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PRESS COMMENT

16 NOVEMBER 1956

This issue of Press Comments contrasts the accounts of the Soviet crushing of Hungary's bid for freedom with previous statements of the Russian Communist leaders concerning their "non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries."

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RED FACES



Chicago Tribune

V. I. LENIN

Complete equality of rights for all nations; the right of nations to self-determination; the amalgamation of the workers of all nations--this is the national programme that Marxism, the experience of the whole world, and the experience of Russia, teaches the workers. (Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 293.)

The real freedom of the Slav peasant in the Balkans, as of the Turkish peasant, can be secured only through full freedom inside each country and through the federation of complete democratic states. (Lenin, "An Infamous Resolution," Pravda, No. 149, October 1912, Collected Works.)

If any nation whatsoever is detained by force within the boundaries of a certain state, and if (that nation) contrary to its expressed desire--whether such desire is made manifest in the press, national assembly, party decisions, or in protest and uprisings against national oppression--is not given the right to determine the form of its state life by free voting and completely free from the presence of troops of the annexing or stronger state and without the least pressure, then the adjoining of that nation by the stronger state is annexation, i.e., seizure by force and violence. ("Declaration signed by Chairman of Soviet of People's Commissars, Vladimir Lenin, 28 October 1917, issued the day the Bolsheviks took power.)

J. V. STALIN

What is national oppression? National oppression is that system of exploitation and plunder of subject peoples, those measures of forcible restriction of the political rights of subject peoples, which are resorted to by imperialist circles. These, taken together present the policy generally known as a policy of national oppression. (Stalin, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, p. 62.)

But no one has the right to interfere forcibly in the internal life of a nation and by force "correct" its mistakes. Nations are sovereign in matters of internal life, and they have the right to manage themselves according to their own desires. (Stalin, "Counter-Revolution and the Peoples of Russia" (13 August 1917), Sochineniya, Vol. III, p. 209.)

N. Y. Times

NOV 12 1956

From Embattled Budapest: 2 Accounts of Soviet Attack

The following dispatches were written in Budapest by correspondents of *The New York Times* who were in Hungary to report on the anti-Soviet rebellion and were stranded there when the Russians moved to suppress it. The correspondents arrived in Vienna yesterday, a short time after their dispatches had reached there by courier.

Russian Tanks Return

By JOHN MACCORMAC

Special to *The New York Times*

BUDAPEST, Nov. 10—For the fourth time in the history of Hungary, Russian troops have invaded Budapest. They have brought ruin to it and have drowned in blood its desperate struggle for liberty.

More than 200,000 Soviet soldiers, organized in fifteen divisions and equipped with 5,000 tanks have been battling since early last Sunday, Nov. 4, against unorganized and, in terms of modern war, almost unarmed bands of Hungarian students and workers.

Their tactics, when fired on by a single sniper, have been to take toll of a whole street. Their strategy has been mass destruction. They have left Budapest worse off than in 1945, when the Russians drove out German troops after a long siege.

Irreparable national treasures have been destroyed. The flower of Hungarian youth—that youth on which communism itself had built its hopes—has perished.

All this has been done, the Russians say, to quell a "facist counter-revolution." The fact that most of the Hungarian nation, apparently including the overwhelming majority of its Communists, has supported the revolution has been ignored.

Seventeen per cent of Hungarian voters supported communism in a free election of 1945. Today the invaders can count as their friends only a small number of Hungarian Communists and the Hungarian secret police.

Premier Imre Nagy, a Communist who set up a multi-party national front regime in response to popular demand, and non-Communist politicians who were members of his Government have been arrested.

A new Government was set up. It is headed by Janos Kadar, who had succeeded Erno Gere as First Secretary of the Hungarian Working People's (Communist) party. (Gere, who has since been executed by the rebels, himself had succeeded Matyas Rakosi, a Stalinist and long-time party chief.) But the real Government of Hungary appears to be Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov, Soviet Defense Minister.

SUNDAY, NOV. 4

Hungary's revolution against communism became a war when the Soviet Army attacked Budapest last Sunday. Correspondents at the Duna Hotel were too habituated to the sound of gunfire to pay much attention to the first shots. But these swelled into a bombardment of such intensity that we thought it better to dress. We knew it must be the long-awaited Soviet attack. If any proof was needed it was provided when seven Soviet tanks drew up along the Danube under our windows.

Someone turned on the radio and heard Premier Nagy announce:

"Early this morning, Soviet troops attacked the Hungarian capital with the open purpose of overthrow the legal government."

His announcement was followed by appeals from writers, artists and scientists, including the Hungarian Writers Club, which had provided the first revolutionary impulse more than a year earlier. They appealed to their colleagues throughout the world for help.

Then the two Hungarian national anthems were played. The second concludes with an injunction that seemed peculiarly appropriate. "Whether fate blesses or strikes you, here you must live and here you must die!"

Rebel Radio Is Heard

That Hungarians were still prepared to fight was proved at noon when a radio in Szatimvaros, now to be called again by its old name of Danapentele, broadcast the statement:

"We know who the traitor is. Freedom or death is the slogan! Fight in any way you can."

It had taken the Russians only an hour and a half of fighting to gain the city. The Hungarian Army had not put up a stiff resistance. This may well have been because the Russians paralyzed it by arresting its leaders.

Maj. Gen. Pal Maleter, who had led the defenders of an Army barracks in their gallant five-day fight against Soviet tanks and artillery earlier in the revolt, had been appointed Minister of Defense. At 10 o'clock Saturday night he and his Chief of Staff, Istvan Kovacs, were invited by the Russians to go to their headquarters to discuss the withdrawal of Soviet troops. They never returned.

For the Russians to enter Budapest was one thing. To capture it was another. Because of the loss of leaders, resistance to the Russians was even less organized than had been the original revolution, but

had ensued after the first Soviet cannonade did not last long. Small arms fire began as revolutionaries manned their posts. This was followed by the boom of tank guns as the Russians fired.

Another chapter thus was added to the incredible history of this incredible revolution. The problem then was to get it published. It was not possible to put through a call to London. We waited in Hotel Duna and debated what to do. From Parliament came a call summoning correspondents to a press conference with Istvan Eotvos, Minister of State in the Nagy Government. Asked to supply safe conduct through the Soviet lines, he replied sadly that he could not.

We decided to go to the United States Legation. En route we saw a white sheet hung outside Parliament to signify surrender.

Statement by Nagy Aide

But Mr. Bibó had not surrendered. At 9 o'clock he dictated a statement to the secretary of the United States Legation. This said:

"Premier Imre Nagy went to the Soviet Embassy when the Russians started their attack at dawn today and was unable to return. Only Ministers of State Zoltan Tildy, Istvan Szabo and Istvan Bibó were able to attend an extraordinary meeting of the Cabinet called to consider the new situation. When Soviet troops surrounded the Parliament building, Tildy, to avoid further bloodshed, agreed with them that Soviet troops should occupy it on the condition that civilians be allowed to leave freely. In accordance with this statement Tildy left, convinced however that he was going to his death. Only Bibó remained as representative of the legal Hungarian Government.

"In this situation I state that Hungary has no intention of following an anti-Soviet policy. I reject the slander that Fascist or anti-Semitic actions have stained the glorious Hungarian revolution. The entire Hungarian nation participated in it, without class or religious discrimination. "It is my conviction that now, when the liberation of East European countries has been almost realized in this historical mo-

ment, the only means by which world peace can be insured is by taking the risk of a world war. On the other hand, deferring the decision endangers the policy of the free world and makes certain the outbreak of a world war at a later date.

Miss Kethly in Exile

Mr. Bibó's statement was followed a day later by another. This proclaimed that Anna Kethly, 65-year-old woman Socialist member, should be regarded as the head of the "legal Hungarian Government." It said she was the only member of the Government who was free.

[Miss Kethly had left Budapest before the final Soviet onslaught. She is in New York to put her nation's case before the United Nations.]

On the way to the legation we had noted that all Danube bridges were blocked by Soviet tanks. Other command Bud-

apest's main streets. Armored cars and self-propelled guns had taken up battle positions, particularly in streets leading to Parliament, which we knew had become headquarters not only of the Hungarian Government but of the Budapest radio.

One correspondent who had crossed the Danube before the bridges were blocked reported he had seen youths rushing to assembly points in Moscow and Zsigmond Moricz Squares with rifles over their shoulders. Others were bricking up entrances to old air-raid shelters.

"We are going to fight the Russians," they said.

Near Astoria Hotel on Lajos Kossuth Street in the heart of Pest, other youngsters were making "Molotov cocktails" and prying up paving blocks for barricades.

Later in the day came the news that the Army barracks, despite the heavy battering it had received earlier in the revolution, had again become the chief strong point of the revolutionaries in Pest. As night fell, the volume of firing rose.

MONDAY, NOV. 5

It was announced Monday that the chief figures in the new Government of Hungary were to be Antal Apró and Mr. Kadar. Mr. Apró had been head of the Hungarian trade union organization and a minister in the Nagy Government. Mr. Kadar, as Minister of the Interior had had Laszlo Rajk, then Foreign Minister, arrested in 1949. A year later he himself was arrested, apparently because like Mr. Rajk he was considered a national Communist. He was released in 1954.

He still remained a rigid Communist and the anti-Communist trend of the revolution apparently filled him with dismay. The new Government was formed in Szolnok, where Mr. Kadar had gone after breaking with Mr. Nagy.

Soviet cannonading was heavier than ever and more indiscriminate on Monday. Some correspondents made their way through the streets to the British Legation, where British correspondents were stranded. A patrol of seven tanks and three carriers filled with Soviet soldiers passed under its windows. The tanks fired their machine guns at either side of the street, incidentally knocking some plaster off the British Legation.

Getting back to the United States Legation proved to be something like running the gauntlet. One correspondent had to make part of it on his hands and knees. Later in the day Soviet troops entered the army barracks, but the revolutionaries fought from its ruins.

Tuesday, Nov. 6

The shelling was heavier than ever Tuesday. The main points of resistance were the Var fortress in Buda, the Army barracks, Moscow Square in Buda, the Csepel automobile factory and the Onuda Post Office.

The French Legation had its windows knocked out by Soviet bombardment of an adjacent building. The Czechoslovak Legation was damaged. The Egyptian Legation was half destroyed.

Wednesday, Nov. 7

Maj. Gen. Grebennik, commander in

We have no war aims of imposing our régime, Slav or otherwise, on the enslaved peoples of the world who are waiting for our help, nor can we have such aims. Our aim is to help these people, to liberate them from the Hitlerite tyranny, and then to leave them free to live on their own lands as they wish. THERE CAN BE NO INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER PEOPLE. (Stalin, July 1941.)

Question: What importance do you attribute to UNO as a means of preserving international peace?

Answer: I attribute great importance to UNO since it is a serious instrument for the preservation of peace and international security. The strength of this international organization consists in the fact that it is based on the principle of equal rights of states and not on the principle of domination over others. If it can preserve in the future the principle of equal rights, then undoubtedly it will play a great positive role in the cause of the maintenance of universal peace and security.... (Stalin, Interview with A.P. correspondent Gilmore, Pravda, 23 March 1946.)

Many people do not believe that relations between a big nation and a small nation can be equal. But the Soviet people hold that such relations can and must exist, Soviet people hold that each nation--whether big or small--has its own qualitative peculiarities, its specific nature which belongs only to it and which other nations lack. In this sense all nations--big and small--are in similar position, and each nation is equivalent to every other nation. (Stalin, Pravda, 13 April 1948.)

N. A. BULGANIN

It is well known that between our countries there have arisen new relations, unprecedented in history, based upon community of purpose and interests, on principles of equal rights, respect for state sovereignty and non-intervention in internal affairs. Our states are striving sincerely to assist one another and to bring about a common upsurge. The relations between our countries are the embodiment of the noble principle of socialist internationalism and the great ideas of fraternal friendship between free and equal peoples. (Bulganin's speech during the Warsaw Conference as it appeared in Pravda, 13 May 1955.)

The Soviet Union's foreign policy is clear. We have stood, and stand, for peace between peoples, for peaceful coexistence between all states, regardless of what internal systems are established in any particular state, regardless of whether it is monarchist or republican, capitalist or socialist, since the question of the existing social and economic system in any state is an internal affair of its people. Recognition of this indisputable thesis is of very

Budapest issued an order Wednesday declaring that those who did not hand over their arms would be called to account. Wednesday was the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, a Soviet national holiday.

Thursday, Nov. 8

By Thursday the city was almost quiet. There was some talk of negotiations between the revolutionaries and the Russians.

Resistance forces of the city's Ninth District distributed a leaflet entitled, "We accuse." It contained the following charges:

"On Nov. 7, 1956, you shot at and wounded or killed eleven civilians who were not taking part in the fighting but proceeding to a bakery for bread."

"On Nov. 6 Soviet soldiers broke into stores on Ulloi Ut and looted them, then on Nov. 7 permitted the same opportunity to the famished population which had been taking refuge

in cellars, and then photographed them with the evident intention of camouflaging their own [Soviet] robberies. The same thing happened Nov. 8 at the corner of Rakoczi Ut and Betzsanyi Utca in a clothes store."

"Col. Nikolai Mashirevich, interpreter of the Soviet Embassy, has called us bandits and Fascists and declared that all the acts against the city and its population of which we have accused the Soviet troops were perpetrated by the revolutionaries. It appears, therefore, that we destroyed the city."

"We make Col. Nikolai Mashirevich, Janos Kadar, Marshal Zhukov and every member of the Soviet Embassy responsible for the destruction of our people and for supporting this destruction. For on Nov. 7 at 3 o'clock they declared their unwillingness to deal with us and told us to negotiate within the military command."

"We accuse the alleged Premier Janos Kadar, who lent his name to all this and for the second time invited the Soviet Army and thus caused all the unrestricted and barbarian Fascist mass murder. We accuse him of destroying the people and demand that he immediately take steps for the withdrawal of Soviet troops."

"Should you fail to come to your senses you will have to accept the consequences and sentence that will be carried out by the people and pronounced by history."

"For the Ninth District armed revolutionary youth. (Signed) Istvan Angyal, commander."

Friday, Nov. 9

All day Friday United States correspondents negotiated with the Soviet Embassy for permission to depart from Budapest and Hungary. We had stones to get out and besides we were heart sick. We went to Soviet military headquarters to try our luck there.

The first time we were assured: "The bridges are open. The roads are open. If you have permission from the Hungarian Government, you can go when you like." Then came word from the Soviet Embassy that the military had been instructed to issue a safe-conduct immediately. But as evening fell, heavy shelling began again.

Revolutionists Defiant

By HENRY GINIGER

Special to The New York Times

BUDAPEST, Hungary, Nov. 10—Budapest went down fighting. It went down but not completely out, for on the sixth day of the Soviet assault Hungarians were still posing a threat to Soviet armor with submachine guns, rifles and pistols.

As Soviet might ground down the resistance to Communist rule and repression, the mood of this city changed radically. The elation of last week's apparent victory turned into anguish as reinforced Soviet divisions moved everywhere in the country.

Toward the end of the week the anguish became despair and despair terror as the Russians established the rule of armed force in the capital's streets starting Sunday morning.

Somehow defiance always managed to keep its head up. Through all these changes the man in the street would be apt to say virtually in one breath: It is hopeless! We will fight!

The Soviet tanks were in Budapest before its citizens knew what was happening. In the Duna Hotel on the left, or east, bank of the Danube, Western correspondents who had con-

centrated there throughout the days of demonstrations, revolution and war were awakened by the heavy cannonading that began before dawn on Sunday around Budapest.

Then the Soviet tanks were there, as if they had always been there, grinding their way under the hotel windows along the Danube embankment to join others and take up commanding positions in the city's main thoroughfares.

In the eyes of the chambermaids, porters, waiters and desk clerks, there was the sad look of people being deserted. They were Hungarians and had little else to do but stay where they were. Every available car took correspondents and baggage to their respective legations.

The West Germans added a small but uncommon footnote to European history by taking refuge in the French Legation, for France represents her former enemy's interests in Hungary.

Aside from a few who preferred the hotel beds to hard floors, correspondents tried from

"Meanwhile the new Hungarian Government issued its program. It was so much like that of its predecessor that the world might wonder why thousands of lives and millions of dollars worth of homes and factories had to be sacrificed to inaugurate it."

Point No. 15 reads: "When order and peace have been restored, the Government will start talks with the Soviet Government and other signatories of the Warsaw pact about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary."

As the Russians might remark, "That is where we came in."

containing Legation quarters to piece together the story of how an attempt at democracy and independence was being crushed.

Short prudent walks through the streets in the days that followed showed a little of how Budapest's citizens were living and dying.

Food Queues Form

People who had strolled happily by the thousands last week were now keeping off the dangerous streets as much as possible. But food stocks in their homes did not last long, so they began to form long, tightly packed queues in front of food stores. A store that was closed had a line in front of it as soon as its shutters went up.

Most revolutionists were fighting from small resistance centers. Thousands of houses were potential or occasional centers. Tanks and patrol cars would rumble down a street and at the first hostile shot would spray the general area with indiscriminate answering fire.

Getting from one place to another was matter of going from doorway to doorway, never far away from building lines. The sound of tank treads or even of an engine turning over became a dreadful one, for there was no other traffic in Budapest. Those in food lines would huddle a little closer, walkers would shrink into doorways and flatten themselves against walls or increase their pace away from the sound.

But Budapesters found they never really could get away from the Russians. One walked to virtually any street corner and with an idle turn of his head would find himself looking down the barrel of a tank gun.

Terror spread from street to house. People were at the mercy not only of shells and bullets, but of Soviet patrols, who would arrive in a street and begin house-to-house searches for those suspect politically or militarily. Occasionally they would appear with prisoners and haul them off.

Young Men Sought Out

Special targets for the Russians were young men, for the revolution was led by young men and so was the resistance to the Soviet attack. Indeed, the line between men and boys became an extremely vague one. Reliable sources reported 13-year-olds on the firing line. There were also a number of young women who did not hesitate to carry a gun.

The Hungarian political police made its reappearance. What was undoubtedly the most hated instrument of the old Communist rule was a major target of the revolutionaries last week when the latter had the upper hand. Now the police came back to take up where they had left off.

Preceded and followed by Russians, who sat in tanks and armored cars, the policemen in blue coats and helmets stalked along the streets, submachine guns at the ready. Hungarians hunting other Hungarians, they, too, moved from doorway to doorway, looking nervously at windows, giving every evidence of being caught up in the same terror they were helping to create.

Food Shortage Worse

Meanwhile the food shortage

one store manager showed how the commercial mind could still work, war or no war. Alone in his comparatively well-stocked store, he refused to sell his goods to eager consumers, because he did not have his sales force on hand. Customers offered

to leave large sums with him, with detailed accounting to be made later, but he remained adamant.

It is probable that the customers took matters into their own hands, for there were evidences of desperation everywhere. On a main thoroughfare people broke into a locked store and, as soon as the news got around, others came running from all directions. When an engine was heard, the crowd scattered, then returned to its assault when the danger had passed.

A Soviet-decreed curfew from 6 P. M. to 8 A. M. was ignored by Hungarians who lined up in some places at 4 A. M. in the cold, dark streets to be sure of getting food when it went on sale hours later.

On Friday, as fighting quieted down throughout the city, people came out in large numbers, mostly to get food. They had to pick their way through shattered glass and stone, dangling power lines and Soviet soldiers who from their tanks and armored cars controlled every main street and intersection.

An automobile convoy of Western cars left Budapest Friday morning, but was stopped and turned back about five miles out of town. The people of Budapest smiled and waved as the United States and other Western flags went by.

U.N. Army Awaited

The last words one correspondent preparing to leave Budapest heard from a Hungarian were, "When is the United Nations Army coming to help?"

As the Western cars passed, Russians were passing out leaflets from atop their tanks assuring the townspeople of their good intentions and asking them not to give aid to the resistance movement.

The Soviet authorities and the Hungarian Government kept saying they were fighting against fascism, but no Western observer could ascertain any feeling anywhere they went in Hungary

other than that of deep dislike for the Russians, aversion for Communist rule in Hungary and a desire to start anew on a democratic basis.

In one of the doorways, a young man in a battle jacket overheard three correspondents talking in English. He asked if the correspondents were Americans, and when they nodded he summoned up with great effort enough English to say:

"We hate the Russians! We are not Fascists! We will fight! Speak!"

There were other invitations to speak to the world about Hungary. A man with an empty milk can he had tried in vain to fill stopped newsmen to say how glad he was to see them in Budapest.

"You know what is going on here, don't you; you must tell the people outside," he said.

Tremendous goodwill was shown by everyone toward the

great importance for the successful settlement of unresolved international problems.... The Soviet Government considers that we must in the long run strive to ensure that there are no foreign troops on the territory of European states. The withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of the European states and the restoration in this respect of the situation which existed before the second world war would already, in and for itself, be of great importance for the strengthening of peace, would radically improve the situation in Europe and remove one of the chief sources, if not the main source, of that mistrust in relations between states which exists at the present time.... The question was touched on here of the countries of Eastern Europe, the countries of people's democracy. To raise this question at the present Conference means leading us to interfere in the internal affairs of these states. Yet it is well known that the people's democratic regime in these countries was set up by the peoples themselves on the basis of a free declaration of their will. Moreover, no one has authorized us to examine the situation in these countries. Thus, there are no grounds for discussing this question at our Conference. (Bulganin, Speech at Geneva Conference, afternoon session on 18 July 1955, Pravda.)

For the purpose of guaranteeing peace and security and averting aggression against any state in Europe, for the purpose of strengthening international cooperation in accordance with the principles of respect for the independence and sovereignty of states, and also of non-interference in their internal affairs ... the European states, being guided by the aims and principles of the UN Charter, conclude an all-European treaty on collective security in Europe on the following principles:...

In Geneva we expressed ourselves against foreign troops remaining indefinitely on the territory of European countries and said that in this connection the situation should be restored which existed before the Second World War. We are convinced that this would meet the aspirations of the European peoples for independent existence, and that it would be fully in line with the task of ensuring security for the peoples of Europe.... In the meantime, it is well known that the people's Democratic regime in these countries was established by the peoples themselves on the basis of their free expression of will. (Bulganin, Pravda, 5 August 1955, Speech to Supreme Soviet.)

N.Y. Times

HUNGARY ORDERS 'MERCILESS' STEPS TO QUELL REVOLT

Summary Execution Decreed for Suspected Rebels as Surrender Period Ends

By ELIE ABEL

Special to The New York Times.

VIENNA, Nov. 10—Communist Hungary ordered summary execution tonight for all revolutionaries accused of murder, arson or looting.

