies daily, and indicative of the readers' interest are the thousands of letters sent to the editors.

There are countless signs of the consolidation of life which cannot be expressed by figures, or conveyed by words. This can be seen and felt only by one who lives in Hungary, even if but for a short time. The Scottish miners' delegation also saw and recognized these signs. And they concluded from what they had seen that the Hungarian people support their government. Without this support Hungary could not have realized any sort of consolidation.





A balloon that has been filled with a photographic apparatus camera — one of many that have been sent over Hungary from the West. The inscription "Made in USA" is seen on the lower part

From New York, Count Gyula Dessewffy cabled to Mr. Zoltán Tildy c/o *Kis Ujság* editorial offices, urging international control for Hungary

Központi Távíróhivatal — TÁVIRAT — Lapszám: 346268

A FELADÓ:

HN342 NEWYORK COUNT POTNS 324/317 1 1827

Cím:
A KIS UJSAG EDITORIAL

STAFF BUDAPEST =

Beköszönhette: | Díjazta: | fr | f

Felvették: munkahely, hivatalok, nap, óra, perc
ROMA

TOVÁBBTOTTA: munkahelyen, hivatalnak nap, óra, perc

TISZTELETTEL KEREM TILDY ZOLTAN ALLAMMINISZTER URHOZ INTEZETT
SURGONYON KOZLESET. A NEW YORK TIMES [illegible] JELENTESE SZERINT
MINISZTER UR FELHIVTA [illegible]
HOGY [illegible]

TOVÁBBTOTTA: munkahelyen, hivatalnak nap, óra, perc

NEP MEGGYOZODESE
ST, EZERT ALDOZTUNK
ES SZABAD VALASZ-
ELTENEK MEGNYUGVAST
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IV. LAP =

TOVÁBBTOTTA: munkahelyen, hivatalnak nap, óra, perc

Felvették: munkahely, hivatalok, nap, óra, perc

AZ ON KORMANY AZ EGYESULT NEMZETEK ES A NEMZETKOZI KOZVELEMENY
ELOTT IS METELJE MEG AZOKAT = AZ IGERETEKET, AMELYEKET TETT.
VALOBAN DEMOKRATIKUS INTEZMENYEK LETESITESETOL FUGG NEMZETUNK ES
A KIS UJSAG JOVOJE IS. MAGYAR HAZAFIAK EZREI HOZTAK EZERT A
CELERT VERALDOZATOT. A KIS UJSAG CSAK AKKOR TELJESITHETI HIVATA-
SAT ES LEHET HU ONMAGAHOZ, HA AZOKNAK SZOCSOVEVE LESZ, AKIK
MEGRENDITHETETLEN BATORSAGGAL KUZDOTTEK ES =KUZDENEK MAGYARORSZAG
SZABAD SAGAERT, AZ EMBERISEG JOBB JOVOJEERT = DESSEWFFY GYULA
350 RIVERSIDE DRIVE NEWYORKCITY +

LUHS—96288. sz. egy. KK. 8/35 — Kézbesítést Nyomda 1689

Magyar Parasztszövetség Országos Központja szervezésével megbizottak megállapodtak a Magyar Önkéntes Honvédelmi Szövetség Forradalmi Tanácsával, hogy a Belojannisz-utca 16 szám alatti székházukat átadják a Parasztszövetség Országos Központjának.

Hozzájárulok, hogy a Magyar Parasztszövetség igénybe vegye a fenti székházat.

B u d a p e s t, 1956. október 31.

/Tildy Zoltán/
államminiszter.

Rich farmers' preserve: Peasant Union comes to life. It has taken over the premises of the MÖHOSZ (Hungarian Volunteer Defence Association) headquarters

[illegible]putnok kerületi munkástanácsa. Községgazdálkodási vállalat v[illegible]
[illegible]. . 1. . . . /. 9.6 rendeltségének megszüntetése.
[illegible]gazdálkodási v.
[illegible]rendeltsége
[illegible]putnok

[illegible]unkástanácsunk úgy döntött, hogy az államosított épületeket a tulajdonosainak visszaadja. Az épületeket 1956. november 1.-től tulajdonosaik kezelik. Azon épületek kezelését, amelyek azelőtt is állami tulajdont képeztek, vagy amelyeknek tulajdonosai ismeretlen helyen vannak, Putnok Város Tanácsa végzi.

