

THE C. B. Richardson
**COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES
IN THE OCTOBER EVENTS
IN HUNGARY**

III

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INTRODUCTION

The third volume of the "Counter-revolutionary Forces in the October Events in Hungary" is herewith placed before the public. It supplements the first two volumes, which reported in the first instance on the acts of terror committed by the counter-revolutionaries.

The first two volumes helped both in Hungary and abroad to dispel the thousand-and-one lies which had been spread, and to reveal the stark and brutal truth, about the counter-revolution. Our publications illustrated the counter-revolutionary events with authentic facts and documents. For this reason the domestic and foreign supporters of the counter-revolution, who are endeavouring to convince the world that the Hungarian counter-revolution was not a counter-revolution but a "revolution," a "freedom fight," — received the publication of the "White Book" with understandable hostility.

The Writers' Association (dissolved by the Ministry of Interior in April 1957, because it was found that an active group of the association had used it as a vehicle in its attack against the social system of the Hungarian People's Republic) addressed a letter in November 1956 to the so-called Central Workers' Council of Greater Budapest, stressing that the Writers' Association had "had an important role in the ideological preparation of October 23," and declared, at the same time:

"We regard with misgivings to-day all activities like the issuing of the 'White Book,' etc."

One of the Hungarian-language counter-revolutionary papers, published in Munich as "an information bulletin for refugee Hungarians," the *Magyar Kurir*, writes in its December 15, 1956, issue that "they are trying to distort the universal uprising of the Hungarian people in the course of the freedom fight through the publication of a so-called white book."

But the presentation of the counter-revolution, the proof that the so-called "freedom fight" was aimed against the freedom of the working people, against their socialist system, does not require any sort of distortion, because this same *Magyar Kurir* provides ample evidence to this effect. The editorial of the paper in question reads as follows:

"We burned up eleven years' worth of the Szabad Nép's concoction of lies. We ransacked the party headquarters. We exterminated a part of the notorious ÁVO torturers. We did not leave a single red star anywhere. We smashed everything that was an accursed reminder of the past 11 years. These are the visible signs of our revolution, but at the same time they are also its symbols."

This is how the "revolutionaries" themselves appraised the "freedom fight." They are proud of having begun like Hitler: with the ransacking of Communist party headquarters, bonfires of newspapers and books, the smashing of the five-pointed star and sanguinary anti-Communist terror. They are proud of their horrible murders. "We exterminated a part of them," they boast and their words also mean that had they had more time they would have massacred many more. Not only hundreds but thousands of people. The word "exterminate" — which was not printed in Munich for the first time — indicates how great a reign of terror the counter-revolution was planning: the annihilation or extermination of whole groups of the population.

We quote further from this same *Magyar Kurir*, published in Munich:

"Our uprising and our immeasurable sacrifice stemmed from our historic mission: we undertook the defence of the West, as so often in our thousand-year-old history, in the face of barbarism advancing from the East."

This too is a clear enough testimony as to whether the fight was for or against freedom. In fact, it is a testimony of how un-Hungarian was the cause concealed behind all the national slogans of the counter-revolution. It was in "defence of the West," the capitalist system, that the counter-revolution drove certain groups of misled young people, beside the reactionaries and criminals, into the firing line. The 11 years of which they wanted to smash every "accursed reminder" were the 11 years which had passed since the end of the Arrow-Cross fascist reign of terror. From the lines of the *Magyar Kurir's* "freedom fighter" authors, the longing for the old capitalist-fascist rule rings forth.

We have taken only one example from many to prove that the October-November "freedom fighters" themselves knew what took place under false slogans between October 23rd and November 4th to be a sanguinary, murderous antipopular counter-revolution — even though they chose to call it by a different name.

The material of our third volume throws light on the fact that the subversive activities of the Western espionage organizations in Hungary and the activities of the Hungarian emigrés in the West fit together organically like cogwheels. But they and the fascists and other adherents of the capitalist system in Hungary would have been too weak to precipitate the counter-revolution, had they not found allies in the commanding staff of the armed forces and in the Hungarian Working People's Party itself, within its leadership. The counter-revolutionary forces were aided by the existence of treason within the leadership of the party, the army and the police.

Among the betrayers a great role was played by Sándor Kopácsi, head of the Budapest Police Department, and by Colonel Pál Maléter, who deserted to the side of the counter-revolution. But Imre Nagy, who had come into the party's leadership and been entrusted with heading the government, played a particularly important role.

From the point of view of the Hungarian People's Democracy, Imre Nagy's conduct brought about an exceptionally grave situation. On the night of October 23rd, Imre Nagy accepted the office of head of the government of the People's Democracy and membership in the Political Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party. At first he acted as if in defence of the people's democratic system. The Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party resolved on the night of October 23rd that firm measures would have to be taken to restore order and protect the People's Republic. They decided to arm the workers, put the police into action, declare martial law and summon Soviet troops. Imre Nagy, who participated in this meeting, agreed with these decisions. This reassured the masses of the Communists and the masses of other adherents of the people's democratic system. It reassured them because they thought that the appointment of the new head of the government would strengthen rather than weaken the people's democratic system. These masses, too, were deceived by the demagogy of Imre Nagy and his group. They believed that Imre Nagy was fighting against the errors and shortcomings of the system. There was much the masses did not understand in the early days of the counter-revolution, and they showed dissatisfaction because of this. They did not understand why they were not called to battle against the counter-revolutionary forces, why the declaration of martial law remained only a scrap of

paper. But the person of the "Communist" Prime Minister reassured them.

But Imre Nagy, as Prime Minister, prevented the administration of justice under martial law and prevented the Hungarian and Soviet armed forces from fighting against the counter-revolutionary gangs. He took steps to free the persons taken prisoner in the armed fighting, thereby making it possible for them again to take up arms against the state power. On the third day of the armed uprising, it seemed as if order were being restored. Then Imre Nagy surprised the forces maintaining order by suspending the curfew without their knowledge and by declaring the resumption of work. Thus the counter-revolution used the masses swarming into the streets as a screen to continue their armed actions and to precipitate fresh sanguinary provocations. An example of this was the bloody provocation in front of the House of Parliament.

Imre Nagy prevented the carrying out of the plan which the Ministry of Defence had drawn up to crush one of the main centres of the counter-revolution, the Corvin Alley group. On October 28th, the attack was to have been launched at 6 o'clock in the morning, but half an hour earlier Imre Nagy informed the military leaders by telephone: "If the attack is launched, I shall resign."

Imre Nagy protected the counter-revolutionary groups, he did not want to crush them but strove to form an alliance with them. While the armed forces loyal to the People's Democracy were waging a bitter fight against the counter-revolutionary forces — Imre Nagy, the alleged Communist, negotiated and compromised with them and recognized them as some sort of power.

The news of the assault on party headquarters on Republic Square and the massacre of its defenders spread throughout the world and shocked everyone. But Imre Nagy, immediately following the siege and the mass lynchings, began "friendly negotiations" with those who had directed the Republic Square massacre, and first of all with the notorious József Dudás. The following official statement was issued on this subject:


"On October 30th, at 6 o'clock in the afternoon, discussions were begun between Imre Nagy, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and the representatives of the armed freedom fighters, members of the National Revolutionary Committee, and the revolutionary intellectuals and students. On the basis of proposals submitted by József Dudás, Chairman of the National Revolutionary Committee, the talks with the armed forces of the insurgent freedom fighters are proceeding in a

N y i l a t k o s a t .

A forradalmi harcokban résztvett egységek megbízottjaiból, a Honvédség és Rendőrség képviselőiből, a megalakulás alatt álló munkás és ifjúsági fegyveres egységek képviselőiből alakuló Forradalmi Karhatalmi Bizottság előkészítő bizottságának a mai napon történt megalakulását a Magyar Népköztársaság Minisztertanácsa nevében tudomásulveszem és megerősítem. A Forradalmi Karhatalmi Bizottság szervezze meg a forradalmi harcokban résztvett egységek, a Honvédség és Rendőrség, a munkás- és ifjúsági csapatokból alakuló új karhatalmat. Ennek segítségével is teremtesse meg Hazánk belső békéjének helyreállítását és a október 28-án és 30-án elhangzott kormányprogramok végrehajtásának feltételeit.

A Forradalmi Karhatalmi Bizottság az általános titkos választásokkal létrehozandó új kormány hivatalbalépéséig működjék.

B u d a p e s t, 1956. október 30.


Nagy Imre,
a Magyar Népköztársaság
Minisztertanácsának elnöke.

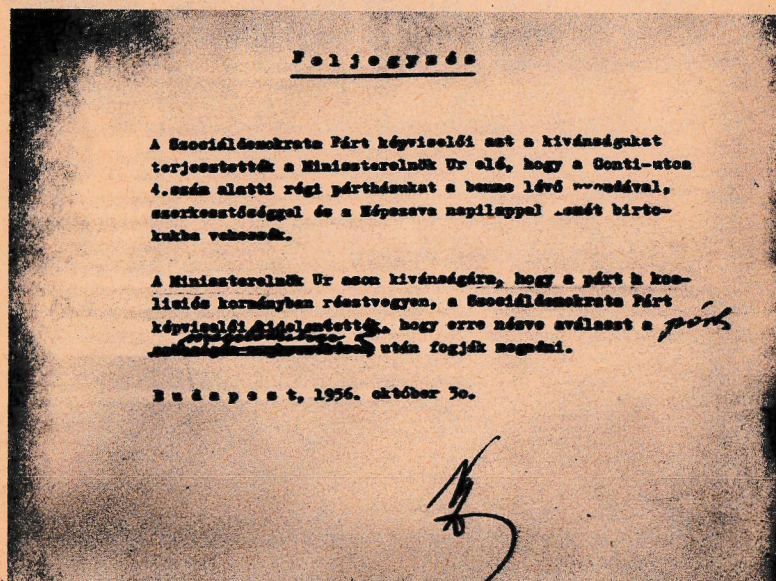
A document of treason. Imre Nagy entrusts the armed forces of the counter-revolution with ensuring the country's "internal peace"

favourable atmosphere. Imre Nagy, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, will submit the proposals of the insurgents to the Cabinet."

Imre Nagy not only submitted to the government, but also represented the viewpoint of the white terrorist gang leader, Dudás. And that he did not represent it badly, his further steps prove. That very day was published Imre Nagy's declaration on the formation of the Revolutionary Armed Forces Committee.

This declaration placed armed power into the hands of the counter-revolutionary groups and opened before them the doors of the arsenals, which until then had been heroically defended by the soldiers.

From the material of this volume it also becomes evident that Imre Nagy, together with his group, was in constant contact with the counter-revolutionary rebels and in reality played the role of a vanguard, a Trojan horse within the government, on behalf of the counter-revolution.



Imre Nagy sanctions with his signature the wishes of the organizers of the Social Democratic Party; he surrenders to them the printing establishment and editorial office building belonging to the trade unions. A day or two later Imre Nagy took steps to distribute the printing establishment and property of the Hungarian Working People's Party

On November 2nd, Imre Nagy purged the government of Communist ministers; he turned over the party's buildings, cars, funds and other property to other parties, he handed over the party newspaper's editorial offices and printing presses to Dudás's fascist gang. (At the same time, he gave the Social Democratic Party a headquarters and printing press, and several hundred thousand forints to the Smallholders' Party.) Imre Nagy did not protest with a single word against the massacre of the Communists on Republic Square, he did not protest against the mass arrests of Communists, but instead he set free all the convicted fascists, war criminals and all sorts of enemies of the People's Democracy. As Prime Minister he proclaimed the "multi-party system," contributing meanwhile towards overthrowing the party organizations of the Communists throughout the country. His opportunism became treason, and this is how he reached the point of permitting bourgeois parties, liquidating the Hungarian Working People's Party, illegally abrogating the Warsaw Treaty and attempting to turn Hungary into a theatre of war by calling in Western troops.

The material of this publication offers further evidence that between October 23rd and November 3rd every supporter and vestige of the old capitalist system in Hungary was stirred to activity by the counter-revolution. The chapter entitled *Provincial "Revolutionary Committees"* also shows why the working people of the villages could recognize at an early age that a counter-revolution was going on and that the aim was the restoration of the old exploiting system. In most of the villages, the familiar and hated figures of the old exploiting system came into prominence and assumed offices in the various so-called revolutionary committees.

The chapter on the Corvin Alley "insurgents" reveals what an important role the released convicts played in the counter-revolutionary fighting; the political underworld united with the criminal underworld. The counter-revolution had need of the infamy and viciousness of the criminals because the bloody white terror, in which the criminals of the underworld played a great role, was an important means of intimidating the masses.

With a more detailed description of the armed actions of October 23rd, the volume presents a further illustration of the fact that the counter-revolution was carefully organized, according to advance plans and was expertly directed.

Among the documents in this volume, we have included a few photostats of notices regarding the formation of several newly organized parties and regarding the initiation of their press. These parties, which grew like mushrooms on the soil of the counter-

revolution, attempted with many loud phrases to conceal their real aims, but the counter-revolutionary content, the striving for the restoration of the capitalist system, again and again revealed itself in their programmes.

Nearly every party called itself "democratic," but its programme, including such points as "the inviolability of private property," already indicated that it was an enemy of nationalization and socialism, and wished to return to their former owners the property of the capitalists and big landlords.

Among others, there appeared a Democratic People's Party, which proclaimed itself the party of Cardinal Mindszenty. The West Berlin "Der Spiegel" wrote in its November 7th issue about this party:

"On Thursday afternoon — that is, 24 hours after Mindszenty entered the town — Hungary's Christian democrats shaped their propaganda programme at a meeting in the Cardinal's Uri Street palace. Their main slogan was: 'We are the party of the Cardinal.'

"The president of the party — Dr. Lajos Éliás — stated: 'We do not wish to be a clerical party but a national Hungarian party, rooted in the country's thousand-year-old Christian traditions.' And the party's press chief, Dr. Gedönnny, added: 'This is the second October revolution, the reply to the Petrograd Communist revolution of 1917'."

This then was a clear counter-revolutionary programme. The same programme which was advanced by the Horthy-fascists, supported by the Entente troops, in 1919.

At a meeting of Imre Nagy's cabinet, a resolution was adopted in support of this "Democratic People's Party."

Among the many openly or less openly counter-revolutionary parties, we find the "National Non-party Bloc." In its programme, signed by the "Bloc's" organizer, István Asztalos (Budapest, XI., Bartók Béla Street 115), there is the following point:

"All those partisans who, after the liquidation of the ÁVO, are still at large, must be placed under police surveillance, because 12 years ago they participated most actively in establishing the Soviet dictatorship, in carrying out a senseless violence and tyranny in our country. In addition, the partisan federation must be disbanded immediately by decree."

They hated him, as did Hitler and Göring. The picture shows the dislodged and hanged bust of Dimitrov



"Anti-Stalinism" — this was one of the main slogans of the Imre Nagy group and the organizers of the October 23rd demonstration. But in Győr, as reported in Life magazine — the first thing the counter-revolutionaries did was to remove a portrait of Lenin



As is generally known, the members of the partisan federation fought against fascism. Twelve years ago they helped to defeat the rule of Hitler's Hungarian henchmen, Horthy and Szálasi.

The programme of the National Non-party Bloc quoted above also shows that the counter-revolution brought fascism to the surface, encouraged it and gave it a role to play — a fascism which wanted to crush in blood the true, anti-fascist fighters for the Hungarian people's freedom, and desired to restore the darkest era of Hungary's history, that of fascist slavery.

Provincial "Revolutionary Committees"

Stirred by the news of the events in Budapest, the exploiters and other reactionary elements of the villages and provincial towns began to come forward with all sorts of demands. "Revolutionary" committees were "elected," in most places, through the complete violation of democracy. It was primarily the reactionary segment of the village population which participated in the elections, nominating its cohorts at public street meetings, by the open ballot, and — most frequently — by whooping it up. The majority of the committee members, and the most vocal of them, were not recruited from among the working peasantry who constitute the overwhelming majority of the rural population; they came from the ranks of kulaks, former gendarmes and army officers, one-time village notaries and judges who had allied themselves with the criminal elements. Hence, the clique of unbridled counter-revolutionary elements gained the upper hand, completely disregarding the opinion and will of the majority of the population. "National guards," consisting of persons of their ilk, were organized by these reactionary elements and instituted a reign of terror against the working people in the villages and towns. They threw out slogans of "true democracy" or undisguised fascist catchwords in turn. The armed outrages committed by this gang created an atmosphere of sheer terror.

The working people of the villages and towns were appalled to see the reins of power being seized by their well-known enemies, the kulaks, gendarmes, Horthyite chief constables, clerks, and the like.

The anti-Soviet demagogy proved to be far less successful in the villages than in the towns because the working peasantry knew that it was with the aid of the Soviet Army that the big estates had been distributed among them.

The return of the former gentry made it clear to the rural population that, in reality, the "new life" proclaimed by the various "national committees" meant the restoration of the old capitalist system. It took but a few days for the poor peasants, workers and

other common people to realize what was meant by the much advertized "freedom." It meant freedom to oppress the working people.

Terroristic measures were, in many places, initiated. The people witnessed the arrest of hundreds of Communists and the preparations for their execution *en masse*.

The people saw the land being returned to the kulaks and former big landowners, the forceful dissolution of the well-functioning and successful co-operative farms, with complete disregard for the members' opinion, they saw that pre-1945 conditions were being restored.

The bulk of the population of the villages and provincial towns, therefore, did not doubt that a counter-revolution had taken place in Hungary between October 23rd, 1956, and November 4th, 1956; that the object of the counter-revolution had been to overthrow the People's Democracy, working-class power, and to restore the rule of the old exploiting classes and oppressors.

The recognition of these factors explains why the working peasantry, despite the nationalist demagogy, refused to take an active part in the armed struggle on the side of the counter-revolution. The peasantry, as a matter of fact, took, in many places, a decided stand against the counter-revolutionary "national committees," despite the news pouring in from Budapest about the victory of the "revolution" in the capital.

The following excerpts, indicating the general trend of development at the time, have been culled from hundreds of minutes, reports and other documentary material.

County Borsod

The regional and village workers' councils formed early during the October events, consisted — with a few exceptions — of honest working people of the villages, and, therefore, included Communists as well. The composition of the workers' councils, however, underwent a change beginning with October 27th-28th. Former big landlords, kulaks, county recorders, gendarmes began to turn up in every village, and, under their leadership, new regional and village workers' councils were formed.

Dr. Lajos Mizsei, a lawyer, became the chairman of the new rural district workers' council, in *Mezőkövesd*. His father had owned 215 acres of land and a farmstead situated between Jászberény and Jászfényszaru. Gyula Dutka became head of the workers' council



In Miskolc the murderous counter-revolutionaries hanged Gyula Gáti, Police Lieutenant, and Lajos Freimann, commercial traveller, from the monument to Soviet heroes — the latter because he protested against the killings

at Mezőcsát. He used to own 93 acres of land, and had returned from the West barely a year before. The former county recorder in Bogács became chairman of the workers' council there; county recorder Dr. Béla Barati, a kulak, who owned 142 acres of land, headed the workers' council in Zemplénagárd, while in Mezőkeresztes, Kálmán Gomba, a kulak holding 180 acres of land, became chairman of the workers' council. Sándor Végh, a former gendarme, was the most influential man, in Kisrosvány. Elemér Árvai, who had been awarded the title of "vitéz" (warrior) during the time of Horthy, gave his autobiography as follows, when he was elected vice-chairman of the workers' council in Boldogkőváralja: "I am a graduate of the Military Academy during the rule of Horthy. I was sentenced several times because of incitement against the party and the People's Democracy. I hid my weapons, several rifles and a machine gun twelve years ago. Now, I have fetched them out again."

The "workers' council" in Mezőcsát ordered that no member of the Party Committee should leave his flat between 5 p.m. and 8 a.m. They were forbidden to receive visitors, or to speak to any one. A machine gunner stood, night and day, on guard at their doors.

A member of the County Party Committee made a round of the villages of the district, on November 2, with a view to organizing the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. As soon as the "workers' council" got wind of it, he was arrested and escorted to Miskolc by an armed guard.

County Veszprém

Rural District of Sümeg

Former Horthyite army officers, kulaks, Arrow-Cross fascists, and gendarmes formed a "revolutionary committee." Their first act was to organize a "national guard." Captain Béla Kohánszky, a former member of Horthy's general staff, was charged with the task. He had instigated the arrest, on November 4th, of the Communist leaders and members in the rural district. They compiled a list of the Communists, rounded them up with the aid of armed squads, and imprisoned them in the jail of the local police station.

Preliminary to that action, the rural "district revolutionary committee" had, on October 31st, dismissed the 14 leaders of the Council executive committee in the district, among them 12 Communists.

The "committee" organized, between October 27th and 31st, "revolutionary committees" in every village of the district. The composition of these committees was similar to those formed in the district and village of Sümeg. A kulak, by the name of Bödöcs, became, for instance, the chairman of the "committee" in Óhida.

The chairmen of the village "committees" were summoned to a district conference which was set for November 2nd. Dr. József Mozsári, panel physician in Káptalanfa and chairman of the local "revolutionary committee," forced the following resolution upon the conference:

1. Since the police force is not to be trusted, it must immediately be disarmed and a new force be organized from among the former gendarmes;
2. The Communist leaders should be arrested forthwith as they are "completely unreliable";
3. The Communists "must be done away with" (verbatim quotation).

He declared that he had no confidence in the "county revolutionary committee" as it included Communists. He suggested that the members of the county revolutionary committee should be "screened," and that its instructions should be disregarded as long as it included Communists among its members.

One of the first acts of the "revolutionary committees" in the villages was to place the names of the Communists and other progressive persons on the "black list." The lists in some villages included 100 to 150 names of such persons.

The Ajka Coal Basin

A meeting was held here, on October 28th, to elect the "revolutionary committee" of Ajka. Unknown individuals, who were complete strangers in Ajka, attended the meeting. The most vocal elements were erstwhile Arrow-Cross fascists, former gendarmes, Nazis and similar persons who did not allow even the President of the Patriotic People's Front to speak. The whole "election" was directed by hooligans who imposed the election of a "revolutionary council" composed of their cohorts. Kálmán Szájli, a kulak horse-dealer, declared: "We have no use for the Communists; their time is up; they have been shooting off their mouths for 12 years; it is our turn now!"

Géza Szekér, a bartender, and former anti-tank man in Horthy's army, was elected chairman. Relieved after a few days, he

bolted to the West. József Végh, the son of a kulak from Kerta, then became chairman.

The chief business of the "national guard" was to raid the houses of Communists and other progressive persons late at night; these raids were led by Károly Pétervári, former Arrow-Cross fascist councillor.

They kept the population in a state of fear, harassing people. They prevented workers from working everywhere except in the baking industry and the power plants. Honest workers were threatened. Ferenc Horváth, a miner of national repute as a Stakhanovite, was, for instance, told that he would be killed if he dared go down into the mine.

József Delényi made a speech, replete with irredentist and chauvinistic phrases, at the Kossuth Memorial. He was congratulated by Varga, minister of the Reform Church, who found only one flaw in Delényi's speech, namely that he had omitted to exhort his audience to "extirpate the Communists, lock, stock and barrel".

County Bács-Kiskun

The local organizations of the various parties were, towards the end of October, set up at Kecskemét. Representatives of the Social-Democratic Party, the Smallholders' Party and the Peasant Party formed a "county revolutionary committee," and removed the Executive Committee of the County Council. They demanded the arrest of the members of the State Security Police, and of the communists. The arrest of the State Security Police was completed, by November 3rd. The arrests were carried out by the "national guard." The prisoners would have been executed, and the Communists rounded up, but for the arrival of the Soviet Army which marched in at 4 a.m. on November 4th.

Rural District Kiskőrös

The "district national committee" was formed, on October 31st, with Dr. József Horváth as chairman. István Walter, the son of a kulak and timber merchant from Császártöltés, who owned 114 acres of land, was selected as vice-chairman. The committee protested against the composition of the "county revolutionary committee." István Walter successively toured through the various localities, organizing national committees, and incited the inhabitants against the Communists. He organized the Smallholders' Party, convoking the constituent conference for November 4th.

Bócsa. A gang of about 50 people, led by Béla Luscsinszky (son of a former colonel of the gendarmerie), took possession of the council hall on October 28th. They were looking for the chairman of the Executive Committee, who managed to escape through the window. All documents found in the council hall were burned, and the furniture smashed. Neither workers nor peasants were admitted to the national committee.

Császártöltés. A mob, led by István Walter, demolished the Soviet War Memorial on October 26th. Walter convened the general assembly of the Új Barázda Co-operative Farm, on October 27th, telling the members to hurry up and dissolve the co-operative, since the land had to be given back to the former owners. A stranger turned up, on October 31st, in Császártöltés, calling himself a general, and declaring that he and his friends would come back to the village to show how order should be restored.

Soltszentimre. A criminal, known as Gubányi, invaded the council house, together with some of his friends. They broke open the desks, threw out the documents, and smashed the typewriter. The sober and honest working people made a strong stand against the ruffians, driving them out of the council house. The gang then went to the wine shop, mumbling that they would "finish off" the party secretary, the council chairman, and other Communists. Their intentions were circumvented by groups organized from among the youth and honest citizens.

Pál Vékony, one-time president of the former local Smallholders' Party, set up a "national committee," composed solely of kulaks, in his flat. Seizing the leadership of the village, he ordered the headquarters of the Union of Working Youth unlocked; the prize statuettes won by the UWY in competitions were smashed and the red drapings were torn down. The villagers, scandalized by this act, declared that they had not demonstrated so that the kulaks and the big landlords should become the leaders, and they should again work as day labourers for starvation wages.

A veritable dictatorship was set up by Vékony. He insisted that people perform, without hesitation, every scheme of his invention. He termed the people, queued up before the shops, silly asses and dolts. The people, hearing this, became angry. "The Communists never once insulted the people during 12 years; and they never called us silly asses."

József Kovács, one-time village cashier, resumed his former post in the town hall, and told the charwoman, in a blustering tone, that he would put on white gloves every morning to ascertain whether

the furniture had been properly dusted. Lajos Kőrös ordered the village process-server "to go to his estate and dig beets, as there were very few writs to serve." József Makkos, too, tried to find day-labourers to do the autumn work because as he said he "would no longer work in the fields because his official duties would take up too much time." The principal item on the agenda of the first meeting of the "national committee" was the return of the nationalized houses and distributed landed property. József Kovács put in a claim for the party building, and József Makkos, for the day nursery. Lajos Kőrös claimed the central farmstead of the Béke Co-operative Farm. Similar resolutions were passed in favour of other kulaks.

Pest County

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

The commandant of the national militia was János Maróthy, *Horthyite captain of the Hussars*, while the head of the subsection for political and criminal investigation was Ferenc Mátyás, *former gendarme company sergeant major*. Mátyás's subordinates were József Wallner, *former gendarme sublieutenant and counter-intelligence officer*, Pál Kovács and Sándor Dávid, *former gendarme sergeant-major*, and Gábor Bara, *former gendarme lieutenant*. The "district national committee" returned the *Monor Brush Factory to its former owner*, Ferenc Kovács.

The following were "elected" to head the Monor municipal administration: Dr. Pál Rahát, *lawyer, former Arrow-Cross Parliamentary deputy*, and János Dózsa, *Horthyite town clerk*.

After November 4th László Szente, former high sheriff, became the chairman of the Monor grain processing factory's "workers' council."

Nagykáta. Márton Ulrich, *former Horthyite village clerk*, organized the district provisional national committee. At the constituent meeting of the national committee he stated: "We must break completely with the old system and must reorganize public administration

as it was prior to 1945." (From the minutes of constituent meeting.) According to a proposal by Dr. Endre Varga: "A ghetto should be set up for the Communists".

Érd. The village "national committee" was organized by Nándor Gévai, *former Horthyite town clerk*. The return of nationalized houses, cinemas and the mill to their former owners was on the order of the day. Among the members of the "national guard" were Tibor Liglinger, a *Horthyite army officer*, and József Tatár, *gendarme regimental sergeant-major*.

Tápiósüly. The leaders of the "revolutionary committee" in the village were: József Kargyis, *a kulak with a criminal record* (as chairman), Lajos Kajdy, *choir-master, Horthyite first lieutenant*, László Sinkovics, *owner of an alcohol distillery*, and Sándor Farkas, *former gendarme*.

Dunabogdány. The "national guard" was headed by Gy. Ferenc Nagy, *former gendarme regimental sergeant-major*: on the morning of November 4th they arrested 12 Communists.

Pócsmegyer. The Communists were arrested under the leadership of a former *Arrow-Cross Party organizer*, László Golnitz.

Pomáz. A counter-revolutionary *summary jurisdiction committee* was formed and mass death sentences were planned on Communists arrested on November 4th. The Soviet units saved the lives of the arrested persons.

County Hajdú

Local committees, formed in the county, were, as a rule, called "socialist revolutionary committees." The leaders of these committees were mostly kulaks and lawyers.