President Istvan Dobi made known that any Hungarian believed guilty of these crimes could be put to death within twenty-four hours. No proof would be required.

Ferenc Munich, Minister of Interior, announced that the final deadline for voluntary surrender of the rebels had passed. He ordered the "merciless" extermination of all armed groups or individuals.

[The Hungarian Government blocked the first International Red Cross convoy trying to enter Hungary from Austria with medical and food relief supplies.]

Dead Estimated at 20,000

A group of Scandinavian correspondents who reached Vienna today from Budapest estimated that as many as 20,000 Hungarians had lost their lives in fighting since Oct. 23, the day the uprising against the country's Communist rules began.

The Government's new hard line appeared to have been decided upon within a few hours in a frantic effort by the Soviet-installed regime of Janos Kadar to smash the last remains of patriot resistance.

Softer methods, including a previous appeal for the end of violence and the eighteen-day-old general strike—reinforced by the threat of starvation in Budapest—have so far failed.

The Kadar Government nevertheless promised all workers paid less than 1,200 forints a month an immediate wage increase of 12 to 15 per cent. To those whose present wages are between 1,200 and 1,500 forints, it promised a 10 per cent rise.

The Scandinavian correspondents, who left Budapest at noon, reported they had seen armed freedom fighters walking boldly in the streets by daylight. They were the first journalists to reach Austria from the Hungarian capital since Soviet troops launched their crushing surprise attack at dawn last Sunday.

The failure of the Kadar Government to re-establish order and to break the general strike even with the backing of the Soviet Army has astonished Western observers.

Refugees reaching the Austrian frontier today reported that most freedom fighters were prepared to end the shooting but insisted on maintaining the general strike until Moscow demonstrated that it was prepared to withdraw all occupation troops from Hungarian soil.

Over the Budapest radio the Kadar regime promised again that it would respect the original goals of the Oct. 23 revolution. "The era of Stalinist arbitrariness and illegality can never return to Hungary," the Government declared. Among the revolutionary aims embraced by the regime were:

Correction of injustices suffered by the workers under the forced industrialization program of Matyas Rakosi, who resigned as Communist party chief last July.

Establishment of workers' councils on the Yugoslav model to give employes a voice in management decisions.

Creation of a new police force to replace the hated A. V. H.

Removal of the Soviet red star from the national flag and restoration of March 16 as a national holiday commemorating the 1848 uprising of Louis Kossuth.

The pattern of Soviet pressure

by starvation had been reported yesterday through diplomatic channels. Today Hungarian refugees reaching Austria brought additional details which were largely confirmed by the Budapest radio.

The refugees told of food shipments for Budapest being held up outside the city while the populace was called upon to go back to work if it wanted to eat.

The Budapest radio asserted that 20 per cent of the capital's transit workers had reported for duty. Fewer than one quarter of the telephone and telegraph employes were reported on their jobs, along with 3,000 out of 7,000 workers at the Ganz railroad car factory; 800 of 2,800 at the Ikarus plant and 500 of 4,000 at the Klement Gottwald Machine Works.

The radio added that each person returning to work today received a food package including flour and fats. Bread was distributed in some factories, and hot meals were promised for next week.

According to refugees, the morale of the freedom fighters was high until last Wednesday. Their great hope, the refugees said, was that the United Nations might send an international police force into Hungary. But the failure of the General Assembly to take any positive action was said to have thrown the revolutionaries into despair.

Many Said to Surrender

"People stood on the roofs of buildings waiting for the ar-

rival of [United Nations] planes," one of the Budapest fugitives said. "But when they heard the General Assembly had postponed debate, a great number of the freedom fighters laid down their arms and surrendered."

The same day 1,500 of the fighters, mainly students, surrendered an old castle in Buda to the Russians. As they walked out of the castle with their arms raised, Soviet troops mowed them down, the witnesses reported. Only a handful of the defenders were said to have escaped.

One of the refugees remarked bitterly: "The Russians, after all, were acting like Russians. But we expected more from the West than to be let down this way," he added.

Week Post

NOV 8 1956

Budapest Wounds Kill Newsmen

PARIS, Nov. 7 (AP)—French news photographer Jean-Pierre Pedrazzini, 29, died in a hospital here today of wounds suffered in a Soviet tank attack in Budapest last week.

Pedrazzini was flown to Paris with a dozen wounds in his abdomen, back and leg. A Photographer for the Magazine "Match," he had been considered one of the best French news photographers in the field.

He was the second Western newsman shot by the Russians during the revolt. London correspondent Noel Barber was wounded in the head near the British Legation in the first few days of the revolt last week.

The sincere delight, the feelings of friendship, which your people expresses on meeting our delegation we take as a reward for the peoples of the Soviet Union for their disinterested and honorable attitude towards all people, large and small. (Khrushchev, Pravda, 22 November 1955, Speech to the Indian Parliament.)

As for Soviet people, our understanding is clear and intelligible for all. We say: peace for all peoples of the world! We say: there must be no interference in the internal systems of other states and peoples. This is the main thing. (Khrushchev, Pravda, 24 November 1955, Speech in Bombay.)

We consider that if at the basis of relations between the USSR and the USA were placed the well-known principles of peaceful coexistence, this would have a truly outstanding significance for the whole of mankind and would of course be of no less service to the people of the USA than to the peoples of the USSR and to all other peoples. These principles--mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual advantage, peaceful co-existence and economic cooperation--are now shared and supported by a score of states. (Khrushchev, Pravda, 15 February 1956, Speech to XXth Party Congress.)

G. M. MALENKOV

The love of peace by the Soviet Union is demonstrated not only by the proposals made by it, but by its actions. (Malenkov, Speech at 19th Congress of CPSU, October 1952.)

The Soviet Union has no territorial claims against any state whatsoever including any of its neighboring states. It is the inviolable principle of our foreign policy to respect the national freedom and sovereignty of any country, large or small. One of the decisive advantages of the democratic camp, and its basic difference from the imperialist camp, lies in the fact that it is not rent by internal contradictions and strife, that the principal source of its strength and progress lies in mutual care for the interests of all countries of the democratic camp and in close economic collaboration. That is why the friendly relations of the countries of the democratic camp and their fraternal collaboration will inevitably develop and become stronger. (Malenkov, Pravda, 9 August 1953, speech to Supreme Soviet USSR, 8 August 1953.)

Chicago Daily Tribune Thursday, November 13, 1956

Reds Admit Mass Exile of Hungarians

DRAG WOMEN AND CHILDREN TO RAIL CARS

VIENNA, Nov. 14 (AP)—Russia's puppet government in Budapest admitted today the Red army is deporting masses of Hungarians to the east in sealed railway cars in an effort finally to crush the revolution.

This surprising disclosure came from the government's Radio Budapest, which also said Hungarian workers, aroused by news of the deportations, "are leaving their jobs in increasing numbers."

The radio admitted the deportation of Hungarians in a broadcast telling why the general strike had not ended.

Revive Railway Strike

In Szolnok county, south-

east of Budapest, the radio said, 40 per cent of the workers had returned to work and some rail traffic had started. It added:

"But according to the latest reports prisoners have been transported to the east in locked railway cars and for that reason the railwaymen started to strike again."

Vagious plants were notified of the deportations and "workers therefore, now are leaving their jobs in increasing numbers," the radio said.

Der Kurier, a Vienna newspaper, said wives and children of rebels were being deported.

Women Dragged to Trains

Refugees who crossed the border into Austria last night said deportations began four days ago at Szolnok, Debrecen, Nyiregyhaza, and Poespoekladany. They reported that hundreds of women and children were dragged into heavily guarded freight trains which left for the east.

Rebels tried to halt the trains by blowing up rails, but came under heavy soviet gunfire.

Chicago Daily Tribune Wednesday, November 14, 1956

Blast Rails, Free Hungarians on Prison Train

VIENNA, Nov. 13 (Reuters)—Workers in northeastern Hungary blasted a railroad line yesterday, stopped a train and freed a load of prisoners being deported to Russia, according to reports reaching here tonight.

The sources said that large scale deportation of boys and young men of military age from Hungary to Russia was continuing.

Throw Notes from Trains

The reports said that thousands of others had thrown notes from trains, giving their names and addresses and asking persons to inform their relatives that they were being taken to Russia. Many notes already had been sent to par-

ents in Budapest, the reports said.

The Russians appeared to be preparing for a long stay in Hungary. They had taken over the whole area around an air field southwest of Budapest and expelled all Hungarians from the district. Four air fields in the neighborhood of Budapest were reported to be exclusively in soviet military hands.

Wash. Post

NOV 7 1956

Railroad Hobos Sent to Hungary

N. Y. Herald Tribune News Service
NEW YORK, Nov. 6—Information from informed sources was received in New York today via trans-Atlantic telephone that thousands of empty railroad boxcars manned by Mongols have been arriving in Hungary.

The information created immediate speculation that the Soviet troops in Hungary are planning to relocate many thousands of Hungarian nationals, possibly for use in labor camps in Russia itself.

N. Y. Times

NOV 16 1956

Special to The New York Times
VIENNA, Nov. 15

Freedom Movement Found

Up to 100,000 last night the mass deportations also continued. A report that not only boys and young men but also women and children were being sent to the Soviet Union was confirmed. Between 7 and midnight last night three trains of sixty cars each moved eastward from Budapest with young men, women and children.

The fashionable "theory"--if one may call it such--according to which the era of sovereign states has passed, is the greatest perversion of the truth. No, the era of sovereign states has not passed. It is in a state of efflorescence. And all those who raise a hand against the sovereignty of European states ... are threatening the vital interests of European security. (Malenkov, "Address to Supreme Soviet", 26 April 1954, Pravda and Izvestiya, 27 April 1954.)

Y. MALIK

Aggression takes place where one State attacks another. The Soviet Government has taken this line in defining aggression since 1933, when the Soviet delegation put forward a definition of aggression in the Security Committee of the Disarmament Conference in Geneva.... As is known, this definition of aggression includes such acts as a declaration of war by a State against another State; invasion of a territory by the armed forces of another State even without declaration of war; the invasion of the territory of one State by the Armed forces of another State, and so forth.... This definition of aggression and of the attacking country--the aggressor--was in substance approved in May 1939 by a League of Nations Security Committee composed of the representatives of seventeen states. The aggressor in an international conflict shall ... be considered to be that State which is the first to commit any of the following actions:

Provision of support to armed bands formed on its territory which have invaded the territory of another State, or refusal, notwithstanding the request of the invaded State, to take on its own territory all measures in its power to deprive those bands of all assistance or protection. (Malik, 3 August 1950, Security Council Meeting.)

V. M. MOLOTOV

The special character of these mutual assistance pacts in no way implies any interference on the part of the Soviet Union in the affairs of Estonia, Latvia or Lithuania, as some organs of the foreign press charge. On the contrary all these pacts of mutual assistance strictly stipulate the inviolability of the sovereignty of the signatory states and the principle of non-interference in each other's affairs.... We stand for the scrupulous and punctilious observance of the pacts referring to mutual assistance with Baltic states on the basis of complete reciprocity and we declare that all the nonsensical talk about the Sovietization of the Baltic countries is only to the interest of our common enemies and of all anti-Soviet provocateurs. (Molotov, Foreign Policy of Soviet Union, Fifth Session of Supreme Soviet, 31 October 1939, Pravda, 1 November 1939.)

N. Y. N. T.
NOV 12 1956

Reporter Brings Out Story Of Hungary Death Agony

This is the first of a series of articles by Barrett McCurn, New York Herald Tribune correspondent, who was trapped in Budapest by the Soviet assault a week ago and was not allowed to leave until early yesterday. He wrote this report shortly after arriving in Vienna.

By Barrett McCurn

VIENNA, Nov. 11.—Hungary is back squarely under the Soviet heel after a heroic and tragic effort to be free.

The Russians are presenting the situation in Hungary as a quarrel between factions, some

"fascist" and some "communist" with the large landowners and industrialists of the past, others pro-Communist. But the truth, as this reporter saw it reflected in two weeks in crucified Hungary, is that a war has just been fought and finished between the Soviet Union and its satellite.

Hungarians of every class and age—factory laborers, farmers and children included—rose up without arms to defy the tanks of the Russians and died by the thousands as they did it. It was nation against nation, not class against class.

Minor fighting may still go on. The hatred of the Russian and

of the small minority of native Communists is so great that crowds still gathered today even on the doorstep of the Soviet command post in Budapest to talk cordially about the United States and to ask departing American newsmen to carry messages back to relatives in America.

"Every family here has them," one man outside Russian headquarters said.

The comments were less of affection for the United States—a country a vast number of Hungarians feel let them down—than an opportunity to rally openly around a Soviet foe. Anti-Russian and anti-Communist sentiment is so solid and so universal no one seemed to fear the listening ears of the Communist spies, now back at work at the Russians' behest.

How many died as the Russians brutally crushed freedom-minded Hungary, no one can yet estimate, but guesses by Red Cross workers run as high as 25,000.

Russians Died, Too

Most who died were Hungarians. Many were women and children. But Russians died too. Some estimates of Russian dead run into several thousand.

The Russians were able to win so quickly for two reasons. They saturated Hungary with their armed force by the afternoon of Saturday, Nov. 3, when an independent-minded Hungarian government was still in office, official intelligence reports sent word of 4,500 Soviet tanks already inside the Hungarian border and another 1,000 on the frontier crossing in.

Fifteen to twenty Russian divisions swarmed through the country, seizing command of the roads, closing escape routes along the borders and ringing the capital with armor and artillery.

At least 200,000 Soviet soldiers went into action. The force was ten times the normal Russian complement in the little satellite.

When it is remembered that Hungary has little more than the population of New York City and Budapest just about the population of Queens, an idea of the appalling might of the Soviet force is possible.

Force Used Ruthlessly

Coupled with the force the Kremlin brought to bear was the ruthlessness with which it was used. The problem the Russians faced was to restore subservience in a satellite where even Communists had risen to demand independence and neutrality, a neutrality which, in this case meant an end to the bonds strapping Hungary to Russia.

The question before the Russians was how to break the will of a population which to a man openly was against them.

The Soviet decision was as one observer expressed it to trade "a building for a bullet." Every time a sniper opened fire with a potshot, tanks answered with sweeping machinegun and cannon fire.

Thousands of cannon holes were drilled through the walls of Budapest apartment houses. Some buildings took a half dozen or more shell hits. Others were struck so often, their fronts collapsed. One street near the Killian barracks, one of the main resistance centers, looks now as if tanks parked in front of house after house had shelled until the walls fell away.

In some hospitals the women and children victims outnumbered the men.

City Finally "Quiet"

For four days the daring people of Budapest stood up to the Soviet cannonading, but finally the "quiet" the Russians said they had come to restore fell like a pall over the broken, Hungarian capital.

It will take months to repair the material damage; not even years will erase the moral ruin.

Tales of every sort of atrocity are being repeated, a legacy of loathing against the Soviet Union which no Communist schooling in the future is likely ever to wipe out.

One is of what happened at the children's clinic behind the Killian barracks. The latter, described by some reporters as "the Alamo of Hungary," is where 1,000 soldiers, civilians, women and children held out successfully against Soviet tanks in the first round of the war two weeks ago. The barracks defenders, using small arms and Molotov cocktails (home-made anti-tank incendiary bombs) burnt out a half dozen to a dozen Russian tanks and strewn the street with Russian dead.

When the second and fatal round began, the Russians stormed the Killian barracks anew. Two hours after the attack began foreign embassies in Budapest began receiving frantic telephone calls saying that the Russians were shooting their way through the infants' hospital to get at the barracks from the rear.

Children's Lives at Stake

Embassies began telephoning desperately in their turn. The lives of 300 children were at stake. A truce permitting evacuation of the children was demanded. Finally as callers telephoned in anguish again two hours later a dismal message awaited them. The Soviet Embassy said it could not intervene; nothing could be done. Later further word spread that some of the children had been cremated.

Another story concerned the fate of the general post office. Again volunteers telephoned the foreign embassies. Russians entered the post office shooting as they walked; old women employees fell dead before the fire. Again there was nothing the embassies could do.

Austrian diplomats distinguished themselves, criss-crossing the city in a search of firsthand information while the first day's slaughter was at its worst. One Austrian diplomat counted "hundreds" of Hungarian corpses on a single ride.

Deceit Linked With Force

The Russians attempted to lay the groundwork for the usual mockery of Eastern European satellite "independence" by replacing the freedom-seeking government of Premier Imre Nagy with a Communist Cabinet loyal to Moscow but the facts are of a naked Russian imperialist intervention.

Deceit was linked with force. This is what happened:

After Imre Nagy, an old-time Communist at long last converted to freedom for Hungary, demanded that the Russians evacuate his homeland, feverish negotiations began. On Saturday afternoon, Nov. 3, Russians visited the government headquarters on the banks of the Danube and talks went encouragingly.

Desperately hopeful politicians spread the word that the Soviet Union might agree to leave after all even though constant reinforcements sweeping in from the Ukraine gave the hope the lie. The Russians suggested that the next talks, that very night, take place at their headquarters.

Pal Maleter, the unknown

young colonel who was the hero of the first Killian barracks defense and overnight had been raised to major general and to Minister of Defense, agreed to visit the Russians at their stronghold as requested. That was the last seen of him. Next morning at dawn when a heavy cannonading on the city outskirts signaled the start of the Soviet onslaught, the Nagy government was pitifully appealing to the missing Maleter to return.

When the Russians attacked Mr. Nagy went to their embassy to protest. It was the last seen of him, too, until today.

A Hungarian Cabinet meeting had been called for early Sunday morning. Only three Cabinet members were able to reach the government headquarters. One of them, Zoltan Tildy, a Minister without Portfolio, took the initiative of negotiating with the Russians for the safe departure of civilians working in the building.

Then he left himself, giving his associates to understand that he did not expect the agreement to protect him as he walked into the ring of Soviet tanks already in place around the Hungarian headquarters. He indicated that he believed himself "going to his death."

Another of the three, Istvan Bibó, visited the American Legation to dictate what amounted to the last will and testament of the dying free Hungary. Then he returned to the government headquarters as the symbol of the legitimate Cabinet to await his fate.

In his statement he said: "I hereby affirm that Hungary has not been following an anti-Soviet policy. On the contrary, it wants to live in a 'community

No one has the right to dispute the fact that the implementation of democratic reforms is the domestic affair of each state. (Molotov, 9 May 1948 quoted in Information Bulletin of the USSR, 26 May 1948.)

The Soviet proposals /Geneva Conference proposals/ also speak of the need for agreement to do away with military bases on foreign territories.... One of the two military bases which the Soviet Union had maintained outside its borders under appropriate treaties was given up several months ago /Port Arthur/ while the second and last /Porkkala/ will be abandoned this year. There will be no Soviet military bases on the territories of other states. The Soviet Government has taken these steps in order to further improve international relations and build up confidence among nations. In this case again the Soviet government has proceeded from words to deeds. (Molotov, Pravda, 24 September 1955, Speech to UN General Assembly.)

B. PONOMAREV

The Communists are fighting selflessly for the independence of countries and for democratic freedoms....

The Communists are telling peoples in their countries that their sacred patriotic obligation is to defend the homeland from imperialist slavery, to defend their countries' national sovereignty and to save the nation from being drawn into a disastrous war.... (Ponomarev, Pravda, 28 February 1953, pp. 2-3.)

A. SOBOLEV

The Soviet people has never concerned itself with, and does not intend to concern itself with, the exporting of revolution, has never imposed, and does not intend to impose, its Soviet way of life on anyone.... (Sobolev, Problems of Economics, No. 10, October 1950.)

The Soviet Union stands as an insuperable obstacle on the instigators of a new war. The policy of foreign seizures is hostile to the Soviet state. War contradicts the very essence of the socialist system. Peace is a necessary condition for the uninterrupted upsurge of Soviet economy, for its ever-accelerating movement forward. (Sobolev, Problems of Economics, No. 10, October 1950.)

of free Eastern European countries organizing their lives in accordance with freedom, justice and a society without exploitation.

"I reject the slander that fascist or anti-Semitic stained our glorious revolution. The entire Hungarian nation took part in the fight without distinction of class or religion.

"It was moving and wonderful to behold the wise and thoughtfully discriminating attitude of the people. They turned only against the oppressive foreign army and the gangs of its henchmen.

"My orders to the Hungarian nation are to use all weapons of passive resistance against the occupying army and the puppet government it will set up. I am in no position to order an armed resistance."

With both the government and the army decapitated by the seizure of the trusting and well wishing Mr. Maléter and Mr. Nagy, Mr. Bibó's call for civic rather than military resistance seemed the only alternative. Mr. Bibó himself was heard of no more. Individuals on their own took up the armed defense, appealing to the Americans and other Westerners for parachuted arms, but five days and Soviet violence crushed Budapest's last military holdout. A ride today to the Austrian frontier showed no signs of military resistance anywhere else.

N. Y. N. Y.

NOV 13 1956

McGurn's Eyewitness Story

Hungarians Defied Red Cannon 5 Days

This is the second of a series of articles by Barrett McGurn, New York Herald Tribune correspondent, who was trapped in Budapest by the Soviet assault a week ago and was not permitted to leave until early Sunday. He wrote this report shortly after arriving in Vienna.

By Barrett McGurn
By Wire to the Herald Tribune

VIENNA, Nov. 12.—The first news of the Soviet decision to crush Hungary's will of freedom by brute force came at dawn Sunday, Nov. 4, with a pounding of cannon on the outskirts of Budapest. The cannonading lasted ten minutes. By mid-morning, all the main streets of central Budapest were commanded by the menacing omnium of ten to forty ton tanks.



Barrett McGurn

For five days, the cannonading continued. Guns being near by slung their shells with a reverberating bang like the popping of a giant empty oil drum. Moments later, the crash of the shell could be heard in the distance. Rifle and machine-gun fire echoed everywhere.

Walking through the streets on Tuesday and Wednesday, one could hear the guns chattering near by. Crowds out hunting food and ducking for cover inside doorways were a help in telling when it was time to look for protection.

By Friday, most of the shooting was over, but as recently as Wednesday crowds ran for shelter every time an automobile approached, even when, as on occasion it turned out, it was only an ambulance.

The reason for such caution was plain. One Western Communist newspaper man reported seeing a man of seventy dead on the sidewalk, a loaf of bread in his arms, one of the many searchers for food who fall victim to the wild shooting of the Russians.

Newspaper men had reason for some qualms. For hours, a young man in a blue beret and a gray overcoat lay face down

on the sidewalk across from the main newspaper man's hotel, the Duna. Broken glass lay around him. He was thrown to his death from a window, Hungarians said. Today a wooden cross over a mound in the park beside the Duna Hotel marks the spot where the youth has been buried.

