

**THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY
FORCES IN THE OCTOBER
EVENTS IN HUNGARY**

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

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Hungary

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Gift

Introduction

Hungary has become the arena of tragic events. The Rákosi-Gerő policy has brought the socialist development of the country to an impasse. The results of this criminal policy have aroused deep indignation and a broad popular movement. Hundreds of thousands of working people demanded *the expurgation of the popular power*, the elimination of widespread bureaucracy and the end of a policy which was grievously insulting to national feeling. The aim pursued in all this was the consolidation and *further genuinely free development* of the people's democratic system which was following the path of socialism. For the working class is not willing to return the factories to the capitalists, the peasantry will not countenance the return of the landed magnates, the people has no intention of giving up its power and does not wish to be placed under the yoke of the capitalists and landlords again.

However, the dark forces of counter-revolution tried from the very beginning to take advantage of the movement, which had developed under the slogan of justified, popular and national demands, in order to *overthrow the people's power*.

It is not the purpose of this pamphlet to give a detailed account of the bloodshed that took place in these regrettable days. It will merely bring out certain facts which occurred in those days when the counter-revolutionary forces were supreme in the streets of Budapest, provincial towns and many villages.

The plan of the armed rebellion was prepared by the counter-revolutionaries in advance and carefully elaborated from the military point of view. A testimony to this is that on the very first evening of the mass demonstrations a planned attack was carried out on the wireless stations, the international communications section of the József central telephone exchange, the arsenals and transport depots. All this was strikingly reminiscent in many respects of the counter-revolutionary action against the Hungarian

Soviet Republic in 1919. Allen Dulles, brother of the U.S. State Secretary and head of American intelligence, stated that he had previous knowledge of the preparation of the rising in Hungary. On October 25, two days after the beginning of the rising, the correspondent of the *Daily Mail* wrote: "In recent days I had lunch with free people, who had been working for a whole year to prepare the insurrection which broke out this week." The answer to the question: who prepared and organized the rising and how, will be given in the documentary material to be published later. There is, however, no doubt that on October 30, when the government ordered the cease-fire, *the counter-revolutionary forces had already come out into the open*. Mass bloody reprisals had started. This pamphlet gives a number of facts, testimony of eye-witnesses and several photographs. To give an idea of the scale of the atrocities committed by the counter-revolution, it will not be superfluous to quote, besides the facts published in this pamphlet, the reports of the Budapest correspondents of Western bourgeois papers. Gordon Shepherd, *Daily Telegraph* correspondent, wrote on October 30: "As night fell popular violence, unrestrained by any regular military or police units, has held Budapest in the grip. . . . The regime seemed completely powerless to control the position. . . ." S. Delmer wrote in the *Daily Express* on October 31: "Now comes the terror of the mob. . . . The auxiliary police . . . have joined the mobs in imposing on Budapest a system of lynch law." (The correspondent refers here to detachments of the so-called National Guard.)

The government was completely helpless. All it did was to reshuffle almost every day and drift more and more to the Right. When the peril of counter-revolution became obvious, from October 29-30, not a word, not an appeal was heard from it calling for a fight against the peril of counter-revolution, when ordinary workers and peasants, Communists, officers, officials, State Security officers and soldiers in security detachments were hanged, shot or tortured to death in the streets, the premises of Party organizations were assaulted, dwellings were broken into, children and aged people were murdered. In an article published on November 20 by the *New York Herald Tribune*, Barrett McGurn gave the following assessment of the situation in Hungary: "Hungarians, many Western experts felt, should have contented themselves at least for a while with a coalition of Communists and non-Communists, headed by the Communist but nationalist Premier Imre Nagy. . . ." It soon became clear, the newspaper continued, that the order of the day in Hungary was the course followed by Adenauer.

Taking advantage of the events of October 23, partly according to a previously prepared plan, partly on the initiative of adventurers who had emerged in the meantime, various counter-revolutionary detachments were raised one after another. In Budapest, they divided the districts of the city amongst themselves and began to round up the sons of the people.

Thus, the main tactical features of the counter-revolutionary rising and the activities of the counter-revolutionaries were the following:

1) A campaign was started to destroy *all* the members of the State Security in order fully to eliminate the units of the State Security Service, *whose duty was to defend the people's power*. The government complied with the demand for the abolition of the State Security Service. This was correct, for a single state police is better able to carry out the important task of defending socialist law and popular power. However, the tactics elaborated by the counter-revolutionaries consisted in laying the responsibility for the actual crimes committed by a few hundred, at the most, of the members of the State Security, most of whom had already been dismissed, and many arrested, on thousands of members of the State Security, mainly ordinary soldiers doing their military service in security units, and in arousing hostility towards them.

2) The counter-revolutionaries freed fascists and war and common criminals. Thus, from the Márianosztra Prison they released the former Horthy ministers and war criminals István Antal, Antal Kunder and others. But a more important factor for the rebels were the thousands upon thousands of common criminals, who joined counter-revolutionary detachments.

3) They started a universal hunt for *the leading force of the popular power, the working-class party, with the purpose of completely destroying it*. During this campaign the building of the Budapest Party Committee in Republic Square was destroyed by artillery fire on October 30. Former Horthy officers, ex-gendarmes and others, who had managed to get into various enterprises in preceding years, put on the national cockade and tried to pass as revolutionaries, agitating against the factory Party functionaries, in order to shatter the Party organizations in those enterprises or at least to paralyze them.

4) A broad campaign of calumny was started against the local representatives of authority, workers in the local councils and

economic executives. In many cases the counter-revolutionaries applied the tactics of "joining in the movement for the expurgation of the popular power." But a few days later, when the counter-revolutionary forces felt themselves victorious in Budapest and in many provinces, they threw off their "socialist" mask and *started to undermine the whole state system of people's democracy* with the open aim of restoring the bourgeois system.

One of those persons was a man known as "Uncle Szabó," who had taken up a job at the Ganz Electric Engineering Works. This "Uncle Szabó," a former Horthyist gendarmier officer, became the organizer and leader of a group of rebels in Szena Square. Károly Tibolda, son of the former editor-in-chief of the pro-Hitler newspaper, *Új Magyarország*, contrived to become a member of the workers' council of the same works, and later even its secretary; so did Máté Denes, a former bodyguard of Horthy, and others.

5) One of the most important tactical features of the counter-revolutionaries was to *penetrate* as quickly and on as large a scale as possible *into the governmental apparatus*, particularly the command of the armed forces in order to seize leadership or at least to paralyze their activity.

While the Imre Nagy Government was in power, the Parliament was filled with former Horthy politicians, aristocrats, monarchists, officers of the palace guards and other raffle. Under pressure from them, the government appointed as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces the former Horthy General Staff officer Béla Király, a relative (husband of the niece) of the infamous fascist leader Gyula Gömbös. Former Horthy officers streamed into the Defence Ministry. The influx increased as the composition of the government veered more and more openly towards the consolidation of the supporters of a bourgeois restoration.

6) *The invasion from the West* of fascist émigrés played a major role in increasing the counter-revolutionary forces. Émigré organizations, maintained on dollars, found means of penetrating into certain International Red Cross bodies and making use of some Red Cross planes and vehicles transporting medicaments and dressings, in order to smuggle in arms and ammunition and also to bring counter-revolutionaries into Hungary. Of the one hundred Red Cross aeroplanes which arrived in Budapest before November, more than forty brought about 500 counter-revolution-

aries. Other big armed groups penetrated into our country across the western border.

