

THE REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY

A chronological handbook of
the main events

OCTOBER 23 -- NOVEMBER 23

compiled by Hungarian Research

Based mainly on Hungarian radio
broadcasts, with additional
information and explanation, maps,
brief biographies and texts of
speeches.

PLEASE NOTE

Times of the broadcasts are given in left margin. Where not otherwise specified, the broadcasting source is Radio Kossuth, Budapest.

Additional information or explanation by Hungarian Research is inserted, in parantheses, as near as possible to the appropriate broadcast item.

APPENDIX A (brief biographies)Page 74
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OCTOBER 23

- 0700 The leading article of today's "Szabad Nep" announced that the CP agrees with the demands of the youth.
- 0720 The management of the BUDAPEST Petofi circle calls upon the DISZ leadership to bring a resolution in the interest of the democratization of youth.
- 1000 The delegation of the CP Central Committee arrived in BUDAPEST from their BELGRADE visit. At their arrival, GERO made a short address.
- 1012 BUDAPEST university students decided on October 22 that on the afternoon of October 23 they would organize a mute demonstration of sympathy in front of the Polish Legation.
- 1253 Minister of the Interior, Laszlo PIROS, prohibited all public manifestations and demonstrations.
- 1423 Minister of the Interior Laszlo PIROS withdraws the ban on public meetings and demonstrations.
- 1500 The DISZ leadership announced its solidarity with the demonstrations of sympathy of the Hungarian youth and declared its intention to take part in them.
- 1930 The radio station "Homeland" reported on the afternoon demonstrations of the students. It commented on the demands with sympathy (Radio "Homeland.")
- 200,000 people took part in the demonstration. Peter VERES, president of the Writers Union, announced the demands of the Union:
1. Independent national policy on the basis of socialist ideology. Supervision of the international agreements and the economic contracts.
 2. An end should be put to the nationalistic policy between the people, because it has a disturbing effect on their friendship.
 3. The economic situation of the country should be made public.
 4. The enterprises should be led by the workers and experts. The wages- and norm system should be readjusted.
 5. The agricultural policy should be changed.
 6. Imre NAGY should have a position worthy of him.
 7. The people should elect freely and secretly their representatives.

(IRODALMI UJSAG, October 23 1956)

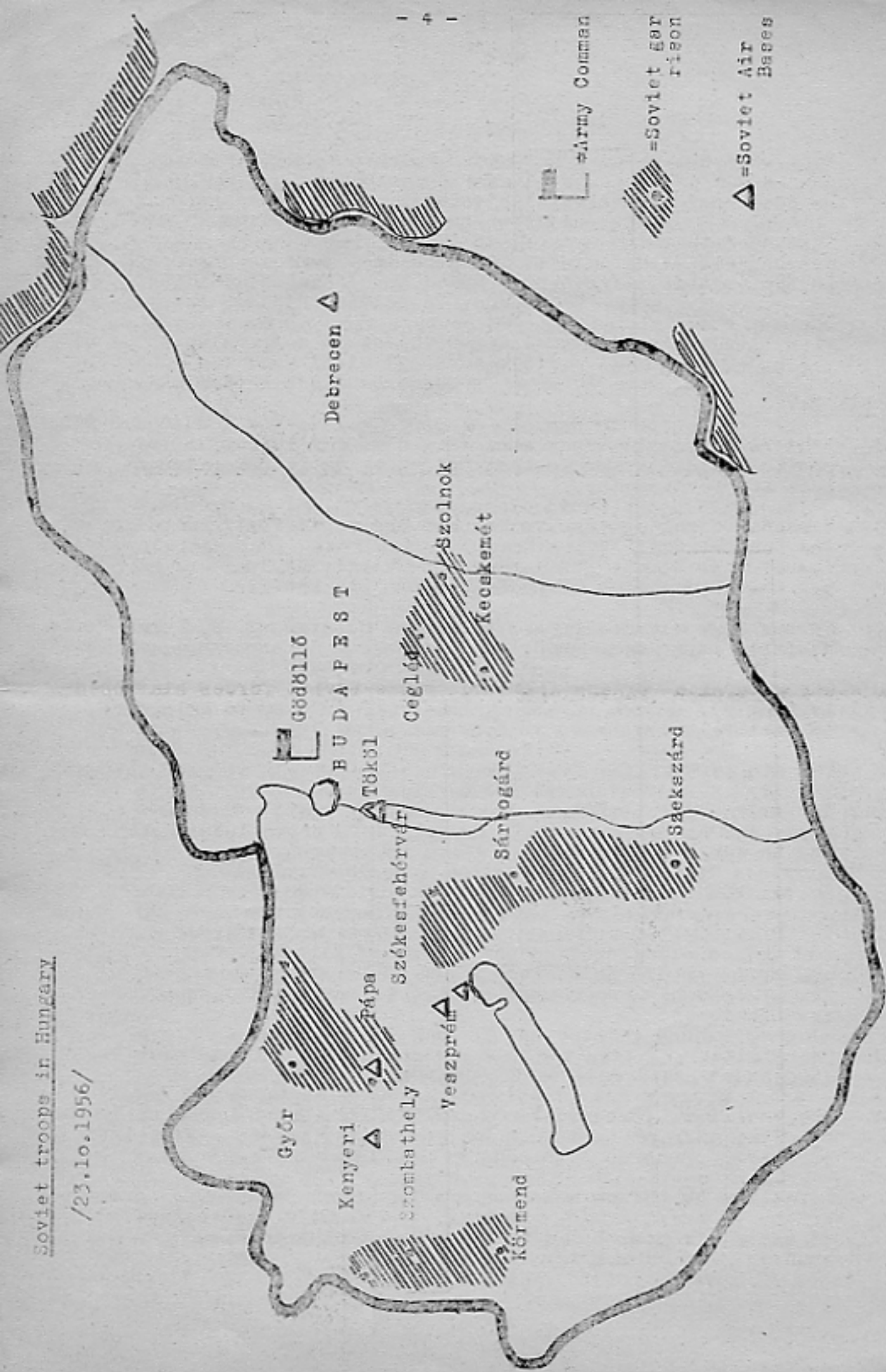
- 2000 The radio speech of Erno GERO: In this speech GERO condemned the afternoon students' demonstration, which he branded as "chauvinist." ~~SEE~~ APPENDIX (I)
- 2023 Announced that the session of the Central Committee would not be held on October 31, as planned previously, but within the next few days.
- 2222 The CP Central Committee is convened for an immediate session.

OCTOBER 24

- 0430 "Fascist, reactionary elements made an armed attack on our public buildings and armed units." All meetings and gatherings are forbidden.
- 0813 Personal changes were carried out within the leadership of the Central Committee. Erno GERO remained first secretary. The Central Committee suggested that Imre NAGY should be appointed president of the Council of Ministers.
- 0845 Martial law was declared. The decree was signed by Prime Minister Imre NAGY.
- 0900 The government organs appealed to the Soviet forces stationed in Hungary, on the grounds of the WARSAW Pact, to help them to restore order (see charts).
- 0918 The Minister of the Interior orders a curfew until 1400 hours.
- 1210 The radio speech of Prime Minister Imre NAGY. He said that those who surrendered their arms by 1400 hours today would not be subjected to martial law. ~~SEE~~ APPENDIX (II)
- 1225 Zoltan TILDY calls upon the population to restore order.
- 1410 The time limit set for surrendering arms was extended to 1800 hours.
- 1415 The appeals of several organizations for restoration of order are broadcast.
- 1624 The Minister of the Interior ordered curfew from October 24 1800 hours until October 25, ~~1800 hours~~.
- 1750 The radio declaration of Arpad SZAKASITS, in which he calls upon the workers to assist the government in the restoration of order.
- 1830 Appeal of the Patriotic People's Front for restoration of order. According to the appeal, the rightful demonstration of youth was changed by the counter-revolutionaries to a counter-revolutionary provocation.

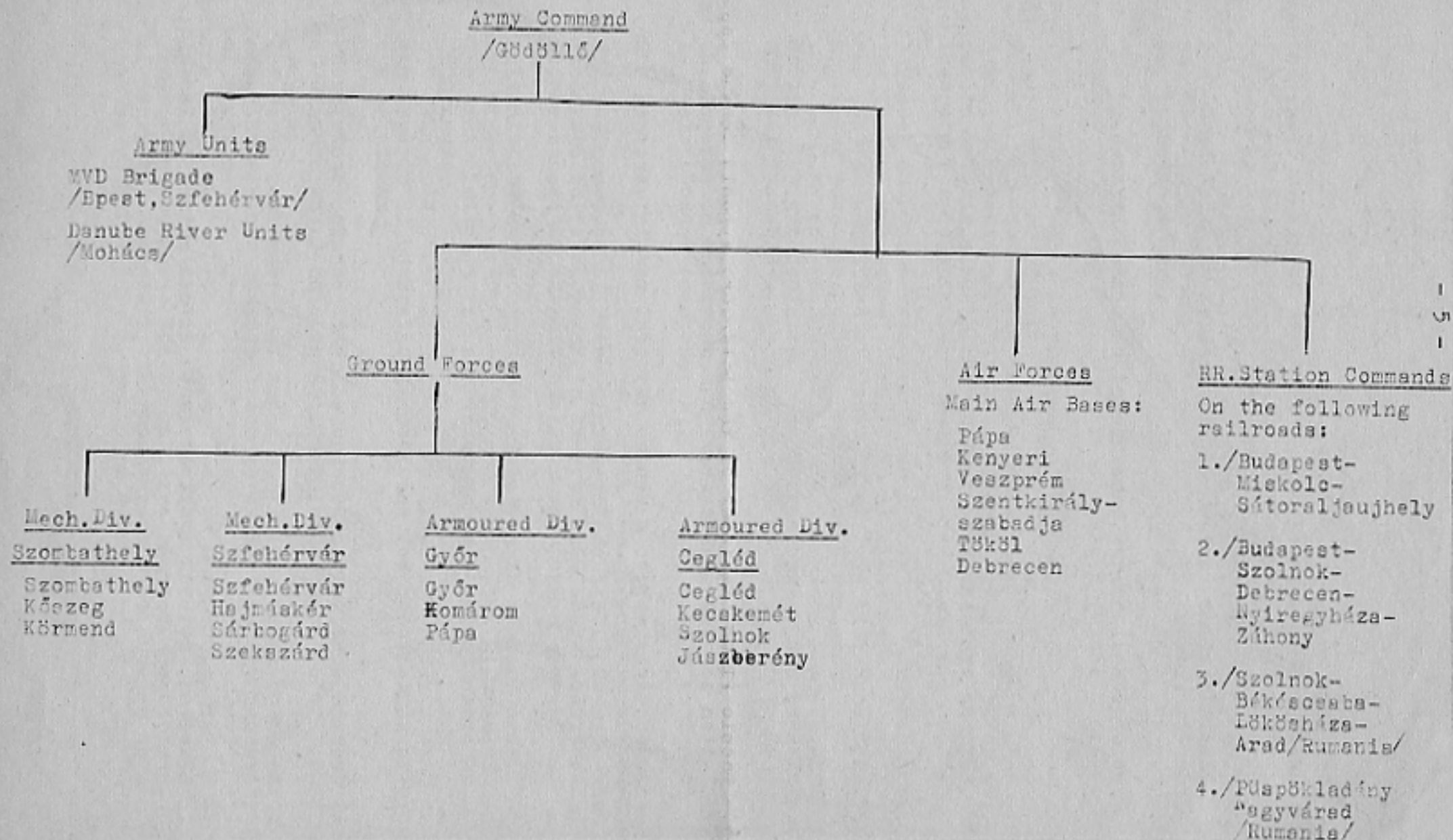
Soviet troops in Hungary

/23.10.1956/



Soviet Troops in Hungary

/October 23, 1956./



- 1917 Jozsef GROSZ, archbishop of KALOCSA, condemns bloodshed and destruction.
- 2015 Radio reports armed fights in BUDAPEST, strong fighting in the XIII district and round the military barracks.
- 2045 Speech of Janos KADAR. "With smouldering wrath do I condemn the attack against our People's Democratic regime." He asks workers to help to bring the fight against the counter-revolutionary forces to victory.
- 2100 What was the situation in BUDAPEST at 2000 hours? "The Party and the government have the situation in hand, but order and calm is not yet restored everywhere."
- 2400 What is the situation in BUDAPEST at 2400 hours? "In some places the armed rebels started new attacks. The government has the situation under control."

OCTOBER 25

- 0430 The radio announces that the essence of the counter-revolutionary gangs are liquidated. But smaller groups try to hide themselves, while escaping, in private houses.
- 0445 Laszlo PIROS, Minister of the Interior, appeals to the population to deliver all arms and ammunition to the police headquarters within 24 hours.
- 0612 Appeal to the population of the provinces to keep calm and not to yield to provocation.
- 0623 According to an announcement of the Council of Ministers, the "counter-revolutionary coup d'état" is liquidated. Appeal to the workers to resume production.
- 0856 Minister of Defense Istvan BATA's appeal to soldiers to report to their commanders not later than 1200 hours.
- 0913 BATA orders: "The soldiers of our People's Democracy should liquidate the rebel forces in BUDAPEST by 1200 hours.
- 1047 Till further instructions: no one is allowed to leave home from 1800 hours to 0600 hours. The entrance doors of houses have to be kept closed during that time. Some smaller groups are still continuing shooting.
- 1232 Announcement of the Politbureau of the Hungarian Workers' Party that Erno GERO was dismissed from the post of First Secretary of the Central Committee. Janos KADAR was appointed in his place. "Hungarians! Put out the red-white-and-green flags!" SEE APPENDIX (III)

- 1439 Imre NAGY and Janos KADAR ask the population of BUDAPEST to keep in their homes and not to go out in the streets.
- 1518 Radio appeal of Janos KADAR. According to KADAR the well intended youth demonstrations were transformed within a few hours into counter-revolutionary action aimed against the People's Democracy. He asks the support of the workers against this action and promises to fulfill their rightful demands. SEE APPENDIX (IV)
- 1525 Radio appeal of Imre NAGY. He says a small number of counter-revolutionaries started an attack against the People's Republic, supported by some of the BUDAPEST workers. The cause of the workers' despair was the grave political and economical faults of the past. These faults are liquidated by the new Hungarian Government. Finally, the Hungarian Government is starting negotiations on the relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union and on the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed on Hungarian territory. SEE APPENDIX (V)
- 1648 Gabor TANCZOS, secretary of the Petofi circle, announces the appeal of the Petofi circle. He attacks Erno GERO, whose faulty policy brought about the armed uprising. Finally he appeals to youth to trust the government of Imre NAGY.

OCTOBER 26

- 0035 A deputation of workers from County BORSOD called on Prime Minister Imre NAGY. The deputation was led by Rudolf FOLDVARY, first secretary of the Party Committee of County BORSOD. The proposals of the deputation were accepted by Imre NAGY.
- 0430 The Council of Ministers appeals to the population of BUDAPEST to remain in their homes the entire day. The liquidation of the remainder of the armed rebels is in progress.
- 0747 The lead article of today's "Szabad Nep" condemns the criminal policy of the past years which caused the revolution. It appeals for the restoration of calm and order as the only way. Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Hungary.
- 0729 Radio MISKOLC announces that the strike is still going on, with the exception of the miners.
- 1001 The Ministry of the Interior announces that all those seen carrying arms will be shot at by the police.
- 1310 Detailed account of the workers' deputation from County BORSOD to Prime Minister Imre NAGY is broadcast. The workers delegation handed him a demand containing 21 points, among others re-examination of the foreign trade contracts, the withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary by January 1 1957,

and countless other economic demands. Imre NAGY announced that he agrees with all points of the demand and takes it upon himself to have them realized.

1548 The first workers' council of United Electrics was formed.

1613 Statement of Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party consists of six points:

1. The formation of a new national government under Imre NAGY.

2. Negotiations with the USSR to settle the relationship between the two countries.

3. The election of workers' councils.

4. General amnesty for the fighters if they lay down their weapons by 1800 hours to-night.

5. The Party and the government stand for socialist democracy and will protect the achievements of the people's democracy.

6. After the restoration of order, reforms will be carried out immediately.

1830 Imre NAGY sent a message to the miners of PECS informing them that he accepted their demands and will fulfill them.

1830 (RFE Monitoring picks up Radio NYIREGYHAZA for the first time.) Radio NYIREGYHAZA announces that the voluntary civil defense corps (national guard) of NYIREGYHAZA was formed.

1953 Suggestion of the Presidium of the National Council of Trade Unions in connection with workers' councils; the latter should deal with production plans, wage systems, investments and use of profit.

2202 The radio announces that Imre NAGY received the demands of the Revolutionary Council of SZOLNOK (this is the first instance that the radio mentions a revolutionary council) and he will answer through the radio.

2400 Appeal to the population of BUDAPEST to stay in their homes on October 27. Up to 1000 hours persons are allowed to leave houses singly, but soldiers will fire on each group exceeding three persons.

Report that several armed groups laid down their arms in some BUDAPEST districts.

OCTOBER 27

- 0614 According to the announcement of the Minister of the Interior the majority of fighters laid down their arms. He calls upon the population of BUDAPEST not to leave their homes until further notice.
- 1118 The new government of the Hungarian People's Republic, headed by Imre NAGY was formed. Of the 25 members of the new cabinet only nine are newcomers. 21 are members of the CP, three are Smallholders (Bela KOVACS, Zoltan TILDY, Jozsef BOGNAR,) one -- Ferenc ERDEI -- belongs to the National Peasants Party.
- The following members of the old cabinet were excluded: Deputy Prime Minister Andras HEGEDUS, Istvan HIDAS, Jozsef MEKIS, Gyorgy MAROSAN, the Ministers Laszlo PIROS (Interior), Istvan BATA (Defense), Karoly OLT (Finances), Andras SZOBEK (Produce Collection), Lajos SZIJARTO (Construction), Jozsef DARVAS (People's Culture), Jozsef ROMAN (Health), Gyorgy POGACSAS (State Farms), Janos MATOLCSI (Agriculture), Janos SZABO (Communal Economy), and Arpad HAZI (State Control).
- The newcomers are: Zoltan TILDY (Minister of State), Ferenc MUNNICH (Interior), Karoly JANZA (Defense), Istvan KOSSA (Finances), Antal BABITS (Health), Ferenc NEZVAL (Communal Economy), Miklos RIBIANSZKY (State Farms), Antal GYENES (Produce Collection), and Gyorgy LUKACS (People's Culture.)
- 1205 The radio announces that armed groups distribute inciting leaflets in BUDAPEST and the provinces.
- 1503 Karoly JANZA, the new Minister of Defense, instructs the army to liquidate the armed groups and restore order.
- 1715 (RFE Monitoring picks up Radio PECS for the first time.) PECS transport workers protest against the re-appointment of the Stalinist Lajos BEBRICS as Minister of Transport.
- 1718 According to the announcement of soldiers stationed in PECS they agree with the demands of the workers' councils and support them.
- 1850 (RFE Monitoring picks up Radio Free GYOR for the first time.) Workers of MOSONMAGYAROVAR express their gratitude to the GYOR garrison for having rid their town from the cruelties of the State Security Authorities on October 26. The workers demand the declaration of the principle of neutrality.
- 1900 The Executive Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party in County GYOR-SOPRON demands the liquidation of the State Security Authorities in the whole country and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. (Radio Free GYOR)
- 1930 Radio MISKOLC demands that Imre NAGY should dismiss Stalinist

elements from his government and that Soviet troops should immediately withdraw from Hungary. (Radio MISKOLC)

- 2000 Bela KOVACS gave a statement. He said that he has confidence in Imre NAGY and Janos KADAR who on behalf of the Hungarian Workers Party want to form a national government.
- 2015 In the majority of BUDAPEST factories workers' councils have been formed today. In the provinces workers are setting up national guards.
- 2025 The revolution has also gained a victory in DEBRECEN. University students form groups to go to BUDAPEST to help the national revolutionaries.
- 2140 The Ministry of the Interior informs the population of BUDAPEST that the curfew remains valid also on October 28.
- 2205 The Minister of Defense announces that the majority of armed groups has been liquidated.
- 2225 The Workers' Council and the youth parliament of County BORSOD announce that the workers of County BORSOD will continue to strike until Soviet troops commence their withdrawal from Hungary.
- 2400 In BUDAPEST District VIII the provisional National Committee was formed.

OCTOBER 28

- 0510 In BUDAPEST District VIII the provisional national committee started to organize a national guard from the ranks of soldiers, police and young workers for the maintenance of order.
- 0730 The Minister of Defense of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Revolutionary Council of BUDAPEST universities call upon armed revolutionaries to hand over their weapons to the units of the Hungarian People's Army which arrive to the scene with members of the Revolutionary Council of university students.
- 0800 After repeated negotiations parliamentaries of the army came to a cease-fire agreement last night with the revolutionaries at the Moscow Square center.
- 0803 The National Committee of county Vas was formed consisting of representatives of the former coalition parties. (Radio Free GYOR)
- 0855 In the whole of Counties SOPRON and GYOR workers', peasants', army and intellectual councils are being formed. (Radio Free GYOR)
- 1030 The population of VESZPREM did not come to an agreement with Soviet troops. Armed clashes will most probably take place during the day. (Radio Free GYOR)

- 1040 The delegation of the provisional National Council of County GYOR left for BUDAPEST to hand over the demands of County GYOR to the government. (Radio Free GYOR)
- 1100 The Hungarian and Soviet military commandants did not accept the conditions of the revolutionaries in the Kilian Barracks.
- 1107 The leading article of today's "Szabad Nep": "Loyal to Truth." It denies that a counter-revolutionary, fascist coup d'état took place. The main cause of the armed uprising was Erno GERO's broadcast of October 23. Nevertheless fascist elements took part in the revolt.
- 1215 The National Council of County GYOR appeals to Imre NAGY on behalf of the whole of Transdanubia that by 2000 hours today he should take measures for the ending of fights. (Radio Free GYOR)
- 1240 Oil workers of County ZALA do not supply oil as they do not want to produce oil for Soviet tanks.
- 1320 The Hungarian Government orders immediate and general cease-fire.
- 1330 The provisional National Council of County GYOR demands that the government should let Hungarian writers take over Radio KOSSUTH as until now it did not serve the interests of the people. (Radio Free GYOR)
- 1500 Radio KOSSUTH announces that the cease-fire order is valid not only in the capital but in the whole country and that it includes every armed unit in Hungary.
- 1725 Broadcast of Premier Imre NAGY. He condemns those views according to which the present uprising is a counter-revolution. The government accepts the demands of the freedom fighters and proposes negotiations with the USSR about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.
- 1740 The Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party held a meeting this morning at which it was decided that a presidium, consisting of six members, will be created for the management of the Party. Janos KADAR was elected President of the Presidium. The other member of the Party Presidium are Antal APRO, Karoly KISS, Ferenc MUNNICH, Imre NAGY and Zoltan SZANTHO.
- 1750 30,000 miners demand that Soviet troops should commence their withdrawal from Hungary with white flags, that free elections should be held with the participation of several parties and that Imre NAGY should form a new government with the representatives of the BUDAPEST revolutionaries. (Radio Free GYOR)
- 1755 The Presidium of the GYOR Petofi circle demands that the government should withdraw from the WARSAW Pact. (Radio Free GYOR)

- 1840 Radio MISKOLC calls upon Hungarian towns to jointly formulate the demands of the Hungarian people. It suggests the following demands:
1. New, provisional government without any of RAKOSI's collaborators.
 2. Imre NAGY should be the Premier of the provisional government.
 3. The government should take immediate steps for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.
 4. The government should take over the program of the revolutionaries.
 5. State Security organs should be liquidated.
 6. Martial law should be abolished and full amnesty guaranteed.
 7. Secret general elections should be held within two months with the participation of several parties. (Radio BORSOD)
- 2025 Fighting has stopped in the Kilian Barracks and at the Moscow Square.
- 2100 This afternoon's cabinet meeting decided that the re-grouping of the land will be terminated, the delivery system re-examined and Red Cross aid accepted from every country.
- 2248 The Patriotic People's Front calls on the population to form county, town, district and village national committees.
- 2335 The BUDAPEST police commenced to organize the national guard. It consists of members of the police, army and university students.