None of the reporters was killed in the attack on the Duna, although at least one Western newspaper man was slain in the three weeks of fighting. He was a photographer of "Paris-Match," a French picture magazine. Most of the newsmen were out of the Duna at the time the assault occurred. The majority had taken refuge inside their various legations. Even there they were not completely safe, however. The Egyptian Embassy was ruined, a Yugoslav attache was killed at his legation and the Czechoslovak, French and British Embassies were strafed.

Shell Holes in Homes

The threat to the foreigners was indicative of the danger—far more than an empty threat—which descended on the rebellious, freedom-loving people of Budapest. On the road in from Vienna, travelers saw shell holes in small homes and in factories every 150 feet of the way as if tanks drilled left and right as they advanced.

Four small Hungarian Army artillery pieces stand along the road unmanned, a mute reminder of the effort by the tiny satellite's army to hold off the Russian force which overwhelmed it. In one spot half a dozen army trucks were burned and blown to pieces, indicating that a Hungarian stand there met a pulverizing onslaught.

Inside Budapest, telephone and telegraph poles are down. Occasional shade trees are shot in two. Wires lie tangled across streets. The marks of tank tracks are everywhere, chewing into curbstones, gouging up park flower plots, mashing over one-way signs.

Life is at a standstill except for lines a half block long from early morning until late in the evening in front of the food stores. Even at mid-day, the string net bags of shoppers often are still empty. A sign that famine may yet add itself to the plagues besetting the stricken Hungarians.

Reds Quick-Trigged

Soviet tanks are still in evidence everywhere. So are quick-triggered Russians and Communist agents. One German

newspaper woman returned trembling to the chilly, partly windowless Duna Hotel yesterday to say that she went to photograph the wrecked Soviet tanks and ruined buildings around the Killina barracks stronghold and was about to take out her camera when a sentry saw some one else snapping a picture. The man, apparently a Hungarian, was killed on the spot. The woman was searched, but her camera, dangling at her breast, escaped detection.

Two days ago she could see occasional horse-drawn wagons driving into Soviet encampments carrying a dozen or two rifles confiscated from the population, but it is doubtful that the disarming of the Hungarians will be accomplished very soon.

"Every House" Armed

"Every house has weapons," one man told me on the street Wednesday morning. He noticed the American flag armband on my companion and fearlessly came up to proclaim his anti-Soviet sentiments. An embarrassingly large crowd of twenty to thirty instantly formed around me to second the man's declaration.

Many of the troops the Russians have sent into Budapest are slit-eyed, high-cheek-boned Mongolians from Asia's distant outer reaches. They stare with little apparent comprehension at the people they are liberating—according to briefings they have received—from "the Fascists." Some of the troops are amiable enough.

One stared into the little German Volkswagen in which this reporter was riding to Vienna Sunday and remarked pleasantly on its charms. It was a modest car indeed by Western standards, but clearly a treasure to him.

Article 8. The Contracting Parties declare that they will act in a spirit of friendship and cooperation with a view to further developing and fostering economic and cultural intercourse with one another each adhering to the principles of respect for the independence and sovereignty of the others and non-interference in their internal affairs. (Warsaw Pact, Warsaw, 14 May 1955, Pravda, 15 May 1955.)

... the two governments proceeded from the following principles: indivisibility of peace, upon which collective security can alone rest; reciprocal respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and equality of states in their relations with one another and with other states; recognition and promotion of peaceful co-existence among nations, regardless of ideological differences or differences of social system, which presumes cooperation by all states in the sphere of international relations in general, and in the sphere of economic and cultural relations in particular; mutual respect for, and non-interference in, one another's internal affairs for whatever reason, whether of an economic, political or ideological nature, inasmuch as questions of internal organization, difference of social systems and difference in the concrete forms of socialist development are exclusively the concern of the peoples of the respective countries; ... condemnation of all aggression and of all attempts to subject other countries to political or economic domination.... (Belgrade Declaration, 2 June 1955, Pravda, 3 June 1955, Declaration of the Governments of the USSR and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia)

In the light of the prospects opened up by the relaxation of international tension already achieved, both Governments devoted attention to the danger that might arise from local conflicts and friction between states. They expressed their firm intention to assist in removing this danger, both through the United Nations and through their direct relations with other countries. They will continue to abide by the principle that the legitimate interests of all nations and their right to independent national development must be recognized.

... The governments of the two countries have reaffirmed their adherence to the policy of peaceful and active co-existence based on the principles of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, non-aggression, equality, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs. This policy stems from the needs created by strengthening and consolidating all-round cooperation between countries, regardless of difference in social, economic, and political systems. (Moscow Declaration, 20 June 1956, Pravda, 21 June 1956, Joint Statement of the Governments of the USSR and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in Connection with the State visit to the Soviet Union of President Josip Broz Tito of the FPRY.)

McGurn's Eye-Witness Story

How Russia Crushed 'Comrade'

Helpless Hungary Driven to Knees by Terror Violating All War Rules

This is the third of a series of articles by Barrett McGurn, New York Herald Tribune correspondent, who was trapped in Budapest by the Soviet assault a week ago and was not permitted to leave until Sunday. He wrote this report after arriving in Vienna.

By Barrett McGurn

By Wire to the Herald Tribune

VIENNA, Nov. 13.—The incredible brutality with which Russia has put down the independence movement inside its Hungarian satellite had to be seen to be believed. Few more shocking acts of imperialism are recorded in history's pages.

What happened is all the more difficult to believe because it followed so many years of

massive propaganda describing the Russians' Eastern European satellites as happy and "equal socialist" nations. It took these fully armed in arms in a military alliance defending itself against the threat of Western Europe and of the United States.



McGurn

When the moment of truth came here in the last week the Russians closed a wall of steel around Hungary, cut off communications, made virtual prisoners of the 100 Western correspondents in the country and then put up a screen of lies to deceive the outside world about what was going on.

For some reason best known to top Soviet policy makers the Western correspondents were released suddenly this last week end, perhaps in deference to world public opinion.

Extraordinary Cruelty

The story can now be told:

The Russians behaved with extraordinary cruelty, pounding a helpless city with cannon fire for four days, blocking efforts to send medical aid and to relieve women and children, and reorganizing the apparatus of terror that has tormented the Hungarians for a decade and now seems likely to torture them anew.

Even the basic rules of warfare were violated as the Russians drove their "comrade" satellite back to the knees on which mourning Hungary has rested since the end of World War II.

Westerners reported seeing Red Cross ambulances evacuating able-bodied Russian personnel in the first round of the ill-fated insurrection when Hungarian patriots momentarily got

the upper hand and then seeing Soviet command cars and tanks employing the white flag of truce and of surrender to move into strategically overwhelming position at the start of the last and lethal Round 2.

Out of Action at Start

One Westerner reported, "When the Soviet tanks left Budapest two weeks ago I followed them. They didn't go far. They headed for the Budapest Airport. They put up white flags. The Hungarian Air Force saw the flags, believed them and let the tanks come. When they got to the edge of the field the Soviets pulled the flags down, buttoned up and slammed shut the tank lids and then lined up bank to bank to gun, commanding the field as if to say: "If you don't like it what are you going to do about it?"

When the second round started the Russians had every Hungarian airport incriminated. The Hungarian Air Force, loyal to Hungary and ready, according to all accounts, to fight the Russian "allies" was automatically out of action from the first moment.

White-Flag Treachery

The Budapest Airport episode was not the only one where a violation of the white flag of truce was reported. One anguished Hungarian called on a foreign legation to say that Hungarian Army recruits holed up in the Paul Kintz barracks in Budapest gave up their small arms fire against the Russians when advancing troops raised a white banner. When the troops got inside they shot dozens with a sudden burst of tommyguns, the youth said.

"If I ever meet those Russians on the battlefield, I'll know how to treat their white flags," one militarily experienced Westerner fumed helplessly. "I'll shoot first and find out later what their mission was."

All But Atomic Weapons

The Russians took the men, women and children of Budapest on for the decisive second turn only after every physical card was stacked in their favor. Moral cards—public opinion in Hungary—were few or missing, but the physical ones were enough.

An estimated 1,000 tanks jockeyed into position around little Budapest. Through the whole country, by reliable report, there were 1,100 thirty-ton tanks with 122-mm. cannon, 3,300 twenty-ton tanks and 1,100 ten to fifteen-tonners, and even a few of the giant 240-mm. to 280 mm. long-range artillery. The Russians had all the necessary supplies and equipment

bringing up the rear to guarantee the operation.

If the West had intervened the Russians were far from unready. Every weapon, except the atomic—that was not unveiled—was on hand for the job, the job of beating the rebellious Hungarian satellite back into subjection.

Boys of Ten at Guns

In the face of it all, the Hungarians did not quail. The Russians never hesitated. Whenever they met resistance—in a movie theater where communism-hating heroes and heroines held out, in railroad stations, in old forts and castles—the Russians smashed it in.

For four days the telephones of the American and other legations rang with pitiful appeals from the hopeless defenders, asking when United Nations aid would arrive and warning: "We can hold out only two hours longer," or "Boys of ten are manning guns" and the defense could not go on much more.

Occasionally the phoners reported, as in the case of the owners and factory operators, "There was some evidence other Russians expected to find the United States Army facing them in the streets of Budapest."

When some of the correspondents were cross-questioned at Soviet headquarters before getting permission to leave the country, these were some of the "Corvin" resistance offer, that an effort had been made to negotiate a cease-fire to send out the besieged women and infants, but that the Russians had demanded too high a price—a general laying down of arms.

Women in Line of Fire

The fight, the Corvin informers said, was going on with the women and children still in the line of fire.

Four days of endless cannonading, machine-gunning and rifle fire shaking Budapest from one end to the other finally was enough. Budapest citizens could be seen freezing in their tracks as Soviet street corner guards shouted the order to halt.

Language was no problem. The Soviet troops reached the left hand forward and then slashed it suddenly down in an unmistakable command to stop.

Soviet patrols of eleven began combing buildings. As they climbed the stairs a tank sat in front of it, its two machine guns and its cannon ready to blow out the windows and cave in the walls if resistance showed itself. Hundreds of buildings are now so marked, many without ever having shown a hint of resistance.

The Unarmed Rounded Up

The telephone call to the United States and conversations with

Westerners wearing their national armbands as identification in the streets took on a new note: "Part of the Fire Department has been murdered in the cemetery." "They are rounding up even unarmed men now and deporting them on trains, the same as happened in 1945, and patriots fired on one train like that last night to try to stop it." Hospital staffs told tales of fright: "The Soviets would not let supplies get through, a fourth just led to death, they could have been saved."

Yet despite it all the Soviets were not monsters met face to face. Many of the men who pulled the triggers were as frightened and even amiable as their victims. Talks with them indicated that many were prisoners of the same sort of lying propaganda the Soviet leaders were busily spreading outside the sealed frontiers of Hungary.

Curious About News Men

The insurrection, a group of officers explained seriously to Western newspaper men outside the Russian command post Sunday morning, was the work of a group of fascists and agents of former large land

questions: "How much do you make?" "How much did your father make?" "Who owns your paper?" "Are you a Communist?" "What do you think of what went on here?" And in one case: "We have information from Hungarians that you committed espionage against the Soviet Army. Tell us in detail whom you contacted and we may let you go."

The thought that the people of Hungary might have risen up in revolt because ten years of Communism had become unbearable and that Western newspaper men had come to report the truth of the revolt without other considerations seemed to escape the Soviet questioners completely.

It is convinced that respect for the sovereign rights of nations and promotion of international cooperation, in keeping with the spirit of the times and on the basis of equality and non-interference in the domestic affairs of nations, are cardinal factors in strengthening international confidence and ensuring firm peace among the peoples. (Soviet Government statement on Suez Canal question, Pravda, 10 August 1956.)

The principles of peaceful coexistence, friendship, and cooperation among all states have always been and still form the unshakable foundation of the foreign relations of the USSR. This policy finds its most profound and consistent expression in the relationship with socialist countries. United by the common ideal of building a socialist society and the principles of proletarian internationalism, the countries of the great commonwealth of socialist nations can build their relations on the principle of full equality, respect of territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty, and noninterference in one another's domestic affairs.... The Soviet Government consistently puts into practice these historic decisions of the 20th Congress, which create conditions for the further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between socialist countries on the inviolable basis of maintaining the complete sovereignty of each socialist state....

Believing that the further presence of Soviet Army units in Hungary can serve as a cause for even greater deterioration of the situation, the Soviet Government has given instructions to its military command to withdraw the Soviet Army units from Budapest as soon as this is recognized as necessary by the Hungarian Government.... At the same time the Soviet Government is ready to enter into relevant negotiations with the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic and other participants of the Warsaw Treaty on the question of the presence of Soviet troops on the territory of Hungary. (Moscow, Soviet Home Service, 30 October 1956, Declaration of the USSR Government on the basis of the development and further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and other Socialist states.)

The statesmen of the Soviet Union and Belgium expressed their agreement that relations between countries must be built on the principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, nonaggression, noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries as well as on the principle of peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation with mutual advantages in mind. (Moscow, Soviet Home Service, 2 November 1956.)

N. Y. MIRROR
NOV 12 1956

Budapest: 12,000 Dead, City of Ruins

VIENNA, Nov. 11. (UP).—The first American newsman out of Budapest since the Russian onslaught last Sunday reported that the city is "far more battered, far more desperate" than it was after the Soviet siege of World War II. He said doctors estimate as many as 12,000 dead.

Leslie Balogh-Bain, Hungarian-born staffer of the North American Newspaper Alliance, said the initial Soviet attack was so swift that Cardinal Mindszenty escaped from Parliament House to sanctuary in the U. S. legation only moments before the Russians seized the building and the government of Premier Nagy.

Balogh-Bain said the Soviets shot Nagy's Defense Minister Maj. Gen. Pal Maleter, who was a rebel hero in the first week of the revolt.

THE RUSSIANS TURNED the city into a slaughterhouse, Balogh-Bain said.

"The Russian policy was 'a gun, a house,'" he said.

"If a shot was fired from a house, they destroyed the house. Every part of the city was blasted."

He said six foreign diplomatic missions were fired on, including three Communist legations. One Yugoslav diplomat was killed.

The British and French legations were under fire, he said, but apparently no one was hurt.

"As a matter of fact, one single bullet pierced the front side of the American legation, he added. "It was our proudest souvenir."

BALOGH-BAIN SAID American correspondents at the Duna (Danube) Hotel made their way to the legation on Sunday. Five wives of diplomats in the building did the cooking for all.

"We moved fairly freely around the city during daylight hours," he said.

He reported that during the desperate battle for the Kilian Barracks, a children's hospital was in the line of Russian fire and was pulverized despite appeals from the hospital to the Soviet Embassy.

"I saw the bodies of the little children—about 300—lined up on the ground outside the remains of the hospital," he said.

THE NEWSMAN said fighting occurred all over the city, well past last Wednesday when it was reported to have died down.

"It would break out suddenly and vanish suddenly. Short, snappy battles," he said. "The major holdouts are over now. There is nothing but partisan warfare now, but that is deadly enough."

Balogh-Bain said he left Saturday and managed to get through three Russian roadblocks.

"The fourth arrested me," he said. I had to spend a night in a barracks... at Tata, just northwest of Budapest.

"This morning they let me go and there was no

further trouble—unless you call it trouble to have dozens of machineguns pointed at you every time you look around."

Gutted Tanks And Unburied Bodies

(William Krasser, a Reuters (British) News Agency Correspondent, stranded in revolution-torn Budapest, describes via International News Service the stark tragedy of an heroic people fighting against insurmountable odds.)

By WILLIAM KRASSER

VIENNA, Nov. 11 (INS). — I returned today from a lost week amidst the horror of hunger, blasted buildings, gutted tanks and unburied bodies that is Budapest.

THE INCESSANT din of gunfire booms in my ears and still I hear pleas of rebel fighters:

"You must tell the world all you have seen and what we are doing."

Russian tanks rumbled through the streets firing at everyone in sight. Whenever the Russians were attacked by insurgents who fired from windows or roofs, they replied by destroying whole blocks of houses held by the patriots.

IT WAS ESTIMATED that the Russians had at least 15 divisions in Hungary, 12 armored divisions and two or three motorized infantry divisions with self-propelled light and heavy guns.

The past two days the Russians have been making house-to-house searches for insurgents. But it is reported that very few insurgents surrendered or were found hiding.

I drove through many parts of Budapest during the past two days and hardly saw a single house that was not damaged. The streets and avenues were littered with broken glass and broken trolley lines hung in festoons. Lamp posts toppled near burnt out Russian tanks.

Hundreds of bodies, some half-burned, still lay where they had fallen.

SOVIET MILITARY

It is well known ... that the Soviet Union ... threatens no one, and does not intend to attack anyone.... (Konev, Krasnaya Zvezda, 23 February 1956, Soviet Army and Navy Day Article.)

... The Soviet Union has never, and never will threaten anyone at any time. She has never attacked anyone, nor does she intend to attack.... (Rotmistrov, Krasnaya Zvezda, 24 March 1955.)

... The Soviet Army is a powerful bulwark of peace and friendship among the peoples of all countries. Selflessly defending its own Motherland, it the Soviet Army regards with respect the rights and independence of other nations, many of which owe their liberation from fascist enslavement to our the Soviet people and their army....

... The Soviet people are a peace loving people. According to its nature predatory aims of any kind are alien to our government. It the Soviet government has neither attacked nor threatened anyone nor will it threaten anyone. The wars which the Soviet government has had to conduct were brought about by the necessity of defending the Socialist Motherland and were therefore just wars. (Sokolovsky, Izvestiya, 23 February 1954, 36th Anniversary Soviet Armed Forces.)

... The might of our armed forces is indisputable. However, they threaten no one with attack. The Soviet people and the Communist Party have confronted the Army and Navy with an honorable task: to stand guard vigilantly over the peace and security of our Motherland.

Expressing the will and aspirations of the people, directing their efforts toward a further upsurge of the well-being of the working people, the Communist Party and Soviet Government, as previously, firmly and consistently pursue a policy of peace and of Soviet socialist society, in which there are no classes interested in war. It is based on respect for the rights and independence of all peoples, large and small.... (Sokolovsky, Izvestiya, 9 May 1954, VE Day Article.)

... The aggression of foreign territories and the subjugation of other nations are aims which are alien to our the Soviet army.... (Vasilevsky, Krasnaya Zvezda, 9 May 1956, V-E Day.)

"... Immediately after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution it the Communist Party began to create the Soviet Army--a new type of army, an army of liberated workers and peasants, an army of friendship and brotherhood.... (Zheltoy, Pravda, 23 February 1954, 36th Anniversary Soviet Armed Forces.)

Comrades! The Soviet Union does not threaten anyone and does not intend to attack anyone.... (Zhukov, Pravda, 20 February 1956, Speech at 20th Party Congress.)

Eyewitness Story: Battle of Budapest

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
Sat., Nov. 10, '56

300 Russ Tanks, Cars K.O'd

By Molotov Cocktails: Refugee

(An anti-Communist member of Hungary's first post-war Parliament was the first person to reach Austria with an eyewitness account of the fighting in Budapest this week. He has written this report under an alias because his mother is still in Budapest.)

BY ELM FEHER

VIENNA, Austria — (AP) — The Red army has met its match in Budapest. It is the Molotov cocktail, wielded by fatalistic anti-Communists who have learned to aim like baseball pitchers.

As long as there are old bottles, gasoline and rags to shadow war of our freedom fighters. This is the kind of war being waged when I drove out of Budapest with a special foreign ministry pass that got me by the Soviet roadblock.

THE BIG question when I left Budapest two days ago was how long the will to fight can hold out. Much of our once beautiful city lies in ruin. But every remaining doorway is a possible hiding place now, every alley an escape route. Strating jets, heavy artillery, tanks and armored cars

THE FIGHT this week developed on four fronts. There was practically no resistance when the Russians sent their tanks and armored cars into the city just after midnight Sunday because the move was too sudden. But well over 5,000 freedom fighters quickly made

tered inside a number of war in the narrow streets where men with the simple but effective Molotov cocktails went after the tanks. Wounded revolutionaries with whom I talked shortly before I left told me they had accounted for 300 Russian tanks and cars. The Russians' only defense against the gasoline throwers could be infantry patrols to clean out the streets and houses. But in a neat bit of strategy, the snipers made the Russians afraid to bring in their infantry. STILL, the Russians have so many tanks and planes that the big resistance centers like Killian barracks had to break up, one after another, until all that was left was hit-and-run guerrilla action. This phase of the battle—the fourth front — was on when I left. Men and boys moving in small bands would shoot and turn, all the time glancing back over their shoulders — vainly hoping for help that never came. THE THIRD front was the snow-covered hills to the Austrian border. A few of the women stayed with their husbands and walked thru the country. Most of the women and children had already been evacuated to the death. When I left Sopron minutes before the Russian spearheads entered, hundreds of university students lined the curbs, vowing to fight to the stand against the Russians Sunday. Sopron is the town where a small body of rebels made a desperate last He said that the captives were being transported to Russia. troops had arrested all men in the town between the ages of 16 and 40. of Sopron, Hungary, Sunday night told me today that Russian panzer VIENNA, Austria, Nov. 6 — A Hungarian rebel who fled the border town

Wash. Daily News
NOV 6 1956

Women Screamed Thru Night

By GEORGE CLIFFORD

Washington Daily News Staff Correspondent

VIENNA, Austria, Nov. 6 — A Hungarian rebel who fled the border town

of Sopron, Hungary, Sunday night told me today that Russian panzer

troops had arrested all men in the town between the ages of 16 and 40.

He said that the captives were being transported to Russia.

Sopron is the town where a small body of rebels made a desperate last

stand against the Russians Sunday.

When I left Sopron minutes before the Russian spearheads entered,

hundreds of university students lined the curbs, vowing to fight to the

death.

Most of the women and children had already been evacuated to the

country. A few of the women stayed with their husbands and walked thru the

snow-covered hills to the Austrian border.

By Sunday night, the rebel Hungarian guards had been replaced by

pro-Communists, and all thru the night, screams could be heard across

the border in Hungary, presumably from women who were refused per-

mission to cross into friendly territory.

The Red Army in no case prevents the liberated peoples from living their lives on their lands as they see fit. (Izvestiya, 11 July 1945.)

There can be no contradiction between the composition of the armed forces of our socialist state and the political objectives of war, because the very nature of the socialist state excludes the possibility that it would wage unjust wars, intended to harm the people. (Voennaya Mysl, The Problem of Interrelation of Man and Technique in Military Affairs, July 1946.)