The Hungarian Government, hoping to see a more favourable peaceful international situation and desiring to promote it, had previously given orders to remove all the technical barriers on our frontiers and to clear the mine fields. This was completed on the Western frontier in the second half of September. In their preparations for the conspiracy the Western subversive organizations immediately profited by this important and peace-loving gesture of the Hungarian Government in order to bring an increasing number of their agents into the country across that frontier and to accelerate the preparations for the rebellion. In the early days of the rebellion they availed themselves of the opportunity of the eased crossing of the frontier in order to bring in bigger organized groups to reinforce the interior forces of counter-revolution.

7) As a result of the helplessness of the Imre Nagy Government, its continual drift to the Right and then its disintegration, the extensive, although at first disguised, activity of the counter-revolution became more and more open due to the quick increase of its armed forces. The various parties and organizations* which stood for a bourgeois restoration sprung up like mushrooms, and in the last week of the Imre Nagy Government they became dominant in the political life of the country. This was reflected in the appearance of a host of new newspapers. On October 29 one of the rebel groups, headed by Dudás, seized the editorial offices of the newspaper *Szabad Nép* and from the beginning of November the newspaper could not be published. All the other newspapers, the overwhelming majority of which more or less agitated against the Communists and the Soviet Union, were free to appear. On October 31 Cardinal Mindszenty was brought in triumph to Budapest from the Felsőpeteny Fort. He openly called for the complete elimination of the people's democratic system.

Counter-revolution already felt itself in the saddle, although the presence of Soviet troops extremely alarmed its leading politicians and this circumstance restrained them to a certain extent. They requested and waited and hoped for the arrival of armed forces from the West and of United Nations troops. This would have been a most important guarantee of the restoration of the bourgeois regime. The counter-revolutionary rising threatened Hungary with the overthrow of the people's democratic

* Some of them are mentioned on page 60, in the brief section concerning Cardinal Mindszenty.—Ed.

system and the peril of a clash between our country and its neighbours and of its being turned into the battlefield of the first military operations in a new world war. The only possibility of saving popular power and eliminating the threat of a new devastating war in the Danube valley was to suppress counter-revolution.

This small pamphlet brings out certain facts, data, and events. It does not claim to give the full picture and can but help to show events in the right light and to acquaint public opinion both in Hungary and abroad with the true state of affairs.

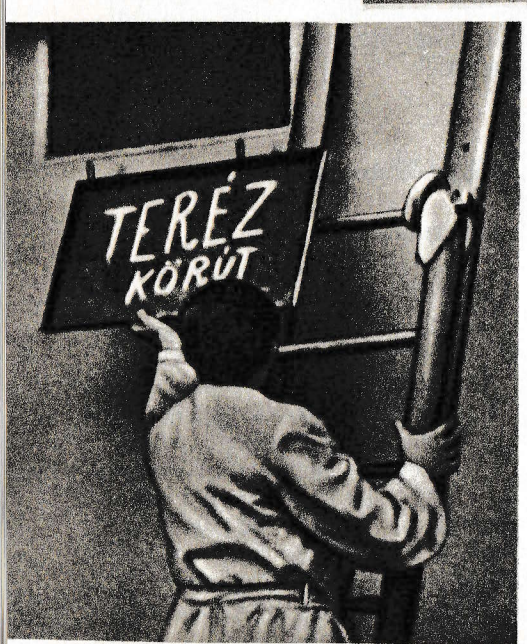
Counter-Revolution in Budapest

Investigations and interrogations are still going on. There are as yet no detailed reports on the White terror in Budapest in autumn 1956, but the accounts prepared thus far, if incomplete and dry, throw sufficient light on the question of what political forces entered the ring in the days of anarchy, and against whom the weapons in their hands were turned.

Testimony of an Eye-Witness

László Oravec, Budapest resident, relates:

"On October 31, 1956, at 14.30, standing at the corner of Lenin Avenue and 7th November Square, I witnessed the following event: A man dressed in khaki trousers and a sports jacket of the Dózsa sports society was going along Lenin Avenue opposite the Művész Cinema. Somebody shouted; 'He's in the State Security!' The crowd rushed at the man and started to beat him up. In the tussle which ensued, somebody threw around the man's neck a wire cable by means of which the man, who had lost consciousness, was hanged on a tree in front of a hardware shop at the corner of Lenin Avenue and Aradi Street. A board was fixed to the breast of the murdered man with the inscription 'Captain Tóth of the State Security Service. The same fate awaits every State Security member.'



The counter-revolutionaries, who sought, under the guise of fighting against Stalinism, to bring about the overthrow of proletarian rule, pull down a plate bearing the name of Lenin Avenue, replacing it by a plate with the inscription "Theresa Avenue," the name used before the liberation

"Nobody made sure whether persons seized were really State Security members. The brutally murdered people were victims of a campaign of slander and baiting."

Testimony of a Misguided Youth

Fifteen-year-old Csaba Bányai, who was given arms and enrolled in a "special detachment," relates:

"On November 2 and 3 we billeted ourselves in groups of ten in flats commandeered from the inhabitants. We also dragged our victims there. We murdered them with poison injections and then shot them through the head for appearance's sake."

This youth related that their "special detachment" was divided into groups of ten. He also reported that on November 9 all of their commanders "got into motor cars and drove somewhere."

The Death of Sándor Sziklai

The Swabians who were formerly members of the Volksbund, and who were headed by József Eszterle, threatened the Sziklai family living in Budakeszi with death as early as ten days before the October events. On October 25 armed bandits attacked the house. They threw a hand grenade into the flat and then broke in. Colonel Sándor Sziklai defended himself with his revolver and killed one of his attackers. However, a splinter from a grenade thrown by the bandits mortally wounded him. The bandits chopped up his father-in-law Lajos Kiss with a hatchet. Sándor Sziklai was a veteran fighter of the working-class movement, and Lajos Kiss was an old Communist, who had been in the Party since 1919.

Some Facts

In order to show who wanted to profit by the events of October 23 and for what purpose, we shall cite a number of facts and portray a few persons.



A copy of the journal "Kommunist" was thrown on to the body of this policeman tortured to death

The leader of one of the armed groups which operated in the 11th District was Vera Laskovics who lives at 5 Illatos Street, is a well-known prostitute and had already served prison terms. Her group had large quantities of arms and ammunition and operated in the vicinity of Ferenc Boulevard, Mester Street and Tompa Street. Laskovics was nearly always drunk, and forced her associates to shoot indiscriminately.

The sixteen-year-old János Szilágyi lived for a number of years in a home for defective children. In the hospital to which he was taken after being wounded he said, laughing:

"I fell in with a captain dressed in civilian clothes. He and I went to addresses given to us to murder State Security members and Communists. One day we went to a house not far from the hotel and up to the fourth floor. The captain said we were going to a State Security man. We found him at home with his wife and six-year-old daughter. First the captain beat him up, then he tore off his ears and cut his nose with scissors, after which fired a volley into him. Meanwhile his wife tried to escape, but one of the men from our detach-



A murdered man with a book about the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., thrown on his body

ment shot her on the spot. After we had dealt with the parents we began to wonder what to do with the daughter. Finally we shot her too. . . . We did not operate only in that flat, every day we had a new task."

Sz. E., who was freed from prison and was arrested on November 8 when attempting to leave the country, related the following.

"I made the acquaintance of the engineer-fitter János Horváth; he is about 28 years old. In the house where he lived this János Horváth killed four or five State Security men who lived in the same house. Besides, he took other State Security men to the cellar where they were all shot."



This picture of the fascist bloodshed was published by the West German "Spiegel"



The arms of the People's Republic and the Petöfi emblem were put on the chest of this murdered soldier



A murdered colonel. A copy of the journal "Partépités" was put on his body

In the 19th District of Budapest Kálmán Turner, an old welder of the National Spinning Works, was shot merely for having taken part in the defence of the Party Committee building.

In the same district József Labadi, a member of the council, was called to the door of his house and shot in the abdomen.