Így a Községgazdálkodási Vállalat kirendeltségének további fenntartása szükségtelenné vált. Felhívom, hogy működését azonnali hatállyal szüntesse meg, az alkalmazottak felmondását saját hatáskörében azonnal hajtsa végre.

Putnok, 1956. november 2.

[illegible]unkástanács elnöke.

The Workers' Council of the village of Putnok has decided to return nationalized houses to their former owners

Utasítom, hogy 195[illegible] évi [illegible] hó 29 n [illegible] órára azonnal vonuljon be
Putnok
[illegible]unkástanács szám alá
a [illegible]unkástanácshoz honvédtiszti parancsnoksághoz
Kelt 1956 [illegible]o. 29[illegible] P. H.
Bevonult 195 évi [illegible]
Beosztották [illegible]

G 5569 szám

fejbélyegző

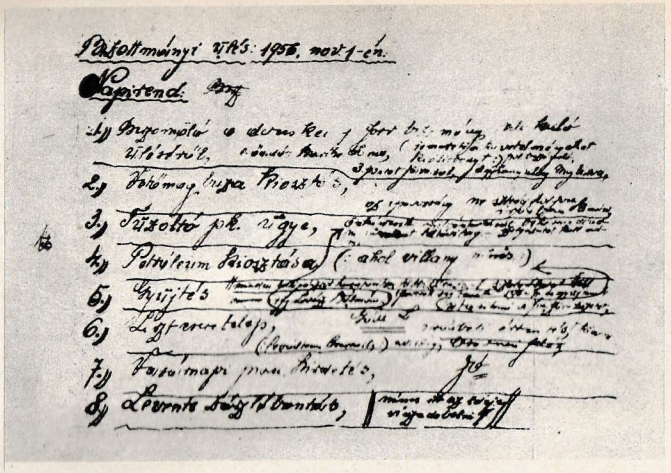
BEHIVÓPARANCS

TÉRTIVEVÉNYES!

Gyöngyösi Árpád [illegible] szám.
név
[illegible] szám.
rendfokozat
Putnok.
helység (község, város)
kerület, út, utca, tér, házszám

Express!
Hivatalból díjtalanyosva!

Is that one of their duties? The Workers' Council of Putnok issues call-up papers for army officers



Községi Pártbizottmányi ülés: 1956. nov. 1-én.

Napirend:

1.) Forgalomból a dolgozók egy része bizalmatlanságot tanúsít a Levente mozgalom iránt. Ezt a bizalmatlanságot el kell oszlatni.

2.) Előmunkás tanfolyam indítása.

3.) Szőlőtő pk. ügye.

4.) Pártélet megerősítése. (Hogyan?)

5.) Egyéb ügyek.

6.) Egyéb ügyek.

7.) Pártalapszervezet megerősítése.

8.) Levente helyzetbiztosítás.

The 1 November 1956 meeting of the "Revolutionary Committee" of Hosszúpály debated the organization of the "Levente", a paramilitary youth organization of Horthy Hungary. Some apparently thought it premature to show their true colours, so one of the members jotted down: "Not timely yet. Throw it out . . ."

A "death list" from Szeged: The "Revolutionary Council" issues warrants for the arrest of 7 Communists, who "may still have some influence among the masses." According to the last sentence of the warrant, the persons in question were to be "rendered harmless if offering resistance". A clear-cut order for murdering Communists

Feretics.

Értesítem a helyi forradalmi tanács [illegible]

[illegible] az alant felsorolt személyek [illegible] letartóztatás alatt legyenek felelősségre vonás végett, mivel ezek a személyek a tömegekre még nagy befolyással lehetnek arra, a forradalom eddigi sikereit veszélyeztessék.