The Soviet Union's policy towards the vanquished countries has succeeded and could not but succeed, because it did not make any selfish calculations whatsoever in regard to the vanquished peoples, it did not strive either overtly or covertly to force Germany or its former allies to serve any interests alien to them. (Tarle, as quoted in Trud, 23 October 1952.)

The great strength of the patriotism of the Communists lies in the fact that their defence of national independence of countries does not contradict but combines with their struggle for friendship between peoples, for durable and close friendly relations with the peoples of the democratic camp, headed by the great Soviet Union. In this is expressed the unity and indivisibility of the national and international tasks of the working class of the various countries at the present state. Patriotism thus combines with the principle of proletarian internationalism. (Pravda, 28 February 1953.)

The Soviet-Bulgarian Treaty is a serious factor for the strengthening of peace in Europe. Speaking at the signing of this Treaty, Comrade V. M. Molotov declared: This Treaty is based on respect for the principles of state independence and national sovereignty and serves the cause of strengthening democratic peace and security in Europe. (Izvestiya, 18 March 1953.)

... The strength of the Soviet Army consists in that it is an army of a new and higher type, and really a peoples' army, which protects the interests of the working class, the freedom and the independence of Socialist nations. Educated in the spirit of internationalism and in the spirit of preserving and strengthening the friendship and peace among peoples, our the Soviet Army has countless friends in all parts of the world.... (Izvestiya, 23 February 1954, Armed Forces Day Editorial.)

... The Army of the Soviet Government from the first day of its existence was educated and is educated by the Communist Party in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and in the spirit of respect for the rights, freedom and independence of the peoples of all countries.... The people of the world love the Soviet Army because it is an army of liberators, an army of friendship and brotherhood among people. (Krasnaya Zvezda, Editorial, 5 November 1954.)

THE EVENING STAR, Washington, D. C.
 TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1956

Hungary Children Outwit Reds to Destroy Tanks

By LESLIE BALOGH BAIN

North American Newspaper Alliance

VIENNA, Nov. 13.—It was sickening to watch the crunching Soviet tanks destroy Budapest, but it was inspiring to be taught the power of human courage by the men, women and children of Hungary.

In the suburb of Ujpest last Friday I watched children outwit tanks. Strings were tied to a frying pan and pulled into the path of an approaching Soviet tank. Fearing a mine, the driver stopped, whereupon other kids threw mud, blinding the tank lookouts.

Flaming gasoline bottles finished the job. "This 'game' cost the Soviets seven tanks in Ujpest.

Wherever there was food, thousands fought their way into lines. Occasionally a few fighters appeared to replenish their food supplies and immediately the line opened to let them be first, even ahead of mothers and wounded.

I heard one mother shout, "You heroes are first with us."

A most moving tribute to the fighters is being paid by the peasants who have carted their produce into the city and distributed it free on street corners. One afternoon I counted six trucks with signs indicating where the food came from, handing out provisions. Citizens then passed them on to the fighters.

Across the street from the Franciscan Church, largest in Budapest, the Russian soldiers had looted a delicatessen, liquor store and camera shop. Overnight large placards covered the entrances.

"This operation was carried out by our Russian allies. We shall not forget their heroic deed."

Snipers in adjoining buildings got every Russian who tried to remove the placards until tanks moved in and reduced all the surrounding buildings to rubble and turned the street into a slaughter house.

Mother Slain by Sharpshooter
 A mother with a bleeding 6-year-old child in her arms ran from her doorway. A parting shot from a Soviet sharpshooter dropped her in her tracks.

In this war without rules or reason or mercy one Russian patrol would let you pass and the next shoot at you. One man got a pass to cross the Lanchid Bridge and as he arrived at the other side he was machine-gunned.

Mr. Bain, who escaped from Budapest to Vienna Sunday, looks back on the unforgettable scenes of the past week of Budapest's agony.

A Soviet colonel told me, "In war we know where is the enemy, here we are shot at from everywhere. No wonder our soldiers panic and shoot."

But this is not the full truth. Thirty Nationalists surrendered on

Fehér Najo street Friday and were all machine-gunned.

City Seems Doomed

The once beautiful city of Budapest seems doomed, for the Russians can't win without destroying it completely. In the cold fall air, smoke rises from burning buildings and from countless bonfires in the ruins of apartment house courtyards where dazed, homeless families huddle among their few remaining possessions.

One glassy-eyed old woman told me "now they have everything. I lost my husband to the

Russians in the First World War. Now they have shot my son and my grandson is in a Russian prison camp."

Pointing to a gaping hole in the wall behind her she added, "that was my home."

A young minister who had attended the dying for days said, "I can't stand it any longer. I must get into it, even though the church banishes me. I can't watch these brave kids around me dying and not do something."

He perfectly expressed the mood of all Hungarians, and, in some degree, the frustration of the whole civilized world.

N.Y. Times

NOV 15 1956

HUNGARIAN REBEL TELLS OF TORTURE

Senate Inquiry Hears Some Soviet Troops Refused to Fight Until 'Terrorized'

WASHINGTON, Nov. 14 (AP)—A fugitive leader of the Hungarian revolt testified today that many Russian soldiers had "refused to fight us," but finally had been "terrorized" into turning their guns against the rebels. Some of the Russians fired on their comrades, the mysterious young witness told the Senate Internal Security subcommittee at a public hearing.

But he said the Soviet Union had sent in new and tougher troops, including two Mongolian divisions, who had "terrorized" the others.

The testimony was given by a 21-year-old student-refugee. His face was concealed with a white gauze surgical mask and he used the assumed name of Istvan Laszlo to avoid being recognized by the Russians and possibly exposing relatives still in Hungary to Soviet vengeance.

Saw Torture Chambers

Mr. Laszlo said he had seen torture chambers in which the Soviet-led Hungarian secret police had crushed victims to death, tortured others and burned some bodies in a crematory.

He made a bizarre figure in his mask and a hospital orderly's white cotton cap that he wore to hide his "distinctive" hair. He

spoke swiftly but calmly in Hungarian. Miss Marian Low, a Radcliffe College student, translated.

Mr. Laszlo said he and some others had fled Hungary with Mrs. Anna Kethly, a member of the Imre Nagy revolutionary cabinet, and had flown with her to the United States on Nov. 5.

He said he wanted to tell his story to the United Nations because "I believe the United Na-

tions first, and the United States second, would be able to force the Russians to leave Hungary, if not with arms, then with moral strength."

"We do not want fascism and we do not want the pre-World War II Government back—we want freedom and democracy," Mr. Laszlo said. He added that Hungarians did not want to be "linked to any bloc."

Mr. Laszlo said he had commanded a unit of 5,000 sketchily armed rebels in his home county of Sopron although he had had only two months of military training as "a foot soldier" while a university student.

Early in the revolution, Mr.

Laszlo said, "those Russian troops which were in the country then were on the side of the rebels and agreed with them."

He said many Soviet soldiers had "refused to fight us" and had asked the Nagy Government for asylum.

In Budapest, he related, an officer got out of his tank with a white flag and gave the tank to the rebels.

Also in Budapest, Mr. Laszlo said, the lead tank in a Soviet column moving down a broad boulevard "turned its guns on the tank behind it and shot at his comrades."

Wash. Post

NOV 6 1956

Die-Hard Rebels Fight on Despite Certain Doom

By Walter T. Ridder
 Ridder Publications

VIENNA, Nov. 5—Red Cross officials in embattled Budapest informed American authorities here today that their headquarters and a hospital have been burned down by Russian troops and that Red Cross nurses are being shot to death.

Officials at the United States Legation here made available exclusively to this correspondent the text of a frantic radio message which Budapest Red Cross asked be relayed to Red Cross International Headquarters at Geneva.

The text of the message—

"This is Red Cross in Budapest calling. Please pass on to Geneva. Red Cross emblem violated. Our headquarters has been burned down. Young boys and girls carrying guns. Old men and women fighting. People are barricaded in streets and in houses. Every house fighting, no houses giving up. Fires throughout city. City in state of siege."



CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
Mon., Nov. 4, 1956

Atrocity in Hungary Will Haunt Russians

Stoneman Predicts Policy Of Treachery Will Boomerang

BY WILLIAM H. STONEMAN
Daily News Foreign Service

VIENNA, Austria — Retribution may be some time in coming.

But there was 1,000 per cent unanimity in Vienna Monday that the treacherous and incredibly savage blitz launched against the Hungarian people by 1,000 Russian tanks Sunday would be as deadly in its long-term consequences for the Russians as Hitler's rape of Czechoslovakia was for him.

Fighting was still reported to be in progress in the Hungarian capital Monday and in some parts of the countryside, but it was considered only a question of time before the Russians would be absolute masters of the country—for the time being.

One reason why so little was known about actual developments was that the State Department had abolished its radio station in the Budapest legation early this year as an economy measure.

Thus, the U.S. government—not for the first time—was dependent on flimsy teletypewriter service to a radio transmitter in Prague.

The British had a radio operating to Vienna and London, and the United States used it to help evacuate American nationals from Budapest.

IF AND WHEN the United Nations sends a "fact-finding mission" to Hungary it will learn nothing that isn't already known and probably not even that much.

Refugees who arrived in droves, totaling 6,000 people during the course of Sunday, smiled bitterly when told the story of the U.N. resolution and President Eisenhower's appeal to Soviet Premier Bulganin.

The story of Russian intervention in Hungary makes Hitler look like a fine straightforward fellow and Stalin look like an arguer.

While some details may be clouded, the outstanding fact is indisputable.

Russian tanks swamped Budapest after the Soviet union had formally agreed through Vice-Premier Anastas

I. Mikoyan—who is supposed to be a "good Bolshevik with a Western attitude"—to negotiate for the withdrawal of all their forces from Hungary.

THE ATTACK was unleashed at 4 a.m. Sunday at the moment when the Russians were holding two emissaries from the Hungarian government whom they had agreed to receive in order to discuss the evacuation "by easy stages."

Violating the rules of decency, in the manner of Caesar Borgia at his famous and lethal dinner party, they suddenly arrested Deputy Defense Minister Maj. Gen. Pal Naleter, hero of last week's fighting in Budapest, and chief of the general staff Istvan Kovacs.

The extent of their atrocities in Budapest and other Hungarian cities in "liquidating the counter-revolutionaries" is not fully known.

But it is clear that they have been using white phosphorus incendiary shells which also have a toxic gaseous effect and, according to all accounts, they have been bombing cer-

tain sections of Budapest from the air.

THE ALLEGATION of the Soviet representative at the United Nations, Arkady A. Sobolev, that the Russians were simply fighting "fascist elements" who are trying "to de-

prive Hungarian workers of social and economic gains achieved by the Communists and to re-establish the old land-owning and capitalist regime," is nonsense.

This has been strictly a working class and intellectual movement in which freedom-loving patriotic youngsters have joined instinctively en masse.

It was staged because the alleged gains were nonexistent.

The dangerous implication of Sobolev's statement was that no Iron Curtain country had any right to break away from communism.

Sobolev himself played a part in the ruthless suppression of another anti-Communist mutiny. As a youth he fought to recapture the fortress of Kronstadt in the bay just outside Leningrad.

DIPLOMATS here make the following points about the Hungarian uprising:

1. The patriots would probably have been smarter to play it the way of the Poles, winning a few reforms by comparatively mild displays of violence and then subsiding to await a further opportunity to win their freedom from the Russians.

2. But because they were so implacably brave the Hungarians have made an end of communism in Eastern Europe far more probable than it was after the Yugoslav and Polish difficulties.

"On those other occasions the Russians were able to avoid a break in the dam by letting the pressure ooze out around the edges," one commented. "This time they have had a crack right in the middle of the dam and the whole structure has been damaged."

Chicago Daily Tribune
Monday, November 14, 1956

U.N. Must Come to Hungary, Says Mindszenty

[The following interview with Cardinal Mindszenty is the joint work of correspondents of the Associated Press, United Press, and Reuters. Written Nov. 4, it reached Vienna yesterday.]

BUDAPEST, Hungary, Nov. 4 (Sunday)—(AP)—Cardinal Mindszenty said today "Hungary can expect only greater oppression if the United Nations does not save us."

"Far quicker and more effective steps are needed," the primate of Hungary said. "A man who is drowning needs no messages."

"What we need is that the secretary general of the United Nations comes to Budapest today and not tomorrow. There has been much too much voting and oratory. What we need is action now."

Speaking before he sought sanctuary in the United States legation here, the cardinal said, "The Russians have disregarded the United Nations. Every shot they have fired has been aimed at the United Nations."

Miracle I Am Here

Cardinal Mindszenty, who was released from a communist prison Oct. 30, said he had "suffered torture in body and soul" at the hands of the secret police.

"It is God's miracle that I am here and am as I am," he said.

He refused to give details of his arrest and imprisonment, saying he was engaged "in a detailed report of these things which are unspeakable and defy the imagination of every normal man."

The cardinal has sold the story of his imprisonment to an American magazine for \$250,000.

Calls Pretexts Untrue

He said the regime headed by Janos Kadar had let "the Hungarians to be slaughtered by the Russians," and he added he was "profoundly shaken, watching the power of the Russians crushing the freedom of the Hungarian nation."

He said the reasons ad-

vanced for the soviet intervention "are only pretexts and untrue."

"It is not true that this fight for freedom has been aimed at the restoration of the system that existed before the war," he said.

Asked if he supported the Kadar government or the administration of Premier Imre Nagy, overthrown by the soviets, the cardinal said he preferred Nagy "rather than the so-called government of today because Nagy's government was for an independent Hungary, while that of today was installed by the Russians."

However, he added: "As prince of the church it is not my duty to indorse any government. This is only a theoretical problem, as all but two members of the legal [Imre Nagy] government are in the hands of the Russians."

Says Mass in Legation

He was referring to Anna Kethly, Socialist leader now abroad and Istvan Bibo, who still held out in his room at the parliament.

Since seeking haven at the American legation, the cardinal has lived and slept in the private office normally used by Minister Thomas Wailles. He celebrated mass there for the handful of legation employes and American correspondents, then devoted himself to meditation and writing.

In a statement given newsmen, the primate said:

"In connection with misleading slogans and lies proclaimed as the political program of the so-called new government that was forced on us by the Russians, I declare that the question of restoration of the political system that existed before the war had been never raised in the course of the fight for freedom. Accordingly, nobody wanted the exploitation of the workers' class in the future."

"Moreover, the workers' class had been exploited during the 11 years of communist rule to such an extent that they grasped arms to get rid of it. The entire world knows the situation from my speech I made the day before yesterday. Now the same Kadar and his companions who changed the name of their own party and of their newspaper, thus branding themselves and their former activities, are determined to continue their former anti-people activities, having sided with the Russians."

Women Shot Down

"The new government that the Russians try to force on

the country with the help of thousands of tanks, announced that the freedom fighters have to be exterminated. Does the Hungarian government want Hungarians to be slaughtered by Russians? Horrid slaughter has already started and it continues."

"Clerks of the central PTT,

[post - telephone - telegraph] mainly elderly women, were killed by sub-machine guns by the Russians occupying the

building. The Maria Terezia barracks that still defies them is now attacked from behind.

"The attacks 'aim' is now to exterminate 300 children, as the Russians use their home as a favorable basis for their attack against the barracks. I cannot imagine that there is a single sound man throught the world worthy of the name of man who could have slept and remained idle during the last 24 hours."

Wash. Evening Star

NOV 12 1956

Cardinal Tells Of Soviet Trap

By LESLIE BALOGH BAIN
North American Newspaper Alliance

BUDAPEST, Nov. 8. (Delayed)

—Cardinal Mindszenty was very nearly caught in a Communist trap the day he took refuge in the American Legation here.

As he handed over a message to President Eisenhower for this correspondent to transmit to Washington by any possible means, the Cardinal related his narrow escape.

He said the moment the Russians arrived Sunday October 4, he received a telephone call asking him to come immediately to the Parliament building where the Cabinet was said to be in session.

"Trying to make his way through a Russian tank cordon in Parliament square, the Cardinal was stopped by a Soviet officer who said, 'we are masters here now.'"

Alarmed, the Cardinal's secretary scouted the situation and discovered the government of Premier Nagy had fallen and many of its members were under arrest. The phone call, apparently, had come from the Communist-led security police, in an attempt to trap the prelate.

Cardinal Mindszenty said he then fled to the house across the street from the American Legation and sent a request that he be granted asylum.

When the request was granted, the Cardinal recalled, a group of faithful formed a phalanx and rushed him to safety.

The Cardinal is preparing a report that will tell of the "unspeakable brutality" he was subjected to by Hungarian Communists.

In an exclusive interview with this correspondent he said he would detail the tortures and "devilish devices" used by them.

Reveals the "evil physical and psychological devices" intended to force him to do the Communists' will

"I have been tortured body and soul," the gaunt Hungarian primate revealed. "They broke off only when they saw I was near death. It is only by the grace of God that I am here today and have the strength with which to fight."

The Cardinal's message to President Eisenhower:

"As a shipwreck of Hungarian liberty I have been taken aboard by your generosity in a refuge of my own country and as a guest of your legation. Your hospitality surely saved me from immediate death. With deep gratitude I am sending my heartfelt congratulation to your excellency on the occasion of your re-election to the presidency of the United States, an exalted office whose glory is that it serves the highest ambitions of mankind: God, charity, wisdom and human happiness. Let your abundance in these endeavours reflect a ray of hope on our long suffering people, who at this moment are undergoing the fifth day of bombardment, gunfire and flaming death in testimony before God and the world of their will to be free; whose sons are even now being dragged into slavery; whose children with their dying breath are crying out for help from their destroyed homes, shelters and hospitals; whose daughters are facing looted stores and certain starvation."

"God bless you, Mr. President, and the people of the United States. I am ardently praying to our Heavenly Father to save and lead you and your people toward your common aims of bringing peace and happiness to this sorely tried world. May the Lord grant you and your nation greater strength and richer life. On the threshold of an even greater future I beg of you, do not forget this small honest nation who is enduring torture and death in the service of humanity."

Week Post

NOV 9 1956

Chicago Daily Tribune
Wednesday, November 7, 1956

REBELS BATTLE RUSSIAN TANKS IN BUDAPEST

Hungary Patriots Defy

New Ultimatum

BY LARRY RUE

(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

VIENNA, Nov. 6—Groups of Hungarian rebels are still fighting to the death against Russian might, according to reports received here today. In several districts of Budapest, particularly around the Gellert hill, which is too steep for tanks to maneuver, and in the Hungarian uranium center of Pecs desperate resistance was put up by ill-equipped Hungarians against soviet tank and infantry units.

The soviet controlled radio station in Budapest demanded that all arms still in the hands of the population be surrendered by 6 p. m. today or the holders face annihilation. The Pecs radio station broadcast a soviet ultimatum expiring at 10 a. m. but fighting was reported still going on.

Lined Up and Shot

A Hungarian refugee said soviet soldiers, among them many Mongolians, had lined up hundreds of rebels who had fallen into their hands and shot them against a wall. Others were hanged, the informant said, and placards were hung around their necks warning "This is what happens to capitalists."

Radio reports said the Hungarian Red Cross headquarters in Budapest had been burned by Russian soldiers. Doctors and nurses had been killed in the Austrian border town of Traiskirchen.

A broadcast from Rakoczy radio, a rebel transmitter in southwest Hungary, said:

"The Russians demand that we lay down our arms. We won't do it and if it is necessary, we will fight to our last drop of blood."

Kill Yugoslav Diplomat

Russian troops fired on the Yugoslav legation in Budapest, killing a young diplomat. Several members of the lega-

Chaos Admitted In Hungary

By Joseph W. Grigg

VIENNA, Nov. 8 (AP)—Hungarian freedom fighters battled the Red army through swamps and around the uranium and coal mines near the rugged Yugoslav border today. The Communists admitted, others still were fighting in the rubble of Budapest for the fifth straight day.

The government said the situation was "never more grave" and was approaching chaos. Rebel reports said Moscow was preparing to purge turncoat Titoist Janos Kadar as premier of the puppet regime because he failed to quell the revolt.

As many as 7000 were reported dead on the second bloodbath that started Sunday in Budapest. Food was getting scarcer.

The Communist Budapest radio admitted there was fighting in scattered areas of the city. It also said there was fighting in the Kékvölgy Forest north of the southwestern city of Pecs, where the uranium and coal mines are located.

tion staff were reported wounded. Others also were reported killed. One was fired on a children's playground. Protests from several Western legations. Some babies were said to have been cremated.

A rebel detachment of 108 men had dug in at the Hegyeshalom customs house and mounted guard with rifles and machine guns. The Russians demanded that they surrender or prepare for a heavy bombardment. With soviet tanks awaiting orders, a Hungarian colonel said the holdouts would surrender to the Austrians for internment.

In Budapest, women darted into the streets and threw grenades at soviet tanks, reports said. Other women sniped at the Russians from the windows of buildings. Even children were seen handling weapons.

Leap to Freedom

Thirty-eight rebels leaped to freedom in Austria when three Red army tanks and infantry attacked them in the Hegyeshalom customs house, perched on the Austrian-Hungarian border.

Rebels claimed they blew up a Russian ammunition dump at Kiebecend.

It was apparent that the weight of 15 Russian divisions was turning the rebellion into a guerilla-type operation.

The last major rebel stronghold apparently fell to the Reds last night or early today under repeated attacks by Soviet tanks and planes.

Radio Rakoczy, which had appealed to President Eisenhower for help yesterday during its report on the fighting for Dunapentele, was not heard from at all today.

The Soviet juggernaut apparently had overrun the town 35 miles south of Budapest where the rebels had staged their last big stand.

Fighting now was spreading to the borders, particularly in the south and west where the rugged terrain and swamps prevented the Russians from using tanks to good advantage.

Refugees crossing into Austria reported action along a 110-mile stretch of wild border country between Pecs and Szeged.

Rebels Battle On

In Budapest proper, a weak transmitter reported battles raging in the eighth district, where the Kilian barracks, symbol of the original stand against the Red army, was reduced to rubble.

Fighting also was under way in the Koebanya, Ujpest and Kelenfoeld districts of the city, it said.

The Russians issued another ultimatum to surrender without penalty by 5 p. m. (11 a. m. EST Friday) or face "severe punishment."

Radio Moscow accused the American "Crusade for Freedom" of dropping paratroops and supplies to the rebels.

A broadcast lightored in London said the reinforcements were "considerable."

The Soviets were reported carting off truck loads of teenagers, some only 14 years old. Youths had formed much of the backbone of the rebellion which began Oct. 23.

A Hungarian reaching London said the Russians had put a price of 100 on the head of every rebel student brought in—dead or alive.

Radio Budapest reported looting in the city. The Kadar government admitted the situation never has been more grave.

