

# SOURCES

## Chapter 1: The Engine Room

1. Columbia University Oral History Project interview (CUOHP) 526, Ladislav (László) Szolnoki, twenty-eight-year-old unmarried historian, “a highly intelligent man.”
2. Interview of Paul Mathias, Paris, June 1978.

## Chapter 2: Liberation

1. Imre Nagy, Speech at Commemoration Session of Parliament held at Debrecen, December 21, 1954; broadcast by Budapest home service, December 21, 1954, at five fifty p.m.
2. Matthias Annabring: *Der Freiheitskampf in Ungarn* (Stuttgart, Aalen, 1957), pages 19ff.
3. H54M, one of a series of Hungarians subjected to expert interview at Cornell University; the H-series reports used here are in the files of Dr. Richard M. Stephenson at Rutgers University, Department of Sociology.
4. H35M, a fifty-three-year-old motor engineer with a Ph.D. in political science.
5. H75M, a journalist on the Party newspaper *Free People* (*Szabad Nép*).
6. H41F, Mrs. Bondor, aged thirty-seven, questioned on March 28, 1957; her husband H36M was also a source.

### Chapter 3: Rákosi

1. In the John Foster Dulles papers at Princeton University is a paper entitled, "What the United States might lose if the Yalta, Potsdam and other Agreements were denounced."
2. Julius (Gyula) Háy was interviewed at Ascona, Switzerland, in August 1974; and see his memoirs, *Geboren 1900* (Hamburg, 1971), page 297.
3. H75M.

### Chapter 4: Salami Tactics

1. On February 29, 1952, Matthias (Mátyás) Rákosi delivered a famous lecture to an Indoctrination Course of the Hungarian Workers' Party called "The Road of our People's Democracy." It was published in *Social Review (Társadalmi Szemle)*, Budapest, February-March 1952, pages 114-150. An English translation will be found in the records of Charles Bohlen, 1942-1952, Box 7, National Archives and Records Service (NARS), Washington, Record Group (RG) 59. A summary is in State Department intelligence report 5882.
2. Ibid.
3. Joseph (József) Révai, article in *Társadalmi Szemle*, Budapest, March-April 1949.
4. CUOHP, 227, Bishop János Ödön Péterfalvy, forty-five-year-old Greek Orthodox bishop.
5. See Note 1.
6. Magyar Közösség, an underground organisation.
7. CUOHP, 602, a fifty-eight-year-old Smallholder member of Parliament, 1945-1946.
8. Author's interviews of Béla Szász, a fellow student of Rajk, London, August 1974 and March 1978; and of Mrs. Julia Rajk, Budapest, May 1980.
9. CUOHP, 515, Ernest (Ernö) Farnadi, who was district police chief of Győr under the Social Democrats, November 1945 to November 1947.

10. MDP, Magyar Dolgozók Pártja (Hungarian Workers' Party).

### Chapter 5: The High Profile

1. H74M.
2. H71M, editor of *Revolutionary Youth* (*Forralmi Ifjúság*) newspaper during the uprising.
3. Jay Schulman, sociologist, speaking at a seminar on April 12, 1957.
4. CUOHP, 242, Joseph (József) Fazekas, forty-three-year-old engineer.
5. H13M, and CUOHP, 213, twenty-two-year-old student.
6. In Hungarian, *jó megértők*.
7. H38M, a paper-cutter of thirty-four. His view was supported by H34M, a thirty-three-year-old Jewish lawyer interviewed in March 1957.
8. H43M.
9. H24M.

### Chapter 6: Takeover

1. General Béla Király, "Hungary's Army under the Soviets," in *East Europe*, 3/1958, pages 3-14.
2. Speech, February 29, 1952.
3. H74M.
4. Speech, February 29, 1952.
5. Háy, *Geboren 1900*, page 133.
6. Interview of Frigyes Rubin, June 1978; and of Msgr. Béla Ispánky, January 1975, who encountered Gábor Péter in prison.
7. Decree 4353, published in the *Hungarian Gazette* (*Magyar Közlöny*).
8. H64M, a sixteen-year-old schoolboy, Louis (Lajos) Hévézi.
9. H44M, George (György) Bastomov, bus driver.
10. Frederick T. Merrill, Special Assistant, US legation in Budapest, confidential biographical data, November 22, 1945: "Mindszenty, József" (National Archives, Washington (NARS), Record Group 59, Box 28: Records of the Personal Representative to Pope Pius XII).

11. That they were forged was revealed later by the ÁVO's master counterfeiter, Ladislás (László) Sulner, who fled to the West.
12. Hoover (acting secretary) to Wailes, tel. 241, November 16, 1956; and cf. *World Telegram and Sun*, New York, September 26, 1955.

## Chapter 7: The Tortured Silence

1. Speech, February 29, 1952.
2. Imre Nagy's memoirs were first published on March 15, 1957, in England by Ladislás (László) Kardos, who described himself as their rescuer. Nagy had begun writing in the summer of 1955, had completed the 115,000 words in the summer of 1956 and had given the document to Kardos for his opinion before submitting it to the Central Committee. The uprising intervened, however. According to testimony given on June 11, 1957, at the trial of Imre Nagy, by a former driver at the legation and no doubt an ÁVH officer, Kardos hoped to transmit the "subversive" writings to the West; Kardos had prevailed upon one Árpád Göncz to suggest to his friend the chauffeur that a deal be struck with Mr. Cope of the British legation, whereby Kardos would be spirited out of the country in return for the documents. Göncz told the chauffeur in May 1957 that Kardos had been arrested. The manuscript was published in four languages (see Bibliography for details). It was accepted as authentic by the Hungarian journal *Társadalmi Szemle*, December 11, 1957, and extracts were published in the West by émigré newspapers like *Nemzetör*, in Munich, and by *Irodalmi Újság* in London.
3. CUOHP, 483, Joseph (József) Parlagi, a Jewish insurance expert; and 458, Dr. George (György) Károlyi, thirty-seven-year-old chief accountant. The statistics were cited by Edmund O. Stillman, Chief of Special Publications department of the Free Europe Committee Inc., in the Second Seminar, June 6, 1958, pages 54ff.
4. H54M.

5. CUOHP, 608, a forty-one-year-old professor of law at Budapest University, later (1951) reduced to the status of reader; and 625, Louis (Lajos) Barát, twenty-eight-year-old assistant to professor of civic law at Budapest University.
6. In Moscow the author met a man who had once bumped into Kádár standing humbly in a queue in a restaurant. These biographical details are from *Népszabadság*, March 3, 1957; *Current Biography*, 1957, pages 287ff.; *New York Times*, October 26, 1956; *Time*, January 14, 1957; *Der Spiegel* No. 34 of 1955 reported him as “hanged” – a premature judgment.
7. János Kádár, speech at Salgótarján, February 5, 1957 (CIA file).
8. On this clipping in the CIA file on Kádár, an analyst has pencilled the unappreciative comment: “Yum! yum!”
9. Peter Kereszturi, in Baudy, *Jeunesse d’Octobre* (Paris, 1957), page 53.
10. H45M.
11. George (György) Pálóczi-Horváth, article in *Daily Herald*, London, December 11, 1956.
12. H8M, a twenty-eight-year-old coal miner and former political prisoner until 1955, calling himself János Szabó.
13. H75M.

## Chapter 8: Trial and Error

1. *Szabad Nép*, June 19, 1949; and CUOHP, 451, Béla Szász.
2. CUOHP, 566, Lazarus Brankov, forty-four-year-old Serbian, a lieutenant-colonel in Yugoslav army until 1947.
3. Why did Rajk “confess”? Modern legend says that it was Kádár who persuaded him to do so. At the time, William (Vilmos) Olti himself, a leading judge, told Louis (Lajos) Barát, an assistant professor of civil law at Budapest University (CUOHP, 625) that Michael (Mihály) Farkas persuaded Rajk to admit his guilt, as a service to Communism. Rajk believed it was only a mock trial, and yelled, “They tricked me!”

when he learned differently. (“Whereupon,” added Barát, “Kádár fainted.”)

### Chapter 9: Into the Darkness

1. Interview of George (György) Marosán, October 1978.
2. Háý, *Geboren 1900*, page 276.
3. The author obtained the CIA file on Paul (Pál) Maléter, and interviewed Zoltán Vas in September 1979. In general on Maléter: see Gosztony’s articles in *The Review*, Brussels, 1957, pages 8ff., and in *Problems of Communism*, March/April 1966, pages 54ff.; extracts from Maléter’s personnel file were published by the Communists in *Free Soil* (*Szabad Föld*) on March 3, 1957.
4. H74M.
5. CIA file. The Hungarian Partisan Comrades’ Association was the *Magyar Partizánok Batjársi Szövetsége*.
6. Maria Maléter, “Ungarns stolzer Rebell,” in *Das Beste aus Reader’s Digest*, 1959.
7. H75M.
8. CUOHP, 615, Stephen (István) Elias, forty-three-year-old manager of the state farm at Soroksár; and interviews of Andrew (András) Révész and William (Vilmos) Zentai, Budapest, April 1980.
9. See Note 1.
10. Háý, op. cit., page 366.
11. CUOHP, 602, a former Smallholder member of Parliament.
12. Interview of General Louis (Lajos) Dálnoki-Veress, London, December 1974.

### Chapter 10: The Stone Quarry

1. CUOHP, 201, Imre Erős; and interviews of Béla Szász, London, August 1974, and General Louis (Lajos) Dálnoki-Veress, December 1974.
2. CUOHP, 551, Zoltán Száray, thirty-nine-year-old economist; and 208, Gábor Szarka, former army officer of thirty-nine.

3. H61M, Dr. Paul (Pál) Jónás, student leader.
4. Ibid.
5. Interview of Paul Gorka, London, December 1974 and August 1978.
6. Alexander (Sándor) Kopácsi, *Au nom de la classe ouvrière* (Paris, 1978); and interviews of Kopácsi in Toronto, February 1979 and of George (György) Fazekas in Budapest, April 1980.
7. Back in Budapest the young police captain Kopácsi called for the dossiers on 150 men, appealing against their continued internment and, so he claims, released ninety-five next day by a simple stroke of the pen.
8. CUOHP, 406, a twenty-seven-year-old agronomist near Pécs. The kulak, in Communist jargon, was the rich farmer, one owning more than 35.5 acres of land or with a “cadastral” income of 350 gold crowns or who had paid agricultural development levies in 1949 or employing outside labour – *Szabad Nép*, July 1952.
9. CUOHP, 506.
10. CUOHP, 237, Maria Novák, singer.
11. H35M, automotive engineer.
12. Testimony of Margaret (Margit) Zsengellér, in Baudy, *Jeunesse d’Octobre*, pages 83ff.
13. Háý, *Geboren 1900*, page 312.
14. H50F, daughter of Countess Serényi.

### **Chapter 11: All Things Bright and Soviet**

1. H25F, a medical student.
2. Dr. Richard M. Stephenson: “The Role of Interpersonal Relationships in Revolt against Totalitarian Power,” manuscript, August 1958.
3. George Káldi, “Fünf lange Jahre nach kurzer Freiheit,” in *Stimmen der Zeit*, vol. 169, page 134.
4. CUOHP, 427, Paul (Pál) Hoványi, fifty-one-year-old civil servant.
5. H75M, a leading Party journalist on *Szabad Nép*, born in 1919; he subsequently worked on Dudás’s rebel newspaper *Függetlenség*.

6. Dr. Paul Kecskeméti, speaking at Second Seminar, June 2, 1958, page 16.
7. CUOHP, 439, Ödön Vajda, state hospital purchasing agent.
8. H73M.
9. *Szabad Nép*, March 18, April 27, July 1, and October 29, 1952.
10. US State Department, intelligence report, February 1, 1955.
11. H44M, George Bastomov; and CUOHP, 551, Zoltán Száray.
12. CUOHP, 564, anonymous Jewish factory worker.
13. CUOHP, 567, Tibor Méray, journalist.
14. CUOHP, 563, Peter Kende, Jewish journalist.
15. Letter from János Bardi to the author, November 1978.
16. CUOHP, 152, Alexander (Sándor) Kiss, Smallholder leader.
17. CUOHP, 505, Communist student.
18. CUOHP, 455, fifty-year-old worker.
19. CUOHP, 155, Csepel worker.
20. H54M, Csepel worker.
21. H74M, Budapest engineer.
22. H53M, seventeen-year-old Csepel youth.

## Chapter 12: The Treadmill

1. Mrs. Alice Dinnersmann, deputy director of International Research Associates (New York) at first Ecology Seminar, April 12, 1957, pages 36ff.
2. H75M.
3. H30F.
4. H42M, toolmaker.
5. H29M, assistant professor of surgery.
6. H44M.
7. H42M.
8. *Hungarian Nation (Magyar Nemzet)*, September 30, 1956.
9. Imre Nagy, memoirs.
10. H43M, factory workers.
11. CUOHP, 242, Joseph (József) Fazekas, forty-three, tool designer.



12. CUOHP, 204.
13. CUOHP, 243; and 508, András (Andrew) Sándor, twenty-four, journalist and former DISz official.
14. CUOHP, 439, Ödön Vajda.
15. *Szabad Nép*, July 29 and September 6, 1952.
16. CUOHP, 619/II, George (György) Pauly-Pálos, twenty-three, geology student; and 201 and 203.
17. CUOHP, 615.
18. CUOHP, 405, eighteen-year-old student from rural area, Kiskun; and 616, Nicholas (Miklós) Molnár, editor of *Literary Gazette (Irodalmi Újság)*.
19. CUOHP, 243, Dipl.-Ing. Francis (Ferenc) Reményi, thirty-seven.
20. CUOHP, 204, anonymous worker, Óvár; and 406, anonymous twenty-seven-year-old manager of tractor station at Baranya.
21. CUOHP, 243.
22. CUOHP, 606, Dr. Dénes Horváth.
23. *Szabad Nép*, July 6, 1952.
24. CUOHP, 208, Gábor Szarka, forty, hotel manager.
25. CUOHP, 403, Dezső Kiss, locksmith.
26. CUOHP, 564.
27. Budapest *Evening News (Esti Hírlap)* March 18, 1958; Káldi in *Stimmen der Zeit*, page 134.
28. CUOHP, 209, Flora Pötz, factory worker.
29. CUOHP, 204, car worker.
30. Radio Budapest, January 25, 1958; CUOHP, 203, 223, 615, 625.
31. *Lánynak szülni dicsőség, asszonynak kötelesség.*
32. CUOHP, 439, hospital official.
33. CUOHP, 227, Bishop Péterfalvy.
34. CUOHP, 203.
35. CUOHP, 427, Paul (Pál) Hoványi.
36. CUOHP, 208.
37. CUOHP, 439.
38. CUOHP, 506.

39. CUOHP, 204.

40. CUOHP, 227.

### Chapter 13: Uncle Imre

1. CUOHP, 567, Tibor Méray.

2. Bill Lomax, unpublished manuscript; BBC Monitoring report, Summary of World Broadcasts, June 29, 1953.

3. Imre Nagy, memoirs.

4. CUOHP, 500, Thomas (Tamás) Aczél, thirty-six, writer; cf. Tibor Méray, *Thirteen Days That Shook the Kremlin* (London, 1957), pages 3-9.

5. Imre Nagy, memoirs.

6. Report of the Central Committee submitted by János Kádár, printed in *People's Freedom (Népszabadság)*, June 28, 1957.

7. *Szabad Nép*, December 22, 1954.

8. The Third Party Congress of the Hungarian Workers' Party lasted from May 24 to May 30, 1954.

9. Imre Nagy, speech to HWP congress, May 30, 1954 (CIA file, Imre Nagy).

10. Ibid.

11. The author has drawn extensively from the thick CIA biographical dossier on Imre Nagy, containing, for example, his speeches; also, *The Times*, October 25, 1956; and Imre Patkó's article, "Az MKP Lista Vezetoi: Nagy Imre," in *Szabad Nép*, August 27, 1947.

12. François Fejtő, *Monat*, November 1957.

13. Julius (Gyula) Háý, on WDR television programme, June 17, 1968; and interview, Ascona, August 1974.

14. *Magyar Közlöny*, January 4, 1945.

15. Interview of Imre Nagy's daughter, Mrs. Francis (Ferenc) Jánosi, Budapest, September 4, 1979.

16. Imre Nagy, speech, March 29, 1945: in *One Decade: The Selected Speeches and Writings of Comrade Imre Nagy* (Budapest, 1954); cf. *Szabad Nép*, October 6, 1954.
17. *Szabad Nép*, August 27, 1947.
18. Imre Nagy, article, "The Key Question of our Villages Policy: the Alliance with the Medium Peasant," in *One Decade* (see Note 16).
19. Quoted in Hajdú newspaper *Bihari Journal* (*Bihari Napló*), April 7, 1957, and in *Népszabadság*, May 9, 1957.
20. Stephen (István) Dobi would later recall in a public speech how Nagy had mercilessly cleared out every last ounce of grain from the attics of the peasants: "At the meetings of the Council of Ministers he spoke about these actions with a nonchalance that made one clench one's fists in anger." However, Vásárhelyi says it is unfair to quote a drunkard's views on Nagy.
21. Margaret (Margit) Zsengellér, quoted in Baudy, pages 116ff.
22. On March 31, 1953, most arable land was still in private hands (60.8 per cent). The rest was in the socialist sector: 26 per cent in producers' co-operatives and 13.2 per cent in state farms.
23. A decree of August 8, 1953 ostensibly restored private enterprise. The strict licence requirements for sixty-four categories of artisans were liberalised. But this liberalisation was very narrow: the licences were issued only when, in the judgment of the (wholly Communist) local councils, the state and co-operative organisations could not adequately meet the requirements. Nothing more was ever heard of Nagy's promise to extend free enterprise to the retail trade as well.
24. CUOHP, 500, Thomas (Tamás) Aczél.
25. Quoted in *Cultured Nation* (*Művelt Nép*).
26. Stephen (István) Márkus, in *Star* (*Csillag*), September 1956.
27. Hungarian Home Service broadcast, January 23, 1954, seven p.m. – a twenty-eight page speech.
28. And see Imre Nagy's speech at MÁVAG, in *Szabad Nép*, November 14, 1954.

29. *Szabad Nép*, July 19, 1953.
30. US State Department intelligence report, September 1, 1953.
31. The office of attorney-general was already provided for under the constitution, but it had been vacant for six years. Nagy had suggested in his speech that the office was new: his government “will establish an office of Chief Prosecutor as one of the main constitutional guarantees of legality and constitutional rights.” The decree specifying his duties was evidently published as part of Law 13 in *Magyar Közlöny* on July 30, 1953, the official gazette to which Western diplomats had been denied access since January 1. The Law’s Article 13, §1, is known to have stated: “In cases involving espionage and other especially dangerous anti-state criminal activities, investigations will be carried out by the State Defence Authority [ÁVH] of the ministry of the interior,” which was the first indication that the ÁVH now came under that ministry. In *Szabad Nép* on August 2, 1953, his far-reaching powers to uphold the law were described, acting as a kind of ombudsman to protect the rights of citizens against the executive; he himself would participate in Presidential Cabinet and Cabinet meetings, while his corps of local prosecutors would participate in local council meetings with sweeping powers to examine police records.
32. Broadcast, January 23, 1954 (see Note 27).
33. Alexander (Sándor) Kopácsi, *Au nom de la classe ouvrière*, page 97.
34. Interview of Stephen (István) Bibó, Budapest, October 1978.
35. Quoted in US State Department intelligence report.

#### **Chapter 14: Mightier than the Sword**

1. CUOHP, 222, a seventeen-year-old secondary schoolboy Horváth (“it took the ÁVH to halt further demonstrations”); and author’s interview, Béla Kurucz, London, April 1978.
2. Hinkle, speaking at Ecology Seminar, April 12, 1957.
3. Lawrence (Lőrinc) Vicinzei.
4. H73M, Szeged graduate.

5. CUOHP, 231, Béla Harmatzy-Simon.
6. H39F, Jewish schoolgirl.
7. CUOHP, 616, Nicholas (Miklós) Molnár.
8. CUOHP, 567, Tibor Méray.
9. CUOHP, 506, George (György) Faludy.
10. CUOHP, 500, Thomas (Tamás) Aczél; Kuczka's poem "Nyírségi Napló" can be read in English in William Juhász (ed.), *Hungarian Social Science Reader 1945-1963* (New York, 1965), pages 170ff.
11. CUOHP, 565, forty-two-year-old peasant.
12. CUOHP, 427, of Dr. Paul (Pál) Hoványi, fifty-year-old civil servant.
13. H3M, anonymous student.
14. The author interviewed Dr. Nicholas (Miklós) Vásárhelyi in Budapest on several occasions from 1977 to 1980, and was impressed by his open and fearless answers.
15. Interview of Nagy's daughter, Mrs. Francis (Ferenc) Jánosi, Budapest, September 1979.

## Chapter 15: Fan Language

1. Imre Nagy, memoirs.
2. Interview of Professor Nicholas (Miklós) Molnár, Geneva, April 1979.
3. Published as facsimile in Béla Szász's book, *Volunteers for the Gallows* (London, 1971).
4. Interview of Mrs. Jánosi, Budapest, September 4, 1979 ("My father told me that") and Vásárhelyi, April 1980. Vásárhelyi was Nagy's press chief in Parliament and had this from Nagy direct.
5. US State Department intelligence report, February 1, 1955.
6. *Szabad Nép*, June 15, 1954.
7. *Szabad Nép*, October 20; *Free Youth* (*Szabad Ifjúság*), and *Magyar Nemzet*, and Budapest Home Service, October 21, 1954, eleven a.m.
8. *Szabad Nép*, November 14, 1954.
9. *New York Times*, March 10 and April 27, 1957.
10. H74M.

11. CUOHP, 616, Nicholas (Miklós) Molnár.
12. CUOHP, 500, Thomas (Tamás) Aczél, and 506, George (György) Faludy.
13. Kopácsi, memoirs.
14. *New York Times*, February 9, and *Washington Post*, March 10, 1955.
15. The Central Committee resolution was published in *Szabad Nép* as early as March 9, 1955.
16. Alexander (Sándor) Kopácsi, article, “Maléter Pál végnapjai” (Paul Maléter’s Last Days) in *Irodalmi Újság*, London, May/June 1978,, pages 3-4.
17. *New York Times*, April 19 and 24, 1955; and *Népszabadság*, May 17, 1957.

### **Chapter 16: Man in a Porkpie Hat**

1. Interview of Mrs. Francis (Ferenc) Jánosi, Budapest, September 4, 1979.
2. CUOHP, 231, Béla Harmatzy-Simon.
3. CUOHP, 507, economics student.
4. CUOHP, 500.
5. Interviews of Professor Molnár; Dr. Peter Rényi (editor of *Népszabadság*), cousin and close boyhood friend of Gimes, Budapest, September 1979 and Alice Halda, April 1980.
6. János Mészáros, “The Kádár Regime charges Yugoslavia with ‘conspiracy’ . . .”; and testimony of Vásárhelyi, Haraszi, Kopácsi, Balázs Nagy, Gimes and Jánosi in *Le Complot Contre-Révolutionnaire de Imre Nagy et de ses Complices* (Budapest, 1958) cited henceforth as *Procès*, pages 22ff. and 152ff., and interview of Vásárhelyi, October 1978.
7. Interviews of Vásárhelyi, and his testimony in *Procès*.
8. Imre Nagy, memoirs; quoted in extract in *New York Times*, September 11, 1957.

### **Chapter 17: Run Rabbit Run**

1. Some of these photographs, culled from ransacked ÁVH files, were shown to the author by Jeffrey Blyth, the former *Daily Mail* correspondent.

2. CUOHP, 483, Joseph (József) Parlagi, fifty-five-year-old Jewish insurance expert, was in the audience but escaped.
3. *Szabad Nép*, February 12, April 13, June 25, July 10, 1955.
4. US Senate, *Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Government Operations with respect to Intelligence Activities* (Report 94-755), April 23, 1976.
5. Austrian Institute for Market and Opinion Research, monthly, "Querschnitt der öffentlichen Meinung," November 27, 1956. And RFE Policy Handbook, Section 4, page 2, quoted in an analysis, "Radio Free Europe and the Hungarian Uprising," in Box 44 of the C. D. Jackson papers, Eisenhower Library.
6. H60F, Countess Anna Nádasdy.
7. H76F.
8. Imre Nagy, speech to MÁVAG workers, in *Szabad Nép*, November 14, 1954.
9. Senate report (Note 4); interviews with Frank Wisner's widow, Mrs. Polly Clayton Fritchey, October 28, 1979, and Dr. Frank Wilcox, Washington, May 10, 1978.
10. Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, "US Policy in East Central Europe – a Study in Contradiction," pages 60ff.; and article by C. L. Sulzberger, *New York Times*, May 16, 1952.
11. Oral interview of W. A. Harriman, July 1966; and of E. L. Freers, May 1966, both in the Dulles papers at Princeton University. Freers, director of the Office of Eastern European Affairs, said that Dulles "was fully convinced that the idea of encouraging the Communist regimes of East Europe to loosen their ties with the Soviet Union, rather than fostering movements which might tend to overthrow these regimes, was the proper course for the United States." Herman Phleger put it the same way: John Foster Dulles's policy was to do nothing contributing to permanent satellite status of East European countries; but also nothing that would openly *encourage* revolutions (Letter, March 18, 1966).

12. Stillman was speaking at a seminar on June 6, 1958. The Free Europe Committee operated from West 57 Street in New York, with General Crittenberger as its president and Joseph C. Grew as chairman. For the files of the Study Commission on International Radio Broadcasting, appointed by President Richard Nixon on August 9, 1972, to study RFE and other agencies, see NARS, RG 220.
13. Senate report, pages 52-53.
14. Krishna Menon, *The Flying Troika*, pages 58-59.
15. H. F. York, "The Debate over the Hydrogen Bomb," in *Scientific American*, October 1975, pages 111ff.; and R. H. Baker, "Understanding Soviet Foreign Policy," Royal United Services Institution *Journal*, March 1978, pages 46ff. The exaggerated American fears at the time of the Hungarian tragedy were expressed by Eisenhower to the secret Bipartisan Legislative Meeting in the White House on November 9, 1956: "It is necessary to remember that this is the age of the atom and that the world has to find a solution – either we achieve peace or we face extinction" (Eisenhower Library).
16. Theodore Streibert, director of the US Information Agency, Oral History interview November 5, 1964 (Dulles papers).
17. Manuscript in Dr. Peter Gosztony's archives, Berne.
18. CUOHP, 202, Julius (Gyula) Nagy; and cf. Nos. 201, Imre Erős, and 203.
19. Mrs. Alice Dinnerman, of International Research Associates (Ecology Seminar, April 12, 1957, pages 36ff.).
20. News Conference with J. F. Dulles, Augusta, Georgia, December 2, 1956, two-thirty p.m. (Dulles papers).
21. H60F.
22. CUOHP, 526, Ladislav (László) Szolnoki, historian.
23. Ibid.
24. CUOHP, 202, Julius (Gyula) Nagy, economist. Further information: author's interview, Mr. Frigyes Rubin – a Jewish "class-alien" who



- came into unwanted contact with the ÁVH – in London, January 14, 1978.
25. Alexander (Sándor) Nógrádi, *Történelmi lecke*, Budapest, 1970, page 441; Peter Gosztony, *Aufstände unter dem Roten Stern*, Bonn, 1979, page 117.
  26. Nagy, memoirs.
  27. Interview of Professor Molnár, April 1979.
  28. CUOHP, 500, Thomas (Tamás) Aczél; and 567, Tibor Méray and interview of George (György) Fazekas, Budapest, April 1980.
  29. *Nagy sikoltás az éjszakában*.
  30. *Hogy zür legyen*.
  31. *Procès*, pages 25ff.
  32. Vasas Székház.
  33. Háy, *Geboren 1900*, pages 318ff.; interview of Vásárhelyi, September 1979.

## Chapter 18: Vicious Circle

1. CUOHP, 559, Francis (Ferenc) Gaál, political officer in Hungarian army.
2. Peer de Silva: *Sub Rosa – The CIA and the Uses of Intelligence* (New York, 1979).
3. CUOHP, 226, veterinary student.
4. Kopácsi, memoirs, pages 106ff.
5. Interview of George (György) Marosán; and CUOHP, 249, Stephen (István) Szabó, veteran journalist and correspondent of *Népszava*.
6. Soldatić, interviewed in *Vjesnik*, Zagreb, November 28, 1977.
7. CIA file, Imre Nagy, citing source B.375.
8. Interviews of Vásárhelyi, July 1978, and Mrs. Jánosi, September 1979; and testimonies of Francis (Ferenc) Jánosi and Francis (Ferenc) Donáth, in *Procès*, pages 34ff., and statement of Thomas (Tamás) Aczél, WDR television, June 17, 1968.
9. Julius (Gyula) Háy, WDR (Note 8).

10. *Hol szorít a cipő?* CUOHP, 210, music student.
11. Interview of Peter Erdős, Budapest, April 1980.
12. Testimonies of Nagy, Haraszti, Jánosi and Donáth, in *Procès*, pages 22-23 and 32.
13. CUOHP, 507, anonymous twenty-four-year-old, active in foundation of the Petőfi Circle; and testimonies of Tánczos, Márkus, Haraszti and Donáth, *Procès*, pages 27-28.
14. CUOHP, 428, Imre Szabó Nyirádi, former airforce officer.
15. CUOHP, 506.
16. CUOHP, 615.
17. Kopácsi, memoirs, page 74.
18. CUOHP, 226, Budapest veterinary student.
19. CUOHP, 500, Aczél; interview of George (György) Fazekas, Budapest, April 1980. François Bondy, "Ungarns Augenblick der Freiheit," *Monat*, December 1956.
20. Déry, quoted in *Procès*, page 29.
21. Bourgin's letter is printed in Lasky, *The Hungarian Revolution*, page 32.
22. The Central Committee meeting of July 17, 1956, was described to the author by Zoltán Vas, who indicates that he was the only one to advise Mikoyan against appointing Gerő: "I went to see Mikoyan after the session, in Rákosi's first-floor office, because we felt that somebody ought to keep near the hot line telephone."
23. CUOHP, 567, Méray.
24. *Szabad Nép*, July 18, 19, and 23, 1956.

## Chapter 19: In Which Voices are Raised

1. Thus Balász Nagy, a secretary of the Petőfi Circle, writing to *The Review*, Brussels.
2. Uranium of good commercial quality had been discovered near Pécs: on the basis of ore samples supplied by a Sopron University student the US Atomic Energy Commission found them to contain 0.78 to

three per cent uranium. Since the spring the Russians had extracted about 65 tons; but a big expansion was planned: barracks were being built for 25,000 workers and refineries too (*New York Times*, January 28, 1957).