MAKRA MIHÁLY lakik Alkotmány u. 31

MARTONOSI ISTVÁN ----ONCSA TELEP

BILLER MÁRTON ----FODOR TELEP

KORZORUS ISTVÁN ---- PETŐFI TELEP

KRAJKO JOZSEF -----BAKTA K KERT

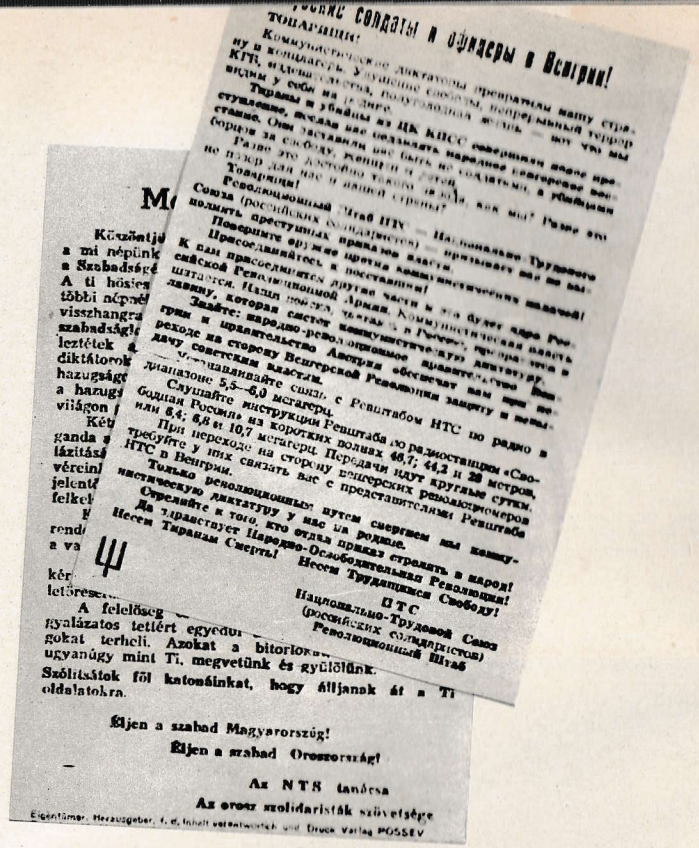
NAGY SÁNDOR ---ALKOTMÁNY T SZ

DUDÁS MIHÁLY ---UGY ITT

Értesítem erről azokat akik a fenti személyek f.h. 5 én este [illegible] feltűnés nélkül ellenkező esetén [illegible] ártalmatlanná tenni kötelesek lesznek [illegible] ez ügyben.

SZEGED [illegible]

A Forradalmi [illegible]



Товарищи!

Революционный Штаб НТС — Национально-Трудового Союза (российских солидаристов) — призывает вас не допустить дальнейшего кровопролития, не допустить преступных приказов вашего начальства.

Немедленно прекратите сопротивление!

Присоединяйтесь к нашим частям!

К вам присоединяется другая часть Русской Освободительной Армии. Командование этой части и его бургомистр [illegible] заявили, что [illegible] которая сейчас [illegible] Германии, [illegible] Красной Армии [illegible] Запада: [illegible] Германии [illegible] переходе на сторону Венгерской Освободительной армии [illegible] сдачу советских властям.

Слушайте инструкции Решштаба по радиостанции «Свободная Россия» на коротких волнах 46,7; 44,2 и 24 метров.

При переходе на сторону венгерских революционеров [illegible] требуйте у них связать вас с представителями Решштаба НТС в Венгрии.

Только революционным путем свергнем мы коммунистическую диктатуру у нас на родине.

Содействуйте к тому, кто отдал приказ стрелять в народ!

Да здравствует Народно-Освободительная Революция!

Венгрия Трудящаяся Свободу!

НТС

Национально-Трудовой Союз (российских солидаристов)

Революционный Штаб

Освободительная Венгрия

Свободу!

Да здравствует Народно-Освободительная Революция!

Венгрия Трудящаяся Свободу!

НТС

Национально-Трудовой Союз (российских солидаристов)

Революционный Штаб

Ti, magyar katonák!

Ti, megvetünk és gyűlölünk.

Szólítsátok föl katonáinkat, hogy álljanak át a Ti oldalatokra.

Éljen a szabad Magyarország!

Éljen a szabad Oroszország!

Az NTS tanácsa

Az orosz szolidaristák szövetsége

Eigentümer, Herausgeber, f. d. Inhalt verantwortlich und Druck Verlag POSSEV

During the counter-revolution, leaflets printed in the West in Russian and Hungarian, and sponsored by the "Revolutionary Council of the National Labour Federation", were distributed in Hungary. The leaflet reads: "Listen to the instructions given by the Revolutionary Council, broadcast by the 'Free Russia' radio station on 46.7, 44.2 and 24 metre bands." The leaflet — apparently by mistake — carried the name of the publishers in German, which was cut off later on. In this sample only part of the impress has been cut off. The German-language inscription below reads: "Owned, published and printed by the Possev Publishers." — 'Free Russia' is the Russian-language broadcasting station of Radio Free Europe. This leaflet is evidence that Radio Free Europe issued direct military orders to the counter-revolutionaries