Károly Lados, whose wife was President of the Kispest Council, was killed with a volley of sub-machine gun fire.

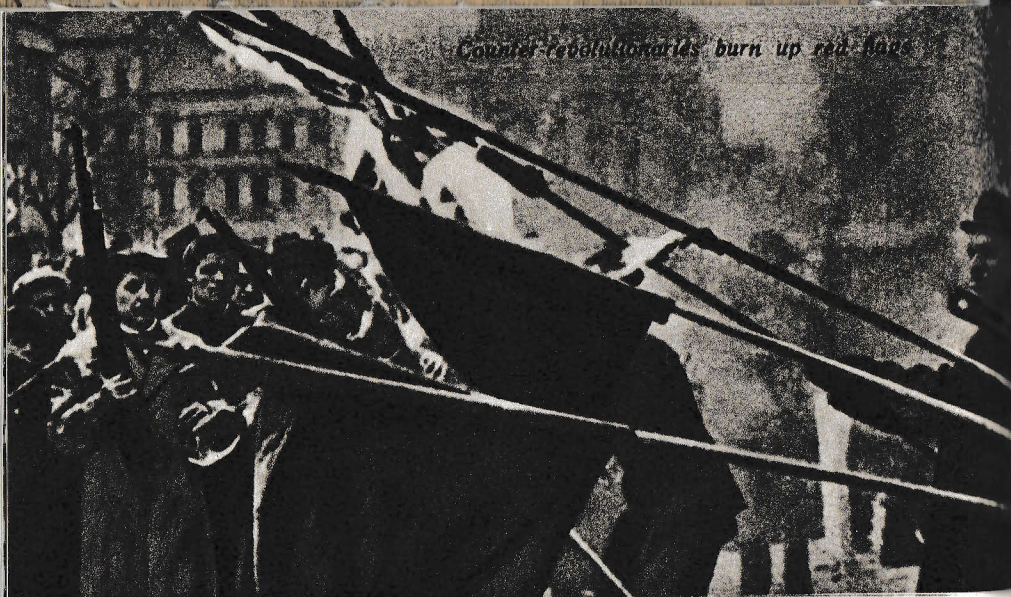
Hundreds of honest people were arrested and deported. In the 3rd District Ottó Bihari, Secretary of the Party Organization in the Goldberger Works, and Ernő Molnár, Secretary of the District Party Committee, were arrested. Armed people came to the flat of a 70-year-old pensioner and former administrative worker in the State Security Service in the same district. In order to escape from his attackers, the aged pensioner jumped out of the window into the yard, and was killed. Detachments of counter-revolutionaries sent some of the people they seized to deportation prisons. By November 3 they already had many hundreds of State Security men and 120 civilians in their custody. Their execution was fixed for November 5. Other detachments used to send their victims to other places. Executions also took place on the spot. On November 4 men standing in a queue at a food shop in Mártirok Street in the 2nd District were seized and taken away and many other persons, who were in the street, were arrested. The Communists were singled out to be shot. The fulfilment of the plan was prevented by the arrival of Soviet tanks.



Left: Imre Földes and three

Counter-revolutionaries

Counter-revolutionaries burn up red flags



Burning books, papers, sheet music and gramophone records thrown out after the raid on the Hungarian-Soviet Society building



Attack by Counter-Revolutionaries on the Building of the Budapest Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party

The attack took place on October 30, that is, after the official cease-fire. This attack opened the general assault of counter-revolution against the organizations of the Hungarian Working People's Party. Its purpose was to overthrow the people's democratic power and to restore the capitalist system. In terms of tactics this was a turning-point; the organized armed forces of counter-revolution, which had joined in the just mass movement of the people under disguise, now discarded the mask.

One of the characteristic tactics of the counter-revolutionaries was incitement against the State Security bodies. They wanted to destroy, in the most literal sense of the word, every man in that branch of the forces, every single member of the State Security Service, irrespective of whether they were rank-and-file soldiers performing their military service, or honest old Communists who themselves had been in prison during the Rákosi regime and who in the period previous to October 23 had for that very reason been sent to that service to improve its work and to guarantee law.

When the counter-revolutionaries began the attack on the Party Committee premises the Imre Nagy Government had already adopted the decision to abolish the State Security Service. However, that government did nothing to put an end to the frenzied outrages. As a result, after the government's decision to dissolve the State Security Service, the counter-revolutionaries were able



The Budapest Party Committee premises after the raid





The fitter Lajos Kelemen, a Kőbánya Communist, was brought to hospital with a brain concussion and thirty-four bleeding wounds

to continue their organized campaign for the destruction of "every member of the State Security." The streets of Budapest were strewn with the corpses of Security Service members, murdered in the most outrageous manner. The baiting of Party workers started simultaneously. It was enough to say of anybody that he "is a member of the State Security Service" for him to be seized, tortured or murdered. The action against the members of the State Security was accompanied by incitement against Communists.

Under the slogan of Communist-baiting, the attack on the premises of the Budapest district committees and local territorial Party organizations was carried out. On October 29, before the attack on the Budapest City Party Committee there was a raid on

the Party committees of the 7th and 8th districts and on the House of Party Education. In the afternoon of October 29 small armed groups appeared in Republic Square near the premises of the Budapest Party Committee.

The Attack

The entrance to the building was guarded at the time by an armoured car, equipped with a heavy machine-gun. At dusk, the crew of the armoured car captured three rebels. All three were



This staff worker of the City Party Committee was tortured, beaten with rifle-butts, kicked and her arms were twisted back

After the assault, six guards were severely beaten and hanged by the feet in Republic Square



Artillery Colonel Papp, who had come to the City Party Committee on the business of organizing a militia, was atrociously murdered after the assault

found in possession of "National Guard" membership cards. One of them, a sixteen-year-old lad, had a grenade and his comrades had fire-arms. This lad confessed that he had been about to throw the hand grenade into the armoured car. The other two rebels were found in possession of new boots, spirits and other articles. The three insurgents were disarmed and then escorted with the articles they had looted to the police station in Mosonyi Street.

At about nine p. m. two army officers arrived in the City Party Committee from the Defence Ministry. They reported that armed individuals had captured an adjacent area and were preparing to attack the committee building. The two officers joined Colonel Tóth Lajos who had come earlier with several officers on the business of organizing a working people's militia.

The expected attack did not take place during the night. Next day the armoured car left its place at the entrance of the City Committee. At about 10 o'clock numerous armed groups began to



One of the murdered guards

gather near the building. They seized the Erkély Theatre situated opposite the City Committee, and set up a machine-gun emplacement on the roof. They also filled the square in front of the City Committee and took up positions under cover of trees. The insurgents also broke into neighbouring buildings and settled down.

The City Committee building was guarded by about 40 men commanded by two lieutenants. The guard *did not react* either to the concentration of the armed groups or to their preparation for an attack. There were present in the City Committee the City Party Committee Secretary Imre Mező and about forty members of the City Committee staff, including typists, dining-room attendants, furnace-men and others.

Those in the building, seeing the preparations for the assault, reported the situation to the executive of the Party, the government and the central police administration, and requested help. They were assured that appropriate measures would be taken, but at that time the government bodies and the command of the armed



A victim brutally tortured to death



The body of a victim, maimed with sadistic cruelty

forces were already on the verge of disintegration. As a result, the promised assistance was not given.

The attack developed according to a military plan prepared beforehand. Just after ten o'clock the insurgents started the assault.

As long as the counter-revolutionaries used only small arms and machine-guns, the guard succeeded in defending the building with small fire-arms against opposing forces twenty or thirty times as strong in number. However, at about half past eleven the attacking groups brought in artillery. There was artillery, machine-gun and rifle fire. The building was set on fire. Many people were killed and lay in the wrecked rooms and corridors, the number of wounded increased continually. During the assault the command of the armed forces repeatedly promised to send help. Some higher officials did try to help, but could not do so. Finally, at two p. m., a telephone message came from the Defence Ministry saying that no help could be given.