OCTOBER 29

- 0430 The Hungarian Red Cross ordered all railroad workers to report to their place of work so that railroad traffic could be resumed.
- 0700 The "Szabad Nep" of October 29 on the first page bore the Kossuth Emblem. The editorial, entitled "It is dawning," pointed out that the demands of the Hungarian people had substantially been satisfied; the withdrawal of Soviet troops from BUDAPEST began in the late evening hours of October 28; the government disbanded the AVH and set up a new democratic police force.

- 0725 The MISKOLC radio broadcast an appeal by the Revolutionary Committee of Hungarian Intellectuals, formulating ten demands: Withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary; revision of disadvantages of foreign trade agreements; secret general elections with freely chosen candidates; turning over of factories and mines to the workers under the direction of workers' councils; abolition of the exploiting norms system; reform of trade unions; freedom of agricultural production and abolition of compulsory deliveries; freedom of speech, press and assembly; declaration of October 23 as national holiday.
- 0933 Free Radio GYOR greeted the workers and soldiers councils of County SOMOGY, which were formed in the evening hours of October 28.
- 1035 Joint order from the Ministers of Defense and Interior to the armed forces and police:
1. The measures of the new National Government must be fully carried out.
 2. From now on members of the armed forces and police will address one another as "brother in arms." (bajtars.)
 3. Until the introduction of the new cap badge, the present emblem is to be replaced by a strip with the national colors.
- 1000 Radio KOSSUTH broadcast a summary of today's "Szabad Nep." Miklos MOLNAR publishes a highly polemic article against MOSCOW "Pravda" and rejects the viewpoint of the Soviet paper that one is confronted with the collapse of an anti-people adventure in Hungary. MOLNAR turns down the "Pravda" thesis that the uprising in BUDAPEST was touched off by the machinations of English and American imperialists.
- 1215 Workers of the TATA Bus Company No.62 requested from the cabinet the immediate dismissal of Lajos BEBRICS, Minister of Communications and Post. (Radio Free GYOR)
- 1340 Flood of telegrams arrived in BUDAPEST from the counties, conveying various demands, for example that the government assist the family members of the victims, Hungary's uranium deposits be used in the interest of the nation, and the norm system should be urgently revised.
- 1415 County BORSOD workers' council and student parliament demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from BUDAPEST, but not only to their bases -- they should leave Hungary without delay. In numerous areas of the country, councils of workers, students and peasants are in full possession of armed might. They maintain order; if there is trouble, it should be ascribed in all cases to members of the AVH. (Radio MISKOLC)
- 1641 In response to the demand of Radio GYOR, Radio BUDAPEST

broadcast statements by well-known Hungarian writer. Among these were poems condemning in the sharpest terms those responsible for the BUDAPEST uprising, and glorifying its victims.

- 1700 The Minister of the Interior announced that the AVH has been disbanded because the country's democratic order will not need such an organization in the future. ~~SEE~~ APPENDIX (VI)
- Minister of Communications and Post, BEBRICS, resigned and was replaced by Gyorgy CSANADI (until now general manager of the Hungarian railroads.)
- 1800 The National Council of County GYOR appeals to the government to put an end to the fighting unequivocally and really and communicate it to the people of the country through the radio. If that does not happen, the people of Western Hungary (Dunantul) will march unitedly to help BUDAPEST. (Radio Free GYOR)
- 2055 In the VIII District of BUDAPEST units of the Hungarian People's Army have begun to replace the Soviet units. The Soviet units will evacuate the area discussed with the command of the resistance.
- 2050 Contrary to what was announced by Radio BUDAPEST, Radio Free GYOR states that the population of BUDAPEST is still fighting with arms-in-hand for its freedom. Therefore, the Workers' Councils of PECS, DOROG, TOKOD, TATABANYA, TATA, MISKOLC (the list is incomplete because monitoring could not get the full list) have adopted the resolution that the immediate departure of the Russians can be attained with one weapon only: the strike. The Workers Councils of PECS, DOROG and TATA took a pledge that they will produce coal until the last Russian division is withdrawn from Hungary.
- 2354 Radio MISKOLC on Soviet troops move. We inform the population of MISKOLC that they should not heed alarming rumors concerning Soviet troops. The real situation is that a small marshalling group is at the roadfork of FELSOZSOLCA waiting for cars which lost contact with Soviet units. The task of the marshalling unit is to prevent the cars from passing through MISKOLC.

OCTOBER 30

- 0633 Ministry of the Interior announces that in the early hours of October 30 there was calm throughout the country. Except for some sporadic shooting, no information was received on breaking of order or clashes.
- 0704 The withdrawal of Soviet troops who confronted the armed groups (of insurgents) continues. Units of the Hungarian Army and police, as well as armed groups of workers and youth, are taking over the maintenance of order.

- 0900 Radio Free SZOMBATHELY (was monitored for the first time) appealed to the population of SZOMBATHELY to abstain from demonstrations and rallies and forward all their demands to the National Committee through their representatives.
- 1000 Istvan KOVACS has been dismissed as first secretary of the BUDAPEST Party Committee. (Note: Istvan KOVACS, one of the most prominent representatives of Hungarian Communists, was excluded from the Politbureau and the secretariat of the Central Committee on October 24 1956. During the past three years he wavered between Imre NAGY and RAKOSI.)
- 1015
to
1030 In repeated broadcasts, the BORSOD county workers council and students parliament protested very sharply against the WARSAW Treaty, requested its immediate revision and a convocation of the leaders of the signatory states. "The WARSAW Treaty was concluded by RAKOSI and GERO and consequently is already null and void today. All Soviet troops should be withdrawn from Hungary without delay and returned to the Soviet Union." (Radio Free MISKOLC)
- 1100 Radio Free MISKOLC appeals to UNO. The Security Council should immediately intervene in the interest of Hungary fighting for her freedom. The Security Council should ask a neutral state to act as representative for Hungarian affairs.
- 1200 The National Committee of CSARODA, a small village in the northeastern corner of Hungary, a few kilometers from the Hungarian-Soviet border, has informed Radio MISKOLC that from the night of October 24, numerous Soviet units have been entering Hungarian territory "under their own eyes." If Soviet troops are to evacuate BUDAPEST after a cease-fire, why must fresh Soviet troops come to Hungary? (Radio Free MISKOLC)
- 1248 Radio PETOFI of BALATONSZABADI suggested to Free GYOR to broadcast a joint Transdanubian program. (Radio Free GYOR)
- 1428 Radio KOSSUTH broadcast the speech by Imre NAGY, announcing that in the interest of further democratization the one-Party system will be abolished and government will be placed on the democratic co-operation of the 1945 coalition parties. Accordingly a restricted cabinet has been established within the national government whose members are Imre NAGY, Zoltan TILDY, Bela KOVACS, Ferenc ERDEI, Janos KADAR, Geza LOSONCZY and a person to be designated by the Social Democratic Party. The national government appeals to the command of Soviet troops to start immediately the evacuation of BUDAPEST, and at the same time informs the people that negotiations with the Soviet Union will begin without delay for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. SEE APPENDIX (VII)

KADAR, First Secretary of the Communist Party, declared

that he expects vacillation in the ranks of the Party but does not fear that the pure, honest and well intentioned Communists will prove unfaithful. SEE APPENDIX (VIII)

Military Situation at 1200 hours October 30

BUDAPEST

Radio KOSSUTH announced at 2055, October 29, that Soviet troops to evacuate BUDAPEST 2400 hours after insurgents surrender. Radio Free GYOR announced 1215, October 29, that MTI had stated Soviet troops already leaving capital, some units already seen passing through SZEKESFEHERVAR; UP correspondent said he saw large Soviet convoy, with tanks on road between BUDAPEST and KISKUNFELEGYHAZA heading southward.

AP correspondent reported October 29 he had seen Soviet soldier from unit base in Rumania in BUDAPEST hospital.

MISKOLC

Radio MISKOLC broadcast 2354, October 29, appeal to people not to heed alarming rumors concerning Soviet troops in area. Stated that small Soviet marshalling group was waiting at road fork at KELSOZSOLCA, just east of MISKOLC to intercept Soviet units and prevent stray elements from passing through MISKOLC.

Radio MISKOLC reported 1200 hours, October 30, that Soviet troops had been entering Hungary from the USSR since October 24 through CSARODA and NYIREGYHAZA.

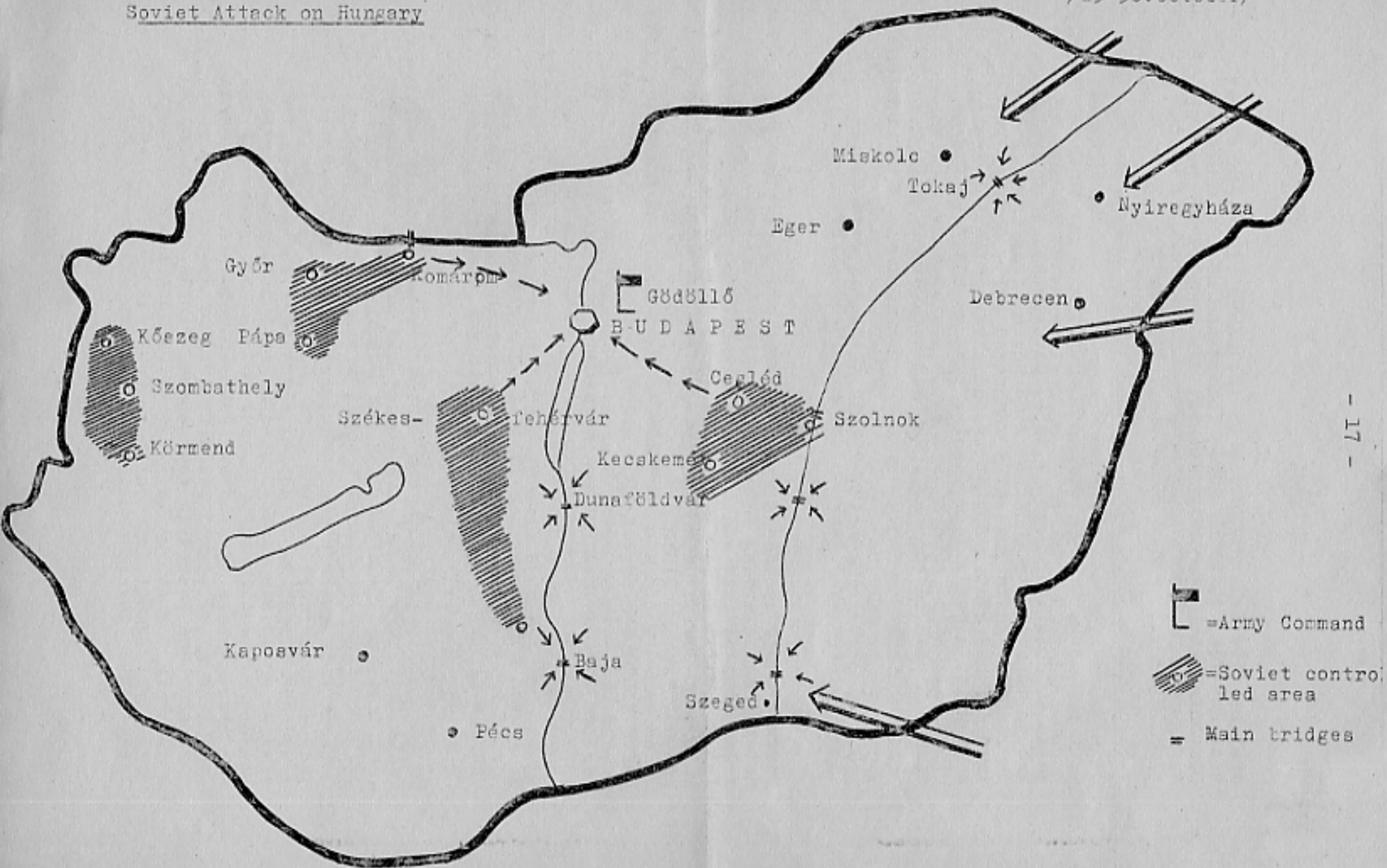
ZAHONY

AP quoted MTI on October 30 that on night of October 29 Soviet troop reinforcements were entering Hungary from USSR at ZAHONY crossing point (main railroad transloading point on Hungarian-Soviet border.)

Reuter on October 29 quoted United States officials' statements that "two Soviet divisions" had entered Hungary "several days ago" from the USSR and Rumania. (Unconfirmed reports received of Soviet troops' movements into Hungary from TIMISOARA, Rumania.)

Soviet Attack on Hungary

First phase
/23-30. October,



- 1505 Radio KOSSUTH announced that it would open a new chapter in the history of Hungarian radio. For long years the radio was an instrument of lies. Those, however, who were the heralds of lies are no longer on the staff of the Hungarian radio; their place was taken for the most part by new men.
- 1645 Zoltan TILDY declared to a workers' delegation that he would find it desirable if Cardinal MINDSZENTY returned to ESZTERGOM to take up his functions as Primate of Hungary thereby participating in the noble strife which awaits all true patriots.
- 1739 The national command of air force and anti-aircraft in agreement with the revolutionary forces of the freedom fighters, held a discussion with the command of Soviet forces and invited the latter to leave Hungary within 12 hours. The discussion lead to an agreement in connection with which Marshal ZUKOV gave orders to the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary to immediately begin the evacuation of the country.
- 1631 Peter KOOS, Hungary's delegate at the UNO, who opposed himself to the revolution and betrayed the true cause, has been deprived of his office.
- 1645 The workers of the supreme prosecutor's office elected a revolutionary committee and called upon chief prosecutor Gyorgy NON to resign, because he played an active role in the proclamation of martial law as well as in its implementation.
- 1657 Premier Imre NAGY's message to the Hungarian people: On the initiative of the government, the withdrawal of Soviet troops has begun. All authorities, every citizen of the country should contribute to the departure of Soviet troops by refraining from provocative, molesting and hostile actions thereby assuring the order of the withdrawal. SEE APPENDIX (IX)
- 1540 An unidentified radio station believed to be probably NYIREGYHAZA broadcast: "While the Council of Ministers announces that Soviet troops are being withdrawn from BUDAPEST, large Soviet units are moving through NYIREGYHAZA toward the heart of the country."
- 1755 Radio KOSSUTH broadcast an appeal of the Hungarian people's army revolutionary council to the armed forces. It calls for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from BUDAPEST and within the shortest time from Hungary. It announced the removal from the armed forces leadership of such sectarian and halting forces as Lt.Gen. Lajos TOTH, Jenő HAZAI, Lt.Gen. Ferenc HIDVEGI, Major General Istvan SZABO. The revolutionary council decided the immediate disarming of AVH units still carrying arms. The revolutionary council demands that the border guards belong to the armed forces.

1815 The DEBRECEN socialist revolutionary committee has called for the immediate withdrawal of Hungary from the WARSAW Pact, the immediate evacuation of all Soviet troops, free democratic and secret elections on the basis of plurality of parties. (Radio BORSOD)

It has been reported from KISVARDA that, for the sixth day, several thousands of Soviet tanks with heavy and light weapons are pouring into the country; motorized infantry is coming to NYIREGYHAZA. (Radio BORSOD)

1830 Minister of Defense Major General Karoly JANZA announced that all the Soviet troops will begin their withdrawal at 1600 hours on October 30 and finish it until dawn of October 31. Contemporarily Hungarian troops will be concentrating in the capital.

1835 Radio KOSSUTH stressed that the decrees which called in the Soviet troops to BUDAPEST and instituted martial law were not countersigned by Imre NAGY. Ex-Premier HEGEDUS and ex-First Party Secretary GERO are responsible for both acts.

1855 Radio SZABOLCS SZATMAR announces that at ZAHONY (border railroad station on the Soviet-Hungarian frontier) the organized withdrawal of Soviet troops is being prepared. The tanks are still here but the Soviet troops which have been nearest to the border turned back and left.

1900 The national center of the Smallholders' Party has resumed its activity in its former seat.

The first Christian organization, the Federation of Christian Youth, has been formed.

1950 At 1800 hours on October 30 negotiations started between Imre NAGY and the representative of the insurgent freedom fighters. The negotiations are proceeding well and Imre NAGY will submit the proposals of the insurgents to the Council of Ministers.

2003 Radio KOSSUTH went on air under its new name "Free Radio KOSSUTH."

In the editorial of "Nepszava," the Hungarian Social Democratic Party was constituted.

2127 The revolutionary militia council of the Hungarian Armed Forces convened the leaders of the revolutionary military councils of the BUDAPEST Army units, police and national guard to the Ministry of Defense for October 31 (1400 hours).

2100 Radio RAJK went on the air for the first time and attacked in sharp terms the Soviet Union's delegate at the UNO for having labeled a fascist counter-revolution etc. the uprising of the Hungarian people.

- 2215 The radio SZABOLCS SZATMAR workers' council has supplied the following details on the withdrawal of Soviet troops: at ZAHONY one division has already crossed the Tisza river, another division is going over the river on ferry-boats near the ZAHONY artillery barracks. Other divisions wait for the crossing between ZAHONY and TISZADEBRO. Listeners should not be alarmed by the fact that the Soviet troops do not leave along the routes which they used when entering Hungary. While they came to Hungary through ZAHONY and BERECSZASZ, they are leaving the country in various directions. They came to Hungary marching for a week, day and night, but it is possible for them to leave the country within 12 hours. This is also necessary because we have been in arms for seven days and keeping watch the seventh night on our independence and freedom. There is no reason for alarm. Let us wait disciplined until they all go. (Radio SZABOLCS SZATMAR)
- 2200 Radio KOSSUTH reported that the reorganization of the National Peasant Party started in the late evening hours of October 30.

A revolutionary special police will be set up from the representatives of the insurgent armed forces, police, workers and youth armed units. It will have to restore internal peace and be in charge until the new government resulting out of general and secret elections will take office.

OCTOBER 31

- 0430 The Hungarian Armor Division on ESZTERGOM went over to the insurgents.
- The central of the Social Democratic Party began its activities.
- 0623 The Minister of Agricultural Produce Delivery announced that all deliveries have been abolished.
- The Minister of Defense ordered the replacement of the former cap badges with the Kossuth emblem. The Ministry also ordered the production of new Hungarian type caps. Rank insignia must no longer be placed on shoulders but on the collar-pieces.
- 0902 Radio Free GYOR broadcast the demands of the Transdanubian united territory: County BORSOD and BACS-KISKUN and of CSEPEL, formulated by the respective national councils. These include: Withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory; negotiations concerning the composition of the government; Hungary should declare her neutrality to UN; freedom of speech, press, assembly and religion. The present strike will be maintained and negotiations will be started, jointly with the BUDAPEST National Council, in order to form a new national government.

- 1000 Cardinal MINDSZENTY, who was freed by the victorious revolution, arrived at his BUDA residence at 0855 hours.
- "Magyar Nemzet" announces that Cardinal MINDSZENTY was freed at FELSOPETENY by a detachment of officers from Hungarian armed forces stationed at RETSAG.
- The provisional Executive Committee of the Smallholders' Party was formed on October 31.
- "Nepszava" announces that from now on Hungarian trade unions will be called Free Hungarian Trade Unions.
- 1020 Radio MISKOLC broadcast a comment on the prospects of agriculture. Only those kolkhozes should be kept which can stand on their own feet. Tractor stations will be transformed into machine-using co-operatives.
- 1025 Sandor KISS, director of the Peasants' Federation, called for the fusion of the Smallholders and National Peasant Party. He said that negotiations have already started to arrange an early fusion of the two parties.
- 1040 A delegate of the SZOLNOK National Council called on Imre NAGY and Janos KADAR and informed them that the people of SZOLNOK are determined not to go back to work until the Soviet troops left the town.
- 1055 Excerpts from the proclamation of the People's Army's revolutionary councils and the delegates of the insurgent forces. Soviet troops should leave Hungary until December 31 1956. If that does not take place they will take up arms and fight for the freedom of the country and the pure cause of revolution; the government should call a meeting of the WARSAW Pact powers and rescind the pact; they are determined to oppose with arms all foreign and internal enemies who enter the soil of our country and threatens our independence; the Hungarian People's Army, if necessary assisted by the insurgent forces, should take possession of the country's uranium resources within a week. Those who break the discipline of the Revolutionary Army will be tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal.
- 1110 The Ministry of Defense appealed to the population of County SZABOLCS-SZATMAR to help the withdrawal of Soviet troops by showing the Soviet units the way home with road signs set up in the villages. (Radio SZABOLCS SZATMAR)
- 1200 "Igazzag," the paper of the revolutionary Hungarian Army and youth, reported that the Soviet troops were already called on, and the martial law announced when Imre NAGY became President of the Council. Thus, he was put in face of a fait accompli and for days he could not even master this situation.