3. CUOHP, 606, an agricultural marketing executive.
4. Lukács had fathered Jánossy's two sons as a favour to his close but very sick friend.
5. H75M, journalist.
6. CUOHP, 606.
7. H62M, Dr. Alexander (Sándor) Kiss.
8. Béla Király, article in *East Europe*, vol. 6, 1958, page 7. Gömbös was prime minister 1932-1936.
9. Interview of Marosán.
10. CIA file on János Kádár.
11. Ibid. The source reports are listed as CS 91000, April 20; CS 94685, June 6; TDCS 101817, August 23, 1956.
12. H36M, Captain Bondor.
13. H31F, Mrs. Bondor.
14. Interview of Stephen Koczak, Washington, March 26, 1978. Only one year earlier, on February 1, 1955, the US State Department had concluded in an intelligence report that the ÁVH appeared adequate to prevent the development of any organised resistance: "No such movement has materialised in the wake of sporadic relaxations of police controls." Sporadic resistance would probably increase by mid-1956, "but even then it will in no sense be able to jeopardise the stability of the regime."
15. Bipartisan Legislative Meeting in the White House, November 9, 1956 (Eisenhower Library).
16. CUOHP, 201, student; cf. 202 and 212. On February 1, 1955, a US State Department intelligence report summarised that there was no popular opposition in Hungary to West German rearmament; the two countries had a common Western heritage, and Germany ap-

peared to the Hungarians the lesser of two ancient evils. "There is little reason to suppose that any non-Communist segment of the Hungarian people would seriously object to seeing Germans give their blood for Hungarian freedom and thereby reverse the trend of past history. The main concern is that of liberation, and not that of security against a recrudescence of German aggression in the foreseeable future. The principal means whereby liberation is expected to materialise is a Western coalition, and the great majority of Hungarians appear to have acquiesced some time ago in the idea of the inevitable inclusion of Germans in that coalition."

17. CUOHP, 558.
18. CUOHP, 243, Francis (Ferenc) Reményi, engineer.
19. CUOHP, 209, Flora Pötz.
20. Ivan Boldizsár interviewed by William (Vilmos) Faragó on Hungarian television, November 20, 1977 (published in *Valóság*, 78/4, and *New Hungarian Quarterly*, vol. XX, 75, pages 120-133).
21. Interview of Stephen (István) Vajda, Vienna, October 1978.
22. Interview of Matthias (Mátyás) Sárközi, London, August 1974.
23. CUOHP, 227.
24. *Szabad Ifjúság*, the DISz organ *Free Youth*, September 25, 1956.
25. *Irodalmi Újság*, September 22, 1956; cf. *Népszabadság*, May 17, 1957.
26. *Procès*, page 37.

## Chapter 20: Humble Pie

1. Interviews of Lawrence Davis, Vienna, Jeffrey Blyth, New York, and Noel Barber, London, 1978.
2. Interview of Vásárhelyi.
3. Lasky, *The Hungarian Revolution*, pages 34ff.
4. Mićunović, diary, September 1956; and Tito, in *Borba*, Belgrade, November 16, 1956.
5. *Szabad Nép*, October 14, 1956.

6. Julius (Gyula) Háy, "Miért nem szeretem Kucsera elvtársat?" in *Irodalmi Újság*, Budapest, October 6, 1956; and *Geboren 1900*, pages 320ff.
7. Interview of Dr. Peter Rényi, Budapest, September 1979; he is now chief editor of the party organ, *Népszabadság*.
8. H61M, Dr. Paul (Pál) Jónás; and CUOHP, 511, interview of Mrs. Julia Rajk, Budapest, April 1980.
9. *Elmegyünk megnézni hogy nevelteti ki magát a rendszer*.
10. H71M, student leader, interviewed at Oxford.
11. CUOHP, 446, army officer; and interview of Béla Kurucz, army officer cadet.
12. CUOHP, 204, 205, and 551.
13. *Szabad Nép*, October 6, 1956.
14. CUOHP, 458.
15. Interview of Gaza Katona (political attaché in US legation), Virginia, May 1978.
16. Cf. also Mićunović diary, September 7, 1956.
17. Spencer Barnes to State Department, tel. 107, September 21, 1956 (US State Department archives).
18. Tibor Dénes, director of the Kaposvár theatre, reported this in *Irodalmi Újság*.
19. János Berecz, *Ellenforradalom tollal és fegyverrel: 1956* (Counter-Revolution with the Pen and the Sword: 1956), Budapest, 1969; and CUOHP, 203.
20. Lasky, op. cit., page 39.
21. CUOHP, 563, Peter Kende.
22. Interview of Béla Király, January 1974.
23. *Győr Sopronmegyei Hírlap*, October 19, 1956; cited in Barnes to State, tel. 151, October 23, 1956, two p.m. In his memoirs Háy wrote that he first realised on this evening that a storm was brewing.
24. CUOHP, 566, Lazarus Brankov.
25. H17M, third-year medical student at Szeged University; cf. CUOHP, 210.

26. *Procès*, pages 37ff.
27. CUOHP, 442, Francis (Ferenc) Ilosvay; the alerting of the ÁVH units on October 18 was mentioned by an army doctor to the doctor father-in-law of Peter Kereszturi, cited in Baudy, *Jeunesse d'Octobre*, page 67.
28. Interview of Kurucz, London, April 1978.
29. The official was Imre Szelepcsényi.
30. In an interview on about October 24 about the Soviet movements inside Poland, Gomulka stated: "Certain units were called out with our agreement to protect changes made. At the same time, there were movements of armed forces about which we knew nothing. A Party/Government commission has been set up to investigate and to punish the guilty. Khrushchev has assured us that Soviet forces will return to their Warsaw Pact bases" (*Kurier Szczecinski*, October 30, 1956).
31. US embassy, Warsaw, to State, tel. 592, November 2, 1956; and C. D. Jackson papers (Eisenhower Library).
32. CUOHP, 425, Andrew (Endre) Rodriguez.
33. Peter Kereszturi, cited in Baudy, page 67.
34. CUOHP, 205, bookkeeper.
35. CUOHP, 244, Szabolcs Pethes, storekeeper; cf. CUOHP, 213.
36. US State Department intelligence report 7545.
37. Interview of General Reinhard Gehlen, Bavaria.
38. Interview of Dr. Andrew (András) Hegedüs, Budapest, April 1980.

## **Chapter 21: The Big Pageant**

1. CUOHP, 561, Joseph (József) Blücher, twenty-seven-year-old assistant professor at the Polytechnic.
2. H13M, a thirty-two-year-old assistant professor at the Polytechnic, showed American interrogators a mimeographed list of twenty-five points drawn up by the students before the meeting; the Fourteen Points were distilled from these, aided by writer Peter Kuczka.
3. MEFESz: Magyar Egyetemisták és Főiskolások Szövetsége, Association of Hungarian University and College (*Főiskola*) Youth.

4. CUOHP, 205 and others; *Szabad Ifjúság*, October 23; and Barnes to State, telegram sent two p.m., October 23.
5. Testimony of Professor Paul (Pál) Szerbin, *Procès*, page 45.
6. Information from Erika Thibault, Grenoble.
7. H1M, twenty-two-year-old medical student; and interview of George (György) Gömöri, Cambridge, May 1980.
8. H105M, engineering student Louis (Lajos) Zaka.
9. H71M, twenty-two-year-old Jewish student.
10. Deposition of Losonczy, published as facsimile in *Procès*; and testimony of Gimes, Donáth, Losonczy, pages 41ff.
11. Testimony of Stephen (István) Márkus, *Procès*, pages 40ff.
12. H105M.
13. Testimony of Mrs. Peter Józsa of the Petőfi Circle, *Procès*, page 45.
14. CUOHP, 561, and H13M.
15. *Szabad Nép*, October 23, 1956: editorial, “Új tavaszi seregszemle” (“New spring troopreview”).
16. “Radio Free Europe and the Hungarian Uprising,” report in Box 44, C. D. Jackson papers, Eisenhower Library.
17. *A párt a mi eszünk, irányítónk és fegyverünk*.
18. CUOHP, 501, student architect.
19. About ten days earlier *Művelt Nép* had published the first photograph of Nagy since his dismissal, with Julia Rajk at the funeral.
20. Testimonies of Újhelyi, Áron Tóbiás, Mrs. Peter Józsa, in *Procès*, pages 45ff. As H71M commented, “The Petőfi Circle joined us very hastily, they were afraid that they would lose the confidence of youth.”
21. János Gura in *Magyar Hiradó*, Vienna, October 1, 1979.
22. Kopácsi, memoirs, page 118. Vásárhelyi states that Fekete was a Party apparatchik, who was transferred to the ÁVH in 1953 to restore the Party’s influence over the security police; he was not a career ÁVH officer like Gábor Péter.
23. George (György) Marosán boasted in a later speech of having given this advice (*New York Times*, July 31, 1957); and he confirmed to this

author: "I opened the discussion on this item. I said that all demonstrations should be *banned* and that the order should be issued to the police to open fire." (Interview in October 1978.)

24. CUOHP, 561.

25. CUOHP, 563, Peter Kende.

26. Interview of Mrs. Jánosi, Budapest, September 1979.

27. Testimonies of Nagy, Vásárhelyi and Jánosi, in *Procès*, page 43.

28. Vásárhelyi, July 1978.

29. A delegation also arrived from the Writers' Union building. Nicholas Molnár (CUOHP, 616) saw them return still shaken by Révai's uncompromising words: "If there's the slightest trouble, we're going to open fire," Révai had said. According to Molnár, Kádár was present and had taken an equally aggressive line.

30. CUOHP, 505.

31. Interview of Rényi, September 1979.

32. Kopácsi, memoirs.

## **Chapter 22: Critical Mass**

1. Háy, *Geboren 1900*, pages 324ff.

2. Kopácsi, memoirs.

3. CUOHP, 408.

4. Barnes to State, telegram, October 23, two p.m.

5. Report of ÁVH Colonel Nicholas (Miklós) Orbán, in: Sólyom and Zele: *Harcban az ellenforradalommal* (Budapest, 1957), pages 19ff.

6. CUOHP, 505.

7. Interview of Professor Dominic (Domokos) Kosáry, Budapest, April 1980.

8. CUOHP, 454, Tibor Molnár, actor.

9. The author was able to view the newsreels in the collection of Munich film producer, Dr. Stephen (István) Erdélyi.

10. H71M, student.



11. Slogans quoted by CUOHP, 413, Julius (Gyula) Józsa, student at the Lenin Institute of Budapest University.
12. CUOHP, 243, Reményi.
13. CUOHP, 413.
14. CUOHP, 430, Joseph Bálint, thirty-three-year-old technical assistant at the Polytechnic.
15. *Daily Express*, London, October 24, 1956; and interview of James Nicoll, London, November 1978.
16. Interview of Mrs. Jánosi, Budapest, September 1979.
17. CUOHP, 430.
18. H61M, Dr. Jónás.
19. CUOHP, 412, Professor Stephen (István) Szabados.
20. CUOHP, 561, Joseph (József) Blücher.
21. CUOHP, 425, Andrew (Endre) Rodriguez, film director.
22. Barnes to State, telegram, October 23, 1956, six p.m.: "Crowd listened to Veres with only minimal politeness."
23. CUOHP, 413, Julius (Gyula) Józsa, and 551, Zoltán Száray, economist, thirty-nine; also 458 and 505; and Sir Leslie Fry, *As Luck would Have It* (London, 1978).
24. Interview of Dr. Hegedüs, Budapest, April 1980; and Claude Furet's interview of him in *Quotidien de Paris*, October 28, 1976.
25. Ervin Hollós and Vera Lajtai, *Köztársaság tér, 1956* (Budapest, 1974); and report by Stephen (István) Tompa, in *White Book*, vol. 11, pages 79ff. Hollós, a ranking ÁVH officer, was a former senior DISz official (and figures in Rákosi's telephone notebook!); after the uprising he became chief interrogating officer of Fő utca (High Street) military prison. He now teaches at Budapest Polytechnic. However, there is no reason to doubt his study's accuracy.
26. CUOHP, 210, pianist Julius (Gyula) Kupp.
27. Maria Maléter, memoirs.
28. Dr. L. E. Hinkle also makes this point at the Ecology Seminar, April 12, 1957.

29. Told to Dr. Andor Klay, State Department, at Camp Kilmer, New Jersey; cited in Second Ecology Seminar, June 6, 1958.

### Chapter 23: Nagy Smells a Rat

1. Interview of Fabrizio Franco, Verona, July 1978.
2. Interview of Vásárhelyi, September 1979.
3. Kopácsi, memoirs, pages 123ff.
4. CUOHP, 211, Zoltán Szabó, bus driver.
5. CUOHP, 501, student architect, twenty-five.
6. CUOHP, 561.
7. H1M, student; and interview of Professor Kosáry, Budapest, April 1980.
8. CUOHP, 442, Ilosvay, journalist.
9. *White Book*, vol. II, page 14, quoting "M.L." In general, on the radio building battle, the author has used this official publication with appropriate caution. Also "A Rádió Ostroma," a series of articles in *Népszabadság*, January 22-26, 1957, and interviews with Vásárhelyi, September 1979, and Peter Erdős, April 1980. See also Note 23.
10. On the Kilián Barracks the author relies on his interview with Dr. Peter Gosztony, in Berne, June 29, 1978, and his "Diary, The Kilián Barracks during the Revolution," in *The Review*, Brussels, vol. 3, 1961, pages 65ff.; for a Communist version see *Szabad Föld*, March 3, 1957: "The Legend about Maléter has Collapsed"; and *Procès*, pages 71ff.
11. H11F, student, interrogated February 7, 1957.
12. CUOHP, 210, Julius (Gyula) Kupp, music student.
13. CUOHP, 413, Julius (Gyula) Józsa, student, twenty-one; and 501. The slogans were: "*Le a vörös csillaggal!*" "*Mondjon le a kormány!*" "*Halljuk Nagy Imrét!*"
14. Ernest (Ernö) Pongrátz, interviewed in *Hungarian Torchlight*, New York, October 23, 1964; cf. Gosztony, *Aufstand*, pages 141ff.
15. CUOHP, 244, student.
16. Interview of Giza Katona, Virginia, May 1978; and Katona diary.

17. CUOHP, 430.
18. CUOHP, 243, Francis (Ferenc) Reményi; and 244, Szabolcs Pethes.
19. Interview of Mrs. Francis (Ferenc) Jánosi, Budapest, September 1979.
20. Interview of George (György) Fazekas, Budapest, April 1980.
21. Thomas (Tamás) Aczél, in *Life*, February 18, 1957; and in West-deutscher Rundfunk television film “Die Toten kehren wieder,” June 17, 1968; and interview of Vásárhelyi, October 1978.
22. Bözske Nagy (Mrs. Jánosi) describes her father’s spirits on being dragged into going down to address the crowds: “We did not anticipate he would be away long. He had been reluctant the first time that he was asked to go down, and he continued this reluctance, though it began to fade. He was still apprehensive as he left. The people who came said that there was a huge crowd down in the square and they were demanding his presence.”
23. See Note 9; John MacCormac’s despatch in *New York Times*, October 24; and Barnes to State, tel. 161, October 26, 1956, seven a.m.
24. See especially the *Népszabadság* series, “A Rádió Ostroma,” published in January 1957; and interview, Peter Erdős, Budapest, April 1980.
25. H24M, gynaecologist and obstetrician.
26. CUOHP, 408, Ildikó Lányi, schoolgirl, eighteen; 526, Ladislav (László) Szolnoki; and 413, Julius (Gyula) Józsa.
27. In Hungarian: “*Ölik az egyetemistákat!*” The official *White Book* publishes one testimony: “We learned subsequently that the demonstrators before the building had been augmented by a huge crowd brought to the radio through the false rumour that ‘the students were being shot there’. In various places of the capital – as eye-witnesses later related – certain individuals kept showing live rounds and saying, ‘The ÁVO-murderers are shooting with these!’ And the bullets in their hands served as ‘evidence’.” This author came to the same conclusion before reading this testimony. The question is, however, *who* was the provocateur?

28. CUOHP, 408, Lányi: she *then* went to radio, and witnessed the shooting *begin*, at eight thirty p.m.
29. CUOHP, 526.
30. Nagy's speech was described to the author by Vásárhelyi, Budapest, July and October 1978; by Stephen (István) Vajda in Vienna, October 1978; and in very many interrogation reports, e.g.: H11F, student; CUOHP, 243, Reményi; 413, Józsa; 408, Lányi; an authentic text of Nagy's words was published in *Élet és Irodalom*, May 10, 1957.
31. CUOHP, 229, University student, twenty.
32. *White Book*, vol. II, pages 16ff., quoting "M.I.," and pages 24ff., quoting "N.N."

#### **Chapter 24: Violence in a Narrow Street**

1. Interview of James Nicoll, London, November 1978.
2. CUOHP, 561, Professor Ladislav (László) Blücher.
3. Interview of Matthias (Mátyás) Sárközi, August 1974.
4. Interview of Stephen (István) Vajda, Vienna.
5. Dr. Paul Kecskeméti, speaking at Second Seminar, June 6, 1958, page 17.
6. CUOHP, 430, Bálint; and Barnes to State, tel. 161, October 26.
7. CUOHP, 551.
8. Interview of Peter Erdős, Budapest, April 4, 1980.
9. CUOHP, 442, Francis (Ferenc) Ilosvay, journalist.
10. "N.N." testified: "All this takes place without either direct firing or warning shots . . ." (*White Book*, page 25). So evidently indirect firing had begun, over the heads of the crowd.
11. CUOHP, 229.
12. CUOHP, 563, Peter Kende, journalist.
13. CUOHP, 500, Thomas (Tamás) Aczél.
14. *New York Times* suggests there were eight trucks; the US legation's telegram speaks of "four to five" trucks.

15. Peter Kereszturi, cited in Baudy, *Jeunesse d'Octobre*, page 74. His wife was at the debate.
16. Information to the author from Erika Thibault.
17. Thibault, and CUOHP, 561.
18. In Hungarian: "*Ruszkik hogyha szaladtok, engem itt ne hagyjatok!*"
19. CUOHP, 446, army radio officer, twenty-eight.
20. CUOHP, 501, architect.
21. The siege proper began sometime after midnight according to the radio officials (Lasky, page 141). A former airforce major (CUOHP, 428, aged forty-five) who had been watching from a distance with his two children, describes: "First they [the ÁVH] fired warning shots over the crowd but the crowd did not disperse. Then shots were fired *into* the crowd . . . The crowd were infuriated by this and took arms from the ÁVH and soldiers standing around, and began to say: 'Let's use them against these killers.'"
22. Interview of Kurucz, London, April 1978.
23. CUOHP, 619/II, George (György) Pauly-Pálos, geology student, twenty-three.
24. CUOHP, 446. He glanced at his watch and noticed that it was nine thirty-seven p.m. when the Stalin statue toppled.
25. H42M, toolmaker.
26. *White Book*, vol. II, pages 12 and 22, testimonies of "K.I." and "N.I."
27. *Ibid.*, page 13.
28. CUOHP, 501.
29. *White Book*, vol. II, page 46, testimony of Captain "V."
30. CUOHP, 430.
31. H49M, metal polisher, eighteen.
32. CUOHP, 441, journalist on staff of *Free Culture* (*Szabad Művészet*).
33. H49M. He obtained a sub-machine gun from the Kilián armoury.
34. In CUOHP, 501, a young student architect states that the army defended the crowd from the ÁVH by placing its armoured cars between them.

35. Around this time the political officer of the Second ÁVH Guard Battalion, Major Ladislás Mátya, arrived and went to the entrance gate to listen to the crowd's demands; he decided that another small delegation should be let in. There are different versions as to how he was killed. One eye-witness account by János Gura in *Magyar Híradó*, Vienna, October 1, 1979, says that Mátya pushed Fehér aside after a disagreement, so Fehér shot him in the stomach. The official *White Book* certainly makes more of Kovács's death an hour later. The *White Book*, vol. II, page 25, says only, "Major Magyar [*sic*] of the ÁVH was the first to be killed . . . Someone in the crowd shot him." The memorial tablet lists no Magyar, but one Lieutenant-Colonel Ladislás (László) Mátya. Around this time Peter Erdős saw one other incident which may have a bearing on this: a man was being carried roughly away from the tunnel, covered with blood. Major Fehér told him, absolutely furious, that this ÁVH officer had been standing talking to people when he had been shot from the crowd by someone.
36. CUOHP, 508.
37. Radio Kossuth, October 31, 1956. According to Zelk (interviewed in Budapest, April 1980) the delegation also included the thirty-one-year-old graphic artist Kálmán Csohány (a former miner and railway worker) and Louis (Lajos) Kónya.
38. This timing does not fully support the item published in *University Youth* (*Egyetemi Ifjúság*) on October 29, 1956: "The Soviet troops were called in by Andrew (András) Hegedüs on Tuesday night. He said so himself to the writers' delegation of which Ladislás (László) Benjámín was a member. Imre Nagy was fooled and outwitted."
39. H72M, student leader.
40. CUOHP, 505. The little group included himself as the twenty-three-year-old Jewish secretary of MEFESz, Ormay, Devecsery and the actor Imre Sinkovits. Aczél may have been there and a few DISz officials.
41. Interviews of Vásárhelyi, July 1978, and Fazekas, April 1980. Bözske Nagy tells this author that her husband, János, was not allowed into

the Central Committee meetings, and over subsequent days he was separated from Imre Nagy. “Jánosi tried to make contact with the outside world, for example telephoning Déry and Háy and talking to deputations of the insurgents . . . Losonczy and Donáth were the only people who were in touch with Imre Nagy at Academy Street.”

### Chapter 25: Who are You?

1. CUOHP, 563, Kende; and interview of Professor Kosáry, Budapest, April 1980.
2. Radio Budapest, October 25, eight thirty-eight a.m.; *White Book*, page 13; J. MacCormac, *New York Times*, October 27, 1956.
3. CUOHP, Nos. 505, Ladislav (László) Márton, and 616, Nicholas (Miklós) Molnár.
4. Radio Budapest, October 25.
5. Interview of Rényi, Budapest, September 1979.
6. CUOHP, 500, Aczél; Kopácsi, memoirs, pages 141ff.; and interview of Fazekas, Budapest, April 1980.
7. Kopácsi. “That night,” Aczél told his interlocutors some weeks later, “we had a tremendous argument with Kopácsi. He said this was a counter-revolution. As dawn approached he had taken all the necessary steps to defend the regime against it. We writers fought back. ‘Whom are you going to open fire on – the workers of Csepel?’”
8. Interviews of Dr. Zoltán Vas, September 1979, and Hegedüs, Budapest, April 1990.
9. H49M, aged eighteen.
10. H51M, metal polisher, nineteen.
11. CUOHP, 563, and interview of Vásárhelyi.
12. Kende in CUOHP, 563, gives a different version: Kende felt that their duty as journalists was clear. He stood up: “Come on, let’s go!” But Vásárhelyi looked at his neat suit and grimaced: it was no battledress. Kende pleaded: “The most they can do is to shoot us!” Vásárhelyi,

however, has told this author that both he and Losonczy went home at eleven p.m. and stayed there until next midday.

13. CUOHP, 211, Zoltán Szabó, bus driver.
14. CUOHP, 244, Szabolcs Pethes, storeman.
15. CUOHP, 615, Stephen (István) Elias, horticulturist.
16. CUOHP, 210, Julius (Gyula) Kupp.
17. *White Book*, pages 23 and 29.
18. One army colonel, Francis (Ferenc) Konok, was against opening fire. He told Mrs. Benke he had just spoken with some of the people at the main gate, and all they wanted was their demands broadcast over the radio. But Mrs. Benke had been hearing that tune for many hours and had wearied of it; however, the colonel persuaded her, and three more men were found to take to the mob her promise to broadcast the full text, despite her objections to it. A witness says, "I remember their pale and frightened faces. They explained that they could not prevent the attackers from firing, they could not influence them" (*White Book*, page 27). This last attempt failed: the men shouted themselves hoarse, but few people wanted to leave then.
19. The rebels lost the Joseph (József) Telephone Exchange to an ÁVH counter-attack four or five hours later.
20. Ervin Hollós, *Köztársaság tér, 1956* (Budapest, 1974).
21. CUOHP, 247, Corporal Paul (Pál) Szatmári, twenty-four.
22. He was voted down, says Francis (Ferenc) Gaál, twenty-seven, political instructor in the army.
23. Probably army discontent over plans to axe 15,000 men from the officer corps contributed, according to CUOHP, 559.
24. Interview of Stephen (István) Gaál, airman, September 1974.
25. *Piszkos csirkefogó fasiszták*.
26. CUOHP, 446, army signals expert, twenty-eight.
27. CUOHP, 561, Professor Ladislav (László) Blücher.
28. CUOHP, 559, Francis (Ferenc) Gaál.



29. John MacCormac, in *New York Times*, October 31, 1956. Not surprisingly the Petőfi cadets were among the first to set up a soldiers' council against the regime.
30. Gosztony, *Aufstand*; and H26M, soldier, twenty, interviewed March 5, 1957.
31. CUOHP, 505, Ladislás (László) Márton, journalist.
32. Interview of Kurucz, April 1978.

## **Chapter 26: Big Lie, Small Lie**

1. H26M.
2. CUOHP, 563.
3. Testimony of Joseph (József) Balogh and Alexander (Sándor) Kopácsi in *Procès*.
4. *Irodalmi Újság*, November 2, 1956.
5. Dr. Nadany, of the US Information Agency.
6. CUOHP, 560, woman steel mill worker.
7. Katona diary.
8. Kopácsi, memoirs.
9. When interviewed by an Italian journalist, Dr. Bruno Tedeschi, on November 1, 1956.
10. Dr. Peter Gosztony's information to the author, February 1979; and author's interview of Hegedüs.
11. Interview of George (György) Marosán, October 1978.
12. Hegedüs, in *Quotidien de Paris*, October 28, 1976.
13. Interview of Hegedüs, April 1980. In a speech in July 1957, Marosán would brag: "I was the one who on the night of October 23-24 demanded that Soviet troops should be thrown in" (*New York Times*, July 31, 1957); repeated in author's interview.
14. *Truth (Igázság)*, October 31, 1956.
15. Testimony of Szilágyi, *Procès*, page 87.
16. Austrian radio interview, October 31; Lasky, *The Hungarian Uprising*, pages 155ff.

17. Thomas Schreiber in *Le Monde*, Paris, December 4, 1956.
18. Kádár, speech to Parliament, May 11, 1957.
19. *Népszabadság*, May 17, 1957.
20. "The strange thing is," reflected Peter Kende afterwards, "that Imre Nagy broke almost completely with his friends during those days" (CUOHP, 563).
21. "The Presidium . . . elected Nagy prime minister in full compliance with the provisions of the Constitution" (*Népszabadság*, May 10, 1957).
22. Interview of Kurucz.
23. CUOHP, 561, Professor Blücher. Major Fehér was killed by the rebels, there are conflicting versions as to how. János Gura in *Magyar Híradó*, Vienna, October 1, 1979, luridly claimed that when his men wanted to capitulate, Fehér threatened to court martial them. As he stepped into Valeria Benke's office a battle-fatigued ÁVH private fired a machine-gun burst through the door into his back. However, Peter Erdős has told the author that he saw that office door later and it was open and intact. Through a window overlooking the courtyard he saw a figure which looked very much like Major Fehér being led away in the direction of the garage.
24. Kopácsi, memoirs, pages 146ff.; and CUOHP, 500.

## **Chapter 27: New Guns Settling Old Scores**

1. Katona diary, October 22, 1956; and interview of May 1978. Barnes to State, tel. 156, one p.m., October 24, 1956.
2. István Tollas, *Wir kämpften für unsere Freiheit* (Liestal, 1957).
3. CUOHP, 508.
4. CUOHP, 231, Béla Harmatzy-Simon.
5. H11F.
6. CUOHP, 425, Andrew (Endre) Rodriguez.
7. H53M.
8. George Sherman, in the *Observer*, London, November 11, 1956.

9. CUOHP, 211, Zoltán Szabó, bus driver.
10. CUOHP, 501, student architect.
11. CUOHP, 509, Andrew (Endre) Szabó.
12. CUOHP, 559, Francis (Ferenc) Gaál.
13. CUOHP, 241, János Ottó, chemical engineer.
14. Interview of L.F., Nottinghamshire, September 1974.
15. Hajdú's photographs with his handwritten captions are in this author's possession; they were turned over to a US legation official; other versions of this shooting are in *UN Report*, §480, and CUOHP, 247, Corporal Pál Szatmári.
16. Interview of Mrs. Jánosi, Budapest, September 1979.
17. *UN Report*, §251.
18. CUOHP, 616, Molnár.
19. Kopácsi, testimony in *Procès*, page 56, and memoirs.
20. CUOHP, 508; also 563, Kende, and interview of Donáth, Budapest, May 1980.
21. Testimony of Stephen (István) Márkus, *Procès*, page 49.
22. CUOHP, 563.
23. Interview of Vásárhelyi, October 1978.

## **Chapter 28: Each Man has Two Reasons**

1. Gosztony, *Aufstand*, pages 193ff.
2. H53M.
3. Ervin Hollós, *Köztársaság tér, 1956*, pages 38ff.
4. Interview of Vas, September 1979.
5. Hollós, op. cit.
6. CUOHP, 428, Imre Szabó Nyirádi, former airforce officer.
7. Nikos said this to historian Dr. Louis (Lajos) Gogolay, who lived opposite the Corvin Passage (CUOHP, 441).
8. CUOHP, 222, schoolboy, seventeen.
9. *Procès*, page 70.
10. Berecz, *Ellenforradalom tollal és fegyverrel: 1956*, page 99.

11. Interview of Vas.
12. George Mikes, *The Hungarian Revolution* (London, 1957), page 91. And interview of Hegedüs, Budapest, April 1980.
13. The statistics are from a survey conducted by the RFE audience analysis section in Munich; fourteen per cent of the active fighters were from “professional social categories,” only two per cent were white-collar (office) workers, thirteen per cent industrial workers, six per cent agricultural workers, and twenty per cent others including students. Of the white-collar group, eighty-two per cent were “inactive” – did not participate even in non-combat roles; evidently the office workers remained demoralised throughout. By contrast, only six per cent of the intelligentsia remained “inactive” in this sense: they began feverishly constructing new political parties, founding newspapers and otherwise dissipating their energies in non-urgent non-combat tasks.
14. Telephone calls, in John Foster Dulles papers, October 23-24, 1956.
15. *Monday News (Hétfői Hírlap)*, October 29, 1956; and Gosztony, *Aufstand*, page 211.
16. CUOHP, 403, Dezső Kiss, apprentice locksmith; and Gosztony, *Aufstand*, page 217.
17. CUOHP, 206, Árpád Sultz.
18. CUOHP, 231.
19. Mićunović diary, October 15, 23-25, 1956.
20. H36M, former soldier, forty-one.
21. One Pole was killed and several wounded according to their interpreter George (György) Lovas (CUOHP, 207).
22. CUOHP, 441.
23. H32M.