Taking into account the gravity of the situation, the officers present in the City Committee recommended that the guard cease resistance and lay down their arms.

The City Committee Secretary Imre Mező ordered the guard to cease fire. A white flag was hoisted over the building. Then some



The body of a guard tortured to death

of the insurgents made their way into the wrecked building while others continued to fire.

One of the Party workers who was in the committee building gave the following account of the assault:

"The firing, which lasted about four and a half hours, reduced the building to ruins. Just after two o'clock we were convinced that further bloodshed was senseless. Comrade Imre Mező ordered that resistance be ceased. Two army officers volunteered to inform the attackers of this. Comrade Mező went with them. As they went out bearing a white flag they were met by fire. Comrade Mező intended to try to convince the insurgents that there was no sense in continuing the assault and the bloodshed. But he did not succeed in doing so, for the three of them were killed. Rushing into the building, the insurgents tortured and killed the people there with incredible cruelty. Men in military uniform, army officers, policemen, rank-and-file soldiers, who were doing their active service in State Security units (most of them aged about twenty), were hanged on trees in Republic Square. When some of them had been murdered their heads were chopped off, the hearts of others were cut out."

That was how the Secretary of the Budapest City Committee Imre Mező lost his life. The butchers cut out the heart of Colonel János Asztalos, a respected veteran fighter of the working-class movement, and killed Colonel Papp and Colonel Szabó. The Party School lecturer Péter Lakatos was shot on the spot. More than twenty sons of the Hungarian people fell victim to the bloody terror in Republic Square.

The terrible butchery horrified some of the insurgents. They were shocked by the cruelty of the atrocities in which they themselves took part. Some of the insurgents tried to mitigate the cruelty and save at least the civilians. But they were unable to prevent the execution of the guard or to save the army officers.

The City Party Committee workers were also tortured. One of them, Éva Kállai, in order to escape from the murderers, jumped out of the window on the second floor. People were taken to hospital beaten up, covered with blood and seriously wounded.

H. I., one of the City Committee workers, gives the following description of those terrible hours:

"I was on the third floor when a crowd came rushing up. Somebody pointed his gun at me but one of the leaders stopped him, saying that it was not worth touching such an



One of those atrociously lynched in front of the Party House (the premises of the City Party Committee)



The bodies of those murdered in front of the Party House

old woman. They forced me to throw down my handbag and my coat which I was holding. They went through my pockets, took everything away from me and one of them ordered me to cover them and lead them along the corridor and pushed me in front of him. At that moment a comrade from the Higher Party School approached the staircase at the end of the corridor. While checking his papers they kicked him. I profited by this moment to break out of the crowd and go to the second floor. There I was stopped again. They struck me with something on the shoulder, kicked me, and then surrounded me and took me into the hall where the wounded were lying. Then they led me out to Republic Square so that I could look at the fate awaiting my comrades. There was an enormous crowd in the square. A State Security soldier was kicked, pushed about and beaten up; finally they stuffed into his mouth his Party member's card which they had found in his pocket. Not far from the soldier was lying one of those who had been wounded in the building. They kicked him too, spat on him, trampled on him, derided him and then dragged him a little farther away to where a comrade was already hanged by the feet. I don't know whether he was still alive, but the blood was still flowing. The rope did not bear his weight and snapped, but they hanged him again. The crowd around him was in a real frenzy."

Lies and Calumny

In the fury of the counter-revolution, which reminded one of the White terror in 1919, the monstrous lie about the City Party Committee in Republic Square played a considerable role. One of the manifestations of this was the widespread story about "secret dungeons" under the City Committee building.

According to the first version of this lie, "several hundred State Security members" who, it was rumoured, had been guarding the building—although it was common knowledge that the guard of the building numbered forty men—were supposed to be hiding in those dungeons.

Where in that case were the "several hundred" guards? There was a malignant rumour about "mysterious knocking coming from the depths," which could have come from the "State Security members" who were supposed to be hiding there. But here logic



The Party House after the raid

was completely shattered. If these mythical State Security men had found a secret passage by which they went down to the dungeons, then why had they not found a way by which they could escape? It was strange, too, that they needed to signal their whereabouts by knocking. The absurdity of this fiction became obvious even for its authors and that is why they had to change it as they went along. Then a version full of horrors about "political prisoners locked up there ten years before" was concocted. The latter version was better adapted to the aims of counter-revolutionary propaganda, for it helped to extend hatred for the State Security Service to a universal hatred for the Party. There were journalists, too, who put their pens at the service of this dishonest propaganda. Otto Végh, for instance, in his article entitled "Secret Underground Prison under Party Building," published in one of the daily papers, dished up this lie, which contradicted elementary logic, as an irrefutable truth. The paper of Dudás and his associates, *Magyar Függetlenség*, combined both these legends and placed side by side in the "secret dungeons" the vanished State Security men and the mysterious political prisoners.

In an effort to give a semblance of truth to these nightmarish stories and intensify anti-communist hysteria, excavations were in the end begun near the City Committee building with the use of numerous and various machines. There were repeated appeals by wireless to those who had worked on the building and to engineers who knew the site to appear on the scene of the excavations. Needless to say the "excavations" did not yield any results, for there is not, and cannot be, any "secret prison" in a Communist Party building. However, various strange legends are still in circulation, and they have been, and still are, purposely spread by the counter-revolutionaries in their efforts to divert by any means public attention from their own deeds of bloodshed and to carry on unbridled Communist-baiting. Such is the truth about the story of the "secret dungeons" in the City Party Committee.

This is the true story of the attack on the building of the Hungarian Working People's Party in Republic Square.

Counter-Revolutionary Actions in the Provinces

The mass disturbances that began in Budapest on October 23 spread to the provinces on October 25 and 26.

At the close of October, insurgents, part of whom apparently guided by humane motives, opened the gates of the prisons and released arrested fascists and criminals. These criminals played an appreciable role in strengthening the forces of the counter-revolution. From that standpoint the example of the Mór District National Committee is characteristic. The chairman of that committee was Imre Kovács, an old peasant, but apart from him there was only one other peasant in that body. Without exception, the other members were fascists and criminals just released from prison. The deputy chairman was a certain Onodi, a criminal with a record of seventeen convictions; the secretary was Józef Kiss, a bandit serving an eleven-years sentence, while the members were János Schiffer and Pál Bándy, officers who served under Horthy, as well as former gendarmes Köves, Harsanyi, Lendvai and Kovács.

Horthyites in Győr

A certain Captain Lajos Somogyváry, a Horthy officer, arrived in Győr in October. As soon as signs of a counter-revolution became evident, he hurried to Hungary from Munich, arriving in Győr by air, and immediately took command of the counter-revolutionaries. Somogyváry put forward a programme that was broadcast by the Győr radio station and recorded on tape. Here are a few excerpts from Mr. Somogyváry's programme:



This gruesome picture, representing an episode of the Mosonmagyaróvár bloodshed, was published in the West German "Spiegel"

"I, Lajos Somogyváry, an envoy of the youth (!), who are at this moment shedding their blood, have arrived in Győr and am speaking over the radio in order to call upon you to set up a counter-government without delay. The Government of Imre Nagy had no constitutional basis and is only upheld by twenty or thirty thousand armed bandits and marauders. As from today we have decided to create a governmental national defence commissariat—a committee for the conduct of military operations, to be more exact—which would perform the functions of the ministries of defence and the interior. . . . Our ranks have no place for those who during the regime that dominated in the course of the past twelve years held any leading positions. . . . We are fully determined to get in touch with foreign governments. . . .