Workers of County HAJDU-BIHAR demand that Hungary should immediately withdraw from the WARSAW Pact and in accordance

with this all Soviet troops should be called back from Hungary.

1317 Radio MISKOLC announces: Important Soviet forces -- anti-aircraft units and tank troops -- changed their direction and entered again the territory of Hungary from ZAHONY into the direction of NYIREGYHAZA.

1500 The Hungarian Social Democratic Party has been formed. The temporary leadership of the Party was elected. President, Anna KETHLY; Chief Secretary, Gyula KELEMEN; Deputy, Dr. Andras REVESZ. The overwhelming majority of the interim Party leadership has been imprisoned during the years of RAKOSI's terror.

The Episcopal Office of the southern district of the Lutheran Church announced that Bishop Laszlo DEZSERY resigned. Instead of him Bishop Lajos ORDAS took the seat. He has been unjustly sentenced in 1950.

1700 The Presidium of the People's Republic relieved from their offices Lajos TOTH, First Deputy Minister of Defense, and the Chief of General Staff. They are replaced by Pal MALETER and Istvan KOVACS respectively. The Cabinet of the Hungarian People's Republic appointed Bela KIRALY major general, the military commandant of BUDAPEST.

1702 Imre NAGY, Minister President, held a speech at the KOSSUTH statue. He stressed that he did not ask for the help of Soviet troops, this was done without his knowledge. He stated that by terminating the WARSAW Pact we also ask for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

The RAKOCZI transmitter started to broadcast from KAPOSVAR. It calls itself "Country Somogy" and uses the 50 m short wave band.

1800 The Presidium of the Hungarian Trade Union Council resigned. The management was taken over by a provisional board of the National Federation of Free Hungarian Trade Unions, which consists of old, ignored and imprisoned trade union leaders as well as new revolutionary trade unionists.

The provisional board of the National Peasant Party was formed. Secretary General Ferenc PARKAS; members of the board: Dr. Istvan BIBO, university professor, Ferenc S. SZABO, director of the agricultural museum, Lajos JOCSIK, former secretary of state, Gyula ZSIGMONDI, former deputy secretary of the Planning Office, Zoltan ZSEBOK, university professor, Attila SZIGETY, chairman of the GYOR-SOPRON county National Council, Imre KONDOR, university professor, and Sandor KELEMEN, writer. This board is subordinated to a directing body composed of well known writers as Gyula ILLYES, Janos KODOLANYI, Laszlo NEMETH, Istvan SINKA, Lorinc SZABO, Pal SZABO, Aron TAMASI, Peter VERES, Deszo KERESZTURY and Geza FEJA.

- 1745 Radio Free DEBRECZEN started transmissions on 42.5 meters.
- 1837 The Revolutionary Council of the Chief Prosecutor ordered the release of persons detained for crimes in connection with the re-grouping of the land and kolkhozes. (Free PETOFI Radio, GYOR)
- 1935 Radio Free SZOMBATHELY broadcasts the resolution of the Hungarian National Committee which calls the UN Security Council to send material assistance, and if necessary, military help to defend Hungary's independence. The Hungarian National Committee does not recognize the present government.
- 2001 Radio Free KOSSUTH reports that the Soviet Government was informed by the President of the Council of Ministers that the Hungarian Government of the People's Republic desires to start immediate negotiations with regard to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the whole Hungarian territory.
- Imre NAGY declared: Hungary has the possibility to quit the WARSAW Pact alone, that is without the general dissolution of the pact and this standpoint will be energetically represented at the forthcoming Hungarian-Soviet negotiations.
- In his short speech delivered at PECS, Bela KOVACS declared: the people trust the Smallholders' Party, the only one which after 1945 wanted to create independence and freedom in Hungary. He agreed in principle to participate in the government. I was surprised, he continued, to see the names of several former Communist leaders in the government list after its publication...
- 2030 A new radio station came on the air: Radio Free PETOFI II, broadcasting from GYOR on the short wave of 43 meters.
- The National Revolutionary Council of Hungarian Lawyers demands that the government should declare the fact, that Hungary wants to become a neutral country.
- 2140 Radio MISKOLC says: The report has been confirmed, that foreign forces confiscate food and medicament transports arriving to BUDAPEST with the pretext that they contain arms. The Hungarian freedom fighters ask for UNO observers to examine the situation.
- 2200 Radio Free KOSSUTH announces that all jamming stations operating in Hungary ceased their activities.
- 2340 The appeal of the Revolutionary Students' Committee. Among others, we demand that the old Stalinists Antal APRO, Erik MOLNAR, Ferenc NEZVAL, Janos CSERGO, Mrs. Jozsef NAGY, should be left out of the temporary government. On the other hand we would like to see in the government, for example, Anna KETHLY, we would like Gyorgy LUKACS to become the Minister of Education and Gyula ILLYES the Minister of Popular Culture. We would like to see the representatives of youth within the government.

NOVEMBER 1

1010 Press Review of Radio Free KOSSUTH

Today many new newspapers appeared on the street, so far the first time we could see the re-born official organ of the Social Democratic Party, "Nepszava"; the official organ of the Independent Smallholders "Kis Ujsag"; the organ of the National Peasants' Party, "Sabad Szo." Besides Party organs many other newspapers were published for the first time and they will add new colors to our press. There appeared the paper "Igazzag" which represents the revolutionary Armed Forces and the youth; the "Magyar Szabadsag"; the paper of the CSEPEL National Council "Csepeli Ujsag"; the organ of the Hungarian National Revolutionary Committee "Magyar Nemzet," which is edited again by Sandor PETHO. "Nepakarat" is the official organ of Hungarian Free Trade Unions. "Magyar Ifjusag" is the organ of young revolutionary workers and "Valosag," the organ of the workers of County PEST.

1200 "Magyar Fuggetlenseg" (Independence,) the organ of the Hungarian National Revolutionary Committee, (DUDAS) published the demands of the Hungarian agricultural population.

1400 The National Council of Transdanubia held its meeting at GYOR which lasted till 0130 hours. The Council decided that they continue to strike. They start to work again only on the condition that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country will in fact take place.

1500 The inner cabinet of the Council of Ministers has decided that the Prime Minister will take over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The preparatory Committee of the Hungarian Revolutionary Youth Party has issued the following appeal to the Hungarian youth: the Hungarian Revolutionary Youth Party calls to the university and college organizations to join, in the interest of the nation and of youth, the Hungarian Revolutionary Youth Party. The aims of the Party reflect as a whole the attitude of youth in regard to the events of the past days. A dispersion of the forces might lead to the loss of all the results of our fight.

1520 The Christian Front has been formed with the aim to unite all Christian organizations and parties. After ten years of illegality, the provisory executive committee of the Christian Front will hold its first meeting tomorrow morning.

1522 The Union of Hungarian Writers, in a statement issued today, asks everyone to hand those who are guilty over to the militia or the army. Personal vengeance would be unworthy of us. "The eyes of the world are watching us. They admire

the purity of our revolution. We must not allow this to be spoiled."

- 1640 Radio Free KOSSUTH announces: Workers of the uranium mines inform the Hungarian people that all the documents and data relating to the Hungarian uranium production are well guarded and safe.
- 1700 The Revolutionary Committee of SZEGED requests the Prime Minister to notify the Security Council of the United Nations of Soviet intervention.
- 1812 The Prime Minister has notified the Soviet Ambassador that the Hungarian Government has renounced the WARSAW Treaty and proclaims simultaneously the neutrality of Hungary. It asks the United Nations to protect the neutrality of Hungary and requests the help of the Four Great Powers. At the same time, the Secretary General of the United Nations has been informed of the decisions of the Hungarian Government. It has been asked that the question be put on the agenda of the United Nations Assembly which opens today.
- 1702 The Catholic Alliance and the Catholic People's Party has taken up its activities in its former offices.
- 1950 Imre NAGY in his speech declared the neutrality of the Hungarian People's Republic. SEE APPENDIX (X)
- 1955 In his first radio message Cardinal MINDSZENTY said among other things: The position of the country is extraordinarily grave. It is most urgent for us to find a way out.
- 2035 The declaration of Dr. Endre VARGA, president of the Catholic People's Party: Our good shepherd, Cardinal MINDSZENTY, is free. In his spirit we start the rebuilding, the re-establishment of order, peace and security, reconciliation and forgiveness. We shall stick to the maintenance of the social achievements set up in 1945 and serving the people, and we even demand their further development.
- 2040 Representing the temporary leadership of the Social Democratic Party, chief secretary Gyula KELEMEN broadcasts: Our people have learned through bitter sufferings that either rightist or leftist extremism brings only devastation and dictatorship to the country.
- 2140 Ferenc FARKAS, chief secretary of the National Peasants' Party, since today the Petofi Party, explained the stand of the party. As long as Soviet troops do not withdraw from Hungarian territory, the party cannot accept any representation within the government. He asked for the immediate repudiation of the WARSAW Pact.
- 2200 Janos KADAR appeals to all Hungarian workers to join the

Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. A preparatory committee for the calling of a national party-forming congress has been set up, the members of which are: Ferenc DONATH, Janos KADAR, Sándor KOPACSI, Geza LOSONCZY, Gyorgy LUKACS, Imre NAGY and Zoltan SZANTHO. The party will edit a daily: "Nepszabadsag" - "People's Freedom."

- 2203 The "Magyar Kurir" reports that a telegram has arrived from the Vatican State to Cardinal MINDSZENTY, Archbishop of ESZTERGOM.
- 2220 Denes PARKAS broadcasts the program of the Democratic People's Party. The activities of the Democratic People's Party have started.
- 2330 A declaration is broadcast: We were informed by the Soviet Legation in BUDAPEST that the air bases of the Hungarian Airforce were surrounded by Soviet tanks, in order to guarantee the air transport of the families of Soviet Armed Forces and their wounded. The total strength of the Hungarian Airforce stood in readiness to defend themselves against the superior forces. The government, however, in full knowledge of its responsibility, forbids the opening of fire. Consequently, the Hungarian Airforce stands disciplined, without shooting, opposite the Soviet forces and waits for their withdrawal.
- 2400 Dr. Lajos VETŐ and Dr. Laszlo DEZSERY, Lutheran bishops, have resigned. Bishop Dr. Lajos ORDAS has taken over the leadership of the southern Lutheran Church district.

Movements of Soviet Troops

TASS reported November 1 that "Soviet Forces had been withdrawn from BUDAPEST." However, travelers returning to VIENNA from BUDAPEST reported the same day that Soviet tank units and troops had formed a cordon around the Hungarian capital.

NOVEMBER 2

- 0430 The Revolutionary Committee of National Defense appealed to the workers of BUDAPEST to resume work in every line.
- 0800 The declaration of the Revolutionary Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasizes that at the next UNO conference Hungary should be represented by a delegation which has the confidence of the Hungarian nation. "We have already taken measures to prevent the previously appointed delegation attending the UNO conference. As a result, the delegates Imre HORVATH and Endre SEIK are at the moment on their way back to BUDAPEST."
- 0945 An important announcement of the National Revolutionary

Committee of County SOMOGY:

The Soviet tank division stationed at DOMBOVAR left the town during the evening hours. The division surrounded the military airfield of TASZAR and gave the order prohibiting all take-offs to the local commander of the Hungarian Airforce.

(Station RAKOCZI-KAPOSVAR)

On November 2 Soviet units occupied two airfields in BUDAPEST and the airfield of VESZPREM.

- 1000 The Revolutionary Committee of the university students published an announcement: The unanimous demands of the Hungarian people and the repeated statements of our government did not receive a favorable echo on all sides. The Soviet troops have not begun their withdrawal from Hungarian territory. Therefore we have to stand in readiness and unite as we did in the days of the revolution. We should put aside dissension which wastes our national strength.
- 1012 AVH members report in great numbers at the prosecutors' office, asking to be arrested. According to a report, in the early morning hours 30 AVH members of ANGYALFOLD reported. The situation is the same at the other district courts.
- 1020 "Kiss Ujsag" in its article "Flying Banners" writes: Our people long for freedom and not for anarchy. They want a free Hungary. Much has to be done in every respect. The request for a free Hungary and eternal neutrality was forwarded to the UNO. This would mean the creation of a Hungarian-Switzerland. But the Russian troops are still in the country. Our duty is to work, to keep watch, and to be careful!
- 1201 The National Council of Workers in BARANYA County met yesterday and unanimously decided that in the interest of starting normal life at the earliest possible date, all enterprises of County BARANYA will re-start work on November 2. But it reserves the right to use the stroke weapon again if realization of the objects of the revolution demands it.
- 1215 A new shortwave broadcasting station was heard, calling itself Radio Independent Hungary, BUDAPEST.

An appeal from Colonel Pal MALETTER: "Resume work! Compatriots, in the course of the armed revolutionary fight every combatant acknowledged with pride that our workers supported the fight by going on strike. After every fight a period of peaceful reconstruction should begin so that the achievements of the revolution can be secured."

- 1220 Radio Independent Hungary broadcasts in Russian to the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary.

The command of the Hungarian freedom fighters calls to the Soviet troops that they should not fight, but should leave peacefully the territory of Hungary.

- 1512 The Revolutionary Committee of the Hungarian State Railways Management appeals to the railwaymen to return to work immediately and do everything to get railway services restarted.

The president of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party Anna KETHLY, who attended in VIENNA a meeting of the Socialist International, was held up by a Soviet tank near MAGYAROVAR, 10 km from the Austrian border, on her way back to BUDAPEST. A number of side-roads near MAGYAROVAR were also blocked by Soviet tanks (RFE Special report.)

- 1718 The Hungarian writers look for help to the LONDON center of the PEN club world association: "We ask you to find the most effective means to support the cause of our freedom. Our fate is not only a political question, but also one of life and death."

- 1911 The Hungarian Government addressed three verbal notes to the Soviet Embassy in BUDAPEST. The first called attention to the fact that on October 31 and November 1 new units of the Soviet Army crossed the Hungarian frontier. The Hungarian Government having repudiated the WARSAW Pact, suggested that negotiations should start without delay to put this into effect, and for Soviet troops to withdraw from Hungary. The Hungarian delegation was led by Minister of State LOSONCZY and included Jozef KOVAGO, Andras MARTON, Ferenc PARKAS and Vilmos ZENTAI.

The second note dealt with military aspects of the question and proposed that a mixed commission should start its work November 2. Hungarian members-to-be: Minister of State ERDEI, Major-General Pal MALETER, Major General Istvan KOVACS and Colonel Miklos SZUCS.

The third protested against the movements of the Soviet Army in Hungary. It again stressed that new Soviet units crossed the Hungarian border even today, occupying railway lines and stations. In western Hungary Soviet troop movements had been observed from East to West.

Prime Minister Imre NAGY sent a telegram to Mr. Dag HAMMARSKJOLD, Secretary General of the UN: I ask your excellency to request the Great Powers to recognize the neutrality of Hungary and that the Security Council should instruct the Soviet and Hungarian Governments to start negotiations on the subject without delay.

NAGY wrote to the UN secretary on Soviet troop movements:

"On November 2 further and exact information mainly military reports, reached the Hungarian Government according to which large Soviet military units crossed the border of the country, marching toward BUDAPEST. They occupy railway lines, railway stations and railway safety equipment. Reports have also been received that Soviet military movements of east-west direction are being observed on the territory of western Hungary."

2045 Radio Free KOSSUTH reports: in some places in the eastern part of the country, Soviet troops are carrying out some incomprehensible maneuvers and anxious people are asking themselves: why do they do that? What will be the result of this? Somewhere in BUDAPEST, near the Fo utca, a fight went on under cover of night. We do not know exactly who was fighting.

(Extensive monitoring of Radio MISKOLC, which in recent days has supplied most information on movements of Soviet troops in northeastern Hungary, has not been possible during the past 24 hours because of heavy jamming from abroad (presumably Czechoslovakia or the Soviet Union) and monitoring of other transmitters has given little information of this sort.)

2204 For the first time since the victorious revolution, the BUDAPEST radio and all the other rural radio stations are broadcasting a common program. Today the countryside and BUDAPEST, the people, and the government are united in their aims.

2210 The Revolutionary Committee of Hungarian Intellectuals and the Hungarian Writers' Union sent a telegram to the World Peace Council on the address of JOLIOT CURIE, PARIS, to the Central Secretariat of the World Peace Council: "The whole Hungarian nation expressed their unanimous will to demand the re-establishment of their national independence and sovereignty and the early withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory. This is an important pledge in maintaining peace in Eastern Europe. The Hungarian nation requests the World Peace Council to immediately convene in VIENNA on this subject."

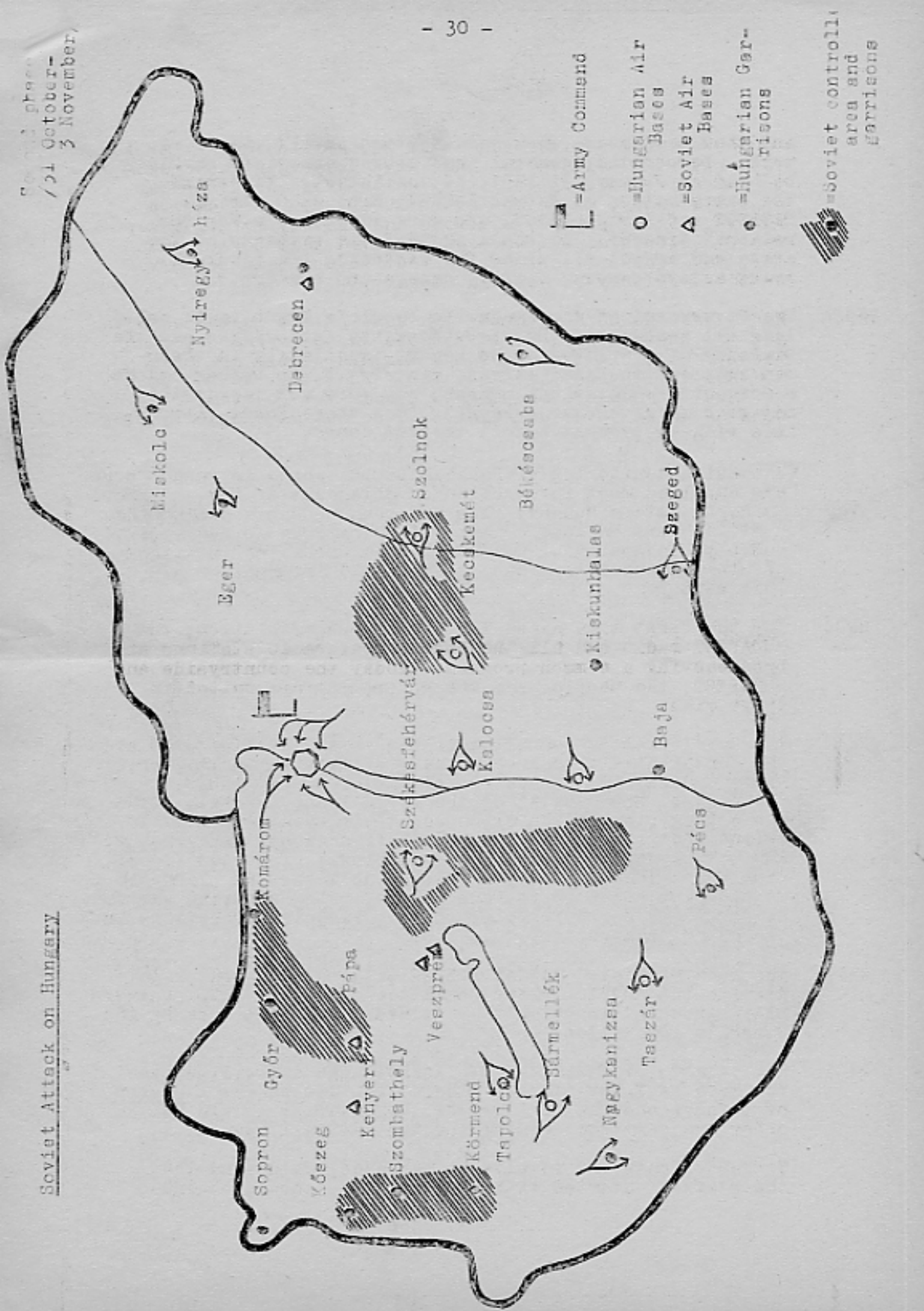
2214 The Hungarian students at MOSCOW universities sent a telegram to the Revolutionary Committee of the BUDAPEST University students, in which they joined the appeal made by the Students' Committee.

2300 The demands of MISKOLC: "We acknowledge and will support the Imre NAGY government. The activities of the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of the Interior should be under the permanent control of the National Council.

To consolidate the results we achieved, we demand that the strikes, started with correct aims, should be ended

Soviet Attack on Hungary

Source: *State Dept.*
/ 21 October -
3 November, 1956



- = Army Command
- = Hungarian Air Bases
- = Soviet Air Bases
- = Hungarian Garrisons
- = Soviet controlled area and Garrisons

and that productive work should start in all places of work. Democratic, general, and secret elections should be held on January 31 1957, at the latest. We demand the extradition of Matyas RAKOSI, Erno GERO, Andras HEGEDUS and Laszlo PIROS, who were responsible for the national tragedy. We shall protect the property of the state and reject all plans for restoring the power of great estate owners, factory owners and bankers."

2400 The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is calling all members of the State Security Authorities and the Ministry of the Interior to report immediately in their own interest to Marko street, district V, to appear before a screening commission. Those, who were not responsible may go home after the screening, but those found responsible will be brought before the law court.

NOVEMBER 3

1300 Excerpts from a message sent by the Revolutionary Army Committee to Hungarian workers: "Our army has to be reinforced. Give us coal, oil, iron and steel! Strengthen our fight for our independence and neutrality by resuming production without delay. Return to your places of work in the mines, factories and workshops."

1325 The formation of a new cabinet was announced. The members of the new national cabinet are: Imre NAGY, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs (Hung. Socialist Workers Party;) Zoltan TILDY State Minister (Independent Smallholders Party;) Istvan B. SZABO, State Minister (Independent Smallholders Party;) Anna KETHLY, State Minister (Soc. Dem. Party;) Gyula KELEMEN, State Minister; (Soc. Dem. Party) Istvan BIBO State Minister; (Petofi Party) Ferenc PARKAS State Minister; (Petofi Party) Geza LOSONCZY, State Minister (Hung. Socialist Workers Party) Janos KADAR State Minister (Hung. Socialist Workers Party) and Pal MALETER Minister of Defense.