## **Chapter 29: Parliament Square**

1. Dezső Kosak in *Franc Tireur*, Paris, December 18, 1956.
2. Ibid.

3. Interview of Gáza Katona, Virginia, March 25, 1979; he provided the photographs to this author.
4. On October 25, the US legation was able to transmit a lengthy teletype to Washington giving a running commentary on events.
5. Interviews of Erdős, Budapest, April 1980.
6. CUOHP, 500, Aczél.
7. CUOHP, 229.
8. Photographer Hajdú's snapshot in author's possession records, "Eleven a.m., defected Russian tanks heading for Parliament in Bajcsy Zsilinsky Street." The time was somewhat earlier according to the legation's telex report: "At ten thirty large crowd marched north past legation, proceeded further towards Parliament."
9. Francis (Ferenc) Reményi, thirty-seven (CUOHP, 243). The slogan was: "*Nem vagyunk mi fasiszták – munkások vagyunk!*"
10. An assistant professor at the Polytechnic (CUOHP, 561) later described: "At the National Museum eight Russian tanks changed to the rebel side; three or four . . . accompanied the marchers as they poured into the square."
11. Interview of Dr. Peter Hanák, Budapest, September 1979.
12. Leslie Bain, in *Washington Evening Star*, October 31, 1956.
13. Interview of Hegedüs, April 1980.
14. UN *Report*, §254.
15. Interview of Vásárhelyi, October 1978.
16. *New York Times*, October 24, 1956.
17. On the morning of October 25, the Budapest legation succeeded in patching through a direct link to the State Department, and from six thirty a.m. until three minutes past five p.m. Budapest time a dramatic teletype "conversation" kept the line open. A copy was rushed to President Eisenhower, and it is in his files; another copy is in State Department records.
18. CUOHP, 243.
19. Katona diary, October 25, 1956; and interview, May 1979.

20. CUOHP, 413, Julius (Gyula) Józsa, student; and Endre Márton.
21. CUOHP, 561, assistant professor at Polytechnic; and 205.
22. Endre Márton's AP dispatches of October 25 and 26; *New York Times*, October 27, 1956.
23. The British official's statement is mentioned in the UN *Report*, §482, which itself estimated the number killed as "from 300 to 800." However the Hungarian Central Statistical Office's confidential report lists only 106 (identified) dead in the Vth District, which includes Parliament Square, during the uprising, so this figure must be regarded as the upper limit for this incident.
24. Kopácsi. Kopácsi describes receiving a call from a woman police lieutenant with an office near Parliament Square: an ÁVH lieutenant commanding machine-gun positions on the rooftops had just run upstairs shouting that he was not going to let the mob get away with this; three minutes later she phoned again to report the shooting. Kopácsi is the only source for this direct evidence of ÁVH responsibility.
25. Hanák told the author the whole episode in Budapest in September 1979. In 1956 historian Ladislav (László) Szolnoki (CUOHP, 526) quoted Hanák as having told the group: "The only solution for this crisis is to disband the ÁVH, stop the machine-gunning and hold free elections." There were muttered objections: "How absurd!" And when Hanák talked of free elections there were scandalised shouts: "This is pure counterrevolution – what else!" Nagy squared up to the others and announced, "Comrades, it is far from being as simple as all that." Tóth's accidental shooting by the Party HQ's guards was later blamed on the rebels, and he became something of a martyr in Communist Hungary. His scatter-brained colleagues of the philosophy faculty stripped the body of all his valuables to return to the widow, with the result that the body became unidentifiable and she and Hanák had to sift through hundreds of victims at a cemetery to retrieve it for proper burial.
26. CUOHP, 205, Zsigmond Varga, bookkeeper.
27. CUOHP, 615.

### Chapter 30: Policeman on a Plywood Chair

1. H35M, engineer.
2. Imre F. Joos, in *Hétfői Hírlap*, October 29.
3. CUOHP, 430.
4. CUOHP, 227, Bishop János Ödön Péterfalvy; and 615, Elias, horticulturist.
5. CUOHP, 439, Ödön Vajda, purchasing agent.
6. Louis (Lajos) Csiba, interviewed in Westdeutscher Rundfunk TV programme, “Die Toten kehren wieder,” June 17, 1968; and interview of Peter Gosztony on the same programme.
7. Maléter statement, November 2, 1956; and testimony of János Meccséri, Vladimir Madarász and János Tari, *Procès*, pages 72-73.
8. Imre Nagy quoted Lenin’s saying in a June 1954 speech.
9. *Szabad Föld*, March 3, 1957. This is supported by Captain Madarász’s testimony.
10. Testimony of Tari, *Procès*, page 73.
11. Herman Phleger, Oral Interview, July 21, 1964 (Princeton University), and letter to James McCargar, March 18, 1966; and Eisenhower’s remarks at Bipartisan Legislative Meeting, November 9, 1956 (Eisenhower Library).
12. C. D. Jackson to Hon. Walt W. Rostow, September 28, 1962 (Eisenhower Library, Jackson papers, Box 57).
13. Conor Cruise O’Brien, book review, “Discreet Biography of a Smiling Public Man,” in *Washington Post*, February 4, 1973.
14. Barnes to State, tel. 157, October 24, three p.m., received in Washington next morning; *New York Times*, October 26.
15. Telephone notes in John Foster Dulles Papers, Eisenhower Library; and Eisenhower diaries, Box 18, October 1956 phone calls.
16. Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., to State, tel. 403, seven p.m., October 25; and letter to C. D. Jackson, March 4, 1957 (Eisenhower Library). Dulles to embassies in London, etc., and to Lodge, seven thirty p.m., October 25, 1956; and Oral Interview of Wiley T. Buchanan, Jr.,

- chief of protocol at the State Department, June 15, 1966 (Princeton University): he disagreed with Dulles's policy of not going in to help the Hungarians. "I didn't believe then, and certainly was more sure than ever after I'd travelled two weeks with Khrushchev, that they ever would have bombed . . . You know the danger of a bomb being dropped was foremost in everybody's mind."
17. TASS report Budapest, October 24; and David J. Dallin, *Sowjetische Außenpolitik nach Stalins Tod*, Köln, 1962.
  18. Charles Bohlen to State, tel. 439, Moscow, October 25.
  19. CUOHP, 211.
  20. Interview of Kurucz, London, April 1978.
  21. Ernst Halperin.
  22. Bruno Tedeschi in *Il Giornale d'Italia*, November 18, 1956.
  23. H70M.
  24. *Manchester Guardian*, October 27, 1956.
  25. *Neue Kurier Wien*, October 26, 1956.
  26. The author's account of the siege of Kopácsi's headquarters is based on interviews with Fazekas in Budapest, May 1980, and with Kopácsi in Toronto in March 1979; on his memoirs, and on the testimony of Vilmos Oláh, *Procès*, page 54.
  27. BBC Monitoring report. Lasky in *The Hungarian Revolution* gives the correct text with all the dreadful Marxist jargon that the RFE anthology of these broadcasts tactfully omits! Later George Mikes in *The Hungarian Revolution* (London, 1957) claimed inside information that Nagy was refused permission by Suslov and Mikoyan to blame Gerő in this speech for calling in the Soviet troops; Mikes suggests that two Russian officers, "their hands deep in their pockets," stood menacingly behind Nagy as he made his broadcast. This image is difficult to reconcile with the word-picture rendered by Hanák, of Nagy as master of his situation at noon this day.
  28. John MacCormac, *New York Times*, October 27; Gordon Shepard, *Daily Telegraph*, October 27; text of leaflet in Barnes to State, tel. 161, October 26, seven a.m., and *The Times*, October 27.



29. Barnes to State, tel. 161, October 26, seven a.m., and H60F, Countess Anne Nádasdy.

### Chapter 31: The Tide of Rebellion

1. Dr. George Devereux, interview of H42M, on April 4, 1957 (at Rutgers).
2. Gosztony, *Aufstand*, pages 213ff.
3. Ernest (Ernö) Farnadi (CUOHP, 515).
4. CUOHP, 221, student from Győr, twenty-one.
5. Adolph Rastén, in *Politiken*, Copenhagen, October 29, 1956.
6. UN *Report*, page 85; *The Times*, October 29, 1956.
7. Tedeschi, in *Il Giornale d'Italia*, Rome, October 30, put the figure at eighty-two. Dominique Auclères in *Le Figaro*, October 29, 1956, wrote of fifty local corpses seen in coffins, and twenty-seven belonging to the next village. The UN *Report* says (§497) that 101 were killed. The *Times* correspondent counted eleven corpses at the mortuary, and twenty elsewhere, but accepted that "some eighty" were killed. Noel Barber, in the *Daily Mail*, October 23, 1957, says that he and his assistant Dénes Horváth counted eighty-two. The number killed during the uprising at Magyaróvár totalled fifty, according to the report of the Central Statistical Office, and this agrees with the estimate given by Flora Pötz of forty, killed and about 150 injured.
8. According to Ernest (Ernö) Farnadi (CUOHP, 515), Földes was beaten up by the ÁVH and then nearly lynched by the mob for trying to protect the ÁVH: "He came back to Győr with a black eye, but confident that he had done his duty." The *New York Times* reported on May 26, 1957, that Földes had been hanged for leading the attack on the ÁVH headquarters at Győr.
9. CUOHP, 209, Flora Pötz, electro-technician at a local factory.
10. CUOHP, 204, factory worker.
11. Barnes to State, tels. 162, 165 and 167, October 26, 1956.

12. Kádár referred to the row some months later: "At the meeting of the Central Committee on October 26 the followers of Imre Nagy demanded that all these acts be recognised as a national-democratic movement. The Central Committee rejected the demand" (Speech, June 1957, in *Vsevevengerskaya konferentsia* . . . etc.).
13. *Népszabadság*, May 17, 1957.
14. Interview of Donáth, Budapest, May 1980.
15. CUOHP, 406.
16. CUOHP, 525, Ladislav (László) Palkovics, carpenter.
17. *Hétféli Hírlap*, October 29, 1956, article, "Revolutionary Country – from Tuesday evening to Friday evening."
18. CUOHP, 301, Francis (Ferenc) Mikes, priest.
19. Quoted in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, January 29, 1957; the *UN Report* says that two people were killed in the Debrecen shooting.
20. One of them was "Dr. Hardy," a thirty-five-year-old biochemist of Pécs University Clinic (CUOHP, 517).
21. CUOHP, 517.
22. H56M, a member of the Kecskemét revolutionary council.
23. Árpád Sultz, a Catholic theology student of twenty-eight, interrogated in June 1957 at Feldafing (CUOHP, 206); interviewers were worried about more fantastic elements of history but where they could check it against their files it proved reliable. For a more fanciful account of the Miskolc fighting, see *New Hungary* (*Új Hungária*), December 14, 1956.
24. *Népszabadság*, April 14, 1957, which carried an article about the sufferings of ÁVH officers. And *UN Report*, §497.
25. CUOHP, 430, Bálint.
26. CUOHP, 505, Ladislav (László) Márton, journalist; and 508, and interview of János Bárdi, Wetzlar, July 3, 1978.
27. Radio Free Miskolc, broadcasts, October 26, one ten a.m.; and Radio Budapest, one p.m. (cf. Lasky, *The Hungarian Revolution*, pages 90ff.).

28. Radio Budapest, October 26, four forty-five p.m. and nine p.m.; cf. Victor Zorza, *Manchester Guardian*, October 26.
29. CUOHP, 560, female Csepel factory worker; and *Hungarian Youth* (*Magyar Ifjúság*), Budapest, September 7, 1957.
30. CUOHP, 560.
31. *White Book*, vol. II, pages 153-154; and CUOHP, 560.
32. *White Book*, vol. II, pages 159-162; the photograph is on Münnich's desk now.
33. CUOHP, 204.
34. Francis (Ferenc) Töke, "Experiences with Workers' Councils during the Hungarian Revolution," in *The Review*, pages 74-88; and *Népszava*, London, October 1, 1961.
35. Radio Budapest, October 26, four forty-five p.m.
36. Radio Budapest, October 26, eight forty-five p.m.
37. CUOHP, 231.
38. Gosztöny diary.
39. Maria Maléter, "Ungarns stolzer Rebell," in *Das Beste aus Reader's Digest*, February 1959.

### **Chapter 32: A Share of the Blame**

1. Batov was interviewed by the author in Moscow, April 1978.
2. Interview of Vassily R. Sitnikov, Moscow, April 1978.
3. Ilario Fiore, diary on notepaper of Legazione d'Italia, Budapest, October 25-26, 1956.
4. CUOHP, 213, student.
5. CUOHP, 207, interpreter George (György) Lovas.
6. *Az orosz vajban és prézliben sütvé is orosz marad!*
7. An interpreter assigned to Soviet forces, Mr. Szegedi, told journalist Stephen (István) Vajda of this in 1957: interview, Vienna, October 25, 1978.
8. CUOHP, 231.

9. Peer de Silva, *Sub Rosa*, pages 128-129; for typical newspaper exaggerations see *Expressen*, Stockholm, November 4, 1956.
10. Barnes to State, tel. 168, October 27, eleven a.m.
11. Ibid.
12. Record of Actions by the NSC at its 301 meeting on October 26, 1956 (Eisenhower Library); and Allen W. Dulles, Oral History, June 3, 1965 (Princeton University).
13. Records of the Eisenhower and Dulles telephone conversations are in the Eisenhower diary, and in the Dulles and Dulles-Herter papers in the Eisenhower Library.
14. CUOHP, 407.
15. Bill Lomax, manuscript; he cites Berecz, *Ellenforradalom tollal és fegyverrel*, pages 86-90.
16. H24M.
17. H47M, interviewed by Dr. William N. Christensen.
18. H71M.
19. H24M.
20. H55F.
21. CUOHP, 212.
22. Sentence of death was passed on Dudás and Szabó on January 15, 1957 (*New York Times*, January 20, 1957); on Dudás, see also the edition of December 31, 1956; and R. Bányás, "Dudás fejtadássainak nyomában" ("Dudás's Activity during the Revolution") in *People's Will* (*Népakarát*), Budapest, Nos. 76, 81 and 83, 1957.
23. Baudy, *Jeunesse d'Octobre*, page 383.
24. CUOHP, 442, Ilosvay. He now lives in Vienna as Franz Ilosvay.
25. CUOHP, 500, Aczél.
26. The *White Book* published after Dudás's execution stated that after the war the Romanians had imprisoned Dudás for his pre-war activities as an informer for the Romanian secret police, the Siguranta. This was quite untrue.

27. The government's 1957 *White Book* skated round Dudás's wartime role in Moscow. It is confirmed by Paul (Pál) Jónás, in his article "Porträt eines Revolutionärs" in the journal *Hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang*, 10, 1957, and by Alexander (Sándor) Kiss (H62M) and by Dr. Peter Rényi in an interview in September 1979.
28. Interview of J.T., January 17, 1974.
29. *White Book*, vol. II, pages 105ff.; Hollós, *Köztársaság tér, 1956*, pages 120ff. Interview of Robert Gáti, Leicester, August 25, 1980.
30. CUOHP, 429, a Jew, Dr. Paul (Pál) Szappanos (Ráday).
31. Summary of UN Action in the Situation in Hungary from October 28 to December 31, 1956.
32. Dulles, speech in Dallas, Texas: appendix to NSC 5616/2.
33. Memo on conversation re Situation in Hungary, October 27, 1956, noon; in State Department files.
34. Rényi, interview, July 1978; CUOHP, 500, Aczél.
35. Kopácsi testimony, *Procès*, page 57; and memoirs, pages 159-161.

### **Chapter 33: Crumbling**

1. Ilario Fiore diary; and interview in Madrid, May 1979.
2. *Times Talk* (*New York Times* house journal), November 1956, February 1957.
3. Interviews of Jeffrey Blyth, New York, May 1978; Noel Barber, London, June 1978; and Lawrence Davis, Vienna, July 1978. Barber's report is in the *Daily Mail*, October 27, 1956: "Tonight Budapest is a city of mourning. Black flags hang from every window . . ."
4. Fabrizio Franco diary, October 27.
5. *Truth (Igazság)*, October 30, 1956.
6. Interview of Professor Kosáry, Budapest, April 1980.
7. Hollós; interview of Vásárhelyi in Budapest, September 1979.
8. Barnes to State, tels. 169, October 27, four p.m., and 171, October 28, two p.m.

9. Free Europe Press division, background hand-out on Maléter, December 13, 1957.
10. Gosztony diary, October 27.
11. CUOHP, 615.
12. *Daily Telegraph*, October 29.
13. Ladislav (László) Kocsis, "The last days of Béla Kovács" in *New Hungary*, Budapest, August 1959.
14. Béla Kovács, speech of October 31, in *Small News (Kis Újság)*, November 1; broadcast from Budapest in French, seven minutes past five p.m., October 31; MTI despatch October 31, 1956.
15. Kopácsi, memoirs, page 175, says that this was late on October 25. While Münnich's appointment was not announced until early on October 27 and the dissolution of the ÁVH was announced late next day, it is believed that he was in fact appointed minister of the interior on October 25.
16. Such was the text which Dimitri T. Shepilov, Soviet foreign minister, read out in the United Nations General Assembly on November 19, described as "the telegram received by the Council of Ministers of the USSR from the Prime Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic on October 24."
17. Interview of Hegedüs, Budapest, April 1980.
18. Testimony of Joseph (József) Balogh, Miklós (Nicholas) Gimes, and Joseph (József) Szilágyi, *Procès*, pages 87ff.
19. Kopácsi, memoirs, pages 172-173.
20. Kádár speech in *Vsevevengskaya konferentsia . . . etc.*
21. The note is printed as a facsimile in *Procès*; testimony of Janza and Tóth, in *Procès*, page 93; and Hollós, op. cit.

### Chapter 34: Ceasefire

1. *Szabó bácsi*.
2. Sources on the Széna Square group include Géza Bánkuti (CUOHP, 448), a motorcycle racer, considered possibly unreliable; Szabolcs

- Pethes, a twenty-year-old (CUOHP, 244); and Y139F, an eighteen-year-old Jewish jeweller's daughter who tended the wounded and helped smuggle guns and grenades beneath her overcoat to the rebels holed up in the tunnels; see also Gordon Shepard in the *Daily Telegraph*, October 29, 1956.
3. *White Book*, vol. II, pages 35-37.
  4. Dr. Roland Nitsche, article in *Bild-Telegraf*, Vienna, October 29, 1956; he was in Győr on October 27.
  5. Radio Free Győr, eight thirteen a.m., October 28.
  6. Ibid.; and CUOHP, 221 and 515.
  7. *Győri nemzeti bizottság*.
  8. Dr. Roland Nitsche; CUOHP, 501; CUOHP, 507, a twenty-four-year-old former DISz official; and CUOHP, 566, Lazarus Brankov.
  9. CUOHP, 566.
  10. CUOHP, 515, Ernest (Ernö) Farnadi, Social Democrat in Győr.
  11. CUOHP, 515. And 507, a twenty-year-old Budapest University student.
  12. Homer Bigart in *New York Times*, October 30. According to Giorgio Bontempi, in *Il Paese*, Rome, October 29, 1956, the ultimatum (of which he had learned before leaving Győr at ten fifty a.m. on the twenty-eighth) was : "If Nagy does not offer the most substantial guarantee before eight p.m. the revolutionaries of Győr will march on the capital."
  13. Radio Budapest, October 28, four, six, and seven twenty a.m.
  14. Interview of Hegedüs, Budapest, April 1990. He heard about the conference afterwards. "It has always been a mystery to me what precisely happened at this conference."
  15. Peter Eder, in *Echo*, Vienna, November 4, 1956.
  16. Radio Free Győr, October 29; and Radio Free Miskolc, October 28, six forty p.m., and 29, two fifteen p.m.
  17. Interview of Hegedüs.

18. For Sir Anthony Eden's criticism of the United States' handling of the Hungarian case in the United Nations, see his *Full Circle*, page 609.

### Chapter 35: Lowering the Barriers

1. *New York Times*, October 30, 1956.
2. Thompson to State, tel. 918, Vienna, October 28, three p.m.; Barnes to State, tels. 171, Budapest, two p.m., and 177, eight p.m.
3. Barnes to State, tel. 180, October 29, nine p.m.
4. George (György) Baranyai and Gábor Nógrádi: "Secrets of Rákosi villa," in *Népakarat*, November 2, 1956.
5. Ervin Hollós, *Köztársaság tér, 1956* (Budapest, 1974).
6. CUOHP, 615.
7. H13M.
8. UN *Report*, §523; and interview of Professor Thomas (Tamás) Nagy, Budapest, April 1980.
9. CUOHP, 561.
10. Nicolas Baudy, *Jeunesse d'Octobre*, pages 382ff. He had chanced upon the draft in Horváth's handwriting late on October 30 in the *Szabad Nép* offices, after arriving there with the copy for the latest *University Youth (Egyetemi Ifjúság)*; and interview of Professor Molnár, Geneva, April 1979.
11. Noel Barber, interview, London, June 1978.
12. Semi-verbatim texts of these conversations with the President; in the Eisenhower diary; and in the Dulles-Herter papers (Eisenhower Library).

### Chapter 36: Joseph Dudás

1. *New York Times*, October 30, 1956.
2. CUOHP, 616, Molnár: "*Nem akarta meglovagolni ezt a forradalmat.*" (Nagy did not want to take advantage of this revolution.)
3. Méray, in Westdeutscher Rundfunk TV programme, "Die Toten kehren wieder," June 17, 1968.



4. Interview of Erdős, April 1980.
5. Interview of Vásárhelyi, October 1980.
6. Gosztony, in "The General of the Revolution," *Allgemeine Schweizer Militärzeitschrift*, 10, 1964, pages 668-674.
7. Radio Budapest, November 1.
8. *Daily Express*, October 31; *Igazság*, November 1, 1956; and *Nemzetör*, Munich, November 1, 1962.
9. Interview of Dr. Andrew (András) Révész, April 1980.
10. Ibid.
11. Interview of Vilmos Zentai, Budapest, April 1980.
12. Tildy, *Procès*, page 105.
13. Free Radio Kossuth, October 30; and see H45M.
14. CUOHP, 606, Dr. Dénes Horváth, a classmate of the Erdei brothers.
15. CUOHP, 561, Professor Blücher.
16. Barnes to State, tels. 182, of October 28, ten p.m., and 186, October 30, one a.m.
17. CUOHP, 231, tractor station manager.
18. Interview of Király, New York, January 1974. On February 18, 1957, Király published a dramatic version of events in *Life*; its dating is cavalier in parts. His letter to Jánosi is in facsimile in *Procès*, and see pages 58ff.
19. Király, in *East Europe*, vol. 6, 1958.
20. CUOHP, 428, Imre Szabó Nyirádi.
21. CUOHP, 446, army signals expert. His unit also knew about the Russian units coming in, but nobody knew where to send this information; their own defence ministry was not asking for it.
22. H61M, Paul (Pál) Jónás; and his article, "My Generation," in *East Europe*, vol. 6, Number 7; he was thirty-five and a former inmate of the Recsk camp. UN *Report*, §523. And interview of Professor Nagy, Budapest, April 1980.
23. Barnes to State, tel. 180, October 29, nine p.m.; Katona diary.

24. CUOHP, 206, Árpád Sultz, who had been appointed the Miskolc council's propaganda chief.
25. US embassy Warsaw to State, tel. 592, November 2, 1956; there was a furious attack on Saillant in the Polish union organ, *Głose Pracy*, October 30.
26. János Radványi, *Hungary and the Superpowers* (Stanford, California, 1972).
27. BBC Monitoring report, Summary, November 2, 1956.
28. Bohlen to State, tel. 992, Moscow, October 30, one p.m. The reception was also reported by T. Popovski in *Borba*, Belgrade, October 30.
29. Dulles tel. to Bucharest, Budapest, Vienna, and Belgrade, October 30.
30. CUOHP, 526, Ladislás (László) Szolnoki, historian.
31. Radio Times Hulton picture M 70975.
32. Barnes to State, tel. 187, October 30, one a.m.
33. Testimony of Anthony (Antal) Mayer and Ladislás (László) Szolnoki, historian.
34. CUOHP, 407, Anthony (Antal) Braunecker, a twenty-nine-year-old economics student, witnessed this. So did 220, Gábor Kóbor, student, twenty-one.
35. Interview of Stephen (István) Vajda, Vienna, October 1978.
36. Vlado Teslic, *Borba*, November 1, 1956.
37. Transcript of policy messages to Free Europe Committee, New York, from RFE, Munich (C. D. Jackson papers, Box 44, Eisenhower Library). On October 29, a message went from RFE: "[We are] using material from Radios Győr, Miskolc, Pécs-military in so far as it reflects genuine demands of revolutionaries, emphasising withdrawal of Soviet troops immediately and disarming and disbandment of ÁVH."
38. *Weltpresse*, Vienna, October 30, and *Neues Österreich*, October 31, 1956.
39. Marian Bielicki, in *Po Prostu*, December 9, 1956.
40. CUOHP, 564, journalist.
41. *Magyar Függetlenség*, October 30, 1956.

42. Hanka Adamiecka, quoted by Wiktor Woroszyński in *Nowa Kultura*, Warsaw, December 2, 1956.
43. CUOHP, 564.
43. Interview of János Bardi, Wetzlar, June 1978.
45. CUOHP, 564.
46. Zoltán Benkó and H75M.
47. Marian Bielicki, in *Po Prostu*, November 25, December 2 and 9; Hanka Adamiecka, in *Sztandar Młodych*, November 27; and Wiktor Woroszyński diary, published in *Nowa Kultura* and *France Observateur*, January 3, 1957.
48. CUOHP, 429, Dr. Paul (Pál) Szappanos.
49. H31M.
50. The first issue of *Magyar Függetlenség* was dated October 30; the last, November 3, 1956.
51. This was H75M.
52. CUOHP, 564.
53. Paul (Pál) Jónás, op. cit.
54. CUOHP, 563, Kende.
55. Ibid. Kopácsi times this episode late on October 30, however.

### **Chapter 37: Colonel Kopácsi Shrugs Again**

1. Letter from Joseph Kővágó to the author, April 1978; and CUOHP, 615, Elias.
2. *Borba*, Belgrade, October 31, 1956.
3. Király, *Life*, February 1957.
4. Testimony of Király's secretary, Mrs. Ladislav (László) Balla, of Joseph (József) Balogh, and of Kopácsi, *Procès*, pages 68-70.
5. *Népszabadság*, December 3, 1959.
6. Bohlen to State, tel. 1006, Moscow, October 31.
7. Tito's message of October 29 is printed in *Free Youth (Szabad Ifjúság)*, October 30. From *Neues Österreich*, October 30, 1956. And interview of Erdős, Budapest, April 1980.

8. Bohlen to State, tel., Moscow, October 31, one p.m.
9. Barnes to State, tel. 191, October 30, four p.m.
10. *Time*, November 12, 1956; interviews of Blyth, New York, in May, and Matthias, Paris, in June 1978, and of Katona, Virginia, in March, and Tedeschi, Rome, in May 1979.
11. Hollós, *Köztársaság tér*, 1956, page 120.
12. Interview of Mathias.
13. Wiktor Woroszyński, *Nowa Kultura*, November 25, 1956.
14. Interview of Vásárhelyi, Budapest, April 1980. This emerged during the trial confrontation of Mrs. Balogh with Imre Nagy, which he witnessed; her testimony on June 13, 1958, is in *Procès*, page 98.
15. Hollós, op. cit., page 151.
16. CUOHP, 508.
17. CUOHP, 563, Kende, quoting Gimes.
18. CUOHP, 508.
19. H24M.
20. Julius Háý, *Geboren 1900*, page 365; and H61M Paul (Pál) Jónás.
21. Kádár's speech on June 27, 1957, printed in *Vsevegenskaya konferentsia* . . . etc.

### **Chapter 38: Wool over their Eyes**

1. These telephone conversations are reported in the Dulles and Dulles-Herter Papers, and Eisenhower Diaries, Box 18.
2. CUOHP, 213, student.
3. Radio Times Hulton pictures M 68955, 68960, 71140 and 80285; report by Alberto Cavallari in *Corriere della Sera*.
4. Katona diary.
5. Barnes to State, tel. 197, October 30, eleven p.m.
6. Barnes to State, tel. 191, October 30, four p.m.
7. An RFE summary states that this principle of broadcasting back the rebel demands "had already been laid down in an exchange of messages between New York and Munich offices. RFE was to help unify the

thinking of the many scattered patriot groups by playing back their own programmes and desires – not by launching a programme of its own.”

8. Radio Miskolc, October 30, six thirty p.m.
9. BBC Monitoring report, Summary, October 30; Budapest radio in French, October 30-31, midnight.
10. *Dunántúli nemzeti tanács*.
11. CUOHP, 501.
12. CUOHP, 213, student, twenty-two.
13. Kádár said on May 11, 1957: “Never in the course of history has there been a purely local war in the heart of Europe. Local wars have always developed into world wars.”
14. George (György) Heltai in Westdeutscher Rundfunk TV programme, “Die Toten kehren wieder,” June 17, 1968.
15. Joseph (József) Kővágó, speech, January 29, 1957; Heltai (see Note 14).
16. Radio Budapest, October 30, seven p.m.; Radio Miskolc, five past ten p.m.
17. *Procès*, page 73; interview of Vás, September 1979; and of Gosztony, Berne, June 1978.
18. Testimony of Mrs. Joseph (József) Balogh, *Procès*, page 101.
19. Kopácsi, memoirs, pages 179-181; his dating appears vulnerable. The new Politburo as described by Kádár was finally announced on November 1 at ten p.m.
20. Testimony of Mrs. Francis (Ferenc) Molnár, *Procès*, page 103.
21. *Magyar Függetlenség*, October 31.
22. Radio Budapest, October 30-31, midnight.
23. Radio Kossuth, October 30, ten forty p.m.; and Woroszyński, *Nowa Kultura*, Warsaw, November 25, 1956.
24. UN *Report*, §509; Radio Budapest, five fifteen p.m., October 31.
25. Just before Fazekas met the author in Budapest, in April 1980, he ran into the wine waiter of the Hungária restaurant who reminded him

of that scene: the man had been one of the policemen in the truck. Bözske Jánosi confirms that her father (Imre Nagy) returned home on the day that Mindszenty was released.

26. Witnessed by George (György) Pauly-Pálos, geology student (CUOHP, 619/II).
27. Radio Budapest in French, October 30-31, midnight.
28. Julius Háý met him in prison – *Geboren 1900*, pages 360ff.; and see the testimony of Mindszenty's secretary, Msgr. Egon Turcsányi, *Procès*, pages 107-110.
29. "Declaration of the Government of the USSR on the Principles of the Development and Further Consolidation of the Friendship and Co-operation between the Soviet Union and the other Socialist States," in *Pravda*, Moscow, October 31, 1956; translation in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, November 14, 1956, pages 10-11.