Hajdúböszörmény. The kulak Radacsi presented himself at the headquarters of the Red Star Co-operative Farm, and demanded its dissolution. He also demanded that the premises be vacated at once. Béla Fazekas, a member of the "revolutionary committee," spoke openly of how he would manage his farm after getting it back. Imre Hagymási, an honest but poor peasant who was a member of the "revolutionary committee," asked Fazekas what would happen to him and other landless peasants, and was told, "Don't worry; I and my friends will need you as labourers."

Polgár. The "committee" had been organized beforehand by the village braggarts. The people, however, refused to accept the arbitrarily compiled list, saying that it contained "few working peasants and too many kulaks." István Harker, a member of the "committee" (a former bank director) thereupon replied: "Never mind, I am worth ten peasants." When the majority resolved to hold a new election, István Farkas and Lukács Dobos, two of the counter-revolutionaries, threatened that they would call in armed forces from Miskolc. The "committee" of kulaks thus remained intact. The chairman of the committee was the Horthyite Captain József Kovács, former instructor in the fascist youth organization, who had, in 1944, delivered the youth over to the Germans.

County Csongrád

Magyarcsanád. Work was stopped on the morning of October 29th, and a mass meeting was announced over the loudspeaker. The meeting, arranged by Dr. József Brenner, was attended chiefly by Right elements, kulaks, fascists, and lumpen-proletariat. One third of the crowd remained passive onlookers. The meeting commenced with the dismissal and driving away of the leadership of the People's Front.

Dr. Brenner delivered a seditious and anti-party speech, and then forced the meeting to agree upon a "committee" composed of kulaks, reactionaries, and one or two misguided workers. A kulak was appointed chairman of the "committee."

The councils and the executive committees were qualified as illegal and anti-democratic by the "national committee." A reactionary — a former county clerk — was appointed head of the public administration.

During the night, they demolished the mausoleum erected in honour of the Soviet heroes, and smashed the windows of the party building. They prepared, on October 31st, a list of the Communists, and demanded that all former state and party functionaries be called to account.

County Zala

The counter-revolution came out into the open in the towns and villages of this county.

Zalaszentiván. The following members made up the "revolutionary committee" here: Jenő Mátai, former county clerk, and a kulak; Kálmán Pem, a criminal with a lengthy police record; József

Szöke, gendarme; Ferenc Gáspár, who had been sentenced for fraudulent malpractice; and, finally, István Szukics, the principal shareholder in the former Zala Export Company.

Zalaszentgrót. The counter-revolution here was led by József Légrádi, a former lieutenant of the gendarmerie and a nephew of Mindszenty. He rang up Szombathely and Vasvár, demanding that the Communists should be arrested. The Soviet War memorial was demolished on the evening of October 26th, the produce delivery offices and the revenue office were invaded and the documents thrown into the streets. The building of the district party committee was broken into, the filing cabinets rifled, and all the papers found there thrown out.

Ferenc Horváth, an M.P. of the former Barankovics Party, became the chairman of the "revolutionary committee" in District Zalaszentgrót. József Légrádi, the lieutenant of the gendarmerie mentioned previously, was elected vice-chairman. The committee was composed of Kálmán Fülöp, former notary, son of a threshing-machine proprietor, and son-in-law of a big landowner; Jenő Németh, active member of the Arrow-Cross fascists; Dr. István Kovács, son-in-law of a rich kulak; Dezső Pataki, a professional sergeant-major; Ferenc Molnár, a member of the Arrow-Cross fascists; József Kiss, gendarme; József Molnár, former commander of the gendarmerie post at Celldömölk; Ede Kristó, a one-time Arrow-Cross fascist; István Szávai, a former notary who compiled the list of victims to be arrested; and László Zsilinszky, former big landowner and brother-in-law of the attorney-general under Horthy.

Pacsa. The "revolutionary committee" here was composed of picked fascists: Ferenc Váraljai and Lajos Köszber, former gendarmes; István Tóth, mill owner; György Gergely, István Papp and József Torma, all fascists with police records. The public administration was taken over by these people. András Balassa escaped from the Vác prison, appeared in the village and arranged the dissolution of the co-operative farm, declaring: "Everything here is mine and the members of the co-op must get out." The fascists compiled a list of people to be executed, including both Communists and non-party peasants.

Szentszéki. György Molnár, an escaped prisoner, announced his arrival over the loudspeaker in the following words: "The Lord be praised, your saviour, György Molnár, has arrived". Accompanied by a few others, he marched through the village shouting that the Communists would be finished off that very day. They beat



The counter-revolutionaries dragged József Stefkó, First Lieutenant of the Frontier Guards, who was ill in a hospital, into the street, beat him about the head and hanged him by his feet

up István Herceg, team leader on the co-operative farm, László Pajzs and János Eke, co-operative farm members, István Nagy, and János Mészáros, chairman of the co-operative. Mrs. László Boldizsár, an expectant mother, was beaten so badly that she had a miscarriage. A branch of the Smallholders' Party was formed in the village, and its programme summarized as follows by József Tamás, an Arrow-Cross fascist: 1. *Property relations prevailing ten years ago should be restored*; 2. *all village leaders have to be replaced*; 3. *the Communists have to be "done away with."*

Alibánfa-Petőhenye. György Kopácsi, former Jesuit monk, declared that he would collect the party membership cards, and would decide who should be hanged.

Hahót. At a demonstration organized by the counter-revolution, slogans were shouted, such as "No, no, never"; "Turn back the clock"; "Death to the Jews!"; "Hang the Communists!" The demonstration was organized by the Arrow-Cross fascists Károly Dil and Lajos Smilnyák.

Letenye. Lajos Albert, former Arrow-Cross community leader, and his son, who had a criminal record, organized an attack on October 27th against the district party committee headquarters. Lajos Érsek, notary public, was made the chairman of the revolutionary council. The commandant of the national guard became József Sasvári, a *gendarme*. Bálint Tálosi, local council official, István Miskovits, a smallholder, a Communist since 1919 who had been imprisoned several times under the Horthy regime, Jenő Angyal, manager of the agricultural machine station, and Sándor Kiss, village party secretary, were taken into custody.

Zalaudvarnok. Here too, the leadership of the "freedom fight" was entrusted to the *gendarmes*. János Felhősi, former *gendarme sergeant-major*, became the chairman of the "revolutionary committee." All documents found in the council hall were burned. The revolutionary committee compiled a list of Communist leaders who were to be hanged.

County Szabolcs-Szatmár

District Fehérgyarmat. Although the chairman of the district's "revolutionary committee" had emphasized that they had no use for capitalism, a resolution was passed, stating that conditions prevailing in the district in 1945 should be restored. It was decided that, for

the time being, estates up to 284 acres should be returned to the former owners; and that former "reliable persons" should be given back the jobs which they had held prior to 1945 in state and municipal offices. Two bodies were set up as the top leadership of the district: a body to give political direction, and an administrative body. Gyula Nagy, former M.P. of the Smallholders' Party, was appointed to head the political body; 95 per cent of the members were intellectuals, including three clergymen. The leading forces in public administration were removed, and men of the bygone system were placed in their posts. Dr. Károly Illés, a big landowner and clerk from Tunyogmatolcs, was appointed chairman of the district.

Eperjeske. László Ratkai, pastor of the Reformed Church, organized the movement here, under the slogan "Eperjeske shall not keep out of the revolution." He formed the "revolutionary council" from among his adherents, sending a delegation to the village council with the demand that "Communists shall be barred from public office in the new world," and that the council members should clear out. This delegation included Bertalan Halász, a kulak owning 110 acres of land; Lajos Varga, chairman of the former Smallholders' Party; Béla Katkó, who had been sentenced to prison on the charge of having embezzled 100,000 forints.

County Szolnok

Jászberény. The composition of the "revolutionary committee" clearly indicated who was interested in seizing power: Dr. Pál Nagy; Pál Balla, son-in-law of a former timber merchant, brickyard owner and big landowner from Jászberény; Dr. Sándor Altordai, Horthyite police-officer; Béla Imre, sentenced in 1949 for embezzlement; and Dr. András Pusztai.

The workers — navvies standing in front of the council house and talking — concluded, in the face of these facts, that "the council has been taken over by kulaks." Dr. Pál Nagy declared in the presence of several witnesses that he would turn out the entire apparatus of the town council since he had his own men. The chairman, vice-chairman, and the secretary of the council were turned out on October 27th.

Dr. Gedei, formerly a notary public, made a list of 60 persons who were to be arrested. The list was published among the residents, and printed on posters. The workers prevented the acceptance of Gedei's list at the meeting of the "revolutionary council."

Ferenc Bartók, one-time gendarme, was a member of the nation-

al guard in Jászberény; his wife had already pressed her husband's old police uniform.

Törökszentmiklós. Lajos Gellérfi, a sergeant major of Horthy's police force, became chairman of the "revolutionary" workers' council here. Members of the council were: Ferenc Kiss, innkeeper and owner of 55 acres of land; and Mihály Török, a lieutenant in Horthy's army. They removed 10 Communists from the town council and began dissolving the co-operative farms. Their plans failed in the Dózsa Co-operative Farm, where they were told by the members: "Why should we dissolve so as to hoe on your fields as sharecroppers?"

Kuncsorba. Dr. László Szele, a former police officer and criminal judge, who had been removed because of abuse of authority, took control here of the "revolutionary council." He maintained close contact with former gendarmes and kulaks, incited the population against the Communists, and demanded the immediate removal and arrest of all Communist leaders.

One of his close collaborators was Gergely Pataki, Horthyite sergeant major. These two men demanded that the co-operative farms should be dissolved and abolished, and that all buildings, land and farm equipment of the state and the co-operatives be handed over without delay. Pataki demanded, in the "revolutionary council," that the Communist leaders should leave the room, and be placed under arrest.

Tiszaigar. Events in this village were directed by Gerzson Lovász, pastor of the Reformed Church. He manoeuvred his election to the "revolutionary council" and declared: "In my opinion, no Communist ought to be admitted to the revolutionary council." He nominated, as members, Lajos Mann, a former bailiff, and Géza Óvári, town notary. He ordered that only news broadcast by the Borsod, Győr, and Western radio stations could be carried by the public-address system.

Tiszaszentimre. The school teacher Andor Kiss returned on the 26th to the village from Budapest. He spread the news of his having fought for liberty in Budapest, and that the Communists and the state security police were murdering the youth and the workers in the capital. He said that at least 50,000 persons had been killed there. He manipulated his appointment, on October 28th, as chairman of the "revolutionary council." Most of its members were kulaks. They took measures for looting the co-operative farms and passed a resolution calling for the payment, by the co-operatives,

of indemnification to the kulaks. One of these kulaks, László Varga, was given the central building of the Imre Fehér co-operative farm; they declared that he was entitled to 50,000 forints for past rent, and collected an instalment of 15,000 forints from the co-operative account. Another kulak, Sándor Falábu, demanded from the co-operative the return of all his former property. The revolutionary council compiled a list of militant Communist leaders who were to be hanged. *The list contained 38 names.*

Nagyiván. In this community, the Communists stood their ground, and refused to be frightened by the counter-revolution. They organized a workers' militia, on the evening of October 24th, and dispatched a mounted guard to maintain the peace in the neighbourhood. An armed guard was dispatched to the Soviet war memorial.

A "mass meeting" was called, on October 28th, by the local priest and János Csőke, a kulak, owner of 140 acres of land. The meeting was mostly attended by kulaks and their families. Csőke, the kulak, worked himself into a frenzy, pouring forth a torrent of invectives against the Communists: "Get out of here, you filthy Communists, henchmen of Rákosi; don't speak to us." He shouted at the Communist Imre Vadász sr., telling him to clear out. Imre Vadász, in the face of this attack, strode into the centre of the square, spat in Csőke's face, and, surrounded by his friends, left the meeting. The priest then took over the meeting, proposing the election of the "revolutionary council." János Csőke was "elected" chairman, with Tamás Csontos, a former M.P. of the Barankovics Party, as secretary. The priest appealed to the crowd to demolish the Soviet war memorial. No one responded, since the memorial was protected by an armed guard from the Red Star Co-operative Farm.

After the meeting, the Communists of the village and the co-operative farms proceeded to the flat of János Csőke, the kulak, and compelled him to resign. He signed his resignation twice, although his son-in-law, Gyula Orosz, argued "Don't resign, father, I'll settle the matter. I'll ride over to Tiszafüred on my motorcycle." About 70 Communists from the Red Star Co-operative farm went on the morning of October 29th, to the council house. A meeting of the "revolutionary council" was in progress there, and they had heard that János Csőke, the kulak, was to be reinstated as council chairman. The members of the "revolutionary council" became frightened, removed Csőke and elected, on the spot, six Communists to the "revolutionary council." The Communists of Nagyiván, by taking a firm stand, prevented the counter-revolution from gaining ground in the community.

County Békés

Gyulavári. A "revolutionary council" was elected at a mass meeting, held on the evening of October 27th. János Petráss, formerly a village mayor, became chairman of the committee. Being a simple peasant, he was removed next day, and replaced by Mihály Molnár, a Horthyite major, and owner of 70 acres of land.

Party documents and red flags were burned in front of the party headquarters. *They intended to burn alive Lajos Kovács*, a Communist, but were prevented from doing so by the more rational part of the crowd. Then a kulak by the name of Miklós Erdődi threatened Kovács that he would beat him to death if he would not stop organizing the party.

This group tried to disrupt the "Kossuth" co-operative farm and take away its belongings. When they heard, however, that the members were determined to protect their co-operative with axes, scythes and other weapons, they lost courage and abandoned their plans.

Mezőberény. A lorry full of young people arrived in this community on October 27th; overrunning the council house, they got hold of a mimeograph machine, and printed counter-revolutionary slogans and demands. A railwayman, Ferenc Tőkei, organized the election of the "revolutionary council." The "election" of the self-appointed candidates took place on October 28th. They included former gendarmes, Horthyite officers, criminals with prison records, kulaks, and the scum of Mezőberény.

Mrs. László Kürti, the party secretary of the village, was kidnapped, and they tried to compel her to side with them. She refused. Consequently, her friends and acquaintances were harassed.

County Heves

Mezőtárkány. The workers' council in this co-operative farm community was "elected" on October 27th. It had been announced beforehand that no co-operative farm member or Communist would be permitted to vote or stand for elections.

Next day, an armed gang of about 20 men proceeded to break up the co-operative farms, declaring "that the co-operatives are hereby disbanded." They manhandled Mrs. István Halász, the party secretary, and in the evening went to the home of András Birinyi, council chairman, who was beaten within an inch of his life.

Birinyi describes the incident in the following words: ". . . . Cursing, they ordered me to open the door, or they would shoot and break it down. Fearing they might hit my son I told my wife to let them in. I was just pulling on my clothes when they broke in. The son of a kulak was the first to enter, his hands fumbling at



The frightened residents observe the bestial acts of the terrorists with horror

his hip pocket; he was followed by Károly Szabó and Rudolf Szecskó, who told me to follow them.

I asked them to let me put on my shoes. They grabbed me by the arm shouting "Nothing doing." One of them hit me on the head with a board. Pulling me towards the kitchen door they kept pounding me, helped by László Cseh, who was standing at the door with a pistol in his hand. Outside, I recognized Lajos Halász who, afterwards, absconded to the West. They continued beating me until we reached the gate where they broke the electric light. I collapsed. They stripped off my shirt and carried me to the ditch: there, I was still able to recognize Rudolf Szecskó who gave me a kick and broke two of my ribs. I also recognized László Cseh who kicked me in the chest. I was at the end of my tether. Thinking they had finished me off, they went away leaving me lying alongside the ditch.

Domoszló. A demonstration was arranged by local reactionary elements on October 29th. Jenő Szekrényes, a kulak-offspring, and a former sergeant of the gendarmerie, Béla Polonkai, and three ex-gendarmes disarmed the democratic guard and appointed themselves as a "national guard."

With the tacit consent of this "national guard," János Szeverényi, a criminal, wrapped the books of the library of the cultural centre in a red flag, carried them into the street and burned them.

The party secretary was dragged through the village on the same day. Szekrényes even forbade the use of the word comrade.

Eger. The supporters of the past régime came out into the open, without mincing words, in the county co-operative centre. They formed a "workers' council" bereft of either Communists or workers. Chief accountant Orosz, the chairman of the "workers' council," declared that the Hungarian Working People's Party was banned and that the party organs were to sever contact with the former Communists of the co-operative centre. He also ordered that all library books — with the exception of technical literature — should be burnt. The order was duly complied with. He reinstated Rezső Koppány, a sentenced criminal, into the co-operative centre, and ordered the payment of 4,000 forints to him as arrears. A friend of his, Miklós Gombos, former chief-accountant, received an award of 7,000 forints. A "rehabilitation committee" for the reinstatement of former co-operative members was formed. It was composed of well-known reactionary figures, such as József Gál (son of one of the leaders of the Hungarian emigrés in America), and Dr. Farkas (son of a big landowner).

County Tolna

The examination of reports from 31 communities has made it clear that only in the village of Paks had an armed clash taken place which involved casualties (a soldier, two policemen and 12 civilians were wounded by splinters from hand-grenades). That clash was likewise due to a provocation; somebody from among the crowd of 150 persons threw a hand-grenade among the soldiers and the policemen. There were disturbances, on a smaller scale, in other villages (Závod, Pálfa, Dalmand, Kalaznó, Alsópél, Németer) where some groups arranged demonstrations, burned books and smashed the windows of council houses, party headquarters and the flats of some government employees.

These disturbances may be attributed to the broadcasts of Radio Free Europe, and the activity of troublemakers coming from Budapest, Dunapentele and other towns.

Every village elected a "revolutionary," "national" council or committee. In some places, local council leaders, or well-known party members were elected to these bodies. János Bozsó, chairman of the executive committee of the council in Kistormás, was, for instance, unanimously elected chairman of the "national committee" there; he, however, refused the honour, stating that it was incompatible with his office.

Individuals belonging to the past order of things were, however, elected to the "committees" in other villages. Antal Klein, a former big landowner and an MP under Horthy's rule, became chairman of the "national committee" in Paks. "Communists should be extirpated, lock stock and barrel," Klein declared in his maiden speech. When Ūrmösi, the organizer of the Smallholders' Party, had the audacity to say that he did not want to restore the system of big estates, they nearly chased him out of the meeting. One of the candidates, introducing himself to the "election meeting," boasted of having been in jail "8 out of the past 12 years," while another told the audience "I was a gendarme for 20 years . . ."

Horthyite army officers or gendarmes took command of the "national guards" being formed at that time. Balázs Kovács, a former Horthyite police officer, became the commander in Bölcske, assisted by József Végh and János Gere, former gendarmes. Géza Zajzon and Henrik Karsai, former county clerks were, in the same community, called back to resume their old posts.

The supporters of the old order were backed by a minority composed of loudmouthed and debauched elements. No more than 80 to 90 of the 350 electors in Györe, for instance, attended the

meeting called to elect the "national committees." János Kovács, formerly a regular sergeant, and a notorious drunkard, was the leader of the "revolution" in Dalmand. This community has 1,400 electors; about 150 appeared at the election, together with 50 strangers, who were not residents of the village. They, of course, elected "Eddy" Novák, Horthyite officer, chairman of the "revolutionary council." He did not assume office for the time being, as he was occupied with liquidating the co-operative farm.

Regöly. Gyula Dávid, ensign in Horthy's army, became chairman of the "revolutionary council" here. He had János Farkas, the party secretary, arrested and questioned, and surrounded himself with supporters of Horthy.



A murdered policeman upon whose body the emblem of the People's Republic was tossed

Events took their devious course in various parts of the country. But one fact has become evident: after the initial confusion, honest and well-meaning men and women began to size up the general situation clearly. As a result, they, in general, kept aloof from the "revolution," condemned the atrocities perpetrated by the bandits of the white terror, and, in many places, prevented them from committing outrages. It has become evident, from the documentary material at hand, that practically everywhere the old exploiters and their cohorts — former gendarmes and Horthyite officers — headed the counter-revolution, committing murders and robberies in alliance with thieves, burglars and assassins, the scum of the countryside.

Connivance by Foreign Agents

The publicity and espionage agencies maintained by the U.S. in Western Germany and Austria played a major role in the October counter-revolutionary events in Hungary. Some information concerning their subversive activities was presented in Vol. II of this publication. New facts are presented here, concerning the intrigues carried on, in Hungary, by the spies and other counter-revolutionary agents financed by the Americans.

Official statistics show that during the first six months of 1955, 33 1/3 per cent more spies were arrested than in the identical period of 1954. Twice the number of persons were detained because of seditious activity. There were, for instance, 13 former capitalists, 121 kulaks and 69 Arrow-Cross fascists detained for seditious activity during the first six months of 1955.

*

Sándor Visnyei, a member of Gehlen's espionage agency, admitted after his arrest that he had recruited more than 20 spies, and gave detailed information about recruiting spies and securing data from among Hungarian emigrés. The following excerpt has been taken from Visnyei's confessions:

Police Record

*Examination of Sándor Visnyei,
Budapest, December 14th, 1956*

Question: You crossed the Austrian border on December 9th, 1956, and entered Hungary. What was your object in doing that?

Visnyei: I had to meet my agents at the appointed place. I had recruited them to collect military data about the Soviet troops and, in general, concerning the situation in Hungary.

Question: To which intelligence agency do you belong?



During the days of the counter-revolution, cars swarmed into Hungary from the West, while their occupants openly encouraged the counter-revolutionaries



Visnyei: I am an official employee of the Gehlen intelligence agency. I went to the Austrian-Hungarian border from Munich, to do espionage work.

Question: Tell us about when and how you joined Gehlen's agency.

Visnyei: I come from a family of office workers. I was given the rank of a First-Lieutenant, in Horthy's army, in 1938. After 1945, I served as a First-Lieutenant, and then as a Captain in the new army, and later was assigned to a two-year commissary course. Then, I and my friend, First-Lieutenant Kovács, decided to flee to the West, because we disagreed with the system in power. We fled, on June 4th, 1947, to Austria. There, we were questioned by a member of the CIC intelligence agency. I told him the military secrets I possessed, including data concerning the commissary course, the location of military forces, stores, etc.

On July 10th, 1948, I was, upon my request, transferred by the Americans to Salzburg, where I met an old acquaintance of mine, Lt.-Col. György Kollényi, a former member of the General Staff. He proposed that I should work for the espionage agency. I asked him whom I would be working for, and he said that it would be for the Americans. I accepted Kollényi's offer. Later, I found out that we were working not only for the Americans but also for the Germans. When the American troops withdrew from Austria, in the autumn of 1955, as called for by the Peace Treaty, Kollényi told me that the apparatus of the espionage agency would be transferred to Munich, and added:

"... an independent German intelligence service is being set up, and we shall be paid by the Germans. General Gehlen will be our boss..."

These are the circumstances under which I became a member of Gehlen's agency.

Gehlen's Hungarian Department

After Visnyei's arrest, on January 26th, 1957, he admitted, in the presence of Hungarian and foreign journalists, to having been engaged in espionage. The following excerpts have been taken from his confession:

"The Gehlen West-German intelligence service is controlled completely by the U. S. espionage agency. The U.S. Government financed it in the past, and still finances it. Its activities

are directed through U.S. liaison officers. Capt. Bromberg of the U.S. Army was one of these liaison officers in 1948-49. He was later replaced by Ringer, Kelly and Fisher, who directed the activities of the CIC and MIS, in Salzburg, regarding espionage in Hungary.

The Gehlen West-German intelligence service has a special Hungarian department which carries on work against the Hungarian People's Republic, and aims at overthrowing the People's Democracy. Lt.-Col. Kollényi, head of the Hungarian department, opened a technical and scientific office in Bad Reichenhall, three miles from the Austrian border, as a cover-up for espionage activity. László Szita, Horthyite colonel, Jenő Andreánszky, former Horthyite lieutenant-colonel, and Arrow-Cross fascist foreign minister, Frigyes Laczkó, captain under Horthy, Otmár Maul, former fascist officer, Ferenc Farkas, former fascist director of the Hangya Co-operatives, are all staff members of the Hungarian department.

The Hungarian refugees were interrogated by the Salzburg agents of the U.S. intelligence agency, and by our group as well. Many of them had been hired as agents and dispatched to Hungary for intelligence work against the Hungarian People's Republic, and other subversive activity.

The Americans utilized the "Hungarian Bureaus," maintained by the "Hungarian Committee", which are, in essence, secret offices of the U.S. intelligence service. I have positive knowledge of the fact that the CIC maintained, until the autumn of 1955, close contact with Horthyite Colonel Mihály Nagy, head of the Hungarian Bureau in Salzburg, at the time. Nagy turned the Hungarian refugees over to the CIC. Baron Pongrácz, formerly a colonel in Horthy's army and head of the Hungarian Bureau in Munich, is still co-operating with the U.S. intelligence service in Munich and is turning Hungarian refugees over to the Americans. I was told by Lt.-Col. Kollényi, in the autumn of 1955, that the Hungarian Committee in New York was receiving a monthly allowance of \$ 10,000 from the U.S. Government. This money is being used for the aims of the U.S. intelligence service.

The Americans are continuing to calmly carry on intelligence work in Western Germany. The Hungarian refugees are accommodated in the Walka camp, near Munich. I saw many times, in 1956, that the Americans enjoyed free entrance to this camp, and were freely employing Hungarian refugees for espionage work.



Leichen von ÁVOs (ungarische Gestapo) vor erobertem ÁVO-Gebäude und Gefängnis am Köztársaság-Platz

Erich Lessing, Magnum-Photos

Western propaganda worked, incited, and lied hand in hand with the counter-revolutionaries. The picture is taken from a report, entitled "Hungary's Freedom Fight," by Fritz Molden, publisher of "Die Presse" (Vienna), and Eugen Géza Pogány, one of the paper's correspondents. The picture shows the Budapest Party Committee headquarters after the siege. The caption reads: "Bodies of ÁVO men (Hungarian Gestapo) on Republic Square in front of the captured ÁVO building and prison"

I had the job, for years, of interrogating Hungarian refugees, of collecting information from them, recruiting agents and dispatching them to Hungary.

A co-worker of mine, Ferenc Farkas, had the job of hunting for agents in the Hungarian refugee camp, through his agents there, and in the Hungarian *Caritas*. The usual method of convincing these people to become agents was to utilize their straitened circumstances by promising them financial rewards. These agents were then passed on to me for one or two weeks' training in intelligence work. I instructed them in Hungarian and Russian military reconnoitring, how to cross the frontier, etc. I also briefed them on activity they would have to carry out among the population. Some of the agents trained by me had performed one or two missions before being caught. István Doronka was, for instance, successful in reconnoitring several Transdanubian towns from both a Hungarian and a Russian military point of view, and in preparing maps of barracks and airfields. He fell into the hands of the state security police while on his second mission."

During the Counter-revolution

Visnyei admitted that the Western espionage agencies had carried on undisguised intensive intelligence prior to the counter-revolutionary uprising.

"All members of the staff employed by the Hungarian department of Gehlen's organization were, prior to the October events, in the habit of paying regular visits to the camps in Western Germany and Austria, and to the agencies disguised as charitable institutions. They conducted propaganda work among the Hungarian refugees there, calling upon them to overthrow the Hungarian People's Democracy. They hired agents, dispatching them to Hungary with the task of instigating the population against the Hungarian People's Republic. Other organizations of Hungarian emigrés carried on a similar activity..." When the counter-revolution began they adapted their work and methods to the new situation:

"... After the outbreak of the counter-revolution, the staff of the Gehlen intelligence agency shifted to the Austrian-Hungarian frontier. Refugees arriving in Austria were persuaded by them to return and fight for the overthrow of the

Hungarian People's Republic. Apart from this, they recruited agents en masse from among the Hungarian refugees, sending them back to Hungary to do intelligence work.

"Not only I took part in this work; Kollényi and other staff members also participated. *On November 1st, Kollényi sent some of his agents from Austria to Budapest, where they were to meet Mjr. Gen. Béla Király, one of the armed leaders of the counter-revolution.* Kollényi mentioned to me that he knew Béla Király well, having served with him in Horthy's army.

"We were issued forged journalist cards, in the name of a Munich newspaper, so as to make our work safer. I stayed on the Austrian-Hungarian border right from the beginning of the events, roving up and down by car.

"*I saw with my own eyes that, at every part of the border between Szentgotthárd and Hegyeshalom, groups of men — armed by the Gehlen West-German intelligence service — crossed the boundary in order to fight . . .*

"A conference was held at the Hungarian Club, in Vienna, on the evening of October 27th, 1956. The conference was attended by a group of 50 young Hungarian refugees. They declared that they were willing to give the Hungarian insurgents armed assistance. This group, headed by Ferenc Farkas, a former Arrow-Cross fascist, had arrived from Salzburg. I met Farkas on the Austrian frontier, on October 29th. He told me, during our conversation, that the armed group of 50 youth had, with his assistance, crossed the Hungarian border at Hegyeshalom at night, on October 28th, to direct the fight of the insurgents in Budapest . . ."