A general strike continued throughout the country. Train service, postal service, police and government offices were shut in many areas.

The International Red Cross at Geneva announced that the Russians gave permission for it to send in a convoy from Austria. It will bring doctors, nurses and medical supplies to Budapest.

7000 Deaths Reported

In addition to the 50,000 casualties reported in the fighting last week, another 7000 Hungarians are dead and 3000 wounded in the bloodbath which started Sunday in the city, it was reported.

One rebel broadcast said the fighters in the city were running low on ammunition and had only enough food for about a week.

The government ordered all pawnshops to return pawned clothing without payment of the loans.

To try to break the general strike, the government threatened dismissal to any civil servant who failed to show up for work today. Those who stayed on the job through the revolt were promised double salaries for November. Strik-

THE SUN, Tuesday, October 30, 1956

"I Only Tried To Save Them From Themselves"



REBELS FIND RED BUDAPEST TORTURE ROOM

BUDAPEST, Hungary, Nov. 2 (AP)—A mysterious house was opened today by rebel partisans. They said they found it equipped with a torture chamber that was operated by the communist government secret police.

It is on what is called Freedom hill in Buda, on the west bank of the Danube river.

A door from a garage led to three cells. One was plain, evidently for detaining captives, the second was equipped with a electric light directed at a chair in which prisoners

apparently were put for interrogation, and the third was padded and soundproof.

The rebels said it was believed the villa was used for the brainwashing of important political prisoners such as Cardinal Josef Mindszenty.

Plush Residences

It is five minutes walk from the group of plush former residences of Matyas Rakosi, Ernoe Geroe, and other leading members of the Red regime.

The park-like area was fenced off and patrolled by secret policemen. Neighbors had seen closed automobiles drive to the torture villa and disappear into the garage.

Within the area was a big guest house with comfortably furnished suites and bath-rooms for visiting communist dignitaries. Several of the villas had swimming pools and were furnished with radios, television, thick carpets, and

all the costly things the Hungarian people rarely enjoyed.

Underground Bunker

Concealed under a summer house was a huge underground bunker connected by underground passages to several of the Red chiefs' homes for escape in case of trouble. It was equipped with short wave receivers and transmitters.

All the houses are intact except that of Rakosi, which was wrecked by a mob.

Thirteen wounded Hungarian rebels, some of whom reported they had stormed a communist torture chamber in Budapest, arrived in Austria today and were placed in Vienna hospitals.

Week Daily News
NOV 9 1956

'We Had to Give In...'

By GEORGE CLIFFORD, Washington Daily News Staff Writer

NICKELSDORF, Austria, Nov. 9—A tired, weeping handful of Hungarian partisans—their spirits broken but their courage still strong—today gave in to Russian tanks and infantry at a border station a mile and a half from here.

They had held out over a week.

I crouched in a roadside ditch 200 yards from the border with another correspondent and three Austrian police to watch the last free outpost on the border fall.

Three Russian tanks came down the road from Hegyeshalom, a town five miles inside Hungary. A few Rebels held machine guns inside the border station. The rest deployed in a ditch along the road near the border.

The tanks split up. One stayed on the road. The others went into the open fields on either side in a pincer movement.

PARTISANS FIRE ON ONCOMING TANKS

The partisans began rifle and machine-gun fire.

The tanks kept coming. Those on the flanks came within 20 yards of the border station and fired four rounds from their cannon over the roof.

There are railroad tracks on an elevation 200 yards from the border station. From there a platoon of screaming Mongol Russian troops advanced on the station. Each soldier had a Hegyeshalom citizen in front of him as a hostage.

The Rebels fired a few rounds over their heads, and then ceased firing.

The tanks backed off.

Capt. Wilhelm Theil of the Austrian border police grabbed up an Austrian flag. He ran to the border, accompanied by two other border policemen carrying carbines.

"Here are three Austrian Christians who are not afraid of the Russians!" he cried. "We will keep them off Austrian soil."

AUSTRIAN BORDER REACHED IN SAFETY

The Rebels piled in two trucks and a car and drove across the border into Austria—and safety.

Austrian police collected all the weapons, removed all ammunition, and stacked them in a corner.

The leader turned to me. Tears were streaming down his cheeks.

"We had to give in to those filthy 'Mongols,'" he said. "We couldn't shoot our own people."



Oct. 24—Imre Nagy replaces Andras Hegedus as Premier. Ten thousand Soviet troops led by eighty tanks enter Budapest. Kadar accuses the demonstrators of "trying to bring back capitalism." He warns, "They must capitulate or we will crush them."

Oct. 25—Gero is ousted as First Secretary of the Hungarian party. Kadar replaces him. Russian tanks open fire on an unarmed demonstration in Parliament Square. Hungarian Army units refuse to shoot down students and workers. They join the revolution in great numbers.

Oct. 26—Premier Nagy orders civilians off the streets to put down the revolt in Budapest at all costs. But fighting spreads to the provinces. Hungarian troops who joined the patriots claim to control virtually all of Western Hungary. Revolutionary delegations call on Nagy to press their demands for an end of satellite status. As soon as order is restored, he promises, he will negotiate with Moscow for complete withdrawal of its troops from Hungarian soil.

Oct. 27—Nagy broadens the Government by bringing in Bela Kovacs, leader of the long-outlawed Smallholder's party as Minister of Agriculture, and Zoltan Tildy as Minister of State. The fighting continues.

Oct. 28—The fighting dies down and Nagy announces the Soviet forces will withdraw from Budapest. Near Gyor and at other points in the provinces, Russian forces are not fighting.

HUNGARY—THE REVOLT THAT FAILED

Hungary's uprising against Russian domination, which was transformed into a revolt against communism before the Soviet Army quenched it in blood last week, started at least four months ago without a hint of violence.

Its first victim was Matyas Rakosi, Stalin's gauleiter in Budapest, who lost not his head but his job as First Secretary of the Hungarian Working People's (Communist) party on July 18.

The bull-necked Rakosi, a heavy liability once Stalinism had become a dirty word even in Moscow, was dropped in the hope of silencing the clamor for change within the party.

The Poznan riots in Poland had just dramatized Eastern Europe's yearning for bread and freedom. Erno Gero, Rakosi's faithful understudy, took over the party leadership with a promise of better days ahead and a warning that in Hungary there would be no "second Poznan."

Gero tried to run before the storm. After ninety-nine days he capsized.

This is the log of his voyage and of the wilder storm that followed:

JULY

July 18—On taking office as First Secretary, Gero calls for reconciliation with Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, strengthening of collective leadership in Hungary on the new Soviet model and destruction of the "cult of the individual" (in Hungary's case, the cult of Rakosi's infallibility).

July 22—The Central Committee of the Hungarian party winds up its meeting. It expels Mihaly Farkas, former Defense Minister and secret police chief,

Steps in the Betrayal Of Revolution

for "breaches of Socialist legality" in his terror campaign against old Communists marked for liquidation by Rakosi. Gero promises Parliament will have more initiative.

July 23—The Central Committee publishes a resolution conceding discontent in the country as a result of the old Politburo's mistakes. Among the new Politburo members is Janos Kadar, whom Rakosi had thrown into a concentration camp for three years on charges of fitsism.

The new Politburo announces it has re-examined similar cases against 474 party officials and found most of them trumped-up. Compulsory state loans are abolished and the satisfaction of workers' grievances promised.

July 31—Hungary's chief prosecutor admits hundreds were jailed and executed without justification under Rakosi. The prosecutor gives assurance this will not happen again.

AUGUST

Aug. 3—For the first time since the Communists seized power, the Government submits to questioning by members of Parliament.

Aug. 4—The World Council of Churches is told Hungary will give a new trial to Lutheran Bishop Lajos Ordass.

Aug. 12—The Government discards the Rakosi plan to make Hungary self-sufficient economically.

Aug. 14—Gero says Imre Nagy, expelled from the party in 1955, is welcome to return if he accepts the regime's new policies.

SEPTEMBER

Sept. 11—The Budapest radio says Roman Catholic priests who fled the country can return under a general amnesty.

Sept. 20—Gero turns up at Yalta to join Marshal Tito and Nikita Khrushchev in talks on debts and credits of loosening Soviet controls in Eastern Europe.

OCTOBER

Oct. 6—Laszlo Rajk, former Foreign Minister executed in 1949 on Rakosi's orders as an agent of Tito and of the United States intelligence services, is reburied with due solemnity. "Never again will such monstrous things happen," Deputy Premier Antal Apro promises at the graveside.

Oct. 12—Erik Molnar, Hungary's Minister of Justice, demands removal from office of all state prosecutors and judges who "played a provocative role in the processes of the last few years."

Oct. 15—The party organ Szabad Nep makes known without mentioning Nagy by name that "all comrades who have recently expressed opinions which were not agreeable to the party leadership and who were therefore subjected to party penalties have been rehabilitated."

Oct. 15—Gero and Kadar go to Belgrade for reconciliation talks with Tito. Imre Nagy is readmitted to the Communist party.

Oct. 23—Returning to Budapest with Yugoslav-Hungarian party ties re-established, Gero finds the streets choked as students and workers march to demonstrate solidarity with the Poles in their fight against Soviet domination. Hungarian security police fire on the crowd. The peaceful demonstration becomes open revolt and Gero calls on the Soviet Army for help in suppressing it.

'RUSSIAN FOREIGN AID'



They stand by passively while Revolutionary Councils control the towns.

Oct. 20—The rebels refuse to lay down their arms until the Russians have pulled out of Budapest. The Russians insist they will not leave until the rebels have laid down their arms. Pravda in Moscow denounces the Hungarian revolutionaries as enemies of the people and hirelings of imperialism.

Oct. 30—Premier Nagy promises free elections, the end of one-party dictatorship, no more forced collectivization of agriculture and the freeing of Cardinal Mindszenty. Hungarian

Soviet Secret Revealed To Identify Hungarians

LONDON, Nov. 14 (AP)— British news editor report today the Soviet Embassy had tried—and failed—to get hold of films that could be used to identify Hungarian rebel fighters.

G. T. Cunningham, London editor of *Pulse News*, told newsmen "The films could incriminate thousands."

Mr. Cunningham said the newsreels "show Hungarians shooting at the secret police in the streets of Budapest and setting fire to buildings and Soviet tanks."

He said the Soviet Embassy had asked Pálfi for copies of the reels. The company turned down the Russians.

"At the public cinema the film moves too quickly for people to be identified," Mr. Cunningham explained. "But anyone with the reels in their possession could emerge photographs of individuals."

STALIN'S

Stalin's news has done him proud. What he grabbed they will continue to hold by force of arms for all their talk about independence and self-determination.

fight for freedom has been lost once more.

Stalin's news has done him proud. What he grabbed they will continue to hold by force of arms for all their talk about independence and self-determination.



NOVEMBER 15

his secret program all but four countries to make way for eight new states, including the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles and Rumanians. Budapest to resume negotiations with General Malin at Soviet headquarters outside Budapest.

Nov. 4—At 5 A. M. the Russians unleash a massive surprise attack. General Malin is not heard from again. Hundreds of Soviet tanks roar into Budapest with the dawn. The Russians seize Premier Imre Nagy and most of his government. At 8 A. M. they issue an ultimatum demanding surrender by noon or they will bomb the city. Russian bombers fly over in force while ground forces spray phosporous shells in all directions through the city.

Just a few minutes before it goes off the air, Radio Budapest tells the world: "All Budapest is under fire. The Russian gang. The Russians install a new Government in the smoldering ruins of the capital. Radio Budapest says they are not bringing in any more troops and are withdrawing total withdrawal by stages. Budapest, meanwhile, is surrounded by a ring of Russian tanks.

Army and the final result the same day. The Hungarian Air Force issues an ultimatum saying it will hold the Soviet tanks in Budapest unless they pull out within twelve hours. Nagy announces it was zero and Hegedus, not he, who called in the Russian army.

Moscow announces it is ready to consider withdrawing troops from Hungary, Poland and Rumania, but warns it will not tolerate the destruction of "socialist achievements" in those countries.

Oct. 31—Soviet troops evacuate Budapest but dig in outside the city. Nifty tells Moscow, Anastas Mikoyan in Budapest that Hungary must insist on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the whole country. Nagy hints broadly that Hungary will withdraw from the Warsaw Pact and become a neutral state.

Nov. 3—At noon the new Hungarian Defense Minister, Major General Malin, a hero of the revolution, opens negotiation with Soviet General Malin. The Russians say they are not bringing in any more troops and are withdrawing total withdrawal by stages. Budapest, meanwhile, is surrounded by a ring of Russian tanks.

Nov. 2—More Soviet divisions pour into Hungary. The Soviet Embassy in Budapest says the forces are being regrouped, not reinforced. The capital remains relatively calm, but Premier Nagy sends a new protest to Moscow. Soviet tank forces seal off the Austrian frontier as if to get the door to the West before getting down to their unpleasant business.

Nov. 1—At noon the new Hungarian Defense Minister, Major General Malin, a hero of the revolution, opens negotiation with Soviet General Malin. The Russians say they are not bringing in any more troops and are withdrawing total withdrawal by stages. Budapest, meanwhile, is surrounded by a ring of Russian tanks.

Baltimore Sun
Nov 11 1956

"Reports Of My Death Have Been Greatly Exaggerated"



By GEZA HORVATH, Age 30.
 I'm a vineyard hand. I organized a demonstration against the Reds. They said they would get me when they came back.
 - When the Russians were closing in on us, my wife and I decided to take our girl—she's almost 10—and our boys, they're 8 and 3, and I carried the little one. After a while we got a lift in a farm cart. I hate the Reds and I'm afraid of them. You can't make enough to eat. My monthly wage was only 180 florins and five kilos of fat. That I never want to go back. All we have now is the clothes we are wearing and the blanket for the little one. I do not care where we go—anywhere I can work with my hands and save my family.

By JANOSNA BLANK, Age 29.
 I didn't fight because we had nothing but a few old rifles and little ammunition. Sunday morning when we heard the Soviet tanks firing far off, we all ran to the factory where our guns were. The radio said all Hungary had fallen to the Reds again.
 It seems ours was the last town left.
 We knew we couldn't lick the tanks. We decided it was better to take our wives and children across the border.
 It's all over. After Hungary, Austria will go next. World war's coming soon. We must go to Switzerland where our little boy and girl will be safe. Or maybe to America, if I could get a job there as a steel worker. That's my trade.
 I'm worried about my parents back there. They are old peasants. Maybe the Reds won't punish them for my flight. My father said to me: "Go, save the children."
 All we have is on our backs and in this rucksack—but we have the children.

By KATHRINE BLANK, Age 44.
 My man made me come away. It was wrong. I shouldn't have left him. I must go back. He's 62 years old and sick. His leg is so bad he can't walk—that's why he could not flee with me.
 My man's a good mechanic but even before he got sick the Reds would not pay him for a job because long ago he worked on the estate of Count Esterhazy. That made him "an enemy of the people's republic," the communists said.
 I must go back and take care of my man.

By MARIE BLANK, Age 17.
 Sunday morning my father awakened me and said: "The Russians are in the next village. They will be here soon. They are raping the girls. You must go fast."
 I dressed and ran without waiting to bring anything.
 I'm a junior typist but was fired because the boss said my father was an enemy of Hungary. You see, he wasn't a communist.
 From these he has chosen typical "little people." Here with are their stories in their own words—most of them without full names for fear relatives left behind will be identified and imprisoned because of their flight, which is the communist custom.

During the past fortnight, Scripps-Howard Foreign Editor Ludcell Denny has talked to scores of refugees on Hungarian roads, fleeing by foot, in peasant carts, trucks, bicycles, or jammed together at border posts waiting to get across, at Austrian villages across the frontier, in refugee trains and camps.
From these he has chosen typical "little people." Here with are their stories in their own words—most of them without full names for fear relatives left behind will be identified and imprisoned because of their flight, which is the communist custom.

**It's All Over,
 Austria Will Be
 Next, They Say**

REFUGEES' OWN WORDS OF FLIGHT

NOV 12 1956

By **GYULA TUBOLY**, Age 32.

I fled because the Reds are deporting Rebels like me to Russia. I was a prisoner of war in Russia. I know what it's like to be slave labor there.

If they had caught me and taken me back, what would have happened to our two little girls?

I don't know what became of my six brothers. We made it across the border. We have only these two small handbags. But I'm a good cabinetmaker. Belgium promises to take us. Do you think we will really get there?
* * *

By **LASZLONE CZUPOR**, Age 26.

My man is a Freedom Fighter. He was wounded. I brought him out.

We walked most of the way. Our three boys were awfully good, not scared a bit—they are only 4, 3 and 2. Of course, the little one cried sometimes but only because he is sickly and had nothing to eat.

We'll be all right now. It's my brother I'm worried about. He escaped to Austria before and waited a long time to get a visa to Canada. He got it just before the revolution started. Instead of going to Canada, he came back home to join the Freedom Fighters.

The Russians captured him. I don't know whether they shot him or put him on that box-car train and sent him to Russia.

Maybe we can get to Switzerland where my man can get well. If I only knew about my brother. He waited so long to go to Canada.
* * *

By **JANOS SZILAGYI**, Age 29.

I fled to save my wife from rape. I know what Soviet troops are like; I was a POW in Russia eight months. I know what they do to you.

I don't think I could take it again.

I never want to go back to Hungary either. When the communists set up their dictatorship, they promised we would have a good life if we worked hard for a few years and repaired the World War II damage.

Instead they wrecked my country.

I made enough for my wife and two kids to eat by working on a collective farm 17 hours a day.

When the revolution came I joined the Freedom Fighters. We defeated the puppet regime but then the Soviet tanks came in and we couldn't hold out against them. We had no anti-tank guns, finally no ammunition left.

My pals said, "It's no use any more; you take Katherine"—that's my wife—"and your boy and girl and try to get to Austria."

The Russians have come back and wrecked my country a second time. There's no hope there. Belgium needs miners, I hear. We are trying to get there.
* * *

By **JOSEPHINE KISS**, Age 35.

I'm proud of my husband because he's a deserter.

He's a regular army soldier but he would not fight for the communist regime. He went over to the Freedom Fighters.

But after a while they could not stand against the Soviet tanks. So he came back to Tatabanya—that's our village—and got me and we fled with the Russians close behind us.

We have relatives in London but we want to go to America if that's possible. We haven't anything left, not even a suitcase, but we will work.
* * *

This is about a young mother who can not tell her own story.

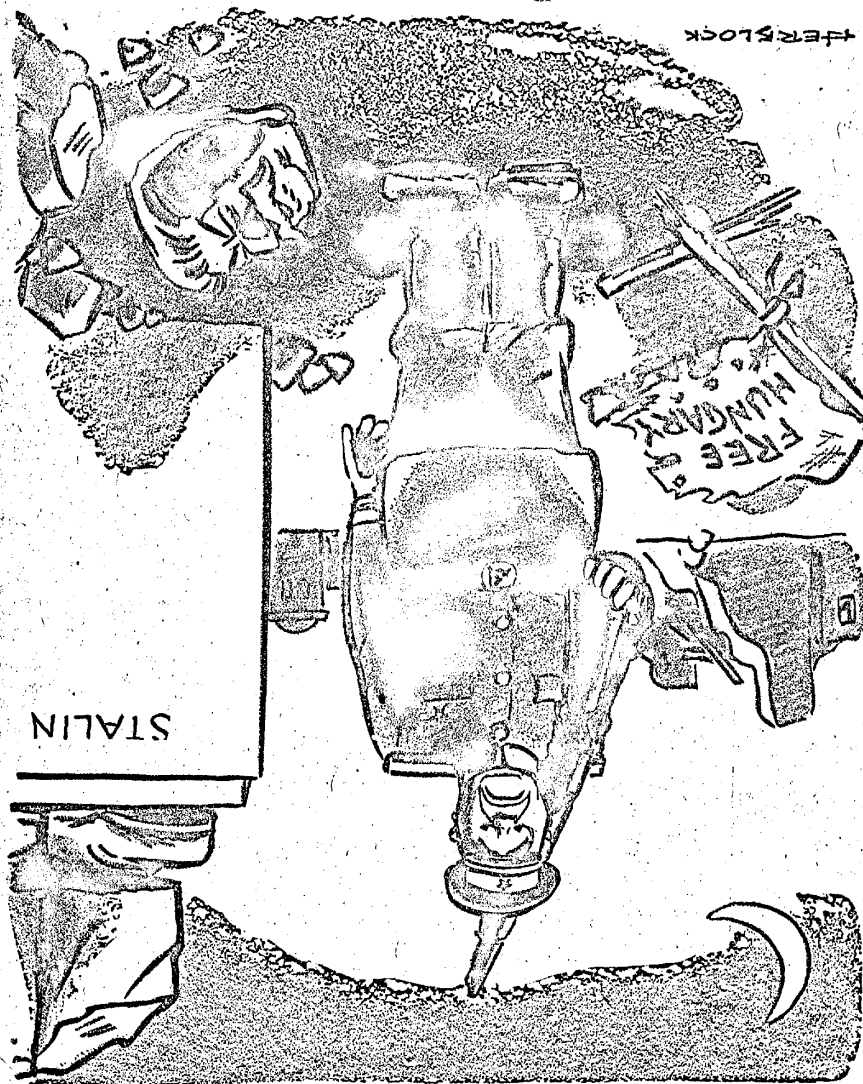
In a village beyond Magyarovar, Soviet tanks rumbled toward a Rebel roadblock. Her husband was there at the head of the Freedom Fighters.

She watched and prayed.

He was the first to fall.

She ran toward him. Her brother caught and dragged her back. He thrust her baby into her arms and ran with her toward a forest.

Three days she hid in the forest. Finally she was picked up by other refugees and led across the border. When she got to Traiskirchen refugee camp she was insane. Now she's in a strait-jacket.



"Ah, You've Come Back to Me"

Wash. Evening Star
NOV 5 1956

Hungary's Ordeal

Not the least anguishing aspect of Hungary's torment is that the United States and the free world at large have been unable to prevent it. President Eisenhower has sent an urgent appeal to Premier Bulganin asking that Russian troops be withdrawn and that the people of the country be allowed to choose their own government. And the United Nations General Assembly, by a vote of 50 to 8 (the Soviet bloc alone dissenting), has adopted a condemnatory resolution demanding substantially the same thing. But these are little more than words. They have no force behind them except the force of morality, and the Kremlin has never been known to be deterred by that.

So the Hungarian people, despite their heartbreaking cries for help from us, have been crushed. Overwhelming brute force has smashed their unbelievably valiant effort to rid themselves of Communist tyranny and live in freedom again.