Simultaneously 23 members of the former government were relieved of their posts. Among them: Imre HORVATH Minister of Foreign Affairs; Ferenc MUNNICH, Minister of the Interior; Istvan KOSSA, Minister of Finance; Antal APRO, Jozsef BOGNAR and Ferenc ERDEI, deputy premiers.

1400 Appeal of the Free Radio of the National Committee of DUNAFENTELE formerly SZTALINVAROS to all Hungarian broadcasting stations:

We received information proving that propaganda supplied to the Soviet radio and Soviet troops tells of fascist massacre in Hungary. As it is feared that many Soviet soldiers will believe these slanders, we urge every free Hungarian radio station to start regular broadcasts in Russian and Hungarian language, to counteract these false rumors.

1435 The National Council warns the national councils of the counties that dubious groups travel around the country. They pretend to act in the name of and on behalf of various revolutionary institutions. These groups create confusion and endanger the achievements of the revolution. Therefore, they should be arrested.

1440 Resolution of the police force: On November 3 the Revolutionary Police Committee unanimously elected Major General Bela KIRALY as its commander-in-chief and police-colonel Sandor KOPACSI as his deputy. It stands for the independence and neutrality of our country, it will resist every attack aimed at our independence and neutrality by armed force. Until free and democratic elections can be held, we will do our best to support the government and fight

against every attempt which aims at creating confusion. The strikes are against the interest of the country, therefore we suggest that they should be discontinued and productive work started.

- 1700 The delegation of the Trans-Danubian National Council called on the National Government. They asked the nation to unite and resume work. According to information received from the Ministry of Fuel and Power, the work resumed on Saturday will probably yield 20 to 25,000 tons of coal.
- 1935 Units of the Soviet army are approaching our capital. A delegation of the Baranya Workers Council went to meet them. They told them that they have peaceful intention and do not wish to interfere with the affairs of the city. (Radio PECS)
- 1800 We inform our listeners that at 1600 hours today, November 3, the DUNAPENTELE National Committee sent three parliamentary delegates to meet Soviet military units marching in the direction of DUNAFOLDVAR. (Radio DUNAPENTELE)
- 1830 The three delegates sent to DUNAFOLDVAR this afternoon returned. They agreed with the Soviet officers that neither party will start shooting. (Radio DUNAPENTELE)
- 1820 Important announcement to the National Committees. The program of Imre NAGY expresses the unanimous wish of the people. Every honest Hungarian agrees with his program, yet there are some who endanger unity. They wanted to form a counter government in GYOR on October 30 headed by a man called SOMOGYVARI. The Dunantul National Council considered those who disrupt unity traitors.
- 2000 Cardinal MINDSZENTY in his speech to the Hungarian people and the world called for new election under international control and requests from "the successors of the fallen regime" the "immediate granting of freedom of Christian religious instruction and the restoration of the institutions and societies of the Catholic Church." /SEE APPENDIX (XI)
- 2200 The Hungarian Academy of Sciences supports the government in its efforts to attain a free and independent Hungary.
- 2315 The Hungarian Government held a press conference this afternoon in the House of Parliament. Zoltan TILDY and Geza LOSONCZY answered to the questions of foreign correspondents. TILDY stated in connection with the Hungro-Soviet negotiations which started that morning: "One cannot talk yet about final developments. Generally speaking a lessening of tension is noticeable."

On the moves of Soviet troops in Hungary TILDY said the

following: "We did not receive a preliminary report from the Soviet Government on the move of their units, or the purpose of their moves."

NOVEMBER 4

(At approximately 0400 the Soviet Army began a large-scale offensive against BUDAPEST. Tanks opened fire on the city and at 0820 Soviet troops penetrated the Parliament.)

0430 Appeal of the Hungarian Revolutionary Committee of Intellectuals: "The work of our committee has to be based on broader foundations... Let us join forces in the defense of a independent, free and neutral Hungary."

0520 Attention! Attention!

Imre NAGY president of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Democracy speaking. Today at dawn Soviet troops started an attack on our capital with the obvious purpose of overthrowing the Hungarian democratic government. Our troops are fighting. The government is at its place. I want to inform the people of our country and the world of these facts.

0556 Attention! Attention!

Imre NAGY, prime minister of the national government calls upon Minister of Defense Pal MALETER, Chief-of-Staff Istvan KOVACS and other members of the military delegation who went to negotiate with the Soviet military command yesterday, at 2200 hours, and so far have not returned to report immediately and take over leadership in their respective offices.

(The announcement is repeated every two minutes in English, French, German, Hungarian and in a Slav language.)

0645 The US asked on Sunday morning the immediate convocation of the Security Council in connection with Hungary.

0757 Appeal of the Association of Hungarian Writers: "We ask for the help of every writer and scientist of the world, of every writers association, of every academy, of intellectual leaders. Time is short! You know the facts, we do not have to tell you these. Help Hungary! Help the Hungarian people! Help the Hungarian workers, scientists workers, peasants and intellectual workers. Help! Help! Help!"

At 0807 Radio Free KOSSUTH ceased its broadcasts.

0815 Broadcast of Ferenc MUNNICH over an unknown radio station:

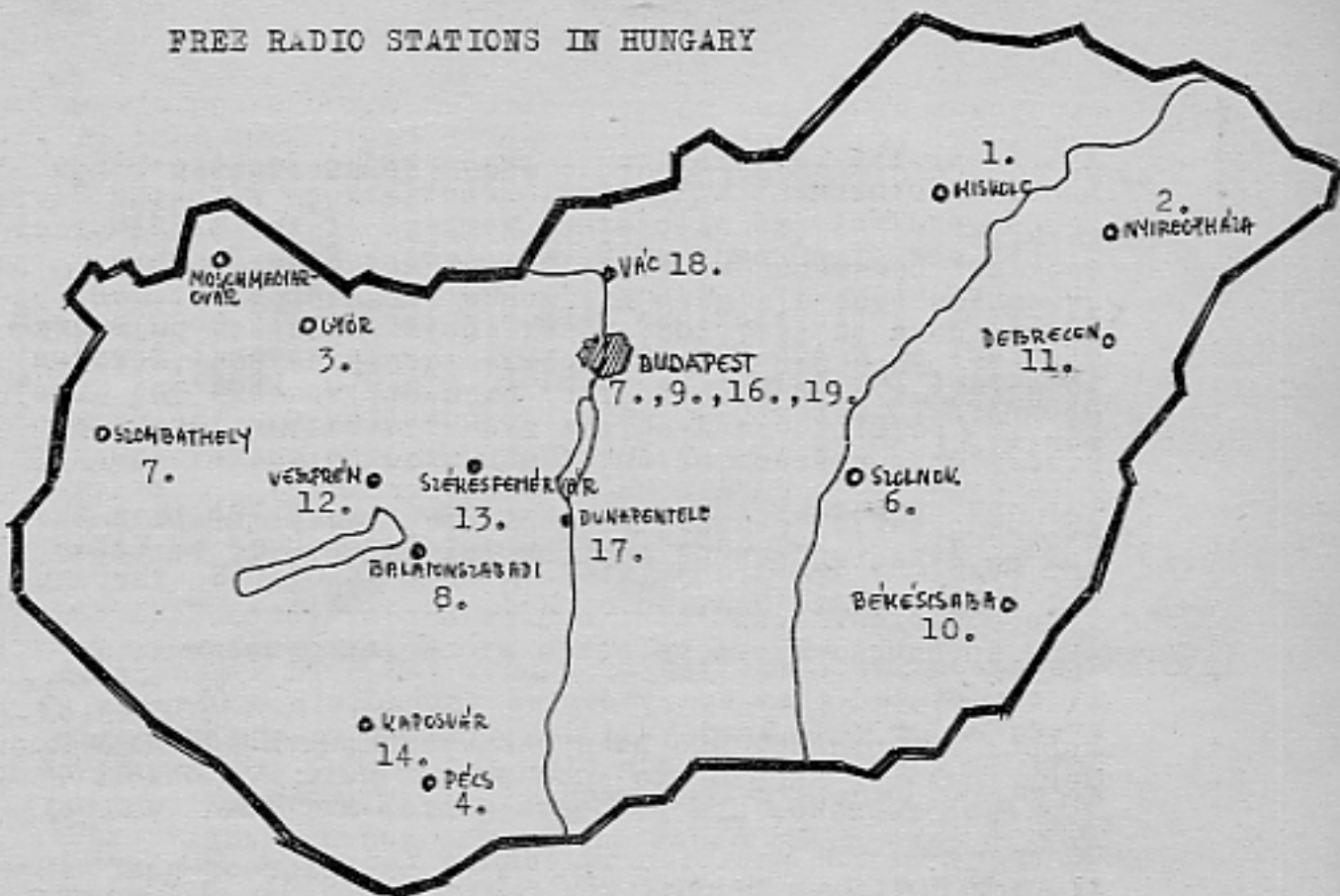
"The undersigned Antal APRO, Janos KADAR, Istvan KOSSA and Ferenc MUNNICH, former members of the Imre NAGY government, hereby declare that on November 1 1956 we resigned from Imre NAGY's government and started to form the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant government... In the Imre NAGY government which got under the pressure of reaction and became powerless we had no possibility to defend our socialist achievements against counter-revolutionary dangers... We cannot watch with folded hands that counter-revolutionary bandits and terrorists murder our best worker and peasant brothers... We call upon all the adherents of socialism, particularly the Communists, to support every measure taken by the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant government."

0830 The Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant government, Minister-president: Janos KADAR, Deputy Minister-president and Minister of Armed Forces and Police: Ferenc MUNNICH. Minister of State: Gyorgy MAROSAN. Minister of Foreign Affairs: Imre HORVATH. Minister of Finance: Istvan KOSSA. Minister of Industry: Antal APRO. Minister of Agriculture: Imre DOGEI. Minister of Commerce: Sandor RONAI.

Janos KADAR gives the program of the new government:

1. To ensure our independence and national sovereignty.
2. To defend our popular democratic and socialist regime against all attacks.
3. To terminate fratricidal fight and to restore order and peace within the country.
4. Close cooperation with every socialist country based on the principles of equality and mutual non-interference.
5. Peaceful cooperation with every country irrespective of their social order and government.
6. The quick and considerable raising of the standard of living of the workers, especially of the working classes.
7. To modify the five-year plan taking into account the country's economic endowments and the rise in the standard of living.
8. To put an end to bureaucracy and the development of democracy in the interest of the workers.
9. Workers administration in factories and workshops.
10. The development of agriculture, termination of delivery quotas and support to individual farmers.
11. To ensure the democratic election of present administrative organs and revolutionary councils.
12. To support artisans and small traders.
13. To develop Hungarian national culture in the spirit of our progressive tradition.
14. The Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant government asked the Soviet military headquarters to help our people in destroying reactionary forces and to restore peace and order in Hungary.

FREE RADIO STATIONS IN HUNGARY



1. Radio of county Borsod Workers Council, MISKOLC, October 26.
2. Radio of county Szabolcs-Szatmár Workers C. NYIREGyhÁZA, October 26.
3. Free Radio of GYÖR, October 27.
4. Free Radio of PECS, October 27.
5. Free Radio of SZOMBATHELY, October 30.
6. Free Radio of SZOLNOK, October 30.
7. Free Kossuth Radio BUDAPEST, October 30.
8. Free Petöfi Radio BALATONSZABADI, October 30.
9. Radio Rajk, October 30.
10. Radio BÉKÉSCSABA, October 31.
11. Radio DEBRECEN, October 31.
12. Free Radio of VESZPRÉM, October 31.
13. Free Radio of SZÉKESFEHÉRVÁR, October 31.
14. Radio Rakoczi KAPOSVAR, October 31.
15. Radio EGER, October 31.
16. Radion Independent Hungary, November 2.
17. Radio DUNAPENTELE, later RADIO RAKOCZI, November 3.
18. Radio CSOKONAI, November 4.
19. Tadio Róka, November 5.

NOTE : Above dates indicate when the above radio stations were first monitored by RFE as free radio stations.

15. After the restoration of peace and order the Hungarian Government will start negotiations with the Soviet Government and with other members of the WARSAW Pact on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

(All rebel radio stations were off the air by 0830 except DUNAPENTELE which was heard applying in several foreign languages for help. Radio GYOR, MISKOLC, PECS and SZOMBATHELY after 0930 were broadcasting for the Communists.)

(It was stated by the technical experts of VOA that the broadcasts of the KADAR government (addresses of KADAR and MUNNICH) are transmitted on 1187 KILOCYCLE, through the Balkan Radio Station of Radio MOSCOW.)

- 1230 The executive committee of county VAS held a session. It was stated that every decree issued since October 23, every order, has lost validity, therefore the councils have to act in accordance with the lawful orders of the Hungarian People's Democracy. (Radio SZOMBATHELY)

Contrary to the position in county VAS where the Revolutionary National Council was replaced by the old county executive council, the worker's council of county BORSOD declared that the county workers council maintains its former demands and fights with all its force for their fulfillment.

- 1620 Radio CSOKQNAI requests Radio Free Europe to forward immediately a message to the UN, to the UN secretary general and UNO delegates.

"1. Soviet military authorities have announced that soon BUDAPEST will be bombed.

2. We charge the Soviet Union with:

- a) armed attack from outside,
- b) the arrest of Minister of Defense MALETER and his escort, who came to negotiate on the withdrawal of Soviet troops.
- c) the arrest and holding prisoner of the only legal Hungarian Government, the Imre NAGY government.

We now broadcast our message to the member states of UNO: To all delegates and members of UNO! Within the next few hours you decide on the life or death of this nation. Use the possibilities you have, save our country from being destroyed and us from slavery. Let us see that the UNO is able to assert its will and can obtain the freedom of our country!"

- 1830 The National Revolutionary Council of county SZABOLCS-SZATMAR announces: 1. That there is curfew from 1900 to 0700 hours. 2. Those who are in possession of arms have

to hand them in at police headquarters. 3. Work should be resumed immediately. (Radio NYIREGYHAZA)

- 1915 Laszlo SZILAGYI, president of the National Revolutionary Council of county SZABOLCS-SZATMAR speaks: "The revolution is victorious. We still maintain our demands. I am asking the population of the county to stand united by the Worker-Peasant Revolutionary government." (Radio NYIREGYHAZA)
- 2100 Order of the Soviet Military Command of PECS: 1. The Counter-Revolutionary National Committees should be dissolved. 2. The population should hand in their arms immediately at the army headquarters. 3. Work has to be resumed everywhere on the morning of November 5. 4. Demonstrations and gatherings are prohibited. 5. Curfew from 1900 to 0700 hours. 6. If Soviet soldiers are shot at, the fire will be returned by every branch of Soviet arms. (Radio PECS)
- 2115 Communiqué of the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government: "The government of Imre NAGY, which cleared the way for reactionary forces, has ceased to exist... The faithful defenders of the cause of socialism can return from hiding."
- 2347 The revolutionary worker-peasant government protests against the discussion of the Hungarian question before the UN.
- 2350 The government confirms KOOS' appointment as the Hungarian delegate to the UN.

NOVEMBER 5

- 0905 Radio KOSSUTH's commentary on the revolution: "When the uprising started, it was rightful, but it was gradually distorted and came under the influence of Fascist elements."
- 0930 Message of the Soviet Command in Hungary, to the Hungarian people, pointing out that Soviet troops acted at the request of the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government because the government of Imre NAGY did not want to fight against the reaction.
- 1515 Telegram sent by the Hungarian Government to the UN protesting against the discussion of the Hungarian matter.

Radio RAKOCZI reports that fights are continuing in the capital. The power station in INOTA is in the hands of the revolutionaries.

- 1520 According to the governments radio, on the morning of November 4 the conspiracy against the Hungarian People's Democracy was liquidated.
- 1630 In a broadcast of Radio PECS the population is called upon not to support counter-revolutionaries fighting in the Mecsek Mountains.
- 1708 The freedom fighters ask for food, ammunition and UN intervention. (Radio RAKOCZI)
- 1730 Radio RAKOCZI situated south of BUDAPEST reports that Soviet troops prepare an attack against DUNAPENTELE, formerly, SZTALINVAROS.
- 1820 Factory managers of county BARANYA were dismissed during the revolution are called upon by Radio PECS to take over their posts again.
- 1830 The revolutionaries appeal for immediate military help. It is announced that Sovietseven shoot at Red Cross cars. Radio ROKA situated in BUDAPEST.
- 2115 The revolutionaries ask RFE to call upon the whole nation to demonstrate against the KADAR government. (Radio RAKOCZI)
- 2340 Janos KADAR appeals for financial help from the socialist countries for Hungary's reconstruction.
- 2345 The Soviet Government announces that it will give help to Hungary.

NOVEMBER 6

- 0530 Radio PECS broadcasts the appeal of the Soviet military commander of county BARANYA to the rebels to put down their arms by 0800 hours the latest, if not they will be tried by military court.
- 1035 The workers of DUNAPENTELE propose that the whole area of the town should be declared a distribution center for the Red Cross. (Radio RAKOCZI)
- 1452 Radio RAKOCZI broadcasts an appeal to the UN police force to come immediately to Hungary.
- 1500 Appeal of the provisional central committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party, declaring that it disassociates itself from the policy of the RAKOSI clique and of Imre NAGY. The Party takes the name of Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party and asks for the support of every democratic patriot. The Leninist principles of democracy will be followed in the Party.

1605 An appeal for arms and ammunition from DUNAPENTELE was broadcasted by Radio RAKOCZI.

(It appears from the programs still broadcast by radio stations in the hands of the revolutionaries and by the transmitters controlled by the KADAR government and the Soviet occupation forces that the armed resistance of the revolutionaries has not been broken, at least as of mid-afternoon.)

NOVEMBER 7

1035 Appeal to the UN to support the Hungarian fight for freedom. (Radio RAKOCZI)

1112 Appeal to the Soviet troops not to use their arms against the Hungarian people. (Appeal to RFE to translate the appeal into Russian and broadcast it to the troops.) (Radio RAKOCZI)

1215 Appeal to RFE to communicate the wavelength of other free Hungarian broadcasting stations. (Radio RAKOCZI)

1340 The Soviet military commandant of KECSKEMET appeals to the garrison of DUNAPENTELE to surrender. The military command of DUNAPENTELE refused to do so. (Radio RAKOCZI)

1405 DUNAPENTELE is attacked on several flanks by Soviet tanks. Radio RAKOCZI broadcasts urgent appeal to President EISENHOWER to help. It is announced that if Soviet troops seize the town, the defenders will continue to fight as partisans. (Radio RAKOCZI)

1453 The last broadcast of Radio RAKOCZI.

"Attention! Attention!

Soviet tanks and air force are attacking DUNAPENTELE. The battle continues with the same intensity. We interrupt our broadcast for an uncertain period..."

2000 Appeal of Antal APRO, Minister of Industries, to the miners to resume work. "It depends on you that life should be resumed everywhere; re-start your work." APRO revealed that the coal reserves of the railroads were fast running out.

2330 Commentary on the activities of the counter-revolution and the treason against the people committed by the right-wing leaders of the Smallholders, Social-Democrat and Peasant parties. No names are given.

(Fighting both in BUDAPEST and the provinces appears fiercer

than last night. Radios ROKA (BUDAPEST) and RAKOCZI (DUNAPENTELE,) plus some amateur stations from BUDAPEST were intercepted.

In BUDAPEST fighting is going on at Kilian and Hadik barracks and in the 8th district. Provinces: Fighting DUNAPENTELE continuing. Communist radio stations indicate fighting FECS (Red Cross trying to get ceasefire to remove wounded Komlo area, Matra/Bukk forests and along Yugoslav border.

On the political scene Communist radio indicated general strife continuing everywhere.)

NOVEMBER 8

- 1002 Istvan DOBI, president of the Hungarian People's Republic, appeals to peasants to support the government with their work.
- 1020 The broadcast of Gyorgy MAROSAN, Minister of State. He condemned the policy of the RAKOSI-GERO clique and the ravages of counter-revolutionary elements.
- 1045 Four days after entering in function the members of the revolutionary worker-peasant government were sworn in. The following resolutions were brought at the first meeting of the council of ministers: 1. All ministerial employees have to report immediately at their place of work. 2. The local administrative organs are the council executive committees. 3. Public functionaries are ordered to resume their work by November 10. Those who fail to do this of their own accord will be regarded as having voluntarily resigned from their jobs. 4. Revolutionary committees should without delay expell counter-revolutionary elements from their ranks. The revolutionary committees are only consultative bodies in relation to the executive committees of the councils. 5. Railwaymen should resume work immediately. 6. Dr. Gyorgy CSANADI is appointed Commissioner of Transport and Communication. 7. A government committee of public supply will be formed, under Rezzo NYERS. 8. Food-shops have to be re-opened within 24 hours. 9. Schools have to be immediately re-opened and teaching resumed. Students may choose for themselves what foreign languages to study.
- 1100 Deputy Premier Ferenc MUNNICH, as commander of the armed forces, prohibits the functioning of military revolutionary councils during these extraordinary times. The revolutionary committees have the authority only to advise, and have no rights to appoint or remove leading personalities. MUNNICH ordered members of the armed forces to remain in their barracks, and those separated from their units to remain at home.
- 1130 Appeal of the Soviet military commander to the population to surrender all arms to the Soviet military without delay. The curfew lasts from 1900 to 0700 hours.
- 1400 Radio KOSSUTH announces that during the past four days it broadcast its programs from the SZOLNOK Studio. From now onwards it resumes broadcasting from the BUDAPEST Studio.

1430 The Cabinet passed a resolution that clothing put in pawn and not exceeding the value of 500 forint should be returned to the respective owners free of charge.

A radio commentary explains that this measure was necessary because the population pawned its winter clothes (during the summer) which it needs immediately.

1510 According to a decree published by the commissioner of public food supplies food shops in BUDAPEST should be re-opened as from 0800 hours on November 9.

(It is interesting to note that all the orders given by KOSSUTH Radio on November 8, in the form of decrees or appeals, were dated from BUDAPEST, November 7.)

1512 The national police headquarters issued instructions to all policemen to report to duty immediately.

1515 Istvan KOSSA, Minister of Finance, gave orders that those workers who resume work before November 10 should be given salary advance.