### **Chapter 39: Khrushchev Changes his Mind**

1. Magyar Néphadsereg Forradalmi Tanácsa.
2. Országos Rendőrkapitányság Forradalmi Tanácsa, and Határőrségi Forradalmi Bizottmány, respectively. UN *Report*, §§193, 518-521.
3. Forradalmi Honvédelmi Bizottmány.
4. Radio Budapest, October 31.
5. MTI report.
6. Wiktor Woroszyński, *Nowa Kultura*, December 2.
7. CUOHP, 619/II.
8. Radio Times Hulton picture M 75107.
9. Free Radio Kossuth, November 3, 1956.
10. Interview of Révész, April 1980.
11. Katona diary, October 31.
12. RFE internal guidance directive, October 30.
13. CUOHP, 599.
14. Forradalmi Karhatalmi Bizottság.
15. Djuka Julius in *Politika*, Belgrade, November 1, 1956.

16. Vlado Teslic, in *Borba*.
17. Kopácsi, in *Irodalmi Újság*.
18. Heltai in Westdeutscher Rundfunk TV programme, "Die Toten kehren wieder," June 17, 1968, and article, "November 1956: The End in Budapest," in *East Europe*, pages 10ff.
19. Radio Miskolc, October 31, one seventeen p.m.
20. David W. Wainhouse, Oral History Interview, November 20, 1972 (Eisenhower Library).
21. JCS 2066/14, July 10, 1956, NARS. The enclosure NSC 5608/1, dated July 18, 1956, was partially declassified at the author's request.
22. JCS 2066/17: Report by the Joint Strategic Survey Committee on US Policy Toward Developments in Poland and Hungary (NSC 5616), with annex, Memorandum to Secretary of Defense, October 31, 1956; in NARS, Record Group 218. This document was released to the author in May 1979, but its important appendix NSC 5616 was only partially released in 1980. From a later paper, JCS 2066/19, submitted to the NSC meeting on November 15, a further paragraph of NSC meeting 5616 is known: "If the USSR uses military force to repress the Gomulka regime or to reverse a further trend toward national independence, and if the Polish regime resists and makes a timely request to the UN, the US should initiate and be prepared to support *any* appropriate UN action *including the use of force*, necessary to prevent the USSR from successfully reimposing its control by force." The words italicised were deleted by the JCS as "unduly restrictive" and likely to commit the US to courses of action detrimental to its best interests.
23. Hungary was "removed from the NSC agenda as a result of higher priority problems in the Middle East." NSC actions 1626-1628, Record of Actions by the NSC at its 302 Meeting, held on November 1, 1956 (NLE 78-2, 2, in Eisenhower Library).

24. JCS 2066/19: Report by the JSSC to the JCS on "Interim US Policy on Developments in Poland and Hungary" (NSC 5616/1), November 14, 1956.
25. Departure Statement of the Hon. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, for the General Assembly in New York (Dulles papers).
26. Allen W. Dulles, Oral History Interview, June 3, 1965 (Princeton University).
27. Mićunović diary, November 2-3.
28. Testimony of Mrs. Joseph (József) Balogh, June 13, 1958, one day before Nagy's death sentence (*Procès*, page 98).
29. "Public Justice on Republic Square," in *Magyar Függetlenség*, November 1, 1956.
30. Barnes to State, tel. 200, October 31, one p.m.; cf. *Wiener Presse*, November 1: "As the Russian troops pulled out of the town centre at twelve twenty-five p.m., where they had guarded the ministries of defence and the interior, the Day of Long Knives began. Everywhere hidden ÁVH men were being hunted down."
31. Kádár, broadcast on November 26, 1956 (CIA file).
32. "Eye to Eye with Mikoyan and Suslov," in *Igazság*, November 1, 1956.
33. *Igazság*, October 31; cf. Radio Budapest, October 31; in a conversation with the Intellectuals Szilágyi, Aczél, Gimes, Lőcsei on October 27 he had said the same thing: *Procès*, pages 87ff.
34. The leaflet was quoted in full over Budapest radio at ten p.m. on October 31.
35. Kopácsi was interviewed by *Hungarian World* (*Magyar Világ*), November 2.
36. Nagy's speech was broadcast by Radio Budapest, October 31, five twenty p.m.
37. Italian transcript in papers of Ambassador Fabrizio Franco.
38. *Trybuna Ludu*, Warsaw, November 5; neither the Polish press nor radio of November 4 and 5 mentioned the second Soviet invasion of Hungary, which further underlines Gomulka's complicity. His conversion



was complete by December, when he told 3,000 activists in Warsaw that “the use of Soviet troops had been thought necessary.” Shortly after the execution of Imre Nagy and his collaborators Gomulka expressed approval even of that, in a speech at Gdansk.

39. This was reported on November 1 (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*); and see US embassy to State, tels. 596 and 600, Warsaw, November 2: the French embassy learned of the visit by Polish leaders to Mikoyan to co-ordinate Soviet-Polish policy in Hungary; and tel. 171, Warsaw, November 5, 1956.

#### **Chapter 40: Declaration of Independence**

1. *New Hungary* (*Új Magyarország*), November 2.
2. Len Waernberg diary, supplied to the author; and *Vecko Journalen*, Stockholm, vol. 46, 1956.
3. *White Book*, vol. II.
4. CUOHP, 231.
5. “When they arrived in the legation at dawn on November 4 (by now under quite different circumstances) they were taken in.” Vlado Be-gović in *Borba*, April 5, 1957. The digest in *Internationale Politik*, Belgrade, April 16, 1957, gives the date of the feelers as November 1; a Yugoslav foreign ministry announcement earlier dated them on November 2 (published in *Népakarat* 10, November 24, 1956). For Szántó’s testimony see *Procès*, pages 154ff.; Vásárhelyi recalls that Szántó told Nagy, Losonczy and Donáth of his part in this during the weeks in the legation.
6. Radio Budapest, November 1.
7. *Magyar Függetlenség*, November 2, 1956.
8. CUOHP, 508, twenty-three-year-old journalist on *Igazság*.
9. Radio Budapest, October 31, ten forty-five a.m.
10. Radio Free Miskolc, October 31.
11. *Népszabadság*, November 2, 1969.
12. Katona diary, November 1.

13. Barnes to State, tel. 204, November 1, eleven a.m.
14. Alberto Cavallari, article in *Corriere della Sera*, November 5; Bruce Renton in *New Statesman*, November 10, 1956; and Adolph Rasten, *Politiken*, Copenhagen, November 2, 1956.
15. Hollós, *Köztársaság tér, 1956*, pages 120ff.; *Magyar Függetlenség*, November 1, 1956.
16. Filippo Raffaelli of *Il Corriere Lombardo*: his interview notes are in Fabrizio Franco's papers.
17. *Új Magyarország*, November 2, 1956.
18. "Open up the cells," in *Hétfői Hírlap*, October 29, 1956.
19. Oszkár Zsadányi, "On-the-spot report from the Central Jail: 800 political prisoners freed," in *Igazság*, November 3, 1956; *Procès*, pages 63ff.; interview of Paul Gorka, London; and H23M, Polytechnic student.
20. Barnes to State, tel. 212, November 1, midnight; *Kis Újság*, November 2.
21. ADN Information (East Berlin), November 24, 1956: quoting Herbert Wehner speaking to SPD functionaries in Hamburg; Günter Leuschner, "Zu den Vorgängen in Ungarn," in *Deutsche Außenpolitik* (East Berlin), vol. 2, 1957, pages 41-55; *Volksstimme*, November 27; and letter of Wehner to the author, January 1979.
22. Thompson to State, tel. 993, Vienna, October 30. Interview of Révész, Budapest, April 1980. Subsequently the Communists attempted to plant misleading stories about Kéthly's statements about the new White Terror in Budapest: letter from Bjarne Braatoy, secretary of the Socialist International, to Morgan Phillips, November 27, 1956.
23. Interview of Kiss, Washington, January 1974.
24. *Procès*, page 140; and Westdeutscher Rundfunk TV programme, "Die Toten kehren wieder," June 17, 1968.
25. Interviews of Heltai, January 1974; and of Erdős, April 1980.
26. *Procès*, page 140ff.

27. UN *Report*, §§74, 336-340. Kádár is said on this occasion to have emphasised to Andropov that all Hungarians were in full agreement: "The Soviet press calls this a Hungarian counter-revolution. You know very well that this is not so, though it might become one – and if it does, it will be the fault of the Soviet tanks." As a Hungarian Communist he would have no choice but to join the workers in the streets. This romantic version is unlikely, in view of Kádár's later actions.
28. Interview of Vásárhelyi, April 1980: "Donáth and Haraszi told me that Szántó and Lukács were against it."
29. Gordon Gaskill, "Timetable of a Failure," reprinted from 1958 *Virginia Quarterly Review*, in *Best Articles and Stories 1958*, December.
30. In an article dated November 5, Cavallari described how Kádár *ur-lava* (was shouting) but in the original story in *Corriere della Sera*, datelined "Budapest and Vienna, November 2," it was Tildy *gridare*, shouting.

#### **Chapter 41: Has Anybody seen Kádár?**

1. Barnes to State, tel. 213, November 2, ten a.m.; and French text in Italian files.
2. The text of Nagy's declaration was: "People of Hungary! The Hungarian National Government, imbued with profound responsibility towards the Hungarian people and its history, and giving expression to the undivided will of the Hungarian millions, declares the neutrality of the Hungarian People's Republic.

"The Hungarian people, on the basis of independence and equality and in accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Charter, wish to live in true friendship with their neighbours, the Soviet Union and all the peoples of the world. The Hungarian people desire the consolidation and further development of the achievements of its national revolution without joining any power blocs. The century-old dream of the Hungarian people is thus fulfilled. The revolutionary struggle fought by the Hungarian heroes of the past and present has

at last carried the cause of freedom and independence to victory. The heroic struggle has made it possible to implement, in our people's international relations, its fundamental national interest: neutrality.

"We appeal to our neighbours, countries near and far, to respect the unalterable decision of our people. It is true indeed that today our people are as united in this decision as perhaps never before in their history. Working millions of Hungary! With revolutionary determination, sacrificial work and the consolidation of order, protect and strengthen our country: free, independent, democratic, and neutral Hungary."

3. Michael S. Samsonow, "Diplomacy of Force" (Redwood City, California, 1960), and, "A Case Study, Hungary's Declaration of Neutrality" (Hoover Library).
4. Barnes to State, tel. 208, November 1, 1956, eight p.m., received Washington, five past two p.m. (The translation of its full text, tel. 213, timed ten a.m., November 2, arrived in Washington at three minutes past five a.m.)
5. See Press Release of US Delegation to the first emergency special session for the General Assembly of the UN, November 2, 1956 (Dulles papers).
6. Interview of Mrs. Francis (Ferenc) Münnich, Budapest, May 1980.
7. Wiktor Woroszyński, *Nowa Kultura*, December 9, 1956.
8. Interview of Vásárhelyi, May 1980. Oszkó refused to be interviewed.
9. Kádár, broadcasting on November 26, 1956.
10. János Kádár, *Vseengerskaya* . . . op. cit.
11. Bruno Tedeschi, in *Il Giornale d'Italia*, November 2, 1956; and author's interview, Rome, May 1979.
12. János Kádár, speech at national conference of the HWSP from June 27 to 29, 1957, published in *Vseengerskaya konferentsiya Vengerskoi Sotsialisticheskoi Rabochei Partii* (Moscow, 1958); on many occasions he stated that he "ruptured relations" with Nagy's regime on November 1, e.g. in *Népszabadság*, five days later; Münnich said the same on

November 4, on Radio Szombathely. Broadcasting on November 26 Kádár amplified, “I broke off relations with him on November 2 [*sic*] when I saw that the counter-revolution was gaining more from Imre Nagy’s revolution than the Hungarian People’s Republic.”

13. CUOHP, 615, Elias.
14. *Új Magyarország*, November 3, 1956.
15. Interview of Rényi, Budapest, September 1979.
16. *Hungarian Soldier (Magyar Honvéd)*, November 2, and *People’s Word (Népszava)*, November 2, 1956.

## Chapter 42: Fraternal Kisses

1. Testimony of caretaker Stephen (István) Kertész, Budapest, December 15, 1956 (*White Book*, vol. II, pages 84-88).
2. *Kis Újság*, November 3, 1956.
3. Swiss journalist J. F. Bálvány, quoted in Gosztony, pages 326ff.
4. Testimony of Nagy’s secretary, Mrs. Balogh, *Procès*, page 52.
5. Király, *Life*, February 1957; and in WDR TV programme “Die Toten kehren wieder,” June 17, 1969.
6. Interview of Sárközi, August 1974.
7. *Igazság*, November 3, 1956.
8. Testimony of Stephen (István) B. Szabó, *Procès*, pages 50ff.
9. *Procès*, page 145.
10. Cavallari, in *Corriere della Sera*, November 5, 1956.
11. Cabinet minutes, in *Procès*, page 51.
12. *Népakarat*, July 5-6, 1957.
13. Interview of Katona, May 1978.
14. Interview of Marosán, October 1978.
15. Lajos Lederer, “The Men of Budapest,” in the *Observer*, London, June 1958; and interview June 1979.
16. Testimony of George (György) Kerekes, *Procès*, pages 70ff.
17. Interviews of George (György) Heltai, Charleston, South Carolina, January 7, and of Király, January 22, 1974.

18. Hollós, *Köztársaság tér, 1956*, pages 120ff.
19. H31M.
20. Quoted by Hungarian military author Miklós Zalka, in *Minefield*, vol. II, Budapest 1962, pages 227ff.
21. François Bondy, "Ungarns Augenblick der Freiheit," in *Monat*, vol. 9, 1956/57.
22. Italian legion, "Determinant Factors of the Situation before the Revolution," and "Chronicle of Events," November 2, 1956.
23. Bohlen to State, tel. 1041, Moscow, November 2, nine p.m.
24. Bohlen to State, tel. 1044, Moscow, November 2, ten p.m.
25. Bohlen to State, tel. 1044, Moscow, November 2, ten p.m., received Washington four forty-four p.m.; and tel. 1048, November 3, noon.
26. *Daily Mail*, November 3, 1956.
27. Mićunović diary, November 2, 1956.
28. Eisenhower Library, Dulles papers.
29. Telegram signed Dulles drafted by C.M.P(hillips) to Lodge, Washington, November 2, six fifty-three p.m.
30. Interview of Frank Wilcox, Washington, May 1978, and Winthrop Aldrich, Oral History, October 16, 1972 (Eisenhower Library).

### **Chapter 43: We'll Meet Again**

1. CUOHP, 428, Imre Szabó Nyirádi, former airforce captain.
2. Wailes to State, tel. 220, November 3, one p.m., received six minutes past two p.m., Washington time.
3. CUOHP, 501.
4. Bohlen to State, tel. 1057, Moscow, November 3, eight p.m., received four forty-three p.m.
5. Bohlen to State, tel. 1048, Moscow, noon, November 3.
6. Ibid.; it reached Washington at three a.m. on November 4!
7. CUOHP, 430.
8. CUOHP, 561, Professor Blücher.
9. CUOHP, 563, Kende.

10. Wailes to State, tel. 219, November 3, one p.m., received five past ten a.m.
11. State to Wailes, tel., November 3, four thirty p.m.
12. The other ministers sacked included Erik Molnár (justice), János Csergő (metallurgy and mechanical industries), Mrs. Joseph (József) Nagy (light industry), Francis (Ferenc) Nezvál (urban and communal economy), Nicholas (Miklós) Ribiánszky (state exploitation of agriculture), Joseph (József) Bognár (foreign commerce), János Tausz (internal commerce), Rezso Nyers (food), Antal Gyenes (agricultural product collection), Antal Apró (constructions), and Antal Babics (health).
13. CUOHP, 616, Molnár; and interview, April 1979; and statement by János Szabó at Security Council, evening of November 3.
14. Letter of Heltai to Gosztony.
15. Interview of Erdős, April 1980.
16. Király, in *Life*.
17. *Népszava*, November 4.
18. Ibid., and statement by Szabó at Security Council that evening.
19. Wailes to State, tel. 224, November 3, five p.m., received Washington seven minutes past two p.m.
20. Interview of Fritz Molden, Vienna, May 1980; and article in *Die Presse*, Vienna, November 13, 1956.
21. Interview of Erdős, April 1980.
22. Vásárhelyi, interviews, October 1978 and September 1979; and Wailes to State, tel. 226, ten p.m., received Washington, one minute past six p.m. The MTI record of the press conference was printed in *Népszava*, November 4.
23. CUOHP, 428.
24. Interview of J.T., journalist.
25. CUOHP, 517, "Dr. Hardy," biochemist, Pécs.
26. Charles Bohlen, Oral History, December 17, 1970 (Eisenhower Library).

27. Bohlen to State, tel. 1057, Moscow, November 3, eight p.m.; received four forty-three p.m.
28. Interview of Professor Stephen (István) Bibó, Budapest, October 1978.
29. Interview of Donáth, May 1980.
30. Gosztony and Louis (Lajos) Csiba, in WDR TV programme, "Die Toten kehren wieder," June 17, 1968.
31. Háy, *Geboren 1900*, page 342.
32. CUOHP, 441, Ludwig Gogolak, historian.
33. CUOHP, 500, Aczél, and CUOHP, 567, Méray.
34. Kopácsi, memoirs, pages 212-215.
35. CUOHP, 561, Blücher, who now commanded a National Guard company.
36. State to Wailes, November 3, four thirty p.m.
37. Memo, Larry Laybourne to Serrell Hillman, March 1, 1957 (Eisenhower Library: C. D. Jackson papers, Box 56, Henry Cabot Lodge file). In the January 1961 issue of *Hungarian Quarterly*, Senator Dodd of Connecticut voiced vigorous criticism, but in the next issue Lodge again replied that he had been motivated by "instructions from Washington."
38. Hungarian note to Yugoslavia, July 23, 1958.
39. The scene was described by Maléter to Kopácsi; by the private to Peter Gosztony; and by Lieutenant Zs. Szabó to an army officer (CUOHP, 559). The official Hungarian version later (e.g., *Procès*, page 71) was that the Hungarian delegation arrived uninvited, that the Soviet commander at Tököl had no intention of lowering himself to talks with Maléter, and that Maléter was arrested on the orders of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government (that is, Kádár's new government) for violation of oath, treason, and attacking the order of the democratic popular state.

## **Chapter 44: Second Coming**

1. Tildy and Donáth, testimony, *Procès*, and interview of Donáth.



2. Szántó testimony, *Procès*, pages 154ff.; and Yugoslav foreign ministry announcement of November 23, 1956, in *Népakarat*, November 10, 1956.
3. CUOHP, 561, Blücher; and Imre Szenes, *Az utolsó napjuk* (Budapest, 1957), page 139.
4. Interview of Király, January 1974.
5. Interview of Gelberger, Toronto, March 1979.
6. Interview of Vásárhelyi.
7. Interview of Kurucz, April 1978.
8. Gosztony.
9. CUOHP, 561.
10. CUOHP, 559, Francis (Ferenc) Gaál; and Gosztony, *Der ungarische Volksaufstand*, pages 410ff.; in *Aufstände unter dem roten Stern* Gosztony also quotes an order issued to army garrisons by officers who had seized the defence ministry's operations section and communications centre during the night: "Obey the order of the Soviet commander. No shots are to be fired. Lay down your arms and allow the Soviets to enter the barracks." Miklós Zalka, *Aknamező* (Budapest 1962), vol. ii, page 308.
11. Interview of Donáth.
12. MIT despatch to AP bureau, Vienna, printed in *Neue Kurier*, November 4, 1956, special edition; and in part in Lasky, pages 230ff.
13. Szabó testimony, *Procès*. Tildy later testified that when he learned the truth – that Nagy had fled with his friends to the Yugoslav embassy – it was "one of the greatest shocks of my life."
14. Háy, *Geboren 1900*, page 339.
15. Kopácsi, memoirs, pages 217ff.
16. Interview of Fazekas, Budapest, April 1980.
17. CUOHP, 247, Corporal Sztatmári.
18. Bibó's message is buried in the transcript of the telex conversation between Budapest and Washington; a copy is also in the Dulles-Herter files, Box 6, Eisenhower Library; it was actually shown to Eisenhower.

- Until the author showed it to Bibó he was unaware that a copy had survived.
19. György István Révész, *A béke volt veszélyben* (Budapest, 1957), page 53.
  20. Both James McCargar and the attaché Katona (diary, November 4) record that permission to grant Mindszenty asylum arrived *before* he showed up at the door. Mysteriously, there is no trace of this in the telegrams so far opened.
  21. United Press telexes, November 4 (in Theodore Kyriak collection, Hoover Institution).
  22. Háy, op. cit., page 346.
  23. Interview of Stephen (István) Bibó, Budapest, October 23, 1978.
  24. Vásárhelyi, testimony in *Procès*, page 155; and interview, October 1978.
  25. Interview of Erdős, April 1980.
  26. Depositions of employees of the printing works and Corvin department store and of the defendant Rezső Varga, quoted in *White Book*, vol. II, pages 110-114.
  27. Paul (Pál) Jónás, article, "Porträt . . ." CUOHP, 564, a Jewish journalist on his staff aged twenty-seven would say: "Dudás was a popular tribune manqué. He carried on a great fight against the Russians and was wounded in this fight. He was personally courageous."
  28. CUOHP, 408.
  29. Interview of Szász, August 1974; and George Pálóczi-Horváth, in *Der Monat*, Berlin, March 1957. Kádár's movements after November 1 are still shrouded in official secrecy. As Donáth now says (interview, May 1980): "*Das hatten wir Kommunisten gelernt! Wer illegaler Kommunist war . . . wir wissen nicht viel, aber das können wir!*"
  30. UN *Report*, §78; Mićunović diary, November 3; Kádár, in speech of December 7, in *Népszabadság*, December 8, 1959.
  31. János Kádár, *Vseengerskaya* . . . op. cit.

32. Kádár, to National Trades Union Congress, in *Népszabadság*, January 29, 1957. In May 1972 he reminisced to funkies at his sixtieth birthday: “. . . There are situations where a man has to do something that only a very few people understand. But it still has to be done in the hope that the reasons will be understood later . . .” (*Társadalmi Szemle*, No. 6, 1972).
33. BBC Monitoring report, 1956, No. 5, 193, pages 1 and 2.
34. Gosztony.
35. H42M.

#### **Chapter 45: Tricked, Kidnapped, Deported, Hanged**

1. Tamás Sárkány, in Baudy, *Jeunesse d'Octobre*, page 48; Kopácsi memoirs, pages 192ff. Zoltán Vas told the author: “In Szolnok two governments had been set up, one of them by Rákosi followers like Andics, and Berei. If I had known that it would be Kádár and not Rákosi who would take power I would never have fled into the Yugoslav legation. I personally was fleeing from Rákosi . . .!” CUOHP, 508, also mentions this rival Szolnok government.
2. *Honvéd Újság*, Budapest, April 25, 1957.
3. *Magyar Közlöny*, No. 93, November 12, 1956.
4. Peter Gosztony, “Zur Geschichte des ungarischen Nationalen Widerstandes in der Anfangsperiode des Kádár-Regimes,” in *Osteuropa*, Nr. 10/11, 1968, pages 805-824.
5. Wailes to State, tel. 232, November 5, nine a.m.
6. Memo of conference with the President, November 4, one thirty p.m. (Eisenhower Library). Letter, Eisenhower to Bulganin, November 4 (NARS, 764.00/11-456).
7. Wailes to State, November 5, 1956.
8. CUOHP, 226, veterinary student, 24. Adolph A. Berle Jr. investigated the allegations against RFE and found that inflammatory appeals had been broadcast by an East German transmitter using RFE call signs as an agent provocateur, as well as by Hapsburg monarchists given

- air time on Radio Madrid and a radio station elsewhere operated by Hungarian exiles. "It is claimed that our mutual friends in Washington" – the CIA – "had nothing to do with the last two, but I am not dead sure" (Diary, December 5, 1956; Roosevelt Library).
9. Tel. 239, November 5, nine p.m., received six thirty-five p.m.
  10. Interview of Kurucz, London, April 1979.
  11. Wailes to State, tel. 244, November 6, five p.m., received seven forty-eight p.m.
  12. CUOHP, 478, Father Vazul Végvári, twenty-eight; supported in part by H31M's testimony.
  13. Bohlen to State, Moscow, tel. 1098, November 6, eleven p.m.
  14. Letter from Dr. Béla Fabian to Cloyce K. Huston, of Free Europe Committee, November 6, 1956 (C. D. Jackson Papers). "I wish to observe that these estimates are modest as compared to the costs of a March 15 or August 20 celebration, that usually amounts to \$5,000."
  15. Permission to station Soviet troops in the satellites is given by them under the Warsaw Pact of May 14, 1955, only if it is in accordance with the requirements of those satellites' "mutual defence" against armed attack by another state. The Soviet definition of "aggression" was set out to the United Nations in 1953 (see UN document A/2638): the aggressor was the one who sent forces into another state without the permission of its government. *Actes de la conférence diplomatique de Genève de 1949* (Berne, 1949); and *Final Record of the Diplomatic Conference of Geneva of 1949* (Berne, 1949). The Soviet delegate declared on May 16, 1949: "Civilians who took up arms in defence of the liberty of their country should be entitled to the same protection as members of the armed forces" (ibid., vol. iiA, page 426).
  16. International Commission of Jurists, *Hungary and the Soviet Definition of Aggression*, The Hague, November 16, 1956; and *The Hungarian Situation in the Light of the Geneva Convention*, December 7, 1956.
  17. Kurucz; and CUOHP, 247, Szatmári, who stated that in this way massive tank retaliation proved effective against the rebels.

18. Bohlen to State, tels. 1170, 1184, 1185, 1188 and 1213, Moscow, November 12-15, 1956.
19. CUOHP, 508.
20. Interview of Vásárhelyi, April 1980.
21. Katona diary.
22. CUOHP, 558, chief of shipping division, Danubian Iron Works, Dunapentele, aged twenty-nine.
23. *Daily Herald*, December 12.
24. H53M.
25. Wailes to State, tel. 252, November 8, five p.m.
26. Tel. 253, five p.m.; and Wailes, tel. 322, November 19, six p.m. On December 2 a technical security team from Washington found that the secret police had lowered a microphone into the chimney of Mindszenty's office.
27. *Népszabadság*, January 18, 1958.
28. Hoover to Wailes, tel. 278, November 11.
29. Eisenhower diary, November 12; Hoover to Wailes, tel. 241, November 16, 1956.
30. Wailes to State, tel., Budapest, November 11.
31. Bohlen to State, tel., Moscow, November 11.
32. Yugoslav foreign ministry announcement of November 23, 1956, in *Népakarat*, 10, November 1956.
33. Vásárhelyi, interview, Budapest, October 21, 1978.
34. Interview of Alice Halda, Budapest, April 1980; and Professor Molnár, Geneva, April 1979; and CUOHP, 563, Kende.
35. Testimony of Stephen (István) Pozsár, George (György) Ádám, Róbert Bohó, in *Procès*, page 160.
36. For Tito's Pula speech, see *New York Times*, November 16, 1956; and *Népszabadság*, November 25, 1956, which pointed to the inconsistency of Tito describing the Soviet intervention as inevitable, while describing the assistance granted by Soviet troops to the Hungarian regime as an "error."

37. RFE monitoring service, November 11, 1956.
38. *A proletárhatalom megszilárdításért* (Fortifying Proletarian Power), Budapest, 1957, cit. P. Gosztony; *Népszabadság*, November 14-15, 1956.
39. CUOHP, 429.
40. *Nagybudapesti Központi Munkástanács*. CUOHP, 439, Ödön Vajda, fifty-four; and Töke.
41. *Népszabadság*, November 15, has a report on the meeting.
42. Töke; and Reuters report in Lasky, page 264.
43. The Yugoslav delegate, Dr. Mladen Ivekovic, made this clear at the UN General Assembly: see *New York Times*, December 5, 1956.
44. Dalibor Soldatić, interviewed in *Vjesnik*, Zagreb, November 28, 1977.
45. Milan Georgiević related this to Nicholas (Miklós) Molnár a few moments later in the canteen of the Journalists' Union.
46. Interview of Vásárhelyi, April 1980.
47. These exchanges were referred to in the Yugoslav note of June 24, 1958, protesting at Nagy's execution: see its text in *East Europe*, August 1958, pages 55ff.; and János Mészáros, "The Kádár Regime charges Yugoslavia with 'Conspiracy' and 'Interference' in Hungary's domestic Affairs," in *Journal of Central European Affairs*, vol. 18, 1958/1959, pages 318-323.
48. In the circumstances the version authorised by the regime after his death appears unlikely. According to this, on about November 8 he telephoned his friend Ladislav (László) Kocsis from the apartment of former minister Joseph Antal, rejoicing: "It happened just as it should have. I think that János Kádár . . . acted as an honest Hungarian Communist should have." Kovács returned to Pécs and resigned as leader of the Smallholders' Party. In 1958 he became an MP for the new PPF – he was photographed talking with Dobi and Kádár during a recess. But in 1959 his condition worsened. Fortythree foreign newspapermen asked the foreign ministry for permission to see him. It was denied; some newsmen did visit the clinic at Pécs, but there Professor

- János Angyal (“at the request of the patient”) refused them access. The Party newspaper published on June 14, 1959, a statement said to have been dictated to his daughter Piroska, denying false rumours about his health; he died a week later, “closing a life replete with struggle and difficulty, but also abundant with joy” (Ladislav [László] Kocsis, in *New Hungary*, Budapest, August 1959).
49. Arthur Radford to Secretary of Defense, December 3, 1956 (JCS 2066/23); NARS Record Group 218, file CCS 092; and memo by Chief of Staff, USAF, for the JCS, November 30, 1956.
  50. Bohlen to State, tel. 1426, Moscow, December 11, 1956.
  51. Bohlen to State, tels. 1446 and 1462, Moscow, December 13 and 15.
  52. Wailes to State, tel. 255, November 9, three twenty p.m., and tel. 294, November 15, 1956.
  53. *Népakarat*, December 16.
  54. Interviews of Alice Halda, Budapest, April 1980, and Professor Molnár, Geneva, April 1979; and CUOHP, 563, Kende.
  55. *New York Times*, December 4 and 8, 1956, January 6, 1957; *Borba*, Belgrade, December 6; and UN *Report*, §§713ff. On January 5, 1957, reports in Vienna said that about 15,000 Hungarians were being interned in camps at Uzhgorod.
  56. H43M, Mr. Gál, steelworker, forty-three.
  57. *New York Times*, December 4, 16, 17, and January 8.
  58. Radio Budapest, December 12, 1956; CUOHP, 439, Vajda.
  59. *Népszabadság*, December 12.