If there is any small consolation to be derived from this supremely tragic situation, it may perhaps be found in the fact that the whole world now has seen with its own eyes the vileness of Soviet policy toward its satellites. It has seen the men of the Kremlin, with cynicism, duplicity and savagery of the most sickening kind, openly commit a terrible crime against humanity. Hungary's revolt for freedom went too far and too fast for them. They are afraid of freedom. They cannot tolerate freedom in their own country or any of the captive lands. They would be finished, the entire Communist system would be finished, if freedom were allowed to spread and take hold behind the Iron Curtain. So they have smashed at the Hungarians with a brutality that seems deliberately designed to terrorize others—the Poles, the Czechs, the Romanians, the East Germans—into submission, to warn them against attempting similar uprisings.

But this is no sign of real strength. This is a sign of weakness. This is an act of frightened men who know that their satellite empire smolders with the fire of rebellion, seethes with an ineradicable yearning for freedom, rumbles toward an explosion (let us hope it does not go off too soon, as it did in Hungary) that would almost surely blow both them and their system sky high. There are perils for all the world in such a situation, but the perils are greatest for them. And that is probably the chief reason why they have struck as they have, completely negating all their past propaganda about ending Stalinism, about the independence of the "people's democracies," and about Soviet championship of "anti-colonialism" and liberty for peoples everywhere.

Today all that line is dead, and the Kremlin's brand of imperialism stands exposed as one of the worst in history.

N.Y. Times

NOV 5 1956

WE ACCUSE

We accuse the Soviet Government of murder. We accuse it of the foulest treachery and the basest deceit known to man. We accuse it of having committed so monstrous a crime against the Hungarian people yesterday that its infamy can never be forgiven or forgotten.

Lenin wrote in 1900: "The Czarist Government not only keeps our people in slavery but sends it to suppress other peoples rising against their slavery (as was done in 1849 when Russian troops put down the revolution in Hungary)." How apt these words sound today when we substitute "Soviet" for "Czarist," and 1956 for 1849.

Hatred and pity, mourning and admiration, these are our emotions today: hatred for the men and the system which did not hesitate to shed new rivers of innocent Hungarian blood to reimpose slavery; pity for the Soviet soldiers, duped into thinking they were fighting "Fascists" when they killed defenseless or nearly defenseless men, women and children; mourning and admiration for the heroic Hungarian people who feared not even death to strike for freedom.

Gone now are the last illusions. Moscow now stands self-exposed. The torrent of Soviet bullets yesterday did not kill only Hungary's freedom and Hungary's martyrs. Those bullets killed first of all the picture of a reformed, penitent Russia seeking to repudiate Stalinism and practice coexistence. Could Stalin have acted more barbarously than did his successors yesterday? Can we have any doubt now of what awaits us if we ever relax our vigilance and permit ourselves to become prey to Soviet might, as was Hungary yesterday?

The day of infamy is ended. The foul deed is done. The most heroic are dead. But the cause of freedom lives and is stronger than ever, nurtured by the blood of those who fell martyred in freedom's cause. The Hungarian people will never forget. We shall not forget. And out of hatred and tears is born the resolve to carry forward the struggle till freedom is triumphant.

The Hungarian people have brought this about. They have not fought and died in vain. The terror is upon them again, but they still live, and what is in their hearts cannot and will not be stamped out. That is a thing that will endure long after the Communist system, which carries the seeds of self-destruction, has passed away. This is a faith that free men everywhere must cling to: An ideology that sins mortally against the God-given nature of man must in the end die of its own evil.

munist order cannot sustain itself except by naked force and terror. Communism, in short, has lost the battle for minds of the young; which is why the Bolshevik Revolution may be ending—like most other great social revolutions—in a kind of crude Bonapartism.

The importance of this episode is that it shows that the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 is no longer an operative ideological force. It is rather the "counter-revolution" that has captured the imagination of youth; everywhere it has been youth that has taken the lead in the revolt against communism. This was true in East Germany, in Poland and in Hungary; and the rebellion of youth reared under communism has ignited the imagination even of youth reared under freedom. The events of the last three years, and especially the recent events in Hungary, have proved that the Com-

munist order cannot sustain itself except by naked force and terror. Communism, in short, has lost the battle for minds of the young; which is why the Bolshevik Revolution may be ending—like most other great social revolutions—in a kind of crude Bonapartism.

This, as you well know, was election week in these United States; but it is also the anniversary of the most tremendous and fateful event of the twentieth century history, the Bolshevik seizure of power at Petrograd (or St. Petersburg) and the collapse of Premier Kerensky's ineffectual "provisional government," consummated in the surrender of the Winter Palace on Nov. 7, 1917. This "October Revolution" (as it is still called, according to the Julian calendar then in use in Russia) was celebrated, according to custom, in Moscow and in the Soviet diplomatic establishments throughout the world. There was one such party here Wednesday evening in the Soviet Embassy on 16th st., an event made notable by the absence of persons outraged by the Soviet actions in Hungary. Even so, Comrade Zorubyn's party was less a fiasco—and therefore less symbolic—than one given on the previous evening by His Excellency Comrade Ivan Melnik at the Soviet Embassy in Luxembourg. Except for those of the Communist satellites, virtually all the diplomats in Luxembourg deliberately absented themselves from this party, as a form of polite protest against the Soviet butcheries in Hungary. But even the satellite diplomats and their ladies—gathered for the occasion in evening dress like so many decadent capitalist-imperialist war-mongering bourgeoisie—could not attend. They found the streets leading to the embassy blocked by thousands of angry, violent, wildly demonstrative youngsters from the local university, and accordingly turned back in great alarm. Meanwhile, the students had battered down the doors of the embassy, had seized some of the furniture and decorations, including portraits of Lenin, Khrushchev and other eminent Soviet politicians and had made a bonfire of them in the street. And when at last the Luxembourg police managed to break through this mob, they found Ambassador Melnik, in the full-dress uniform and medals he had put on in honor of the occasion and of his guests, covering in the cellar of the building.

Anniversary

NOV 9 1956

West, Post

LIES FROM MOSCOW

NOV 8 1956

N.Y. Times

The thirty-ninth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution was celebrated yesterday in Moscow in the atmosphere of moral degradation created by the Soviet crimes in Hungary. The Soviet troops in Hungary marked the anniversary by killing still more Hungarians battling for their freedom and independence. Thus was the "humanitarian" nature of Sovietism "proved" again. It was fitting that Mikhail A. Suslov was chosen to deliver the keynote anniversary speech. He had, after all, gone to Hungary last June to reaffirm Matyas Rakosi's hold on power in Budapest. He was in Budapest, too, last week, gathering the information on the basis of which he and his colleagues decided to unleash the Hungarian blood-bath. It was appropriate that the man who thus signed the death sentences for innocent Hungarians should be permitted personally to incarnate the Bolshevik Revolution's nature on its thirty-ninth anniversary. But what cannot be accepted are the gross lies and slanders he heaped upon the heroic freedom fighters of Hungary. The Hungarians revolution, he said, represented a "revival of fascism." He gave great place in it to "Hitlerite forces" and to "Horthy's Fascist Army," Mr. Suslov lied. The Hungarian revolution was the spontaneous national liberation revolution of the Hungarian people seeking to end Soviet enslavement. The present butchery being performed by the Soviet Army is the real reactionary counter-revolution. One more point made by Mr. Suslov deserves attention. He says boldly that Hungarian Communists established their own "government" and called in the Red Army. Now we have out in the open what is meant by the "peaceful transition to socialism." In Hungary the precedent has been set. Mr. Suslov has now warned us that if French or American or Indian Communists set up a "government" and call on the Red Army, it will respond to the call. Dare we ever relax our guard in the face of this warning?

N.Y. Times

NOV 8 1956

MR. NEHRU AND HUNGARY

In a speech yesterday before a United Nations agency in India Mr. Nehru denounced the Soviet brutality in Hungary as an "outrage" to freedom and human dignity. He also proclaimed it to be a flagrant violation of the five principles of "peaceful coexistence" which represent Mr. Nehru's own peace program for the world—a program to which the Soviets subscribed for the purpose of lulling Asia to sleep. What is more, Mr. Nehru has followed up his denunciation of Soviet action by a formal diplomatic note to Moscow expressing India's concern and distress, and the Soviet answer that it was all caused by "reactionary elements" can scarcely reassure him.

In taking this stand Mr. Nehru has now joined the enlightened opinion of most free countries as expressed not only by their Governments but also by increasing public demonstrations, especially by the youth which the Communists hoped to capture. He is joined in particular by Mohammed Natsir, leader of the powerful Moslem Masjumi party in Indonesia, who denounces the Soviet intervention as aggression. With these powerful voices speaking up, other Asian leaders may be expected to follow. If they do, the so-called "uncommitted" nations of Asia and Africa may begin to see things in a new perspective, and the free world will be the gainer.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

NOV 12 1956

The Tragedy of Hungary

The Denver Post

Now the Communist masters can go about the business of burying the thousands of dead, directing work gangs to wash the blood from the streets of Budapest, hunting down and executing the revolt leaders.

Only time will tell whether the Hungarian revolt has accomplished anything other than the slaughter of freedom-loving people. We think it likely the results may be more far-reaching than the dead patriots ever imagined.

Khrushchev and Bulganin have proved that the fine talk they gave peoples in India and elsewhere in Asia was pure deceit. The "big smile" technique of Russian foreign policy has been unmasked. If NATO countries read correctly the message given between the lines of the Hungarian script, they will realize Russia has again shown it is the real menace to the free world. They will strengthen their defenses.

There is a lesson in the pathetic fate of Hungarian rebels. Let's not forget it.

Norfolk Virginian-Pilot

When much that seems important today has become less important, the crushing of Hungarian lives and liberty by overwhelming Soviet armor will still be a shame that burns the hearts of men. The dead did not win freedom for the living. They did force the Soviet to strip off its last pretense of morality.

The exceptional result is the decision of the United Nations General Assembly calling upon the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops, asking for members to send food, medical supplies and clothing to Hungary, and instructing the UN Secretary General to send observers to Hungary. This UN action will not soon roll back the event in Hungary,

but the UN action reflects a judgment which will stand over the years.

Chicago Daily News

The flame of freedom that flared so brightly in Hungary for a few days has been quenched in blood. In a return to naked barbarism, Russia resorted to mass murder of men, women and children to whom death was preferable to Red slavery.

But while the flame still burned it etched a picture of Hungarian patriotism and courage that stands for all the world to see. And it illuminated a segment of the oppression behind the Iron Curtain that the smiling masks of Russia's leaders can never hide. By her monstrous action, Russia has served notice that for all her pretense of abandoning the Stalinist terror it is still an instrument ready to be unleashed whenever the desire for freedom shows.

The implication is that the satellites can protest and shift to a nationalist tack, as in Poland, as long as they remain dutiful Communists. But if they dare to attack the institution of Communism itself the iron fist will come crashing down.

The Washington Evening Star

Russians cannot kill the spirit which really armed this rebellion. They cannot suppress that yearning for bread and a little freedom which drives men into the streets, to die by the scores and hundreds in the face of overwhelming odds. Least of all they satisfy the appeal of one Budapest radio broadcast, which promised that Soviet troops would return to their bases when order is restored, and which called upon the workers to "please receive our friends and allies with love."

N. Y. N. T.

NOV 8 1956

The Victims of Hungary

The brutal strength of the Red Army appears to be slowly annihilating the last resistance of the Hungarian revolution. Fighting still flickers in Budapest and in some provincial towns, but the forces of freedom grow weaker. The world which so joyfully hailed the overthrow of a Communist dictatorship imposed by Moscow now watches, horror-stricken, the massacre of patriots and the spilling of innocent blood.

While the protests of free governments await action in the United Nations, the ordinary person may feel powerless to respond to the valiant spirit and the tragic sacrifices of the Hungarian people. Yet there is something he can do. Tonight in Madison Square Garden there

is to be a mass meeting, organized by the International Rescue Committee, to express the solidarity New Yorkers, and all Americans, feel with these victims of Soviet repression. And this is only the beginning, for money is urgently needed to care for the thousands of refugees who have left their homes and country to escape the revenge of a re-established Communist regime.

Even if the Soviet Union succeeds in stamping out every last spark of active opposition in Hungary, the Hungarian people have still won the fundamental victory. They have demonstrated, and at what cost, that the most cunning and merciless tyrants cannot extinguish the flame of freedom and humanity.

they were not yet in their teens. The commissars had a decade in which to do their work on them—and they failed. Thousands of these young people must have died knowing that their immediate cause was hopeless, yet confident that others after them would gain victory.

We have learned now that no indoctrination can ever destroy the impulse of freedom.

The Hungarian revolt is only the first of a succession that will have up all along the line of the Soviet colonial empire. It is the start of a process that will be long-delayed and full of tragic setbacks, but that cannot be extinguished. It is the process of the break-up of the Unholy Russian Empire.

G. M. Trevelyan once wrote about the great revolutionary year of 1848 in Europe that it was "the turning point where history failed to turn." Maybe that will be true also of these East-European revolts, but I don't think so.

There are some shimon-pure devotees of revolution who seem to think that there were too many reactionaries in the Hungarian revolt. There is even some talk that it was not revolutionary but counter-revolutionary, and that it a Mindzsenyi government had been set up it would have returned to the monarchial and reactionary pattern of the pre-war Horthy regime.

It is hard to know just what kind of a revolt would satisfy them. When you are fighting an oppressive totalitarian power, then you try to combine groups of every political stripe against it. Your only question is whether they will fight together. This was true, for an instance, of the French Resistance movement against Berlin and Vichy, when conservatives, Communists, Socialists and Gaullists joined in common action against a common enemy. You must first join to destroy what is evil before you can start quarreling about what would best take its place.

It is important news that Tito has, after a too long silence, finally spoken up on Hungary, and demanded in the UN that Soviet troops be withdrawn. Tito had to do it, because otherwise the young leaders in the Kremlin colonial countries would have lost faith in him and in their common cause.

The influence of Tito's 1948 break with the Kremlin can scarcely be overstated. He survived largely because Truman and Acheson at that time had sense enough to see that Titoism was a seed that would grow and reach fruition in other satellites as well.

It is dramatic also to see how unimpressed the whole Asian-Arab bloc has been about the revolt in Hungary. Evidently they think that liberation from colonialism is their own special monopoly, and that the Russians are not an imperialism.

My conviction is that the revolt against the Kremlin empire cannot be stopped. The Russians will, of course, be able to shoot down more thousands with their tanks and guns. But already the Hungarian cities are littered with death and devastation. How long will the Russians be able to go on destroying the sources of their booty and power? It is no great advantage to have imperial rule when what you rule over is a graveyard.

Gautian heroes who died were still college students, ten years ago.

This is what has now been proved false. Many of the Hungarians could work on the children from an early age.

regime of total indoctrination, especially if the propagandists of a want to inscribe on it. Too many of us had come to believe in the power of total indoctrination, especially if the propagandists of a clean of what the whole human past had written on it, and that they thought that the human mind is a slate that can be wiped to what propaganda and indoctrination can do to the human mind. many people in the West had come to believe that there is no limit deeper than any of these, and is not limited to the Russians. Too But there is something else the revolt has shown, that goes the 19th Century emphases ever used.

empire which it can retain only by the use of bloodier force than can "imperialism," and "colonialism," the Kremlin has a colonial And it has shown that, despite the Communist talk of West themselves when they feel their power cracking.

It has shown that Khrushchev and Co., despite their clamorous suppression in the classic pattern of tyrannies throughout history, are "people's democracies," and shown both the hypocrisy of the phrase and the hollowness of its claim. It has shown that the East European satellites have shattered the myth that the East European satellites failure, already had reverberating results.

I say this because the Hungarian revolt has, even in its tragic Nasser are only dimly remembered names.


Historians may be writing about this long after Eden, Mollet and the big headlines, the events in Eastern Europe may prove in the In fact, while it is the Egyptian situation that keeps getting Hungary which will not die.

There is a double truth here. This particular Hungarian revolt is as good as beaten, but there will be other breakouts and in the fighting has broken out again in Budapest.

We keep hearing and reading that the revolt in Hungary has ended and that the spark of freedom has been drowned in a river of blood. But every such report is followed by another saying that

The Revolt
Will Not Die

By Max Lerner



NEW YORK POST, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1956

St. Louis Post-Dispatch
NOV 9 1956

Hungary's Epic Struggle

The dark deed which the Soviet Union has done in Hungary will become blacker still if the Communist aggressors continue to hide it in guilty secrecy from the eyes of the United Nations. Hungary continues as a major item of business before the world forum.

By a vote of 50 of its 76 members, opposed only by a handful from the Soviet bloc, the United Nations has called on Russia to withdraw its troops and ordered an on-the-spot investigation looking to the restoration of Hungarian liberty. Now five members—Cuba, Ireland, Italy, Pakistan and Peru—offer new demands, including free elections, which the General Assembly is weighing.

Yet the Soviet Government persists in its barbarous oppression of the Hungarian people, and shows no willingness to admit U.N. observers or to co-operate in any way with the world organization of which it is a member.

Why is Moscow so sensitive about what it has done in Hungary? The events speak for themselves. They have stripped the last pretense of idealist Marxism from the first Communist state and left it revealed as an imperialist oppressor.

Last Saturday night Russian authorities in Budapest had agreed to withdrawal of their troops from the country. They received Deputy Defense Minister Naletser and Chief of the General Staff Kovacs to discuss details. Then, with savage treachery, they arrested the Hungarian negotiators and unleashed all-out war against the country, having first sealed the Austrian border and ringed Budapest with tanks.

These uncivilized acts followed a week and a half in which Russia and its stooges had attempted to put down the heroic upsurge of the Hungarian people to regain their freedom.

When 2000 peaceful demonstrators marched on Parliament Square in Budapest armed only with Hungarian flags and shouting "Freedom for Hungary!" tanks and machine-guns opened fire on them, killing 200 to 300. At the small village of Magyarovar peasant farmers and their families who tore the Russian flag from the hated

garrison in the town square were mowed down by Soviet guns. More than 80 were killed and 200 wounded, and Magyarovar has become to Hungary what Lidice, wiped out by the Nazis in the Second World War, is to Czechoslovakia.

Leaders of the revolution were hanged on flagpoles and lamp-posts. Fighters for freedom trying to storm the radio building in the capital were thrown from fourth-story windows. "The streets seemed full of dead," said eyewitnesses. Yet Hungarians, wildly happy because they believed they were going to be free, walked straight and calm into murderous tanks and guns with a courage that amazed the world.

Students, laborers, white collar workers, soldiers, housewives, children threw themselves into the battle for their homeland. From 10,000 upwards have been killed, and more than 30,000 wounded.

* * *

Then, last weekend the Soviets cast all the mechanized might of the second most powerful nation on earth against the unorganized and ill-armed Hungarian patriots. Jet bombers and fighters, more than 1000 armored tanks, heavy artillery, five divisions of troops fought men, women and children armed with light weapons, or, lacking them, fighting with home-made bombs, knives, sticks, bottles and bare hands.

"On the watchtower of thousand-year-old Hungary, the flames begin to go out," broadcast a rebel radio to the world. "The Soviet army is attempting to crush our troubled hearts. The shadows grow darker."

If the rulers of Russia expect to retain any shred of respect in the eyes of the civilized world, they will call off their plunder of Hungary. They will not obstruct U.N. efforts to restore self-government to that cruelly tortured country.

But regardless of what it does, the new Communist imperialism is doomed to failure. It cannot impose its will forever upon the indomitable kind of spirit which the people of Hungary have shown to the peoples of the world these last two weeks. Where Nazi and Fascist imperialism have already gone, Soviet imperialism is already bound.

N. Y. N. Y.

NOV 7 1956

The Voices From Budapest

"Hope, for a season, bade the world farewell, And Freedom shrieked—as Kosciusko fell!" These lines, written more than 100 years ago about a great Polish patriot who went down battling Russian armies, might well stand today as a somber epitaph for the martyred patriots of Hungary. "Epitaph" is perhaps not the right term, for the last word has not yet been spoken in Hungary. Today the news is disastrous, for it continues to tell of a rebellion all but crushed by savagery unparalleled in the post-war era.

Even the Soviet Union, with a long and black record of international crimes,

has set for itself a new low mark of ruthlessness and heartlessness. The Hungarians, in their valor, not only had broken away from Russian Communism, they had indicated that they wished no part of Communism of any kind. They are now paying the price for their bravery, and it is a price which can only be exacted from the brave. Hope, indeed, has for a season bade the world farewell. But the Hungarians must know—and perhaps even their oppressors dimly sense it, too—that it has only gone for a season and will burn brightly in the world long after communism has fled.

THE MEANING OF HUNGARY

NOV 15 1956

... In the current issue of the New Leader the purged but not impris-
oned Yugoslav ex-Communist lead-
er, Milovan Djilas, hails the Hun-
garian revolution as "a new phe-
nomenon, perhaps no less mean-
ingful than the French or Russian
"Revolution." He does so because,
as he says, that revolution "placed
dom in communism; that is to say,
the replacement of the Communist
system itself by a new social sys-
tem."
Coming from one who lives even
today in a Communist dictatorship
and who knew for a long time the
inside workings of such totalitarian
rule, these are important statements
which bear careful consideration.
This is particularly true because
we have been witnessing a new
phase of the Hungarian revolution
this last week, one even more dra-
matic and significant than the
original armed fighting. That new
phase is the general strike of the
Hungarian working class against
the Soviet oppressors.
Everywhere in Hungary today
there are Soviet tanks, Soviet bomb-
ing planes, Soviet bayonets and So-
viet soldiers. But throughout the
country the great majority of the
workers defy their conquerors. The
factories stand idle. Offices are shut.
Yesterday even the staff of the Com-
munist newspaper Szabad Nep went
on strike. Such a phenomenon in a
Communist country is without pre-
cedent. Could anything speak more
eloquently of the unity of the over-
whelming mass of the Hungarian peo-
ple against the foreign oppressor?
That this passive resistance has
driven the Soviet despot furios is
also clear from their latest terror
tactics. As even the Soviet-con-
trolled Radio Budapest admitted yes-
terday, mass deportations of Hun-
garian men, women and children to
the Soviet Union are under way. In
this hour Khrushchev and Company
are doing in Hungary what Stalin
did to the Chechens, the Crimean
Tatars, the Ingush, the Volga Ger-
mans, the Kalmyks and other So-
viet minorities.
But Khrushchev, in condemning
Stalin last February, pointed out
that Stalin could not deport the
Ukrainians because there were too
many of them. There are fewer Hun-
garians than Ukrainians, far fewer.
Will Moscow try to solve its Hun-
garian problem by a policy of geno-
cide through deportation? The out-
look is not good. Now, if ever, the
free world must raise its protests,
inside and outside the United Na-
tions, against Russian barbarism
in Hungary.