1615 Prime-Minister Janos KADAR informed several leaders in SZOLNOK of the political situation.

According to KADAR, the uprising which started on October 23 claimed in the beginning rightful demands but later took a turn for the worse. Counter-revolutionary forces tried to use the uprising for their own aims. Enemy "elements" from the West also participated in the events of the last days. The delaying policy of the Imre NAGY government supported the counter-revolutionary forces. It is for this reason that the Hungarian Worker-Peasant Revolutionary government asked Soviet troops to intervene. When order is restored, the Hungarian government will start negotiations with the Russians for the withdrawal of their troops from Hungarian territory.

1630 Radio speech of Sandor RONAY, Minister of Commerce. RONAY condemns in sharp terms the criminal policy of RAKOSI and his clique. The peoples' despair, deriving from this policy, was used by the counter-revolutionary forces to restore the old regime. In the conclusion of his proclamation, RONAY begs the "counter-revolutionaries" to stop fighting.

1810 The leader of Szabad Nep (published in SZOLNOK) entitled:

"In the name of Humanity and Honor," condemns the terror of the counter-revolution but at the same time appeals that it should not be repeated now against the uprisers. "We should not allow the repetition of the violations of law which took place in some places during the past days."

- 1907 Appeal of the Free Hungarian National Trade Unions. The appeal condemns the despotism of the RAKOSI clique and the counter-revolutionary tendencies of the last days and sides with the KADAR government. It proposes the government
1. to form immediately Hungarian home-guard and police organizations;
 2. that it should distribute food stores, first of all at the places of work;
 3. that it should bring concrete measures for the care of the sick and the children;
 4. that civilians who lost their homes should be housed in every available space.
- 2143 Radio KOSSUTH gives a report on the situation in BUDAPEST. Food shops were open in several districts of BUDAPEST on November 8. People had to line up for hours to obtain bread. Work was resumed at several work-shops. Looting increased in some districts. Several parts of the town are in flame, the fire was caused by incendiaries. The extinguishing of the fires is prevented by armed "bandits."
- 2155 In BUDAPEST, posters appeared, which were printed by the counter-revolutionaries. These posters favor the stopping of bloodshed but at the same time attack the KADAR government, for slandering, in their view, the Hungarians in calling them Fascists and counter-revolutionaries. According to the commentary, this is not true. The KADAR government knows that the Hungarian people are not Fascists and is aware that only a fraction wanted to transform the events of the last days to a Fascist coup d'Etat.
- 2215 Minister of State Gorgy MAROSAN reads the appeal of the Hungarian government. According to the appeal, starvation threatens the population. To avoid it, it is necessary to resume work immediately. But this is made impossible by the still prevailing disorder. Therefore, the government appeals to everyone to hand in their arms, to clear the rubble and to help in the resuming of normal life.

(In contrast to November 7, when the KADAR government showed

very little sign of life, a sharp increase in government decrees and statements was noted on November 8. In spite of this activity the regime's broadcasts reveal that
a) there has been no general resumption of work, and
b) fighting continues in a number of areas.)

NOVEMBER 9

- 0630 Appeal of the headquarters of the BUDAPEST garrison to the citizens of BUDAPEST: to report about any discarded weapons they might find. Work should be resumed in the factories. In this view it is absolutely necessary to transport the workers of the rural areas to the centers of industry and to take them home again. Railway workers, start working.
- 0710 On account of the counter-revolutionary activities, KOBANYA is still cut off from the other parts of the city because the "bandits" endanger the safety of transport service. Some "bandits" have entrenched themselves into the champignon cellars and into the water tower of the X. district. (Radio KOSSUTH,)
- 0743 Radio KOSSUTH gives informations about BUDAPEST districts on the 6th day of the 2nd Soviet interference;
District I: Some armed men came down from the Castle and asked for help which, however, the population refused because they had enough of the fight and wish to live in peace.
District II: Peasants brought food to the market of Peny street this morning. Small armed units are reported to have looted the district party committee building on November 8.
District III: In the O-Buda Gas factory, due to the heroic efforts of the manual and office workers, the gas supply of BUDAPEST is assured.
District IV: The population objects that no adequate information was forwarded by the factories on how and in what way the work should be resumed in the factories.
District V: Nothing special happened in the city during last night. Discarded weapons were found at several places. Armed men left some of the cellars. At several places, the "bandits" wished to break into the houses but were prevented by the inhabitants.
- 0935 At the Hungarian Steel Factory, last night was quiet. The 25-member workers' guard watched over the factory, and repulsed an armed attack.

- 0945 The activities of the BUDAPEST police headquarters are entirely confined to the restoration of law and order and public safety. For this purpose, the so-called "R" groups are being formed, whose duty will be to liquidate the criminal, looting elements and to prevent the inhabitants from being bothered. Within a short time these "R" groups will appear on the BUDAPEST streets.
- 1154 The chief of the National Police appeals to the tenants' committees and janitors of the BUDAPEST houses to collect all arms, ammunition and explosive material to be found in the houses and to hand them over to the district police.
- 1320 Radio KOSSUTH on Imre NAGY and MINDSZENTY. The enemy radios spread rumors that the Imre NAGY government was arrested. We inform the people that these rumors are not true. Imre NAGY left the parliament on his own decision. Several members of the NAGY government actively support the workers-peasant government and are engaged in public activities. The other members of the dissolved Imre NAGY government also left the Parliament as free men and on their own decision. The news about the arrest of Cardinal MINDSZENTY is equally untrue.
- 1335 The appeal of the Government Committee for Public Supply:
1. The market retailers and the enterprises are asked to start selling their goods on the markets as soon as possible. Besides the small tradesmen with a licence, only those who have no licences might sell food on the markets without a special permit.
2. Provincial councils and social organizations who are sending food articles to the capital are asked to transport first of all bread and flour, meat, potatoes, milk and milk products.
- 1715 Imre DOGEI, Minister of Agriculture, appealed to the members of the co-operatives and machine stations to defend the property of the farms from looters.
- 1735 The committee for public supply issued a decree on the registration and blocking of transport fuel: All transport fuel, gasoline and motor oil found in the capital has to be "frozen." From November 10 it can be used only with the permission of the committee of public supply.
- 1920 According to the instructions of Deputy Premier Ferenc MUNNICH, those sentenced for ordinary criminal offences and who left prison after October 23, before serving two thirds

of their sentence, should immediately report at the nearest prison. Those who report before 1200 hours, November 11, will be pardoned one third of their prison sentence.

- 2017 The Presidential Council proposes the change of some parts of the constitution. Changes to be made in the paragraph on state administration and the paragraph on the emblem of the Hungarian Republic.

The emblem of the Hungarian Republic is the KOSSUTH emblem.

- 2110 Two Hungarian ministers visited DUNAPENTELE and held discussions with the leaders of the town and the Soviet military command. It was ascertained that no serious damage was done to the town and the Iron works.

(The military situation:

The Communist radio broadcasting on shortwave* to provincial stations reported on November 9 that in BUDAPEST resistance troops had begun renewed sharp attacks in the outskirts. These resistance groups were opening fire unexpectedly, than disappearing to start an action somewhere else.

To put an end to such partisan activity, the Soviet city command had issued instructions for the persons responsible for apartment houses to lock all cellar entrances and to barricade all passage-ways between the cellars.

Larger partisan groups were operating in the 3rd, the 6th and 20th districts, as well as in the BUDA hills. The situation was particularly serious in outer KOBANYA and CSEPEL suburbs where, according to the aforementioned radio, the resistance groups were being constantly provided with reinforcement from rural areas.

The same radio, monitored in VIENNA at 0500 hours on November 10, reported that Soviet troops were steadily attacking the resistance nests. Hard fighting was going on in the 1st, 3rd, 9th, 13th and 20th districts. In downtown the freedom fighters were hidden in the damaged houses and cellars. In Guszev street the insurgents had built up a "fortification" and so far repelled all Soviet attacks. At the small Gellert hill, in outer KOBANYA, and in the Aron Gabor Factory, the Soviets were using heavy guns against the freedom fighters. Fighting continued at CSEPEL, the industrial center on the outskirts of the capital. On the BUDA side the freedom fighters were dislodged from some positions and re-

Information based on this shortwave Communist station (see pp. 47, 49, 50 and 52) was not monitored directly by RFE. Its validity cannot therefore be guaranteed to the same degree as the other monitored information.

treating in direction of the BUDA hills.

Struggle in the Provinces.

According to the same transmitter, on November 9 the front of the resistance fighters at DUNAPENTELE was broken.

The partisans at KALOCSA were still strongly holding their positions.

The same radio, monitored in VIENNA at 0500 on November 10, said Soviet troops were carrying out encircling moves in the Matra and Bukk woods. The insurgents had created a unified front in the area of RUDABANYA, APATPALVA and SZENDROLAD.

In the southern region of the country, in the woods of Komlo and the Mecsek mountain, fighting was continuing. In the area of SZIGETVAR the Soviet troops attempt to cut the retreat of freedom fighters toward the Western border line.

In the area of KAPOSVAR several villages, KAPOSMERO, BARDUDVARNOK and others, are in the hands of the insurgents. Soviet artillery was used against these villages.

In the BAKONY woods Soviet troops were in contact with freedom fighters.

In MOHACS the resistance of the revolutionaries had been liquidated. In the area of NAGYKOROS the freedom fighters committed acts of sabotage and carried out surprise attacks against Soviet patrols.

In County SZOLNOK partisan groups caused severe damage to railway lines and communications.)

NOVEMBER 10

- 0500 "Nepszabadsag" (the daily of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party) emphasizes in its article that Stalinist terror will not return to Hungary. The government protects the democratic achievements of the revolution.
- 0510 Railwayworkers are called upon to resume work immediately.
- 0515 According to reports from the provinces, workers demanded

wage increases.

- 0520 The reorganization of the BUDAPEST police is being started. So-called "R" (for the maintenance of order) groups are set up, whose task it is to put an end to looting. Armed workers guards are also set up in factories and districts.
- 0907 The PECS Radio made an appeal to the parents of young people fighting in the Mecsek woods, saying the parents would be transported to the Soviet lines at 1100 hours to make appeals over loudspeakers to their children to lay down their arms.
- 1000 BUDAPEST workshops hold meetings at which the resumption of work is discussed.
- 1005 According to the radio, the factories are unable to work as they do not have a sufficient supply of electric power. Power plants are unable to produce sufficient electricity, as they do not get coal.
- 1200 Approximately 10 to 20 per cent of BUDAPEST workers reported today at their places of work.
- 1220 During the past few days a number of farmer's cooperatives were dissolved in county Szolnok. The county committee did not raise any objections to this. (This is the first report on the fate of the cooperatives.)
- 1502 According to the decree issued by the Presidium, legal proceedings in connection with certain crimes (murder, set on fire, looting and the use of arms) will be simplified and speeded up.
- 2008 Starting from January 1, 1957, the government abolishes the tax imposed on childless parents because "this is contrary to the principle of voluntariness in connection with setting up a family."
- 2010 As from November 10 railway transportation is commencing on several lines. First of all, workers' trains will be put into operation.

NOVEMBER 11

- 0810 According to the BUDAPEST chief medical officer, the number of contagious diseases in BUDAPEST did not increase during the past few weeks. Medical supply is satisfactory.

(The KADAR speech is a step on the road to concessions. It confirmed the abolition of deliveries. It recognized the achievements of the revolution up to October 29. Wage increases were promised from January 1 1957. Those whose wages were under 1,200 forint to receive an increase of 15 per cent, those over 1,500 forint, eight to ten per cent. Recent decrees on the abolition of the tax for childlessness, changes in the army's uniform, the introduction of the KOSSUTH emblem, and the declaration of March 15 as the national day, were confirmed:

KADAR spoke about persons of different party allegiance and ideologies: in his view, these have to participate in the leadership of the state. KADAR imagines this participation through the medium of the People's Patriotic Front. He does not refer to the question of whether the democratic parties will be able to function constitutionally. He did not mention free elections.)

- 1700 Radio KOSSUTH announces: The burial of Imre MBZO, Secretary of the BUDAPEST Party Committee, who was murdered by the counter-revolutionaries, is going to take place on Monday afternoon. (The burial was postponed.)
- 1900 Radio KOSSUTH reports fights are taking place in VAC and along the roads leading to Austria.
- 1910 Shortage of raw material prevents the starting of production in provincial factories.
- 1930 The first Revolutionary Militia Regiment was set up in BUDAPEST. It consists of army officers.
- 2200 BUDAPEST factories discuss the resumption of work. Long lines are standing in front of food stores.
- 2215 According to the Radio KOSSUTH, the mines are already working; their output being 20 to 25 per cent of the normal output.

(The Austrian socialist deputy Peter STRASSER, who returned from BUDAPEST to VIENNA on November 10, stressed that the passive resistance was "unbelievable." People stood in front of Russian tanks, openly wearing the revolutionary red-white-green colors and making anti-Soviet remarks. One of the main weapons of this passive resistance appears to be the nation-wide determination to maintain the strike.)

The Military Situation

(According to AP November 11 in BUDAPEST suburb UJPEST "revolutionaries" still held out despite heavy shelling and continuous attacks by Soviet forces. Soviet tanks completely destroyed two rows of small family houses of

workers flanking a street in that district.

On CSEFEL island workers were entrenched in one of the factories on November 10 and set 14 Russian tanks afire by flooding them with oil and gasoline from hoses.

The Communist-controlled shortwave radio station monitored in VIENNA reported early on November 11 that groups of insurgents, hiding in the cellars and collapsed buildings and in the suburbs of the capital, were continuing their resistance. Larger insurgent groups were forced out of BUDAPEST and were trying to escape to the West. Soviet troops were trying to cut them off.

Speaking from Radio KOSSUTH on November 11, at 1000 hrs, Premier Janos KADAR pointed out that order and peace had not yet been restored in BUDAPEST. The remnants of the liquidated armed groups hid in cellars and other places during the day, but formed small bands and came out at night to act as snipers and robbers.

KADAR expressed the hope that those groups of snipers and robbers would be wiped out completely within the next two or three days. He called upon the workers of BUDAPEST to help destroy them.

At 1232 hrs November 11 Radio BUDAPEST said that the main line of activity of the BUDAPEST police was the liquidation of "groups of plunderers." Armed persons were hindering the distribution of food; in some places they attempted to interfere with the selling of food in shops.

Radio MISKOLC, reported November 11 that the "counter-revolutionary" officers, NCOs and enlisted men converging around the person of Pal MALETER, as well as armed groups of university students and young workers, were still continuing their "inexplicable" resistance in the Matra and Bukk woods. They were occupying several coal mines of the BORSOD coal miner trust, thereby preventing production from starting in the factories. Action against them was difficult because, as they were entrenched in the coal mines, the Soviet troops did not want to resort to heavy weapons.)

NOVEMBER 12

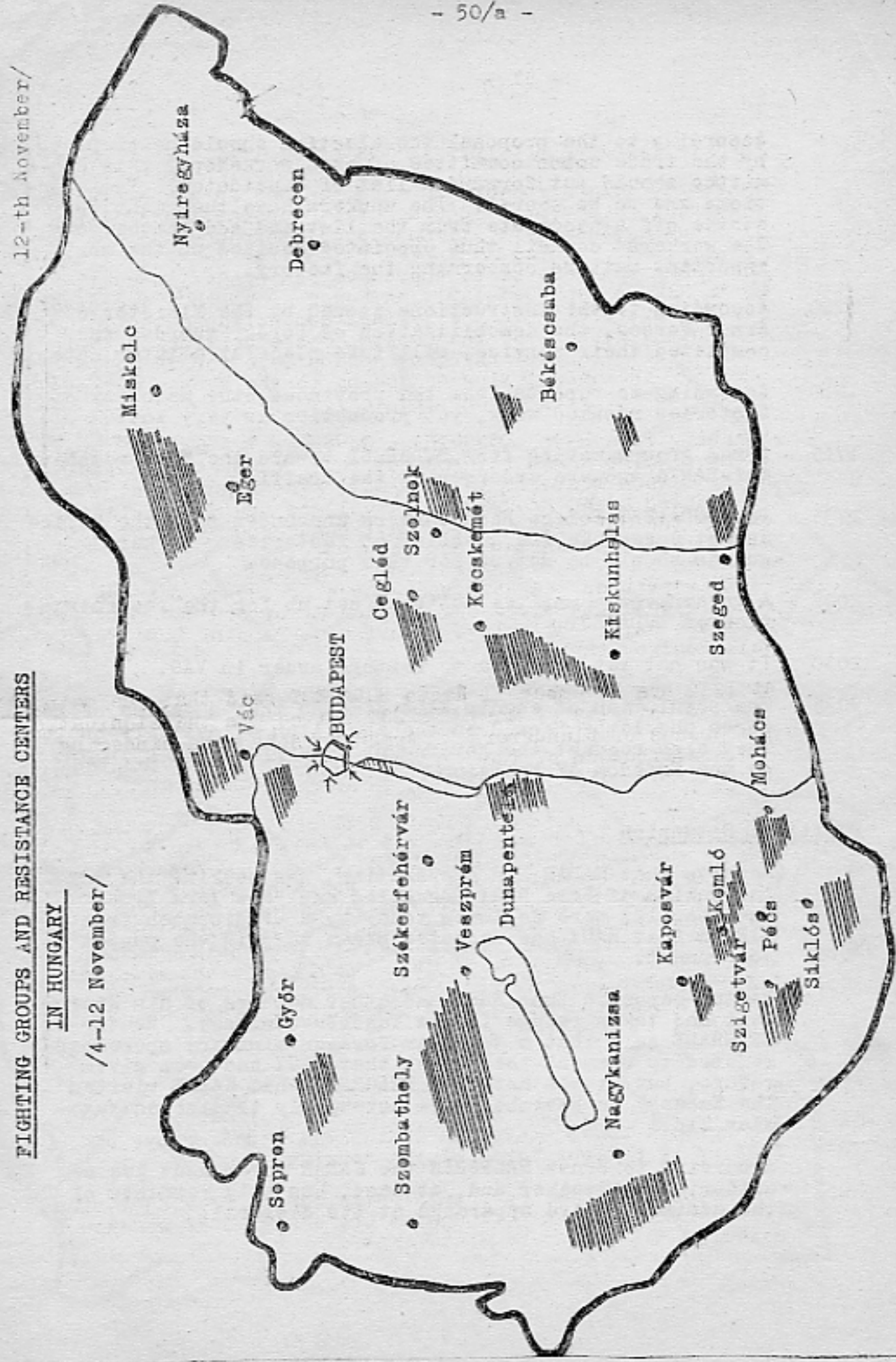
- 0500 The Radio KOSSUTH announces that small armed groups are looting in various parts of the country.
- 0700 The proposal of the National Federation of Free Hungarian Trade Unions in connection with the election of workers councils and boards of management.

Third phase
/4-th November-
12-th November/

FIGHTING GROUPS AND RESISTANCE CENTERS

IN HUNGARY

/4-12 November/



According to the proposal the election should be prepared by the trade union committee of each workshop. This committee should put forward a list of candidates. The elections are to be secret. The workers have the right to strike off a candidate from the list and add another one. The workers' council thus appointed decides on the most important matters concerning the factory.

- 1200 According to the instructions issued by the Minister of Armed Forces, the demobilization of border guards, who completed their service, will take place at a later date.
- 1210 According to reports from the provinces, the majority of factories resumed work, yet production is very low.
- 1715 Armed groups moving from BUDAPEST toward the West reached TATABANYA and are endangering the traffic.
- 1735 The BUDAPEST Police Headquarters announces that the police cannot undertake the guarding of factories. Workers' guards should be set up for this purpose.
- 2007 A government committee has been set up for the reconstruction of BUDAPEST.
- 2030 It was not yet possible to restore order in VAC.
- 2035 The population of county ZALA demands that a decree of legal force should be issued on the abolition of delivery quotas. They also request the government to express its opinion on the freedom of religion.

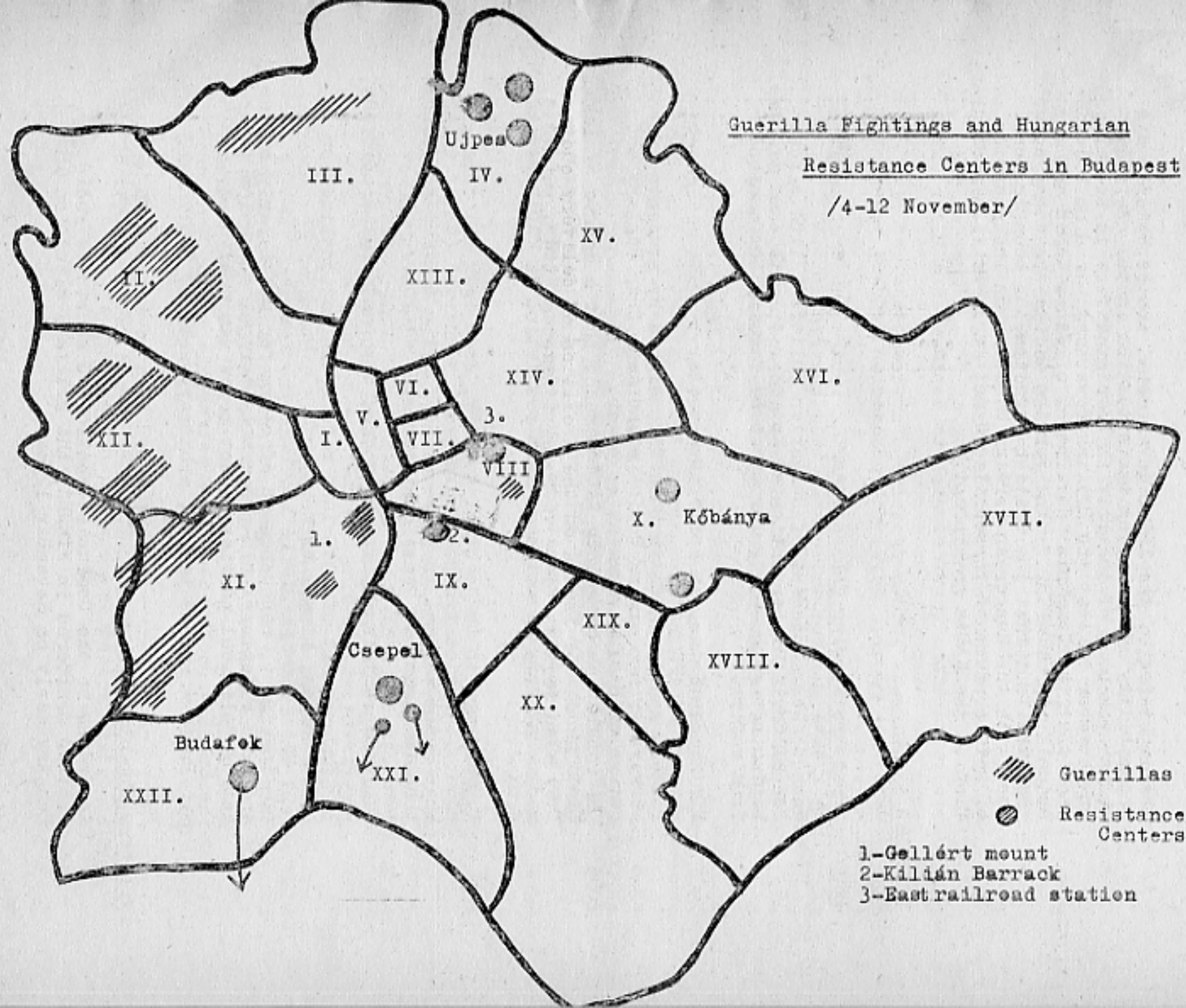
Political Situation

(Reports that KADAR, in desperation, was seeking the collaboration of Imre NAGY (Agencies and "New York Times" November 12) were followed today by a UP dispatch from VIENNA that NAGY had rejected pleas to join the puppet government.