## Epilogue: Back from the Dead

1. *Magyar Közlöny*, December 13, 1956, and January 8, March 19 and June 15, 1957; *Népszabadság*, July 21, 1957. Dr. László Varga, manuscript, "Main Measures of the Kádár Regime in Violating Human Rights since November 4, 1956" (Hoover Library).
2. CUOHP, 430, Bálint.
3. Király, in *Life*; Kopácsi, memoirs, page 215.
4. Of the dead, eighty-four per cent were men; and twenty per cent younger than twenty. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal: "Fontosabb adatok as 1956 Október novemberi időszakról," Budapest, January 15, 1957; Budapest radio; *Esti Hírlap*, December 28, 1956, and *Népszabadság*, December 30, 1956. The latter's editor recalls having calculated the typographical feasibility of printing a list of all the ("3,000") dead on two pages.
5. The figures are from a confidential document furnished by an official historian in Budapest to the author. Monthly figures for rebel deaths in Budapest were: October, 757; November, 926; December, 36; January, 6; not classified, 220. The document's December 31 figure for the wounded tallies well with the government's statement that up to December 1, the Budapest hospitals had registered 12,961 injured; but such figures are a poor guide, as rebel casualties sometimes preferred to get injuries tended privately. Of the injured, one-quarter were under eighteen, and three-quarters under thirty.
6. Interview of Vásárhelyi, April 1980; and *New York Times*, May 26, June 3, 1957; Julius Háy, *Geboren 1900*, page 367.
7. *Népszabadság*, July 5, 1957.
8. Julius Háy, op. cit., pages 364ff.; *White Book*, vol. II, page 44; and *New York Times* despatches.
9. *Népszabadság* and MTI announcement, December 11 and 12, 1957.
10. Interview of Fazekas, Budapest, April 1980.
11. Kádár repeated the denials, through a foreign ministry spokesman, on February 27, and again in person to the foreign press in April 1957.





*Funeral party, Mosonmagyaróvár.*



*András Mink*

# **FROM THE HUNGARIAN SECRET ARCHIVES**

IN A LIBEL ACTION that generated worldwide interest, a court in England ruled in April 2000 that it was not libellous to brand the British historian David Irving as an apologist for Hitler and a Holocaust denier.

The Second World War and the Nazi leaders, however, do not cover the entire range of Irving's scholarly attention: one of his works also discusses the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, a 600-page book brought out by Hodder and Stoughton of London in 1981 to mark the 25th anniversary of the Revolution. Recent research among the Hungarian Foreign Ministry's documents held in the National Archive puts Irving's work in a new and interesting light.<sup>1</sup>

## Irving's 1956

Surprising though it may be, no Western historian produced a detailed book on 1956 up until the mid-1970s. There were, of course, some comprehensive accounts written by Hungarian authors who had managed to escape to the West (Tamás Aczél, Tibor Méray, Ferenc Fejtő, György Mikes, George Urbán, Miklós Molnár, Ferenc A. Váli), as well as the recollections of Western observers, not to mention various essays and political pamphlets that attempted to place 1956 into a world history context.<sup>2</sup> The propaganda of the Kádár regime basically put forward three claims in connection with the “counter-revolution” of 1956.<sup>3</sup> The uprising was organized and directed off-stage by Hungarian reactionaries (former landowners, the clergy, former Arrow-Cross members and Horthy's followers), whose aim was the restoration of the previous, part-feudal and part-capitalist order and/or the Nazi (Arrow Cross) regime. Revealingly, in 1957 the Hungarian envoy argued in front of the UN special committee that the Hungarian government was under obligation, in accordance with the terms of the Paris Peace Treaty of 1946, to clamp down on Fascist stirrings. The other factor was the alleged activity of foreign intelligence organizations, “the imperialists”. This could explain both why the Hungarian people (i.e., the Hungarian Communist Party) had been unable to put down the “counter-revolutionary rebellion” on its own, and provided justification for the Soviet intervention:

And finally, a prominent role was assigned to the “revisionist traitors” (the Imre Nagy group) who had deliberately subverted the party and prepared the ground for the takeover by the forces of reaction. It is regarding these questions that the Hungarian authors in exile and western observers alike unanimously repudiated the allegations of the Kádár regime, pointing out that the spontaneous popular uprising of 1956 was sparked off by the deceit and brutality of Mátyás Rákosi's Stalinist regime. The insurgents fought against dictatorship and for national independence, and not for any restoration of the old social order.

Under the title “David Irving and the 1956 Revolution,” this paper first appeared in *Hungarian Quarterly*, vol. xli, no. 160, Winter 2000, pp. 117-128 and their copyright is recognized.

When Irving embarked on his research, political interest in 1956 had already started to wane in the West. By 1966, one had the feeling that the Western media were willing to turn a blind eye on 1956 as a result of Kádár’s successful efforts at consolidating his rule.<sup>4</sup> However, by the time Irving’s book was published in 1981, this momentary lapse of interest had passed. It was not just the anniversary that placed Irving’s book in an entirely different context. Dramatic changes were fermenting inside the Soviet Empire, and superpower relations, changes which all worked towards enhancing the significance of 1956. From a major tragic episode in the Cold War years, it was beginning to take on the status of the Soviet Empire’s Stalingrad.

It is worth examining Irving’s book in this context. I shall not bother pointing out the factual errors. From the historian’s viewpoint there is much more to learn by studying what kind of picture Irving presents of 1956 in 1981 to a western audience that unanimously regarded the 1956 Revolution as a democratic popular movement.

The title *Uprising!* already indicates that, in defiance of the popular view, the author does not see 1956 as a revolution.

In his Introduction he quotes Trotsky:

“Historians and politicians usually give the name of spontaneous insurrection to a movement of the masses united by a common hostility against the old regime, but not having a clear aim, deliberated methods of struggle, or leadership, consciously showing the way to victory”; then he continues his argument by claiming the following: “What happened in Hungary in October 1956 was not a revolution but an insurrection. It was an uprising. When it began it was spontaneous and leaderless, and it was truly a movement of the masses bound by one common hatred of the old regime.”<sup>5</sup>

In his introduction Irving dissociated himself from the view that assigned to Imre Nagy and the group of intellectuals rallying around him — whom he repeatedly calls “eggheads” — a glorious role either in the uprising, or in the preparations leading to it. “Nor am I tempted to shed tears over the fate of Imre Nagy, who found himself cast willy-nilly in the role of rebel premier. I [. . .] find little that distinguishes him from the other faceless Communists who were carried into power from Moscow exile, and sustained there by the guns of Soviet tanks.”<sup>6</sup>

Irving takes an avid interest in the Jewish element among those who played a role in Hungarian history after the war and during 1956. The book’s English edition begins with a biographical rundown of the main protagonists.<sup>7</sup> Each entry, where it is at all possible, begins with the statement “Jewish” (Irving actually makes occasional mistakes), a statement which precedes information relating to occupation or position. In the rest of these potted biographies Irving fails to mention whether or not the person is “Magyar”.

He reveals nothing of the origins of Cardinal Mindszenty (originally Péhm), György Marosán or János Csermanek (Kádár’s original surname), surnames that all suggest non-Magyar origins). Interestingly, this biographical list was not included in the German edition of the book. Irving explained to a reviewer of the German edition, Wilhelm Dietl, “this could have caused misunderstandings in Germany.”<sup>8</sup>

Jewish origin is indicated even for individuals who had absolutely nothing to do with the events in Hungary, as with one French journalist: “Michel Gordey, Jewish reporter on *France-Soir*”.

IRVING MAKES NO BONES about his opinion that the Jewish question and antisemitism played a crucial role in the Hungarian events. The latent antisemitism of the ordinary population was aroused by the all-out terror unleashed by the Jewish clique both among the Muscovite Communists and in the ÁVH (State Security Bureau), still trying to avenge the mass-murder of Jews in 1944. While still in Moscow, through his dealings in the Comintern, Mátyás Rákosi seized leadership of the Hungarian

Communist Party with “the tact of a kosher butcher”; upon his return to Hungary he used similar brutality in slicing up the non-Communist political parties. After all this it was small wonder if the “regime’s high Jewish profile caused deep popular resentment. . .”<sup>9</sup>

On the basis of the interviews conducted with Hungarian refugees of 1956 as part of Columbia University’s Oral History Project, he states: “Paradoxically, the antisemitism generated by the Communist activities was so pervasive that many Jews were themselves infected by it.”<sup>10</sup> The second, 1986, edition of his book also had a subtitle, “One Nation’s Nightmare”.<sup>11</sup>

This explains why Irving’s account wasted no words on the political turn that the year 1953 (Imre Nagy’s first premiership) had brought, just as it also ignored the Party’s internal opposition gathering around Imre Nagy, the Petőfi Circle, the workers’ councils, the local revolutionary committees, and the re-established political parties, all of which were considered important political factors in historical works devoted to 1956. In Irving’s view, Imre Nagy drifted helplessly with the events. Initially he tried to preserve the Party’s power. Irving takes Marosán’s claim at face value, whereby Imre Nagy had consented to inviting the Soviet troops on the night of October 23.<sup>12</sup> Later, Nagy was forced to accept the insurgents’ demands under the pressure of the street. “Bit by bit he was dragging himself like a mortally injured cowboy along the dusty track down which the rebel hordes had long galloped with their demands. He could never catch up.”<sup>13</sup>

Irving regards the insurgent streetfighters as the true protagonists of 1956. In that light it is all the more peculiar that, with a few exceptions, he habitually refers to them as “rebel/revolutionary mob” or “hordes”. He has little sympathy for the secret police, the ÁVH, yet he hints that “As Münnich and his evil cronies must have foreseen, in the country’s present mood the result of disbanding of the ÁVH was bound to be a pogrom.”

As, indeed, the events proved. “The mob rage was primeval, primitive and brutal. It was the closest that the uprising came to an antisemitic po-

grom, as the largely Jewish ÁVH officials were mercilessly winkled out of the boltholes where they fled,” Irving writes on the lynchings.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly to the “counter-revolutionary” accounts loyal to Kádár, Irving, too, presents the bloodbath in Köztársaság Square as the crucial turning point, the moment when Imre Nagy and his government completely lost control of events. It was typical of the ensuing chaos, according to Irving, that on November 1 the Communist apparatchiks rallying around Nagy were already talking of a possible repetition of the White Terror that had followed the put-down of the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919. As the story goes, it was precisely these developments, the death of Party Secretary Imre Mező and the threat of a civil war, which motivated Kádár to switch to the Russian side. The picture is a dramatic one: Kádár swears revenge at Imre Mező’s deathbed.<sup>16</sup> Both he and Khrushchev had to hurry if they wanted to salvage something from the situation. “A historic decision confronts Khrushchev. He cannot risk a NATO presence in Hungary, nor can he delay his action too long: at any moment a final pogrom may liquidate the country’s remaining flunkies.”<sup>17</sup>

After the revolution, Kádár and his followers tried to justify the invitation of the Soviet troops by calling attention to the imminent threat of the “henchmen of the counter-revolution” preparing for the final showdown, with the West standing by ready to invade, while the Party, somewhat shaken — or, according to a later version, deliberately maimed “by Imre Nagy and his accomplices” — was no longer able to normalize the situation.

### Analogies

As contemporary western reviewers themselves pointed out, Irving’s book shows analogies with the theses of the propaganda of the Kádár regime. The most notable analogy is that Irving, too, empties 1956 of its democratic political content. There are no heroes in Irving’s account of 1956. Imre Nagy, the puppet on a string, is not a hero; neither are there any heroes among the Party’s anti-Stalinist opposition, the “eggheads”, or among



the mob, or among the cowardly and opportunist fellow travellers. Sándor Kopácsi, Budapest's police chief, is a sly timeserver;<sup>18</sup> Colonel Maléter, Minister of Defence in Imre Nagy's government, divorced his first wife on Party orders.<sup>19</sup>

Irving pays no attention to political agendas and events, the workers' councils and the students, the demands and the press of the revolution, the negotiations, the political deals, nor to the analysis of the dilemmas and situations that the actors had to confront.

Irving credits, and uses without criticism, all the defamations that Kádár and his followers heaped upon the prominent figures of the revolution. The message of these insinuations was that, rather than being guided by political ideas, and instead of making moral and political decisions, the leaders of the "counter-revolution" merely lost a struggle for power.<sup>20</sup>

Instead of offering political analysis, Irving merely draws up vivid pictures of pogroms. This was at variance with the generally accepted view held by both the contemporary opposition and the western public, as well as with reality. Like the Kádár regime's propaganda machine, Irving's book challenges the view that 1956 was a democratic movement enjoying broad popular support. Both representations claim that the lynchings — the man-hunts against Communists and other progressively minded people according to the Kádár propaganda, and the pogrom against the Jewish Communists in Irving's book — were essential parts of 1956, rather than being tragic but marginal incidents, also few in number. At this point, however, the relationship between Irving and the Kádár regime's interpretation assumes a paradoxical nature.

At the core of the Kádár regime's picture of a counter-revolution was the claim that the struggle that had been continuously waged between Fascist anti-Communist elements and progressive forces since 1919 broke out with renewed force once again in 1956. The White Terror, lynchings and pogroms of 1956 were the latest editions of the White Terror of 1919 and the Arrow-Cross atrocities of 1944. Exploiting the dissatisfaction of the masses disillusioned with the Rákosi regime, the dark forces of the

past, the déclassé gentry and the Fascist *lumpenproletariat* tried to seize power with the active involvement of the western spy organizations.

According to the official interpretation, the “counter-revolution” of 1956 was a Fascist stirring, because it was directed against the Communists. Irving did not claim that 1956 was a Fascist rebellion, yet he paints the same picture from a different perspective: in 1956, just as in 1919 and 1944, the people’s wrath was primarily directed against the Jews who happened to be Communists.

Irving’s book documents, and indirectly proves, what Kádár’s ideologists had always maintained about 1956. It has taken over all the elements that have fitted into his antisemitic preconception. And most importantly, it has taken over their views on the fundamental character and dynamism of the events. The question that now remains is how he had come by his information.

### **The genesis of the book**

According to a rather complimentary review published by *Der Spiegel* on May 4, 1981, Irving was the first Western historian who, in addition to the classified files held in Western archives (the article seems to know that Irving had some contacts within the US secret services) had access to the “seemingly inaccessible” Hungarian sources.<sup>21</sup>

The book’s Introduction reveals that Irving had visited Hungary [*which was at that time a closely-controlled police state behind the Iron Curtain*] on several occasions. He interviewed, among others, András Hege-düs, Hungary’s Prime Minister at the time when the revolution broke out; (later, after the 1960s, Hegedüs turned against the dictatorship and became an opposition politician and thinker). He also talked to Péter Rényi, who during the 1970s and 1980s was deputy editor of *Népszabadság*, the Party’s official daily paper; to György Marosán, a former Social Democrat who was, for a number of years after 1956, Kádár’s “strong man”, and who, until his fall from grace in 1962, was seen as Kádár’s rival; and to several politicians active in 1956, including Miklós Vászárhelyi, the press

secretary of the Imre Nagy cabinet. In the Introduction, Irving acknowledges his special gratitude to Ervin Hollós, the Kádár regime's most influential historian on the "counter-revolution", who was a police lieutenant colonel after 1956, acting as head of the Political Investigation Department of Budapest, and the *éminence grise* behind the reprisals following the revolution.

ACCORDING TO THE ARCHIVES of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, David Irving made contact with the London Embassy of the Hungarian People's Republic in 1973.<sup>22</sup> We learn of this first contact from a document filed later, in 1974.<sup>23</sup> According to this, Irving offered to "come out with a book that challenged the fashionable western interpretation." He promised to draw an "objective" picture of 1956, one that also included the elements of the official Hungarian view; in addition, he also offered to "hand over the photocopies of documents related to the events of 1956, held in British, West German and US archives." The authorities concerned were of the opinion that Irving's offer was worth considering. After conferring with the HSWP (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party) Agitation and Propaganda Department, the Foreign Ministry issued the necessary visa to Irving,<sup>24</sup> who on his first visit to Hungary in 1973 met Péter Rényi, the hardliner deputy editor of *Népszabadság*.

To inspire trust, Irving declared that he had never read the Western publications on 1956, because he did not want to be influenced by them. Rényi, by contrast, was of the opinion that Irving "does not know Hungarian history, and wants to dish up cheap sensations, rather than write a scholarly in-depth analysis [. . .]; wants to rely on the power of novelty and surprise to make an impression [. . .] It was to that effect that he wished to conduct an interview with Comrade János Kádár. [. . .] Comrade Rényi thought that the publication of such a book, one that was not at variance with our views and which reflected reality, would not be unfavourable to our interests. But that would require the involvement of suitable, skilled and informed historians and perhaps even institutions, as well as a great deal of energy."<sup>25</sup>

The report mentions that Rényi had tried to dissuade Irving from the project.

During the following years there was internal discussion on the usefulness and actuality of Irving's offer. However, contacts with Irving were not severed, and the direct negotiations were conducted by the Hungarian Embassy in London. In a letter dated October 9, 1974, Ambassador Vencel Házi came out in favour of supporting Irving's project. He pointed out that "books of rightwing conception" were coming out one after the other, bearing in mind first and foremost William Shawcross's Kádár biography. Published in 1973, Shawcross's book irritated the Hungarians to such a degree that they tried to stop its publication by applying pressure on the Foreign Office's Press Department.<sup>26</sup> On that basis, therefore, Vencel Házi recommended the following course of action: "[. . .] we recommend that D. Irving's offer he seriously considered, since he has promised to incorporate in his book our own view on 1956, along with our proofs of Western subversion, and he will publish the available material in connection with this only with our prior approval."<sup>27</sup>

Jenő Randé, head of the Foreign Ministry's Press Department, did not share the Ambassador's opinion. In a letter written on November 4, 1974 he argued: "Despite the books by Shawcross, Barber, Háy and Mindszenty, we do not think his book to be timely, it would stir up the subject just when interest in it was ebbing away. [. . .] On top of that, we have no guarantee that Irving would write the book at a high professional standard and that it would be received favourably by the British press."<sup>28</sup>

The Foreign Ministry's apparatus was firmly of the opinion that there was nothing to be gained from keeping the subject of 1956 open. It would impede Hungary's efforts to improve relations with the West, and would only limit the country's manoeuvring space; in addition, keeping the discourse on 1956 open would only serve the interests of those who would like to continue keeping Kádár's Hungary in a political quarantine.<sup>29</sup>

The documents fail to mention the name of the person who made the decision at the top level to support Irving regardless of all these objections.

Tamás Pálos, the deputy head of the Agitation and Propaganda Department, played an important role in tipping the scale. In November 1974 Pálos wrote to Mihály Kornidesz, the head of the HSWP's Scientific, Public Education and Cultural Department. He argued: "I think it requires a political decision to decide whether we should lend support to a Western Journalist in writing a book on the events of the counter-revolution of 1956. My view is that we should because so far only one-sided accounts of the events have been published in the west, and our White Book<sup>30</sup> has never been circulated. Therefore, in the final analysis, we would merely make the material published in the White Book and in the books written by János Molnár and János Berecz<sup>31</sup> available to Irving. This involves no risk at all, as these books have already been published. Also, a consultant would be able to influence the writing in our favour."<sup>32</sup>

Naturally, Pálos was fully aware of the possible risks and counter-arguments. On January 6, 1975, just one day before the final decision, he wrote to Károly Grósz, the Department's newly appointed head (Károly Grósz later became Kádár's successor, appointed as Prime Minister in 1988 and serving as the Party's last First Secretary in 1988-89):

"[. . .] on the basis of the Hungarian documentation he is willing to refute the works published in the West on the subject. [. . .] Two factors should he weighed against one another here: 1) the West has already lost interest in 1956, and Irving would revive this interest, opening new opportunities for right-wing émigrés and giving rise to further polemics. 2) We must counter-balance the works published in the West. [. . .] Our recommendation is, therefore, to accept Irving's offer. We can steer his work in the right direction by asking him to sign an agreement with the publisher, Kossuth Publishers, about the preparation of the basic materials; while Kossuth Publishers would deal not with Irving but with the British publisher interested in the publication. As a consultant. Comrade Ervin Hollós should assist

Irving, and the government organizations concerned should help Comrade Hollós.”<sup>33</sup>

On the following day, the Agitation and Propaganda Committee endorsed the proposal of the Agitation and Propaganda Department: “The Agitation and Propaganda Department made it known that, at his own request, a British journalist would like to write a book on the Hungarian counter-revolution in the spirit of the HSWP’S political statements and documents. The Committee agrees.” On the other hand, the committee’s resolution makes it clear that “we shall not lend any financial support to Irving’s endeavour.”<sup>34</sup>

Still on this same day, Pálos sent a communiqué to Jenő Randé at the Foreign Ministry’s Press Department; “The Central Committee’s body affected in the matter was. of the opinion that it would be expedient to make the books and documents published on the Hungarian counter-revolution available to the British Journalist David Irving, and assign a consultant to help him in the work. We recommend Comrade Ervin Hollós as a consultant.”<sup>35</sup>

Irving was given the green light.

According to Jenő Randé’s report, Irving arrived in Hungary for his second visit on March 9, 1975.<sup>16</sup> This time he stayed only for a few days in order to meet his assigned consultant, Ervin Hollós. Since Hollós was busy, they only met once, on March 12, for dinner at the Hotel Gellért. The Foreign Ministry’s interpreter, Erika László, reported that Irving had failed to make a good impression on Hollós. Irving asked Hollós to compile some sort of a list of source documents for his next, longer, visit in the autumn. The report also mentions Irving stating that “should the Hungarians fail to provide material for his topic, he would probably drop the idea of writing the book altogether.”<sup>17</sup>

There is a hiatus in the documents after this. We know that Irving returned to Hungary on numerous occasions between 1975 and 1979, and conducted several interviews during his stays. He also visited Moscow, where he had a chance to talk to General Batov, who had commanded the

strategically very important Sub-Carpathian Military Region during the revolution. The documents held in Hungarian archives, however, shed no light on these trips.

We can once again pick up the thread in the summer of 1978. We find Rezső Bányász, at the head of the Foreign Ministry's Press Department at the time, the man who subsequently became the government spokesman. In a letter dated July 29, 1978, he advised the Agitation and Propaganda Department to sever relations with Irving. Bányász believed that Irving was not a serious writer, and he was not familiar with Hungarian history either. On top of that, Bányász was already aware of the media response generated by his book on Hitler — "he wrote a book that took a favourable view of Hitler" — and he also warned of Irving's intention to meet disreputable characters (presumably he was thinking of members of the Opposition in 1956). But Pálos still stuck to his earlier decision, pointing out in his brief reply that "in the matter of the British historian David Irving, we continue to stand by own decision made in January 1975."<sup>38</sup>

Therefore, they continued maintaining contact with Irving. In the autumn of 1978 Irving once again applied for a visa. The London Embassy's report to the Foreign Ministry noted that "the collection of material for his book on 1956 progresses nicely. He received new material from the USA, including the complete CIA file on Comrade János Kádár; which is approximately 5 centimetres thick and contains everything that the CIA had ever compiled on Comrade János Kádár.

The Hungarian authorities will probably be satisfied with the book's tone; because he had obtained the telegraphic correspondence between Radio Free Europe and New York in the said period, which clearly outlines Radio Free Europe's role in the events of 1956."<sup>19</sup>

However, the Foreign Ministry's evaluation on the following day still showed some vacillation: "Irving's activities and aim are not clear, because they reveal two tendencies: 1) The CIA's hand is in it and they want to leak certain information, the purpose of which is still unclear. 2) If we assume his loyalty to us; then it is possible that he wants to write a book in

which he would disclose the intervention of the US agencies in the 1956 counter-revolution. He will write the book, whether we let him in or not, so it makes more sense to let him in and sound out his intentions.“ Rezső Bányász summed up what was to be done as follows: “1) I recommend that we inform Comrade Pálos; 2) My impression is that Irving is leading us on; 3) I, too, feel that we should let him in. The press attaché of our Embassy might ask him privately whether he would be willing to share his material with the Hungarian historians — naturally for the purpose of archiving only, not for publishing at home.”<sup>40</sup>

It was decided, therefore, that for the time being they would not sever contacts with Irving. The only explanation for this is that they were still hoping to get hold of classified western intelligence. Irving himself felt that the trust in him was dwindling away. In a letter sent through the press attaché in London, he once again asked for an interview with Kádár; “I would like to talk with him for half an hour on general principles concerning the establishment of socialist construction in Hungary, his own widely recognised role in stabilizing and promoting Hungary’s positive image at home and in the West, and on other matters; I would leave it to him to decide whether he feels able to discuss the particular episodes around which my book is centred.”

Irving made a definite promise. that on this visit he would bring the CIA materials in question. With the letter he also enclosed a document that he had found in Radio Free Europe’s archive in Munich. This document is Item 7487/56 (dated July 28, 1956, ten days after Rákosi’s removal, describing how Kádár had been tortured in prison).<sup>41</sup>

The London Ambassador János J. Lőrincz warned against complying with the request. In his opinion the interview would merely have served to legitimize statements made in the book. As to the book itself, he set little store by it: “there might be some favourable parts on the role of the Western organizations, but rather sensationalist.” And then the recurring dilemma:



“For us the topic of 1956 is inconvenient, regardless of the tone.”<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, the Hungarians could not bear losing the promised documents. Overturning his earlier, decidedly negative view, Rezső Bányász wrote to Ervin Hollós on March 27, 1979, addressed to the Scientific Socialism Department of the Budapest Technical University. “Comrade Hollós should meet David Irving [. . .] and offer to proof-read the manuscript. By this we do not, of course, mean that you should review the English text, but we would like you to sound out Irving about the main message and concept of the book.”<sup>43</sup>

In August 1979 Irving once again applied for a visa. In his cable he raised the question of the interview. By that time Támás Pálos’s response, too, was negative. “[. . .] He has already visited Hungary on several occasions, and it has turned out that his views and political statements are confused, and they are not backed up by a serious publisher. Lately he took part in the televised debate about Sándor Kopácsi’s book and made negative statements, so much so that KÜM [the Foreign Ministry] has already severed all links with him. On the basis of the above we suggest that you leave the cable unanswered; instead our Embassy in London should inform him that Comrade Kádár would not be able to see him. KÜM and BM [the Ministry of Interior] should decide whether they would give Irving an entry Visa in view of his recent television appearance.”<sup>44</sup>

He got his visa in the end. In September 1979 Irving returned to Hungary once again. Although he did not get to see Kádár, he did meet Ervin Hollós, and he handed him copies of the telegrams that the Budapest Legation of the United States had sent between October 23 and November 4, 1956. In connection with the documents, Rezső Bányász, the head of the Foreign Ministry’s Press Department, quarreled with Ervin Hollós. Bányász was resentful that Hollós had failed to hand over the documents to the Foreign Ministry. Hollós retorted that he naturally handed in the documents, but he did so to the appropriate Hungarian official body. Without a shadow of a doubt he was alluding to the Ministry of Interior.<sup>45</sup>



# NOTES

- 1 David Irving: *Uprising!* Hodder and Stoughton, 1981, 628 pp. The book was published in German [Bertelsmann Verlag] under the title *Aufstand* the same year.
- 2 Primarily, the early analyses of Hannah Arendt, Andy Anderson, Nicolas Baudy, Basil Davidson and Martin Illik. See: 1956 *kézikönyve* (1956 Handbook) vol. III. Bibliography. 1956-os Intézet, Budapest, 1996, pp. 16–40 and 51–69. The first historical work on the subject was Bill Lomax's book, which came out in Great Britain in 1976.
- 3 The fourth cause, the “mistakes” of the Rákosi regime, obviously played a marginal role in Kádár's propaganda.
- 4 In its article of October 21, 1966, *Die Zeit* wrote about the peaceful coexistence of the party and the people. (“Friedliche Koexistenz von Partei und Nation, das ist Ungarn 1966.”) Almost the same words were used by *Rheinischer Merkur* (“Ungarn – zehn Jahre danach”): “Es ist keine Liebe und keine Freundschaft, aber ein Arrangement auf der Grundlage des Status Quo – eine friedliche Koexistenz unter dem Druck der Realitäten.” On October 22 the American news agency UPI reported that there was no sign of commemorating the revolution on this Saturday. And as to the *Nouvel Observateur*, it commented October 26, 1966 as follows: “Kádár a très vite repris a son compte le programme de Nagy ... moins la neutralité, moins le pluralisme politique, qui est également celui de Gomulka.”

- 5 David Irving: *Uprising!* Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1981, p. 5.  
The passage is quoted from Leon Trotsky's *The History of the Russian Revolution*.
- 6 Irving, op.cit. pp. 9–10.
- 7 Who is who in Hungary. Irving, op.cit. pp. 13–16.
- 8 See: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, May 17–18. 1981, p.11. Showing good judgement, Dietl gives the title of “Antisemitic Investigative Journalism” (“Antisemitische Spurensuche”) to his review.
- 9 See Chapter 5 entitled “The High Profile”; op.cit. pp. 45–501
- 10 Irving, op.cit. p. 48.
- 11 Here: too, the subtitle in the German edition was modified to read “One Nation’s Tragedy”. The antisemitic line, and its absurdity, was discussed by two contemporary reviewers. George Schöpflin: “Revolution as Melodrama,” *Times Literary Supplement*, April 3, 1981; and Kai Bird and Bill Lomax: “The Secret Policemen’s Historian. Apologist for Hitler; Apologist for Soviet Repression”, *New Statesman*, April 3, 1981.
- 12 This claim was a recurrent element in the Kádár regime’s portrayal of the counterrevolution. It also comes up in the Ministry of the Interior’s secret folder entitled “Az 1956-os ellenforradalom az állambiztonsági munka tükrében” (The Counter-revolution of 1956 in the Light of the State Security Operations) and consequently in several other publications of the Kádár period. This concept served two purposes: on the one hand it tried to defame Imre Nagy by suggesting that he was no different from Gerő and the rest of the Stalinists, and on the other hand, it showed how cunningly Imre Nagy tried to disguise his counter-revolutionary conspiracy even at the last minute by pretending to support the Party’s cause.
- 13 Irving, op.cit. p. 372. Imre Nagy represented as a puppet on a string or a Trojan horse was also a favourite theme of the Kádarian propaganda.
- 14 Irving, op.cit. pp.396, 397.
- 15 Irving; op.cit. p. 452.