*

The confession of *Imre Molnár*, a former sub-lieutenant of the border guard, throws added light on the activity of the Western espionage agencies. Molnár deserted, and absconded to Austria where he agreed to spy against his own country. He was sent to Hungary on a number of occasions, but was, towards the end of 1956, captured by the Hungarian border guard. The following excerpts have been taken from his confessions:

Police Record

*Regarding the Examination of Imre Molnár,
Budapest,*

January 8th, 1957

Question: Which Western intelligence agencies did you contact in Austria?

Molnár: I made the acquaintance, in the camp of district 9, Vienna, of a Hungarian refugee by the name of Baranyai. He was an agent of a British major, and conducted the new arrivals among the refugees to the major for the purposes of examination. Baranyai told me that the British major knew of my arrival and was desirous of meeting me. He added that it meant the possibility of earning money. The encounter took place around the middle of August, 1956. Baranyai and I met, on the Ring, the A. D. C. of the major, who then conducted me to the major. The A. D. C. also acted as interpreter. The major, in the course of our talk, requested me to give a written description of the structure of the State Security Authority, the names of the officers at Győr, and all that I knew about the border guard. He also asked for a list of reliable persons in Hungary. I complied with his requests.

Question: What contact did you have with *Radio Free Europe*?

Molnár: I called, for the first time, at the Vienna section of Radio Free Europe, at the end of September, 1956. I had been told that money could be gotten in return for data concerning Hungary. I went there regularly, thereafter — visiting the Vienna section about ten times altogether. A former landowner, called Victor, used to speak to me there.

I know that Miklós Szabó, a staff member of the Free Europe Committee, stayed at Győr and Mosonmagyaróvár, between October 28th and November 2nd, under orders from Ferenc Nagy. He was charged with arranging a conference between Ferenc Nagy and an official Hungarian revolutionary committee. Szabó was supplied with sufficient money to bribe people if necessary. Ferenc Nagy was bent upon being appointed Hungary's delegate to the United Nations.

Another part of Molnár's confessions deals with the role played by the Hungarian emigrés' organizations. Molnár, while in Austria, was visited by István Takács, the representative of the Fraternal Society of Hungarian Fighters. Molnár requested Takács to identify himself and prove that he really represented the F. S. H. F.



Body of a bestially murdered policeman, maimed and hanged by the feet

Molnár then furnished Takács with information concerning the structure of the State Security Authority and told him all he knew about the technical barrier along the border, which had recently been removed.

The counter-revolutionary events gave an added impetus to the activities of the group. The record of Molnár's examination on January 9th contains in this connection the following passage:

"About October 25th or 26th, 1956, I received a visit from Takács. He was much upset and wanted me to put him in touch with my former commanders in the matter of arms to be sent to the Hungarian insurgents. It was a question — so Takács said — of arms badly needed by the Hungarians, such as bazookas and other anti-tank weapons. Takács added that, if necessary, it would be possible to put a greater quantity of weapons and more manpower at the disposal of the Hungarian insurrection. I want to point out that I did not comply with

Takács's request, because, at that time, I did not dare to come to Hungary. I suppose the weapons were sent to Hungary by some other means."

Later in the course of events, Imre Molnár too went to Hungary on behalf of Ferenc Nagy. He and a Horthyite first lieutenant by the name of István Iglódi were sent to Hungary by Miklós Szabó, staff member of the Free Europe Committee. Their task was to establish contact with the revolutionary committee in Győr, and to prepare the ground for a provisional government headed by Ferenc Nagy. "Before we left," said Imre Molnár, "Szabó told us to say that Ferenc Nagy had the same aims as the 'revolutionaries'." Molnár added:

"István Iglódi and I left on November 1st. A Swiss merchant guided us to the point where we were to cross, at Hegyeshalom."

*

The testimony of Károly Tóth, an arrested spy, throws more light on the manner in which the counter-revolution was supported by foreign agents. In 1948, Tóth fled to the West, where he joined the F. S. H. F. According to his own confession, the F. S. H. F. sent him to the following training courses for espionage:

In 1951 and 1952, at Friedrichshafen, training in the following subjects: mapping; border crossing; handling of weapons;

in 1953 at Klagenfurt, training in radio technique; at Villach, in 1953, training in tactics and the organization of cells; up to 1956, he entered Hungary several times to organize a network of agents.

Then, at the end of 1956, Tóth and some of his associates crossed over into Hungary in a Red Cross ambulance. They carried reporters' cards issued by an Austrian newspaper.

*

Béla Kohut and five of his associates crossed the Austrian border on October 3rd, 1956. They were sponsored by the Graz agency of Radio Free Europe. A wreath-laying ceremony was arranged in a cemetery, at Graz, on October 28th, which was attended by about 200 Hungarians. At the end of the celebration they

proceeded to a restaurant, where a colonel, Dr. Balla, outlined the Hungarian situation.

"Dr. Balla told us," said Béla Kohut, "that a struggle was going on in Hungary. Speaking to the young people, he warned them not to return to Hungary, one by one, but organized into armed groups, under a leader, as, in this way, they would be of much more use. A friend of mine, Ferenc Mart, interjected that we were not going to wait, that they should give us money so that we could start for home. A short fat chap gave each of us 50 schillings that same evening, and we left by bus for Hungary, entering the country at Rábahidvég. It was decided that we should join the insurgents when we arrived home."

Kohut and his friends, arriving in Budapest on October 30th, reported for "service" to the notorious gang of Dudás, with headquarters in the Szabad Nép building.

The Former Platoon-Commander of Corvin Alley

The western espionage agencies are, since the defeat of the counter-revolution, recruiting their agents from among the counter-revolutionaries who fled the country. A typical example, in this respect, is the case of one Peter Renner.

Peter Renner, a platoon-commander in Corvin Alley during the counter-revolution, was subsequently employed as a "reconnaissance officer." He fled to Austria on November 26th, 1956. In Vienna, he encountered Gergely Pongrácz, former commander of the Corvin Alley group, and Lajos Várfalvi, the ex-chairman of the "revolutionary committee" in South-Buda. They decided, after a series of meetings, to set up counter-revolutionary groups, in Hungary, with a view to preparing a new counter-revolution. To this end they established contact, in Vienna, with Professor István Jankovich, and József Szentkúti, who were likewise engaged in organizing counter-revolutionary groups. The two groups joined forces.

Renner also admitted that Jankovich had met Béla Király at the Strasbourg Conference, and that he had submitted a full report to him, Király had approved their scheme and asked for regular reports. A plan was worked out, outlining Renner's and Szentkúti's tasks in Hungary. This, too, met with Király's approval. Their tasks were the smuggling into Hungary of subversive leaflets, newspapers, weapons and transmitting and

receiving sets; establishing of contact with the MEFESZ¹ and the workers' councils; and the recruiting of reliable agents for the purpose of unleashing a counter-revolution at a later date. Peter Renner confessed the following after his arrest:

Extract from the Police Record, February 28th, 1957

Question: What was your task in crossing the Austrian-Hungarian border?

Answer: My tasks in Hungary had been agreed upon in the course of conversations held, after January 10th, alternately in my and Szentkuti's flat. The essence of the talks was that I should form illegal organizations and groups in Hungary. These would have been responsible for distributing counter-revolutionary leaflets, received regularly from us, for the purpose of spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda, and storing a considerable quantity of weapons to be sent by us. The use of these weapons at a suitable moment . . .

. . . we also had to get hold of a person versed in the technique of a two-way radio set. We were to supply this person with a two-way radio set so as to establish contact with a Swiss radio station. It was also our task to establish contact with the Writers' Association; and to smuggle out articles and information for the western newspaper *Nemzetőr*. We also had instructions to set up a mimeograph apparatus in Hungary, so that leaflets could be turned out within the country.

Question: Who were the persons who knew about your mission in Hungary?

Answer: My illegal entry and my tasks were known to József Szentkuti, István Jankovich and Béla Király. Jankovich discussed our project with Király, who approved it. The understanding was that, once our job was finished, the four of us would discuss the results and outline future actions.

Extract from the Police Record, March 5th, 1957

Answer: In the middle of January 1957, Jankovich sent to me Kálmán Széll, a Swiss university student of Hungarian origin. Széll introduced himself as the delegate of the Swiss Student Federation, and offered me a two-way radio set for organizational purposes. He

¹) a student organization.

had been told, in Switzerland, by Jankovich that we intended to form a counter-revolutionary organization. He came to me in my capacity as the Vienna agent of Béla Király and one of the initiators of the proposed organization.

We set a date for another meeting with Kálmán Széll. This was also attended by Éva Barna, a Hungarian university student, and Walter Reinsler, a Swiss student. Later, Barna and Reinsler left. Széll told me about the radio set offered by the Swiss, and promised that we should receive financial assistance. He also said that a mimeograph would be sent to us, so we could prepare leaflets in Hungary. And, Széll added, they would help to smuggle counter-revolutionary leaflets into Hungary, until we received the mimeograph machine. He said that he would introduce me to Walter Menzel, a representative of the Swiss Students' Federation, who, as Red Cross delegate of the Federation, had already been in Hungary several times and had, once or twice, made use of his legal entry to take along leaflets weighing around 25 lbs.

Extract from the Police Record, March 18th, 1957

I had to contact five workers' councils in Budapest, according to the plan agreed upon in Vienna.

On February 11th, 1957, I visited László Kocsis, a member of the workers' council in the Northern Transport Repair Shop, at his home and told him that I had entered Hungary illegally, on behalf of the "Revolutionary Committee." I mentioned the names of Béla Király and Anna Kéthly as leaders of the Committee. I appealed to him, in the name of the "Revolutionary Committee," to organize on the job the distribution of anti-governmental leaflets that would be sent to him clandestinely from Austria. Kocsis gave no definite answer.

I told Tibor Erdélyi on February 17th to get in touch with Sándor Bali, member of the workers' council in the Belloiannis Factory, and to arrange a meeting. Erdélyi did as he had been told. Our meeting took place on February 20th, in front of the Jégkunyhó Coffee House; from there we went to the dining room of the Hotel Gellért. Erdélyi also participated in the conference. I told Bali that I was illegally in Hungary as the representative of the "Revolutionary Committee" and that he (Bali) should behave in such a manner as to keep the confidence of his fellow workers. We intended to use Bali for more work, to initiate action of a higher calibre, such as strikes, demonstrations, etc.

Extract from Testimony Written in His Own Hand, March 12th, 1957

I should like to add, as regards my contact with the Swiss Student Federation, that I discussed the matter with a university student, by the name of Hans Gertel. (I had been told by Kálmán Széll that Hans had good access to higher circles abroad.) I was offered the use of a motor car by Gertel, who introduced Bobby the next day. He said Bobby would be at my disposal at all times, with the car; and that by means of a telex, Bobby maintained contact with him. We agreed upon a couple of code-names. We also agreed upon the password to be used by any agent he might send. Bobby told me around January 23rd, that Hans had wired him that a friend, Kurt Sneidel, would come to see me. He said that Sneidel would use the agreed password, and I could talk freely to him. A couple of days later, Kurt Sneidel appeared and, giving the password, introduced himself as the representative of the West German Federation of University Students and the West German Society of Friends of Hungary. He offered to provide training for several thousands of men in handling anti-tank weapons, and possibly as pilots. I told him I would not decide without first consulting Király.

In the meantime we received instructions from Király through Jankovich, ordering us to draw up a plan of the intended organization and a list of requirements, and to forward them at once in writing. We did as he ordered.

Szentkuti told me, around February 2nd, that he had been contacted by the Vienna chief of the British secret service, who was willing to finance three courier trips (with two couriers per trip).

About February 4th, Kurt Sneidel came to tell me that he would be able to train 5,000 men for anti-tank warfare, and 50 to 100 pilots; he also informed me that he had raised enough money to procure about 200 pistols fitted with silencers. He said he had heard that 10 such pistols had already been sent to Hungary. He then informed me that he had been visited by a higher-ranking officer in the U.S. secret service, who had asked him for the names of his Hungarian contacts. He had replied that he was in contact with the agents of Major General Király; the American then read out our names from his note book, in order to check up.

First Lt. Decsi, a member of the General Staff, put in his appearance on February 6th. He brought word from Király that he (Király) had attained all his aims in America. The Senate was to sanction the agreements that week, so that when he returned in



Entered out of AVH buildings by burglars who have captured in a heavily policed area, this riddled in the doorway, the door is open, while a

This picture appeared in Life's special edition and portrays the Party Committee headquarters on Republic Square as an "AVH building"; the caption says that "a security policeman lies riddled in the doorway, . . . while a patriot reloads his rifle"

ten days time, he wanted us to give him an accurate report on what we had been able to do, together with an exact list of the type and quantity of weapons to be sent to Hungary. His message also assured us that, by March, we would receive the necessary money. A central command was to be organized by March 1st, that is several other groups would be attached to ours. Király was to come to Europe at the end of March in order to direct the work of organization.

I was told by Decsi that he could arrange to have my letter to Király sent by the diplomatic post of the U.S. Legation, and that he would put me in touch with the Legation in order to make sure that I could use this facility after his departure.

I then told Decsi I was going to Hungary and would not be in a position to submit my report until about 16 days later.

I entered Hungary on February 9th, in the evening.

(Signed) Peter Renner

*

After February 9th, 1957, Peter Renner performed the mission with which he had been charged in Austria. He organized group leaders for a new armed insurrection and arranged for the concealment and distribution of leaflets and other propaganda material, weapons, and two-way radio sets sent in from the West. He was arrested as he attempted to cross the border back into Austria to report to his superiors.

Role of the Western Hungarian Emigrés

The right-wing politicians organized abroad played a considerable role in the October events and in preparing for them. They issued instructions on tactics and principles by way of hostile broadcasts, chiefly over Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. The Hungarian emigrés in the West had close ties also with the Western espionage agencies.

In the following we wish to present their activities and attitude exclusively through the Hungarian-language press in Western countries.

Out of Their Own Mouths

There are many shades of opinion among emigrés abroad, now just as before October. These groups mostly vilify and "blacken" each other. Gyula Borbándi, an emigré journalist, wrote in an article:

"Most emigrés hold the same views on the international situation as the government of the receiving country. There have developed the various shades of American, British, French and German emigré policy." (*Látóhatár*, March-April 1956 issue.)

It appears that a Hungarian shade of opinion simply does not exist! This is proved also by the English slogan of *Függetlenség* (a long established emigré newspaper) published in Trenton, New Jersey, USA: "*American in Spirit — Hungarian in Language.*" This formulation is not alleviated much by the fact that the paper itself translates this slogan, in a milder version, as: "Hungarian paper with an American Spirit."

A brand new dissident newspaper is, for example, the *Nemzetör* — "The Paper of the Freedom Fighting Writers Abroad" — which allegedly is published in Munich. But in both the first and the second issues, the Munich "imprint" is blocked out and a simple

rubber stamp is used, giving the impression that the paper is printed in Rome. The editorial board elsewhere displays a London address as its temporary address. *Uj Hungaria*, the "Independent Weekly of Free Hungarians," wrote about the *Nemzetőr*, in its January 11th number, that most likely its sponsors are

"conscienceless political and financial profiteers of the Hungarian freedom struggle, whom it would be the duty of every Hungarian to take to court as early as possible!" (From article "Clean Water in the Glass.")

Az Ember, a "political and social weekly," is published in New York. A sharp attack is levied against certain groups of the Hungarian emigrés in its December 15th issue:

"Out here it is still the knights of the old, putrid system who are swaggering about, playing their own criminal and harmful game in the name of the Hungarian people. These outdated politicians, about whom the Hungarian people do not even wish to hear, are still active in the official organizations, and they are the ones who with their carefully established contacts exert influence on the well-meaning, but ill-informed American bodies."

The Arrow-Cross wing of the emigrés also comes in for attack in the same article.

"There is no Arrow-Cross movement anywhere now except among the Hungarians abroad."

Fáklya, "Central Paper of the Independent Hungarian Socialist Movement," published in Brussels, claiming to be Left, writes as follows about *Az Ember*:

"*Az Ember* is the paper of the former manufacturers and wholesale merchants."

There appeared in *Látóhatár* a long debate, before October, on the policy of the Hungarian emigrés. In the course of the debate Gyula Borbándi admonished certain groups of the emigrés as follows:

"We should not be surprised that . . . many observers both at home and abroad, hold the emigrés to be reactionary, in fact fascists; and believe they have no other plans than to regain their old property and power after they return home, to sit in judgement over others and settle the country's affairs according to their own liking". (March-April 1956.)

The Brussels *Socialist Review*, in its January-February 1957 issue, assailed the Ferenc Nagy-Imre Kovács group and their associates:

"We know that, among the emigrés, Ferenc Nagy, Imre Kovács and their associates carried out devilish deeds. They did not even make a pretence at convincing anyone that Hungarian democracy was uppermost in their minds. Otherwise not for a minute would they have sat down together in the commission of the Free Europe Committee with those who represented Horthy's democracy."

Common Goal: the Restoration of Capitalism

Although there are many divergences of views, much jealousy, quarreling, conniving against each other, among the dissident publications and small groups, they all agree that they want a "Western" capitalist order in Hungary. They argue a great deal with each other regarding the question of types or shadings, and there are differences of opinion on principles and tactics. There is a group which wants a fascist dictatorship, a Hitlerite-Szálásite system. The Arrow-Cross *Ut és Cél* naturally does not even conceal its aspirations in that direction.

The title page of the November issue carried the facsimile of the royal crown and other royal emblems. The first page carried alongside a picture of Szálás, the fascist leader, one of his "nation-saving" quotations. One of the articles ends as follows:

"In these days may special homage be paid to the Man who preceded us, and blazed the trail with deadly resolution. All glory to Ferenc Szálás."

In the same periodical they boast about the fact that the Falangist movement of Franco Spain

"regards the Hungarist Movement as a fraternal movement and deems it necessary that close relations be established between the two movements. The Falange follows with great understanding and sympathy the work of the Hungarist Movement aimed at the liberation of Hungary, and entertains sincere respect for the person and ideas of Ferenc Szálás, the martyr National Leader."

The programme for returning to the path of a Western type bourgeois democracy is given by the periodical *Látóhatár*. Imre



In Váci Street. The bonfire is consuming the works of Marx and Pushkin, Lenin and Dostoyevsky, as well as gramophone records of Tchaikovsky's and Bach's works and of Schubert's songs

Kovács, the well-known Right politician wrote the following in its January-February 1956 issue:

"We can no longer delay taking an open stand on the issues of collective agriculture and socialist industry. We cannot say that everything should be returned, because a considerable section of both constitute original public property . . . We shall have to attempt the reorganization with some sort of virtual land distribution . . . The expropriated landowners and manufacturers undoubtedly have a right to compensation, the amount, method and forms of which will have to be determined in such a way that they do not violate the principle of private property, and at the same time do not lose sight of the adequate satisfaction of the interested populace."

He continues:

"More freedom, less planned economy; something which is not Communism nor democracy; some form of the welfare

state, like that which has developed in Sweden, or that contemplated by the Labour Party for Britain . . ."

In the May-August 1956 issue again Imre Kovács supplemented his views with the following:

"For a beginning, 'more freedom and less planned economy' are a good thing, which in time may develop into a Swedish or British type of state . . . It will not get stuck at the Yugoslav stage, but may develop into a classical, Western, democratic socialism."

And what is the "classical, western, democratic socialism" which Imre Kovács places before us as an ideal? Is he promoting the U. S., Britain or Sweden to countries of socialism?

In the March-April issue Borbándi elaborated his aims:

"Whether we want to or not, we must recognize such institutions and set-ups which do not have the features of a Western liberal democracy, but rather of a socialist state. Such a Hungary better than the present, but still not what we want — may become political reality at some historical juncture."

Ferenc Nagy goes much further than this in the May-August issue of the *Látóhatár* :

"In Hungary the system of individual farming will have to be restored."

Then he explained the necessity of raising the technical level of the "independent small farms", and continued:

"The land reform will have to be preserved, but at the same time everything must be done to bring about the liquidation, through free sale, of dwarf holdings which do not yield a full existence, and their conversion to well-equipped small farms ensuring a high standard of living. The former owners of the dwarf holdings must be directed towards areas of production where, in place of their former poverty, they will find a good living comparable to Western bourgeois standards . . . The way to a bourgeois life like that in the West must be opened to the Hungarian peasantry.

" . . . We do not want the restoration of the old, large-scale capitalism. The nationalization of the key industries and the mines must be upheld. The right of ownership of the enterprises must be clarified by carefully considering the investments of tax-payers, the sacrifices of the working class, and the claims of the former owners . . . The formation of new small and

medium-sized enterprises should be promoted by supporting individual initiative. Foreign capital must be encouraged to undertakings and investments in Hungary."

So the "moderate" wing of the dissident camp also showed its colours. It showed its colours openly in that the scheme for the restoration of capitalist private property is clearly outlined notwithstanding the moderate formulation. And although they claim they do not wish to restore "large-scale" capitalism, they are demanding the turning over of medium-sized enterprises to the capitalists (and where is the dividing line between "big" and "medium"?). They advise the "dwarf" holders, the new masters of the Land to desert their lands in order to obtain "a good living comparable to Western bourgeois standards," and for the rest of the peasants they promise a "way to a bourgeois life like that in the West." In unvarnished terms the dwarfholders, the small peasants must be taken off their lands and put who knows where, and those remaining should become kulaks.

Psychological Warfare

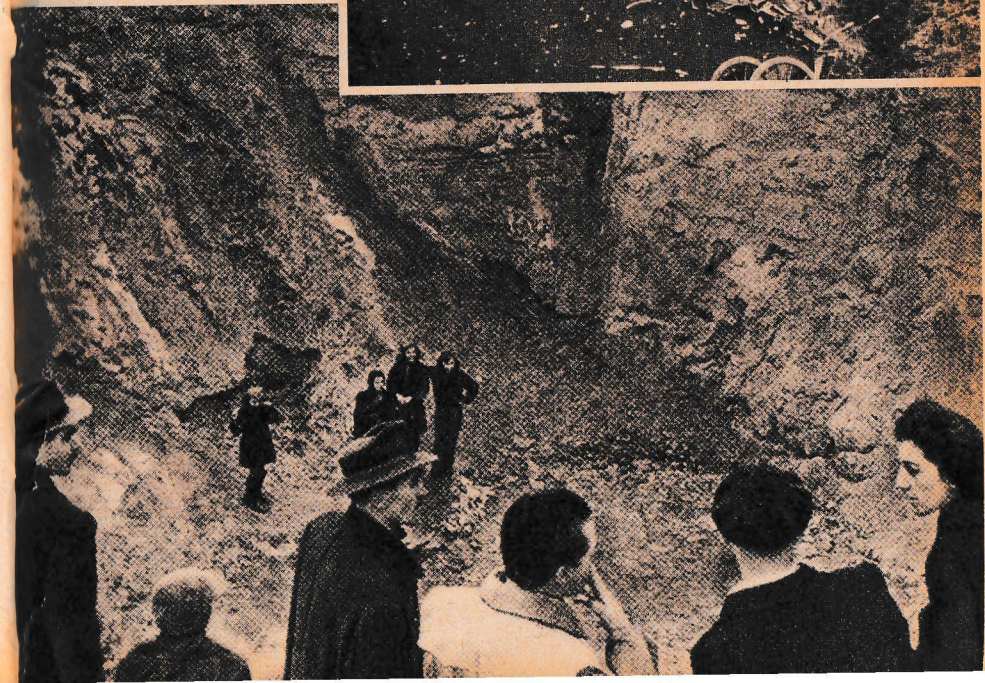
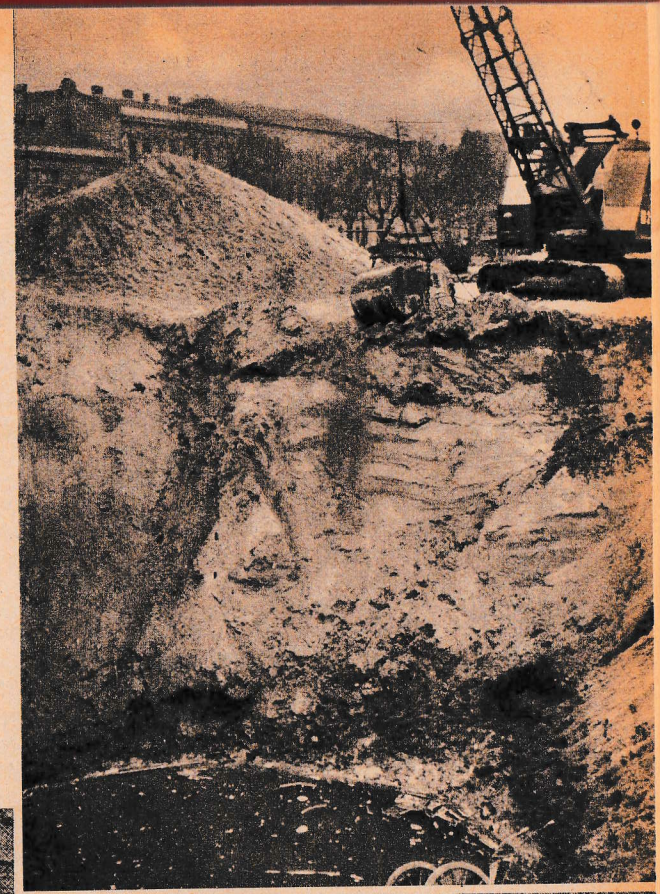
The Western dissidents worked out detailed plans on how to "hasten" in Hungary the developments desired and supported by them. The situation, prior to October 1956, is a well-known fact. Let us see how the discredited group of Hungarian politicians in the West followed the course of events and gave support to the subversive elements.

Imre Kovács deals in detail with "psychological or political warfare," which, according to him,

"is based on the assumption that Communism, due to the contradictions inevitably inherent in it, and, by the planned exploitation of 'legal' possibilities arising from its motion and activities, can be softened up so that the Kremlin has no alternative but to negotiate and accept the terms of the West. This special warfare — called psychological, because it keeps Communism in constant uneasiness on account of the masterful combination, or proper alternation of political, diplomatic, economic, cultural and military pressure — embraces the whole world, finding expression in the co-ordinated actions of the five continents." (*Látóhatár*, Jan.-Feb. 1956.)

Does this warfare, however, yield results? — Imre Kovács asks: "Can we achieve, through psychological warfare, those results which many among us (also among those at home) expect

The misled people were incited against the party with tales of underground prisons and casemates. For days, the earth on Republic Square before the Party Committee headquarters was dug up with excavators and drilling machines — of course, without anything being found



from a war? Does the Hungarian people recognize the essence and significance of the new political strategy; if so, are they prepared for the necessary and disciplined co-operation?" (Ibid.)

Finally, in connection with this, he designates their own tasks as emigrés, namely, how to assist those who are fighting for the same aims in Hungary. According to him this outfit

"can best be helped by us with analyses; and then with a full knowledge of the situation and methods of psychological warfare, we can always intensify the pressure against the regime then and there, when and where it is most effective and fruitful." (Ibid.)

Ferenc Nagy speaks more plainly. He concretely refers to the trends arising among the writers and in the Petőfi Club. He regards them as highly significant, saying that "the events taking place in the Petőfi Club are truly sensational."

"The spiritual freedom movement," wrote *Látóhatár* in its May-August 1956 issue, "is led by Communist party members. For the time being they are still demanding greater freedom within the party. In regard to personal changes, their demand consists only of exchanging one Communist for another. There are many emigrés who have lagged behind the events and believe that both the series of revolts of the writers, and the powerful movement of the Petőfi Club youth, are nothing more than internal struggles between the Communists." (Emphasis ours — Editor.)

Ferenc Nagy fabricated a special "ideology" explaining why he did not regard it as serious that for the "time being," "at this moment" the fermentation was being led by Communists.

"We are not concerned because this struggle is still led by Communist party members. After all, Széchenyi and Wesselényi had to begin the struggle within their own class for reforms, and then their struggle became the struggle of the whole people, and the whole shared in the blessings of the reforms."

He alluded in his arguments not only to the constant shifting to the Right which was to be expected and promoted, but, at the same time, gave tactical guidance to the dissidents. He was particularly careful that the assistance extended by the dissidents should not expose, or cause difficulties to their friends at home :

"If somebody among the emigrés should wish openly to acknowledge the spiritual revolt, the courage and merits of leading figures, he would, on the one hand, place them in greater peril; he might, on the other hand, be branded as a fellow-traveller or Titoite. A negative attitude, however, may give rise to the impression among the bravest people fighting at home that the Hungarians, living on free soil, do not understand their struggle, or are indifferent to it. They might thus lose their enthusiasm, or even withdraw. In any event, therefore, we must find the way to a long-range method of wise support. We must, above all, let the Hungarian people know that their longings and aspirations are meeting with a response not only among the writers and the educated youth, but also among the emigrés . . . Perhaps the emigrés are far more able to chart the path ahead, and the final aim of the struggles, than are those at home."