Reuter reported that NAGY and other members of his government had taken refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy. Reuter BELGRADE said that a Yugoslav foreign ministry spokesman refused to comment the report that NAGY had been given refuge, but it was noted in BELGRADE that KADAR visited the Embassy on November 12 - ostensibly to discuss Yugoslav aid.

According to Ernst HALPERIN the KADAR government has no authority whatsoever and, at best, has only remnants of the administrative apparatus at its disposal.

Guerilla Fightings and Hungarian
Resistance Centers in Budapest
/4-12 November/



1-Gellért mount
2-Kilián Barrack
3-East railroad station

/// Guerillas
● Resistance Centers

The impotence of the KADAR government, and especially its incapability of mastering the situation in the capital, led a spokesman of the British Foreign Office to declare on November 12 that the British Government "had no evidence that the Communist Government of Janos KADAR was actually in BUDAPEST." The Foreign Office spokesman added that the fact that the British Legation had been in contact with the Hungarian Foreign Ministry on the question of safe conduct of personnel did not imply British recognition of the KADAR government.)

NOVEMBER 13

Popular Pressure Forcing Concessions

(Marked recommencement of Hungarian political life since second Soviet intervention of November 4, with same process beginning again -- popular pressure forcing concessions from regime.)

Strike continues, in spite of appeals.

Posters and leaflets in BUDAPEST, signed by students and workers group, urging Soviet withdrawal from Hungary and return of NAGY government to power.

Meeting in BUDAPEST of all Hungarian intellectual groups (writers, actors, architects, musicians, artists, students, radio, academy of science) sent resolution to KADAR regime demanding:

1. Hungary to be "neutral country, free from all foreign power... Soviet troops should leave country." (Note: think this means neutral in sense of no foreign domination rather than in technical sense of international law.)
2. Democratic socialism in accord with national traditions.
3. Endorsement of 1945 land reform and nationalization of factories, mines, banks.
4. In effect, renouncement of claim for multi-party system and free elections: "in present historical situation interest of political parties do not serve national unity..."
5. Protest versus terror, arbitrary action, Stalinism.)

Military Situation

(According to the Communist-controlled shortwave radio station monitored in VIENNA, the military situation in Hungary early on November 12 was:

In the suburbs of BUDAPEST considerable "counter-revolutionary" forces resumed their attacks on Soviet troops and Hungarian security forces, but were being defeated.

Guerrilla troops which had escaped into the forests around BUDA were moving to the west. Part of the "counter-revolutionary" forces which broke out from UJPEST (BUDAPEST 1th district) crossed the Danube at NAGYMAROS and joined the revolutionary groups operating in the ESZTERGOM area.

In the woods of Mecsek and Komlo the revolutionaries were putting up stubborn resistance, and Soviet troops began a planned action against them. A larger group of revolutionaries succeeded in breaking through from the SZIGETVAR area to the west.)

- 0700 The lead article of "Nepszabadsag" deals with the danger of inflation. It stresses that "certain demagogic elements" prevent the workers from resuming work. A continued strike would easily lead to inflation.
- 0900 According to information from the National Police Headquarters, small groups of fighters are still disturbing the population. Armed guards were formed for the protection of the enterprises and State farms.
- 1400 Radio VESZPREM reports that several enterprises in VESZPREM ask for a revision of the norms system. A shortage in material is a serious obstacle to production.
- 1500 Teaching in the BUDAPEST elementary and secondary schools has not yet begun.
- 1505 The GYOR wagon factory sent a delegation to the Council of Ministers. If the delegation receives satisfactory answers to their demands, work will be resumed in the factory.
- 1515 An appeal was made by the members of the Hungarian armed militia that the workers should resume work.
- 1600 The head of the Hungarian Red Cross reported on the manner in which the foreign gifts will be distributed. BUDAPEST has priority and will be followed, subsequently, by the industrial centers and the provinces.
- 1700 According to a government resolution, all those, who did not resume work until November 10, will not be paid for the days they refused to work.
- 1705 The answer of the Hungarian Government to the UNO announcement was broadcast: There is no reason why UNO observers should come to Hungary. At the same time, the Hungarian Government accepts the presence of UNO representatives,

charged with the distribution of Red Cross shipments. All Hungarian citizens who left the country in order to escape the military actions, will be guaranteed a free return by the Hungarian Government.

- 1730 Work in the BAJA enterprises was not resumed. The workers sent a delegation to the government with their demands.
- 2000 According to a decree issued by the government, the Workers' Councils' authority is extended to the whole area of enterprise life. The enterprise managers are obliged to carry out all the resolutions passed by the Workers' Councils. The Workers' Council decides on the formation of the wages system and on the distribution of a certain part of the profits among the workers. The re-election of the Workers' Council members should take place within three weeks after the resumption of work.
- 2010 At UJPEST, the delegates of the BUDAPEST District Workers' Councils held a meeting. The result of their discussions was to establish the central organ of the BUDAPEST Workers' Councils. Their discussions will be resumed on November 14.
- 2104 The radio broadcast the speech of Sandor GASPAR, President of the National Association of Free Hungarian Trade Unions. He deals with three main problems: 1. An appeal to the workers to resume work immediately; 2. - a condemnation of the one-party ruling; 3. - an energetic stand for the independence of Trade Unions from the parties and the government.
- 2230 Radio BUDAPEST reports that the East Railway station is surrounded by tanks and no trains are departing. Several trains are running from the other three railway stations, between BUDAPEST and the provincial towns.

The General Strike.

(While armed resistance to the Soviet forces and the security organs of the KADAR government has disintegrated more and more into partisan action, both in BUDAPEST and in the provinces, Hungarian workers have maintained an almost complete general strike as a final weapon against the Russians. A Western press agency reports from unidentified sources in Hungary that on November 13 workers reported to their factories only to collect their pay and to hold mass meetings, during which various demands were formulated to the KADAR government. These demands reportedly included the reorganization of the government with NAGY as Premier, the fulfillment of the NAGY program, and free elections.)

KADAR Regime Ineffectual

(AP Correspondent MARTON reported today that the Hungarian Parliament, still protected by "masses of Russian tanks and guns" appeared to be the only place where the KADAR group was still 'master of the situation.' He added that "nationalist minded Government officials did not conceal their opinion that Imre NAGY was the only man who could solve the present situation.")

NOVEMBER 14

0900 "Nepszabadsag" gave information on the new armed militia body, which consists of Honved and police units.

0905 "Nepszabadsag" also reports on the visit of the Workers' delegations to Prime Minister KADAR. Janos KADAR replied to the questions put by the delegations. According to KADAR, Imre NAGY can return to political life whenever he wishes to do so. Soviet troops will be withdrawn after order has been restored. The government will accept every kind of aid inasmuch it is not tied to political conditions.

The BUDAPEST Central Workers' Council presented a list of demands to the government consisting of the following eight points:

1. Re-appointment of Imre NAGY as Premier;
2. Former AVH-men to be barred from the new police force, and a guarantee that the new police will not be used for Party purposes;
3. Release of freedom fighters, including Pal MALETER;
4. Withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary;
5. Guarantee that the radio and the press will speak the truth.
6. End of the one-party system and free elections as soon as possible, neutrality of the country;
7. Trade agreements should be published and the disadvantageous agreements should be canceled.
8. Deportations to be stopped.

1000 The lead article of today's "Nepszabadsag": "The strike and those who are inciting." According to the article most of the workers would like to resume work but are prevented by an aggressive minority.

1235 The radio broadcasts a report with a worker of a shipyard. According to the report, although the workers arrived, they did not resume work.

1400 At PAPA the resumption of work is prevented by certain individuals who threaten the workers. Radio VESZPREM begs

the workers to resume work.

- 1500 According to Radio VESZPREM, there are places where the representatives of Stalinist policy want to drive out honest democrats from leading positions.
- 1500 The government issued a decree nullifying a former decree which punished those workers who arbitrarily changed their places of work.
- 1505 The government brought a resolution giving the president of the National Free Hungarian Trade Unions the right to regularly attend the government sessions.
- 1600 The Free Trade Union of Hungarian Miners called upon the workers to resume work immediately. The Trade Union also announced that the wages of the miners would be raised from November 1. The mining norms system was abolished with immediate affect. The miners would also be granted several social benefits.
- 1610 Radio KOSSUTH on the deportation. During the last few days, approximately 50 per cent of the workers resumed work in county SZOLNOK. According to recent news, prisoners were taken from BUDAPEST in sealed wagons in an easterly direction. The railway workers, after receiving this news, reportedly went on strike again. Other factories got a telephone round call and the workers started to strike there too.
- 1735 The BUDAPEST transport workers continue to strike. There is no traffic in BUDAPEST.
- 1810 With the exception of a few, the miners continue to strike. At several places, the miners going to work were stopped by unknown individuals and had to go home.
- 1900 The Workers' Council of the GANZ electricity factory convened a meeting for November 15, 1000 hours, for workers councils representatives of all the main BUDAPEST enterprises.
- 2005 The Military Council of the Hungarian Army Headquarters brought a resolution, the purpose of which is the further democratization of the army. It was also announced that a plan for new uniforms would be made public.
- 2100 Ferenc MUNNICH, Minister of the Armed Forces, in a statement to a journalist, stressed that the new militia body would not take over the role of the old state security organs. The dissolution of the state security forces was carried out everywhere.
- 2110 In BUDAPEST, approximately 8,000 apartments have become uninhabitable.

- 2135 The workers of the sanitary authorities are continuing to strike. For three weeks, the streets of BUDAPEST have not been not cleaned.
- 2400 The list was published of 12 leading Communists who, on the grounds of a resolution brought by the executive committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, cannot participate in the future in any party or state functions. This list does not contain all the names. (The 12 leading Communist are:
Erzsebet ANDICS
Lajos ACS, former member of Politbureau and Party secretariat,
Istvan BATA, former Minister of Defense;
Andor BEREI, former president of the Planning Office;
Istvan HIDAS, former First Deputy Premier;
Andras HEGEDUS, former Premier;
Erno GERO, former Party First Secretary;
Istvan KOVACS, former member of Politbureau and Party Secretariat;
Bela SZALAI, former member of Politbureau and Party Secretariat;
Laszlo PIROS, former Minister of Interior;
Bela VEGH, former member of Party Secretariat;
Gyorgy NON, former Prosecutor-General.)

The Strike

(It appears clear from official broadcasts of Radio KOSSUTH that the KADAR government is making desperate efforts to put an end to the strike. It addresses imploring appeals to the workers, in particular to those of the capital, where the strike seems to be more extensive than in the counties. It resorts to depicting, in the gloomiest colors, the spectre of inflation. Workers who refused to take up work by November 10, and had maintained their refractory attitude, would not be paid for the days they were not working, the radio announced.

There are signs that the government is deciding to try other means. It listens to the demands of workers' delegations from BUDAPEST and the counties, but stresses that the continuation of the strike will not lead to the withdrawal of Soviet troops and that it is time for everybody to realize that.)

Armed Resistance

(As to the remnants of armed resistance, "Nepszabadsag" reported November 14 that "armed persons were moving around in BUDAPEST, pillaging, breaking into flats." The Communist controlled shortwave broadcasting station

monitored in VIENNA referred to partisan activity in the Ujpest, Kispest, Outer Kobanya and Csepel districts of the capital, in the BUDA hills, in the Matra Bukk woods, in the Mecsek and Komlo woods, west of TATABANYA and in unspecified localities of county SZOLNOK, BACS and BEKES.)

Rumors on Deportations

(Rumors are circulating through Hungary that Soviet forces are rounding up and deporting thousands of young people to the USSR. Numerous but widely varying "eyewitness" accounts of such deportations have been reported to Western diplomatic missions in BUDAPEST, according to a Western news agency. KOSSUTH radio in BUDAPEST acknowledged at 1600 on November 14 the existence of the rumors, and their effect on the population. It stated that as a result of rumors spreading in SZOLNOK railroad employees again went on strike. They also reportedly spread the reports to other enterprises, where workers also again walked out.)

NOVEMBER 15

0700 Report in "Nepszabadsag" on Janos KADAR's answers to delegates of the Central Workers Council on November 14. In his answer KADAR announces:

- a) One cannot negotiate with Imre NAGY because he asked for asylum at the BUDAPEST embassy of a foreign power;
- b) Surrender of the Party's monopolistic position. "We want a multi-party regime, clean, honest elections."
- c) After order has been restored, Soviet troops will withdraw to their bases, then negotiations will be held on their withdrawal from the whole country.
- d) No one will be harmed because he took part in the people's movement.
- e) An agreement was made with competent Soviet authorities that no one is allowed to be taken from the country.
- f) In the future, international trade agreements will be made public.
- g) Uranium will be sold to the Soviet Union at the world market price.
- h) In the question of neutrality, KADAR did not accept the point of view of the workers.

1200 Official decree on the abolition of compulsory deliveries.

- 1400 According to the decree of the Minister of Commerce, parcels containing food, clothing and drugs from abroad can be sent duty free to Hungary.
- 1405 Dr. FILLNER head of the Hungarian Red Cross, went to VIENNA with a delegation to negotiate on the arrangements for the relief action of the International Red Cross.
- 1505 According to the decree of the Presidium, deputy ministers are appointed by the government.
- 1510 The Minister of Health ask the population to clear the refuse because it might cause epidemics.
- 2000 The provisional workers' council of CSEPEL calls upon their employees to resume work, but do not renounce to the right to stop work.

The appeal stated: "In the present situation the preserving of the conquests of the revolution depends imperatively on the beginning of production. Part of our demands have already been accepted by the government, while promises have been obtained for the fulfillment of the balance. The only right solution is now the immediate ending of the strike, with the reservation that at the same time negotiations will be conducted with the government for the realization of the outstanding demands. No power can wrench from our hands our most powerful weapon -- the right to stop work if the negotiations, conducted after the resumption of work, should not bring satisfactory results."

NOVEMBER 16

- 0500 On November 15 several delegations of workers called on Janos KADAR and negotiated with him. The president of the Workers' Council of the Hungarian Steel Factory stated that as a result of the negotiations it was decided that work would be resumed on November 17, with the maintenance of the right to strike. He also announced that the resumption of work did not mean that they gave up the basic aims of the national uprising.
- 0705 Janos FAZEKAS, Chairman of the Workers Council in the Ujpest Mining-Machinery Factory called upon the workers to resume work, but if the workers were cheated by the government, they would resort to the strike again.

"Our people have won the praise of the whole of humanity because we have shown a strength without precedence. This national force can put aside, without use of arms, the leaders who do not carry out their duties with honor in all fields of our national life. Therefore, to work!"

- 1000 The whole text of TITO's speech attacking Stalinists was broadcast.
- 1502 Ferenc MUNNICH, Minister of Security, appealed to the soldiers to report to their units by 1900 hrs November 18.
- 1600 A very small percentage (five to ten per cent) of the miners have resumed work.
- 2000 The final-communiqué of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Government negotiations was broadcast.
- 2015 Lajos VARGA, member of the temporary Great BUDAPEST Workers' Council, called upon the workers of the district XIV to resume work on November 19. If the government did not fulfill its promises, a strike would be called again.
- 2030 Richard HORVATH, Catholic canon, called upon the workers to resume work.
- 2040 From November 17, the supply of electric light throughout the country will be restricted, or partially suspended, from 0600 until 2200 hrs.
- 2100 According to a decree issued by Minister of Finance Istvan KOSSA, no wages can be paid to those workers who did not resume work.
- 2110 The Free Trade Union of Hungarian Textile Workers called upon textile workers to resume work conditionally. They still maintain their demands, the first of which is the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory.
- 2130 Several of the BUDAPEST enterprises' workers councils have decided to resume work by November 19 conditionally.
- 2145 A member of the CSEFEL Honved officers unit declared that they will take over gradually all those duties which so far were performed by the Soviet Units.

NOVEMBER 17

- 0600 The temporary workers' councils of the main BUDAPEST enterprises called upon the workers to resume work by November 17 or 19.
- 0700 The title of today's leading article in "Nepszabadsag" is "With renewed forces." The article commented on the fact that the BUDAPEST workers councils decided to resume work on November 17. According to the article this decision was made because the workers realized that the aims of the KADAR government were in accordance with their demands.

- 1003 "Nepszabadsag" reported on the second discussion which took place between the Budapest workers' councils delegation and the KADAR government on the evening of November 16. The delegation asked for information concerning several problems: the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the activities of the workers' councils and the organization of an armed workers' guard. The delegation stated that even if work were resumed it would take several weeks before production returned to normal.
- 1408 Even in the factories which decided to resume work, 50 per cent of the workers did not appear.
- 1415 The Ministry of State Farms ordered that till further instructions no food should be transported to BUDAPEST.
- 1502 The government called upon the city and county executive committees to invalidate all the resolutions brought by social organs which were contrary to the constitution and law.
- 1505 The Presidium of the People's Republic dismissed Gyorgy NON from his position of chief Public Prosecutor. Dr. Geza SZENASI was appointed in his place.
- 1605 In BUDAPEST a new isolation hospital was set up.
- 1608 In the district XIII and at Ujpest, leaflets are circulating calling upon workers to continue to strike.
- 1700 The workers' councils of the BUDAPEST Kobanya enterprises decided to resume work on November 19, but do not give up any of their demands.
- 2004 Imre DOGAI, Minister of Agriculture, in a radio speech condemned the mistakes committed by the RAKOSI regime and also condemned the activities of the counter-revolutionary forces. He announced that the government intended to give financial help to individual peasants but would support the development of cooperatives as well. The government acknowledged the peasant private property and would permit a free market for land. The forceful organization of cooperatives and regrouping of land had stopped.
- 2035 The Tatabanya and Oroszlany miners' delegations have conferred with the government. No agreement was reached; negotiations will be resumed on Monday.
- 2045 In BUDAPEST, the refuse in the streets threatens the danger of epidemics. Despite this, in several districts the populace prevents the transport of refuse.
- 2150 At CSEPEL, leaflets are circulating for the continuation of the strike. The police arrested several persons spreading these leaflets.

2155 On November 16, the militia units arrested an armed group who manufactured and spread inciting leaflets.

2200 The Free Trade Union of Hungarian textile workers called upon workers to start work but to stick to their demands.

NOVEMBER 18

0700 The leading article of today's "Nepszabadsag," entitled "For an independent Hungary," condemned the criminal policy of the RAKOSI clique, whose chief crime was to renounce the country's independence. The Soviet army had come into the country to fight "white terrorism" and not to re-establish the harmful policy of the GERO-RAKOSI clique. "The Hungarian people's desire for freedom has now become so great that no force can suppress it."

(It is evident from this leader that the KADAR government accepts the carrying out of the following demands:

1. Amnesty to the participants in the revolutionary people's movement.
2. The abolition of the AVH.
3. March 15, National Day, holiday; October 6, National Day of Mourning; December 26, holiday.
4. The KOSSUTH crest as the new emblem.
5. The management of the factories to be entrusted to the workers' councils.
6. Abolition of the one-party regime, free elections for parties standing on the basis of socialism.
7. The publication of trade agreements and repudiation of those unfavorable.
8. Abolition of norms, increase in wages, pensions.
9. Guarantee of the freedom of agricultural production.
10. Abolition of compulsory deliveries system.)

0805 According to a government statement, not a single arrested person was deported from Hungary. The news of deportations was spread by enemy elements, in order to create confusion. The truth is that a few leaflet spreading, looting counter-revolutionary elements were arrested, but they were not sent to the Soviet Union.

1000 The leading article of "Nepszabadsag," titled "Deeds and

Demands," says that one part of the revolutionary demands were granted by the government, and promises had been made for the fulfillment of the others, so that there was no reason why the workers should not return to work.

- 1215 The presidium of the Free Trade Unions of the iron and metal workers brought a resolution on November 17. It declared: 1. In future, trade unions should be independent of the parties and the government. 2. After order has been restored Soviet troops should leave Hungarian territory. 3. The right to strike should be maintained. 4. The present wages system and norms should be invalidated. 5. A proposition was made with regard to a new wages regulation and social benefits. Maintaining these demands, the presidium decided to resume work on November 19.
- 1600 Minister Gyorgy MAROSAN called upon the workers to put an immediate end to the strike. He said that for the time being the counter-revolutionary elements had stopped fighting with arms but tried to over throw the people's power through propaganda and demagogy, as by incitement to strike. According to MAROSAN, these propagandists (RFE among them) had won over for their cause journalists, writers, and students, who preach "the insane strike."
- 1930 The title of one "Nepszabadsag" article is: "To the margin of a poster." It says that the signatories of the posters either do not exist or do not know about them. (This is the situation with regard to a poster attributed to the Writers' Union.) According to another poster, the formation of officers regiments failed, because "the officers are compelled to sign declarations which they cannot accept." The commentary continues: "We do not want to discuss whether this declaration was acceptable or not." The article merely stated that the officers' units were now active.