- 16 Irving, op.cit. pp. 425, 427. Kádár never visited Mezö at his deathbed.
- 17 Irving, op.cit. p. 443.
- 18 See the chapter Colonel Kopácsi shrugs again, op.cit. pp. 405–422.
- 19 Irving, op.cit. p. 78. This is, of course, a lie.
- 20 It was in 1989, precisely after Imre Nagy's reburial, that Károly Grósz received "information" from the KGB chief Valery Khrushchkhov (one of the leaders of the attempted neo-Bolshevik coup in Moscow in August 1991) that as an agent of OGPU, Imre Nagy sent several of his comrades to the gallows in Moscow in the 1930s. Therefore, he was no different from all the other Stalinists. The available sources do not support Khrushchkhov's (and Grósz's) claims. On the relationship between Imre Nagy and the Soviet state security forces, see János M. Rainer: *Nagy Imre Politikai életrajz* (Imre Nagy. A Political Biography) vol. I., the chapter entitled "Dossziék (Files), 1956-os Intezet, Budapest, 1996. pp. 199–212.
- 21 Naturally, access to these sources was limited to those who had been able to obtain permission from the authorities.
- 22 The documents related to Irving's activities in Hungary can be found among the classified papers of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry and the documents of the HSWP CC (the Party's Central Committee) Propaganda and Agitation Department. I should like to call attention to two important sets of documents that have the papers related to Irving more or less in one place. Magyar Országos Levéltár, Külügyminisztérium, TÜK iratok (Hungarian National Archives, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, TÜK [Top Secret] papers): XIX-J-I-j/1978, box no. 27, file no. 003449/2 (title David Irving újabb beutazása–David Irving's Recent Visit); and MSZMP Agitációs és Propagandaosztály 1974-es iratai (1974 Papers of the Agitation and Propaganda Department), 228f, 22. s. öe (file no. 001643/1974, Memos to Comrade Grósz).
- 23 Gábor Göbolyös's memo to Tamás Pálos. HSWP Agit.Prop. 1974, 288 f. 22. cs. 29 öe. pp.13–14. Göbolyös refers to a letter sent by the HSWP CC Agitációs és Propagandaosztály in 1973, marked Ag.276/2.

24 Af/276/2/1973.

25 Gobblyos' memo, *ibid.*

26 Lajos M. Lőrincz, head of the department, sent a memo to Tamás Pálos on August 9, 1973: "Protesting against Shawcross' book at the FCO." They called the attention of the British to the point that the publication of the book would be "injurious to the Hungarian political and public leadership and the feelings of the entire Hungarian people, in view of the respect and popularity that surrounds János Kádár both as a human being and as a political leader." The Hungarian side threatened to sabotage the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, should the book be published. The British turned down the appeal saying that they had no means to prevent the book's publication.

288.ff.cs.27 őe./1973/ pp. 86–90. See also among the Foreign Ministry's TÜK papers: XIX-J-I-j/1973, box 24., 6-81/002314 (hostile British press campaign); furthermore, see 6-816/002587/4-ig (Comrade Kádár in the British press); also, XIX-J-I-j/1974, box 21. 6-816/00952/2-ig. Shawcross' book on Comrade Kádár).

27 Ambassador Vencel Házi's letter dated October 9, 1974, 001643/1/1974. XIX-J-I-j/1978.

28 See the above folder.

29 See introductory commentary in folder marked XIX-J-I-j/l 9781.003449/2.

30 One of the aims of the five-volume propaganda book, which was published in 1957 (also in English, German and French so as to sway international opinion), was to influence and counter-balance the study and report carried out by the United Nations' Committee No. 5. *Ellenforradalmi erők a magyar októberi eseményekben* (Counterrevolutionary Forces in the October Events in Hungary), A Magyar Népköztársaság Minisztertanácsa Tájékoztatási Hivatala, Budapest, 1957.

31 This is a reference to the book by the official party historian János Molnár *Ellenforradalom: Magyarországon 1956-ban* (Counterrevolution in Hungary in 1956). Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1967; and to

the book by János Berecz (Secretary of the Central Committee and Politburo member in the 1980s): *Ellenforradalom tollal és fegyverrel* (Counter-revolution with Pen and with Arms), Kossuth Kiadó, Budapest, 1967.

32 Letter to Comrade Kornidesz, Ag. I 54/2/1974. In: 288 f. 22. cs. 29 őe. p. 18.

33 Memo to Comrade Grósz. *ibid.* pp. 20-21.

34 For a reference to this see file XIX-J-t j/1978.

35 Ag. 154/5. January 7, 1975. In: XIX-J-l-j/1975 box 27, 003449/2.

36 Document 00375 from the file 003449/2, box 27 of XIX-J-l-j/1978.

37 *Ibid.*

38 Both letters can be found in the file XIX-Jl-j/1978/.

39 KÜM, Sajtóféosztály (Foreign Ministry, Press Department), 003449/2, October 18, 1978.

40 Memo by Kovács and Bányász, dated October 19, 1978, *ibid.*

41 Irving's letter to Bánlaki, the press attache of the London Embassy. dated January 30. 1979. XIX-J-l-j/1979/ box 24. (The original copy of the item enclosed by Irving can be found in the Open Society Archive, Budapest, '56 Items.) János Kádár, who succeeded László Rajk as Minister of the Interior after the latter became foreign minister, and was arrested in April 1951 on Rákosi's orders. He was in prison until 1954 without being charged, tried or sentenced. To the best of our knowledge he was not tortured. The aim of the gesture is clear: Irving wanted to prove that he did have access to valuable western intelligence material. At the same time, he also wanted to show that he was aware of the fact that Kádár had suffered under the Rákosi regime and that he believed the story, thus demonstrating that he meant to give an unbiased picture, not wishing to equate Kádár's role in 1956 with the terror of the 1950s. The Item tells the well-known legend about ripping Kádár's fingernails. The information is said to have come from "a confidential source". Here is the brief report: "János Kádár left the ÁVH prison physically mutilated. During the investigation his fingers

were ‘sharpened’. The fingernails on his left hand are missing. The torture – allegedly on Mihály Farkas’ direct orders – was carried out in the cruellest possible manner.

At the moment Kádár is regarded as the destined leader of Rákosi’s opposition within the MDP. His closest followers have been recruited from the rehabilitated victims of Stalinism.

In addition to the group formed by the victims of Stalinism, there are two main groups within the Hungarian Workers’ Party. Naturally, Rákosi’s removal from office did not put an end to the group of orthodox Muscovites, whose members had played a prominent role in serving the Stalinist course.

The other main faction of the Party is formed by the secret followers of the Imre Nagy line, who were able to stay within the ranks of the Party only because after Imre Nagy’s fall they practised self-criticism and swore loyalty to the Party’s official line.

The Kádár group and Imre Nagy’s followers are at the moment in the majority in the party leadership against the orthodox Muscovites.”

The evaluation by Radio Free Europe’s analysts is very interesting: “The tortures inflicted upon Kádár are **unconfirmed**, but consistent with general information available here on the cruel investigation methods of the political police. It is anybody’s guess whether Kádár might be the leader of the anti-Rákosi faction of the Party. However, this information is not supported by any specific argument. The statement about the orthodox Muscovite faction within the Party and about the ‘secret followers’ of Imre Nagy are obvious speculation on the present political situation within the Party.”

Irving’s choice was deliberate. The report not only describes Kádár’s torture but it also states that he and his followers were the real victims and the real opposition force of Rákosi, rather than the opportunist Imre Nagy group, whose members swore loyalty to the Party.

Incidentally, Kádár always denied the rumour that he had been tortured, but the story formed part of the “whisper propaganda”, playing an



important part in proving that Kádár himself was a victim of the regime, rather than the successor of the Rákosi regime.

42 János J. Lőrincz's letter dated February 21, 1979, *ibid.*

43 *Ibid.* Document 00177/1/1979.

44 Memo to Comrade Győri. Letter no. Ag/611/2, 288f. 22 cs. 3 öe./1979/, p. 178. The television programme was probably devoted to former Budapest police chief Sándor Kopácsi's book published in 1979 in Paris under the title *Au nom de la classe ouvrière*. The document fails to specify what the Hungarian objection had been to Irving's comments.

45 Rezső Bányász's letter dated October 2, 1979. In: XIX-J-I-i/1979/box 24.



*Pogrom in Budapest – October 30, 1945: The mob besieged the Communist Party headquarters on Republic Square (Köztársaság Ter). As the last defenders emerged, they were mercilessly shot down and subjected to ritual degradation – a spoon, a cigarette stub, a coin; Communist party paybooks were tossed onto the corpses.* ORIGINAL PHOTOS FROM THE AUTHOR'S COLLECTION.



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*At the far end of the street, these two Hungarians were shot dead.*

# INDEX

Abel, Elie, 423

Ács, Louis, 183, 328

Aczél, Thomas, 128, 130, 142, 143, 149, 186, 350

    in Nagy group, 145–6, 147

    stand against government, 162–3, 183

    loss of livelihood as writer, 163

    and Oct. 23 demonstration, 228, 234, 249, 570

    and ensuing rebellion, 252, 268, 280, 296, 365, 391

    accuses Mindszenty, 505

Ady, Endre, 149

Akos, Karl, 182

Alapi, Dr. Julius, 70–1, 72, 125, 480

Aldrich, Winthrop W., 491

Államvédelmi Hatóság – *see* ÁVH

Államvédelmi Osztály – *see* ÁVO

Almássy, Paul, 85

Andics, Professor Elizabeth, 74–5, 83, 90, 114, 143, 169, 527

Andropov, Yuri V. (Soviet ambassador to Budapest), 364, 487, 531

    criticism of Russians' role in uprising, 341

    pleads ignorance of troop reinforcements, 456

    excuses their entry, 460–1

    and Nagy's Declaration of Neutrality, 462, 463, 464

    promises negotiations, 477, 496

Angel Fields Slum, 133, 137, 315, 348

    state hospital at, 107–8, 310

- Angyal, Alexander, 283, 353  
 Angyal, Joseph, 528  
 Angyal, Stephen, 547  
 Angyan, Professor János, 597  
*Animal Farm* (Orwell), 135, 263  
 Annabring, Matthias, 551  
*Answer*, 179  
 Antal, Joseph, 597  
 Apró, Antony, 285, 305, 417  
     as deputy prime minister, 193, 199, 362  
     on emergency committee, 374, 375  
     desertion to Moscow, 482, 488, 522  
     in Kádár's government, 522, 539  
     earlier dismissal by Nagy, 592  
 Associated Press, 358, 513  
 Asztalos, Colonel János, 379, 411, 414–15, 419  
 Auclères, Dominique, 577  
 ÁVH (Államvédelmi Hatóság) (security police), 43–54, 59–60, 90, 126, 194, 430, 433, 447  
     torture methods, 53, 61–3, 64, 68, 84, 88, 241, 289  
     remand prison, 61–2, 63  
     interrogation of Brankov, 67–9, 195  
     torture villas, 68, 83  
     takeover of prisons, 86  
     guards at Recsk, 86–7  
     loses independence, 124  
     intelligence-gathering techniques, 154–5, 159–60, 193  
     disinformation techniques, 160  
     and Petőfi Circle, 170  
     abolition forecast, 179  
     and Bishop Péterfalvy, 184, 185  
     uncertainty, 186, 187  
     on alert, 196  
     warning of trouble, 199

- reinforcement of key buildings, 220, 224, 232, 234, 239, 241, 242, 267, 298
- in defence of radio building, 233, 240, 242, 243–4, 245, 246, 256, 257, 258, 260, 270–1, 273
- rebel revenge on, 291, 307, 325, 326, 330–1, 332, 335, 396–7, 445, 451
- action in Győr and Magyaróvár, 323, 324, 325–6, 332, 369
- Nagy's plans to disband, 328, 363–4, 375
- local disarming of, 332
- shelter at police headquarters, 382
- abolition of, 383, 384, 396–7, 398, 400, 527
- defence of Party building, 398, 411, 414–15, 416, 420
- “collective guilt,” 448
- in protective custody, 492
- arrests of, 501
- successor to, 537
- ÁVO (Államvédelmi Osztály) (security police), 39, 52–3
- Babics, Professor Anthony, 241, 592
- Bács-Kiskun, 58, 426
- Bain, Leslie, 526
- Bakondi, Lieutenant-Colonel, 458
- Bakos, Paul, 60
- Balassagyarmat, 329
- Balázs, Kornél, 155
- Báli, Alexander, 538, 543
- Bálinka, 374
- Bálint, George, 69
- Bálint, Joseph, 494, 567
- Balogh, Mrs. Joseph, 413, 444, 481, 585
- Bán, Anthony, 43
- Bankuti, Géza, 581
- Barát, Louis, 553, 554
- Barber, Noel, 188–9, 356–8, 371, 384, 404, 493, 577
- Bardi, János, 100, 334
- Barnes, Spencer (U.S. chargé d'affaires), 194, 321, 424, 439, 445, 459, 466, 482
  - alerts Washington on crisis, 212, 258
  - on Nagy's position, 258, 308, 393, 410

- and massacre outside legation, 300, 306, 321
- proposes declaration on insurgents' demands, 314
- on extent of insurgent organisation, 326, 327
- believes America should take action, 345, 378, 410
- on "completely abnormal" situation, 377
- reports arrival of fresh Soviet troops, 377, 390
- on anti-Semitic pogrom, 397
- urges decision to aid rebels, 410
- puzzled over apparent victory of revolution, 436
- warns of second Russian intervention, 455
- Bartha, General Albert, 51
- Bartók, Béla, 161
- Bastomov, George, 105, 555
- Bata, Lieutenant-General Stephen, 52
  - and Oct. 23 demonstration, 218, 259, 260, 269
  - orders "liquidation of all counter-revolutionary elements," 294, 310
  - displaced as defence minister, 363
  - deported to Russia, 375, 488
- Batov, General Pavel Ivanovich in command of Soviet troops in Hungary, 339–41, 394
- Batthyány, Count, 193
- Baudy, Nicolas, 582
- Beam, Jacob, 314
- Beér, Professor János, 298, 306
- Begović, Dr. Vljako, 194
- Békéscsaba, 498
- Beleznay, Colonel Stephen, 51
- "Bell, Colonel," 399, 438
- Beloianis works, 538, 543
- Bem, General Joseph, 201
- Bem Barracks, 260, 368, 369
- Ben Gurion, David, 200
- Benjámín, Ladislav, 137, 142, 248, 274
  - in Nagy group, 146, 162, 570
- Benke, Valeria, 227, 295–6
  - in besieged radio building, 230–2, 234–5, 237, 239, 245, 247–8, 267, 270



- and Gerő's broadcast, 238
- pleads for reinforcements, 247, 267
- escapes, 271
- Benkő, Zoltán, 350, 402
- Beregsurány, 428, 498
- Berczelli, Major-General Tibor, 52
- Berei, Andrew 74–5, 527
- Beria, Lavrenti, 115, 120, 123
- Berle, Adolph A. Jr., 595
- Bernátkút labour camp, 457
- Bessenyei, Francis, 216
- Betlen, Oscar, 224
- Bibó, Professor Stephen, 125, 179, 504
  - in new Petőfi party, 457, 495
  - in Nagy's new Cabinet, 495, 497
  - draft appeal to Eisenhower, 504, 515, 516
  - takes charge after Nagy's departure, 509, 515, 516, 517, 519–20, 526
  - urges the risking of war, 516, 517
  - refusal to leave Parliament, 519–20, 526
  - statements, 520
  - calls press conference, 520, 521
  - arrest and imprisonment, 526
- Bielkin, Lieutenant-General Theodore, 53, 68–9, 367
- Bigart, Homer, 355, 371, 423
- Blücher, Professor Joseph, 200, 382, 389, 510, 517
- Blücher, Professor Ladislav, 237, 240, 241–2, 260
- Blyth, Jeffrey, 357, 404, 424, 444, 447, 459, 486, 493, 560
- Boarov, Zhivkov, 66, 67, 69
- Bodonyi (lawyer), 90
- Bognár, Joseph, 362, 363, 389, 429, 430, 526, 592
- Bohlen, Charles, 315, 384, 395–6, 409–10, 485–6, 493, 502–3
- Bohó, Professor Robert, 536
- Boldizsár, Ivan
  - as *Monday News* editor, 183–4, 237, 241, 255, 386
  - and rebellion, 255, 264, 386, 457, 463–4, 499
  - fears Russian invasion, 463–4
- Bolick, Jerry, 519

- Boncour, Jean-Paul, 27, 28, 358  
 Boncour, Mausi, 27, 28  
 Bondor, Captain, 180–1  
 Bondor, Mrs., 31–3, 180–1  
 Bondy, François, 485  
 Bordás, Andrew, 335  
 Borsod County, 289, 332, 334, 335, 364, 426  
 Boulwood, George, 358  
 Bourgin, Simon, 173, 190  
 Bradacs, Colonel George, 331, 534  
 Brankov, Lazarus  
   show trial of, 66–70  
     imprisonment, 72–3  
     release, 195, 370  
 Braunecker, Anthony, 583  
 Brook-Shepherd, Gordon, 362  
 Bruegl, Gordon, 519  
 Buchanan, Wiley T., 313  
 Buda, 74–7, 346, 378–9, 383, 521  
   four main rebel groups in, 283  
   Dudás assumes command in, 368, 369  
   Russian attack on, 510, 524, 527  
 Budakeszi, 260, 336, 512  
 Budaörs airport, 392  
 Budapest, *passim*  
   Academy Street (Central Committee headquarters), 54, 168, 189, 211  
   gathering of key people in, 219, 248, 249, 254  
   siege of, 261, 263, 265, 295–6, 298, 299, 305  
   under National Guard control, 446  
   Alexander Bródy Street, 213, 229, 230, 232, 234, 237, 239–40, 241, 242, 294  
   gun-duel in, 243–4, 246, 247, 252, 254, 255, 258–9, 260, 264, 266, 267  
   American legation, 193, 266, 300–1, 306, 321–2, 399, 512–13, 524–5, 532  
   asylum to Mindszenty, 518–19, 525, 530, 533, 535, 536, 547  
   British legation, 154, 384, 528

- Central Prison, 65, 70, 72–3, 458
- Corvin Passage, 284, 286, 291, 312, 316, 317, 361, 362, 366–7, 374, 387, 439, 458, 483, 505
- Moscow Square, 326, 346, 369, 371, 372
- National Museum, 213, 257, 296, 295
- Parliament building, 188, 219, 220, 393, 413, 417–19
  - siege of, 224–5, 226–7, 233, 280–1
  - gathering of frightened officials in, 480–1
- Soviet takeover, 519–20
- Parliament Square, 295
  - occupied by demonstrators, 220, 222, 223–6, 228–9, 233, 240, 300, 301
  - massacre by Soviet tanks, 301–5, 306, 311, 315, 317, 319, 383
- Polytechnic students' meeting, Fourteen Points and demonstration, 200–2, 203–4, 205, 207–8, 211
- start of march from, 211, 214
- Radio building, 126, 168, 213
- ÁVH reinforcement, 224, 232, 234, 239, 241, 267
  - siege of, 229–32, 234–5, 237–40, 242, 243–4, 245–8, 250, 255–8, 260, 267, 269, 270–2
  - capture by rebels, 270–2
- Soviet takeover, 294, 384
- Republic Square (Party headquarters)
  - preparations for defence, 219–20
  - defence of, 285, 360–1, 379, 398–9, 407–8, 410–12, 413–16, 419–20, 423–4
- Stalin statue, 108, 158, 225
  - removal of, 243, 244–5, 264, 435
- Széna Square, 346, 351, 368, 369, 372, 383, 543
- University, 241, 298, 406, 428
  - decision to stage demonstration, 202, 208, 213
- Yugoslav legation
  - Nagy group's asylum in, 452, 521, 522, 528, 536, 539

- Bujáki, Francis, 455  
 Bulganin, Marshal Nikolai, 167, 395, 410, 486, 488, 502, 529  
 Burchett, Wilfred, 70  
 Burns, Michael, 70  
 Buttkovszky, Emanuel, 283
- Callas, Maria, 312  
 Camus, Albert, 182  
 Catholic Church, 39–40, 55–6, 71  
 Catholic People's Party, 457  
 Cavallari, Alberto, 423, 444, 463–4, 474, 477, 479, 486, 492  
 Cave-Brown, Anthony, 486  
 Cavendish, Anthony, 358, 390  
 Cegléd, 270, 275, 290, 390, 453
- Russian troops' defection, 344  
 Central Intelligence Agency – *see* CIA  
 Central Workers' Council (CWC), 537–9, 542, 543–4  
 Chapin, Selden, 56  
 Chop, 341, 426, 454, 455, 502  
 Christensen, Dr. William N., 292  
 Churchill, Winston, 192, 491
- at Yalta, 34  
 CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), 154, 165, 167, 312, 313
- stirring up of revolts in Soviet satellites, 155–7  
     report on Kádár, 179  
     foresees uprising, 181, 187
- Clark, Richard, 70  
 Corradi, Egisto, 455  
*Corriere della Sera*, 423, 510  
 Coty, René, 28  
 Cowley, Lieutenant-Colonel Noel, 254, 518  
 Csákánykő, 86  
 Csaroda, 425  
 Csepel Island, 58, 205, 510
- workers' discontent in, 101–2, 114, 199  
     and rebellion, 255, 257, 260, 265, 275–6, 284, 285, 291, 493–4  
     falls to rebels, 335  
     central workers' council, 426, 494  
     Russian attack on, 525, 534

- Csergő, János, 481, 496, 592  
 Csértán, Rev. Martin, 118  
 Csiba, Captain Louis, 78, 224, 276, 310–11, 312, 484, 504, 511  
 Csikesz, Mrs. Joseph, 411  
 Csikor, Professor, 331, 502  
 Csohány, Kálmán, 570  
 Csomor, 454  
 Csongrad, 450  
 Csurke, Captain Ladislav, 332–3  
 Cyrankiewicz, Joseph, 394  
 Czakó, Dr. Kálmán, 124, 142  
 Czérna, Zoltán, 531  
 Czottner, Alexander, 167, 481, 496
- Daily Express*, 70, 236, 356, 357, 358, 384, 531  
*Daily Mail*, 188, 189, 356, 357, 384, 404, 444, 447, 486  
*Daily Mirror*, 404  
*Daily Telegraph*, 362  
 Dallam, Colonel Welwyn, 470, 506–7  
 Dallos, Francis, 197  
 Dálnoki-Veress, General Louis, 41, 554  
 David, Group Captain Dennis, 500–1  
 Davis, Lawrence, 189, 190, 236, 357, 486  
 Dayan, Moshe, 200  
*Daylight*, 100  
 De Silva, Colonel Peer, 165, 345  
 Debrecen, 142, 288–9, 330, 378, 454, 456, 460, 478, 538  
     seat of provisional post-war government, 30, 38  
     first workers' councils in, 289  
     revolutionary committee takes power, 294, 330  
 Soviet occupation, 498  
 Decsi, Lieutenant János, 243, 259  
 Décsy, ÁVH-Colonel Julius, 90  
 Delmer, Sefton, 216–17, 236, 237, 356, 357–8, 372, 384, 388, 479–80, 485, 493  
 Democratic Hungarian Independence Movement, 536  
 Democratic People's Party, 457  
 Dénes, Tibor, 564  
 Déri, Sári, 94  
 Déry, Tibor, 128–9, 145, 183, 446  
     in Nagy group, 147, 162  
     stand against government, 162, 171–2

- expulsion from Party, 173
- and Oct. 23 demonstration, 225, 228
- and rebellion, 261, 264
- feeling of guilt, 264
- imprisonment, 548
- Devecsery, Ormay, 570
- Devereux, Dr. George, 62–3, 94–5, 292–3, 323, 380–1
- Devil's Disciple, The* (Shaw), 161
- Dikić, Osman, 488
- Dilinkó, Gábor, 287
- Dinnerman, Mrs. Alice, 561
- Diósgyőr, 114
- DISz (Federation of Working Youth), 98, 203
- Szeged students' decision to leave, 196, 199, 201
- Dixon, Sir Pierson, 422, 467, 503, 506
- Dobi, Stephen, 526, 557
  - collusion with Communists, 43, 481, 482
  - as Smallholder leader and President, 43, 194, 219, 269, 362, 363
  - and rebellion, 265, 269, 363
  - confirms Nagy's appointment, 269
  - expelled from re-born Smallholders Party, 389
  - and surrender of armed forces, 518
  - swears in Kádár government, 531
- Dombóvár, 534
- Donáth, Francis, 137, 175, 333, 473, 504
  - imprisonment, 84
  - in Nagy group, 148, 196, 203
  - in Petőfi Circle, 169, 208
  - and rebellion, 280, 299, 305, 328, 428
  - in new Hungarian Workers' Party, 429, 445
  - and Russian invasion, 509, 510, 511, 512, 521
  - in Yugoslav legation, 521, 536
  - imprisonment, 549
- Doolittle, General James, 157

Dorog, 337, 453, 457

Dudás, Joseph, 283, 370, 439, 501

character and early career, 350–1

emergence to mastermind uprising, 350, 351–2

forms national revolutionary committee, 351, 401, 455

assumes command in Buda, 368, 369

occupies *Free People* building, 401–4, 412, 451–2, 472–3

produces *Hungarian Independence*, 401–3, 445, 454, 455–6, 472

meeting with Nagy, 428, 429–30

his demands, 440, 472

offer to recognise Szigethy's rival

government, 456

claims victory, 472–3

sends force to foreign ministry

building, 483–4

temporary arrest, 484

and Russian invasion, 521, 537

kidnapping and execution, 537, 547, 580

Dulles, Allen W., 156, 442

as CIA director, 157, 181, 288, 314, 345–6, 404

convinced of Polish and Hungarian anti-Communist trend, 181, 288

and uprising, 314, 345–6, 489

concern over Middle East, 393–4, 489

Dulles, John Foster

“liberation” policy, 156, 157, 158–9, 560–1

concern over uprising, 288, 299, 313–15, 346, 347, 352–3, 354, 376, 384–5, 422–3, 482

recommends United Nations action, 313, 315, 347

reluctance to act, 352, 467, 489

and Israel's war plans, 393–4, 404, 422

and Suez crisis, 440–1, 442, 466, 467, 489

- delaying tactics over Hungary, 490
- illness, 490, 493
- Dunaföldvár, 454
- Dunapentele (later Sztálinváros), 109, 529, 533–4, 547
- Dzherzhinski, Felix, 25, 90
- Echo*, 373
- Eden, Anthony (later Earl of Avon) and Suez crisis, 313, 422, 491
- Educated People*, 182
- Eger, 291, 330
- Egri, George, 401
- Eisenberg, Joe, 355
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 288, 488, 535
  - “liberation” policy, 156, 157, 158
  - concern over uprising, 312, 314, 345, 346, 347, 352, 354, 384–5, 437, 561
  - and Suez crisis, 312–13, 404, 422, 440–1, 442, 466
  - disclaims strategic interest in satellite nations, 384, 437, 441
  - takes over foreign affairs after Dulles’s illness, 491, 493, 541
- Bibó’s appeal to, 504, 515, 516
  - “inexpressible shock” at Russian invasion, 529
  - re-election, 529, 532
- Ekren, Kemal, 368–9, 383
- Elias, Stephen, 307, 362, 380, 554, 571
- Epoca*, 473
- Erdei, Alexander, 147, 208, 248, 280, 381
- Erdei, Francis, 125, 457
  - and Oct. 23 demonstration, 225, 226, 227, 233
  - as deputy premier, 362, 389, 393
  - in Nagy’s Inner Cabinet, 417, 418, 430, 479
  - in military talks with Russians, 496, 505
  - taken prisoner, 508, 515, 535
- Erdei, Joci, 389
- Erdélyi, Dr. Stephen, 567
- Erdős, Erzsi, 496–7
- Erdős, L. (*France Soir*), 70
- Erdős, Peter, 226, 295–6, 365, 387, 570



- opposed to Rákosi, 163–4
- arrest, 163
- release, 168
- as radio journalist, 168
- in besieged radio building, 230–1, 232, 235, 239, 257, 260, 270, 271, 548
- and student delegation, 232
- leaves building, 271
- and last days of uprising, 497, 499
- seeks asylum with Yugoslav military attaché, 521
- imprisonment, 548
- Erős, Imre, 89
- Észak Magyarország*, 289
- Esztergom, 244, 258, 432, 530
- Ete, 546
- Evening Budapest*, 225, 361, 401
- Fabian, Dr. Béla, 531
- Fadeyev, Alexander, 316
- Faludy, George, 130, 182, 401
- Farkas, Francis, 457, 479, 495, 503
- Farkas, Michael, 47, 57, 60, 88, 98, 108, 142, 147, 554
  - as Minister of Defence, 52, 79, 178
  - alleged Tito plot against, 67, 71
  - post-Stalin career, 114, 115
  - expulsion from Party, 175
  - arrest, 195, 203
  - call for trial, 203, 204
  - death, 547
- Farkas, Vladimir, 83, 88, 195, 547
- Farnadi, Ernest, 552, 578
- Fazekas, George, 78
  - in Nagy group, 146, 148, 162, 168, 191
  - and Oct. 23 demonstration, 227, 228–9, 233, 248, 249
  - and ensuing rebellion, 252–3, 257, 280, 353, 365, 413, 432

- appointed to liaise with police and army, 413
- and Russian invasion, 515, 521
- in Yugoslav legation, 521
- imprisonment, 548
- Fazekas, Joseph, 556
- Federation of Working Youth – *see* DISz
- Fehér, Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph, 230, 257
- Fehér, Major Ladislás, 231, 235, 239, 240, 257, 260, 570, 573
- Fehér, Louis, 148
- Fejér County, 58
- Fekete, Alexander, 208, 381
- Fekete, Ladislás, 211–12, 263, 264, 364
- Fekete, Lieutenant Louis, 454
- Felsőpetény, 432
- Ferencváros, 348, 524
- Ferihegy airport, 452, 471, 472, 501
- Fiezkó, Major, 512
- Fiore, Ilario, 342–4, 355, 358
- Fischer, Joseph, 388, 495
- Five-Year Plan (1950), 58, 86, 91, 106, 108, 120
- Fodor, Nicholas, 428
- Fodor, Paul, 472
- Földes, Gábor, 324, 325
- Földes, Ladislás, 279, 353, 398
- Földvári, Rudolf, 289, 334, 548
- Folly, Gábor, 531
- Foote, Tim, 411
- France-Soir*, 70, 423
- Franco, Fabrizio, 343, 358, 359, 444, 471, 485, 487
- Free Europe Committee Inc., 155, 157
- Free People*, 31, 61, 81, 105, 110, 123, 128, 131, 139, 140, 176, 187, 195, 333, 361, 372, 472
- Révai as editor-in-chief, 133, 209, 252
- Horváth as editor, 147, 149, 172, 173, 195, 209, 305, 328, 366, 382–3
- and Petőfi Circle, 171
- eulogy of Rajk, 193
- and student demonstration, 205, 206, 209, 224, 247, 250
- building attacked and taken over by mob, 250–2, 321
- occupied by Dudás, 351, 401–4, 412, 451–2, 472–3

- defiant editorial on “great national democratic movement,” 366, 374
  - last edition, 382–3, 389, 400
- Free Radio Kossuth, 423, 436, 453, 473, 507
- Free Speech*, 457
- Free Youth*, 186, 212
- Freedman, Emanuel, 355, 356, 423
- Freedom*, 133
- Freers, E. L., 560
- Freidin, Seymour, 358
- Friedmann, Litzl, 53
- Frontier Guards’ Revolutionary Committee, 434
- Fry, Sir Leslie, 317, 384
  