And in line with the thought that they, there in Munich or New York, are far more able to chart the path ahead, he hastens to offer "ideological" advice, and to raise demands:

"The first is the question of freedom, and this dominates all others. Freedom truly becomes the common property of a nation only if it is not limited by specific or special designations."

He goes on to reason that freedom "without limits" naturally includes "freedom of enterprise," therefore it cannot be anti-capitalist or socialist. The aim of Ferenc Nagy is obvious: the restoration of the bourgeois order, capitalism.

It is interesting to examine the conceptions of the Imre Kovács-Borbándi group of dissidents pertaining to the method of transition to a system of a "Western" type. What sort of path leads to this order "without limitations" — that is, a bourgeois liberal order? All of them want some kind of "intermediate" step for Hungary. According to Imre Kovács

"from a long range point of view the West regards effective Titoism as the first step to democracy".

Gyula Borbándi, elaborating on the expected events, concludes that

"a leap-like change appears unlikely: If the transition from Stalinist state capitalism to a society which respects the rights and freedoms of man takes place peacefully, the internal set-up and foreign political attitude called Titoism, for want of a better name, would be a stage of this development."

The Arrow-Cross *Ut és Cél* both agrees with and criticizes this standpoint. In its opinion, the "first stage" can not be a stage and there can be no stopping there:

"The breaking up of the Communist ice will not stop at national Communism, Titoism, Communist Left alliance, semi-democracy, 'socialist and bourgeois radicalism,' half-way nationalized planned economy and half-way open market, at a stage which is neither flesh, fish nor fowl." (November 1956.)

Hadak Utján, in October, summarizes, crudely and beyond doubt, the events taking place at home, and the tasks to be accomplished "outside" in the West:

"What then . . . is the mission of the emigrés? What more can be done for the Hungarian people? And the answer can be nothing else but to give outside aid to those secret currents which are invisibly seething under the surface of the system."

And this issue, which appeared not long before October 23rd, even anticipated the approaching "moment":

"The time may come, when — just as we now have to struggle to prevent people returning home — we shall have to struggle to induce every Hungarian to return home in an organized fashion, ready to serve his country, the nation . . ."

Apart from the many controversies and quarrels, naturally, the feature common to all dissident groups is their blatant anti-Communism. Some of them even go so far as to present the Second World War as a triumphant and victorious anti-Soviet campaign — as though the war had been won by at least the Magyar Hungarists and the fraternal societies. *Hadak Utján*, in its January 1957 issue, for example, canonized the Budapest of 1944-45 as "the symbol of opposition against Bolshevism." The same article speaks with no less "embellishment" about the Soviet Union's "shattered divisions" in October and November 1956. And the article makes it clear that it regarded the objectives of the Don battles prior to 1944, and those in Hungary, in the autumn 1956, as identical:

"Our aim today is just as universal, as it was on the Don, or in the battles in Hungary." (In 1944-45.)

This paper glorifies the October and November days, in Budapest, in another November issue:

"The dream, for which we fought on the Don has become a reality."

"Aristocrat, former officer or bourgeois . . ."

It is worth while observing how these extremely reactionary papers and groups judged the October events in Hungary. This also casts light on the nature of the "freedom struggle" in Hungary between October 23rd and November 3rd.

It might be interesting, first of all, to examine their appraisal of Imre Nagy's role. The columnist Gerze Zólyomi lists in the January 11th issue of *Uj Hungária* three "decent Hungarian people": Imre Nagy, Anna Kéthly and József Mindszenty (whom the *Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja* of Cleveland terms outright "the greatest man of our age").

The *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* in an editorial on November 10th viewed Imre Nagy's efforts at capitalist restoration as follows:

"Imre Nagy . . . wanted to make Hungary free gradually."

The December 8th issue of the same paper quotes a dissident Hungarian student as saying:

"We kept pressing Imre Nagy as much as we could to the Right. In the meantime, we fought on."

But Mindszenty himself is an even greater authority on this question. His statement, issued — after the formation of the Revo-

A Magyar Nemzeti Kormány megállapítja, hogy Mindszenty József bíboros hercegprímás ellen 1949-ben indított eljárás minden törvényes alapot nélkülözött, az akkori rendszer által ellene emelt vádak alaptalannak voltak. Mindezek alapján a Magyar Nemzeti Kormány kijelenti, hogy Mindszenty hercegprímás ellen elrendelt jogfosztó intézkedések érvénytelenek, annak következtében a hercegprímás minden állampolgári és egyházi jogát korlátozás nélkül gyakorolhatja.



Magyar Népköztársaság
Mindszenty József

Imre Nagy's "decree" rehabilitating Mindszenty. Imre Nagy announces without any investigation or legal grounds that Mindszenty was innocently convicted. The "decree" was broadcast over the radio

lutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government — at the American Legation to the Western papers was carried by the *Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja*.

"I would rather support the Imre Nagy government than the present government," he said.

The Hungarian dissident papers in the West agree in regarding the October events as distinctly counter-revolutionary, that is, anti-Communist, anti-socialist. The maiden issue of the Munich *Magyar Kurir*, "the bulletin of refugee Hungarians," wrote, on December 15, 1956, that the struggle was being waged "against all variants of the Communist system."

According to the January issue of *Hadak Utján* :

"as far as the questions of Marxism are concerned, suffice it to say, in characterization, that, in the course of the freedom struggle, the students of the Marxist-Leninist Institute (?) also fought — against Communism, and that every programme repudiated the anti-national essence of Marxism, the class struggle!"

That of course did not prevent this paper — in characteristic fashion — from regarding socialism, more precisely "Christian morals and socialism," as the aim of the October events. This was how the Hitlerites also masked their true aims!

Whose interest did this type of "socialism" serve, this repudiation of the class struggle? Who fought for these aims? The *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* answered this question in its December 8th issue:

"Aristocrat, former officer or bourgeois, if they took up arms, became comrades forever, because the purifying flames of the revolution wiped out differences of origin, occupation and social position. Debonaire Pál Maléter, former first lieutenant of the hussars and a revolutionary leader, is just as much their hero as is the son of a former landlord, a landless peasant or a Marxist worker of Csepel."

They presented the affair as if their counter-revolutionary aspirations served "popular" demand. And their aspirations were reflected not only in the fact that they masked their aims as socialism, and slandered the working class by saying it had fought for the common aims of the aristocrats and the bourgeoisie. The shockingly

cynical statements of *Hadak Utján*, in November 1956, expose this perfidious goal in an even more outrageous fashion:

"Who rose from his hero's grave (that is, in the October days. — The Editor), from the limy pits, the ditches of the cemeteries? Had Petőfi returned from the plains of Segesvár, or the old professional army officers of June 1919?"

Then it concludes the article with this:

"But You, Sándor Petőfi, Lajos Kossuth, Bárdossy, Gusztáv Jány — new heroes of Budapest — young Hungary will as sure as death one day raise your heads from the bloody ashes."

This was how the "patriots" vilified the memory of the great men of Hungarian history: they bracketed Petőfi and Kossuth with the army officers of the white terror in 1919, the war criminal Bárdossy, and the mass murderer Gusztáv Jány.

Only certain articles in one of the papers at hand, the progressive *Amerikai Magyar Szó*, the paper of the old working-class emigrants in the U. S., took a stand in support of the Hungarian people's cause. Margit Gencsi wrote in her article of November 29th, opposing the voice of the American press:

"The Hungarian reactionaries who fled abroad — taking advantage of the Hungarian government's well-intentioned, forgiving call — swarmed into the country, backed by powerful support abroad, like wild beasts concealed in sheep's clothing, to finish their fiendish subversive work."

In the article, she reminds her Hungarian-American readers in detail about what the new Hungarian People's Democracy had done, in contrast with the old system which compelled them to emigrate because of poverty. Perhaps it would not be amiss to quote at length from her fine article :

"This system . . . built factories, and flats worthy of human beings; schools where the children of barefoot parents could study according to their abilities. They could learn a trade in schools (instead of being 'apprenticed' to a 'master' for four or six years, during which they worked for three years as household servants, carrying water for the laundry, shining the children's shoes, playing nurse-maid for the little tots, carrying the manure out of the barn — and learning their trade for one year.) Thousands and thousands of children are learning modern trades in up-to-date vocational schools. Electricity came to the villages, easing life and heavy work in a thousand

and one ways. Books and libraries were given to the people, and adults and old people taught the joys of reading.

Vacations were given to the working people!! When did the Hungarian worker ever hear before of two weeks' vacation with pay, which he could spend completely free of worrying, at a place which he did not even dare to approach in the past? Not enough? Perhaps not. I also know the regime would have liked to give more but so far it was only able to give this much, created out of nothing, out of time and out of money...! Hungary has only now become Hungarian; for the first time it belongs to the Hungarian working people, after a thousand years not lived, but suffered, and, with the help of the sober-thinking, clear-sighted working class, it will stay that way."

A Hungarian-American reader who signed his article "M. S." argued, in the same issue, against differing view which had appeared in the paper:

"Whole pages could be written to prove what person or persons are responsible for the massacre and destruction in Hungary." — He expresses the opinion that "the working people's enemies" are responsible, "big capital," which "set as its aim the downfall of governments tending towards socialism, and plunging their peoples back into the depths of oppression." "I cannot agree," he writes, "with those who condemn and regard as a crime the calling in and the sending of Soviet troops into Hungary and who hold the Hungarian and Soviet governments responsible for the things that happened."

The Emigrés "Rise to Their Feet"

It became evident from the papers that the Western Hungarian emigrés had made feverish preparations to rush back to Hungary. The gendarme units also made ready. The October issue of *Hadak Útján* reported on a "flag-dedicating" ceremony held by the "gendarme fraternities," in France, at which a Holy Mass was celebrated and numerous gendarme "comrades" spoke.

It is a well-known fact that the whole dissident company leaped to their feet, from Ferenc Nagy to Horthy and Archduke Joseph. Some of them commented from afar, others swarmed to the frontier, and still others crossed the border. They worked with full steam over the enemy radios too.

"The Arrow-Cross followers also had a radio programme in Munich," wrote the *Amerikai Magyar Szó* on December

6th..." From Madrid, the capital of fascist Franco, the supporters of Otto urged the Hungarian people to fratricidal strife in the hope that Otto might be able to regain his throne."

The November issue of *Hadak Útján* carried the most detailed report of the October preparations made by emigrés:

"The news of the events in Hungary brought all Hungarian emigrés to their feet, practically within hours. The Hungarians almost everywhere laid aside earlier political differences and became imbued with one sacred will: to help the Hungarian freedom heroes — with arms, if possible; if not, then to rouse public opinion throughout the world by mobilizing every contact... The central staff of the MHBK (The Fraternal Society of Hungarian Fighters, a fascist organization. — The Editor) even expanded itself and, under the command of Major General András Zákó, established a special leading body, which, after discussing the most urgent tasks, formed an emergency staff... Many of them, on hearing the news, were fired by enthusiasm and set off immediately for Austria. Some of them stopped at the border of the country or in the larger towns along the way. News came in, beginning with October 28th, of many, many hundreds of volunteers, both individuals and groups, not only from Europe, but also from overseas. The emigrés not only assured the Hungarians of their sympathy, but very many compatriots of the nations behind the Iron Curtain volunteered in all countries to participate in the Hungarian freedom struggle... Telegrams arrived from overseas to the MHBK, stating that 100 Canadian comrades and other enthusiastic Hungarians were leaving by plane for Austria, to take part in the freedom struggle.

"... President Eisenhower, from the very beginning of the outbreak of the freedom struggle, received representatives of the American Hungarian Federation, assuring them of his complete support."

The *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* (December 8th issue) reported that General Zákó, "accompanied by an armed escort," had visited Győr, from where he was allegedly "sent about his business." It carried the news that Árpád Raksányi, the traitorous leader of the Smallholders, and Béla Varga's secretary, had "travelled to Vienna at the news of the revolution and, in a spectacular manner, gone on to Budapest."

The fascist *Út és Cél* reported, in an editorial letter appearing in its November issue, that

"The leader of the Hungarist Movement, accompanied by one of the members of our editorial staff, crossed the Hungarian border in order to obtain first-hand information on the situation. During their absence Hungarian groups wishing to fight arrived in Austria from nearly every country. Our editorial offices were available, day and night, to our brothers arriving from abroad."

The *Katolikus Magyarok Vasárnapja* reported that Father József Vecsey was in Hungary "during the time of the short-lived Hungarian freedom," and that he conferred with Mindszenty.

... a szökő évek között...
... jelentette a gazdagodást, a humvitas nagyságai kö-
... viszont Charles Chaplin, a londoni zsidónegyed, Whit
... chapell szülőtte.

A mozi és televíziós vállalkozás monopolistája Bern-
stein, aki még nem lord — de előbb-utóbb az lesz...

Old reporter

Kedves Olvasóink!

Nemzetünk történelmet formáló szabadságharcának a magyar nemzeti emigrációra gyakorolt leirhatatlan hatását senki sem mérhette le jobban, mint a Hungarista Mozgalom vezetősége és lapunk szerkesztősége.

A drámai események hírére tömegesen kerestek fel bennünket harci vágytól mámoros magyarok, akik közül sokan könnyezve hallgatták, hogy Nyugat részéről fegyverekre vagy más támogatásra nem számíthatnak.

Indulást sürgető táviratok s levelek tömegét kaptuk. Kanadából a Hungarista Légión telefonon jelentette Mozgalomunk vezetőjének, hogy bevetésre készen áll és várja az indulási parancsot.

A Hungarista Mozgalom vezetője szerkesztőségünk egyik tagjának kíséretében átlépte a magyar határt, hogy a helyszínen tájékozódhassanak a helyzetről.

Távollétük alatt Európa majd minden országából Ausztriába érkeztek harcolni akaró magyar csoportok. Szerkesztőségünk éjjel-nappal a külföldről jövő testvéreink rendelkezésére állott.

Ilyen körülmények között lapunkat csak késéssel tudtuk megjelentetni, azonban biztosak vagyunk abban, hogy kedves Olvasóink teljes megértésével találkozunk.

ÚT és CÉL
szerkesztősége

KULPOLITIKAI TÁJÉKOZTATÓNKAT, az október-
novemberi világpolitikai eseményekről készült
számunkhoz hozzájuk.

Such were the revelations of the newspapers concerning the direct participation of the fascists and reactionaries living in the West in the "freedom struggle" in Hungary. And they intend to bring down upon the country, in the future as well, bloodshed, suffering and servitude. According to the January issue of *Hadak Útján*

"we should have no inhibitions in joining the freedom struggle of our people there, however and whenever a single opportunity presents itself!"

A November article in the *Út és Cél* spoke even more openly:

"The overwhelming majority of displaced persons is always ready, if necessary, to take up arms for the liberation of their country." (Emphasis by the writer!)

The bloodshed has not been sufficient for the politicians of the Hungarian emigrés in the Western countries and for their supporters. They feel they have risen in importance and their price has gone up because of the October counter-revolutionary attack. They are willing to raise their value still further and would gladly drive thousands of misled young people into a new, bloody counter-revolutionary adventure.

The "Út és Cél", published in the West, informs its readers that the leader of the Hungarist (Arrow-Cross) Movement has crossed the Hungarian frontier

Role of the Traitor Béla Király

The troops of the people's army could have defended the state order of the Hungarian People's Republic already in the first stage of the counter-revolutionary attack from October 23 to 28, if the party leadership and the military leadership had been firm. Morale in units in the provinces was satisfactory, the officers and enlisted men of numerous units reported to the party and army leaders in telegrams that they were ready to defend the power of the working class from the counter-revolution even at the cost of their lives.

Up to October 27 the liquidation of the armed bands in Budapest brought about such encouraging results that with firm military actions it would have been possible completely to liquidate the armed counter-revolution. But the treason which was committed in the party and the government with the declaration of October 28 and the establishment of the military councils disorganized the army. This situation made it possible for the counter-revolution to look to the setting-up of its own armed forces.

Radio Free Europe, recognizing this situation, and taking into account that up to then the army had achieved successes in liquidating the counter-revolution, defined the new aims of the counter-revolutionaries already on October 29: they would have to get hold of the posts of Minister of National Defence and Minister of the Interior.

Imre Nagy readily supported this, and on October 31 he appointed the traitor Pál Maléter Deputy Minister of Defence and on November 3 Minister of Defence.

But it was of exceptional importance to Radio Free Europe that at the highest level of command of the armed forces one of the most important key positions should be filled by Béla Király, a dyed-in-the-wool Horthy-fascist general-staff officer — especially because their candidate had been imprisoned only a few years ago for spying for the British imperialists. The strivings of the imperialists and the internal counter-revolutionaries are explained in Béla Király's autobiography:

"My father was a senior civil servant of the Hungarian State Railways. Under the Horthy regime he carried on political activity, he was the organizing secretary of the Party of Hungarian Life in Somogy county until 1943. After graduating from high school, I volunteered for military service and was enrolled in an officers' candidate school at Kaposvár. After completing it I entered the Ludovika Academy. In 1935 I was commissioned as a lieutenant. I served with the troops until 1939 and was sent to the War College where I became a general staff officer in 1942. Then I was sent to the Soviet theatre of operations in the Don area, where I participated in several military actions. A few months later, I returned and was assigned to the No. 3 district command in Szombathely as general staff officer for supply. From here I was transferred to the Department of Organization in the Ministry of National Defence — section 1/a — in which capacity as head of the theoretical subsection I served until the end of the war. In the meantime I was ordered three times to combat duty, where I took part in some important battles as chief of staff and head of the operations section. I was awarded several high decorations for my service on the Soviet front, the Knight's Cross, the Officer's Cross, and consequently in March 1945 I was awarded the Vitéz Title (Gallantry Title). In April 1945 I was taken prisoner by the Soviets in Transdanubia and escaped from them on June 13, 1945.

"I maintained good relations with Beregffy, the former Arrow-Cross Minister of Defence, from my days in the War College till the end of the war. He was well-disposed towards me and always had confidence in me. In the Soviet theatre of operations, I served with him as a staff officer for information. I last served in Beregffy's entourage from December 1944 in the Arrow-Cross Ministry of Defence as head of the theoretical subsection of section 1/a. I reported personally to Beregffy on several occasions and received instructions from him. I took part in several conferences on important and significant matters, invitations or instructions for the attendance of which I received in most instances from Beregffy. Consequently, I carried out the following more important matters in the Arrow-Cross Ministry of Defence:

"At the beginning of January 1945 Beregffy summoned me and informed me that the Forced Labour Group Command and the Fortification Command must be transferred to the Total Mobilization and War Engagement Ministry, headed by Kovarc.

He instructed me to organize the separation and to regulate anew the scope of authority of the departments in the reduced Ministry. In keeping with the order, I carried out the separation which involved several weeks of work and four personal talks with Kovarc. Beregffy himself directed the work connected with regulating the scope of authority of the remaining departments, I personally reported to him, and finally I carried it out in conformity with Beregffy's instructions. At Beregffy's office I participated in several conferences to determine the authority of generals of Hungarian troops in Germany and the commanders of the 'Hunyadi' SS division, and in matters connected with clarifying their tasks."

Imre Nagy appointed this trusted man of the Arrow-Cross Minister of Defence as leader of the so-called Revolutionary Armed Forces Committee which was formed on October 31 and as military commander of Budapest. This "Revolutionary Armed Forces Committee" essentially placed the army and the police under unified control and thereby the military leadership went over into the hands of the counter-revolution.

At the same time at the meeting of the delegates of military councils on October 31 in the Kilián Barracks the formation of the "national guard" was announced. Thus the direction of the army, the police and the "national guard" throughout the whole country came under the leadership of the "Revolutionary Armed Forces Committee," of which the traitorous head of the Budapest police, Sándor Kopácsi, became deputy commander under Király.

Béla Király in the interest of organizing the "national guard" strove to take the leadership of all the armed groups into his hands. The testimony of one of his former liaison officers, B. B., is evidence of this:

"From October 28 to November 2, I served at the Budapest Central Police Headquarters as a liaison officer for Operations Group Command. The group of Béla Király, who led the Revolutionary Armed Forces Committee and organized the national guard, had its headquarters there. I had an opportunity to observe that the leaders of the various rebel groups regularly visited him. Among these were the Pongrácz brothers from the 'Corvin group.' He was visited by a dark-complexioned leader of medium build, named Schmidt, who stated that he had a criminal record, and also by a thin, tall young man about 160-162 cm. high, called Livi, who had been convicted of attempted rape . . ."



The criminals and fascists released from prison are provided with civilian clothing

One of the leaders of the Buda counter-revolutionaries, Emil Butkovszky, visited Béla Király daily.

Béla Király, apart from unifying the counter-revolutionary groups, also endeavoured to place in command of the "national guards" first and foremost Horthyite officers who had been imprisoned. The testimony of his secretary, Mrs. László Balla, for example, indicates this:

"Many former political prisoners called on Béla Király. A majority of them came in prison garments but a few of them had changed to civilian clothes. They had no coats, however, only short halina cloth jackets. Béla Király told them to change as soon as they could, and he gave many of them police uniforms, which a 'major' called Földvári — who wore a police uniform and signed everything as deputy to Béla Király — issued to them. Thus the former prisoners received arms and clothing. Béla Király disapproved of having the former political prisoners come and go en masse in the building of the Central Police Headquarters and at his proposal, if I recall correctly, they occupied a place in No. 28, Benczur Street, where they formed a 'Fraternal Union of Former Political Prisoners.' On several occasions I witnessed Béla Király greet the visiting 'members' with a terrific outburst of joy and mutual kissing. For example, an old Horthyite officer from Gyöngyös looked for Béla Király in order to complain that the organization of the national guard at Gyöngyös had been taken in hand by the Communists, which was intolerable. Béla Király was not there and in his place, or rather on his behalf, 'Major' Földvári gave him a written piece of paper which certified *that in Gyöngyös the organization of the national guard was exclusively the concern of this former Horthyite officer.* This person asked for arms and received them. Incidentally arms were issued in unlimited quantities up to noon of November the 3rd."

From the signed receipts it can be determined that from the Timót Street Arsenal alone, in a short time 2,206 carbines and rifles, 3 light machine guns, 2 heavy machine guns, 20 pistols, 100 hand-grenades and 1,339 submachine guns, as well as unlimited quantities of ammunition were issued to the counter-revolutionary groups, which by that time consisted to a large extent of criminals.

With this organizational structure, therefore, it was the aim of the counter-revolution not only to take the army and the police into its own hands, but also to ensure legally the necessary material, technical equipment and arms for the armed counter-revolutionary

groups. The "legal" framework and basis for ensuring this now existed, but the officers, who had come from the ranks of the workers, peasants and progressive intelligentsia, in this second stage of the counter-revolutionary attack, on the whole, protected the store of arms, because in the provincial arsenals of the army the overwhelming majority of the arms, despite Béla Király's repeated orders, did not fall into the hands of the counter-revolutionaries.

The Preparation of the Fascist Dictatorship

Part of the counter-revolution's plan also included the elimination from the army of workers and peasants who had become officers, an action which had already begun through the military councils, parallel with the organization of the national guard and the seizure of control of the army and police. The military councils endeavoured above all to eliminate from the army the Communists who occupied leading posts, by branding the majority of the political deputies and commanders as "Rákossists" and "Stalinists" and removing them on these grounds. Thus Béla Király and Maléter wanted to establish a "reliable" Horthyite corps of officers, and for this purpose, at Béla Király's command, a so-called rehabilitation committee was set up on November 1, the members of which included Király himself and Kerekes and Zsilinszky, former Horthyite officers. In two days the number of the applicants was greater than 500 and about 300 of these made their application in writing. The applications were left intact in the Ministry of Defence.

In the applications the merits of previous services were stressed. Who were these gentlemen, and what their merits? Here are a few of the many:

Captain *Dezső Nagy*, a reserve officer, graduate of the Ludovika Academy. *Served 8 years in prison for war crimes* and was freed in 1956.

László Vida was interned in 1950 for complicity in the conspiracy of Szeged.

Colonel *László Hegedüs*, who was released from the Márianosztra Prison on October 27, 1956, by the counter-revolutionaries, was convicted in 1948 *for crimes committed against the state.*

Some of the Horthyite officers, for instance, Zsilinszky and Tihamér Komjáthy, had to be given posts on Béla Király's personal instructions. Among the applicants were some who offered their services for temporary active duty in view of the state of emergency.

Here, for example, is one of the applications:

"Mr. Minister of Defence!

"The tremendous movement of the Hungarian people, which summons every Hungarian to arms, imperatively demands that we should all serve in the capacity for which our knowledge and training best fits us. This makes it incumbent upon me to offer my training and services to the Honourable Minister of Defence.

Dr. Arthur Murányi
Retired Ministerial
Departmental Counselor."

"I request my full rehabilitation," wrote Sándor Bálli, former general, "as the representative of the Smallholder Party's Council of Direction."

Sándor Bálli was "rehabilitated," he was taken on the staff of the Ministry of Defence and even his salary was remitted.

This was how *Lieutenant General Pál Almássy of Nemes Zsadány and Törökszentmiklós* also returned from obscurity, he was to head the army's organizing and mobilizing group command. Lieutenant General László Kuthy, a war criminal, whose 15-year prison term was interrupted by the counter-revolution, also offered his services to Maléter.

This was how the counter-revolution wanted to secure the military power of the fascist dictatorship which was to replace the Imre Nagy government. As a matter of fact they repeated the methods used in 1919, when the Ludovika officers of the exploiting class with the assistance of the imperialists overthrew the proletarian power.

Béla Király Organizes a "Popular Uprising" on American Advice

On November 4 the Soviet troops began the mopping up of the counter-revolutionary armed forces in Budapest. A member of Béla Király's staff, Lieutenant-Colonel M. I., described the events as follows:

"At three o'clock in the morning on November 4, Király came into the Central Police Headquarters, summoned his trusted men, informed them of the beginning of the actions of the Soviet troops and gave orders for his staff to move, under the cover

of its security sections, to the Jánoshegy (János Hill). Király assigned me the task of securing the transfer of the command post with a platoon of men. Together with Béla Király, I got into a car, in this same car was a bearded young man of between 30 and 35, with glasses, called Vincze, who was obviously one of Béla Király's inner circle. When we arrived at Vörös Hadsereg Road, Király halted the column; together with Vincze he got out of the car, I wanted to go with them but he ordered me to stay. They went into the residential apartment of the American Legation there. About 30-40 minutes later they returned. The column got started again, and we drove to the frontier-guard barracks in the Fácános area. After six o'clock officers and civilians began to arrive, among them some who had previously been Király's men. Király became noticeably more and more restless. Vincze again suggested they ask for political asylum from the Americans. In assessing the situation, Király agreed that with the given balance of military forces resistance was useless, then he left for the American Legation with Vincze. They returned around 11 o'clock, when, contrary to his earlier assessment, he endeavoured to convince those present to withdraw the armed forces left in Budapest, form partisan groups, prolong the fighting and organize a general popular uprising."

As is known, the Hungarian army had absolutely no intention of organizing a "popular uprising" under Király's leadership, on the advice of the Americans, although Béla Király worked hard to this end. This is indicated by the report of the deputy commander of the Csillebérc Anti-aircraft Battery, First Lieutenant János Vas:

"On November 6 or 7, a tall, greying man in civilian clothing called at my home, accompanied by a short, red-bearded civilian wearing glasses with thin gold rims (the latter person appeared to have an artificial right leg). The tall, greying person introduced himself as Béla Király, major general, and he indicated this with his personal identification card. He sought me out as the commander of the anti-aircraft battery. Together with the red-bearded man — who according to Béla Király's information was also a general — we went into my house. Király gave me orders to fire on the Soviet troops, which also meant the shelling of Budapest, with my battery. When I protested, he threatened to shoot me. I put forward that I could accept orders only from my immediate superior in command; moreover I was in command of an anti-aircraft battery and my

task was to drive off enemy aircraft. I also pointed to the fact that families were living in the area around the battery, there was the Central Research Institute of Physics beside us with its equipment worth millions, we would endanger all this with such an adventure. He demanded that I take him to Captain Tétényi, my immediate superior in command. Since he threatened to shoot me, I went with him to the command post. While I accompanied him to the command post, he informed me that he would send rebels whom we were to instruct in firing the guns. He also ordered the soldiers at the command post to take up the fight against the Soviet troops. He announced that if I escaped and they found me, he personally would shoot me. After he left, I instructed the soldiers to put the guns out of action, to remove the firing pins."

Béla Király, after issuing orders to fight to the last drop of blood, left and absconded to the West.

The special committee of the UN on Hungarian affairs thought it necessary to hear Béla Király's report on his activities in Hungary. The American magazine *Life* carried this report in its February 18 issue, from which it also appears that Király and his reactionary officer colleagues wanted to remove from the ranks of the armed forces the workers who had become officers, and place Hungary's armed forces completely under reactionary leadership. Here are the pertinent sections of Béla Király's report:

"For a night and a day we elaborated a programme. Since both the Ministry of Defence, which controlled the army, and the Ministry of the Interior, which controlled the police and border guards, were full of Rákosists and therefore untrustworthy, we would organize a revolutionary committee to supervise both . . . and the committee would ensure loyalty in the two departments, the guard would stand by in case of Russian aggression."