NOVEMBER 19

- 0515 The Government agreed that representatives of the International Red Cross should be allowed into Hungary to supervise the distribution of Red Cross donations.
- 0925 Reports from BUDAPEST factories. In some of them work has been started, 40 to 50 per cent of the workers are present.
- 1210 Work has begun in some mines, 20 to 30 per cent of the workers are present.
- 1440 Report from CSEPEL: "Houses ruined by gun-fire, destroyed shops, torn out telegraph poles and many visitors." Workers of CSEPEL continue the strike and come forward with further demands.
- 1600 The government calls upon local councils to ensure the starting of production and the restoration of order. It asks revolutionary organs to support the work of the councils.
- 1610 The Presidium of the Free Trade Union of Hungarian Railwaymen calls upon its employees to resume work without giving up their demands.
- 1705 NEHRU's speech in which he insists on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.
- 1901 According to the joint orders of the Minister of Finance and the Commission for Reconstruction, the damage to public and private buildings will be compensated by the state.
- 2000 Report on enterprises in the provinces. 25 to 35 per cent of the workers appeared at their places of work, but work could not be resumed because of lack of raw material and power.
- 2015 Denes SZANTO, president of the Hungarian National Bank, gave an interview to the paper "Magyar Honved." He said that if work is resumed immediately, there will be no inflation.
- 2020 Several militia companies were formed in BUDAPEST. They collected much ammunition and arms.
- 2025 Report on the railway service. The first passenger train arrived at the east-station of BUDAPEST.
- 2030 Local Red Cross units are set up at western border stations. From November 20 three to four trains daily will transport gifts from the West from HEGYESHALOM into the interior of the country.
- 2045 Demands of the free trade unions of Hungarian medical officers, pharmacists and sanitary workers. They condemn the

crimes of the RAKOSI-GERO clique, ask for higher wages, the abolition of the norms, and the druggists ask compensation for their nationalized shops.

NOVEMBER 20

- 0700 The leading article of "Nepszabadsag": "The Country Asks for Coal." The article stated that the country would need 80,000 tons of coal a day, whereas the present output is hardly 12,000 tons. According to the article, the continuing of the strike is endangering the power of the workers.
- 0800 Report on the UN session, on the SHEPILOV and HORVATH denial of deportations in Hungary.
- 1000 "Nepszabadsag" comments on the Soviet-Polish announcement. According to the commentary, there was some hope that the Soviet Union would redeem losses which had to be suffered during economic relations in the past. On the other hand, because Hungary's geographical situation differed from that of Poland, it was hoped that the Soviet Union would not want to keep her troops in Hungary.
- 1005 Another article in "Nepszabadsag" sharply attacks those RAKOSI-ist politicians (Rudolf FOLDVARI, former first secretary of the BORSOD County Party Committee; PANDUR, president of the PAPA district council, etc.,) who would like to use the revolution for their own aims and remain in their jobs.
- 1010 With the few exceptions, tramway traffic is still not active in the capital. On the morning of November 19 1956, the population of NAGYALFOLD attacked a tram-car which resumed its route and stopped it.
- 1045 "Nepszabadsag" published a communiqué of the Writers' Union. According to it, the Union has not published a manifesto since November 12. The Writers' Union views are unchanged. Finally, the communiqué attacks Gyorgy MAROSAN, who made untrue statements on the writers.
- 1100 BUDAPEST enterprises called upon the workers to resume work on November 23.
- 1202 Approximately 15 to 20 per cent of the miners resumed work.
- 1702 During the past week, the NYIREGYHAZA enterprises resumed work. On Monday, however, work was stopped again and a workers' delegation was sent to MISKOLC to negotiate about the strike with the local Workers' Council.
- 1710 The radio speech of Gyorgy CSANADI, Transport and Communication Commissioner. He calls the railway workers to resume work.

- 1802 The joint Workers' Council of the TATABANYA and OROSZLANY mines called upon the workers to resume work immediately, but they decided to guarantee only coal supply to the TATABANYA enterprises and the inhabitants.
- 2110 Geza SZENASI, chief prosecutor of the Hungarian People's Republic, called upon the prosecutors to keep to the regulations of law toward the arrested.
- 2200 The government again called the attention of the population to the fact that the revolutionary committees' sphere of authority is only advisory, and they have no right to dismiss the leaders.
- 2210 The statement made by Food Commissioner Dezso NYERS:
1. BUDAPEST citizens may buy as much foodstuff to cover their needs. There is a shortage of eggs, milks and cold meat.
 2. The state continues the purchase of agricultural products.
 3. The planned export of food was stopped by the government; only poultry and apples will be exported.
 4. In connection with the foreign aid: we shall get aid at the value of 48 million dollars from the socialist countries. This gift is for the state. The donations of Western countries (approximately 45 million dollars worth) will come through the Red Cross.

NOVEMBER 21

- 0600 BUDAPEST factories appeal to their workers to resume work.
- 0700 Leader of "Napakarat" (organ of the free Hungarian trade unions) emphasizes that they want a free trade union, independent of the state and political parties.
- Appeal of the County BARANYA road-repair enterprise to the population of the county not to stop the workers resuming work as it is in the interest of public traffic. (Radio PECS)
- 0705 Radio PECS reminds the workers of PECS that if they do not resume work they and their families will have to suffer hunger.
- 0836 Damages suffered by the BUDAPEST hospitals exceed the sum of 50,000,000 forint. According to the broadcast announcement of the public health service, there is no outstanding epidemic in the country. But the lack of soap is great.
- 1230 This year, according to estimates, bread wheat was sown on 2.5 million cadastral acres. Last year the acreage was

3.1 millions.

- 1410 Approximately 25 to 30 per cent of the workers appeared at the factories of BUDAPEST. Some 13,000 tons of coal was mined (normal output is 70 to 80,000 tons.)
- 1425 Fifty per cent of the co-operatives in County SOPRON have been dissolved.
- 1710 Rezsó NYERS, commissioner of public supply, made a statement on the distribution of foreign aid. As the aid from the Socialist countries was intended for the Hungarian state, it will not be distributed gratis but sold at normal prices in the shops.
- 1733 Radio NYIREGYHAZA attacks "Szabad Nep," published in SZOLNOK, because it was the mouthpiece of the RAKOSI clique. (Radio of the revolutionary worker-peasant council of County SZABOLCS-SZATMAR.)
- 1800 Report on the program of SZOVOSZ (National Association of Co-operative Shops):
1. Members should be able to elect the management freely.
 2. The co-operative shops should become a mutual marketing organization of farm products.
 3. The purchasing and selling powers of the co-operative should be unrestricted.
 4. The nationalized capital of the co-operatives should be restored.
 5. The co-operatives should be able to purchase and hire out larger agricultural machines.
 6. A more adequate wage regime for the workers of the co-operative shops.
 7. Elections to be held for a new SZOVOSZ management.
- 1900 Report on the program of the free trade union of Hungarian Teachers, which states that a democratic Hungarian public education, free of dogmatism, has to be realized. The directing of youth organizations is exclusively the task of the teachers. Parents should be able to decide on the religious education of their children. Teachers' living standards should be greatly improved.
- Radio PECS announces: Workers of SZIGETVÁR (County BARANYA) decided not to resume work till their three main demands are realized: the legalization of the right of strike, free democratic elections and the withdrawal of Soviet troops to their bases.

- 1910 Workers are not working at the uranium mines of KOVAGO-SZOLOS (Radio PECS).
- 2045 The manager and two leading members of the BUDAPEST Transport Workers' Council were arrested by the Russians. As a protest to this the BUDAPEST passenger bus service stopped. The arrested men were released.
- 2100 Decree of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic on the workers' councils: Every industrial and agricultural state enterprise has to elect a workers' council. The workers councils have to be elected by the workers in secret and democratic elections. The executive organ of the workers' council is the presidium elected by the latter. The workers' council directs all activities of the enterprises, etc.

(It was decided, on the initiative of the BUDAPEST Central Workers' Council, to convene a meeting for November 21 to which all the provincial workers' councils were invited. The purpose of the meeting would have been the formation of a "Workers' Parliament." Soviet troops, however, prevented the holding of this meeting. As an answer, the workers' councils issued an appeal for a 48-hour general strike (with the exception of workers in food supply, transport and building.) This appeal was followed throughout the country.

After the ban on the general meeting, the workers' councils sent a further delegation to the government, which handed over to KADAR the five demands of the councils:

1. The government should recognize the workers' councils as the only competent negotiating body representing the workers' interests.
2. The government ought to resume negotiations with the workers' councils on November 24 at the latest.
3. The bases of the negotiations to be the eight points introduced by the workers' councils.
4. The government should commit itself to inform the press in accordance with truth.
5. The government should release immediately all the political prisoners and bring back the deportees.

The above demands were completed by an announcement that if the government did not comply with the first point by November 22, the strike would be continued beyond the 48 hours.

It can be presumed that a compromise was effected between the government and the workers' councils, as on the morning of November 23 it was announced that the government

acknowledged the BUDAPEST Workers' Council as a "negotiating body" and agreed that the radio should publish its communiqués. Therefore, the council called upon the workers to resume work conditionally.)

(Interesting to note that Radio KOSSUTH did not broadcast any news during November 21 on this subject.)

NOVEMBER 22

- 0930 The National Free Trade Union of the Small Artisans and City Planning Workers' demands: the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the creation of an independent Hungary. It also demands increased wages.
- 1000 "Nepszabadsag" reports that work was resumed in County BORSOD. However, the work of the miners is prevented by "terrorist groups."
- 1015 The radio made a long broadcast on the importance of the multi-party system in China.
- 1030 "Nepszabadsag" reports that most of the leaders of the provincial Party organizations are still former leading Party functionaries.
- 1210 The government issued a decree according to which government commissioners will be appointed in some of the great enterprises. Their duty is to guarantee the undisturbed production.
- 1215 The temporary revolutionary council of intellectuals wants to start negotiations with the government in order to discuss the present situation. The Revolutionary Committee of the Hungarian News Agency announced that their staff would only report news in accordance with the truth. They accept the resolutions of the provisional revolutionary council from October 26.
- 1245 In the secondary schools of County BAS most of the pupils are still absent, because of rumors that they would be deported. (Radio SZOMBATHELY)
- 1300 In BUDAPEST small groups are entering shops and trying to force the assistants to close down.
- 1405 Albert KONYA, Commissioner of Public Education, passed an order to the schools that students have the right to choose freely which foreign language they want to study. The Russian section of the elementary and secondary schools were abolished. History will be taught only up to the end of the second world war.
- 1420 The radio acknowledged that for two days work came to a standstill again.

- 1600 The appeal of the CSEPEL Central Workers' Council: It gravely condemns the prohibition of the National Workers' Councils conference scheduled for November 21. At the same time it also condemns the declaration of the two-day strike and calls upon the workers of CSEPEL to resume work. Finally, it announced its intention to send a delegation to the government on November 22 and inquire into the matter of recent illegal arrests and disappearances.
- 1745 Istvan KOVACS, secretary of the Patriotic Front in County SZATMAR SZABOLCS, called upon the workers to resume work and announced that the County SZABOLCS Patriotic Committee supports the KADAR government. (Radio NYIREGYHAZA)
- 1920 On the afternoon of November 21 the PECS Police Headquarters arrested the president and one member of the PECS Electricity Works Workers' Council. After being held for 24 hours they were released. (Radio PECS)
- 2000 In the course of today a Rumanian delegation headed by DEJ arrived in BUDAPEST.
- 2030 According to a radio announcement, only workers in food supply resumed work.
- 2045 The Writers' Union published a statement, in which it was announced that a delegation of the union had negotiated with the Soviet Military Command. They were reassured by the command that no one was deported from Hungarian territory. Dealing with the strike, the announcement stated that the union considered it an internal affair of the workers and therefore would not interfere.
- 2205 In BUDAPEST approximately 30 to 40,000 apartments were damaged, the worst damage being in district VIII and at CSEPEL.
- 2210 Thirty per cent of the County HEVES co-operatives were dissolved.
- 2400 A TASS announcement denies the arrival of new Soviet troops in Hungary.

NOVEMBER 23

- 0600 Agreement between the BUDAPEST Workers' Council and the government, according to which the government acknowledges the BUDAPEST Workers' Council as a negotiating body. Consequently the BUDAPEST Workers' Council calls upon all workers in the country to resume work. Negotiations between the government and the Workers' Council are continuing.
- 0700 The Free Trade Union of Construction Workers demands higher wages for its members.

- 0712 Not even maintenance work is carried out in the PECS mines, thus the mines are deteriorating (Radio PECS).
- 0800 Comment of Radio Kossuth on the revolution, which broke out a month ago today. It stresses that the demands of the revolution have not yet been fulfilled.
- 0810 "Nepakarat" publishes the statement of the Yugoslav foreign secretariat according to which the Hungarian and Yugoslav governments came to an agreement permitting Imre NAGY and his colleagues to leave the Yugoslav Embassy freely. At 1830 hours on November 22 they left the Embassy.
- 1015 Report from BUDAPEST factories. 25 to 30 per cent of the workers resumed work.
- 1700 The Hungarian Association of Dramatic Art identifies itself with the demands of the Writers' Union and states that it will only make itself heard if it can express the truth without compromise.
- 1715 "Magyar Honved" (daily of the Hungarian Army) emphasizes that we have to continue to fight for the just claims of October 23.
- 2000 According to an official announcement Imre NAGY and his colleagues left on November 22 for the Rumanian People's Republic at their own request.
- 2005 The BUDAPEST Central Workers' Council discussed on November 23 the decree on workers' councils. They disagree with several points.
- 2015 According to the statement of Geza SZENASI, chief prosecutor, the public prosecutor's office does not only deal with common crimes but also with political ones. He announces that so far Soviet authorities handed over 400 persons in SZOMBATHELY and 250 in BUDAPEST to the Hungarian authorities. Their cases are under investigation.

(In the course of the day, the Government of Yugoslavia sent a Note to the BUDAPEST Government asking for urgent information on why Imre NAGY and his companions did not return to their homes, as on November 21 a Hungarian-Yugoslav agreement was reached to the effect that Imre NAGY and his companions would be able to return home unharmed.

In line with the agreement, Imre NAGY left the Yugoslav Embassy by bus. But the bus was diverted to the Soviet headquarters where the two Yugoslav diplomats accompanying NAGY and his companions, who protested the Soviet actions, were sent away.

Yugoslavia also sent a Note to the Soviet Union on the Imre NAGY affair.

The Yugoslav Note to the BUDAPEST Government emphasizes that this action seriously endangered the relations of the two countries and would not effectuate calm in domestic policy but just the contrary.

Among the persons with Imre NAGY were: Geza LOSONCZY, Ferenc DONATH, Zoltan VAS, Zoltan SZANTHO, Gyorgy LUKACS, Gabor TANCOS, Sandor HARASZTI and Mrs. Laszlo RAJK.)

NOVEMBER 24

- 0610 Out of 227 farmers' co-operatives in County HAJDU 95 were liquidated.
- 0800 A "Nepakarat" article emphasizes that the workers' councils are factory administrative bodies and not political or trade union organs.
- 1905 The Federation of Hungarian Revolutionary Young Workers declared that concessions made so far by the government are not sufficient. It demands the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the purging of Stalinist elements from the new militia.
- 1010 "Nepakarat" announces that the trial of Mihaly FARKAS, Vladimir FARKAS, Gabor PETER and Gyula DECSI will be held in the near future.
- 1100 Radio GYOR broadcasts the Yugoslav announcement according to which Imre NAGY and his colleagues who left the Yugoslav Embassy in BUDAPEST had not yet arrived at their homes.
- 1210 The TATABANYA Workers' Council calls upon the government to commence the carrying out of its promises.
- 1215 The Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs protested at the US Embassy in BUDAPEST against the operation of two radio transmitters and receivers in the building of the Embassy.
- 1510 Guiding principles of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on the procedure of admission:
1. Those who accept the policy of the Party can join it;
 2. The Party fights for an independent, free and socialist Hungary;
 3. The Party seeks support chiefly from former organizations and members of the Hungarian Workers' Party, but admits also others;
 4. Those former members of the Hungarian Workers' Party whom the Central Committee does not consider suitable (due to grave political errors) cannot be admitted.
- 1600 The Central Workers' Council of the County BORSOD coal

- mines agrees with the BUDAPEST Central Workers' Council and asks the latter to represent the political interests of the County BORSOD coal miners. (Radio County BORSOD.)
- 1630 Leaders of the Workers' Council of the OZD Metallurgical Works and several workers were arrested. A number of them were already released (Radio County BORSOD.)
- 1710 The Free Trade Union of Hungarian State Employees announced that in future it will function independently from the government and the Party and that it will demand salary increases.
- 1800 Radio Kossuth broadcasts: 1. Government declaration to the peasants. The government condemns the mistaken agrarian policy of the past and asks the peasants to support the new policy.
- 1810 2. Instructions issued by the Minister of Agriculture in connection with resignations from farmers' co-operatives and with their liquidations.
- 2015 The BUDAPEST Central Workers' Council announces that it will continue negotiations with the government on November 26.
- 2020 The Workers' Councils of the DOROG factories support the BUDAPEST Central Workers' Council and accept their instructions.
- 2030 Sandor GASPAR, former RAKOSI-ist and Chairman of the Trade Union of Hungarian Railway Employees, has been replaced.
- 2045 In the SZEGED schools optional language tuition was introduced. The majority of students chose German and French.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES

Antal APRO

From 1945 member of the Politbureau. Until 1953 member of the National Council of Trade Unions. From July 3 1953 member of the Presidential Council. From 1953 deputy premier. From June 1956 president of the Patriotic Front.

Dr. Antal BABITS

An outstanding urologist, Kossuth Prize holder, former Dean of the Medical School of the BUDAPEST University. In March 1953, when he was director of the BUDAPEST Kutvolgyi Street Hospital (known as the principal hospital of the Hungarian security police) he was suspended from his position and arrested, very likely in connection with the demotion and arrest of former security police boss Gabor Peter. He reappeared, however, early in 1953. In July 1956 he was awarded the title of outstanding physician and received a 3,000-forint cash prize.

Lajos BEBRITS

Born 1891. Former railroad employee. Worked as a Communist journalist and member of the American Communist Party in the USA. Was deported in 1932, went to the Soviet Union, and after his return to Hungary in 1945 became Secretary of State in the Ministry of Communications, being the right hand of Erno GERO, then head of that ministry. Was appointed Minister of Communications in July 1951 and subsequently in July 1953 Minister of Communications and Post.

Dr. Istvan BIEO

Former university professor.

Jozsef BOGNAR

Secretary General of the Smallholders' Party. Since 1946 he has always held a cabinet post.

Gyorgy CSANADI

1951 - general director of Hungarian Railways. From October 30 1956 until November 3 Minister of Transport and Telecommunications. University professor, Party member, president of the Educational Council of Young Railwaymen, member of the National Technical Development Council. Decorated with the "Order of Labor Red Banner."
1956 - Kossuth Prize winner.
1956 - November, government commissary for transportation.

Ferenc DONATH

Elected to new CC secretariat of HWP October 24 1956. In 1949 Secretary of State in the Ministry of Agriculture. Arrested

and interned in 1951. Released from prison 1954, rehabilitated in 1956. In 1955 deputy director of the Economic Institute. Deputy president of the legal department of the Patriotic People's Front.

Imre DOGEI

Until 1952 president of the National Assembly. 1953 president of the Union of Co-operatives (SZOVOSZ). 1955 president of the National State Farms' Council. 1956 member of the parliamentary foreign affairs committee. Member of the National Council of the Patriotic Front. From 1951 member of the CP Central Committee.

Ferenc ERDEI

Secretary General of the National Peasant Party. In the provisional government after World War II he was Minister of the Interior. Has been a member of the cabinet since 1947.

Ferenc PARKAS

In 1947 member of Parliament, president of the National Mortgage Bank, old member of the Peasant Party.

Imre HORVATH

Member of the CP since 1918. After the war entered diplomatic service. Minister in BERLIN, WASHINGTON, LONDON and PRAGUE. In July 1956 appointed president of the Cultural Institute; in July 1956 Minister of Foreign Affairs until the third NAGY Government November 3 1956. Since July 18 1956 member of the CP Central Committee.

Karoly JANZA

Major General, former metal worker. Was deputy Minister of Defense in former cabinets.

Janos KADAR

Elected to Politbureau of HWP July 18, and as First Secretary October 25, 1956. Minister of State in "inner cabinet" from October 30. In 1945 deputy commander of the BUDAPEST police. 1948 to 1950 Minister of the Interior. Arrested in 1951. Released in 1954. In 1955 first secretary of the County PEST Party Committee.

Bela KIRALY

Major General. Group leader of training courses at Ministry of Defense. 1951 arrested and sentenced for spying.

Arpad KISS

Was Minister of Light Industry from 1951 to October 1954, when he became Minister of Chemical Industry and Power. Dismissed from this ministry, was appointed President of National Council of Technical Development. In 1954 won the silver degree of the Kossuth Prize with a 20,000-forint cash prize. In

January 1956 became deputy chairman of the national atomic energy committee.

Gyula KELEMEN

In 1945 chairman of the Timber Workers Federation. In 1947 member of Parliament, Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Industry. In 1948 sentenced for life. In 1956 released. Old member of the Social Democratic Party.

Anna KETHLY

From 1920 member of Presidium of the Social Democratic Party. From 1922 member of National Assembly, later that of Parliament. From 1945 Vice-President of Parliament. In 1948 expelled from Social Democratic Party. In 1950 arrested and imprisoned. In 1954 pardoned but not rehabilitated. In 1956 repeatedly asked to take an active part in the Patriotic People's Front, but refused.

Albert KONYA

Born 1917, teacher of mathematics and physics. Nuclear physicist. From 1952 until autumn 1954 deputy Minister of Education, then until July 30 1956 deputy chief of the CC's scientific and cultural section and subsequently Minister of Education.

Istvan KOSSA

Pre-war member of the Social Democratic Party. In 1948 chief secretary of the Trade Union Council; 1951 to 1952 head of the Office of State Religion; 1951 to 1953 Minister of Metallurgy and Machine Industry, and since July 1953 first deputy to the minister; 1954 president of the Manpower Office; 1955 first deputy of the president of the Planning Board; from October 27 1956 until November 2 1956 Minister of Finance.

Bela KOVACS

Secretary General of the Independent Smallholders' Party in 1945, member of Parliament. From 1945 to 1947, Minister of Agriculture. Arrested in 1947 and taken to the Soviet Union. Brought back to Hungary in June 1956 and released.

Jozsef KOMUVES

In 1945 chairman of the Tailoring Industry Trade Union. 1947 member of Parliament, chairman of National Institute of Social Insurance. 1950 arrested, released in 1956.