"If we are unable to set up reliable radio communication, we shall try to take back (!) the powerful transmitters guarded by insignificant forces or to get a transmitter from abroad as quickly as possible. We shall do all in our power to enable Hungarians living abroad. . . to form and send volunteer regiments of freedom fighters to us because every minute is precious. We ask you to inform everybody of this, including Radio 'Free Europe' so that they can all contact the Győr Revolutionary Government created under the leadership of Lajos Somogyváry, and the governmental commissariat for the conduct of military operations. . . . Every Hungarian worker knows his duty. Stop work immediately at factories and all other places and resume it only at the bidding of the newly formed government. In addition, arrest all unreliable persons in the provinces and elsewhere."

Another person to appear in Győr was a capitalist named Kertész, who was the chief share-holder of the Győr wool and textile factory. He lived in West Europe, but later, when he learned of what was taking place in Hungary, he went to Vienna in order to go on to his homeland and recover the ownership of "his enterprise" in Győr. Kertész informed the chief engineer at the factory of his desire "to start negotiations" for "his factory."

It is to be presumed that that is enough.

Terrorist groups of counter-revolutionaries began to operate in Győr. One of them, comprising some twenty men, stopped Vendel Németh, a fifty-year-old worker of the Regional Party Committee, in the street, beat him up and tried to throw him into the Danube. Two Hungarian soldiers saved him from the hands of his attackers. The counter-revolutionaries began to form armed



A murdered State Security soldier



Counter-revolutionaries put the arms with star, cut out of the national flag of the People's Republic, on the body of this murdered policeman

detachments and to carry out pre-arranged plans of brutal retribution, but time worked against them.

In Szekszárd

In the town of Szekszárd, reactionary elements seized control of the national committee. They arbitrarily removed the heads of the town council from office, replacing them with old-regime officials—former rural district chiefs and police commissioners. A committee of five, including *former rural district chiefs*, Dr. Marth, Dr. Farakas and Dr. Simon, seized power in the regional council. Former police commissioners Dr. Antal Pető, Dr. György Taba and Dr. László Mező became the heads of the district council. When representatives of the rural councils assembled, they simply announced that no former leader could remain at his post and that the candidates they put forward must be accepted.

In the Village of Füzesabony

During the night of November 3, a group headed by the kulak János Gál and shirkers János Gál Kiss and István Koródi, who frequented the public house, pulled down a monument to Soviet soldiers and then went to the village council with the intention of beating up the head. Finding nobody in, they went to the house of the rural procurement agent, smashed the windows and then dragged the representative, a worker sent to the district from Budapest, from his house to the building of the village council, beat him up and threw him into one of the rooms. The group organized by the kulaks “proclaimed” a certain Fecske, a former *Horthy official and chief of the local government body*, as the head of the local council.

A “workers’ council” was set up under the leadership of this former official. The council’s first act was to remove Lajos Kovács, business manager of the consumers’ marketing co-operative, from office and to beat him up. Shouting anti-Semitic slogans, they went to a textile shop and chased out the manager. The wife and child of the procurement agent were thrown out of their house and the neighbours were warned not to take the child in. A group led by János Gál attacked a police station, armed themselves there and rushed to the District Party Committee. They broke into the building and stole 18,000 forints from the safe.



The head of this murdered Communist was pinned to the floor with a bayonet, and a portrait of Lenin was put on his body. The picture was published in a Western newspaper

In the Village of Mezőtarkány

In this village, the chairman of the village council, a former worker in Budapest and one of the oldest council chairmen in Heves Region, was brutally beaten up. His ribs were broken and his lungs injured, while his nine-year-old son was beaten so severely that he could not rise from his bed. The chairman's wife was locked up between two doors so that she would not get away.

In Pápa

The leading communist workers here were arrested at dawn on October 31. They included Sándor Pandur, chairman of the district council, and József Pap, chief of the district police. About forty Communists were forcefully driven out of town, although later a few of them were allowed to return. It was announced that some of the arrested men would be sent to a concentration camp and some of them would be executed. The arrival of Soviet troops prevented this intention from being carried out.



One of the civilian victims

In Miskolc

The police rendered harmless a counter-revolutionary group, which had drawn up a list of Party members, honest toilers, with the purpose of destroying them. On November 3, this group killed twenty-two persons. Armed detachments broke into the regional police station and seized Police Lieutenant-Colonel Gáti, Captain Raduly, Lieutenant Strelec, Lieutenant of Security Service Juhász, and Police Sergeant Antal. They were beaten up and then hanged on the monument to Soviet soldiers. Captain of State Security forces Mohai managed to escape from his pursuers but committed suicide in desperation. The execution of another hundred and fifty people was set for November 4. But further terrorist acts were stopped by the arrival of Soviet troops.

In Ózd

Sanguinary events unfolded on October 29. A big crowd gathered in one of the squares. In the ensuing cross-fire a member of the "national guard" detachment was wounded in one of his lungs. Somebody in the crowd shouted that "it was the State Security Service men who had fired." The result was that, after brutal tortures, three men were hanged in front of the building of the workers' council; two of them did not belong to the State Security Service but to the police and only one was a State Security man. He was taken from his house, which was three or four kilometres from the scene of firing, and he did not even know what had happened. As a matter of fact, the firing started when one of the members of the "national guards," who was in the crowd, accidentally (or with the purpose of provocation) fired from a rifle. The other "national guardsmen" took advantage of this and began to fire at random. The second of the men who were executed had been seized on the scene, while the third was detained in some other street and, consequently, had not been in the square either. These men were savagely beaten and then dragged to the building of the workers' council. Later, at the demand of the crowd, the workers' council handed them over to the counter-revolutionaries after which they were hanged.

In Kiskunmajsa

The counter-revolutionaries executed 60-year-old József Neményi, who had been in the labour movement since 1919 and a reader in problems of industry and trade at the Kiskunmajsa council.

On October 27, 1956, a detachment headed by a group of 10 to 15 people, broke into the council premises. They looked for Neményi, but he was not there. Then they went to his house, dragged him to the council's offices and beat him to death.

After that the bandits went to the offices of the Party committee. They did not find the Secretary but, instead, found one-armed paralyzed Kuklis Lukács, member of the pastures committee, and beat him up. Then they moved on to the home of a Jew, small shopkeeper Krausz, but the latter was not in. So, shouting anti-Semitic slogans, they attacked the house of Fischöf, purchaser at the consumers' marketing co-operative, and smashed all the furniture. Fischöf himself escaped through the attic. The mob attacked and beat up the peasant Benjámín Bálog, chairman of the pastures committee.

These events were followed by the election in the village of a so-called workers' council consisting entirely of kulaks, profi-



Bandits who shot from ambush, and their victim

teers, gendarmes and criminals released from prison. It is characteristic that *the former sergeant-major of gendarmes József Karcsú* became the new police chief.

In Mihályi

On October 27, 1956, a "national council" which included two gendarmes, was set up under the chairmanship of a *former Horthy official* named Mihály Maróti. On November 1, armed members of this council, *former gendarmes* Lajos Kiss and István Halász Jr., broke into the flat of the Secretary of the Party organization, dragged him out into the street and beat him up.

In Tét

Towards the end of October, former Nilasists headed by a certain Baumgartner organized an "Arrow Cross" party and terrorized the population.

In Üjkér

On October 26 the kulak Béla Horváth, *who had owned 85 holds of land* and voluntarily offered his land to the state in 1949, headed an armed band which forced its way into the building of the producers' co-operative. He gave the members of the co-operative living there 24 hours to leave the premises and supply him with a written list of the stock and equipment.

In Bősárkány

On October 27, a group led by kulaks forced their way into the offices of the village council, drove out the members of the council and appointed the *kulak* András Kiss Andorka to the post of chairman. Then they raided the home of the Secretary of the Party organization, took him to the offices of the Party committee, destroyed all the documents there, and announced that the reign of the poor had ended, that they were taking the administration into their own hands and would restore the old orders.