Király immediately took the draft proposals to Imre Nagy who was Prime Minister then and supported the reactionary plan of "purging" the Hungarian armed forces.

"I showed him our written proposals, there in the great hall, and he sat in an armchair with Zoltán Tildy, Minister of State, perched on one of its arms, while he read. They suggested a few verbal changes, then agreed and signed. We marched proudly out of the great hall with official authority to supervise two ministries, set up a national guard and keep order.

"As I returned to my headquarters I received reports of renewed sporadic fighting and about the fact that the organs of the national militia were being formed . . . About noon the next day, Oct. 30, I went to see General Janza, the Minister of Defence. I told him I would accept the appointment as Budapest commander on two conditions. I wanted, first, a general staff of my own, and second, the reinstatement of 40 generals and high officers who had been kicked out of the army by Rákosi, and a cleaning-out of the ministry's Rákosi clique. "I got my new staff almost immediately."

We know that it was the Hungarian people's power which had removed the high-ranking officers of the old Horthy-fascist army, and replaced them with officers and commanders who are loyal to the people. Béla Király only mentioned Rákosi's name to conceal the fact that his demand was the restoration of the old Horthyite fascist leaders in the Hungarian armed forces.

Béla Király, therefore, for whom Imre Nagy wanted to secure such an important role — was a characteristic representative of those forces which wanted not "simply" a capitalistic system in place of the Hungarian people's democratic system, but which were linked by a thousand ties to the Horthy-fascist system, which they strove to revive.

The Corvin Alley "Insurgents"

(Compiled on the basis of talks with László Iván-Kovács, Gábor Dilinkó, István Stiller Sr., and eyewitnesses living in Kisfaludy Lane.)

Occupation of Corvin Alley

The semi-circular street surrounding the Corvin Cinema has become known as *Corvin Alley* in the annals of the counter-revolution. Its real name is *Kisfaludy Lane*.

At 4 a.m. on Wednesday, October 24th, a few armed young men climbed to the top of the building at the corner of the Grand Boulevard and Kisfaludy Lane. Taking cover behind a chimney, they started firing at passers-by on the Boulevard. Nobody knows who they were and what they wanted. In any event, they were the first "insurgents" in Corvin Alley.

They left sometime later to be replaced in a few hours by new arrivals. One of these seems to have been a military expert, because immediately after his arrival, he decided that *"the Corvin Alley can be defended even against tanks. The street is narrow; it is a good vantage point for attacks against armoured cars; the street has many exits so that, in case of trouble, we can easily escape. This place must be made the general headquarters!"*



One of the lieutenants of Dudás, Ferenc Pálházy Peiger, who had been a gendarme and later a Horthyite first lieutenant. After 1945, Pálházy was convicted four times for common crimes. At the end of October, he was Dudás's lieutenant and leader of a group which carried off and tortured Communists. He also played a leading role in the looting of the Corvin Department Store, from which goods valued at 7 million forints were stolen. He was arrested for clandestine counter-revolutionary organizing activities after the counter-revolution was crushed

And this sealed the fate of Corvin Alley, or rather Kisfaludy Lane. No time was lost in marking out the exact site for the *headquarters*: the flat of Dr. Gyula Kramolin, chief physician of the Péterfi Sándor Street Hospital, who lived at Kisfaludy Lane 4, first floor, flat No. 2. One of the leaders of the group issued the order: *"All telephones in the building have to be disconnected. Only this flat is to have a telephone. No one can use it without the commander's permission."* The five-storey building was, in this way, cut off from the outside world.

The hostel provided for workers of the Screw Factory happened to be in the same building. It was here that the first armed groups camped and set up their military headquarters.

Formation of the Corvin Alley Gang

László Iván-Kovács, 27-year-old warehouseman, took over command of the group on October 26th. A new commander was elected on November 1st, it was *Gergely Pongrácz*, son of a high judge; he was directly responsible to Maléter and Béla Király.

Iván-Kovács had gone to Corvin Alley on the afternoon of October 24th, after he had been disarmed in the National Museum by the military. By the next day, that is on the 25th, the group had increased to about forty. One *László Szabó* was at that time their commander. When he went away for a few days, the command was taken over by Iván-Kovács.

The position of the group in Corvin Alley on the morning of October 25th appeared hopeless. Many of the "insurgents" threw their weapons away, and many who had fought on October 23rd gave up and went home. The police had declared a rigorous curfew at dawn, on October 25th. Over and over again, the Radio, before 7 a.m., broadcast the announcement that anyone walking in the street would be exposed to the risk of being shot. The military forces declared the curfew with the object of liquidating the last remnants of resistance.

Prime Minister Imre Nagy, however, circumvented this plan: he lifted the curfew on October 25th. Imre Nagy's order to this effect was broadcast by the Radio shortly after 7 o'clock, despite the protest of the police. *This order of Imre Nagy's prevented the liquidation of the counter-revolutionary centres, and paved the way for the organization of new demonstrations.*

Seeing that the government did not intend seriously to enforce martial law, the Corvin Alley group gathered new strength. They quickly convinced themselves that Imre Nagy, whose government

A group of the Corvin Alley counter-revolutionaries which made its headquarters at Vajdahunyad Street 41



they had refused to acknowledge at first, supported them and would not allow martial law to be enforced. Weapons could therefore be procured and used with impunity. This was the first and decisive assistance the Corvin group received from the head of the government. It should be added that on the same day *Maléter* entered the adjacent Kilián barracks with his armoured car. It would have needed but a few tanks to disperse the riff-raff in Corvin Alley; as is well known, *Maléter* did just the opposite: he joined forces with the Corvin gang.

This treason, the assistance obtained from *Maléter*, was the second factor that promoted the rapid growth of the Corvin gang.

Imre Nagy, on October 26th, once more proclaimed a prolongation of the deadline set for the laying down of arms. The insurgents thereupon grew bold. The rumour spread throughout the underworld of Districts 8 and 9, that the Corvin Alley was a rallying point where provisions and weapons could be obtained. The ranks of the Corvin gang, consequently, became inflated with criminals and prostitutes. They managed to get hold of two cannons on October 27th. One of them was mounted in the adjacent narrow *Práter* Street, in front of the school, and the other at the entrance of Corvin Alley. Then the group in the *Práter* Street school joined the Corvin Alley gang, and was put under the command of *Iván-Kovács*. By October 27th the group numbered 300.

It became known on this day that the Government desired to open negotiations with them concerning the laying down of arms. According to the testimony of *Iván-Kovács*, the reply to be given formed the subject of a conference held on the evening of the 27th, at the headquarters of the Corvin gang. A government representative who had been sent to them was detained as a hostage, while *Iván-Kovács* and *Gergely Pongrácz* proceeded to the Parliament in order to discuss the laying-down of arms with *Imre Nagy*. The fact that the government had recognized them as a negotiating party gave a tremendous impetus to the development of the group, and considerably built up their self-confidence. *Imre Nagy's* attitude thus contributed to the growth of this "insurrectionary" group which, by that time, consisted mostly of criminals under the leadership of Horthyite officers and fascists. *Gergely Pongrácz*, for instance, openly boasted of his fascist past.

Not finding anybody in the House of Parliament, the Corvin delegation then proceeded to Party headquarters, where they were received by *Jánossy*, the son-in-law of *Imre Nagy*. The conference was also attended by representatives of the MEFESZ, the organization of the university students.

The demands of the Corvin gang included the abolition of the State Security Authority, the disarmament of its members, the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, amnesty for participants in the armed fighting and freedom for the bourgeois parties to function.

The Jánossies *accepted* these demands. It was understood that the agreement would be broadcast over the Radio.

**"I shall resign if the Corvin Alley group is attacked," says
Imre Nagy**

Next day, that is on October 28th, Imre Nagy invited the representatives of the armed groups to a conference in order to discuss the "laying-down of arms." At this conference, the Corvin Alley gang was again represented by Iván-Kovács, Pongrácz and some others. The conference was held in the second floor boardroom of the Ministry of Agriculture. The agreement reached at this conference included abrogation of the Warsaw Treaty, while *not a word was said concerning surrender*. Imre Nagy was in complete agreement with the demands of the insurgents, and, remarked: "Boys, I am as good a Hungarian as you are!"

The joint action of Hungarian and Soviet military units for the liquidation of the Corvin group had been scheduled to start at 6 a.m. prior to the conference.

Thirty minutes before zero hour, Imre Nagy had rung up the Ministry of Defence and said: "*I am opposed to bloodshed: I will resign if the Corvin group is attacked.*" Imre Nagy did not oppose the bloodshed on Republic Square and the murder of communists, but he opposed the liquidation of the Corvin group which provoked the bloodshed. The intervention of Imre Nagy saved the Corvin group.

It should be recalled that Radio Free Europe, during those days, blared forth day and night that "the freedom fighters should not lay down their arms." In this respect, too, both the Jánossies and the Corvin group faithfully carried out the instruction of Radio Free Europe.

Chocolate and Hand Grenades

The size of the group was estimated at the time of the "armistice negotiations" to be about *1,000 men*. Their ranks were inflated, at that time, by criminals released from prison. In the meantime the Soviet troops withdrew, and the ÁVO (State Security Authority) was dissolved.

The Corvin Alley group, and other counter-revolutionary bands, now felt strong enough to settle scores with the main enemy, the Hungarian Working People's Party. They were inspired to this by their ideological mentors, Radio Free Europe. They attacked, on October 30th, the Budapest Party Committee Building on Köztársaság (Republic) Square. The Corvin Alley command dispatched three trailers full of armed men, whose terrible atrocities later became common knowledge. On this same day, and on October 31st, they attacked and occupied the various district party-committee headquarters in Budapest. These terroristic groups, after the ÁVO had been dissolved, completely paralyzed the functioning of the HWPP organizations. *The ÁVO was dissolved by Prime Minister Imre Nagy: the work of the party organizations was prevented by the use of armed, sanguinary terror.*

There was nothing ambiguous about the conduct of the Imre Nagy government in connection with the attacks on the party building in Köztársaság Square and the district party-committee headquarters. *Imre Nagy and his associates did not have a word to say in opposition to the terroristic acts committed against the party and the Communists.* They, at the same time, legalized and promoted the gangs of murderers as "national guards."

This conduct of the government confused the workers and the Communists. The party members, being disciplined people, followed Imre Nagy's instructions; after all, he was one of the recognized leaders of the Communist Party, the head of the government. This "party discipline" paralyzed the Communists for several days. They realized that treason had been committed somewhere, but few of them even dared to think that the traitors were among the party's leaders. *Imre Nagy, Losonczy and their associates, taking advantage of their leading positions within the party and the government, paralyzed the party forces, and condemned the workers of the factories to inaction.*

It was amidst such circumstances that the Corvin Alley gang, and armed groups of similar composition, rose to actual power in Budapest. Open recognition was not long in coming either. The semi-official representatives of the Western capitalist journalists, practically invaded the Corvin Alley, on October 30th. They asked questions about the position of the Soviet troops, and encouraged the "insurgents" to continue fighting. They promised them that within a few days several well-armed divisions would arrive to support them — as was related by László Iván-Kovács, the commander of the Corvin Alley group. At the same time the so-called Red Cross consignments were, for the most part, sent to the Corvin Alley and the Kilián Barracks. They received, on October 30th,



The brutally murdered officers were even robbed of their valuables

two large lorries loaded with arms, ammunition, chocolates in American wrappings, exotic fruits, biscuits, powdered milk and canned food.

According to the unanimous testimony of Corvin Alley counter-revolutionaries, the Western food consignments *also contained American hand grenades* concealed in eleven pound tins of U.S. canned butter.

Since the Corvin Alley gang had risen to power, the young and inexperienced László Iván-Kovács was no longer adequate as commander. They decided, on October 31, to form a "Corvin Alley High Command" which would be led by the fascist Gergely Pongrácz.

A conference was held, also on October 31, at which Maléter was "elected" Minister of Defence. Participating in this conference were *Béla Király, Maléter, Police Colonel Kopácsi, the Pongrácz brothers and Iván-Kovács*. Dudás was also represented at the meeting.

This "ministerial election", as is known, also took place on the instructions of Radio Free Europe. Unbelievable as it may sound, this is how it happened: the counter-revolutionary gang leaders, the Dudáses and Pongráczes, directly elected the Minister of Defence.

Imre Nagy carried out the decision of Radio Free Europe and the meeting of the Corvin Alley group regarding the Minister of Defence. On that same day, he appointed Maléter as Deputy Minister of Defence, and a few days later, Minister of Defence.

The "Most Reliable" National Guard Regiment on November 1st

A new commander was, on November 1st, elected by the Corvin Alley group. The members of the armed gang came together on the small square in front of the cinema, and the candidate leaders appeared in the first storey window. A colonel spoke praising the exceptional qualities of the Pongrácz brothers. "Hurray!" the members of the gang shouted. "*I nominate Gergely Pongrácz for the post of commander-in-chief*," the colonel said, and the square echoed again with the shouts of the crowd. That was all there was to the election.

After October 31, the Corvin Alley became one of the centres for organizing the "national guard". It did not merge with the army or the police force. The escaped convicts were issued army uniforms, and platoons and companies were formed of them. A separate regiment was made up of the Corvin Alley gang, and it became the "most reliable" national guard regiment.

A smaller group moved, early during the events, from the Bányász Cinema to the Corvin Alley. The Tompa Street, Ráday Street and Bezerédi Street gangs wanted to remain independent, but they maintained liaison with the Corvin Alley. All these groups were, however, formations with only a few members. A much larger group had been formed, both in Práter Street and Tűzoltó Street. The former group was subordinated to the Corvin Alley command, and the latter also co-operated with and even established contact with the Writers' Association through *Ottó Szirmai*.

The escaped convicts swarmed to the Corvin Alley. The warehouse, in which large quantities of chocolate, lemons, oranges, butter, lard and other foodstuffs were stored, had a strong attraction for them.

"Many of the armed men were still walking round in striped prison garb," the residents related. A dressing room was established

for them at 9, Práter Street. Not a single resident in that house had any clothing left. As they say, at least sixty women changed costumes, in the Práter Street "dressing room," among them prostitutes and thieves.

The Corvin Group in the Lead

The mass hysteria whipped up against the state security police, at that time, assumed tremendous proportions. The members of the Corvin Alley group took the lead in the incitement and in acts of terrorism. They threw Ferenc Brodorits, a state security officer, out of the window of a fourth storey flat into the street. They made raids, investigated, snooped about everywhere, and rounded up innocent people, while relating hair-raising tales to passers-by about the terrible deeds of the ÁVO men. *They arrested, on the basis of a list, 30-40 members of the state security police and functionaries of the party.* They locked up their prisoners in the Práter Street school and tortured them there.

The members of the state security police who were kept prisoner in the Corvin Alley related that opinion was divided in the group regarding the members of the ÁVO. Among the guards there were some who wanted to save the ÁVO men. They often protected the state security police from the blind fury of the armed Corvin Alley gang. On the other hand, the number of criminals who had a score to settle with the state security police was constantly on the increase in that armed band.

The armed band of the Corvin Alley killed *János Kovács*, a first lieutenant, and *István Izsó*, a staff sergeant of the state security police. Several ÁVO men were viciously beaten in front of the Práter Street school, and one man was stood against the wall and shot.

The terrible massacre on Köztársaság Square, following the *attack on the Budapest Party Committee Building*, was a culmination of the murderous deeds of the Corvin Alley command.

The Last Day

On the morning of November 3rd, a small, black sedan stopped in Corvin Alley. Its occupants were looking for Iván-Kovács in person. They informed him that *they had come on instructions from one of the Western big powers, and offered him the latest type of hydraulic weapons.* They said that the arms were in a Viennese arsenal, and would have to be brought from there in lorries. Iván-Kovács went

with the foreign agents to see his superior Béla Király at Central Police Headquarters on Deák Square.

But there remained no time to carry out the undertaking. The next day, on November 4, Béla Király took to his heels.

In Corvin Alley, after November 4th, the commanders felt that an end had been put to their brief reign of glory, but they still gave vent to such talk as:

"Let us hold out for just two more days! The West Germans are coming; they'll help us!"

A few members of the gang declared that there was no sense to fighting further, and wanted to lay down their arms. These men were shot without further ado.

The Corvin Alley band, however, began to realize that they were no longer dealing with Imre Nagy who had supported them, and that a serious struggle was being waged against them. They evacuated their headquarters, which were endangered, and formed into small groups in the Continental Hotel and the houses located along Rákóczi Street and the boulevard. By using these houses as ambushes and firing from them, they provoked the bombardment of the houses situated along the boulevard, and in Rákóczi and Üllői Streets. Iván-Kovács went home to Alsógöd, and the Pongrácz-es escaped to the West.

*

The Soviet troops, on November 9th, surrounded the Corvin Alley, and with this *the fighting ended.* The armed men remaining there laid down their arms and scattered.

An incredible quantity of munitions was found in the house at No. 4: this included ammunition enough to fill seven lorries, and two large containers of nitro-glycerine. Had these two containers exploded, the whole neighbourhood would have been blown sky-high.

Portraits of a Few "Freedom Fighters" from Corvin Alley

László Iván-Kovács

His father had been a company sergeant-major in the Horthy army. He fled to the West in 1945, and came back later. László Iván-Kovács was a typical floater. He worked as a miner, as an unskilled worker, and finally as a warehouseman. At his home town in Alsógöd, he was known as a frivolous young man who sponged off his parents.

He too went to the demonstration, on October 23rd, and shouted inciting slogans. He was a member of the delegation which "in the name of the people" wanted to occupy the Radio. During the night, he fired on the Radio from the National Museum building, and was one of those responsible for causing the fire in one wing of the Museum. Soldiers captured him, on the afternoon of October 24th, and disarmed him and his cohorts. But, in conformity with Imre Nagy's order, they released the entire group, and Iván-Kovács was free to continue fighting.

From the Radio he went to the Corvin Alley. There he was again given arms. He took over command of the group on October 26th, when the commander of the Corvin Alley fled. Iván-Kovács held the command until November 1, when Gergely Pongrácz was elected in his place.

Gergely Pongrácz

There were six Pongrácz boys in the Corvin Alley group. Their father was Simon Pongrácz, a High Court justice, in Szamosújvár (Transylvania). The Pongráczes openly professed their fascist and chauvinist views during the October events.

The Pongrácz brothers took an active part in the fighting during the night of October 23rd. One of the Pongrácz brothers became the commander of a group in the Lamp Factory, charged with procuring weapons. The brothers finally succeeded in gaining control of the leadership in the Corvin Alley.

Gergely Pongrácz was, on November 1st, elected commander of the Corvin Alley "national guard" regiment. A few days later, the Pongrácz brothers fled to the West. Gergely Pongrácz's friend, László Iván-Kovács, had the following to say about him:

"... At first I thought he was a selfless patriot, and a true comrade-in-arms, but I discovered he was selfish, a careerist, and an ego-maniac. He wanted to solve everything by orders and with the use of force. The patriotic varnish wore off and it became apparent that he fought only for his own selfish interests. He hated the existing system... he hated the Russians and everything Communist. He too was an adherent of closer co-operation with the West..." (From the record of László Iván-Kovács's interrogation on April 1st, 1957.)



Portrait of a "freedom hero." The picture was published in the Dutch paper "De Spiegel" on November 17th

Peg-leg Jankó

An "insurgent leader" called "Peg-leg" was present at the "armistice" conference which was held in the Corvin Alley, on October 29th. This individual was the same person known in the underworld as "Peg-leg Jankó." His real name was János Mesz, who was an inveterate criminal. János Mesz had been convicted 16 times for theft, violence against the authorities, vagrancy, intoxication, robbery, etc.

Mesz was one of the subcommanders of a group belonging to the Corvin Alley. His 27-member gang maintained headquarters in the Práter Street school. He also had under his command four artillery pieces.

On the second day of the "armistice conference", October 30th, this band attacked the Party Headquarters in Köztársaság Square, which was photographed and filmed by many people. One film reporter caught Peg-leg Jankó in action on Köztársaság Square. Since they had prepared this attack on October 29th, the "armistice conference," held on that day, was obviously a comedy staged for the purpose of camouflaging preparations for further armed struggles and to attain the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

Peg-leg Jankó and his gang were, from October 28th on, subordinated to Maléter's command, who, as is known, made his headquarters at the Kilián Barracks. After October 31st, when Maléter reorganized the Corvin Alley band into a national guard, *Peg-leg Jankó was given the rank of a lieutenant colonel.* He systematically recruited common criminals into the ranks of the "freedom fighters."

He did not lay down his arms after November 4th either. He met his death while looting the Verseny Department Store on Rákóczi Street.

"Bizsu"

Bizsu — born *Gábor Dilinkó* — met Peg-leg Jankó in prison. He had been convicted seven times since 1946 for theft, embezzlement, malingering and endangering public peace, and for causing serious bodily harm. He spent exactly eight of the last ten years behind bars.

On October 27th, he met Peg-leg who was carrying a sub-machinegun. Peg-leg invited his prison-mate to join him. This was how Bizsu became a "freedom fighter."

Gábor Dilinkó rose with extraordinary speed to the rank of major. The story of how this happened was related by Dilinkó to the police stenographer as follows:

"Peg-leg Jankó," the notorious underworld figure, was called a "one-legged hero" by the November 12th issue of Life. (Note that the Budapest Party Committee building is called "police headquarters" in the caption)



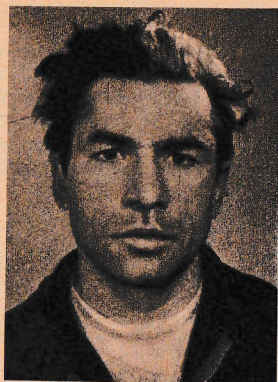
"Peg-leg" on Republic (Köztársaság) Square after the massacre

ONE-LEGGED HERO, rebel in a felt hat and army dress, joined the charge against police headquarters





One of the members of the Dudás gang was István Stiller, Sr., who had a criminal record and accumulated a large quantity of stolen goods in his home



Dilinkó, an underworld criminal, was a member of the Corvin Alley armed counter-revolutionary group

"One day at the beginning of November, the younger brother of Gergely, the commander, said we should go over to the Kilián Barracks. I went there, too, and I saw about 30 or 40 men in the yard. Maléter promoted 12 or 13 of them to the rank of officer, as we stood there lined up. Maléter pointed to certain men and said: 'You'll be a first lieutenant, you'll be a lieutenant'. When Maléter came to me he said: 'And you'll be a major'. 'I said that I hardly knew how to read or write. Maléter replied: 'Oh, that doesn't matter; you'll learn, son.' I was issued an officer's uniform and a leather belt at the barracks and the Corvin Alley, and I dressed up. I was given my rank because I was an excellent first-aid man, and the others because they had captured Soviet soldiers. I did not speak to Maléter any more after that. Maléter was, at that time, commander-in-chief of the insurgents."

István Stiller and Sons

István Stiller, Sr., a criminal who had previously been convicted 13 times for theft, fraud and concealing arms, was an active member of the Corvin Alley counter-revolutionary group.

István Stiller, Jr., the son of István Stiller, Sr., and his foster son *Béla Cseh*, enlisted in the Corvin Alley band together.

This "co-operative" organized on a family basis stole three lorries, which they used to haul away the goods looted from shops and warehouses. At the time of their arrest, the authorities recovered the three lorries, part of the loot they had hidden, various tools and military clothing.

"The Evil One"

István Kovács, a criminal, known in the underworld as the "Evil One", was one of the notorious "freedom fighters" of the Corvin Alley group. He had been convicted four times for theft and burglary. He justified with his deeds during the October events his nickname of "The Evil One." On October 30th, he drove a stolen car onto Köztársaság Square and deliberately crushed to death an enlisted soldier who was lying on the ground, wounded. István Kovács also took part in the looting of the Fashion Department Store.

*

These are but a few sketches from the rogues' gallery of the Corvin Alley "freedom fighters."

Not only fascists and criminals fought, of course, in the Corvin Alley group. There were some misled young people among them as well. But the Pongráczes, the Peg-legs and "The Evil Ones" were the most influential elements.

Episodes of the Counter-revolution

The principal events of the counter-revolution should not be permitted to distract attention from happenings of lesser significance which have opened the eyes of many ordinary persons to the fact that the armed conflict, unleashed on October 23rd, was aimed at annihilating the socialist and democratic achievements, and establishing a system similar to the reactionary capitalist régime of Horthy, which had been swept away in 1945.

Some characteristic episodes have been compiled and presented in this chapter.

In the Name of Liberty

Dr. Ferenc Domián, chairman of the "National Committee" of Dabas District (County Pest) banned, with a stroke of the pen, the party and the Union of Working Youth on November 1st, 1956. The decree of Domián read:

*National Committee of Dabas District.
No. 5/1956.*

*Re: Dissolution of the Party- and UWY organizations.
To all Village National Committees.*

I hereby declare the Party Executive Committee of Dabas District, all village party organizations, (in the communities, enterprises, etc.), both top and local bodies, as well as all organizations of the Union of Working Youth in the district, to be dissolved forthwith. The above mentioned organizations shall turn over at once all offices, files and furnishing to the local National Committees. All members of the pertinent organizations who do not possess an original certificate of domicile shall, within 48 hours, quit the community, taking along his/her personal property.

Dabasi Járási Nemzeti Bizottság
Szám 5./1956.
Tárgy: Párt és DIZS-szervezetek feloszlata.

Valamennyi Községi Nemzeti Bizottságnak.
S z é k h e l y é n.

A Dabasi Járási Pártvezetők Bizottságot, továbbá a községek oszdes és Szenes Helyi /Községi és villalati stb./párt-szervezetét, valamint a járásban lévő Szenes DIZS-szervezeteket azonnali hatállyal feloszlatom.-

Szervezeti helyiségeket, irattárakat és berendezési tárgyakat hiánytalannul, azonnal adják át a helyi Nemzeti Bizottságoknak.-

Az érintett szervezetek ama tagjai, akik eredeti községi illetőséggel nem rendelkezők, a községet 48 óraán belül ingóságokkal együtt hagyják el.-

Partózkodási helyüket jelentik be a Nemzeti Bizottságoknak, hogy az igazoló eljárás során könnyen feltalálhatóak legyenek.-

Az új Párt-szervezeteket a koalíciós kormány által kiadandó rendeletek alapján fogjuk létre hívni.-

Munkásoknak a funkcionáriusoknak és szervezeti tagoknak a lakásait, akik a községből már eltávoztak a helyi Nemzeti Bizottságok azonnali becsatlaják le és amelyekre szükségük van a járási Nemzeti Bizottságtól kért engedély alapján bizottságiilag és leltáriilag átveve kell kiírítani és a tulajdonos megérkezéséig biztos helyen / egy szobát szobában berakva és lepecsételve / megőrizni.-

Erre csak kivételés és indokolt esetben tegyenek a községek javaslatot a járási Nemzeti Bizottsághoz.

Dabas, 1956. november 1-én



Domián
Dr. Domián Ferenc
járási Nemzeti Bizottság elnöke

The National Committee of the District of Dabas arbitrarily dissolved the organizations of the party and the youth federation, on November 1st, 1956

Such persons shall notify the National Committees of their residence so that they may be easily located in the course of the screening procedure. The new party organizations shall be established on the basis of the decrees to be issued by the coalition government.

The flats of functionaries and members of the organization who have already left the community shall immediately be sealed by the National Committees. If necessary, the flats may be requisitioned by authority of the local National Committee. Such flats shall be emptied by committee procedure; an inventory shall be made of the property, which must be stored in a locked and sealed room, until the arrival of their proprietor.

The communities should present proposals to the District National Committee in this respect only in exceptional and justified instances.

National Committee of Dabas District, County Pest. Stamp.

(Signed) Dr. Ferenc Domián
Chairman of the National Committee.

Individuals of the Past Attempt Return to Ministry of Agriculture

(Dr. Gábor Soós' Report)

Representatives of the old order were cleaned out of the Ministry of Agriculture in the middle of 1948 and at the beginning of 1949. Perneckzy and his cohorts, removed at that time, were in close contact with organizations opposed to and bent upon overthrowing the

N a g y I m r e ú r n a k,
a magyar nemzeti kormány miniszterelnöke,
B u d a p e s t.

Miniszterelnök Úr!

Annak a beadványnak kiegészítéseképpen, amelyet a Demokrata Néppárt Budapesten összejött volt képviselői részéről intéztünk Miniszterelnök Urhoz, kérem a Demokrata Néppárt annakidején megemlített lapjának "Házánk" címmel napilapként való megjelenésének engedélyezését.

Budapest, 1956. november 1.

Kiváló tisztelettel

Dr. Mihály Vid

/Dr. Mihály Vid/
a Demokrata Néppárt volt képviselője

Lakik: Budapest, I. Attila-körút 13/21.
II.12.