- Gaál, Francis, 277, 562, 572
- Gáli, Joseph, 216, 403, 533, 537, 548
- Ganz locomotive works, 211, 476, 543
- Gáspár, Alexander, 388, 389
- Gehlen, General Reinhard, 199
- Geneva Conventions, 532
- Georgiević, Milan, 151, 597
- Gereben, János, 277
- Gerő, Ernest, 47, 57, 60, 74, 78, 108, 110, 134, 138, 146, 174
  - alleged Tito plot against, 67, 71
  - post-Stalin career, 114, 115, 116, 145
  - criticised by Khrushchev, 136
  - replacement likely, 167
  - replaces Rákosi as General Secretary of Party, 175, 176, 190
  - attacks Nagy group, 176
  - pandering to Moscow, 190
  - plan to provoke uprising, 195, 199
  - mission to Yugoslavia, 199, 201, 205
  - return, 206–7, 318
  - and Oct. 23 demonstration, 207, 209, 210, 219, 237–8
  - broadcast, 222, 227, 233, 237–8, 242, 267, 287, 289
  - and rebellion, 254, 257, 265, 267–8, 269, 270, 279
  - and request for Soviet help, 267–8, 269, 308, 447, 448, 469
  - differences with Nagy, 269, 279, 287

- confirmed as Party leader, 269, 280
- scolded by Soviet emissaries, 298
- dismissal, 304, 305, 306, 315
- and Central Committee dissension, 328
- evicted from Hungary, 372, 375, 446
- death, 547
- Gimes, Nicholas, 74, 196, 494
  - in Nagy group, 148–9, 164, 168, 170, 191, 203, 208
  - and rebellion, 251, 252, 257, 269, 290, 365, 366, 403
  - founds *Hungarian Freedom*, 403
  - sets up Democratic Hungarian Independence Movement, 536
  - captured by Russians, 542
  - execution, 549
- Giornale d'Italia*, 359
- Gleason, Major Tom, 266, 273, 295
- Gogolak, Ludwig, 247, 505
- Gömbös, Julius von, 563
- Gömöri, George, 202, 213
- Gomulka, Vladislav, 197, 201, 383, 394, 448, 549
- Göncz, Árpád, 553
- Gordey, Michel, 423
- Gorka, Paul, 88
- Gosztony, Lieutenant Peter, 511
- Grebennyik, Brigadier General K. S., 531, 538, 539
- Gróf, Elek, 93
- Grösz, Archbishop Dr. Joseph, 56, 282
- Gruson, Flora, 236
- Gruson, Sydney, 236, 355
- Gura, János, 206, 570, 573
- Guzman, Jacobo Arbenz, 157
- Gyenes, Antal, 592
- Gyöngyös, 330, 479
- Gyöngyösi, János, 217
- Győr, 43, 44, 61, 195, 207, 291, 323–4, 330
  - ÁVH action in, 324
  - focal point of uprising in Western Hungary, 332, 333, 369–70, 374, 375, 426

- Russian troop fraternisation, 345, 369–70
- opposition nucleus, 370–1, 374
- formation of national council, 370–1, 426
- seat of Szigethy's rival Government, 426, 453, 456, 470–1
- Russian entry into, 492, 498, 513
- Győrszentiván, 369
- Gyümért, 92
- Gyurkó, General Louis, 391
  
- Hahn, Otto, 264
- Hajdú, Police Sergeant, 545
- Hajdú (photographer), 278, 575
- Hajdúböszörmény, 196
- Hajdúság*, 131
- Halász (Cabinet secretary), 228, 229
- Halda (Gimes), Alice, 74, 149, 549
- Hamlet*, 161
- Hammarskjöld, Dag, 441, 466, 483, 519
- Hanák, Professor Peter, 213, 297–8, 302, 304, 305–6
- Hanna, Travers, 482
- Haraszti, Alexander, 84, 130, 137, 382
  - in Nagy group, 146, 148, 162, 168, 178, 203
  - stand against government, 162, 163
  - and Oct. 23 demonstration, 208, 227
  - in Committee of Intellectuals, 381
  - edits *People's Freedom*, 494
  - takes refuge at Yugoslav legation, 521
- "Hardy, Dr.," 578
- Harkány, 329
- Harmatzy-Simon, Béla, 275
- Harriman, Averell, 156
- Hatvan, 330, 450
- Háy, Julius
  - earlier collaboration with Soviets, 34, 78, 129, 177
  - literary work, 129, 182, 191
  - disillusion with Communism, 129, 147, 177, 191
  - in Nagy group, 147, 163, 177, 195, 208

- and growing protest, 177, 182, 195–6
- Győr debate, 195
- and Oct. 23 demonstration, 211
- and ensuing rebellion, 279, 282
- rejects offer from Kádár, 446
- and Russian invasion, 504, 505, 51, 5, 517–18, 532
- proclamation on behalf of Writers' Union, 517–18
- arrest and imprisonment, 548
- Hayter, Sir William, 394, 395
- Hazai, Jenő, 328, 431
- Healey, Denis, 76, 82
- Hegedüs, Andrew**, 211
  - as prime minister, 149, 166, 199
  - mission to Belgrade, 199, 205
  - return, 207, 318
  - and Oct. 23 demonstration, 219
  - and ensuing rebellion, 248, 254, 261, 265, 267–8, 269, 287, 298, 328
  - deputy premier, 269, 364
  - objects to proposed disbandment of ÁVH, 328
  - and Central Committee dissension, 328
  - signs request for Soviet military help, 364–5, 418, 447, 469
  - evicted from Hungary, 372, 375, 446
  - return, 547
- Hegyesalom, 485, 487
- Hegyi, Major-General Ladislav, 259
- Heltai, George, 37, 168, 279
  - as deputy foreign minister, 440, 456, 479, 484
  - and declaration of neutrality, 461, 462
- Hévézi, Louis, 552
- Hidas, Stephen, 269
- Hidvégi, General Francis, 431
- Hinkle, Dr. Lawrence E. Jr., 50, 126, 567
- Hollós, Ervin, 504, 567
- Hope, Peter, 189
- Horthy, Admiral Nicholas von, 30, 35, 36, 144
- Horváth, Lieutenant-Colonel, 276
- Horváth, Dénes, 357, 578

- Horváth, Mrs. Imre, 542  
 Horváth, János, 432  
 Horváth, Martin  
   as *Free People* editor, 147, 149, 172, 173, 195, 209, 305, 328, 366, 382–3  
 Horváth, Richard, 282  
 Horváth, Zoltán, 388  
 Hoványi, Dr. Paul, 111, 112, 555  
 Hudra, Ladislav, 118  
*Humanité, L'*, 394, 531  
 Hungarian Armoured Division, 258–9  
 Hungarian Community, 41  
 Hungarian Fighting Youth Organisation, 321  
*Hungarian Freedom*, 403  
*Hungarian Independence*, 401, 402–3, 430, 445, 454, 456, 472, 484  
*Hungarian Nation*, 171, 234, 239, 334  
 Hungarian National Council, 155, 160, 314  
 Hungarian Partisan Comrades Federation, 79  
*Hungarian Police*, 430  
 Hungarian Red Cross, 359  
 Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government formation, 523, 527  
   Soviet control of, 531  
   harsh regime, 537–8, 543, 545–8  
 Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party formation, 429, 445–6, 468, 473  
 Hungarian Workers' Party, *passim* birth of, 44  
   disintegration, 421, 445  
   re-formed as Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, 429, 445–6  
*Hungarian Youth*, 494  
 Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society, 98, 454  
 Hungarian-Yugoslav Society, 84  
 Hűvösvölgy Barracks, 368, 457  
  
 Illy, General Gustav, 51, 195  
 Illyés, "General" Béla, 78  
 Illyés, Julius, 167, 179  
 Ilosvay, Francis, 350  
*Independence*, 63  
 Inota hydroelectric plant, 138  
 International News Service, 70  
 International Red Cross, 359  
 Ispánky, Béla, 56, 552  
 Ivekovic, Dr. Mladen, 597  
*Izvestia*, 549

- Jackson, Bill, 440
- Jackson. C. D., 576
- Jankó, Dr. Peter, 69
- Jánosi, Major Francis, 51, 119, 382, 521  
     in Nagy group, 148, 151, 208  
     and Oct. 23 demonstration, 228–9, 249, 571  
     imprisonment, 549
- János, Mrs. Francis (formerly Bözske Nagy), 118–19, 134, 148, 217, 227, 278–9, 550, 568, 571, 596
- Jánossy, Professor Louis, 177
- Janza, Lieutenant-General Karl, 52  
     as defence minister, 363, 367, 373, 391, 408, 434  
     signs ceasefire order, 373  
     in secret touch with Moscow, 431  
     dismissed, 495  
     and Russian invasion, 510, 517
- Jaray, János, 159
- Jaszovsky, Joseph, 505
- Jen Min Jih Pao*, 499
- Jobbágy, Karl, 182
- Jónás, Dr. Paul, 179, 217  
     in Recsk prison camp, 87, 88, 351, 583
- Jordan, Lew, 355
- Josika, Baron Gábor, 223
- Józsa, Julius, 567
- Józsa, Mrs. Peter, 565, 566
- József, Attila, 193
- Justus, Paul, 43, 90  
     alleged plot to kill Rákosi, 68, 69, 70
- Kádár, Professor Ivan, 381
- Kádár, János**, 71, 75, 89, 167, 174, 175, 199, 209, 341  
     as minister of interior, 60–1  
     arrest and imprisonment, 87–8, 333  
     release, 137  
     leads opposition to Rákosi, 179  
     seeks Party leadership, 194  
     and rebellion, 265, 267, 269, 280, 287



- votes for Nagy as Premier, 269
- succeeds Gerő as Party leader, 305, 306, 308
- and Central Committee dissension, 328, 366, 398, 421
- in emergency committee, 374, 394, 421
- in coalition government, 417, 418
- endorses promise of free elections, 418
- on danger of counter-government, 427
- re-forms Party as Hungarian Workers' Socialist Party, 429, 445–6, 468–9, 473
- negotiates with rebel gangs, 431, 455
- on Nagy's impotence, 445, 468, 536, 541
- and Declaration of Neutrality, 462, 463
- disappearance, 475, 476, 481, 483, 494, 522
- defection to Russia, 476, 482, 488, 495, 522–3
- favoured by Yugoslavia as prime minister, 488
- included in Nagy's new list of cabinet members, 495
- forms Revolutionary Worker-Peasant government, 522–3, 527, 531, 533
- re-creates police arm, 537, 543
- subservience to Moscow, 537, 541, 547
- meetings with Central Workers' Council, 537–9
- duplicity over Nagy group, 539–41
- refusal to allow UN observers, 541–2
- increasingly harsh regime, 543–4
- Kaganovich, Lazar, M., 136, 197, 410
- Kalocsa airfield, 392
- Kalamár, Joseph, 335, 523
- Káldi, George, 555
- Kállai, Eva, 416
- Kállai, Julius, 84, 280, 333
- Kána, Major-General Lörinc, 431
- Kaposvár airfield, 392, 479
- Kapotsy, Béla, 155
- Kardelj, Edvard, 487
- Kardos, Ladislav, 203, 208, 553

- Kardoss, Tibor, 213, 306
- Karinthy, Francis, 162, 163
- Károlyi, Dr. George, 553
- Karsky, Serge, 70
- Kató, Professor Stephen, 298, 302, 304
- Katona, Gábor, 193, 226, 243, 245, 254, 321, 333, 424, 437, 465, 470, 541, 542  
     and arrival of Soviet troops, 266, 273, 295, 297, 300–1  
     sees Parliament Square massacre, 302, 303, 306, 307  
     and Russian attack on Budapest, 507, 519, 535
- Kecskemét, 197, 207, 331–2, 391, 392
- Kecskeméti, Dr. Paul, 97, 569
- Kelemen, Ágnes, 416
- Kelemen, Julius, 388, 479, 495
- Kende, Peter, 100, 240, 250, 252, 254, 264, 281, 418, 494, 571, 573
- Kende, Stephen, 161
- Kereszturi, Peter, 198, 553, 569
- Kertész, Stephen, 399
- Kéthly, Anna, 43, 382, 437, 440, 453  
     imprisonment as Social Democrat leader, 125, 388  
     refusal to treat with Communists, 178, 388–9  
     at Vienna meeting of Socialist International, 440, 459–60  
     warns against “counter-revolutionary victory,” 459  
     not allowed to re-enter Hungary, 460  
     appointed minister of state, 495  
     “sole legal representative abroad,” 520
- Khrushchev, Nikita S.**, 114, 115, 123, 136, 149, 174, 318, 486, 549  
     attack on Stalin cult, 165  
     mediation between Hungary and Yugoslavia, 190  
     and Polish defiance, 197  
     concern at Hungarian uprising, 290, 315, 395, 409, 410, 437  
     prepared to risk everything, 437, 487–8  
     decision to intervene, 443, 448, 487–8, 493, 502–3  
     tour of satellite capitals, 449, 485  
     consults Tito over re-invasion of Hungary, 487–8
- Kilián, George, 310
- Kilián Barracks, 283, 291, 366, 396, 431, 438–9, 460, 479, 484, 504

- under rebel attack, 276, 278, 284, 439
- task force sent to defend, 311–12, 316
- local truce around, 312, 316
- defence against Russian tanks, 337, 361–2, 372, 387–8, 406–7
- fresh Russian attack on, 524, 526, 527, 528
- casualties, 547
- Kindlovics, Major, 311
- Király, Lieutenant-General Béla, 392, 393, 497, 505, 507
  - early career, 178–9, 195, 382, 406
  - seeks high army office, 382
  - plans for national guard and revolutionary committee, 391, 405, 408, 429, 431, 438–9
  - commands Budapest forces, 406
  - chairman of Revolutionary National Defence Committee, 434, 435
  - commands National Guard, 439, 477–8
  - rivalry with Maléter, 439, 477, 484
  - orders return of tanks to barracks, 501
  - and Russian invasion, 510, 517, 546
  - escape to Austria, 546
- Kisházi, Ödön, 257
- Kismaros state camp, 158
- Kiskunhalas Barracks, 510
- Kiskunlakháza airfield, 392
- Kispest, 494
- Kiss, Alexander, 100, 178, 374, 389, 460
- Kiss, Dezső, 556, 574
- Kiss, Joseph, 407
- Kiss, Lieutenant-Colonel Julius, 230
- Kiss, Karl, 88, 199, 306, 437
- Kiss, Louis, 336
- Kistarcsa prison camp, 86, 90
- Kisvárdá, 425, 478
- Klement Gottwald factory, 275
- Kőbánya, 291, 537
  - release of political prisoners, 458
- Köböl, Joseph, 179, 280

- Kóbor, Gábor, 583  
 Kocsis, Ladislav, 597  
 Koczak, Stephen, 181  
 Kodály, Zoltán, 145, 167, 457  
 Kölkes, Otto, 413  
 Kömüves, Colonel, 261, 270, 511  
 Komárom, 392, 499, 543  
 Komárom County, 58  
 Komló, 533  
 Konduktorov, Leo – *see* Kós, Dr. Peter  
 Koniev, Marshal, 340, 394, 443  
 Konok, Colonel Francis, 571  
 Kónya, Ladislav, 130, 142  
 Kónya, Louis, 208, 570  
 Kopácsi, Alexander (chief of police), 143, 166, 191, 247, 248, 259–60, 360, 403, 447, 501, 507  
     early career, 89–90  
     warns Kádár of Rákosi's plan to arrest, 174  
     attracted to Nagy's brand of Communism, 206  
     nonchalant attitude to Oct. 23 demonstration, 206, 209, 211–12, 223  
     conflicting feelings over rebellion, 252–3, 267, 319  
     arrests young rebels, 253  
     releases them, 267  
     and Russian tank action, 272  
     and mob attack on headquarters, 279–80, 319  
     sympathy with “pure and democratic revolution,” 280, 365  
     and Parliament Square massacre, 304, 319–20  
     contacts with rebel gangs, 353  
     consulted on disbandment of ÁVH, 363–4  
     shelters journalists and ÁVH, 365–6  
     refuses to issue orders to police, 379–80, 412  
     increasing pressure on, 380  
     and student militia, 382  
     organises national guard and revolutionary committee, 391, 405, 408, 429, 439

- and Republic Square battle, 412, 420
- in provisional Politburo of Kádár's re-formed Party, 429, 445, 473
- and new Soviet troop movements, 505–6, 515
- arrest, 528, 535
- jailed for life, 549
- Kopácsi, Judy, 510
- Korda, Mike, 510
- Korondy, Béla, 68, 72
- Korvin, Otto, 35
- Kós, Dr. Peter (Leo Konduktorov), 353, 375, 401, 418, 466, 494
- Kosáry, Professor Dominic, 213, 223, 244, 250, 359
- Kossa, Stephen, 253, 294, 482, 495, 522
- Kossuth Officers' School, 52, 244, 260, 261, 276
- Kovács, Andrew, 451
- Kovács, Béla, 178, 389, 459, 463
  - silencing of, 41–2, 351, 363
  - in Nagy's new "National Government," 362–3, 375
  - in inner Cabinet of coalition, 417, 440, 453, 470
  - broadcast supporting government, 473
  - and Russian invasion, 514, 519, 520, 524–5, 541
  - offered shelter at US legation, 524–5
  - leaves, 528
  - seeks further shelter, 541
  - last years, 597
- Kovács, Denis, 368
- Kovács, General Imre
  - as Király's chief of staff, 408
- Kovács, János, 219
- Kovács, Lieutenant-Colonel Ladislav, 230
- Kovács, Major Ladislav, 256
- Kovács, Ladislav (attorney), 457, 458
- Kovács, Stephen, 88, 174, 248, 295, 296, 328, 407, 548
- Kovács, Major-General Stephen, 353, 484
  - plan to attack Corvin Passage, 360–1
  - as chief of general staff, 445, 479, 481
  - in talks with Russians, 496, 497, 498, 505

- distrust of Russians, 500–1
- appeal to West, 501
- taken prisoner, 508, 513, 535, 548
- Kővágó, Colonel, 368
- Kővágó, Joseph, 389, 427, 479
- Kovavic, Professor, 217–18
- Kuczka, Peter, 130, 147, 565
- Kun, Béla, 35, 38, 118
- Kunmadaras airfield, 392
- Kupp, Julius, 568, 571
- Kurucz, Béla, 244, 261, 511, 512, 529–30
- Kutikov, Captain, V. N., 398
  
- Lakatos, Peter, 420
- Lakihegy, 269
- Lámpagyár weapons factory, 255, 285
- Land Reform Act (1945), 38, 39, 40, 119
- Láng engineering works, 275, 476
- Lányi, Ildikó, 212, 233
- Larshenko, General, 340
- Latest News*, 100
- Lederer, Lajos, 482–3, 500, 516
- Lenin, Vladimir, 35, 38, 77, 91, 162, 311
- Life*, 411, 415, 420, 506
- Literary Gazette*, 127, 130, 132, 161, 214
- fosters popular resentment, 182–3, 186, 191
- Little French Girl in Budapest* (Túry), 166
- Litván, George, 167, 240
- Liu Shao-chi, 443
- Lloyd, Selwyn, 200, 347
- Lőcsei, Paul, 168, 252, 268, 280, 365
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, 288, 347, 352, 422, 517
- recommends UN rather than US action, 313, 315
- suggests resolution calling for control of Soviet forces, 376
- and Suez, 441, 466, 489
- delaying tactics over Hungary, 490, 503, 506, 514
- Lombos, Lieutenant-Colonel Louis, 67
- Losonczy, Géza, 84, 137, 175, 182, 440, 464, 473, 496–7, 509
- in Nagy group, 146, 148, 162, 163, 164, 170, 178, 196

- stand against government, 162, 168
- in Petőfi Circle, 169, 171, 203
- and programme for Nagy government, 203, 208
- and Oct. 23 demonstration, 204, 205, 208, 217, 222, 225, 227, 234–5, 238, 239, 240, 250, 252
- leaves radio building, 239
- and rebellion, 254–5, 280, 282, 305, 334, 410, 413
- despair over Nagy regime, 282, 299, 305
- resignation from Politburo, 305
- attacks old system, 328
- brings out new *Hungarian Nation*, 334
- relays Tito message to Nagy, 410
- in Nagy's Inner Cabinet, 417, 428, 495
- in new Party Politburo, 429, 445, 450
- to head political talks with Russians, 479
- favoured by Yugoslavs, 488
- optimism over talks with Russians, 499
- on problems of halting victorious revolution, 500
- in Yugoslav legation, 521
- kidnapped and deported, 539, 540
- death, 549
- Lovas, George, 343, 574
- Löwenstein, Hubertus zu, 471
- Lukács, Georg, 128, 177, 207, 462
- in Nagy group, 169–70, 208, 305
- in “National Government,” 362, 364
- and Kádár's new Communist Party, 429, 445, 446, 468, 473
- dismissed by Nagy, 495
- at Yugoslav legation, 521
- kidnapped by Russians, 539, 540
- Lukács, Colonel Ladislav, 230
- Lukácsy, Alexander, 186, 234
- Lvov, 40, 339, 340, 426

- MacCormac, John, 142, 258, 301, 303, 304, 307, 321, 355, 356, 377, 386, 390, 406–7, 452, 478, 500, 521, 529
- MacCormac, Mrs. John, 301, 356
- Madách, Imre, 161
- Magos, Gábor, 361, 542
- Magyaróvár, 107, 160, 324–6, 330, 333
- ÁVH massacre in 325–6, 332
  - surrounded by Russian tanks, 485, 486
  - casualties, 547
- Majlát, Jolán, 515, 526
- Malenkov, Georgi M., 115, 136, 142, 487, 502
- “hydrogen bomb” bluff, 157–9
- Maléter, Judith, 78, 81
- Maléter, Maria, 78, 79, 80–1, 220, 337, 474, 546
- Maléter, Colonel Paul**, 144, 276, 401, 417, 425, 459, 495, 530
- background, 78–81
  - at defence ministry, 79, 80, 224, 310
  - leads task force to Kilián Barracks against rebels, 310–2, 316
  - defence of barracks against Russian tanks, 337, 361–2, 372, 387–8, 407
  - demands to Nagy, 372, 373
  - meeting with Nagy, 428, 431
  - in Revolutionary National Defence Committee, 434, 435
  - and formation of National Guard, 438–9, 474
  - first deputy minister of defence, 445, 460, 461, 479, 480, 484
  - broadcast appeal to workers, 474
  - press interview, 475–6
  - leads military talks with Russians, 477, 479, 484, 496, 506, 507–8
  - short-lived sympathy with rebellion, 479, 484
  - insistence on restoring order, 484
  - optimism over military talks, 496, 497, 504
  - taken prisoner by Soviet army, 508, 513, 535
  - execution, 549
- Maléter, Paul Jr., 80, 337, 474



- Malinin, General Michael S., 497, 496, 497, 508  
 Malinovsky, Marshal Rodion, 79, 438  
 Mao Tse-tung, 443  
 Marián, Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen, 204, 510  
     and Oct. 23 student demonstration, 207, 211  
     commands student militia, 381, 434  
     in Revolutionary National Defence Committee, 434, 438  
     imprisonment, 548  
 Máriássy, Judith, 182  
 Markos, George, 381  
 Márkus, Stephen, 185, 280  
 Marosán, George, 75–7, 133, 219, 328  
     leads left-wing faction of Social Democrats, 43  
     arrest and imprisonment, 75, 76–7, 83–4  
     release and rehabilitation, 166, 175  
     joins forces with Kádár, 179  
     urges strong measures against student demonstration, 207, 209, 216  
     insists on calling in Soviet troops, 268  
     escapes from rebels, 452, 481  
     desertion to Russians, 482, 522  
 Marosán, Mrs. 542  
 Márton, Colonel Andrew, 434, 478, 479  
 Márton, Endre, 155, 264, 295, 297, 301, 303, 358  
 Márton, Ladislav, 213, 249, 261  
 Mata, General, 337  
 Maté, Imre, 213  
 Mátészalka, 196  
 Mathias, Paul, 27–8, 338, 411, 436, 485  
 Matteotti, Matteo, 460, 532  
 Matthew Zalka barracks, 457  
 Matthias Rákosi steelworks, 100, 114  
 Mátya, Major Ladislav, 570  
 Mátya, Lieutenant-Colonel Ladislav, 230  
 MÁVAG locomotive plant, 140–1, 211, 543  
 Mayer, Tony, 397  
 Mécseri, Colonel János, 259, 283, 516, 547  
 Meeker, Brice C., 295

- MEFESz (student organisation), 199, 201, 281  
     and Oct. 23 demonstration, 209, 213, 249
- Mekis, Joseph, 227
- Menon, Krishna, 541–2
- Méray, Tibor, 128, 142, 143, 175, 188, 555  
     in Nagy group, 150, 162, 168  
     stand against government, 162, 163  
     and Oct. 23 demonstration, 228  
     and rebellion, 365, 386  
     accuses Mindszenty, 505
- Mercader, Ramón, 47
- Méssz, János, 286
- Mester, Captain János, 213
- Mézes, Major, 213
- Mezey, Dr. Sigmund, 63, 380
- Mező, Imre, 144, 195, 523  
     in Nagy group, 208, 220, 227, 367  
     and defence of Budapest Party headquarters, 285, 305, 360–1,  
     397–9, 407–8, 410–12, 413–15  
     attempt to organise worker militia, 379  
     talks with Kádár, 398  
     isolation, 398–9, 408, 411  
     vain appeals for help, 398, 410, 414  
     surrender and death, 415, 419, 421, 469
- Mező, Mrs. Imre, 549
- Michael Táncsics Engineers' School, 261, 263
- Mićunović, Veljko, 190, 290, 315
- Mikes, Francis, 330
- Mikes, George, 577
- Mikoyan, Anastas, 115, 174, 197, 429, 445, 449, 486, 562  
     scolds Gerő for calling in Soviet troops, 287, 298  
     advises his resignation, 305  
     secret conference with Nagy, 372  
     and Declaration on Relations between Socialist States, 409, 427, 433, 440  
     promises withdrawal of Soviet troops, 437, 446

- talks with Kádár, 445, 468, 469
- Militiaman*, 333
- Miller, Arthur, 161
- Mindszenty, Cardinal Joseph, 71, 195, 424
  - trial and imprisonment, 55–6, 69, 124
  - release, 283, 432–3, 434
  - return to Budapest, 433, 435, 444
  - rehabilitation, 435
  - political activity resumed, 459, 471, 505
  - right-wing consolidation around, 505
  - broadcast to nation, 505
  - and Russian invasion, 514, 515, 517
  - leaves Parliament, 517
  - “exile” in US legation, 519, 525, 528, 530, 533, 535, 536, 547
  - an embarrassment to US, 535
- Miraculous Mandarin, The* (Bartók), 161
- Miskolc, 289–90, 291, 330, 533
- ÁVH actions in, 294
  - focal point of uprising in northeast, 332–3, 334, 364, 378
  - workers’ council, 332, 334, 364, 393
  - casualties, 547
- Mód, Peter, 484
- MOFEM factory, 107
- Mohai, Stephen, 333
- MÖHOSz (Hungarian Voluntary Defence Association), 256
- Molden, Fritz, 498
- Mollet, Guy, 422
- Molnár, Erik, 592
- Molnár, Mrs. Ferenc, 430
- Molnár, Ladislav, 420
- Molnár, Nicholas
  - and Writers’ Union, 130, 135, 142, 145, 182, 566
  - Rákosi’s attempts to win over, 142, 145
  - and rebellion, 251, 279, 383, 403, 496
  - and *Free People*, 251, 383
- Molnár, Mrs. Nicholas, 496
- Molnár, Tibor, 213–14, 216

- Molotov, Vyacheslav M., 115, 121, 197, 395, 409, 410  
 Molotov Plan (1949), 54  
*Monday News*, 183–4, 185, 195, 196, 198, 309, 350, 386, 457  
*Monde, Le*, 70  
 Montanelli, Indro, 510  
 Mosonyi Barracks, 259  
 Mossadegh, Mohammed, 157  
 MTI (government telegraph agency), 294, 330, 513  
 Mukachevo, 340  
 Münnich, Dr. Francis, 193, 194, 279, 336, 431, 469, 549  
     as minister of interior, 318, 363, 373, 391, 396, 403  
     signs ceasefire order, 373  
     in emergency committee, 374  
     withdrawal into Parliament, 396  
     negotiations with Russians, 467–8  
     desertion to them, 469, 476, 481, 482, 488, 495, 522–3  
     favoured by Russians as prime minister, 488; as Kádár's deputy  
     premier, 522, 523, 527, 531, 540  
 Murphy, Robert, 353, 525  
  
 Nadany, Dr., 572  
 Nádasdy, Countess Anna, 159, 560  
 Nádor, Colonel Francis, 392–3, 434, 435, 521  
 Nagy, Alex, 511  
 Nagy, Balász, 381, 536, 562  
 Nagy, Béla, 325  
 Nagy, Bözske (Bess) – *see* Jánosi, Mrs. Francis  
 Nagy, Francis, 26, 33, 180, 400  
     apparent defection to West, 42  
**Nagy, Imre**, 37, 51, 74, 189, 341, 542  
     praise of Soviet army, 30, 117  
     as minister of agriculture, 38, 55, 118–19  
     as minister of interior, 40  
     on “internal enemies” 54–5  
     rivalry with Rákosi, 57–8, 119–20, 123–4, 136, 138, 141–2  
     on “Jewish foursome” blame for economic misery, 97–8  
     on workers' living standards, 106

succeeds Rákosi as prime minister, 115–16, 117, 120  
 early career and exile in Moscow, 117–20  
 “self-criticism,” 119–20  
 New Course, 121–4, 126, 132, 136, 137–8, 139–41, 143, 265  
 more liberal regime, 123–4, 136, 137  
 on writers’ opportunism, 130  
 organises People’s Patriotic Front, 139  
 rebuked by Moscow, 142  
 illnesses, 142  
 dismissal, 143–4, 145, 147, 241  
 support among writers, 146–53, 162, 168  
 exclusion from Academy of Sciences, 147, 150  
 his memorandum, 150–1  
 expulsion from Party, 150, 170  
 on abuse of power, 152–3  
 annoyance at CIA propaganda, 156  
 on police terror, 161  
 Kremlin’s unclear attitude to, 167  
 growing support for, 167–8, 173, 176–9, 197, 19S, 196–7, 199  
 anxiety to maintain Party unity, 168, 170, 191  
 advocates coalition government, 177–8  
 plan to revive People’s Patriotic Front, 178  
 reinstatement in Party, 188, 191, 194–5  
 declines Gerő’s offer of cabinet post, 190, 194  
 aim of independent Hungary, 190–1  
 and Rajk’s reburial, 192, 193  
 warned of Gerő’s plan for uprising, 195  
 his return to power called for, 201, 202, 203–4, 208, 218, 220, 224–5, 240  
 reluctance to head Oct. 23 demonstration, 208  
 urged to address demonstrators, 226–8  
 reluctantly does so, 229, 233–4, 239, 258  
 suspects trap, 235

confers with youth delegates, 248–9  
 apathy over taking power, 249, 253  
 becomes prime minister, 265, 267, 269, 274, 279, 282  
 welcomes Soviet intervention, 268–9, 274–5, 282, 294, 308, 315, 365–6, 418, 447–8, 483  
 proclaims martial law, 274, 281, 282, 366  
 confused thinking, 290–2  
 aloofness, 298, 299, 301, 304, 305–6, 333  
 promise to have Soviet troops withdrawn, 315, 320, 327, 335, 366, 384, 395, 396, 417, 419, 426  
 and rebel demands, 327, 334–5, 361, 365–7, 372–5, 384, 426  
 attempts to disband ÁVH, 328, 363–4, 384, 398  
 attacks old system, 328  
 resignation demanded, 333  
 promise to form Patriotic People's Front government, 335, 362, 374  
 refuses truce, 361  
 reshuffles Cabinet, 362–4, 365  
 crumbling of resolve, 366–7  
 increasing pressure on, 368, 372–5, 393, 406, 426–33  
 orders ceasefire, 373–4, 381, 399  
 return to Parliament as prime minister, 386–7, 545, 548–9  
 constructs new government, 387, 391, 413, 417–19, 430  
 orders national guard, 391, 405, 409, 429  
 refuses to arm workers, 393  
 Polish attitude to, 394  
 growing unpopularity, 399, 403–4, 406, 409–10, 413, 425–33, 446–7, 453, 481  
 announces return to coalition government, 417–19, 430, 457  
 and Soviet troops withdrawal, 417, 419, 426, 435, 440, 447–8  
 and Soviet Declaration, 427–8, 433, 440  
 reception of revolutionary leaders, 428, 429–31, 453