Premier tell them their newborn
democratic republic was under So-
viet attack.
Thus began the nightmarish days
which were yesterday still contin-
ing. With the advantages of sur-
prise and treachery on their side
the Soviet troops took over Buda-
pest quickly.
But the people of Budapest who
had arms were quick too. Soon
their answering shots rang out. The
Soviet troops soon made clear what
their instructions were. A shot from
a building was enough to bring
death and destruction from cannons
directed at the entire street on
which the building stood. The So-
viet troops considered everything a
suitable target, not hesitating even
to open fire on a children's clinic,
killing the babies in it. Firing their
machine guns indiscriminately, they
killed a Yugoslav diplomat, repre-
sentative of a Government which
had condoned with silence what was
being done.
Looting and rape were also on the
Soviet soldiers' minds, and they
showed themselves often worthy
followers of the Soviet troops who
had looted and raped in 1945. The
killing of innocent civilians hurrying
through the streets trying to
get food for their hungry families
was a minor matter for the Soviet
troops engaged in re-subjugating
their Hungarian colony.
Today Budapest is a ruined and
shattered city, far more completely
destroyed than it was by the light-
ing in 1945. Tens of thousands of
its people, particularly its youth,
have been killed or wounded. Un-
counted others have been arrested.
The Soviet troops and their Hun-
garian secret police minions rule
now. The defenders of Hungarian
freedom can now only hide and
wage sporadic partisan warfare.
Thus have the "blessings of so-
cialism" been brought to Budapest
again. Thus has the policy of
"peaceful coexistence" been ex-
pressed in practice. Thus has the
Soviet attitude toward colonialism
been made clear beyond doubt.

COEXISTENCE IN BUDAPEST

NOV 12 1956

R.Y. Times

Soviet First Deputy Premier
Nikolai S. Mikoyan said at the
twentieth Communist Party Con-
gress in Moscow last February:
"Our enemies say that in the final
analysis we are for war, since we
want to spread communism through-
out the world by means of war.
They argue that at present we are
not prepared for this and therefore
want peaceful coexistence until we
are well prepared and can impose
communism by attacking with
weapons in our hands. * * * This is
a slander on our policy. Communism
does not need war. It is against
war. The ideas of communism will
win without war."
An official Soviet statement is-
sued in Moscow last Saturday de-
clared: "The U. S. S. R. was and re-
mains a consistent supporter of
friendship, cooperation and peaceful
coexistence of states independent of
their social systems. * * * [The So-
viet people] sympathize with those
peoples who wish to throw off the
shameful colonial yoke and to find
independence."
This is the way it was in Buda-
pest this past week as seen by
Times correspondents John MacCor-
mack and Henry Ginzler:
The citizens of Budapest had gone
to bed happy Saturday night, Nov.
3. They believed they were on the
verge of a new era of national inde-
pendence. They knew that their
united struggle had produced a Gov-
ernment headed by Premier Imre
Nagy which stood for national inde-
pendence, the exit of the Soviet
troops, neutrality and an end to
the long era of oppression. Many
knew that the commander of their
national army, a hero of the revol-
ution, was negotiating with Soviet
generals for the withdrawal of So-
viet troops.
They were awakened Sunday
morning by the sound of artillery
firing in the streets. When they
looked through their windows they
saw Soviet tanks clanking through
the thoroughfares. When they turned
on their radios they heard their

Balto. Sun
Nov 13 '56

Report On Hungary

The newspaper reporters who were trapped in Budapest, among them Mr. Edward C. Burks of *The Sun*, have come out safely to Austria, and have filed vivid factual reports on the events of the past week in the shattered Hungarian capital. Their dispatches make clear, in terrible detail, the viciousness with which the Russian troops suppressed the rebellion. They make clear, also, three other things of special note: the scale of the fighting, the unanimity of the Hungarian people in resistance and the particular valor of the young Hungarians who fought the hardest and died in the greatest numbers.

It was large-scale fighting. Fifteen to twenty Soviet divisions went into action in Hungary, and it was not a police action, as Moscow has been trying to pretend it was. It was a war between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian people; a war that Hungary has lost, with casualties in the tens of thousands.

This was Hungary that fought; not just bands of rebels. Except for the inevitable handful of skulking collaborators, Hungary rose as a nation against its hated masters. Any doubt about how Hungary feels toward the Soviet Union is now removed, and it is hardly too much to say that it is removed forever.

Mr. Burks, in his first dispatch after he reached Austria, laid special emphasis on the way in which the young Hungarians, including the university students, fought against the Russians and against communism. Of all the circumstances of recent weeks in the Soviet empire, it is this that will disturb Moscow most; for we see here the vital flaw, the fatal miscalculation, that must in the end destroy the Soviet system.

Who are these university students, the young people who have fought and died in Hungary, who stood in the forefront of the movement for a

freer Poland, who are demanding change in Czechoslovakia?

They are the Communist intellectual élite—or, rather, they are the people the Communists thought they were training to become the Communist élite, the men and women who would lead the Communist movement in the next stage of its struggle for world domination.

They are not sons and daughters of the old "bourgeoisie," "remnants of the old order." They are young people who have few or no memories of any order before communism. They have been carefully screened. They have been given vast advantages, or what their masters supposed were advantages, in a program of massive indoctrination through the innumerable "youth" groups covering all aspects of their lives, including play. They have been shown prospects almost limitless for advancement and prestige.

Above all they have been chosen for intelligence, and this, apparently, was the great Soviet mistake. For when you select people for intelligence, and train them to think, the catch, from the totalitarian point of view, is that you cannot control their thoughts. You cannot send people to an ancient university like, say, Charles University in Prague, and keep them unaware of the great tradition of freedom their school represents, even though its freedom is once again temporarily restricted.

When, in addition, you give young people new national heroes, like the defenders of Killian Barracks, "the Alamo of Budapest," you have, if you are an imperialist power, lost them.

The Kremlin has lost the young people of the satellites, upon whom all its imperial plans depended. And there must be those in the Kremlin today who are wondering about the secret thoughts of other young people closer to home, the young intellectual élite of the Soviet Union itself.

ture to think that for the people of many other of the smaller nations represented here, any mention in the future of national independence or anti-colonialism or the right of self-determination by any spokesman of the Soviet Union, will always evoke in

our minds a single name, a name on which the courage and endurance of a very gallant people have shed a great and undying glory, the name of Hungary.

**Joza Brilej,
Yugoslavia**

We have a natural interest in the developments that are taking place in Eastern Europe and especially in the efforts that are being made to establish relations between the countries of that region on the basis of independence, sovereign equality and friendly

cooperation. Where these trends have been allowed to run their course without outside impediment, they have been developing in a more or less smooth and generally orderly manner.

Where, on the contrary, attempts have been made to retard them or to divert them into channels which reflect a wholly unrealistic tendency to put the clock back and establish the pre-World War II social and political patterns, the result has been strife and turmoil. That is what has happened in Hungary.

However, this is not the whole picture. There is the question of the involvement of the Soviet troops in the internal affairs of Hungary. There can be no doubt as to where my Government stands with regard to such an involvement. We have always opposed the intervention of foreign armed forces in the internal affairs of a country, as it is contrary to the fundamental principles upon which the entire foreign policy of my country rests. We still hope, in view of the declaration of the Soviet Union of Oct. 30, 1956, that Soviet troops will be withdrawn. [The declaration pledged talks leading to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Warsaw Pact nations.]

Yugoslavia has always strongly advocated the line of strict noninterference in Hungary's internal affairs and of full respect for its sovereign rights.

The less interference, from whatever source, there is in their internal affairs, the better it will be for the Hungarian people and for the peace of the world. The Hungarian people are surely mature enough to settle their own problems in accordance with their interests and their wishes.

**Jose Felix De Liquerica,
Spain**

(Translation from the Spanish)

The Spanish Government is ready and willing to cooperate in every manner that the Secretary General may find useful in the humanitarian task, to cooperate in making available what may be required by the Hungarian people.

The proposal of sending a supervisory United Nations force does not seem to me to be at all absurd.

I have the greatest trust in the public opinion of the world these last days, and the Soviet Union cannot ignore it.

In a similar matter, we have seen recently how important powers have agreed to the sending of such forces to re-establish order in order to separate conflicting forces and to restore independence to an invaded country. Why could we not now do the same thing in the case of the Soviet Union?

I am not convinced by the argument which I heard recently that the greater independence allowed to Hungary will solve the problem. When a great foreign army invades a country and when that army remains on the frontiers ready

to invade the country again, this cannot be called true independence. It is rather a preparation for one more blood-bath as soon as the Hungarian people begin to act independently.

Spain wishes to address itself to the Hungarian people, who are now suffering so grievously. We believe the present debate being held in the United Nations to be of the greatest value, for it may bring consolation and encouragement to those who are suffering. We hope that the eloquent statements which have been made here, and even my present statement, may be heard in Hungary over some patriotic radio station. In this way, we may bring encouragement to Hungary from all over the world.

stant, despite the movement of the Soviet troops in Hungary during these fateful days says that they do.

It is now reliably reported that Soviet forces occupied the Parliament building in Budapest. Prime Minister Nagy and other members of his Government are now under arrest. Pal Maleter, the Minister of Defense and heroic defender of the Maria Theresa barracks against Soviet assault, who only yesterday was engaged in negotiations with Soviet military representatives for troop withdrawal, is also under arrest. A Soviet ultimatum was issued calling for capitulation of Budapest by noon, and threatening the bombing of the city if it did not capitulate.

As I announced in the Security Council meeting at 4 o'clock this morning, Cardinal Mindszenty and his secretary have sought refuge at the United States Legation in Budapest. I think that makes it appropriate to quote a recent broadcast, only yesterday, which Cardinal Mindszenty uttered on Radio Budapest, and I would like just to quote a passage because these are the last public words spoken by Cardinal Mindszenty that we have:

"A national feeling should never again be a source of fighting between countries but the pledge of justice and of peaceful cooperation. Let the feeling of nationality flourish in the whole world in the field of common culture. Thus the progress of one country will carry along the other country between nations which, according to the law of nature, are more and more reliant on each other.

"We Hungarians want to live and act as the standard bearers of the family peace of European nations, a peace not artificially proclaimed but a peace which means true friendship between the nations. And even looking towards, more distant parts, we, the little nations, desire to live in friendship and in mutual respect with the great United States and with the mighty Russian Empire alike, in good neighborly relations with Prague, Bucharest, Warsaw and Belgrade, and in this regard I must mention that for the brotherly understanding in our present suffering every Hungarian has embraced to his heart Austria."

New Regime Assailed

That is what could, in all solemn truth, be called the spirit of peaceful coexistence, as uttered by Cardinal Mindszenty, in the best sense of the word, if Soviet hypocrisy had not robbed that phrase of all honest meaning.

Let us not be deceived by this wanton and conscienceless act of aggression against the Hungarian people and its Government. A small group of Soviet men announced their own formation as a government at the moment that Soviet troops began their attack. We have seen no passage of governmental authority from one Hungarian Government to another, but only the creation of a puppet clique and the overthrow of a liberal Socialist

ular will in its desire to see these troops go.

Two hours after the attack began, the new puppet group appealed to the Soviet Union to come to its assistance. It cannot be maintained, therefore, that the Soviet action is undertaken in response to any request for assistance. The "assistance," and I put that word in quotes, arrived long before the call.

We must take drastic and decisive action here in this Assembly to answer the appeal of the Hungarian Government. The United States delegation, therefore, is submitting a draft resolution which we believe should be promptly put to the vote.

It is aimed at securing speedy action to cope with this grave situation. We do not believe that it is sufficient only to call upon the Soviet Union to desist from any further intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary and to withdraw all its troops without delay. We urge also that the Secretary General directly should investigate the situation in Hungary without delay and report to the Assembly as soon as possible. We call upon the U. S. S. R. and Hungary to admit representatives of the Secretary General to Hungarian territory, and if there is nothing to hide they have nothing to fear from the visit of impartial observers.

Let us ask the members of this Assembly these questions: Has the Soviet Union shown "respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations" in its action in Hungary? Has it shown "respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations?" Has the Soviet Union abstained from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country? Has it refrained from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country? The facts speak for themselves.

We cannot stand idly by while Hungarians are dragged bodily back into servitude, even as they were re-emerging to independence and freedom. The principles set forth in the Charter of the United

Nations are at stake. The basic and fundamental right of self-determination, which so many in this hall have endorsed time and again, is in grave danger. If we fail to act, it will constitute a base betrayal of the people of Hungary, who have appealed to us for aid. The Hungarian people can be sure that the United Nations will accept their cause as its own.

Lester B. Pearson, Canada

Notwithstanding the words of the Soviet representative, in the past twenty-four hours we have witnessed in Hungary one of the greatest and grimmest betrayals in history.

It is first of all and above all the people of Hungary who have been betrayed—the students, the peasants, the workers, whom the Soviet Union so frequently professes to champion.

The Soviet Union's sameless disregard of its obligations under the Charter by its armed intervention has however done more than kill Hungarians. It has betrayed the principles and ideals of our United Nations. We have heard a great deal in recent days from the representative of the Soviet Union about the iniquities of aggression, the unpardonable sin of force exerted by large countries upon small countries in order to bend them to the imperialist will, as he put it.

There is no need for me to dwell now on the hypocrisy of the Soviet concern for one small nation when its own tanks and bombers are compelling an even smaller nation, which has briefly but gloriously raised its head, to put on the chains again.

The Soviet representative had made the parallel between the situation in Egypt and the situation in Hungary. I would reply, first, that the United Nations should judge each situation on its merits. But I would reply also that there is no parallel between the intentions of free democratic nations with a long history of respect for the rights of other nations, with those of a dictatorial regime, which has not shown the slightest understanding of international collaboration or consideration for the rights of others.

That difference is, I think, very clearly revealed in the present situations. The governments of the United Kingdom and France have stated firmly and publicly that they are prepared to hand over what they claim to be solely their police force to a United Nations force, a force we are now trying to organize. It is quite true that there remain differences between the British and the French on the one hand and a majority of the Assembly on the other, on the conditions in which this transfer can take place. Nevertheless, a transfer has been accepted as necessary and desirable, and a promise has been given that it will take place.

Yesterday, my Government proposed the intervention of a United Nations force for peaceful purposes in the Middle East, and that proposal secured the overwhelming majority of this Assembly. No single vote was cast against it. Why should we not now establish a United Nations mission or United Nations supervisory machinery of an appropriate kind for the situation in Hungary? So I ask the Soviet Union to accept this chance, perhaps this last chance, to prove its good faith to the world.

Louis de Guiringaud, France

(Translation from the French)

The world is thunderstruck, horrified and angry. I am sure this assembly feels likewise for it represents the conscience of the world.

For the past eight days, the Soviet Union has prepared first and then carried out yesterday one of the most heinous crimes in the history of a Government. It has, by cold calculation, by ruse and by

the appearance of a liberal evolution in order better to crush the real champions of liberty.

We should like to tell the Hungarian people here and now that their appeal continues to vibrate in our hearts and in our minds.

Are we not, all of us here, more or less the accomplices of the Soviet Union? Through a repeated spectacle of endless debate, our procedural discussions, the proof so often shown of our impotence to act, have we not thus encouraged those who are already violating the fundamental principles on which the Charter rests?

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1956.

Text of U. S. Resolution and Excerpts From Assembly Debate on the Hungarian Issue

Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Nov. 4—Following is the text of a resolution voted today by the General Assembly and excerpts from the debate in the Assembly on the Hungarian situation:

Resolution

The General Assembly,

Considering that the United Nations is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members;

Recalling that the enjoyment of human rights and of fundamental freedoms in Hungary was specifically guaranteed by the Peace Treaty between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers signed at Paris on Feb. 10, 1947, and that the general principle of these rights and freedoms is affirmed for all peoples in the Charter of the United Nations;

Convinced that recent events in Hungary manifest clearly the desire of the Hungarian people to exercise and to enjoy fully their fundamental rights, freedoms and independence;

Deploing the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights;

Noting, moreover, the declaration by the Soviet Government of Oct. 30, 1946, of its avowed policy of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other states;

Noting the communication of Nov. 1, 1956, of the Government of Hungary to the Secretary General regarding demands made by that Government to the Government of the U. S. S. R. for the instant and immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces;

Noting further the communication of Nov. 2, 1956, from the Government of Hungary to the Secretary General asking the Security Council to instruct the Soviet and Hungarian Governments to start the negotiations immediately on withdrawal of Soviet forces;

Noting that the intervention of Soviet military forces in Hungary has resulted in grave loss of life and widespread bloodshed among the Hungarian people;

Taking note of the radio appeal of Prime Minister Imre Nagy of Nov. 4, 1956:

1. Calls upon the Government of the U. S. S. R. to desist forthwith from all armed attack on the people of Hungary, and from any forms of intervention, in particular armed intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary;

2. Calls upon the U. S. S. R. to cease the introduction of additional armed forces into Hungary and to withdraw all

of its forces without delay from Hungarian territory;

3. Affirms the right of the Hungarian people to a Government responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being.

4. Requests the Secretary General to investigate this situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary, to observe directly through representatives named by him the situation in Hungary, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at the earliest possible moment and as soon as possible suggest methods to bring to an end the existing situation.

5. Calls upon the Government of Hungary and the Government of the U. S. S. R. to permit observers designated by the Secretary General to enter the territory of Hungary, to travel freely therein and to report their findings to the Secretary General;

6. Calls upon all members of the United Nations to cooperate with the Secretary General and his representatives, in the execution of its functions;

7. Requests the Secretary General, in consultation with the heads of appropriate specialized agencies, to inquire, on an urgent basis, into the needs of the Hungarian people for food, medicine and other similar supplies, and to report to the Security Council as soon as possible;

8. Requests all members of the United Nations, and invites national and international humanitarian organizations to cooperate in making available such supplies as may be required by the Hungarian people.

Dr. Victor A. Belaunde,

Peru

(Unofficial translation from the Spanish)

After the debates in the Security Council, after the authoritative information which has been confirmed here by the very words of the representative of the Soviet Union, it is unnecessary to speak of the facts of the present matter before us. These facts are known to all delegations through the press. But I do wish to call attention to the following circumstances.

Every delegation was aware that there was a Government in Hungary—the Government of Prime Minister Nagy. We knew that that Government had been changed, that new parties had been brought in, that it was embarking upon negotiations with the Soviet Union. We know that that Government, as it was entitled to do, was demanding the

withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian soil; and today we know—and this is a matter which is fraught with gravity—from the statement just made by the representative of the Soviet Union, that that Government, which was backed by the enthusiastic uprising of the Hungarian people—a movement which meant the sacrifice of men and women and youth, all of whom participated in this demonstration—has fallen, has been overthrown. And by whom?

Has it been overthrown by Cardinal Mindszenty, a hero and a symbol of liberty and

faith in Hungary? Has it been overthrown by the gallant Hungarian youths who rose against the Soviet tanks with no weapon but their courage and their enthusiasm? Has it been overthrown by the Hungarian people, who, throughout their country, have fought against the Soviet troops? That Government has been overthrown by new incursions of troops, by new movements of Soviet tanks. This is a flagrant instance of the overthrow of a Government through external intervention, and it was admitted here today at this very rostrum in the statement just made by the representative of the Soviet Union. Therefore, I shall say no more about facts; I rest content with the facts which have been made so clear by the representative of the Soviet Union.

With regard to the Warsaw Pact, I submit that it did not authorize the permanent stationing of Soviet troops on Hungarian soil. According to the peace treaty with Austria, those troops were to be withdrawn from Hungary as soon as such a treaty had been concluded.

Let us leave aside three legal points, which are meaningless in view of the confessions of the parties involved. Over and above these considerations there is a human fact which speaks to the conscience of each and every one of us. Waves of Hungarian youths have fallen before the Soviet tanks. The slaughter continued. Thousands of human beings lost their lives. However, despite this, the Government remained in its position and it was strong enough to compel the Soviet Union to initiate negotiations. But that Government was also compelled to give representation to other forces in Hungary. That Gov-

ernment abolished the ridiculous one-party political system, but then was overthrown by the Soviet Union.

We are witnessing with some hope the disintegration of the Stalinist empire, but it is absurd to believe that, when

this disintegration has begun in response to the clamor of all the people as in Hungary and Poland, it is possible to restore an imperialistic Government forcibly. This cannot be done, for the atmosphere throughout the world has been metamorphosed.

Here in the United Nations we are reflecting what has always existed in mankind, the profound conscience of all men in favor of justice and morality.

Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. United States

At dawn this morning, Soviet troops in Hungary opened fire in Budapest and throughout the country. We learn from Vienna that the Soviet artillery was firing incendiary phosphorus shells at centers of civilian population. These are the shells which set fire to buildings and which burned the flesh of women and children and other civilian non-combatants.

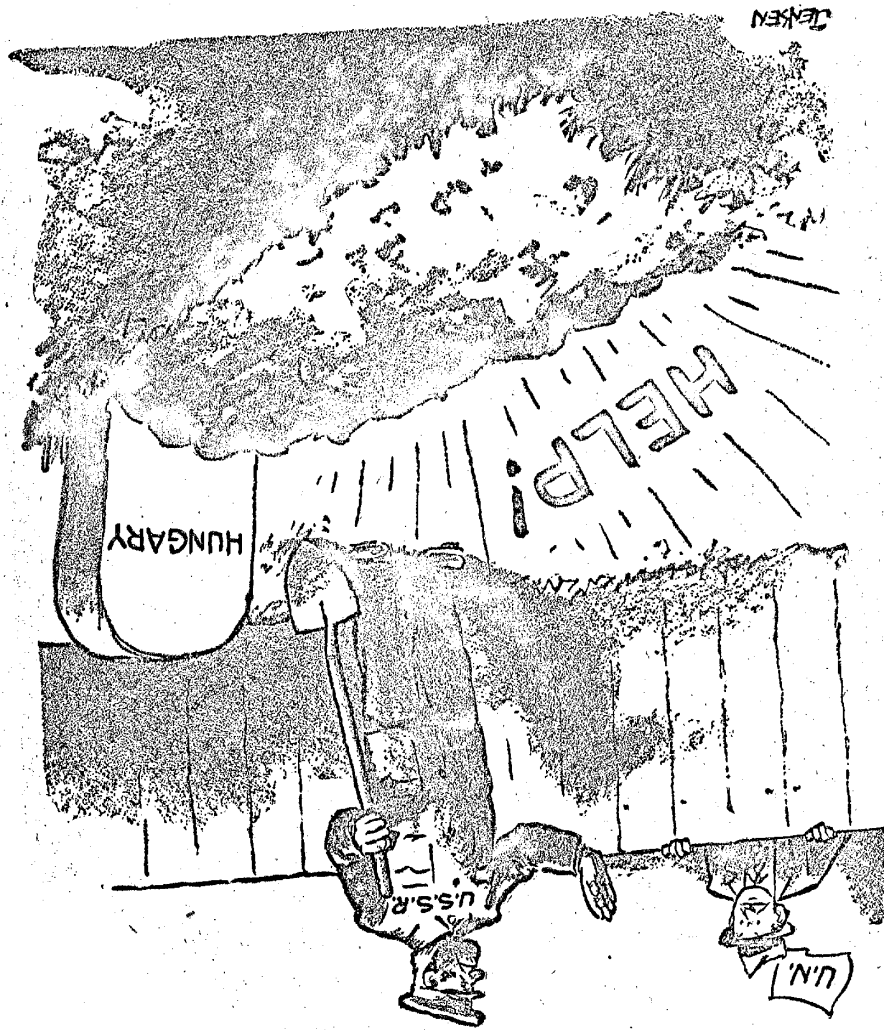
Prime Minister Nagy has appealed to the United Nations for help—and I must say we can understand it. After several days of ominous reports, the situation in Hungary has become all too clear. What is revealed is the sickening picture of duplicity and double-dealing.