Geza LOSONCZY

In 1948 member of the Hungarian National Intellectual Committee, Party member. 1949 State Secretary at the office of the Prime Minister. Member of the CP Central Committee. Arrested in 1951. Released from prison in 1954. In 1956 chief correspondent

of "Magyar Nemzet." Outstanding publicist of the "Thaw."

Gyorgy LUKACS

Appointed Minister of People's Culture in government of October 27. Outstanding Marxist-Leninist philosopher, one of the leaders of the "thaw." In 1919 people's commissar. Between the two wars lived in Austria, Germany and later in the Soviet Union. Returned 1945. In 1946 university professor. In 1949 strongly attacked by Jozsef REVAI for his bourgeois literary opinions. In 1953 - MP. 1955, Kossuth Prize winner. 1956, his literary views were rehabilitated. Member of the parliamentary Cultural Committee. Member of the National Committee of the People's Patriotic Front.

Pal MALETER

Born in KASSA 1920, of intellectual origin. Graduated from the Military Academy as lieutenant. Went over to the Russians in 1944 and fought as a partisan in the rank of captain. Commanding officer of a battalion in 1945. Guards commander in 1947. Transferred to the Ministry of Defense in 1949. Member of the Hungarian Workers' Party.

Gyorgy MAROSAN

Pre-war member of Social Democratic Party; after the war deputy first secretary of the Soc. Dem. Party and MP. In 1948 main exponent of merger with CP. In 1950 imprisoned. Released in March 1956 and rehabilitated in July. After RAKOSI's fall, member of the Politbureau. On July 30 1956 appointed deputy premier. He kept this position until October 27 1956 -- the second Imre NAGY government.

Erik MOLNAR

He is a lawyer, chairman of the Hungarian Federation of Jurists, chairman of the permanent government committee on constitutional and administrative law, and one of the main historians of the Communist Party. Won the Kossuth Prize twice and is member of the Hungarian Scientific Academy. Held various positions in several former cabinets since 1945, and was for a short time Ambassador to MOSCOW.

Ferenc MUNNICH

Member of the CP Central Committee; took part in the Spanish civil war. Until 1949 head of the BUDAPEST police. 1949-1956 Hungarian Minister in Finland, Bulgaria, Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Oct. 1956 Minister of the Interior.

Imre NAGY

Succeeded Andras HEGEDUS as Premier and became Politbureau member on October 24, the first day of the current revolt. Premier from July 1953 until April 1955, and spokesman of the New Course. Ousted from his government and Party offices in April 1955, and expelled from the Party in December 1955 for rightist deviation.

Ferenc NEZVAL

Since 1951 member of the Presidium of the People's Democracy. Since 1954 alternate member of the Politbureau; member of the Communist Party's Central Control Committee. Since June 1954 First Deputy of the Minister of City and Country Planning. From October 27 until November 3 1956 Minister of City and Country Planning.

Dr. Andras REVESZ

Former Secretary of the Trade Union of Municipal Employees. 1950 arrested, released in 1956.

Sandor RONAI

Member of the CP Central Committee. President of the National Assembly. After the war, member of the presidium of the Social Democratic Party. Minister of Food in 1945, later Minister of Trade. In 1950 Minister of Trade and Co-operatives. Also in 1950 Minister of Foreign Trade. A sponsor of the merger with the CP. After the merger became member of the Politbureau. Removed from the Politbureau in 1953.

Istvan B. SZABO

Farmer. Former Smallholder member of Parliament and Minister without Portfolio.

Zoltan SZANTO

In 1952, Hungarian Minister in PARIS. In 1954, president of the Information Bureau of the Council of Ministers. In July 1955, Ambassador to WARSAW. July 1956, president of the Institute of Cultural Relations.

Zoltan TILDY

Before the war, president of the Independent Smallholders' Party, member of Parliament. In 1945 Prime Minister. In 1946 president of the People's Republic, resigned in 1948. Rehabilitated in 1956.

APPENDIX B

I. It was this speech by GERO which sparked the uprising. After it demonstrators gathered outside the Radio building, and sent a delegation inside to request the broadcasting of the demands which were read out during the afternoon demonstration near the Bem statue. When the delegation did not return after some time, the demonstrators tried to penetrate the building. It was then that the first shot was fired. Excerpts from the speech:

"Dear comrades, beloved friends, the working people of Hungary! In July this year, the CC of the HWP brought important resolutions. Our party members, workers class, working peasantry, intelligentsia and our whole people received these resolutions with satisfaction ... The July resolutions could only determine the direction, and stress the chief tasks but they could not give a solution to every problem facing our country and our people. Many of these problems need a further thorough studying in order to find the solutions which are best suited to the actual situation of our country, to our national character and to the interests of our workers' class, and our people. Our Party management is fully determined to direct the further building of Socialism in the spirit of our July resolutions, to rely more and more on our workers' class, on our cooperative and the whole working peasantry, on our intelligentsia and on the millions of our people. It is our determined and unalterable will to develop, broaden and intensify the democracy in our country, to increase the participation of our workers in the management of factories, state farms and other economic institutions. However, we naturally want a Socialist Democracy and not a bourgeois democracy. According to our conviction both our Party and our workers' class and people are jealously guarding the achievements of our People's Democracy and do not permit that anyone should touch them. We shall defend these achievements under all circumstances from whatever side they are threatened. Today it is the chief aim of the enemies of our people to try to shake the power of the workers' class, to loosen the peasant-worker alliance, to undermine the leading role of the workers' class in our country and to upset their faith in the Party, in the HWP. They try to loosen the close friendly relations of our nation, the Hungarian People's Republic, with the other countries building Socialism, especially the relations between our country and the Socialist S.U. They try to loosen the ties between our Party and the glorious Communist Party of the S.U., the Party of Lenin, the

Party of the XXth Congress. They slander the S.U. They declare that our trade relations with the S.U. are one-sided and that our independence has to be allegedly defended not against the imperialists but against the S.U. All this is a barefaced lie, hostile slanders which do not contain a grain of truth ... We Communists are Hungarian patriots ... At the same time that we proclaim that we are patriots we also energetically state that we are no nationalists and that we wage a permanent war against chauvinism, antisemitism and all other reactionary, anti-social and inhuman trends and views. Therefore we condemn those who try to spread the poison of chauvinism among our youth and who use democratic freedom, which our state assured to the working people, for demonstrations with a nationalist character. However, not even this demonstration shakes the resolution of our Party to continue to proceed on the road of developing Socialist democracy ... So we do not want to meddle with the internal affairs of other countries. This is a matter of principle to us. We do not want to interfere with the internal affairs of Poland either ..."

II. Excerpts from the radio speech of Prime Minister Imre NAGY (24 October):

"People of Budapest! I inform you that all those who in order to avoid further bloodshed will stop fighting before 1400 hours today and lay down their arms will be exempt from the consequences of martial law. At the same time I declare that we will with all our forces carry out the democratization of our country in every field of Party, State, political and economic life, just as I have stated this in Parliament at the time ... We possess all possibilities for the carrying out of our political program with the support of the Hungarian people. The essence of this program is, as you know, the democratization of Hungarian public life, the observance of national conditions in the building of Socialism, the realization of great national tasks and the basic improvement of the working people's standard of living.

In order to carry out this work together with you the first condition is order, discipline and the restoration of calmness. The peacefully demonstrating Hungarian youth has been joined by hostile elements who have misled many honest workers and have turned them against the People's Democracy, against the people's power. The first and the most imminent task now is to consolidate urgently the situation. Since today we understand one another in every question, since today the government and the majority of the Hungarian people are striving for the same aims. Referring to the common and great responsibilities of our national existence I call on you, on every Hungarian man, woman, youth, worker, peasant and intellectual, to stand your ground, to safeguard peace, to fight against provocateurs, to help restore order and to support the work of those formations who are trying to safeguard order. We must hinder bloodshed with common strength and we cannot permit that our national program should be soiled with blood..."

III. Erno GERO was appointed first secretary on July 18 1956 when RAKOSI was forced to resign. GERO was permanently a member of the Politbureau since 1945, therefore also during the years when Janos KADAR, Geza LOSONCZY, Gyula KALLAI and others were arrested.

The new Politbureau has 11 members and two alternate members.

The former Politbureau had 12 members and four alternate members.

The following did not receive any place in the new Politbureau: Lajos ACS; Istvan HIDAS, deputy prime minister; Istvan KOVACS, member of the secretariat; Jozsef MEKIS, deputy prime minister; Bela SZALAI, member of the secretariat; and Jozsef REVAI, member of the Politbureau; furthermore alternate members: Istvan BATA, Minister of Defense, and Laszlo PIROS, Minister of the Interior.

New personalities in the Politbureau on October 24:
Gyula KALLAI, Minister of Public Education who was imprisoned, Jozsef KOBOL, President of the Budapest Council, Imre NAGY and Zoltan SZANTO -- close collaborator with NAGY in the New Course. A new alternate member is Geza LOSONCZY, journalist, former under-secretary, who was also imprisoned until 1954. Sandor GASPAP, previously an alternate member, became a full member.

Leaders of the Hungarian Workers' Party

July 18 1956

October 24 1956

Secretariat

Erno GERO, first secretary
Lajos ACS
Gyula EGRI
Janos KADAR
Istvan KOVACS
Bela SZALAI
Bela VEGH

Erno GERO, first secretary
Ferenc DONATH
Janos KADAR
Gyula KALLAI

Politbureau

Lajos ACS
Antal APRO
Erno GERO
Andras HEGEDUS
Istvan HIDAS
Janos KADAR
Karoly KISS
Istvan KOVACS
Gyorgy MAROSAN
Jozsef MEKIS
Jozsef REVAI
Bela SZALAI

Antal APRO
Sandor GASPAP
Erno GERO
Andras HEGEDUS
Janos KADAR
Gyula KALLAI
Karoly KISS
Jozsef KOBOL
Gyorgy MAROSAN
Imre NAGY
Zoltan SZANTHO

Istvan BATA
Sandor GASPAR
Laszlo PIROS
Sandor RONAI

Geza LOSONCZY
Sandor RONAI

New Members of the Central
Committee:

Ferenc DONATH
Geza LOSONCZY
Gyorgy LUKACS
Ferenc MUNNICH
Imre NAGY

IV. Radio speech of Janos KADAR (October 25):

"Hungarian workers, dear comrades! The Pol. Committee of our Party has appointed me as First Sec. of the CC in a difficult and severe situation. There is not much time for speaking today. I will, therefore, only mention a few questions quite briefly. The difficult situation, in which we are, is characterized by that various elements are mixed therein. Part of our youth started peacefully but this honest demonstration by the majority of participants was after a few hours joined by anti-social elements and degenerated into an armed attack against the Power of the People's Democracy according to the intention of counter-revolutionary elements.

"In this difficult situation I had to make a decision. Our Party leaders were united in the opinion that the armed attack directed against the State Power of our People's Rep. should be beaten back by every possible means. The Power of the working population, of the working class and of the peasantry which was embodied in our People's Rep., is for us and for everybody who does not wish to have the people saddled with the old yoke of capitalists, of bankers and landowners, sacrosanct. Toward all those who did not take arms with the intention of overthrowing our People's Democratic order and who will immediately cease fighting and hand over their arms, toward all those youths and workers, members of the Home Defense who do this, the govt. in a spirit of friendship and pacification will show far-reaching generosity and not use Martial Law. At the same time, in the interest of the working population desiring peace and order and in the defense of our democratic state we will use the severity of the law against those who will continue to use arms to instigate and to loot. I protect with special care our working population from the irresponsible rioters, from the rumor-spreaders whose harmful work is one of the chief obstacles in the way for restoring our order. I am deeply pained by every drop of the blood of the innocent victims that was shed during these tragic days. Let this tragic fight be ended and let the useless shedding of blood be over.

"Hungarians, my friends, my comrades! Let us set out along the road for building a better and happier peaceful socialist future under the leadership of the Party."

V. Excerpts from the radio speech of Imre NAGY (October 25):

"Working people of Hungary, during the past days our country had to face tragic days. A small group of counter-revolutionary instigators launched an armed attack against the order of our People's Republic, which attack has been supported by a part of BUDAPEST workers because they were desperate about the situation of the country. This desperation has only been increased by the political and economic mistakes of the past, the correction of which has been demanded by the country's situation and by the general desire of our people. The new leadership of the Party and the govt., which is also standing under new leadership, are determined to draw the moral lessons of the tragic events. After order has been restored Parliament will soon be called together. At this Parliament session I shall submit a well-elaborated reform program which will include all important problems of our national life. This program demands the reorganization of the government on the basis of the unification of wide democratic national forces represented by the reorganized PPF. To the realization of this program it is absolutely necessary to stop the fight immediately, to restore order and peace and to secure continuation of production. I call on the working people of the country, on every true patriot, to support this with all their strength. As the President of the Council of Ministers I wish to announce that the Hungarian government will begin talks with the Soviet Union concerning the relations between the Hungarian People's Rep. and the Soviet Union, and among other things concerning withdrawal of the Soviet forces stationed in Hungary. These talks will be carried out on the basis of equality and national independence, between Communist Parties and Socialist countries. I am convinced that the Hungarian Soviet relations built on this basis will mean a firm groundwork for the true friendship between our peoples, for our national development and for our socialist future. The withdrawal of those Soviet forces the whose intervention in the present fight was made necessary for the preservation of our Socialist order will immediately take place after peace and order have been restored..."

"Comrades, the CC of the Party proposes to the government that after the order has been restored the government should conduct talks with the Soviet government in the spirit of complete equality between Hungary and the Soviet Union, friendly cooperation and internationalism, concerning the settling of pending questions between the two socialist countries reaching a worthy and just solution for both of them.

"Workers, Communist comrades: Be steady and persevering, defend the order of the People's Power, our socialist state and the future of our working people."

VI. The AVH, the notorious State Security Police.

When the Minister of the Interior gave out this order, the AVH did not exist in practice in the provinces because a number of its members were arrested by the revolutionary councils.

VII. Radio speech of Imre NAGY (October 30):

"Working people of Hungary! Workers, peasants and intellectuals! The constantly widening revolution in our country, the enormous movement of democratic forces, have brought our country to the choice of alternatives. The National Government, in full agreement with the Presidency of the Hungarian Workers' Party, have assumed to undertake a decisive step in the life of our nation, of which I wish to inform the working people of Hungary in the following:

"In the interest of further democratization of the country's life, with the discontinuation of one-Party system the government will return to the system of the coalition Parties' democratic co-operation which had been reborn in 1945. In accordance with this, within the National Government a Cabinet with narrower limits will be established with the following members:

Imre NAGY
Zoltan TILDY
Bela KOVACS
Ferenc ERDEI
Janos KADAR
Geza LOSONCZY

and persons who will be appointed by the Social Democratic Party.

"The government will submit a proposal to the Presidential Council of the People's Republic for the election of Janos KADAR and Geza LOSONCZY as State Ministers.

"The National Government calls on the General Command of the Soviet Forces to begin immediately with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of BUDAPEST. Simultaneously the National Government informs the population of the country that it will immediately start talks with the government of the Soviet Union concerning the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country.

"On behalf of the National Government I want to declare that the local autonomous democratic organs established in the course of the revolution will be acknowledged by the National Government, and it will depend on them and is requesting their support.

"Hungarian brothers, patriots! True citizens of our country! Safeguard the achievements of the revolution, secure

order with all your strength and restore peace! The fratricidal war should not continue any longer! Prevent all possible disturbances, assure the security of life and property with all forces at your disposal!

"Hungarian brothers, workers, peasants! Stand by the government in its decisive step! Long live free democratic, independent Hungary!"

(Full text)

VIII. Radio speech of Janos KADAR (October 30):

"I declare that every member of the MDP Presidency fully approves of the decisions passed today by the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. On my part I can say that we fully approve also of what has been said by the previous orators, Imre NAGY, Zoltan TILDY, and Ferenc ERDEI, my friends and fellow countrymen whom I respect very much.

"I am speaking to Communists, to those Communists who joined the Party moved by the progressive spirit of humanity and by socialism and not by private interests; we should represent our pure and just ideals with pure and just means.

"Comrades, my fellow workmen! The wrong direction of the years past has cast heavy shadows upon our Party. We must entirely liberate our Party from these shadows and charges with clear conscience, and with courageous, straightforward resoluteness. The rows of the Party will swag but I am sure that no pure, honest and sincere Communists will turn the back to the Party. It is possible that those persons will leave the Party who joined it for selfish interest, for careerism, or for some other reasons, but it would not bother us to be freed from this burden and from the past crimes of certain of our leaders. We shall be able to fight for our ideals, for the benefit of our people, fellow countrymen and home country under more favorable and clearer conditions. I request every Communist personally to give a good example, an example without phrases, worthy of a human being, of a Communist, in the restoration of order, in the starting of a normal new life of work and production, in laying the basis of life's elementary order. With the honor acquired by acting like this we shall deserve the respect of other fellow countrymen too."

(Full text)

IX. Radio announcement of Imre NAGY (October 30):

"In the name of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic I acknowledge and confirm the formation, as from today, of the provisional revolutionary police committee, consisting of representatives of the forces participating in the revolutionary fights, the Hungarian Army and police force, and representatives of armed workers and youth units which are being formed.

"The revolutionary police committee should organize

the new police force from these units. With the help of these the committee should restore order in the country and fulfill the conditions of the government programs announced on October 28 and 30. The revolutionary police committee should function till the taking office of the new Hungarian Government created by general, secret elections."

(Full text)

X. Radio speech of Imre NAGY (October 31), at the Parliament square:

"I am once again addressing you, Hungarian brothers, with great love! The revolution of which you were the heroes has won! These heroic days have brought about our National Government which will now fight for the freedom and the independence of our nation. We will tolerate no interference in Hungarian domestic affairs. We stand on the basis of equal rights, of national sovereignty and the equality of nations. We will build our policy firmly upon the will of the Hungarian people.

"Dear friends! Our sovereignty and independence are living their first days. We have removed enormous obstacles from the way. We have chased away the RAKOSI and the GERO gang. They will answer for their crimes. They had tried to defile me, too. They spread the lie that it was I who had called the Russian troops into the country. This is a base lie. Imre NAGY, who is the champion of Hungarian sovereignty, and of Hungarian independence, could not have called in these troops. On the contrary, it was he who fought that they may be withdrawn.

"My dear friends! On this day we have started negotiations for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country and for the repudiation of the duties which fell to us in the WARSAW Pact. But we are asking you for patience. I think the results are such that you can give us that much confidence.

"My dear friends! Stand by us, support us in the patriotic work, in creating the independence of our country, in bringing back life and starting constructive work. We desire that the people have peace and confidence in the future. We ask you to have confidence in the government to create order and peace in order that we may carry out our broad democratic program.

"Long live the independent free and democratic Hungarian Republic! Long live the free Hungary."

(Full text)

XI. Excerpts from Cardinal MINDSZENTY's radio speech (November 3):

"Nowadays it is often emphasized that the speaker, breaking away from the practice of the past, is speaking sincerely. I cannot say this in such a way. I need not break with my past, by the grace of God I am the same as I was before my imprisonment.

I stand by my conviction physically and spiritually intact, just as I was 8 years ago, although imprisonment has left its mark on me...

"Now is the first instant in history, that Hungary is enjoying the sympathy of all cultured nations. We are deeply moved by this. A small nation has heart-felt joy that because of its love of liberty the other nations have taken up its cause. We see providence in this expressed by the solidarity of foreign nations just as it says in our national anthem: "God Bless the Hungarian - Reach out to him Thy protective hand." Then our national anthem continues: "When he is fighting against his enemy," but we, even in our extremely severe situation, hope that we have no enemy! For we are not enemies of anyone. We desire to live in friendship with every people and with every country. By a nation, such as the Hungarian, whose roots reach deeply into the past, various eras can be recognized by the feeling with which it fills its place among other nations. We Hungarians want to live and act as the standard bearers of the family peace of European nations. A peace not artificially proclaimed, but a peace which means true friendship between the nations. And even looking toward more distant parts, we, the little nation, desire to live in friendship and in mutual respect with the great American United States and with the mighty Russian Empire alike. In good neighborly relationship with PRAGUE, BUCHAREST, WARSAW and BELGRADE. In this regard I must mention that for the brotherly understanding in our present suffering every Hungarian has embraced to his heart Austria.

"And now, our entire position is dependent upon what the 200 million Russian Empire intends to do with the military force standing within our frontiers?

"Radio announcements say that this military force is growing. We are neutral, we give the Russian Empire no cause for bloodshed. But has the idea not occurred to the leaders of the Russian Empire that we will respect the Russian people far more if it does not oppress us? It is only an enemy people which is attacked by another country. We have not attacked Russia and sincerely hope that the withdrawal of Russian military force from our country will soon occur.

"In 1945, after a lost-and for us pointless-war, a regime was forced upon us, which is now being branded with the red-hot iron of contempt, condemnation and renegeation by its heirs. The regime was swept away by the entire Hungarian people. The heirs should not ask for a proof of this. This has been a freedom fight which was unparalleled in the world, with the young generation at the head of the nation. The fight for freedom was fought because the nation wanted to decide freely on how it should live. It wants to be free to decide about the management of its state and the use of its labor. The people itself will not permit that this fact should be distorted to the advantage of some unauthorized powers or hidden motives. We need new elections -- without abuses -- at which every party can nominate.

The election should take place under international control. I am and remain independent of any party and -- because of my office -- also above it...

"As the head of the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church I declare, just as the Bench of Bishops has stated in a common letter in 1945, that we do not oppose the direction of just historic progress and that we further a healthy development in every field. The Hungarian people will find it natural that we have to care for our institutions which have a great value and a great past. I further mention briefly for the information of the 6.5 million Catholics in the country that in Church life we shall remove every trace of the violence and the characteristics of the fallen regime. This is a natural consequence growing out of our ancestral faith and moral teachings and of laws which are as old as the Church.

"I deliberately do not discuss other details in my address to the nation; what I have said is clear and sufficient. As a conclusion, however, one question has to be asked: what do the successors of the fallen regime think? If their predecessors, which they condemn so much, would have had a religious-moral basis, would they have committed all the things which resulted in their fall? We justly expect the immediate granting of freedom of Christian religious instruction and the restoration of the institutions and societies of the Catholic Church - among other things, her press... We who are watchful and who want the best for the whole people, trust in Providence, and not in vain."

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