This leaflet proves how worthless was the investigation initiated by the German Federal Republic pertaining to RFE's role in the Hungarian events, an investigation which has found no evidence to prove interference on the part of RFE

The former "landlord" of 43, Balzac Street, Budapest, took it for granted that nationalization had ended and the era of rising rents returned. He had put up the signboard shown here

Ferenc Vidovics, high sheriff of Somogy county under Horthy, was known as an arch-reactionary in his time. Last October he showed his face again at Kaposvár to re-occupy his former office. He called a meeting where he was the chief orator, after which he organized a group to demolish the Soviet War Memorial there

The Rev. Albert Turcsányi, formerly an active member of the fascist organization of Hungarian Vigilantes, became personal secretary to Cardinal Mindszenty during the counter-revolution. Acting on the instructions of the Prince Primate, the Rev. Turcsányi had the files of the Government Office for Ecclesiastical Affairs stolen on November 3, 1956. After the counter-revolution he attempted to escape to the West with the assistance of American diplomats

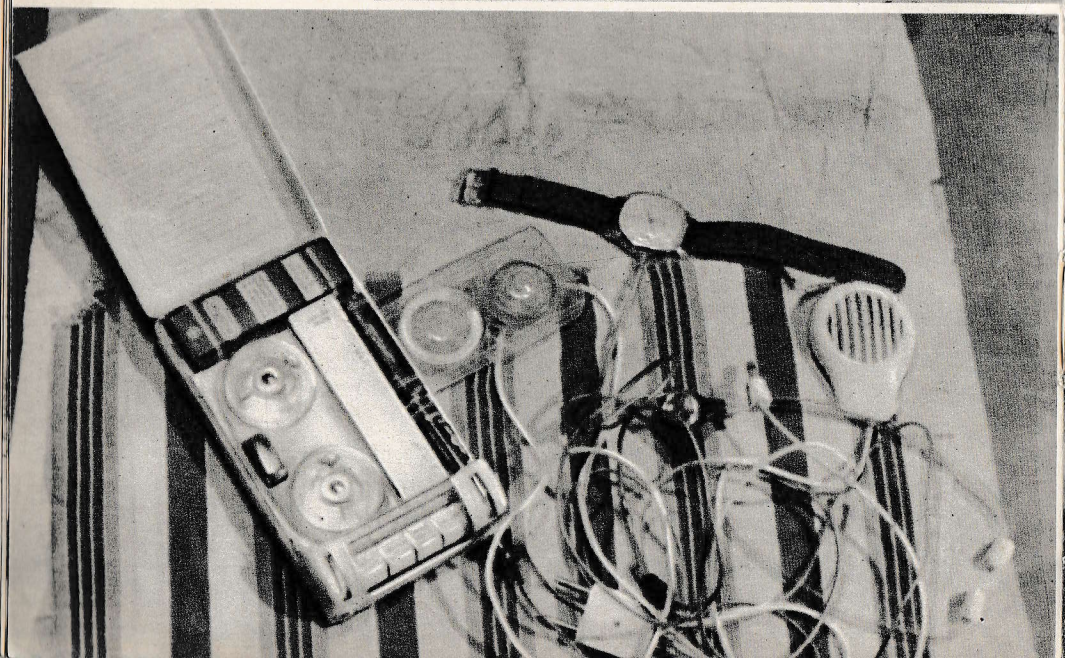
Captain István Tabódi of the Horthy army had been sentenced as a war criminal and for anti-democratic actions. Acting on personal instructions from Cardinal Mindszenty, he led a group of Catholic divinity students in occupying the Government Office for Ecclesiastical Affairs

Lt.-Col. Pál Lieszkovszky of the Horthy army obeyed instructions from Cardinal Mindszenty during the counter-revolution to take part in the action of occupying the Office for Ecclesiastical Affairs and stealing the files

László Balogh, who had served several sentences, was a battalion commander of the armed counter-revolutionaries who operated from 19, Baross Square. He took part in arresting and robbing Communists, and then fled to Austria. He was sent back to Hungary twice by Lt.-Gen. Béla Lengyel of the Horthy army and Gábor Tormai of Radio Free Europe staff to launch an underground organization here