Telefonértesítés adható: 188-068,
illetve 161-964
számán

Once they had a weekly paper. Now the "cardinal's party" wanted a daily paper

People's Democracy. They also participated actively in the actions of Mindszenty. Most of these people were corrupt as well. It came out, during the investigations, that almost everyone of them had been guilty of corrupt practices or fraud, their misdeeds ranging from the simple faking of travel expenses to the squandering of state property.

These former Horthyite officials believed, during the counter-revolutionary events in October, that they would regain their old positions. They lost no time, therefore, in driving out of the Ministry all workers, peasants and intellectuals who had actively contributed to developing a socialist agriculture.

Their representatives, led by András Vánie, a former senior civil servant, appeared at the Ministry of Agriculture, on October 29, 1956, demanding that more than 200 Horthyite civil servants "innocently sentenced in the Mindszenty-trial," be assured posts in the ministry.

Who were these "innocently sentenced" people? One of them, to cite an example, was Dr. Ernő Solti, ministerial councillor, who displayed a bust of Horthy in his office as late as 1946. When questioned about it, he said that Horthy was the leader of the Hungarian people. His activity in the Ministry was governed by this principle until his removal, by legal means, in 1948. And it was this man who proposed to form the federation of agricultural experts during the counter-revolutionary events of October!

The 200 clerks were told that there was no way to take them back. Refusing to accept this, they declared at a meeting of Ministry employees that "the Ministry of Agriculture will belong to the Smallholders' Party!" They demanded the reinstatement of the Horthyite clerks who had been removed, and most of whom had been sentenced.

What I Witnessed in Parliament

(Notes of Ferenc Horányi, employee of the Council of Ministers)

I spent most of my time in the House of Parliament between October 23rd and November 3rd. The House was crowded, on October 30th, with strangers, delegations coming to submit various demands, and representatives of the parties then being formed. The representatives, of course, were anything but idle. They attempted to acquire for their respective parties as many offices in the House of Parliament as possible, and — what was even more important! — to obtain the greatest possible number of autos. As far as

I remember, the government had ordered, at that time, that the cars in the party-garage should be distributed among the various new parties. This had been done but, I believe, the demand was greater than the number of cars on hand.

Motor cars, by the way, were regarded as free booty. One day, when I happened to be in the office of the head of the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers, the following scene was enacted:

A suspicious-looking fellow entered. I asked him what he wanted, and he produced a "police" document, issued in Nógrád County, certifying that he had been a political prisoner and had been mistreated. I took him for a common criminal. He told me that he had owned a mobile book shop which had been destroyed during the fight, and wanted me to give him a car he had picked out. He said that although it was not in running order, he would repair it. He also gave me the registration number of the car.

I told him I could not comply with his request. That afternoon, however, he came back, flourishing a piece of paper entitling him to take the car.

Practically everybody had free access to the building. A group of men, for instance, claimed to represent the workers of the Csepel Iron Works, while another said they represented the employees of the MÁVAG Factory. Since the workers were not going to work in the factories, it was obvious that they could not have been elected by the workers.

It was interesting to see that most of these groups wanted to get in touch with the Smallholders' Party, a phenomenon that threw a revealing light on their political attitude and affiliation. The number of new parties and associations was growing rapidly, and their representatives and delegates turned up more and more frequently. The speed with which these parties were being formed was simply incredible; their range extended from the association of political prisoners to the boy scouts and federation of christian youth. The boy scouts had been organized simultaneously by several groups, independent of one another, in the hope of lucrative jobs.

A rush for jobs began together with the speedy organization of the Smallholders' Party. People, who had been removed from the state administration during the past few years, appeared suddenly out of the blue. One of them was a former secretary of state in the Ministry of Agriculture, who wanted to reclaim his former post. Other people appeared, alleging they had been "political prisoners" and demanding their former positions. The Smallholders

MAGYAR JOZSEF FOGLYOK
BARÁTI SZÖVETSÉGE
BUDAPEST
1956

A Nemzeti Fennségi Bizottsághoz.

Budapest.
.....

A Magyar politikai foglyok bajtársi szövetsége kéri a Bizottságot,
hogy 1949 évi máj hóban "Kereszt" címmel illegálisan megjelent
és a Magyar Nemzeti Arcvonal által kiadott jogutóként átvett és átla-
pult kiadású központi napilap megjelenéséhez az engedélyt megadni
szíveskedjék, az egész ország területére. A lap demokratikus szellem
irónia és a kormány célkitűzéseit támogatja. A lap szerkesztőbisi-
tsége a nagyvilámbanunk 3 tagjából áll.

Feladós szerkesztő: Sipos Lajos
Feladós kiadó: Várai László
szerkesztőbizottság tagjai: Sipos Lajos
Várai László
Köcskös Gusztáv
Gimbalos László
Migóty István

bajtársaink, akik 4 §, illetve 3 § büntendőket szenvedtek, a
fenti címmel megjelent lap kiadásáért.

Budapest, 1956. nov. 2.

BUDAPEST
Bajtársi Hivatal
1956
Gimbalos László
szervező titkár

Arrow-Cross fascists — spouted phrases about the spirit of democracy. Among the signatories was the notorious Arrow-Cross inciter, Erzsébet Rácz. The Fraternal Association of Hungarian Political Prisoners, which in this letter declared itself the legal successor of the fascist Hungarian National Front and in which well-known fascists set the pace, recognized Mindszenty as its spiritual leader

Party took over the council department, put in one of their men, and instructed him to scrutinize all instructions issued to the councils.

There was no unity within the "coalition." The members of the Smallholders' Party received foreign journalists on their own hook and gave them news according to their own liking.

flourished a horsewhip. He began to rattle the door in a nervous manner and was very indignant that it was 10 o'clock and there was no one in the office as yet.

I told him, "Comrade, don't shake the door; they are having breakfast and will be back in a jiffy." He flew into a rage and began shouting at me: "Damn this dirty, rotten riff-raff! They are still here and they still use the word 'comrade'! Do you know who I am?" And he stamped his foot. I, too, became angry and said "I know very well who I am, but haven't the faintest idea of who you may be, nor do I want to know."

"Understand that I am Count Eszterházy," said the man wearing the hunting-cap.

There is Plenty of Time to Restore Order . . .

(From the notes of Gyula Szabó, employee of the Council of Ministers)

Imre Nagy first came to the House of Parliament on October 26th, and, from that time on, the House became a thoroughfare for

everybody. On the 28th, the waiting room of the Prime Minister was crowded, from early morning, with so-called "revolutionary committees." Everybody wanted to confer with Imre Nagy. Towards evening, Imre Nagy had a conference with József Dudás and his group of some 19 to 20 persons. The leaders of the "revolutionary committee" of the Ministry of the Interior also were waiting to see Imre Nagy, and they were subsequently received by him. The issue to be discussed was the restoration of order, but no agreement was reached. The discussion was interrupted by Zoltán Tildy who said to Imre Nagy: "Imre, please come into my office. Anna Kéthly is there and she wants to have a talk with you about the headquarters of the Social-Democratic Party." Imre Nagy hurriedly broke off his conference with the people of the Ministry and rushed to Zoltán Tildy's office so that Kéthly should have her headquarters. That was more important than the restoration of order.

Many people came, at that time, to Parliament to demand the return of their estates or factories. One day, the guard on duty at the gate rang up the secretariat to say that a gentleman, some sort of a count, wearing riding breeches and a Tyrolese hat, wanted to come upstairs to talk about his landed property. I sent him packing. Not long afterwards, the guard called again, announcing the arrival of a manufacturer, demanding the return of his factory. Imre Nagy's secretariat, pleading that the Prime Minister was too busy, refused to see him. Since the matter did not come under the jurisdiction of Apró's secretariat either, the former manufacturer sought an audience from Tildy's secretariat. Tildy had organized a special secretariat to deal with matters of this kind.

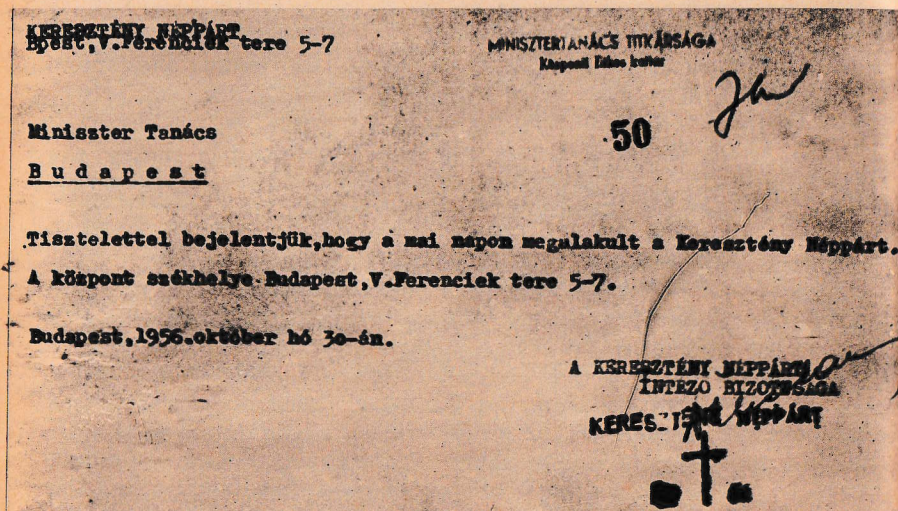
The Counts Come Back . . .

It has been stated several times that groups of Horthyite officers, former big landlords and aristocrats flocked back from the western countries to Hungary. The employees of the Hotel Pannonia, in Sopron, gave the following testimony in this respect.

From the testimony of József Bakó, (residing at No. 16, Újteleki Street, Sopron) recorded on January 15, 1957.

I was on desk duty, at Hotel Pannonia, in Sopron, from 6 a. m. to 2 p. m., on November 2, 1956. There were only two or three guests in the hotel at the time.

At 1 p. m., a motor car of French make, bearing a foreign license-plate, stopped at the entrance, and its three passengers



Another "revolutionary" organization. The reactionary clerical policy of misusing the people's religious faith has a long and unhappy tradition in Hungary. The "Christian People's Party" hoped to continue this heritage

Tanúkihallgatási Jegyzőkönyv

Készült: 1956. november 15. napján

Handwritten forms and notes. One form lists names: **Korcsák, Ferenc**, **Korcsák, János**, **Korcsák, Mihály**. Another form lists: **APONYI Albert**, **1924**, **Budapest**, **1928**, **1942**, **1944**, **1945**.

Counts, barons, landlords and other figures of the capitalist system crossed the country's borders, armed and unarmed, in order to regain their lands and factories

Eldőszó, hogy 1956 november 2-án voltam a soproni Pannónia szállóban a 44-es szobában, ahol a Draskovich, Korcsák és Apponyi családok voltak. A Draskovich család a szobából kijött és a szobát elhagyta. A Korcsák család a szobában maradt. A Apponyi család a szobából kijött és a szobát elhagyta. A szobában maradtak a Draskovich, Korcsák és Apponyi családok tagjai.



entered the hotel. They said they had come from Vienna and wanted to book accommodations for a few days. Then, they gave their names. The eldest was Peter Draskovich, the second was Nicolas Festetich, and the third, Albert Apponyi. As far as I know, all three were either counts or princes who used to live in Hungary before 1945.

From the testimony of László Nagy (residing at 47, Rákóczi-Street, Sopron) given on January 15, 1957:

I came on desk duty at the Hotel Pannonia, in Sopron, between 9 and 10 p. m. on November 2, 1956. Some time later, Miklós Festetich, Albert Apponyi and Draskovich, guests of the hotel, came downstairs from Room 44 on the second floor, to find out where they could obtain petrol for their car on the way to Budapest. I told them that they could get petrol only from the Sopron branch of the MEFESZ. They then telephoned to the MEFESZ, enquiring whether they could get the petrol. I do not know what they were told over the telephone, but a short while later, two individuals came from the MEFESZ, and left the hotel together with the guests, in the motor car...

Instigation to Murder

Károly Rosta, employee of the Ministry of Agriculture, reported the following:

It happened on October 30th, 1956. I started on foot from my flat in District 2, for the Ministry of Agriculture. Every morning, following the 23rd, I had left home with the feeling that I might not see it again. I think I arrived at the Ministry around 8 o'clock. There were very few people in the building.

I went up to my office on the first floor. Hardly had I arrived there when a number of people invaded my room. They were led by Dr. József Kostyák, chief veterinarian of the Ministry of State Farms. László Mocsári, a chauffeur who — I understand, — was once an active member of the Arrow-Cross (fascist) Party, came in with them. "Hands up," shouted Kostyák at me. He kept his hands in the pocket of his overcoat. (Apparently he had a revolver in his pocket.) I asked them, in astonishment, what they wanted. They replied with an unprintable torrent of curses. Kostyák ordered Zoltán Katona, chairman of the "revolutionary committee" of the Ministry of State Farms, to search me. Failing to find a weapon on me, they yelled that I should leave the building at once. They push-

B U D A P E S T.

T. Minisztertanács!

Az 1947-ben a Rákosi önkény által szétszúrt Magyar Függetlenségi Párt 1956 okt. 31-én újra megalakult.
A Párt megbízott vezetősége:

Negbizott elnök: Hornyák Tibor.
Alelnökök: Génes József, Bózsai Ferenc.
Szerv. titk.: Fazekas György.
Irodavezető: Hulica Tivadar.
Pénztárnok: Fodor Simon.

As 1947-es választásokon királyánított programunkat rajtunk kívül álló okoknál fogva nem valósíthattuk meg. Most újra lehetőség nyílik arra, hogy harcoss Pártunk akkor kttétört programját na csak hogy folytathassuk, hanem meg is valósítsuk. E célkitűzésünk rövid alapelvei - melyeket győzelmünk esetén valóra is váltunk - az alábbiak:

1. Az alkotó magyar béke megszilárdítása, annak biztosítása, a nemzetközileg elismert magyar függetlenség királyánítása.
2. A keresztény magyar lélekkel való megbocsátás után a belső társadalmi rend és béke megteremtése, az ország újjáépítése, lelkiileg és anyagilag boldogabbá t tele.
3. A szólás, sajtó, gyűlekezés, vallás kultur lis és munkaszabadság biztosítása minden magyar állampolgár számára.
4. A nagántulajdon sérthetatlensége.
5. Az adóknak csak a közérdeket szolgáló felt: tlenül szolgáló jésan, az egyén teherbíró képességét meg nem haladó fokra való lecsökkentése.
6. A tisztá, örök és a gyar polgári demokrácia megvalósítása.

A fentiekből világosan kitűnik, hogy Pártunk a békés, demokratikus országépítés után kívánunk élni, az is, hogy a közeljövőben a szót az utó

Budapest, 1956. nov. 1.

MAGYAR FÜGGETLENSÉGI PÁRT SZERVEZETE.
Bp. XV. Bési Károly utca. 7.

Génes József
Bózsai Ferenc
alelnökök.

Hornyák Tibor
elnök.

ed me out of the room. Kostyák held me by the collar, while the others pummelled me. I was bleeding from a number of wounds by the time we reached the gate. They accompanied me under the arcade of the building as far as the corner of Alkotmány Street, in the midst of continual blows; there I was released.

I had reached the middle of Alkotmány Street when I heard Kostyák, Mocsári, Katona and their cohorts shouting down the street: "ÁVO (State Security Police) murderer! Catch him!"

I was frightened, and it flashed across my mind that I would fare badly if I was caught by the mob as a member of the ÁVO. I had heard of the acts of terrorism perpetrated by the counter-revolutionists, and knew that no one charged with being an ÁVO could hope to live to tell the tale... Kostyák, Katona and their accomplices had conceived the devilish plan of having me killed by the enraged mob.

I started running. This was a bad move as it drew the attention of the crowd in the square upon me. Hearing the shouts of Kostyák and his cohorts, the crowd gave chase. I remember an old woman, standing some 20 to 25 yards ahead of me, who kept on crying: "They are going to catch and kill the poor chap; don't let them." A man stopped me. I asked him to let me go and told him I was innocent and no ÁVO-man. He asked, "Why are you running then?"

By this time, the crowd had caught up with me. Nobody knew me. It was enough that I had been accused by Kostyák and his friends of being an ÁVO-man. They beat me. I ran back towards the building where Kostyák and his cohorts were still standing, and, reaching them, requested to be taken back into the Ministry. This they did, beating me on the way. While escorting me back into the building, Kostyák told me, "this is just the beginning; there is more to come." My face was bleeding; my nose was broken; my coat had been torn off my back; and I could barely walk. Some of the employees in the building took me under their protection, and prevented them from manhandling me further.

A "Workers' Delegation" from Angyalföld

Memorandum by László Fehér, a former staff member of the Hungarian Working People's Party:

I was instructed on October 25th. to receive and conduct the delegations arriving at the headquarters of the Party in Akadémia Street. The most remarkable among them was the one which called

itself the workers' delegation from Angyalföld. Its members were Tamás Aczél, writer; Miklós Gimes and Pál Lőcsei, journalists; József Szilágyi, Gyula Oszkó and Sándor Herpai, police officers; Mrs. Ernő Nagy, clerk; two young men and an older man. None of them, so far as I know, ever lived in Angyalföld.

Gimes, Aczél and Lőcsei said that the October events should be appreciated as a democratic national revolution. They were indignant that József Szilágyi had not been named Minister of the Interior. Apparently it had been agreed with Imre Nagy that Szilágyi should become Minister of the Interior.

Gestapo Agent Claims Leading Post

(From the records of the Secretariat of the Ministry of Light Industry)

A woman wanted to see the Minister, Mrs. József Nagy, on October 31st. She conducted herself in an aggressive and overbearing manner. She declared, when received by Mrs. Nagy, that she had made a mistake: She thought that another Mrs. József Nagy, a former prison mate of hers in the Kalocsa jail, had become Minister. She found it natural that escaped convicts would now take over power. Compelled to accept the fact that Mrs. József Nagy, the Minister, was not the woman who had shared her prison-cell, she explained her request. She had been arrested, in 1945, as a Gestapo agent, and had recently escaped. She wanted to be given a leading post in the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Public Education. Asked what she specialized in as a teacher, she inquired: "Is that of any consequence?"

The notorious Head of the Budapest Police Department, Kopácsy, was arrested after November 4th. At the time he was taken into custody, he was found in possession of these high-grade watches, which he had seized at the special police station, "to be used," as he said, "for my own purposes during the five-day period."



The Budapest Armed Uprising Armed Actions in Budapest During the Night of October 23rd to 24th

Eye-witness accounts of the terrible events during the night of October 23d to 24th, the attack on the Radio and the occupation of the Józsefváros Telephone Centre were presented in the Second Volume of this publication. The eyewitness accounts published here, dealing with other armed actions during the same night, indicate that there was no "spontaneous movement" on the night of October 23rd — as is alleged by certain Western groups. They show, on the contrary, that it was a planned, organized armed attack against the people's state power.

Attack on the TEFU Motor Pools

Indicative of the organization of the armed uprising was the fact that early in the evening of October 23rd, at 7 p. m., organized, armed attacks were launched against several TEFU Motor Pools. TEFU lorries on their way back to these parking lots were attacked and seized by force. Armed men forced their way into the Forgács Street TEFU parking lot, and drove away seven lorries; 15 lorries were taken in the same way from the Kőbánya lot, and 7 lorries from the Dandár Street pool. A gang of 40 armed men attacked the Buda Offices of the Automobile Transport Directorate, forced their way into the parking area, and drove off two buses converted into sheds. During the night of October 24th they stole 150 lorries, using them to transport troops, arms and ammunition.

*

The attack on Automobile Transportation Enterprise No. 13 was described as follows by József Molnár, chief expeditor, and György Miklós, garage foreman:

"A group of loudmouthed young people appeared, at 11 p.m.,

at the gate of the premises. They asked for the manager and demanded cars to transport — so they said — workers from Csepel. A young girl demanded that we place cars at their disposal, which they wanted to use as tank barriers in front of the Üllői Street Hospital. This group was unarmed. We emphatically rejected their demands. Our drivers said they were labourers and mechanics, and did not know how to drive. In the face of our opposition, the group left the premises after a lengthy argument.

"Sometime after midnight — it must have been around 1 : 30 a.m. —, a lorry, loaded with about 40 armed persons, mostly young people, stopped before the entrance of the premises. The members of the gang, armed with pistols, rifles and submachine guns, were piled all over the lorry. Some of them were sitting on the hood; in fact one of them clung to the front fender holding an unsheathed sword in his hand. Their commander was a young man wearing boots, but otherwise dressed like a civilian, who carried himself with an authoritative and military air. He jumped off the lorry and demanded, in a loud voice, to see the manager. Some of the members of the armed gang jumped down after him, pointing their guns at us and the drivers, and demanded that we place the company's lorries at their disposal. Our drivers again said that they were only labourers and did not know how to drive. The leader of the armed band then turned to the gang and asked. 'Boys, who knows how to drive?' Several of them volunteered, but it was evident they did not know much about driving. Finally, after quite a bit of difficulty, they started up some of the lorries and drove them out of the parking area. They took 14 lorries away that time.

"They again raided the premises late at dawn, driving away 6 lorries.

"The lorries were, after the counter-revolutionary events, recovered in various points of the town. They had been smashed up, some of them had blood stains, and the parts had been stolen."

The Firing Ranges and Arsenal of the Hungarian Voluntary Home Defence Union Raided

Armed groups carried out planned raids on the district centres and firing ranges of the MÖHOSZ (Hungarian Voluntary Home Defence Union). A report of the headquarters of the Hungarian Federation of Freedom Fighters states that on October 23rd attacks

were launched against the District 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 centres of the Union as well as those at Zugló and Pesterzsébet. Raids were also made on the firing ranges at the Gamma Factory and on Marczibányi Square. In the course of the raids 500 weapons of various types and large quantities of ammunition were taken from the MÖHOSZ arsenals.

The attack on the District 5 headquarters of the MÖHOSZ was described by Ferenc Holly, secretary of the District MÖHOSZ organization, as follows :

"On the night of October 23rd, I remained, together with the training officer, in the headquarters of the Union, located at Szent István Boulevard No. 1., because we had heard that they were firing in the vicinity of the Radio with sport rifles raided from the MÖHOSZ. We feared that they would also attack our premises. Around 3 : 30 a.m., we suddenly heard someone kicking viciously at the entrance door opening off the corridor. They broke down the door before we could make a move, and a man about 25-30 years old, wearing a green raincoat and glasses, dashed in, followed by another man of disreputable appearance. Both of them were armed. They were followed by a group of 15 or 16 persons, many of them carrying guns. The man in the raincoat — who apparently was in command — jabbed his pistol in my side, and demanded that I turn over the weapons in the arsenal. I replied that we had no weapons. They then got down to business and pried open the barred door of the arsenal. When they saw the weapons, they attacked me and made me face the wall. Then they began, at the orders of the man in the raincoat and the man who had all the earmarks of a criminal, to remove the arms. In the meantime, they held me and my companion at gunpoint. They loaded 60 weapons of various types, 25,000 rounds of small-bore rifle ammunition, clothing and other equipment on to a lorry, and took it away."

Attack on the Timót Street Arsenal

(On October 23rd and 24th, 1956)

From the report of First Lieutenant Dezső Kovács :

"The duty officer of the Timót Street Arsenal, First Lieutenant János Németh, had the Timót Street entrance of the Arsenal locked at 11 p.m. on the night of October 23rd, and doubled the sentry on duty. Major Bereczky gave the order of the Army

Chief of Staff over the telephone: 'No shooting allowed!' The telephone receiver was still in my hand when First Lieutenant János Németh came in and breathlessly informed me that a crowd was gathering at the intersection of Illatos and Gubacsi Streets. The looting of the Lamp Factory had been going on for some time and a lorry filled with armed men was heading in the direction of the Lamp Factory. Somebody in the lorry shouted: 'Give us ammunition! We have guns.' A soldier dashed into the duty officer's room and announced in an alarmed voice: 'Comrade First Lieutenant, armed persons have attacked sentry post No. 4, and are climbing over the fence by the ordnance repair shop. Lieutenant Sándor Turi has requested help because the attacking crowd is large.' The situation was beginning to become tragic. I reported to the group commander that armed persons had attacked sentry post No. 4. The group commander then permitted us to use arms and added: 'I shall hold you personally responsible if anybody enters the grounds of the arsenal without permission.' By this time the members of the guard had opened fire at the No. 4 post with a light machine gun and a submachine gun out of self-defence because they were being fired on.

"I grabbed a submachine gun and, accompanied by five soldiers, I made for post No. 4. to repel the attackers. Lieutenant Sándor Turi was bravely covering No. 4. post, and First Lieutenant Szável forced back with hand grenades those who had climbed over the fence. The armed fight began. It must have been about 11 : 10 p.m. We had to prevent, by all means, the large store of infantry and artillery weapons and ammunition guarded by us from falling into the hands of the attackers, because they could have been used to snuff out the lives of thousands and thousands of honest working people. We had resolved that if they should break into the grounds of the arsenal we would set fire with petrol to the store-rooms and repair shops, where infantry arms were stored, that is, we would blow them up. Aside from this, we removed the bolts from all the infantry arms in the repair shop and hid them.

"Our situation was made very difficult by the fact that a tram-car with a trailer stopped alongside the attackers. They made use of them as a barricade, endangering the lives of the passengers. We succeeded, after a sharp engagement lasting 15 or 20 minutes, in repelling the attackers — there must have been 500 or 600 of them. They were armed with single-fire and automatic weapons and had four lorries at their disposal to

haul men and arms. As soon as they ended their attack, I gave the order to cease firing, and allowed the attackers to pick up their wounded. Then the attackers occupied the attics of the Illatos Street School and the houses along Gubacsi Street, as well as the yards of factory buildings surrounding the arsenal. They fired on us from there. They chose their firing positions with expert care and fired at us sporadically all night. A battalion arrived at 1:15 a.m. from the Ministry of Defence to reinforce us; it was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Fülöp. The unit was part of the Aszód armoured detachment but was armed only with infantry weapons. The attackers attempted to prevent the relief unit from entering the grounds but failed. This was when they threw a hand grenade at First Lieutenant Dancsó's head but luckily the grenade did not explode."

First Lieutenant János Németh reported:

"A lorry turned into Timót Street from Soroksári Street on the 24th about 6 o'clock and opened fire on the entrance gate with a light machine gun placed on the hood. The unexpected attackers, under cover of the dense fog, came within 45 to 60 yards of the gate. Then Lieutenant Turi tossed a hand grenade on to the lorry. Private Hegyi fired with a sub-machine gun, and First Lieutenant Dezső Kovács fired with a machine gun. The lorry backed up quickly for about 600 yards until it crashed into a powerline post. Private Pál Hegyi was wounded in the engagement. Two young men leaped from the lorry and surrendered. One of them said he was a labourer working in Kőbánya; they took him along, on the pretext that they were going to get some handbills from a printing press, because the revolution had broken out. He only found out he had been tricked when the lorry turned into Timót Street, and some of them took their weapons out from under their coats and began firing. The young man virtually pleaded to be allowed to remain with us until after the firing ended, because he did not want to fight against anybody.

"When the fighting began in the town, the telephone of the arsenal went out of order. The guard therefore could only prepare for defence when Major Kalina came out from the Ministry of Defence and brought no information. It was our unanimous opinion that the 'breaking down' of the telephone — exactly at the most critical moment — was a phase of the planned attack."

Attack on the Bem Barracks

As told by First Lieutenant József Kónya:

"Three separate attacks were made, on the night of October 23rd, on the Bem Barracks, where the guard battalion of the Ministry of Defence was quartered. On the first occasion, round 10 p. m., about 250 or 300 unarmed civilians drove up in lorries. They broke in through the rear gate of the Barracks and demanded arms and ammunition. We succeeded in driving this group out of the barracks without the use of arms. After that, around 12:30, another group came in lorries, but parts of them were armed with submachine guns, carbines and other weapons; in fact some even had hand grenades. This group, which could be estimated at about 600, broke down the gate which had been reinforced in the meantime, and again demanded arms and ammunition. The commander of the guard unit tried to prove that there were no arms or ammunition in the barracks, but they twisted his arms behind his back and pointed a gun at him. Then someone from the crowd shouted: 'Follow me, I know where to find the arms, I once served here,' and he led the mob directly to the rifle rooms."

The Attack on the Lamp Factory

As told by József Osváth, head of the factory police:

"A mob of about 900 to 1000 persons, partly armed, launched an attack on the factory on October 23, at 11:45 p.m. About 150 of them were armed, some carrying rifles, others submachine guns and pistols.

"The attackers arrived from Pest in lorries and buses. I saw there were suspicious elements among them, who were looking around to see what they could carry off from the store-room.

"They demanded that they be let in, and that the gate be opened. When the gatekeepers refused, they fired a burst of shots at the gate. The old gatekeeper then opened the gate and the attackers swarmed in and demanded the manager. When I went over to them they forced me to open up the store-rooms.

"The first act of the attackers as they came into the factory was to put out of commission the telephone in the gate house, then in the firemen's headquarters and later in the store-rooms.