Rebels supply new clothes to criminals released from jail

In Csorná

On October 26, 1956, under the leadership of *the former innkeeper* Imre Plenár and others there was a demonstration which was soon joined by all the reactionary elements of the village who had been lying low. Only about 6 or 8 per cent of the population took part in the demonstration. The participants set up a "national committee" in which the leading role was played by György Czinder, *a former Nilasist official, chief of the village government body*. In 1920, Czinder's father was one of the ring-leaders of the counter-revolutionary White terror, who savagely murdered honest toilers. During the events of October 26, his younger brother, János Czinder, was the first to demand that former gendarmes should at once put on their gendarmerie uniforms and seize power in the village. The Czinder brothers' accomplices were persons known for their reactionary, counter-revolutionary views. Sándor Székely, *a former Horthy officer*, was appointed chairman of the "national committee," Ronge, a captain in the former Horthy army, proclaimed himself the military commandant of Csorná. An officers' detachment was formed of former Horthy officers hiding in and about the village and at once began to prepare a reign of White terror. By order of György Czinder this detachment arrested Ferenc Hajtó, former Secretary of the village Party organization, and handed him over for trial to the "extraordinary tribunal" which they themselves had set up. This farcical trial was to have been the signal for the extermination of all the other leaders who were honest and loyal to the people's democratic system. György Czinder, Sándor Székely and their accomplices drew up a list of the people they intended to destroy. During the "trial" of Ferenc Hajtó and other persons named in the list, which was held on November 3, attempts were made to get incriminating confessions from them. After the trial, György Czinder ordered Ferenc Hajtó's guards to shoot him at night. However, the guards knew Hajtó personally and did not carry out this order. Bloodshed was prevented by the arrival of Soviet troops. Seeing the failure of the counter-revolutionary terror, György Czinder and some of his accomplices fled to the West.

In Szeged

A book-keeper named József Kovács became a member of the so-called revolutionary committee. He was appointed commander of the armed forces of the counter-revolution in Szeged.



One of those beaten to death

Kovács was born in 1926 in Békéscsaba. In 1944 he fled to West Germany from where he returned in 1946. In 1949 he was imprisoned for political crimes against the people's democratic system. After serving his sentence, Kovács became a book-keeper in the village of Röszk and, after the events of October 23, was one of the most active organizers of the counter-revolution. He issued instructions for the arrest of State Security men and political workers and for the release of all convicts. He stole 100,000 forints from the bank for "revolutionary purposes."

Even before the events of October 23, Kovács maintained two apartments for conspirators in Szeged. When he organized the counter-revolutionary police he had his father, who, prior to the liberation, was *a captain in the Horthy police*—take the post of police counsellor. Kovács was in contact with the insurgents in the neighbouring districts, including the town of Makó. He in-

structed Endre Kertés, chairman of the workers' council at the sewing factory, to organize resistance and in case there was any danger of the factory being captured to set it on fire. Kertés and his associates did not carry out any of Kovács's orders.

In Baja

At 9 p. m. on November 2, counter-revolutionaries attacked the district police station. The attackers opened fire from submachine-guns at people in the building, killing Senior Lieutenant Benjámín Zeleckó, chief of the civil guard, and seriously wounding the chief of police, Senior Lieutenant Géza Bogács, Sergeant István Lőrincz and Lieutenant István András.

In Szombathely

At 10 p. m. on October 27, 1956, a big detachment raided the offices of the former State Security forces, the Party committee and the regional jail. Killing the warden of the jail, Senior Lieutenant István Magyar, the raiders freed the convicts.

Hungarian Events as Mirrored in the Western Press

A perusal of the columns of the Western press will bring to light numerous excerpts which prove beyond all shadow of a doubt that bourgeois circles in the West had also clearly seen the offensive of the counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary and their terrorist actions. Though scrappily, these excerpts, like the stills of a film, show the impartial observer the events that have taken place and their pernicious aftermath, as well as the broad international contacts of the Hungarian extreme Right and fascist groupings, which, after careful preparation, deftly utilized for counter-revolutionary purposes the popular movement aimed against the crimes committed by the Rákosi-Gerő leadership.

Light is shed on the events that preceded October 30, when the counter-revolution unmasked itself, by the well-known and already cited statement by Allen Dulles, head of American intelligence, in which he said that they "knew well in advance" about the Hungarian rising.

Role of the "Free Europe" Committee

In a long article printed on November 22, the Paris newspaper *Le Monde* refers to foreign ties and detailed preparations. It says: "Top-ranking Americans seized every opportunity to express their interest in the peoples of Eastern Europe, to stimulate resistance

and to emphasize that everybody fighting for freedom would receive support from America. . . . In 1949, at the height of 'cold war,' a huge organization was set up which was nominally private but which in reality was under the State Department. This was the 'Free Europe' Committee. It was headed by Allen Dulles, who was then deputy chief of the Central Intelligence Bureau and is now its head. The committee was created with two purposes in view: to take into its own hands the organization and guidance of the post-war political émigrés and to ensure them the leading role in the propaganda beamed to Eastern Europe. National committees, whose members were picked by Americans, were set up in New York. The Americans gave them material support, thus enabling them to be the sole spokesmen of the émigrés. At the same time a radio station was built in Holzkirchen near Munich. This radio station, which employed about a hundred Hungarians, broadcast all-day programmes for Hungary with the purpose of bolstering the spirit of resistance to the communist system among its listeners. The principal theme of these broadcasts was the might of America and its mission to help enslaved peoples. On the other hand, 'the Crusade for Freedom' organization, a sister of the 'Free Europe' Committee, from time to time used thousands of balloons to shower Hungary with leaflets which incited the population to resistance in the name of the non-existent committee of liberation. . . . During the rising, probably many people responded to the calls of Radio 'Free Europe'. . . . Did they not in the course of these days wage a futile struggle because they listened to the advice given on the eve of the American presidential elections by Radio 'Free Europe,' which assured its listeners that if the armed uprising continued after publication of the election returns, the Washington Government could come forward in the interests of Hungary."

A picture of the direct preparations for the uprising is given by the *Berliner Zeitung* in its issue of November 20, when it acquainted readers with the ties the counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary have in West Germany.

"The participation of trained Hungarian émigrés in the bloody events in Hungary is now an established fact. It has been learned in Munich that in Upper Bavaria near Trauenstein there is an American-run camp, in which officers from Franco Spain and members of Hungarian fascist organizations teach people partisan warfare. A large group of Swabians from Hungary, men who fled to West Germany in 1945 because they were members of

Waffen-SS detachments, arrived in the camp after October 20. . . . They have their own organization, which functions in Munich at 3 Himmelreich Straße.

"On the 24, 25 and 26 of October, groups of guerrilla trainees were sent from the Trauenstein camp to Austria and from there smuggled into Hungary in Red Cross aeroplanes and trucks. Their assignment was to rouse the German minority in Hungary—approximately 300,000—against the people's democratic system. . . ."

The newspaper further reported that the fascists who had been sent to Hungary on this special mission had already returned to the Trauenstein camp. Munich journalists who tried to interview them were prevented from doing so by representatives of the American authorities. According to the newspaper, fascists were sent to Hungary from other parts of West Germany as well. Among those sent, for example, were members of the "Union of Hungarian Fighters," members of the "Free Hungary Movement" and similar organizations. After October 20, the newspaper went on, groups of armed Hungarians from Regensburg, Stuttgart and other West German towns were seen in Munich and neighbouring airfields. In conversation with Munich residents these Horthyites openly declared that they were returning to Hungary as "masters of the country."