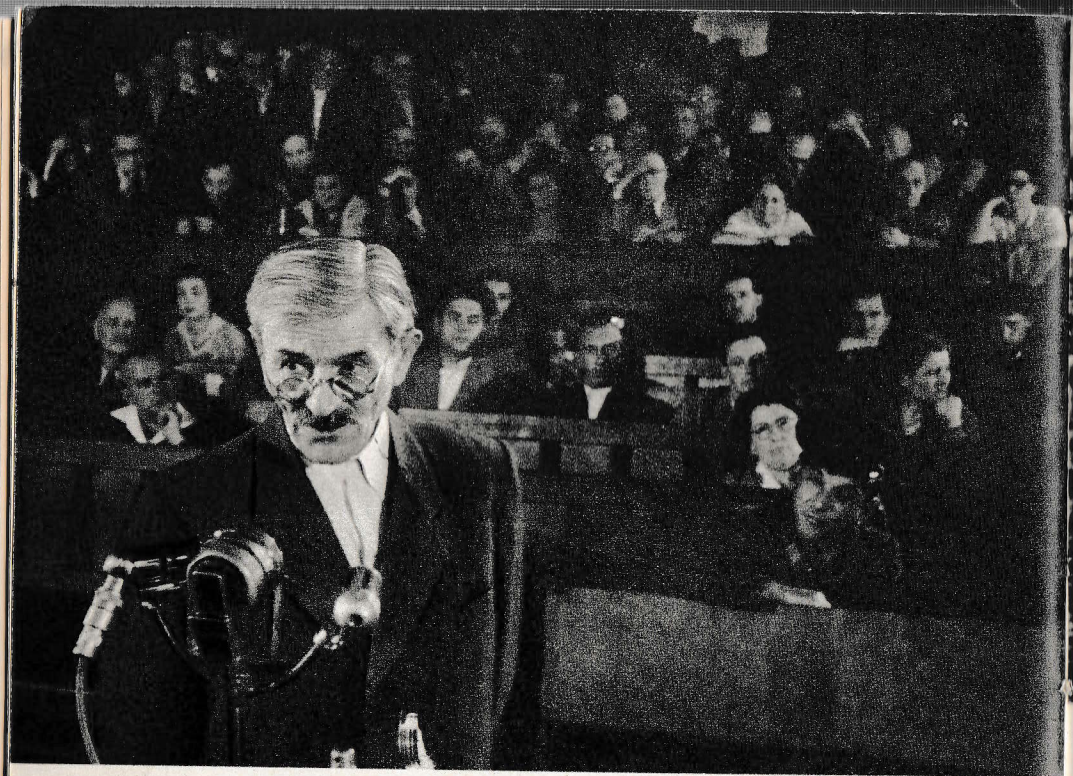
During the counter-revolution, Hungary was teeming with Western "newspapermen". These are the journalist credentials issued to Sándor Visnyei, an agent of the Gehlen espionage agency (who was arrested subsequently), which assured him freedom of movement during the counter-revolution

Péter Renner, commander of a detachment of the Corvin Passage counter-revolutionaries, fled to Austria after the counter-revolution and was sent back to Hungary on an espionage mission. This small tape-recorder was among the objects found in his possession



Antal Mayer, former SS man, preserved his German Iron Cross, the metal credentials of a Gestapo agent, and his fascist insignia. Mayer was mainly instrumental in murdering Captain Ferenc Tóth

The lynching of Captain Tóth, atrocity perpetrated by convicts sentenced for criminal offenses



Mihály Francia Kiss, infamous mass murderer during the 1919 counter-revolution, had been living under a pseudonym for 12 years. Last October he thought his time had come and came out into the open to join the anti-Communist action

János Varga, a former N.C.O. of the Horthy gendarmerie, "activized himself" in the village of Kajárpéc last October. Like a good gendarme, he beat up the village Party secretary and hurled him from the loft of the latter's cottage

The arms are in the hands of the workers: The workers' militia parading. Tens of thousands of workers have volunteered for the militia to prevent a repetition of October 1956

More than 50,000 workers of Budapest demonstrated their confidence in the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government on March 29, 1957, on Köztársaság Square where the blood of many a Communist patriot had been spilt

Over 250,000 workers of Budapest paraded on May Day 1957, demonstrating that they will never permit another attempt to overthrow the people's Government in Hungary

On Constitution Day — August 20 — 100,000 people, mostly peasants, gathered at Kisújszállás to listen to speeches by Mr. István Dobi, President of the Presidential Council, and Mr. János Kádár, Prime Minister

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