"The first attack was led by two soldiers with submachine



The people will not forget its martyrs. György Várkonyi, brutally murdered

József Vaszil, a conscript who served with the state security forces and lost his young life in defence of the people



guns; they gave the orders. When they reached the store-room, they found only air-rifles, target rifles and shotguns, and four carbines, which belonged to the sports club. Then they broke into the ammunition store-room.

"The second attack, which was also led by soldiers, came during the night about 2 : 00 o'clock. They broke open the other store-room too, but did not find anything except machine parts. This group was made up of all sorts of elements. They looted the store-room and took away the hand-tools they found there and about 20 or 30 cases of high-velocity ammunition."

The Attack on the Danuvia Factory

As told by Gusztáv Széll, the manager of the Danuvia Machine Tool Factory :

"The Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry called several times, between 11 p. m. and 2 a. m. to ask whether there had been anything unusual in the factory. The Industrial Directorate of the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry and the Ministry of the Interior informed us that an attack was imminent and that we should prepare to defend the factory.

"We had no way of getting ready for an attack because most of the night-shift consists of women and the arms of the factory guard had been collected earlier. Nevertheless, I saw to it that the iron gates were locked and that the gate guard was reinforced. At 2 : 15 a.m. I heard the roar of an automobile engine, and looking out into the Angol Street area I saw two lorries in front of the gate, both of them filled with men. Since they could not get in through the main gate, they broke in through the small gate of a section under construction.

"The first thing the attackers did was to tear out the telephone lines in the gatekeeper's office and break off telephone communications. Then they made their way into the shops and forced the employees to stop work; after that they demanded arms and ammunition.

"During the hour they stayed here, I tried to explain to them that the factory had nothing to do with arms manufacture. Most of the workers also did their best to convince them of this fact, and they finally left.

"They came back shortly and forced me, at gunpoint, to go down into the basement with them, demanding that I should give them arms and ammunition from there. Since I continued

to maintain that there were none, they broke open the entrance to the armoury, where great quantities of ammunition were stored. After finding it, they stood me against the wall and wanted to execute me. Our workers, however, prevented them from doing it, and finally persuaded them to leave. They carried away 60,000 rounds of blank, dented cartridges with them. "After the departure of the first group, two more lorries stopped outside the gate about half an hour later. The second gang of armed invaders demanded to see the manager, and that weapons be turned over to them. Several of them declared they knew there were weapons in the factory. I was taken down to the basement again, but I escaped in the confusion and went back up to the shop. Since they could find no arms, a dark-faced man in an army uniform, levelling his gun at my back, forced me to go down into the basement with him. He did not permit any of the employees to go down with us. Despite his repeated demands, I refused to turn over the arms. Then he shouted at me: 'Turn them over, or we'll shoot you'. His cohorts came in, and they used crowbars to break open the doors of the air-raid shelters, where they found the arms waiting to be repaired. They took away about 35 of them (unmounted machine guns, submachine guns and light machine guns). In hauling away the arms, they wanted to take me with them to Bródy Sándor Street. But when we went up into the shop, the workers released me from the armed gang."

The Attack on the Szabad Nép Building

As told by László Szabó, a staff member of Szabad Nép:

"The *Szabad Nép* staff were given the assignment on the afternoon of October 23rd, to go out into the streets and report on the demonstration of the youth. There was hardly anybody in the editorial offices; everyone was out on the streets, watching the events. It must have been about 5:30 p.m. when the journalists began to drift back into the building. By this time, there were small groups gathered in front of the *Szabad Nép* building on Blaha Lujza Square, and within twenty minutes the crowd grew to about three thousand. A few minutes after six o'clock, slogans were shouted for the first time in front of the *Szabad Nép* building. Then they were still formulating the 14 points into slogans, and were shouting them up towards the illuminated editorial offices. One of the journalists then went

down to the crowd and spoke to them from the top of a car. He managed to quiet the roused passions somewhat. The crowd slowly dispersed and went away. But the square was hardly cleared when a new huge crowd surrounded the Szabad Nép building in the area bounded by József Boulevard, Blaha Lujza Square and Röck Szilárd Street. They came by lorry and tram — most likely from the direction of City Park and Buda. There was not a single soldier, policeman or armed guard inside the building. The Szabad Nép building was unprotected. Two lone, old doormen stood between the huge glass doors and the large crowd. Ten or twelve young men were pushing and shouting directly in front of the doors. The journalists who went down into the streets now to quiet the crowd were swept aside by the mob. The demonstration had been going on for a good half hour when the youngsters standing before the door shouted: 'Look, the Red Star on the roof is still burning.' 'Down with the red star,' resounded the new slogan. And 10 or 12 disreputable looking young men were ready to leap in through the door, rush up to the roof, and drag down the Red Star. But the employees in the building, the journalists and the publishing workers, succeeded in preventing the crowd from forcing its way into the building. Just about this time a platoon of policemen arrived. The policemen forced a path to the doors, and barred the way of the crowd. But this brought the wrath of the crowd down upon the heads of the policemen, especially arousing the ire of the youngsters just mentioned. A member of the editorial staff thought it best for the policemen to leave the building — trusting that they would be able to avoid bloodshed this way. So the command was given, and ten minutes later the policemen left.

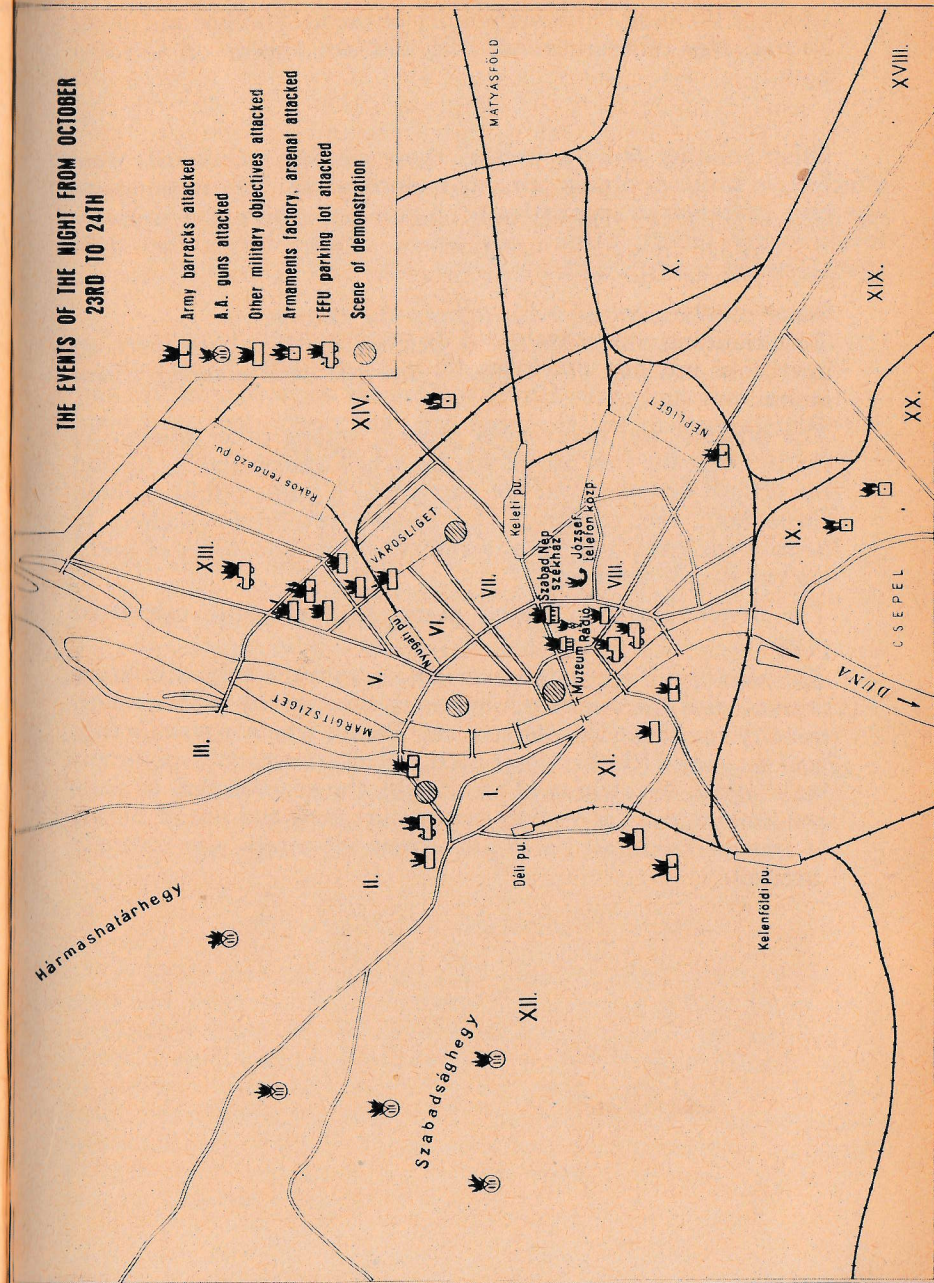
"In the meantime, a few of the journalists had, in the name of the editorial staff, printed some leaflets in which they expressed their solidarity with the demonstrators. But the demonstrators were no longer interested in this: within a few minutes, the leaflets were burning like torches. And when the first tinkle of breaking glass was heard, there was no more holding back the crowd. They shattered the plate glass windows and doors with rocks, chanting over and over again: 'Down with the Red Star!' Another small group whipped passions even higher, as they made their way through the crowd carrying a body on high. 'We brought him from the Radio; that was where they shot him!', they shouted. And they turned towards the window of the editorial offices and threateningly added: 'You are re-

sponsible for this! (Investigation later revealed that the person had not been shot: there was a contused wound on his head.) Now there was no more stopping the crowd. About 300 of 400 persons, pushing aside the doormen, stormed into the entirely defenceless building. One group rushed up to the fourth storey and dragged down the Red Star. The rest of them broke into the rooms on the first floor and tossed the books out of the window. Volumes of Marx, Engels and Lenin were burnt on the square. The vandalism and destruction was almost incredible. The marauders set fire to the furniture in two rooms — because they contained volumes of Lenin's works.

"The building was enveloped in smoke. Around nine p.m. they broke into the bookstore on the József Boulevard side of the building and made bonfires of the works of Tolstoy, Lenin, Mikszáth, Jókai, Petőfi and Ady. They also burned scientific and technical books. That was when I first realized to my horror that we were witnessing fascism, for the burning of books is the symbol of fascism. Books are destroyed by the enemies of the people. The *Szabad Nép* staff were crowded together on the third floor when the first 'demonstrator' came up. He reeked of alcohol as he staggered into the editorial committee's office. He was so drunk he could not understand a word. He only muttered he was looking for the manager: 'I'll beat him to death and stuff him.' Shortly thereafter, his cohorts arrived. They hurled pieces of furniture at the Red Star in the corridor, tossed books out into the street; they smashed, wrecked and burned.

"The journalists, seeing this, hurried down into the press rooms. The marauders were everywhere in the building and were now hunting for the journalists. The *Szabad Nép* staff bolted the entrances leading to the press rooms, and the printing workers got ready to protect the valuable presses. They armed themselves with heavy lead bars; every printer stood ready. Unfortunately the situation took a different turn. The journalists and printers huddled in the press rooms did not know then that the mob wrecking the building also had arms. When the first armed group began to pound on the iron door leading to the press room and threatened to blow it open if it was not unbarred, the printers did not want to take the risk. The armed gang rushed into the composing and press rooms. They had been given a political job: they forced the printers, at gun point, to print various fascist leaflets.

"The next morning, army detachments drove the armed gang



from the building. This is the story of the first occupation of the *Szabad Nép* offices. *Szabad Nép* did not appear on October 24th."

*

Other military objects, besides those already mentioned, were attacked, in order to obtain arms and ammunition. The accompanying map presents an approximate picture of where the counter-revolutionary groups carried out armed attacks during the night from October 23rd to 24th.

Some conclusions are evident from the facts cited.

The events of the night from October 23rd to 24th were an interconnected part of a centrally directed, well-planned armed attack.

The political aim involved is proved, among other things, by the fact that the first attack was launched against the Radio and the official newspaper of the party, which guide public opinion throughout the country. The counter-revolution wanted to deprive the party and the government of the possibility of keeping the people informed.

The diversity of the actions points to a carefully calculated plan.

The plan of the uprising was drawn up with the help of military experts, and the armed actions were directed by persons with military training. The siege of the Radio, which was militarily well-organized (the besiegers occupied all strategically important buildings in the vicinity of the Radio), the procurement of arms and ammunition, as well as the procurement and use of means of transportation all go to prove that the attack was centrally directed.

What Happened in Front of the House of Parliament on October 25th, 1956?

Small and large groups of demonstrators moved along the side streets, headed for the main thoroughfares, on October 25th. That was at the time when Imre Nagy had lifted the curfew without the knowledge and contrary to the wishes of the party leadership and the authorities directing the military operations. A crowd of several thousand gathered in Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Street, and headed towards the House of Parliament. As the crowd passed the Ministry of Agriculture, several shots were fired from the houses nearby at the demonstrators, who allegedly were unarmed. Shots were also fired at the Soviet tanks stationed to protect the House of Parliament. Frightful confusion followed.

The sound of the first shots had hardly died away when the word was passed from mouth to mouth that: "The ÁVO-men have fired on an unarmed crowd!" This rumour played an exceedingly great role in exciting and misleading people.

Many people still asked, as late as December and January, when it was impossible to deny the crimes of the counter-revolutionaries: "But what did the ÁVO do in front of Parliament on October 25th?" Here are the facts!

Report of the Parliament Guard

"There was only a small ÁVO guard unit of about 11 enlisted men and several officers on duty in the House of Parliament prior to October 23rd. We received reinforcements only on the night of October 23rd, when a company of the guard battalion of the Ministry of Defence was sent over. Then we made ready for defence. This force, considering the size of the building and its many entrances, was small. We could not therefore occupy the surrounding buildings, or even comb through them. Yet this would have been very important on October 25th.

"The counter-revolutionaries fired their first shots at the House of Parliament in the afternoon of October 24th. They fired at us from the buildings of the Subway construction on the corner of Akadémia Street and the Kossuth Bridge, and from the fourth floor windows of the Ministry of Works. The counter-revolutionaries fired into the windows of the House of Parliament, and kept Gate No. 1. near the approach to the Kossuth Bridge under fire. This was a small counter-revolutionary group, which surrendered when their fire was returned. The bloody counter-revolutionary provocation began the next day, on October 25th about 11 : 00 o'clock.

"At 10 : 30 we were informed that a crowd of about four or five thousand, carrying national flags, was making its way from the direction of Szabadság Square towards Kossuth Lajos Square via Vécsey Street. People were hurrying to their places of work on foot through the surrounding streets and the square; the No. 2. tram was not running. The overwhelming majority of the demonstrating crowd of men, women and children were probably people with honest intentions who were joined by many of the passers-by; obviously they did not even think that an infamous provocation was being prepared and that several men in the crowd had weapons concealed under their coats.

"We had no information on the aims, intentions and strength of the crowd. No sort of delegation came to the gates. One of our superiors had just then arrived in front of the House of Parliament and, standing beside the commander of the Soviet military unit, he called upon the crowd to disperse immediately. He called their attention to the ban on meetings and demonstrations, and declared that their gathering in front of the building made it appear that they intended to attack the House of Parliament. In reply a few members of the crowd shook their fists and shouted: 'Rascal! Murderous ÁVO!' We watched and waited for further developments. The crowd reached the Soviet tanks standing along the walls of the House of Parliament. Several of them, showing signs of friendship, climbed up onto the tanks and stuck the national colour into the barrels of the guns. The Soviet soldiers returned the friendly gestures, shook hands, and smiled. The crowd however surrounded those Soviet soldiers, who were the most friendly or who stood guard by themselves, and 'peacefully' took away their weapons; or they simply attacked the soldiers locked in the crowd and took away their weapons by force. An unknown man embraced a Soviet soldier from the front in friendship, while another embraced him from the rear, unbuckled his ammunition drum, and pulled his weapon off his shoulder.

"By this time several armed civilians had put in their appearance.

"These events took place within a few minutes. Then, when the confusion was at its height, fire was suddenly opened from the surrounding buildings on the crowd in which the Soviet soldiers had mingled and on the House of Parliament.

"At first, the fire came from a light machine gun and smaller arms on the top of the Ministry of Agriculture. Immediately after that firing began from the building of the Ministry of Works, and from the roof and top storey of the Országház Restaurant. Then two Hungarian tanks, following the demonstrators, fired their cannons: one of them from Ságvári Square in the vicinity of Gate No. 2, and the other from Alkotmány Street, in the vicinity of Gate No. 17.

"Panic and confusion followed in the Kossuth Lajos Square. While the Soviet soldiers opened fire on the buildings mentioned, the two Hungarian tanks disappeared somewhere. The crowd fled or lay down on the pavement at the first shots. Most of the people sought refuge in the nooks and corners of the walls of the House of Parliament. About 150 or 200 persons pushed through Gates 7 and 9, and found safety in the building.

"It is difficult, in such instances, to gauge time, but the shooting must have lasted for about 10 or 12 minutes. The Soviet soldiers ceased firing and several people in the crowd attempted to leave Kossuth Lajos Square. Then the provocators again fired on the crowd, which was answered by heavy firing on the part of the Soviet soldiers at the counter-revolutionaries hidden behind the line of fire. At the time of the firing, it was not possible to determine whether or not the counter-revolutionaries would try to occupy the building.

"Most likely the return fire of the Soviet troops on the surrounding buildings discouraged them in their intention.

"The ÁVO guard in the House of Parliament waited behind locked doors and windows, ready to open fire. We were ready for a direct attack; we knew what had happened at the Radio. But we did not open fire during this entire time.

"Some of our men were outside the gates during the firing, observing the situation. The shots coming from all directions killed one of our men and wounded two others. We picked them up and carried them, together with two wounded civilians, into the building, and administered first-aid. Later ambulances took them all to hospital. After the firing ceased, the crowd was able to leave the square

quietly, including the slightly wounded. People who had sought refuge within the building were likewise permitted to leave unmolested.

"Twenty-two dead were left lying in the Kossuth Lajos Square as a result of the bloody provocation. Most of the dead lay in the lines of fire from the direction of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Works. Four policemen also lost their lives.

"Several Soviet soldiers were killed and many were wounded, indicating that they had been the major targets of the counter-revolutionaries.

"Proof of what has been related about the direction of the shooting can still be seen on the walls of the House of Parliament. The angles of impact prove this. The points of impact of bullets on the roofs and walls of the Ministry of Works, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Institute of the Working Class Movement and the building of the Országház Restaurant similarly prove, in what direction the Soviet soldiers fired. Anybody who knows anything about shooting can see clearly, from the points of impact, that the counter-revolutionaries fired downwards at the crowd from the roofs of buildings surrounding the House of Parliament, with a provocative purpose.

"In contrast to this, the Soviet soldiers protected the crowd from the provocators because the angles of impact clearly prove that they fired from below in an upward direction.

"The ÁVO guard, which was stationed only in the House of Parliament, did not even intervene in the shooting.

"The shooting was obviously a provocation, planned beforehand, and staged by the counter-revolutionaries in order to incite sentiment against the ÁVO. And that is just what happened.

"We in the Parliament guard detachment did not have sufficient forces to occupy the surrounding buildings, although this would have been very necessary. We did not even have enough forces to comb the area, although shots had been fired from the previously mentioned buildings at the Soviet soldiers on guard in front of the House of Parliament on the night of the 24th. We requested the Ministry of Defence several times to search the buildings mentioned, but they did not do this until the 28th.

"There were no ÁVO units in the buildings from which shots were fired at the crowd and the Soviet soldiers. There could not have been any, since the ÁVO never fired on Soviet soldiers and Soviet units never fired on the ÁVO. The shooting engagement in front of the House of Parliament took place between the Soviet tanks

and provocators firing from the surrounding buildings. Moreover, there could not have been ÁVO men in them because, if there had been any, then we, the Parliament ÁVO guard detachment, would most certainly have known about it and had contact with them.

"The counter-revolutionaries firing on the demonstrating crowd fired at us too; we also suffered losses in killed and wounded — this is another reason why they could not have been ÁVO men. We saved the lives of many demonstrators who sought safety in the Parliament building.

"The former members and commanders of the Parliament ÁVO Guard unit:

Lt. Colonel József Vég	Lieutenant József Aranyos
Captain Béla Zrupkó	Lieutenant Mihály Balázs
Captain Ferenc Jámbor	Lieutenant Jenő Montányi
Lieutenant Károly Mazula."	

Notes of an Employee of the Ministry of Agriculture

"News was received on October 25th, 1956, in the Ministry of Agriculture, that a crowd of several hundred people was converging on Kossuth Lajos Square from the direction of the centre of the city. The employees of the Ministry witnessed the following events about half an hour after receiving the news:

"A Tatraplan car, coming from the direction of Nádor Street and Szabadság Square and carrying about 10 passengers on its top and hood, who were waving red-white-and-green flags, led the group consisting of 20 to 30 persons. In about a quarter of an hour several hundred people gathered on the square. They were joined by other groups coming in from Alkotmány Street, and by curious bystanders in the vicinity. Then the demonstration began in an organized form. They were still about 60 feet away from the tanks posted to guard the House of Parliament. Then two tanks and an armoured car approached from the direction of the Margaret Bridge. People in the crowd waved at the tanks. The crew waved back in greeting. This encouraged the crowd, and, led by a man in the uniform of a tram worker, several persons scrambled on the armoured car and the tanks. The tram worker waved his flag from his position on top of the tank. The tanks and the armoured car began to move and turned off Alkotmány Street into Kozma Ferenc Street. Then we saw that the crowd had swarmed over the tanks in front of the House of Parliament. While watching this, we heard two bursts of fire from either a light machine gun or submachine gun. Panic broke

out in the crowd, and part of the people ran in the direction of the Rákóczi statue, towards Nádor Street; another part made for the arcade of the Ministry of Agriculture, while a smaller group sought cover beside the tanks standing in the square. The soldiers in the tanks then began firing at the façade of our ministry and that of the Institute of the Working Class Movement. After the shooting, the news was spread throughout the building of the Ministry that ÁVO men had fired from the Ministry building. Several persons insisted that the shots had come from the balcony of room 391 on the third floor; they supported their allegation by declaring that the barrel of the machine gun was still sticking out through the bars of the railing. Mátyás Szőke and Mihály Kökény, Deputy Ministers, and József Seregély and Károly Rosta volunteered to investigate and clear up the matter. They could not get into the room; the iron grilled door was locked and the key was deposited in a metal box kept in the doorman's office of the ministry. We brought up the metal box from the doorman's office, opened the door and found the place empty. The object taken for a machine gun barrel turned out to be a water drain pipe and a flagpole, both of which are still there.

"Following this, every room in the ministry, including the attic, was searched. And, sure enough, the door leading to the attic was found unlocked, although it had always been kept locked. It is possible that strangers had without the knowledge of the employees of the ministry been in the attic or on the roof. The news also spread that ÁVO men were stationed in the building.

"It was established, furthermore, that ÁVO soldiers were not in our building. There were several hundred employees in the ministry. It is impossible to imagine that ÁVO men could have actually been in the building without anyone seeing them.

Béla Lukács
an employee of the Ministry of
Agriculture."

The concurring testimonies of eyewitnesses indicate that, on October 25th, the same kind of counter-revolutionary provocation was staged on Kossuth Lajos Square as was carried out a day and a half earlier in front of the Radio.

First crowds of young people and passers-by were drawn together in the main streets of the town, and then they were led to the scene of the provocation, shouting "national" slogans.

Some of the counter-revolutionaries, concealing weapons under their coats, mingled with the peaceful demonstrators. Another

group of counter-revolutionaries took up their firing positions beforehand in the buildings surrounding the square. Then the counter-revolutionaries attacked and attempted to disarm the guard sent to protect the building. They fired into the crowd from ambush, and then spread the lie that "ÁVO men are shooting down the people; the ÁVO men are murderers!"

The provocation in front of Parliament succeeded to the extent that 22 civilians and several Soviet soldiers were killed, while many were wounded; then by magnifying the numbers of the dead and wounded, and blaming the ÁVO for what had happened, a pogrom against the state security police was instigated. But the action failed to the extent that the siege of the House of Parliament, which was probably planned, did not take place. (After the occupation of the Radio, broadcasts were made from the House of Parliament.) The provocators' plans were thwarted by the fact that the Soviet tanks fired back at the firing positions of the provocators, and they were compelled to abandon their firing posts.

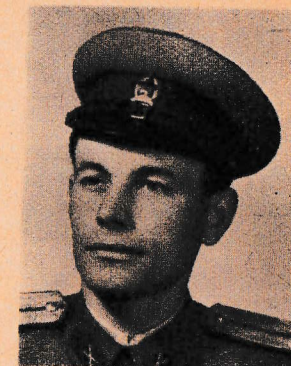
In the second volume of "The Counter-revolutionary Forces in the October Events in Hungary," we gave brief biographical sketches of 15 victims of the counter-revolution: Imre Mező, József Kalamár, András Bordás, László Kovács, Sándor Sziklai, Lajos Kiss, János Asztalos, József Papp, Lajos Szabó, Kálmán Turner, Mihály Bene, Péter Lakatos, István Sarkadi, Károly Jakab and Pál Fodor. In the following pages we list some further 200 victims of the counter-revolutionary terror. The majority of them were the children of working class or peasant parents. Their pure lives and their martyrdom not only accuse their murderers but also those who incited them to these murders, those who clasped hands with the murderers and proclaimed them "freedom fighters."

We shall revere the memory of these victims of the counter-revolution, who died for the Hungarian people's power and whose lot teaches us, what a sea of blood would have drenched our country's soil, had not the boundless depredations of the counter-revolution been put an end to on November 4th.

János Bagi

ÁVO first lieutenant, 29 years old

Until the liberation of the country, shared — like his parents — the bitter lot of a farm hand. In 1949 he was called up for military service and assigned to the internal security forces, later becoming an officer. At the time of the 1956 flood, performed self-sacrificing rescue work and was decorated for it. Was killed at dawn on October 24th, 1956, defending the Radio building.



Ferenc Bata

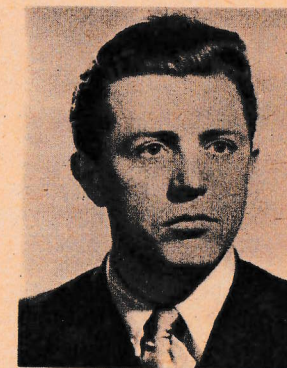
ÁVO lance corporal, 23 years old

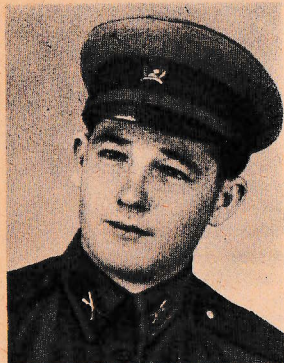
Before entering military service, was a pattern maker at the Steel Casting and Tube Factory. During his enlistment, was assigned to the internal security forces. On October 30th, the counter-revolutionaries brutally murdered him on Republic Square.

Miklós Biksza

district party secretary, 32 years old

A native of Újpest, first worked as an electrician. Later became a party worker. Recently, worked as the Dabas district secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. On December 10, he arrived in Gyón to assist the local council in regaining its rights, when he was murdered by the counter-revolutionary terrorists.

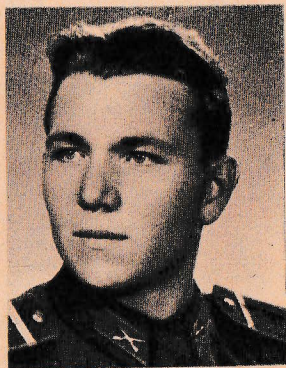




László Csivincsik

ÁVO conscript, 23 years old

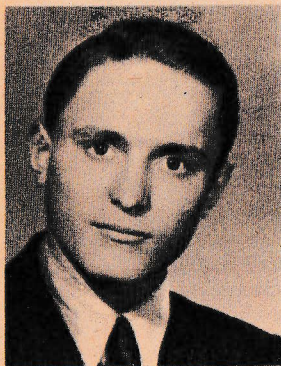
The son of poor peasants. Worked in a cement factory and later in the Railway Points Factory of Gyöngyös, where he was called up for military service. Mortally wounded on Széna Square.



József Czobor

police corporal, 24 years old

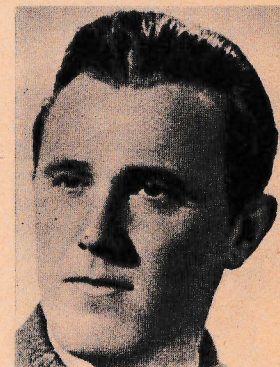
The son of a working-class family in Debrecen. Worked as an unskilled labourer in the Győr Wagon Factory. Later became a policeman. Married in 1956. Killed in front of the House of Parliament on October 25th.