Uj Hungaria (New Hungary), a paper put out by Hungarian fascists in the West, was even more outspoken. The issue for November 2 stated:

"The Hungarian emigration is in motion. Hungarians in the Walka camp, one of the main assembly points for Hungarian refugees in West Germany, are enthusiastically forming command battalions. Their job, no matter what happens and irrespective of the stand taken by the West, is to penetrate into Hungary.

"In London, too, volunteer battalions are being enrolled. . . . Hungarian youths and émigré soldiers living in France, Germany, Austria and other European countries are setting out on their own initiative for the Hungarian border, or have already crossed it. . . ."

The former Soviet citizen I. M. Bisaga, a Ukrainian nationalist residing in West Germany, who has expressed the desire to return home, made a statement in Berlin concerning the activity of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations in the West. Here is an excerpt from his statement:

"A few days ago I decided on a big step in my life. This was because I could no longer listen to the lies and witness the criminal activity conducted by Ukrainian nationalist organizations in the West. . . .

"A few weeks prior to the outbreak of the Hungarian events I learned from Vladimir Lenik, one of the active leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist organization known as OUN, that Bandera, Kashuba and Lenkavsky, carrying out the orders of their chiefs, had formed up to ten columns on Austrian territory. The members of these columns were recruited from the Ukrainian nationalist organizations for subversion and sabotage.

"In August this year, Bandera and Lenkavsky travelled to Austria in order to verify the state of preparedness of the columns. Upon returning to Munich they attended a meeting held behind closed doors and expressed satisfaction with the preparations.

"Shortly before the Hungarian events I accidentally learned from Lenik that the groups formed on Austrian territory in August would be sent to Hungary for subversion. Lenik told me that we were on the eve of important events, and recommended me to go to Hungary. He assured me that I would not regret doing so, and that I would be well paid. . . .

"The day after the events started, Vladimir Lenik, in the guise of correspondent of the Ukrainian émigré paper *Shlyakh Peremohy* (*The Way to Victory*), arrived at the Austro-Hungarian border from where he sent the OUN columns into Hungary. From Munich and its vicinity Ivan Kashuba, leader of the Bandera organization, dispatched several more groups to the border. They crossed it together with terrorist groups led by the Horthy general Kisbarnaki.

"They were told to sow panic, open fire on Soviet soldiers and officers, attack them and wipe out their families. The above-mentioned groups were supplied with leaflets in the Russian, Ukrainian and Hungarian languages and, what is most important, were supplied with American arms."

Hand Grenades Instead of Food

Despite the endeavour to shroud things in secrecy reports have appeared in the Western press to the effect that the Hungarian insurgents were receiving the military supplies that had been smuggled into the country. On November 4 the Hamburg *Welt am Sonntag*, quoting a Hungarian woman, reported:

"It was on Saturday we received the first food. A foreigner who spoke fluent Hungarian delivered

to us four wagons loaded with tin containers, and said we should be very cautious when opening the tins. It was only later that we understood the meaning of these words. Two hundred of the tins were filled with hand grenades."

It is worth recalling that this particular issue of *Welt am Sonntag* was quickly confiscated by the West German authorities.

An interesting report published in the *New York World Telegram and Sun* in mid-November, stated that the West German espionage organization, headed by Gehlen, a former Nazi general, had played an active part in launching the counter-revolutionary rising. This American correspondent said that well-informed diplomatic circles had confirmed that the Gehlen network had played an important role in the rising. Incidentally, General Gehlen is directly responsible to Chancellor Adenauer, and his organization is financed by a special fund at the disposal of the Chancellor.

The suspicious linkage between the Hungarian events and foreign countries did not escape the attention of such a highly authoritative politician as Prime Minister Nehru of India, who stated in the Indian Parliament on November 19:



"I am convinced that the arms for the fascist elements who took part in the Hungarian uprising were supplied from abroad."

Concerning earlier events we have already quoted the *Daily Mail* correspondent who boasted:

"In recent days I had lunch with free people who had been working for a whole year to prepare the insurrection which broke out this week."

Defeated politicians and Horthy officers got busy. The November 3 issue of the Paris *Le Monde*, commented:

"The crowds of émigrés who streamed into Budapest have reinforced the position of the Right-wing parties."

The A.F.P. reported:

"There are good grounds for believing that the anti-communist resistance movement organized by General Király, has powerful support among some of the garrisons quartered in Western Hungary, which during this week have concentrated at the completely open Austrian border. The organizations of Hungarian émigrés who fled to Austria and Germany undoubtedly took advantage of this."

Reynolds News: "It Is Possible That an Extreme Fascist Regime Will Be Set Up"

On October 31 the same agency reported:

"It has now been confirmed that extremist military organizations are being formed with great haste in Western Hungary with a view to taking political action, the consequences of which it will be difficult to foresee. These organizations have already established contact with former 'crusaders' (the French correspondent applies this term to the fascist "Arrow Cross" organization.—*Ed.*) and ultra-nationalists in Austria. The events in Hungary are reminiscent of the Horthy putsch in 1919."

On October 30 the *Österreichische Volksstimme* reported:

"At some of the border stations the counter-revolution is actually forming headquarters. During the past few days numerous counter-revolutionary agents, in the guise of Hungarian refugees, crossed the border to 'link up with the insurgents.' According to a report in yesterday's *Bild Telegraph*, they are in direct contact with the counter-revolutionaries in Salzburg. Transports with columns of counter-revolutionaries from Bavaria and other parts

of West Germany are arriving systematically via Austria."

That was how foreign reaction worked, seeking, and, let it be said, not without success, to take advantage of the justified discontent of the masses, seize leadership of the popular movement and utilize it for a counter-revolutionary putsch. Foreign newspaper correspondents wrote about the tempestuous events in Hungary in the following terms:

The London *Reynolds News* reported:

"The Hungarian 'revolutionaries' are Right-wing radicals. . . . Hungarian fascists have streamed into the country from abroad. It is quite possible that an extreme fascist regime will be set up under the successors of Admiral Horthy and Szálasi."

The *Express*, a Paris bourgeois newspaper, commented on November 9:

"On November 1 the Nagy Government obviously lost its grip. Lacking practical power it made concessions both to the right and to the left. . . . The maddened crowd threw off all restraint, and political police and others were lynched. Right elements came to the top in the provinces where the so-called national councils, to a greater or lesser degree, steered a Nazi course. New political parties appeared on the scene."

On November 3 the Vienna correspondent of the London *Times* described the situation as follows:

"Last Saturday (October 27) the question was how much further Mr. Nagy could be made to go in meeting the demands of the revolution. By yesterday he had yielded all along the line."

The German provincial newspaper, *Aallener Volkszeitung*, commented:

"The supreme tragedy of Imre Nagy was that at the decisive moment the movement which paved the way for his coming to power assumed a glaringly anti-communist and anti-Soviet character."

"Now Comes the Terror of the Mob"

Counter-revolutionary terror groups, taking advantage of the inactivity and policy of concessions pursued by the government, stepped up persecution of the supporters of the people's democratic system. Many Western journalists have described in detail all the horrors of the brutal White terror. By this time the trend was no longer in doubt. Characteristic in this respect is a report issued by Reuter's:

"According to reliable information former members of the fas-

cist movement are trying to revive their party. The uprising, supported at first by only weak groups of Right-wing elements, has now reached the stage in which the victory of those calling for restoration of the Horthy regime is no longer impossible. Yesterday saw the beginning of a man hunt in the streets of Budapest. Members of the security police are being killed like dogs, they are hanging from the lamp-posts and balconies. All over the country scenes reminiscent of the return of the 'Whites' in 1919 are being enacted. The swing of Hungarian policy to the Right is justly alarming the democratic elements."