- and reports of Soviet troops' re-entry, 435, 440, 446, 454, 456, 458, 460–2, 480, 481, 483, 486, 499, 509
- protests to Russia, 456, 460–1, 483
- takes over as foreign minister, 456, 461, 462
- repudiation of Warsaw Pact, 447–8, 461, 462, 464, 477, 479, 481–3, 485
- denial of request for Soviet armed aid, 448, 483
- and Declaration of Neutrality, 461, 462, 463–4, 465, 481, 483, 485, 589–90
- appeal to United Nations, 462, 463, 464, 465–6, 483, 505
- his replacement planned by Russia, 468, 482, 486, 488
- constant Cabinet changes, 468, 469–70, 473, 480, 481, 495
- negotiations on withdrawal of Soviet troops, 477, 479–80, 485, 496, 499, 506
- ministers revolt against, 481–2, 495
- his “government of national unity,” 495, 497
- duped by Russian promises, 501, 506
- and Russian attack on Budapest, 507, 509–11, 515, 517
- leaves Parliament, 514, 515, 516, 518
- takes refuge in Yugoslav embassy, 521, 522, 528, 536, 538
- abduction by Russians to Romania, 539–41
- trial and execution, 549–50
- Nagy, Mrs. Joseph, 481, 496, 592
- Nagy, Julius, 485, 561
- Nagy, Ladislás, 154
- Nagy, Margaret, 118, 147, 167, 228, 279, 281, 550
- Nagy, Maria, 220
- Nagy, Dr. Maria E., 380
- Nagy, Professor Thomas, 381, 393
- Nagyéri, Captain, 534
- Nagykanizsa, 330
- Nagykovácsi, 512
- Nagyvárad, 196
- Nasser, Colonel Gamal, 313
- Naszkowski, Marian, 448
- National Council of Trades Unions, 257

- National Guard, 450, 452, 504, 506  
     plans for, 391, 405, 408, 429, 432, 438  
     Király in command of, 439, 477–8, 484  
     in control of Central Committee  
     building, 446  
     calls in guns and ammunition, 483, 501  
     end of, 517
- National Police Command Revolutionary Council, 430, 434, 468
- National Revolutionary Committee, 430  
     founding by Dudás, 351, 401, 455–6
- National Workers' Council  
     vain attempt to form, 536, 539, 543
- Nehru, Pandit, 385, 541, 547
- Nemes, Dezső, 399, 414
- Németh, Colonel Dezső, 51
- Németh, Ladislav, 127
- "Nemo, Captain," 283, 353
- Néplap*, 288, 330
- Neue Kurier*, 317
- New Course (1953) 121–4, 126, 132, 136, 137–8, 139–41, 143, 265
- New Economic Policy (NEP), 119
- New Voice*, 118
- New World*, 98
- New York Herald Tribune*, 70
- New York Post*, 358
- New York Times*, 139, 142, 355, 371, 377, 386, 423, 452, 500
- Newsweek*, 77
- Nezvál, Francis, 592
- Nickelsdorf, 190, 357
- Nicoll, James, 236
- Nikos, George, 291, 574
- Nin, Andrés, 176  
     1984 (Orwell), 135
- Nitsche, Roland, 433, 458–9, 521
- Nixon, Richard, 313, 441
- NKVD (Soviet secret police), 39–40, 41, 53, 60, 90
- Nógrádi, General Alexander, 79, 161, 172, 219, 481  
     in Kádár faction, 179
- Nón, George, 161, 457



- Novák, Maria, 92  
 Novobáczky, Alexander, 182, 183, 208  
 Novotny, Antonin, 35  
*Nowa Kultura*, 402  
 Nuñez-Portuondo, Dr. Emilio, 466, 490  
 Nyerges, Anton, 306, 346  
 Nyers, Rezso, 592  
 Nyiracsád, 131–2  
 Nyirádi, Imre Szabó, 286, 392  
 Nyirbátor, 267  
 Nyíregyháza, 378, 390, 428, 435  
     Russian occupation of, 454, 478, 498  
 Nyírség County, 130, 131  
  
 O'Grady, Thomas, J., 292  
 Obersovszky, Julius, 334, 403, 446, 532–3, 548  
*Observer, The*, 482, 500  
*October Twenty-third*, 536  
 Ódz 114  
 Oistrakh, David, 31  
 Olti, William, 85, 554  
 Orbán, Dr. Ladislás, 204  
 Orbán, Mrs. Ladislás, 201  
 Orbán, Colonel Nicholas, 213, 239, 258  
 Ordass, Bishop Ladislás, 56  
 Orwell, George, 134–5, 263, 360  
 Oszkó, Colonel Julius, 299, 430, 468  
 Öszöd, 183  
 Ottó, János, 277  
 Óvár, 336  
  
 Pager, Anthony, 159–60  
 Pálffy, Count, 56  
 Pálffy, Lieutenant-General George, 382  
     as Inspector-General of Army, 51, 52  
     in alleged plot to kill Rákosi, 68, 69, 71, 72, 175  
 Pálhalma labour camp, 457  
 Pálházi, Frank, 451  
 Pálincás, Major Antony  
     returns Mindszenty to Budapest, 283, 433  
     hanged, 548

- Palkovics, Ladislav, 329  
 Pallós, Francis, 311  
 Pálóczi-Horváth, George, 62, 182  
 Pápa airfield, 392  
 Papp, Colonel Joseph, 360, 414–15, 419, 475  
*Paris-Match*, 27, 28, 358  
 Parlagi, Joseph, 553, 560  
 Pártay, Theodore, 389  
 Pataky, Jenő, 216  
 Patriotic People's Front (PPF), 171  
     formation of, 139, 143  
     Nagy's plan to revive, 178, 335  
     his National Government based on, 362  
 Pauker, Anna, 35  
 Pauly-Pálos, George, 556, 586  
 Peace Council of Catholic Priests, 282  
*Peace and Freedom*, 168, 175  
 Peace Party, 60  
 Peasant Alliance, 178  
 Peasant Party, 36, 51, 179  
     in 1945 election, 34  
     re-born as Petőfi Party, 389, 457  
     in coalition, 479, 495  
 Pécs, 291, 329, 330, 331, 378, 479, 502, 513, 533  
 Soviet occupation, 534  
 Pedrazzini, Jean-Pierre, 27–8, 358, 410–11  
 People's Army Revolutionary Council, 431–2, 433, 434  
 People's Court, 70–72, 535  
*People's Freedom*, 472, 494, 544  
*People's Voice*, 334, 388, 389, 437, 457, 459, 480, 507  
*People's Will*, 539  
 Pest, 58, 344, 368, 371, 451, 516, 526  
 Pestvidéki aircraft engine factory, 211  
 Pestszenterzsébet, 270  
 Pestszentlőrinc, 256, 277  
 Péter, Gábor, 241, 367, 379  
     as head of ÁVH, 53, 60, 68, 82–3, 87, 89, 166  
     imprisonment, 125, 166  
 Péterfalvy, Bishop János  
 arrest and imprisonment, 39–40, 185

- release, 184, 185
- during rebellion, 310, 344
- Pethes, Szaboles, 565, 571, 581
- Pethő, Tibor, 239, 250
- Petőfi, Alexander, 169, 213, 214, 216
- Petőfi Circle, 179, 239, 241, 381
  - origin and growth of, 168–73
  - opposition to Rákosi, 168, 169, 170–1, 173, 174
  - debate on press, 171–3, 176, 230
  - Gerő's distaste for, 176
  - debate on collectivisation, 186
  - and Oct. 23 demonstration, 203, 205–6, 216
- Petőfi Military Academy, 52, 211, 217, 256, 260, 271
- Petőfi Party, 389, 457, 495
- Peyer, Karl, 43
- Philby, Kim, 53
- Philipp, Franz, 496
- Phleger, Herman, 561
- Pickering, Edward, 236
- Pieck, Willi, 145
- Pirós, Ladislás
  - as minister of interior, 207, 209–10, 318
  - and Oct. 23 demonstration, 209–10, 213, 218
  - and rebellion, 269, 280, 305, 318
  - evicted from Hungary, 375, 446
  - return, 547
- Pocze, Ladislás, 430
- Pogány, Géza, 498, 521
- Polak, Francis, 236, 237
- Pongrácz, Gregory, 438, 439
- Pongrácz, Kálmán, 174
- Pongrácz, Christopher, 284
- Pongrácz, Ernest, 225, 226, 284, 353
- Pongrácz, Ödön, 284, 353
- Potapov, Professor, 217
- Pötz, Flora, 325, 326, 556, 578
- Pozsár, Stephen, 470
- Pravda*, 350, 383, 394, 409, 440, 449, 493, 536

Pribeky, Professor Stephen, 202

*Problems of Agriculture* (Nagy), 119

*Problems of Leninism* (Stalin), 38

Probst, Otto, 460

Pusztaszer, 119

Rácz, Alexander, 537, 538, 543

Radio Budapest, 329, 333, 335, 336, 369, 372, 373, 406, 423, 428, 434, 519, 527

Radio Free Europe (RFE), 155–7, 159, 186, 197, 205, 216, 223, 263, 274–5, 315, 326, 399–400, 425, 433, 437–8, 453, 467, 478, 529, 546

Radio Free Győr, 333, 428

Radio Free Miskolc, 332, 334, 364, 375, 425, 428, 498

Radio Kossuth, 36, 266–7

Radio Magyaróvár, 333

Radio Nyíregyháza, 333

Radio Pécs, 333

Radio Petőfi, 453, 514

Radio Szolnok, 523, 525

Radio Szombathely, 333

Rajk Julia, 65, 73, 135, 171, 192, 193, 208, 521, 540

Rajk, Ladislav, 36, 89, 351

as Minister of Interior, 42

creation of security police, 42, 44

arrest, 60, 65, 66, 76

“promotion” to Foreign Minister, 66

intrigue against, 65–8, 183, 195

show trial of, 69–72, 73, 82, 86, 97, 125, 146, 149, 166

execution, 72–3

reburial, 192–3

Rákóczy Military Academy, 260

Rákosi, Matthias, 24, 26, 75, 77, 125, 134, 156, 183, 265, 394

early career and exile in Moscow, 35–6, 38, 65, 77

return to Hungary as Communist Party secretary-general, 36–7, 118

his “salami tactics,” 36, 38–44, 55, 82–3, 90, 388

accumulation of power, 38–44, 51–6

- elimination of Smallholder and Social Democrat opposition, 40–44
- campaign against Church, 39–40, 55–6
- control of army and police, 51–4
- dictatorship, 57–60
- rivalry with Nagy, 57–8, 119–20, 123–4
- Five-Year Plan, 58, 86, 91, 106, 108, 109–10, 120
- crusade against “Titoism,” 65–7
- alleged plot against, 67–72
- repressive measures, 90, 91
- scoffing at Western democracy, 90
- deportation of “bourgeois and hostile” elements, 92–4
- effect of Stalin’s death, 114–16
- forced to share power with Nagy, 115–16, 123–4
- campaign against New Course, 121–2, 123–4, 136, 138, 139, 141–2
- and Nagy’s downfall, 145–6, 147, 150
- dead hand on cultural life, 161–3
- slowness in self-criticism, 166
- dissident pressure against, 167, 168, 171–3, 174
- proposes mass arrest of opponents, 173–4
- deposed, 174–5
- flown to Moscow for “treatment,” 175
- urged to stage come-back, 191
- his deserted villa, 378–9
- advised not to return, 488
- death, 547
- Rákospalota, 454
- Ranković, Aleksandar, 71, 487
- Reagan, Ronald, 155
- Recsk prison camp, 86–7, 351
- Reform Communist intellectuals, 350, 381
- Reményi, Francis, 182, 215–16, 300, 301, 303, 575

- Renton, Bruce, 463
- Renyi, Peter, 192, 472, 473
- Répási, Nicholas, 78
- Révai, Joseph, 68, 129, 149, 179
- as Rákosi's chief theoretician, 38, 47, 57, 134, 248
- unveils Stalin statue, 108
- editor-in-chief of *Free People*, 133, 209, 252
- denounces student demonstration, 209
- Révay, General Kálmán, 52
- Révész, Andrew, 82, 166, 388, 389, 437, 440, 459–60, 554
- Révész, Géza, 79
- Revolutionary Committee of Intellectuals, 381, 403, 428, 430
- Revolutionary Committee of Security Forces, 438
- Revolutionary National Defence Committee, 434
- Revolutionary Party of Youth, 471
- Revolutionary University Student Committee, 447, 453, 470, 532
- Revolutionary Youth*, 333
- Revolutionary Youth Committee, 431
- Ribiánszky, Nicholas, 362, 592
- Richard III*, 161
- Rodhain, Monsignor, 471
- Rodriguez, Andrew, 197–8, 214, 275
- Rogers, Tom, 258, 346–7
- Rokossowske, Marshal Konstantin, 197
- Rónai, Alexander, 481, 515, 519, 522, 526
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 34
- Rothschild, Philippine de, 28
- Rubin, Frigyes, 552, 561
- Rubleczky, Géza, 85
- Rude Pravo*, 485
- Rusznayák, Professor Stephen, 241
- Russell, Mark, 218
- Sadovy, John, 407, 411, 415–16, 419–20
- Sagan, Françoise, 312
- Saillant, Louis, 394
- Salgótarján, 60, 179, 543, 547
- Sándor, Andrew, 130, 556
- Sándor, Joseph, 223
- Sargent, Paul, 459, 486
- Sarkadi, Stephen, 472

- Sárközi, Martha, 179  
 Sárközi, Matthias, 184, 237  
 Sárvár, 330  
 Schott, Ernest, 486  
 Schubert, Ernest, 161  
 Schulman, Jay, 47  
 Schurecz, Joseph, 208  
 Serényi family, 94–5  
 Serov, General Ivan, 209, 210, 318, 508, 528  
 Shaw, Bernard, 161  
 Shcherbanin, Major-General, 496  
 Shepilov, Dmitri, 390, 395, 542, 581  
 Silverman, Sydney, 312  
 Simon, Joan (wife of Gábor Péter), 54  
 Sinkovits, Imre, 216, 570  
*Small News*, 457, 475  
 Smallholders' Party, 36, 51  
     1945 election success, 34, 38  
     coalition with Communists, 40–1  
     conspiracy against Russians, 41–2, 56  
     dissension among, 42  
     1947 election defeat, 43  
     purging of, 84, 88  
     in Nagy's National Government, 363  
     re-birth, 388, 389, 454, 457  
     in coalition, 470, 473, 479, 495  
 Smith, Joseph Kingsbury, 70  
 Smith, Sydney, 358  
 Snago, 541  
 Sobolev, Arkady A., 489  
 Social Democrats, 36  
     in 1945 election, 34, 40  
     divisions among, 43–4  
     Communist purging of, 44, 46, 56, 63  
     merging with Communists, 44, 48, 75, 76, 100, 125  
     arrests of, 48, 76, 80, 86  
     among Csepel workers, 101

- released prisoners, 166, 178
- refusal to join People's Patriotic Front, 178, 179
- regain control of *People's Voice*, 334
- refusal to join Nagy's National Government, 362
- re-birth, 388–9, 421, 457, 460
- new leadership, 437
- in coalition, 470, 479, 495
- Soldatić, Dalibor, 167, 446, 488, 509, 539, 540
- Solymossi, Lieutenant-Colonel János, 259
- Sólyom, General Ladislav, 51
- Som, 185–6
- Somogy County, 118
- Somogyvári, Louis, 370
- Sopron, 89, 332, 375, 498, 502
- Soroksár, 270, 307, 310, 516
- Stalin, Joseph, 35, 36, 38, 77, 119, 149
  - at Yalta, 34
  - anti-Semitism, 37
  - purge of Iron Curtain countries' leaders, 65
  - liquidation of kulaks, 91
  - Budapest statue of, 108, 158, 225, 243, 244–5, 264
  - death, 114, 166
  - end of personality cult, 165, 166
- Star*, 130, 182, 185
- Starewic, Artur, 449
- Stassen, Harold, 346, 347
- Stepanov, Lieutenant-General, 496
- Stephens, Peter, 404, 486
- Stephenson, Dr. Richard M., 49, 103, 104
- Stevenson, Adlai E., 312
- Stillman, Edmund O., 157
- Streibert, Theodore, 561
- Student Confederation, 45
- Suez crisis, 200, 357, 394, 404, 422
  - American reaction to, 422, 441, 442, 466, 467, 489, 491
  - United Nations and, 466, 467, 489
- Sulner, Ladislav, 553



- Sultz, Árpád, 289–90, 332, 425–6, 583  
*Sunday Dispatch*, 459  
 Susa, Lieutenant-Colonel, 261  
 Suslov, Michael, 174, 179, 449  
     reprimands Gerő, 287, 298  
     conferences with Nagy, 372, 427, 446  
     and Declaration on Socialist States, 409, 427, 433  
     talks with Kádár, 468, 469  
 Szabados, Professor Stephen, 217–18  
 Szabó, Captain Alexander, 246  
 Szabó, Andrew, 573  
 Szabó, Gergely, 417  
 Szabó, George, 370  
 Szabó, János, 368  
 Szabó, János (delegate to United Nations), 467, 489, 503  
 “Szabó, János,” 62–3  
 Szabó, Laurence, 127  
 Szabó, Lieutenant-Colonel Louis, 420  
 Szabó, Lieutenant-General Stephen, 52, 431  
     as deputy defence minister, 391  
     and Russian invasion, 514, 515, 520  
 Szabó, Stephen B., 470, 479  
 “Szabó, Uncle,” 351, 412, 452, 547  
 Szabó, Zoltán, 223, 225, 255–6, 276–7, 316  
 Szabó, Lieutenant Zsigmond, 508  
 Szaboles, Francis, 40  
 Szakasits, Árpád, 43–4, 82–3, 175, 241, 282  
 Szalai, Professor Alexander, 76  
 Szalai, Andrew, 68, 72  
 Szalai, Béla, 163, 328  
 Szalay, Erika, 49  
 Szalvay, Lieutenant-General Michael, 52  
 Szamuely, Tibor, 35, 51  
 Szántó, Nicholas, 361  
 Szántó, Rudolph, 36  
 Szántó, Zoltán, 68, 132, 208, 234, 238, 239, 305, 412, 473  
     in emergency committee, 374, 375  
     in new Party Politburo, 429, 445  
     considers hiding in Yugoslav embassy, 452, 488

- opposes repudiation of Warsaw Pact, 462
- offered asylum in Yugoslav embassy, 509, 512, 521
- kidnapped and deported, 539, 540
- Szappanos, Dr. Paul, 352, 401
- Száray, Zoltán, 86, 454
- Szarka, Gábor, 556
- Szarvas, 498
- Szász, Béla, 49, 66, 67, 137, 552, 554
- Szász, Csiky, 298
- Szatmári, Corporal Paul 258, 259
- Szeder, Francis, 43
- Szeged, 547
  - students' first step towards rising, 196, 199
  - and later rebellion, 289, 330
- Szegedi, Mr. (interpreter), 579
- Szegő, Daniel, 243
- Szeifert, Tibor, 484
- Székesfehérvár, 199, 207, 390, 392, 513, 533
- Székely, Major-General Béla, 52, 391
- Székely, Professor George, 298, 306
- Szelepcényi, Imre, 565
- Szell, Jenő, 208
- Szénási, Dr. Géza, 549
- Szentkirály-Szabadja, 392
- Szepesi, George, 231, 239
- Szerbin, Professor Paul, 565
- Szigethy, Attila
  - as Győr rebel leader, 370–3, 389, 417, 426, 492
  - forces Nagy to order ceasefire, 373
  - creates rival government, 426, 432, 453, 456
  - in new Petőfi Party, 457
  - prison suicide, 547
- Sziklai, Alexander, 336, 523
- Szilágyi, Colonel Joseph, 89, 212, 512
  - and campaign for Nagy's return to power, 196, 197, 201, 208
  - and rebellion, 268, 365, 413, 420
  - as Nagy's secretary, 420, 429, 476, 501, 506, 510
  - and Russian invasion, 506, 510, 512, 515, 521

- trial and death, 549
- Szolnok, 207, 330, 340, 390, 392, 450, 497
- Soviet stranglehold on, 454–5, 478, 501
- Kádár's Revolutionary Worker-Peasant government formed at, 523, 527
- Szolnoki, Ladislav, 23–7, 42, 233, 551, 575
- Szombathely, 330, 333, 479
- Russian troop “fraternisation,” 344
- Szőnyi, Dr. Tibor, 68, 72, 76, 175
- SZOT (National Trade Union Council), 336
- Sztálinváros, 109, 138
- Szőcs, Colonel Nicholas, 68, 69, 367, 479, 484, 505, 508, 535
- Szuhakállo, 333
- Tages-Anzeiger*, 458, 521
- Takács, Joseph, 43
- Tánczos, Gábor, 169, 203, 208, 381, 521
- Tank Regiment, Thirty-third, 258–9, 311, 414, 516
- Tardos, Tibor, 172, 173, 250, 261
- Tari, Captain János, 311, 312
- Taszar airfield, 479
- Tatabánya, 332, 425
- Tausz, János, 592
- Tedeschi, Bruno, 317, 325, 358, 468–9, 572
- Tempo*, II, 355
- Terry, Anthony, 492
- Teslić, Vlado, 397, 412, 439–40
- Thälmann, Ernest, 35
- Thibault, Erika, 565, 569
- Three-Year Plan (1946), 54
- Tihany prison camp, 289
- Tildy, Zoltán, 82, 388, 427, 431, 435, 437
  - as president, 33, 79, 282
  - imprisonment, 137, 186
  - in Petőfi Circle, 186, 282
  - in Nagy's National Government, 362, 405
  - recommends Király as leader of national guard, 405
  - growing importance, 417–18
  - urges multi-party coalition, 417

- promises free elections, 418, 457
- and Mindszenty's return, 432, 433, 459
- old resentments against, 440, 457
- and declaration of Neutrality and repudiation of Warsaw Pact, 461, 463
- and construction of new government, 469–70, 481–2
- on Russian troop movements, 479–80, 499–500
- and Russian invasion, 511, 512, 514–15, 517, 519–20
- sends appeal to New York, 511, 512, 514
- negotiates surrender, 518, 519, 520
- imprisonment, 549
- Times, The*, 70
- Timisoara, 199
- Tito, Marshal Joseph, 166, 291, 315, 482
  - Rákosi's envy of, 65–6, 149
  - alleged plot to kill Rákosi, 67–72
  - Kremlin's wooing of, 149, 190, 487–8, 549
  - Nagy group's feelers to, 151–2
  - secret message to Nagy, 410
  - Khrushchev's aim to involve in reinvasion of Hungary, 487–8
  - offers asylum to Nagy, 507
  - justifies Russian invasion, 537
- Tóbiás, Aaron, 205, 233
- Todd, Colonel James C., 254
- Töke, Francis, 336, 539
- Tököl airport, 375, 392, 482, 501
  - cease-fire delegation tricked and kidnapped at, 497, 498, 504, 505, 506, 507–8, 535, 548
- Tollas, Stephen, 274
- Tombor, Eugene, 51
- Tompa, Lieutenant Stephen, 220, 258, 398, 414, 416
- Török, Bálint, 83
- Tóth, Francis, 397
- Tóth, Major-General Louis, 367, 431, 444
- Tóth, Colonel Louis, 379
- Tóth, Professor Zoltán I., 213, 298, 302, 304, 576
- Tragedy of Man, The* (Madách), 161
- Trianon, Treaty of (1920), 29

*Tribuna Ludu*, 362

Trotsky, Leon, 47

*Truth*, 334, 359, 403, 417, 423, 446, 494, 548

last edition, 532–3

Turcsányi, Monsignor Egon, 519, 535

Túry, Susan, 166

Újhelyi, Constantine, 137, 521

in Nagy group, 148, 162

in Petőfi Circle, 169, 208

Újpest, 537

Ulbricht, Walter, 449

*Uncompleted Sentence, The* (Déry), 128

United Electrical, 276

United Nations, 345, 441, 500, 541

action recommended by Dulles, 313, 315, 347

Nagy's appeal to, 462–3, 464, 465, 483

delaying tactics at, 489–90

Bibó's appeal to, 520

General Assembly, 352, 442, 466–7, 514

Security Council, 347, 352, 375–6, 466, 483, 489–90, 503, 506,  
514

United Press, 70, 358, 519, 529

Urbán, Ernest, 130, 142, 261

Uszta, General Julius, 391, 478

Uzhgorod, 340, 426, 523

Vadász, Frederic, 361

Vajda, Eva, 241

Vajda, Ödön, 555, 556, 576

Vajda, Stephen, 237, 241, 242, 397

Valentini, A., 43

Várad, Lieutenant-General Julius, 405, 406, 433, 434, 547

Varga, Béla, 42, 160, 514

Varga, Dezső, 472

Varga, Lieutenant Michael, 213

Varga, Zsigmond, 307

Várkonyi, Lieutenant George, 220, 258, 285

- and defence of Party headquarters, 398, 399, 408, 411, 412, 416
- Várkonyi (radio official), 30
- Várpalota, 270, 330
- Vas, Zoltán, 77–9, 173, 195, 285, 428, 470, 562
  - in Kádár faction, 179, 287
  - and Russian invasion, 521
  - kidnapped and deported, 539, 540
  - on Szolnok government, 595
- Vásárhelyi, Nicholas, 88, 100, 142, 143, 174, 199, 381, 504
  - “enlightenment” of, 132, 133–5
  - early career, 132–3
  - in Nagy group, 146, 148, 150, 151, 152, 162, 168, 170, 178, 191
  - stand against government, 162
  - attack on “People’s Democracy,” 184
  - readmitted to Party, 190
  - and Oct. 23 demonstration, 208, 217, 218, 222, 225, 234, 238, 239, 240, 250
  - leaves radio building, 239
  - and rebellion, 254–5, 279, 281, 282, 375, 381, 387
  - despair over Nagy leadership, 282, 299, 305
  - in Committee of Intellectuals, 381
  - refuses job as information chief, 387
  - later acceptance, 450, 499
  - and Russian invasion, 510, 520–1, 540
  - imprisonment, 549
- Vasarosnamény, 498
- Vecko Journalen*, 451
- Vecsés, 538
- Végvári, Father Basil, 530–1
- Veres, Peter, 51–2, 167, 214, 218, 225, 228
- Veszprém, 330, 533
- Vészics, Francis, 231
- Vicinzei, Lawrence, 559
- Vida, Francis, 549
- Vigyázó, Mrs. Piroška, 417
- Virágh, Colonel Ede, 414

- Voice of America, 90, 467, 478, 535  
 Voroshilov, Marshal Kliment, 34, 83, 119, 456, 496
- Waernberg, Len, 451  
 Wailes, Tom, 482, 495, 498, 499, 512, 516–17, 518, 519, 524–5, 529, 530, 531, 535  
 Wald, Paul, 213  
 Walker, Dr. E. Ronald, 503, 514  
 Warsaw Pact, 196, 199, 395, 419, 427, 437, 499, 532  
     demands for withdrawal from, 429, 435, 447–9  
     Nagy's threat to repudiate, 456, 461  
     withdrawal from, 462, 463–4, 465–6, 469, 477, 479, 495, 502
- We Live*, 548  
 Wehner, Herbert, 459  
 Weil, Dr. Emil, 69  
 Whitman, Ann, 440  
 Wilcox, Francis, 376  
 Wise, Stephen, 70  
 Wiskari, Werner, 355  
 Wisner, Frank G., 156, 165  
 Writers' Union, 98, 127–30, 538  
     contact with village misery, 130  
     loyalty to Nagy, 145, 147, 162, 173, 205  
     outspokenness, 149  
     stand against government, 161–4, 173, 182  
     Humiliation of Stalinists, 186  
     in Oct. 23 demonstration, 211, 214, 218, 248  
     delegation to Party leadership, 248, 261  
     and rebellion, 264, 280, 423, 476, 548  
     and formation of new government, 280  
     seeks Soviet troop withdrawal, 334  
     appeal for help against Soviet invasion, 517–18  
     in disarray, 532  
     dissolution and arrest of members, 548
- Yalta Conference (1946), 34  
*Young Guard, The* (Fadeyev), 316

Young Workers Organisation, 98

Zádor, Tibor, 353

Záhony, 199, 392, 393, 426, 428, 538, 545

Russian occupation of, 435, 478, 479

Zaka, Louis, 565

Zapotocky, Antonin, 503

Zelk, Zoltán, 129, 248, 274

in Nagy group, 147, 162

imprisonment, 548

Zentai, Vilmos, 389, 479, 554

Zhukov, Marshal, 340, 428, 441, 486

determination to smash “capitalist

mutiny,” 394–6, 409–10, 528

denial of firing by his troops, 395, 409

and invasion preparations, 487

Zinner, Dr. Paul, 227

Zinoviev, Gregory, 35

Zircz, Ladislav von, 334

Zsedényi, Béla, 85

Zsedényi, General Ladislav, 78

Zsengellér, Margaret, 93, 120

Zsengellér, Professor, 93

Zsolt, Colonel, 492