Attila Eördögh

ÁVO conscript, 21 years old

His father works in the Diósgyőr Ironworks. After graduating from the Technical Secondary School of Metallurgy, Attila worked in the Dunapentele Iron Works. Was called up for military service in 1955. In the rescue work at the time of the 1956 Danube flood, he distinguished himself through his heroism. He was one of the first to lose his life from the bullets of the counter-revolutionaries.



József Fehér

ÁVO major, 34 years old

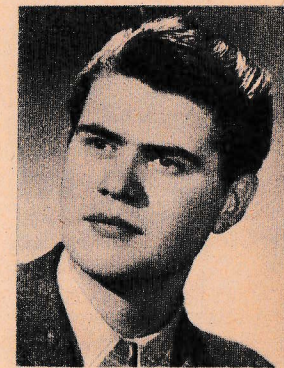
The son of poor peasants of Tokaj. Until 1943, worked as an unskilled labourer. Graduated from a school for police officers of the police. On October 23rd fought in defence of the Radio Building. After it was occupied on the morning of the 24th, the counter-revolutionaries shot him.



László Fekete

police sergeant-major, 26 years old

The son of a poor peasant family. Joined the police forces in 1953. As a non-party officer, he was one of the best among the members of the No. 8 officers' patrol. He was killed on October 25th in front of the House of Parliament.



Imre Gajdán

ÁVO conscript, 21 years old

His father was a destitute peasant who received some twelve acres of land after the liberation. Imre Gajdán worked as a welder in the Óbuda Shipyard. On October 30th, the counter-revolutionary slayers murdered him and mutilated his body on Republic Square.



Ferenc Gubis

police corporal, 25 years old

The son of peasant day-labourers. Gubics grew up — with his five brothers and sisters — in extreme poverty. Joined the police forces in 1955. Was struck down by bullets of the counter-revolutionaries in front of the printing office of Szabad Nép.

György Gyenes

frontier guard first lieutenant, 28 years old

Came from a destitute peasant family of seven children in Törökszentmiklós. When called up for military service, was assigned to the frontier guards where he was well liked by everyone. The young frontier guard officer was tortured to death with a flagpole by the counter-revolutionaries, while engaged in performing his duty.



József Halmi

middle peasant, 51 years old

Farmed 28 acres of land in Mikebuda. On November 1st, 1956, János Fekete, a criminal with a long prison record, forced his way into Halmi's house, and, shouting: "the final hour of the supporters of Communism has struck", shot him to death.

Éva Kállai

employee of the Budapest Party Committee, 39 years old

Began to take an active part in the working class movement in 1938 at the age of 20. Even in the days of illegality, she was one of the party's most fearless fighters. Éva Kállai was highly cultured and politically well informed. Imprisoned by the fascists in 1943, she was one of those who inspired her fellow-prisoners with her cheerful optimism. After the occupation of the Party Committee headquarters on Republic Square, she suffered fatal injuries when she threw herself from the second storey of the building to keep from falling alive into the hands of the terrorists.



András Kiss

police sergeant, 22 years old

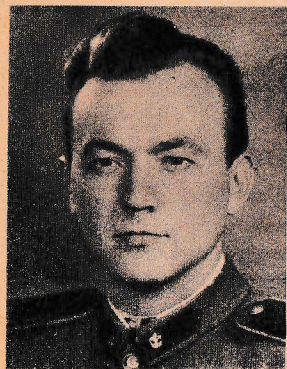
The son of farm hands, who received land after the country's liberation. Joined the police force in 1955. Heroically rescued victims of the 1955 Danube flood. Was on his way to his post of duty when he was struck down by a murderer's bullet fired from the Kilián Barracks on Üllői Road.

László Kókai

ÁVO lance corporal, 23 years old

The son of a poor peasant family in Jászágó, was called up for military service in 1953 and assigned to the state security forces. Received a decoration for his rescue work during the Danube flood. Was assassinated by the counter-revolutionaries attacking the Budapest Party Committee headquarters.





Géza Kovács

ÁVO captain, 30 years old

The son of poor peasants, Kovács worked in the Bükk hills as a forestry labourer, cutting railway sleepers. In 1948, he graduated from the Kossuth Academy and was commissioned an officer.

Ferenc Kristó

ÁVO major, 37 years old

The son of a railway worker. After completing his primary school studies, Kristó became an electrician's apprentice at the Asztra Works in Brassó. In 1940, he went to work in the Gamma Factory. He became a prisoner of the Soviet forces in 1945. When he returned home, he became a member of the state security forces. A counter-revolutionary gang attacked and killed him on November 6th.



Béla Kupper

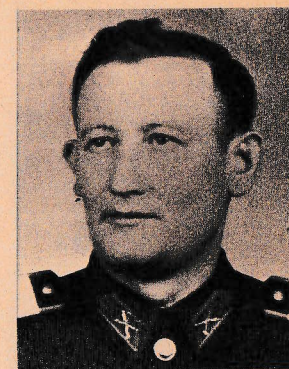
manager of a state enterprise, 40 years old

Born in Léva. Took part in the illegal Communist movement in his youth. Recent manager of the Sixth District General Repair Enterprise in Budapest. On October 27th, Béla Kupper was talking to workers in front of Gate No. 1 of the Csepel factory when a depraved bandit killed the unarmed man with a burst of machine-gun fire.

Lázár Flórián

police sergeant-major, 40 years old

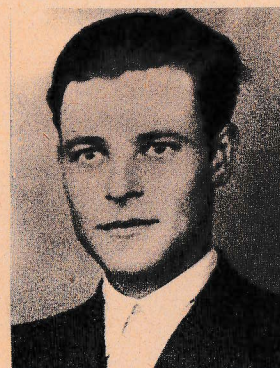
Began as a factory worker. Joined the police forces at the time of the liberation. A counter-revolutionary gang first sought him at his home and, later towards evening, when he was on his way to report to his post of duty, the gang shot him.



László Lengyel

co-operative farm chairman, 34 years old

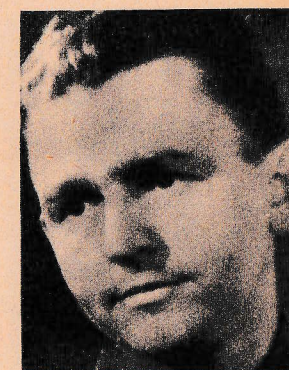
Lengyel was a day-labourer on the Offner estate until the liberation. In 1951 he was one of the foundation members of the "New Life" co-operative farm in Bugyi. In 1954, he was elected chairman of the co-operative farm. He was well liked in the village. Kulak counter-revolutionaries murdered him.



László Magyar

ÁVO major, 31 years old

His father was a butcher's assistant, but his parents died early. From the age of two, Magyar was an orphan. When he was 12, he became a boot-maker's apprentice. He joined the party in 1945 and was an active party worker from then on. In 1949, he was assigned to the frontier guards, then after graduating from the Petőfi Academy, he was transferred to the state security forces. The counter-revolutionaries killed him in the battle at the Radio Building.





László Lukács

army colonel, 36 years old

In 1945, participated in the fighting against fascism on German soil as a member of the reorganized Hungarian army. Prior to the outbreak of the counter-revolution, was deputy commander of the Petőfi Military Political Academy. He met his death in the fighting at the Radio Building.

György Matuzsa

frontier guard first lieutenant, 33 years old

Born of an agrarian proletarian family. Matuzsa began to earn his own living while still a child. He was fatally wounded on Republic Square by the counter-revolutionaries and died after he was taken to hospital.



Pál Molnár

AVO first lieutenant, 31 years old

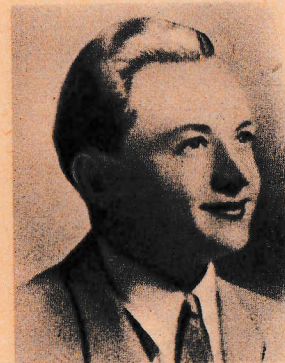
The son of a working-class family, Molnár joined the police force in 1945. The counter-revolutionaries killed him on the morning of October 24th at the Radio Building.



József A. Nagy

police sergeant-major, chauffeur, 32 years old

Worked in his youth as a railway surfaceman for the Hungarian State Railways. Joined the police forces as a chauffeur in 1945. Shot to death on October 30th while hauling food.



Károly Nagy

AVO sub-lieutenant, 28 years old

The son of a worker in Csepel. On October 27th the counter-revolutionaries wounded him seriously on Széna Square. Then the savage killers fired a fatal burst into the body of the already unconscious man.

József Neményi

council clerk, 51 years old

A veteran communist who spent eight years in Horthy's prisons. Recently in charge of trade at the Kiskunmajsza local council. During the counter-revolutionary reign of terror, the murderers dragged him from his house to the village council hall and beat him to death with a flag pole.





Elemér Péter

department head in the Communications Building Enterprise, 45 years old

One of 13 children. Went to work in the Hoffherr Factory, in 1927, as a fitter's apprentice. Assigned to the Communications Building Enterprise in 1954. Found murdered in the building of the enterprise on October 30th.

Ferenc Polonyi

factory manager, 58 years old

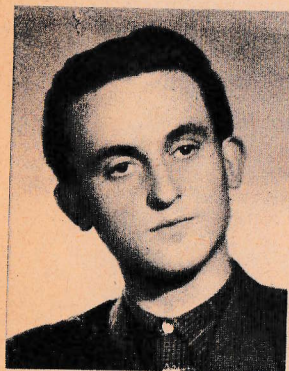
The son of working-class parents, worked as a precision mechanic. Was active in the anti-militarist movement during the First World War. Later became a member of the Soldiers' Council. Recently, worked at the Communications Measuring Instruments Factory. At the end of October, this unarmed man was shot near the Kilián Barracks and died while being taken to hospital.



Zoltán Rigó

ÁVO conscript, 21 years old

Born in Hejőcsaba in 1935. Lost his father in the Second World War. After he was called up for military service, Rigó was assigned to the state security forces. He performed rescue work at the time of the Danube flood. He was killed in the Seventh District of Budapest.



Gábor Sike

police sergeant, 29 years old

The son of poor peasants in Jászapáti. Joined the police forces in 1953. Sike met his death from the shots of the counter-revolutionaries at his post of duty near the Kerepesi Cemetery in Budapest.

László Schulz

hairdresser, 40 years old

While still a hairdresser's apprentice, Schulz joined the young workers' movement. He learned about the horrors of fascism when he was deported to the Mauthausen concentration camp. Recently, he worked in the hair-dressing shop of the Party Committee headquarters at Republic Square. During the siege of the Party Building, he tended the wounded. The counter-revolutionaries murdered him after they occupied the building.



József Vági

frontier-guard captain, 27 years old

In 1950, as an enlisted soldier, Vági was assigned to the frontier guards. After graduating from officers' training school, he was stationed in Mosonmagyaróvár, where he also became a member of the municipal council. The local counter-revolutionaries and those infiltrating from Austria attacked the barracks and dragged Captain Vági to the council building, where they beat him and hurled him out of the window. They trampled the seriously injured officer to death and drew a five-pointed star on his chest with his own blood.





László Zábó
tailor, 48 years old

Took part in the working-class movement since 1929. Horthy's police persecuted him, and he spent long years in fascist prisons. After 1945, Zábó worked in the garment industry. On October 25th, armed counter-revolutionaries attacked and fatally wounded him.

Benjamin Zeleszkó

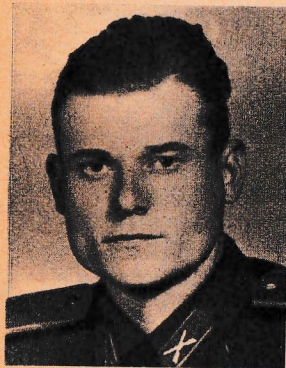
police first lieutenant, 39 years old

His parents were agricultural servants on the Land Credit Bank Estate in Solt. In 1945, Zeleszkó organized the democratic police force in Solt, of which he became police commissioner. The counter-revolutionaries of Baja killed the unarmed officer with a burst of shots fired from ambush.



János Zsiros
police sergeant, 28 years old

Orphaned since early childhood. Joined the police force in 1954. Zsiros served as a policeman in Oroszlány, where he was struck down by a murderous bullet. His killers turned his pockets inside out and robbed him of his money.



Other victims of the counter-revolutionary terror were:

György Albert	ÁVO lance corporal	1935	Braila
Pál Albert	army corporal		Karancslapujtó
Gyula Antal	sergeant major	1913	Miskolc
János Bak	ÁVO conscript		Apagy
János Balassa	ÁVO first lieutenant	1926	Biharkeresztes
Gyula Balkovich	army captain	1929	Budapest
Imre G. Balogh	police sergeant-major	1925	Karcag
Mihály Bana	ÁVO conscript	1935	Sárospatak
András Bálint	ÁVO conscript	1933	Budapest
József Benedek	police sergeant-major	1922	Kisbácson
Sándor Berki	ÁVO lieutenant	1930	Budapest*
János Bertalan	mining machine fitter		Inota
Zoltán Béres	police sergeant-major	1928	Kispest
László Biró	tank corps lance corporal	1934	Aszód
Lajos Bódi	army lieutenant	1930	Szamosangyalos
Imre Bojti	army major	1909	Karcag
Károly Borbély	ÁVO first lieutenant	1930	Budapest*
András Borgola	communications corporal	1934	Mezőberény
Imre Bózvári	frontier guard lance corporal	1934	Újpest
Ferenc Brodorits	ÁVO captain	1919	Budapest*
László Cink	ÁVO lieutenant	1932	Vértessomló
Károly Czinó	tank corps corporal	1935	Diósgyőr
Gábor Cserna	tank corps sergeant	1933	Lőrinc
Sándor Csépe	ÁVO lieutenant	1931	Nagylóc
György Csikós	ÁVO first lieutenant	1932	Encs
István Csontos	council official		Miskolc

István Csutár, Jr. Imre Csuvár	artillery student frontier guard lieutenant	1935 1928	Szeged Budapest*
Gyula Dancinger Lajos Daru	tank corps corporal army captain	1934 1911	Aszód* Füzesgyarmat
László Egervári László Elek	frontier guard ÁVO conscript	1935 1934	Soroksár Sárospatak
Barnabás Faragó Sándor Farkas József Fekete Zoltán Földesi	main gateman police sergeant ÁVO sub-lieutenant army first lieutenant	1933	Miskolc Szentés Jászszentlászló
Imre Flórián	agricultural machine station brigade leader	1929	Orosháza
Ferenc Frank Lajos Freimann Mihály Füleki	ÁVO conscript commercial traveller police sergeant	1935 1931	Bajna Vencsellő Budapest Mezőtúr
József Gavló	co-operative farm party secretary, brigade leader		Kakucs
György Gáspár	anti-aircraft defence sergeant	1935	Budapest
Gyula Gáti	ÁVO lieutenant colonel	1906	Tószeg
Imre Gáti	ÁVO captain	1922	Tószeg
Miklós Gulyás	anti-aircraft defence lieutenant	1935	Budapest
Pál Gyapjas	ÁVO lieutenant	1919	Pálmonostor
László Gyenis	artillery student	1934	Pécs
Ede Gyöngyösi	artillery student	1937	Vulkán
László Győre	parish co-operative farm organizer		Nagykáta
Sándor Gyurgyovics	ÁVO conscript	1935	Velence
László Habling	police sergeant- major	1931	Szellő
István Hajdu	police lance corporal	1933	Hajduböszörmény
Imre Hajós	university student		Budapest
Tibor Herczeg	army officer	1922	Budapest
László Hideg	tank corps corporal	1934	Aszód*
László Hódos	ÁVO captain	1924	Budapest*
László Hoós	lieutenant	1928	Kőszeg
Ferenc Horning	public prosecutor	1922	Nagybocskó
József Horváth	ÁVO lieutenant	1918	Kalocsa

László Horváth Zoltán Horváth	tank corps man ÁVO first lieutenant	1935	Aszód*
Károly Hravati	communications sergeant	1931 1935	Budapest Vecsés
István Izsó	ÁVO sergeant- major	1920	Nagysáp
József Jámbrich Szilárd Jobbágy	ÁVO captain frontier guard lance corporal	1926 1933	Gerendás Kolozsvár
Imre Jovári	police first lieutenant	1914	Székesfehérvár
József Juhász Miklós Jurinovic Béla Jurkovic	ÁVO lieutenant infantry captain ÁVO conscript	1925 1930 1933	Alsószuha Bácsalmás Csév
Gyula Kancsár	police company sergeant-major	1920	Bugyi
István Karácsonyi	police sergeant- major	1919	Taksony
Pál Kardos	police sergeant	1930	Székesfehérvár
Gyula Katona	ÁVO conscript	1934	Cegléd
Ede Kádas	artillery student	1934	Budapest
Mihály Kállai	ÁVO conscript	1935	Kiskunfélegyháza
István Kálmán	ÁVO sergeant	1933	Iharosberény
István Kárpáti	ÁVO conscript	1935	Budapest
Dániel Kiliti	frontier guard corporal	1935	Litér
Gyula Kiss Lajos Kiss	ÁVO major MDP county committee employee	1928	Kiskunmajsa
Tibor Klimits	captain	1924	Veszprém Budapest
József Kolár	police first lieutenant	1905	Enyicke
István Kollár	unskilled labourer	1930	Kelebia
Imre Koncz	ÁVO corporal	1934	Érd
Imre Kovács, Jr.	ÁVO conscript	1935	Páty
István H. Kovács	ÁVO captain	1920	Hanta
Rudolf Rezső Kovács	sugar refinery shop foreman		Kaposvár
János Kuba	ÁVO sergeant	1933	Tiszakécske
Zoltán Kucsera	ÁVO conscript	1935	Ózd
Sándor Kriston	miner		Ózd
János Ladányi	ÁVO lieutenant	1927	Budapest*
György Lajos	army lieutenant	1931	Csalipuszta

András Lajtai	ÁVO sergeant-major	1907	Budapest*
György Lóránd	ÁVO captain	1925	Budapest*
Ferenc Losonczi	ÁVO first lieutenant	1929	Budapest*
István Lőrincz	tank corps captain	1927	Becsehely
József Lőrincz	factory worker		Ózd
Gerzson Matolcsi	Michurin co-operative farm party secretary		Vasmegyer
Antal Mátai	ÁVO conscript	1935	Lengyel
Ervin Menyhárt	police sub-lieutenant	1929	Győr
István Mészáros	ÁVO lance corporal	1934	Ceglédcsemő
József Modos	frontier guard	1935	Sarod
István Mohai	ÁVO captain	1922	Nagydorog
Béla Molnár	ÁVO sergeant	1934	Diósgyőr
János Murinai	ÁVO first lieutenant	1926	Budapest
Dr. István László Nagy	lawyer	1898	Nagykároly
István Nagy	caster		Szirmabesenyő
János Nagy	ÁVO conscript	1933	Vásárosbéc
János Nagy	ÁVO first lieutenant	1925	Sárkeresztur
Zsigmond Cs. Nagy	police captain	1913	Mezőtúr
Vilmos Nagy	police captain	1927	Budapest
László Zs. Nagy	ÁVO corporal	1934	Debrecen
József Navratik	army lance corporal		Kistarcsa
István Nemesvári	infantry sergeant		Komárom
István Ország	ÁVO conscript	1933	Erdőbénye
Sándor Oprendek	army major	1919	Miskolc
Tibor Ötvös	frontier guard lance corporal	1935	Fót
Vilmos Pallagi	agricultural worker		Bajna
Mihály Patai	army lieutenant	1930	Békéscsaba
Antal Pákozdi	worker in the Danuvia factory	1909	Kiskunhalas
József Pencinger	chairman of the Pioneer co-operative farm		Iharosberény
József Péter	ÁVO conscript	1935	Apagy
István Pintér	frontier guard lieutenant	1933	Komárom

János Prigli	local council official	1935	Siófok
Ignác Punyi	ÁVO conscript	1935	Kunszállás
József Raduly	ÁVO captain	1926	Miskolc
Imre Raszler	police corporal	1933	Kapuvár
Jenő Rác	captain (retired)	1899	Budapest
Lajos Rác	ÁVO lieutenant	1926	Pilisszentiván
József Rác	captain, student at the Petöfi Academy	1922	Belsővöcs
György Róder	department head	1928	Budapest
János Rumi	ÁVO lieutenant	1913	Budapest*
István Sarkadi	group leader, party secretary		Ózd
János Strelec	ÁVO lieutenant	1925	Miskolc*
Béla Svác	machine fitter		Piliscsév
Albert Scheirich	ÁVO conscript	1934	Nyergesújfalu
Miklós Schmierer	army lieutenant	1932	Székesfehérvár
József Stefkó	frontier guard first lieutenant	1933	Pócspetri
Ferenc Szabó	ÁVO conscript	1933	Doba
Miklós Szabó	artillery student	1936	Diósgyőr
Zoltán Szabó	ÁVO sub-lieutenant	1926	Füzesgyarmat
István Szanyi Nagy	ÁVO corporal	1934	Budapest
József Szalai	chauffeur	1926	Nagysimony
Antal Szeidemann	foreman		Tata
Zoltán Szemerkei	police lieutenant	1920	Komárom*
Róbert Szepesi	ÁVO conscript	1934	Budapest
Ferenc Székely	chief accountant of a co-operative farm		Budapest—Bajna
Gyula Szőke	tank corps corporal	1935	Budapest
János Telenkó	tank crew corporal		Csobád
Béla Tóth	ÁVO lieutenant	1932	Rábabogozsló
Ferenc Tóth	ÁVO captain	1921	Polgár
János Tóth	ÁVO sergeant-major	1929	Dombrád
József Tömpe	ÁVO lieutenant	1924	Budapest*
József Tózsér	council employee of Budapest District XII	1914	Nagyfüged
Lajos Varga	ÁVO lieutenant	1930	Molnaszecső
Ernö Vass	army major, partisan	1922	Gegelyi
Károly Vass	ÁVO conscript	1934	Konyár

József Vaszil	ÁVO lance corporal	1934	Révleányvár
Imre Vári	ÁVO lieutenant	1928	Budapest*
György Várkonyi	ÁVO lieutenant	1933	Budapest
Gyula Várkonyi	ÁVO lieutenant	1932	Budapest*
Kálmán Véghelyi	ÁVO sergeant	1927	Budapest*
József Vén	infantry sergeant	1935	Óregcsertő
István Verner	ÁVO conscript	1933	Szügy
György Zsoldos	manager of a shop unit		Velence

The asterisks indicate the last post of duty, otherwise the place of birth is given.

Appendix I.

REPORT

on the Number of Persons Imprisoned by the Counter-revolutionaries

Between October 23rd and November 3rd the counter-revolutionaries abducted numerous Communists, local council and party workers, army officers and employees of the Ministry of the Interior. We are unable to give precise figures on the arrests because data could be compiled only as to county and municipal jails, and district, town and county police headquarters. At these places there were 2,829 persons in the custody of the counter-revolutionaries. There are no accurate figures on the arrests made at the concentration centres of the counter-revolution (Práter Street, Corvin Alley, Kilián Barracks, Széna Square, Maros Street, Péterfi Sándor Street, Republic Square), the village councils and other places:

Budapest Fő St. prison	400 persons, of whom	15 were civilians
„ Kozma St. (concentration) prison	200	8
„ Markó St. prison	192	9
„ Central police station	367	80
Baranya county	161	21
Bács-Kiskun county	118	3
Békés county	139	65
Borsod county	84	1
Csongrád county	82	14
Fejér county	100	33
Győr-Sopron county	81	34
Hajdu-Bihar county	53	18
Heves county	78	27
Komárom county	34	5
Nógrád county	38	23

Pest county (not including Budapest)	129	persons,	of whom	67	were	civilians
Somogy county	124	"	"	48	"	"
Szabolcs-Szatmár county	4	"	"	3	"	"
Szolnok county	91	"	"	11	"	"
Tolna county	62	"	"	10	"	"
Vas county	29	"	"	12	"	"
Veszprém county	171	"	"	35	"	"
Zala county	92	"	"	16	"	"
Sum total :	2,829	persons,	of whom	558	were	civilians

Part of those arrested had already been informed that they had been condemned to death and their mass executions were planned for November 6th in Budapest. That was when it was planned to stage a public burial of the counter-revolutionaries who had fallen in the fighting, on which occasion József Mindszenty was to deliver a funeral oration. They wanted to give the funeral a provocative character and then launch a large-scale bloody reign of terror. The Soviet troops liberated those imprisoned by the counter-revolutionaries.

Injuries and Deaths Resulting from the October 23rd and Subsequent Events

(From the report of the Central Statistical Bureau)

In connection with the October 23rd and subsequent events, there were about 2,700 deaths throughout the country; 2,195 of these were officially registered, the Statistical Bureau received notice of 307 deaths on the basis of burials and exhumations as well as declarations; apart from these, the number of still unexhumed and undeclared deaths may be put at about 100-150.

Among the deaths resulting from the October and subsequent events, 1,945 (78 per cent of all such deaths) occurred in Budapest.

Of all the persons who died in Budapest, 85 per cent were residents of Budapest, the rest had their homes in the provinces.

From October 23rd to the end of the year, the state health service treated nearly 20,000 persons who were injured as the result of the fighting. Of the injured persons receiving treatment, 61 per cent were hospitalized, and 8 per cent of the hospitalized persons died.

Appendix II.

Translation of the Facsimile Reproduced

DECLARATION

In the name of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic I acknowledge and confirm the formation on this day of the preparatory committee of the Revolutionary Armed Forces Committee, composed of the delegates of the units which participated in the revolutionary struggles, representatives of the Army and Police Forces and the representatives of the workers' and youth armed units now in process of formation. The Revolutionary Armed Forces Committee shall organize the new armed forces from units which participated in the revolutionary struggles, formations of the Army and the Police Forces and units of workers and youth. With their help it shall also re-establish the internal peace of our Fatherland and the conditions for carrying out the government programme announced on the 28th and the 30th October.

The Revolutionary Armed Forces Committee shall function until the inauguration of the new government to be brought into existence by a general, secret election.

Budapest, October 30th, 1956

IMRE NAGY

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic

MEMORANDUM

The Representatives of the Social Democratic Party submit to the Prime Minister their desire that they may again be permitted to take possession of their old party building at No. 4 Conti Street, together with the printing establishment, editorial offices and the daily newspaper *Népszava* therein.

In response to the desire of the Prime Minister that the party participate in the coalition government, the representatives of the Social Democratic Party declared that they would give their answer regarding this after the formation of the party.

Budapest, October 30th, 1956

I. N.

The Hungarian National Government has ascertained that the proceedings begun in 1948 against Cardinal Prince Primate József Mindszenty were without any legal foundation and that the accusations raised against him by the regime of the period were groundless. On the basis of the above the Hungarian National Government declares that measures taken against Prince Primate Mindszenty, depriving him of his civil rights, are invalid, and the Prince Primate may consequently exercise all his civic and church rights without restrictions.

IMRE NAGY

Prime Minister

THE PARTY OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES
HAS BEEN FORMED

The constituent assembly of the Party of Hungarian Revolutionaries was held on Wednesday morning on Rákóczi Square. The keynote speaker of the meeting, István Illés, demanded the formation of a government headed by József Mindszenty. He demanded that the portfolio of the Minister of the Interior be given to Lieutenant-Colonel *Kopácsi* and the portfolio of the Minister of Defence to Colonel *Maléter*, the commander of the insurgents at the Kilián Barracks.

The programme would be the establishment of a neutral Hungary similar to Austria.

Hungarian National Government
Council of Ministers,

B u d a p e s t

Honoured Council of Ministers!

The Hungarian Independence Party crushed by the Rákosi tyranny in 1947 was reconstituted on October 31st, 1956. The commissioned board of managers is as follows:

Commissioned Chairman: Tibor Hornyák
Vice-Chairman: József Gémes, Ferenc Bozzai
Organizing Secretary: György Fazekas
Office Manager: Tivadar Hulica
Treasurer: Simon Fodor

Our programme, announced at the time of the 1947 elections, could not be carried out by us for reasons beyond our control. There is now a new opportunity for us not only to continue the formerly shattered programme of our militant party but also to realize it. The brief basic principles underlying our aims — which we shall carry out in the event of victory — are the following:

1. The consolidation and guarantee of a creative Hungarian peace, the declaration of Hungary's internationally recognized independence.
2. Through forgiveness on the part of Christian Hungarian souls, the restoration of internal social peace and order, the rebuilding of the country and the insurance of greater spiritual and material happiness.
3. Guarantee of the freedom of speech, press, assembly, of Christian culture and work for every Hungarian citizen, irrespective of party, race, sex or religious condition.
4. *The inviolability of private property.*
5. The reduction of taxes to a minimum level indispensably necessary in the public interest, but reasonable and not exceeding the fiscal capacity of the individual.
6. *The realization of a pure, eternal and Hungarian bourgeois democracy.*
Budapest, Nov. 1st. 1956.

HUNGARIAN INDEPENDENCE PARTY ORGANIZATION

József Gémes

Bp., IV., Rozi Károly Street 7.

Ferenc Bozzai

TIBOR HORNYÁK

Vice-Chairmen

Chairman