On November 1 the Swedish *Stockholms Tidningen* featured an article by Gunnar Kumlien:

"In a small village along the road leading to Budapest, I witnessed the lynching of a communist leader. The lynching took place in the premises of the village council. I found myself in the midst of large crowds of peasants, soldiers and insurgents. Suddenly a man standing in front of me emitted a roar and the next moment, like a wild beast, plunged forward and attacked another man. This communist leader, of course, acted carelessly in showing himself so early, and was recognized at once. Events developed with lightning speed. The lynching began. The Communist, his hands raised above his head, tried to defend himself, but blows were rained upon his face, back and stomach, his assailants kicked him savagely, blood streamed from his face until finally he collapsed. The lynching was over."

On the same day, October 30, Gordon Shepherd, correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, wrote:

"As night fell popular violence, unrestrained by any regular military or police units, has held Budapest in the grip. . . . The regime seemed completely powerless to control the position and was issuing promises by the hour over Budapest radio."

On October 31 S. Delmer of the *Daily Express* came to the same conclusion:

"Now comes the terror of the mob. . . . The auxiliary police. . . have joined the mobs in imposing on Budapest a system of lynch law."

"Mindszenty—the Banner of the New Regime"

Immediately after this, the issue of *Bild Telegraph* for October 31 triumphantly featured the headline: "People's Democracy in Hungary Overthrown." It then went on to say that according to

the information received "so long as Imre Nagy heads the government in Budapest, so long as there is a single Communist in it, it will not find majority support among the insurgents. . . . The anti-communist forces are convinced that victory is near."

In these circumstances when the shift in the balance of forces in favour of the Right became clearer, the emergence of Cardinal Mindszenty attracted special attention. According to the Hamburg weekly *Der Spiegel* of November 7, "Mindszenty inspires the insurgents with the myth of anti-communist martyrs and Catholic ideology."

Later, the same newspaper wrote:

"Clearly there can be no talk about Mindszenty being the leader of the uprising, but one can absolutely speak of him as the banner of the new regime."

The *Daily Telegraph* had this to say about Mindszenty:

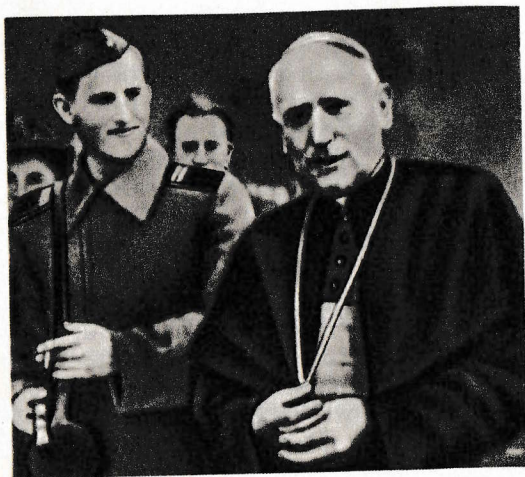
"Most observers admit that with the further development of events he will become one of the central figures. . . ."

Well worthy of attention is a report in the *New York Herald Tribune* for November 20, by Barrett McGurn who, after describing in detail the liberation of Mindszenty, makes the following comment:

"Hungarians, many Western experts felt, should have contented themselves at least for a while with a coalition of Communists and non-Communists, headed by the Communist but nationalist Premier Imre Nagy. . . . It soon became clear that what Russia faced in Hungary was not the prospect of a Gomulka, a nationalist Communist of the stripe of Poland's Premier, but an Adenauer. . . . When the soldiers released the primate, new voices were heard. Some urged even that there be a 'Mindszenty government,' an idea which horrified some Western friends of the Hungarians. The cardinal's political ideas, these Westerners objected, were of 'the 16th century. . . . ' Others urged Mindszenty at least for membership in a super-council of trusted national leaders who could serve as a sort of regency, nominating Premiers and Cabinets. . . . Some of the cardinal's closest supporters were frank about what they wanted from the UN: the instant arrival of a UN mission, parachuted medicine, food, arms."

Thus, even from the Western press reports one gets an idea of the road along which the counter-revolutionary forces wanted to take the country. At the same time these reports make it perfectly clear that what took place was not a coincidence of fortuitous factors, but a result of subversive activity long prepared and directed from abroad.

Cardinal Mindszenty's Participation in Counter-Revolutionary Machinations



Cardinal Mindszenty was arrested at the end of 1948 on the charge of being leader of an organization which aimed at overthrowing the people's democratic system. Cardinal Mindszenty achieved notoriety as one of the leaders of the forces working to restore the bourgeois-landlord regime, and, as such, was tried and sentenced.

In 1955, at the request of the Episcopacy, the Hungarian Government agreed, in view of the state of Mindszenty's health, to release him. Since then he had been under house arrest in the Felsőpetény Castle. This circumstance, naturally, made it easier for him to maintain contact with the outside world.

The Horthy leaders of the counter-revolutionary forces, by ousting the Nagy Government, wanted to advance Mindszenty, temporarily at least, as a *political leader* "standing above parties," and at the same time capable of rallying the forces of the Catholic Church. As early as October 29 and 30, they began to agitate for a "Mindszenty government," and even held a meeting under this slogan in Rákoczi Square. Simultaneously Mindszenty was released from house arrest and brought to Budapest.

On October 30 he was taken from the Felsőpetény Castle and installed in the barracks of a tank regiment in Retság. Next day, October 31, he was taken to Budapest.

Upon arriving in the capital Mindszenty lost no time in getting down to business and on the evening of November 3 broadcast a "call" in which, notwithstanding all its restraint, he openly set forth the aims of the counter-revolution.

The Cardinal described the people's democratic system as a "bankrupt regime." He declared the victory of the counter-revolution to be an accomplished fact. Although he refrained from speaking openly about the plans of the counter-revolutionaries to restore the landlord-capitalist system, Mindszenty said that the new system would be based on private property. He said specifically that an end must be put to the socialist system based on common ownership, the people's rule must be abolished.

Mindszenty, like the other leading figures of the bourgeois restoration, had to tread warily in view of the fact that Soviet troops were posted on the approaches to Budapest and the news that Soviet reinforcements had arrived. For this reason he did not fully explain his attitude. "In my call I deliberately refrained from mentioning other details," he said, "because what I did say was enough." Yes, that was enough for the former capitalists, landlords and other reactionary elements who had come to the fore. He did not go into "detail" about doing away with the results of the land reform, about returning the nationalized enterprises, because he preferred not to tell *the people* about this. The Cardinal, however, did not refrain from making threats. He hinted that "there should be responsibility before the law along all lines." This was nothing less than proclamation of a general crusade against the supporters of proletarian rule. From this, and also from his vague allusions to the restoration, it was perfectly clear that a herald of the counter-revolution had openly appeared in the political arena under the cover of clerical garb. This was appreciated not only by former bankers, factory owners and land-

lords but also by the more politically conscious sections of the people.

Mindszenty's speech was not simply a manifestation of *his personal activity*. By this time the "Catholic People's Party," the "People's Democratic Party," the "Christian Front," "The League of the Sacred Heart," the "Christian Youth League," various Christian youth organizations, the Horthyite "non-party" boy scouts organization and others, had appeared on the scene. The Horthy counter-revolutionary forces unfurled their tattered banner and launched an offensive in order to seize the leading role and oust the more democratic elements of the bourgeois restoration. To achieve their political aims, they formed armed groups. Cardinal Mindszenty, with whose help they calculated on winning the masses of religious people, became the leading figure of these forces and was brought to the forefront.

However, the emergence of Mindszenty was warning for those fighting to expurgate the people's rule and *maintain* it. Mindszenty's speech was a sort of a signal which warned them that it was necessary to launch a counter-offensive against the forces of bourgeois restoration and to uphold popular rule.

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