While this wholesale brutality by the Soviet Government was being perpetrated, the Soviet representative here in this hall was praising peace and praising non-aggression and raising his hand in horror against bloodshed in the Middle East. All of us who were striving with every fibre of our being for peace in the Middle East can never forget this unutterable cynicism.

For the last few days Soviet troop movements in Hungary have been reported. These reports have been accompanied by Soviet assurances to the United Nations and to the Hungarian Government that Soviet troops in Hungary has not and would not be reinforced. The reported movements were pictured as the redeployment of Soviet forces stationed in the country as late as 10 o'clock last night.

Also on Oct. 29 the Czechoslovak Communist party sent a message to the Hungarian Communists—it will be recalled that Nagy himself is a Communist who sought to lead his country to freedom from Soviet enslavement—in which it expressed its support for Nagy's efforts to "achieve progress" and "deepen Socialist democracy."

That is what they were saying on Oct. 28 and 29. Now, what could have changed the situation in so short a time? The desire of Prime Minister Nagy to govern Hungary for the Hungarians? Does the Soviet Union fear this? The con-



A Family Affair

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, Tues., Nov. 13, '56

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS
Mon., Nov. 12, '56

Hungary Tops Year's Upsets

Zigzag Policy, Russ Brutality Cause Thousands to Quit Party

BY ERNIE HILL

Daily News Foreign Service

LONDON—The disintegration of Communist parties in Western Europe is proceeding at an alarming pace—alarming to the Kremlin, that is.

Communist parties in Britain, France, Italy and other countries have been badly shaken by the turn of events since the beginning of the year, climaxed with the crackdown on Hungary.

"The revolt against Moscow leadership," said one prominent British Communist, "has gone so far that nothing can pull us together except renewed Russian pledges to allow each Communist country to develop in its own way.

"Hundreds of us would like to go help the Hungarian insurgents. But it looks hopeless now."

The Oxford University Communist party has disbanded with a blast at the Kremlin hierarchy for its brutality in subduing Hungary.

"Our intelligence and integrity have been manhandled," said a spokesman. "We quit rather than go back to something evil."

In Paris Jean-Paul Sartre, writer and existentialist philosopher who has been a frequent visitor to Moscow, has quit the party and resigned from the French-Soviet Friendship Society.

Sartre, darling of the Left Bank, says he has broken off relations with most Communist writers in Paris because of their failure to protest Russia's rape of Hungary.

Here's Dilemma of Typical Red

Put yourself in the position of a Western European Communist. Here is what the Kremlin has demanded of you since the first of the year:

1. Absolute loyalty to a tough Communist policy of the Stalin type was expected at the beginning of the year.
2. Then came party secretary Nikita S. Khrushchev's 20th Congress speech condemning the "cult of the individual." This was followed by promises to allow each Communist state to develop in its own way. Free discussion was revived. This produced a party crisis, scuttling of the old leaders in some cases or decisions by old leaders to change their line to stay in control.
3. Just when this new era was being accepted, the Kremlin has done an about-face and refused to allow Hungary to set its own course of government.
4. So now European Communists are supposed to try to justify the Red Army's brutal liquidation of Hungarian freedom fighters. The move is away from freedom of speech and discussion and back to strait-jacket thinking.

* * *

AN ARTIST who has been a cartoonist for the London Daily Worker for the last 12 years has resigned in protest.

The switch is proving too much for thousands of others. Some have turned in their party cards. Others are just going to quit going to cell meetings and paying their dues.

A French Communist told me that leader Maurice Thorez would be dumped except for his age and the realization that it would wreck what is left of the party. French Communists are refusing to return to the discipline of Stalinist years.

British League Revives Trotsky

The British are even more outraged.

At a recent meeting of the Young Communist League, there was the reappearance of Trotskyite policies and outspoken refusal to subscribe to Russia's brutality in Hungary.

The British party fired Harry Pollit, its leader, after 20th Congress developments. Now it is finding it difficult to steer members back to those policies that have become unpopular in the last few weeks.

In Italy, Palmiro Togliatti has moved along with the liberalized new line and shows little inclination to turn back the clock.

Western European Communists saw great possibilities in a more loosely federated Communist empire. They saw a number of Socialist states improving their conditions without Moscow's domination.

Hungary has wrecked their dream. It has weakened Communist parties all along the line. Many say there is no going back.

N.Y. Times

NOV 15 1956

EX-AIDE ASSAILS TITO ON HUNGARY

Djilas Foresees End of Red System as a Result of the Rebellion in Budapest

By HARRY SCHWARTZ

Milovan Djilas, a former ranking Yugoslav Communist, has hailed the Hungarian revolution as the beginning of the end of the Communist system.

He also has accused Yugoslavia's Communists of having surrendered their most basic principles to Moscow by failing to condemn wholeheartedly the Soviet actions in Hungary. M. Djilas' analysis was published in the current issue of the anti-Communist magazine *The New Leader*, published in New York.

"The Hungarian revolution blazed a path which sooner or later other Communist countries must follow," M. Djilas said. "The wound which the Hungarian revolution inflicted on communism can never be healed."

M. Djilas said: "Moscow's policy toward the Communist countries clearly reflects a will to resist the break-up of the empire, to retain the leading role of Soviet communism—a will demonstrated in its efforts to use national communism as a means and a mask for its imperialist, expansive policies."

M. Djilas, a former Vice President of Yugoslavia and once one of President Tito's closest associates, views the recent events in Eastern Europe as "the crisis of Soviet imperialism." He sees the Soviet leaders split between those who would use Stalin's police and army methods to keep the Soviet empire intact and those who would use mainly political and economic techniques to attain the same end.

Djilas Purged in 1954

M. Djilas was purged in early 1954, after he had advocated greater freedom in Yugoslavia and a diminished role for the Communist party there. Last May he complained in a letter to *The New York Times* that he had been prevented from publishing a book in Yugoslavia, where he still lives.

An editor of *The New Leader* said M. Djilas' article had been received by ordinary airmail several days after a cable had been sent to him asking for his reaction to the events in Poland and Hungary. The editor noted his surprise at the ease with which the article was obtained, especially since it was sharply critical of the present Yugoslav Communist regime.

"The changes in Poland mean the triumph of national communism, which in a different form we have already seen in Yugoslavia," M. Djilas said. "The Hungarian uprising is something more, a new phenomenon, perhaps no less meaningful than the French or Russian Revolutions."

He contended that the Yugoslav experience showed the limitations of a national Communist

movement directed by an entrenched Communist bureaucracy. He said Yugoslavia supported Eastern European discontent as long as it was directed by Communists, but turned against it when this discontent went further in Hungary.

"This revealed that Yugoslav national communism was unable in its foreign policy to depart from its narrow ideological and bureaucratic class interests, and that furthermore, it was ready to yield even those principles of equality and non-interference in internal affairs on which all its successes in the struggle with Moscow had been based," M. Djilas said.

Though he praised the Polish Communist leader, Wladyslaw Gomulka as "a man who is unusually honest, brave and modest," M. Djilas maintained that M. Gomulka soon will be faced with a dilemma.

"He will have to choose between internal democracy, which has become inseparable from complete independence from Moscow, and the ties with Moscow required to maintain the Communists' monopoly of power," M. Djilas said. "The victory of national communism in Poland is not the end, but rather the beginning of further disagreements and conflicts inside the country and with Moscow."

He added he was confident that M. Gomulka, when faced with the choice, would side with those wanting independence.

M. Djilas contended that while the events in Poland encouraged those Communists who merely seek equality with Moscow, "the Hungarian revolution made a gigantic leap and placed on the agenda, the problem of freedom in communism, that is to say, the replacement of the Communist system itself by a new social system."

If the events in Poland "encouraged both the people and certain Communist circles," the Hungarian revolt "encouraged the popular masses and democratic tendencies," he said.

M. Djilas added: "The experience of Yugoslavia appears to testify that national communism is incapable of transcending the boundaries of communism as such, that is, to institute the kind of reforms that would gradually transform and lead communism to freedom. That experience seems to indicate that national communism can merely break from Moscow, and, in its own national tempo and way, construct essentially the identical Communist system."

In Bulgaria and Albania, M. Djilas said, the downgrading of Stalin and national communism have been halted because of fear of Yugoslav domination and other reasons. In Czechoslovakia and Rumania, he said, the Communist leaders were trying to halt any further break with Moscow, though pushed by the discontent of the masses.

He saw the possibility of rapid changes in Bulgaria and Rumania, however, because in both countries "the peasantry is deeply nationalistic." In Czechoslovakia, with an advanced working class, a movement for revolt, if it starts, "is likely to go much further than that of Hungary," he contended.

N.Y. Times

NOV 16 1956

TITO DENOUNCES SOVIET STALINISTS ON HUNGARY ISSUE

Calls Use of Moscow Troops 'Fatal Error'—Confirms Split in the Kremlin

By The Associated Press.

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Nov. 15—President Tito has bitterly denounced Stalinists both inside and outside the Soviet Union.

He told a party meeting in Pula that Stalinists were responsible for the Hungarian uprising and declared that the use of Soviet troops to quell the revolt was "a fatal error." The speech, delivered four days ago, was made public today by Tanjug, official Yugoslav news agency.

In the address, the Yugoslav leader disclosed for the first time what had occurred at the secret talks he had held recently with Nikita S. Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders. Marshal Tito said his conversations with Mr. Khrushchev, Soviet Communist party chief, brought to light a sharp split in the Kremlin, with men remaining "who still stand on Stalin's positions."

'Erroneous Attitudes' Cited

"The Soviet leaders had erroneous attitudes and defective views regarding relations toward Poland, Hungary and other countries," Marshal Tito said.

"The Yugoslav leaders did not consider this attitude tragic, because they perceived this was not the attitude of the entire leadership, but only of one part, which had forced its attitude on the other part, to a certain degree.

"It is still possible for those elements in the leadership of the Soviet Union to triumph by evolution who are for a stronger and quicker development toward democratization, for abandoning all Stalinist methods and for the creation of new relations between the Socialist [Communist] states, and that the development in this direction will also proceed in foreign policy.

"Judging by certain signs and conversations, it is evident that these elements are not weak, but that they are strong."

Gero Is Criticized

The Tito speech contains the strongest support yet for reports that have swept the West about

a split in the Kremlin, with Mr. Khrushchev leading the anti-Stalinist wing and former Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov the Stalinist.

The Yugoslav President declared that Stalinism and not his policies, favoring a national communism independent of the Kremlin, had led to the revolt in Hungary.

He said responsibility for the use of Soviet troops rested with Erno Gero, who was ousted as Hungarian Communist party chief and later reported killed.

"We never did advise the use of the army," Marshal Tito said, "not even when they came into a difficult situation."

His speech thus amounted to a condemnation of the use of Soviet troops at the time of the start of the Hungarian revolt. He indicated, however, that he thought there was some justification for the use of Soviet troops in the later stages.

The Hungarian uprising, he said, was "a terrific blow to socialism [communism]." The Yugoslav President cautioned Communist leaders in other nations not to be complacent, with a feeling that a Hungary could not happen to them because they had a strong army and things were "under control." That is what Mr. Gero thought, Marshal Tito said.

"Gero called the Russian Army," he went on. "This was a fatal error; it enraged the people and led to spontaneous insurrection."

British Communists Split Wide Open

By John Allan May
Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Events in Hungary have shaken the international Communist movement to its foundations. The British Communist Party is split wide open. Some leading members have called for its dissolution. A number of prominent Communists have resigned in disgust.

Reports from other parts of Europe tell a similar story. In Austria it is stated that 5,000 card-carrying members of the party have quit.

The Danish party, while declaring its loyal conviction that Soviet intervention in Hungary "prevented fascist forces from creating a new Spain in the heart of Europe," has asked Moscow for confirmation that Soviet troops will be withdrawn. The Norwegian party is more critical and urges the Soviets to heed the United Nations.

Set Back in Italy
In Italy, during provincial elections, the Communist Party lost ground. In Trento the Socialists improved their vote, but Communist support declined.

The British revolt against Moscow has been the most dramatic so far. The Communist Party, which already had lost its last remnants of political influence in Britain, quite suddenly found itself in a predicament. Communist speakers' van turned up at the Surrey Docks to decay British action in Egypt and explain Soviet action in Hungary.

John Horner, general secretary of the Fire Brigades Union, one of the most thoroughly communized unions in Britain, told a mass meeting at Newcastle Nov. 13 that he had quit the Communist Party on Nov. 4. Apparently he had waited to make his announcement until he could achieve the maximum impact.

It was reported next day, although not confirmed, that all members of the remaining Communist Party on the EBU executive also had quit.

Another leading Communist leader of the Scottish Mineworkers Union in the Lothian district and brother of Abe Morison, the union's president and member of the Communist executive.

Leslie Cannon, the union's educational chief, has split with the Communists. Frank Roulkes, union president, and Frank Haxell, secretary, remain true to the Moscow line.

Mr. Cannon is one of the three prominent Communists who called for the dissolution of the British Communist Party in a four-page document submitted to the party executive.

The other two signatories were Jack Grahl and Leo Keely, both for the EBU.

Dr. Hewlett Johnson, "the Red Dean" of Canterbury, who is not a party member but always has been considered by the Communists an exceptional and unexceptionable cleric, has issued a statement saying that the "irritational strife" in Hungary is as equally exceptional on moral grounds as is the Anglo-French action in Egypt. He is able to approve the Soviet action on political grounds, however, which he cannot do for the British.

Dr. N. Pfitz, widely known law-yer, notes that Communists often have discovered in the past that their first interpretation of events has been wrong, a remark that is an effective but probably unintentional reminder of all the devious switches of policy during the Stalinist period and subsequently.

Dr. Hewlett Johnson, "the Red Dean" of Canterbury, who is not a party member but always has been considered by the Communists an exceptional and unexceptionable cleric, has issued a statement saying that the "irritational strife" in Hungary is as equally exceptional on moral grounds as is the Anglo-French action in Egypt. He is able to approve the Soviet action on political grounds, however, which he cannot do for the British.

M.Y. TIMES
NOV 9 1956

MONTVIDEO, Uruguay, Nov. 8 (AP)—A crowd of about 200 youths, carrying sticks and torches, burned down the Soviet Consulate here this morning as a protest against Soviet repression in Hungary.

M.Y. TIMES
OCT 31 1956

MEXICO CITY, Oct. 30—The Mexican Socialist party asked President Adolfo Ruiz Cortines today to break diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Benjamin Tobon, Secretary General of the party, said in a telegram that the Soviet Union was "suppressing the most elemental human rights in Hungary to maintain a false and unpopular government."

M.Y. TIMES
NOV 10 1956

St. Laurent Urged to Act
TORONTO, Nov. 9 (Canadian Press)—The Toronto branch of the Canadian Polish Congress has sent a telegram to Louis St. Laurent, the Prime Minister, asking him to call on the Western powers to intervene with force in revolt-torn Hungary. Paul Staniszwski, vice president, said today.

M.Y. MIRROR
NOV 15 1956

RAFFLE RED DEANS
HAT FOR HUNGARY
LONDON, Nov. 14 (INS).—White Britain's "Red Dean" of Canterbury was addressing a meeting Tuesday at Durham University, students swiped his black hat from the cloakroom and raffled it for Hungarian relief.

NOV 7 1956

PARIS CHAMBERS IN HUNGARY ROW

Clash Over Efforts to Exhort
Rebels Cause Clearing
of Both Houses

By W. GRANGER BLAIR
Special to The New York Times.

PARIS, Nov. 6—The National Assembly erupted into a tumult of shouts and jeers today as it paid tribute to the people of Hungary.

Jeers and laughter came from the Communists. They were answered by shouts of indignation by the rest of the Deputies. Finally, as the uproar threatened to get out of hand, sirens were sounded and the chamber was cleared.

In the usually august chamber of the advisory Council of the Republic the scene was repeated. Eleven Communist Senators drew shouts of invective from the others when they refused to participate in a manifestation in favor of the Hungarian rebellion.

The demonstrations in the legislative halls were the latest in the ground swell of anti-Soviet manifestations throughout France. Communist intellectuals protesting against the Soviet action in Hungary, sympathy strikes by non-Communist labor groups in honor of the Hungarian workers and the banning of Communist meetings for fear of violence reflected the sentiments of France.

Cries of 'Assassins'

When André Létroquer, President of the Assembly, rose to extol the courage of the Hungarian people against armed aggression cries of "assassins, assassins!" were hurled across the chamber floor toward the Communist benches.

Then Christian Pineau, Foreign Minister, was the target of Communist hooting when he told the Assembly: "History will judge those who do not associate themselves with this homage."

Finally, on the motion of Daniel Mayer, Socialist Deputy, that the Assembly stand in silence in honor of the heroism of the people of Hungary, the Communists jumped to their feet and shouted: "Fascism shall not pass!" This was met by shouted epithets from the non-Communists. A moment later the sirens sounded to clear the chamber.

Before matters became uncontrollable it was agreed that debate on the Hungarian issue would begin tomorrow.

A number of leftist writers and intellectuals, including three who are members of the Communist party, protested today

against the Soviet repression in Hungary. Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir and Vercors were among those who signed a declaration. The Communist writers who signed were Claude Roy, Roger Vailland, and J. F. Rolland.

The group protested against the Russian use of "guns and tanks to break the revolt of the Hungarian people." The statement added the writers "deny the same right of protest to those who remained silent when the United States stifled in blood the liberty won by Guatemala and to those who applauded the Suez coup."

Luxembourg Embassy Damaged

LUXEMBOURG, Nov. 6—Anti-Communist demonstrators broke into the Soviet Embassy tonight and burned part of its furniture, two automobiles and portraits of Russian leaders.

Carrying torches, exploding firecrackers and shouting "down with the Russians," leaders of a crowd that numbered thousands, most of them students, reached the house and grounds of the embassy despite a police guard and a high iron fence.

For about two hours the crowd milled outside the gates of the embassy, shouting and singing. They carried placards bearing such legends as "Long Live Hungary" and "Down with the Butchers of Budapest."

The demonstrations appeared to be subsiding when some of the crowd climbed over the fence and others broke through the cordon of policemen, linked arm in arm. By this time the occupants of the embassy had fled.

Some of the rioters reached the second floor and began throwing furniture out windows.

Envoy Hid in Cellar

LUXEMBOURG, Nov. 6 (Reuters)—Police tonight found Ivan A. Melnik, the Soviet Ambassador to Luxembourg—in full dress uniform—locked in a cellar after 2,000 students had stormed the embassy.

Big Protest in Brussels

Special to The New York Times.

BRUSSELS, Belgium, Nov. 6—Thousands of university students demonstrated outside the Soviet Embassy here today against Russian action in Hungary. Forty demonstrators and about twenty policemen were injured, some seriously.

The Brussels headquarters of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the world's largest non-Communist labor movement, called on its 117 affiliates in eighty-three countries to stage a five-minute strike Thursday in protest against the suppression of freedom in Hungary and the military events in the Middle East.

THE WASHINGTON POST and TIMES HERALD

Saturday, November 10, 1956

French Leftist Leader Hits Russian Actions

Reuters

PARIS, Nov. 9—Jean-Paul Sartre, French left-wing author and philosopher, today announced his "unreserved condemnation" of the Soviet action in Hungary.

Sartre, one of the founders of the "Existentialist" movement, said he would break off his relations with Soviet writers and the leaders of the French Communist Party.

Sartre is not a member of the Communist Party, but has much influence in extreme left-wing circles. Sartre's attitude, announced in a four-page interview with the weekly newspaper, L'Express, is expected to have large repercussions, even in the Communist Party itself, which is already reported divided over the Hungary issue.

He said the present Soviet government "has committed a crime, and a struggle of factions among the leading circles has given power to a group

which today exceeds Stalinism after having denounced it."

[Sartre's influence among French liberals of various hues has been considerable for two decades, based in part on his reputation as teacher of philosophy and later as exponent of the new philosophy of Existentialism; and partly on the success of his novels and plays, in which the existential credo that man must act for his beliefs is applied to dramatic situations. Practicing his own preaching, he has also engaged actively in journalism since the war, espousing a pro-Russian, anti-Western position.]

[In France, where intellectuals are expected to play a more active part in politics than in the United States, the feud between Sartre and Albert Camus, an equally celebrated novelist and philosopher, has engaged national interest. Longtime associates, the two parted over the issue of whether France should lean toward East or West, Sartre siding with the Soviet.]

[Sartre's current declaration is therefore a momentous one for French politicians generally and for intellectuals throughout Europe.]



Sartre

AP, UPI, T.
NOV 12 1956

Socialists in India Protest On Hungary, Nehru's Policy

NEW DELHI, Nov. 11 (U.P.)—Socialists protesting against Soviet action in Hungary and the policies of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru besieged the Soviet trade mission at Calcutta today and attempted a march on a New Delhi meeting at which Mr. Nehru was speaking here.

The demonstrators at Calcutta shouted anti-Russian slogans and denounced Mr. Nehru for his acceptance of the Moscow line on the "civil conflict" in Hungary.

QUARTERS OF REDS IN PARIS WRECKED

Thousands Storm Building
—Other Protests on Hun-
gary Staged in Many
Capitals.

By W. GRANGER BLAIR

PARIS, Nov. 7.—Thousands of demonstrators stormed and set fire tonight to the French Communist party headquarters in the heart of Paris.

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In a matter of moments the rioters broke through a cordon of policemen around the Communist headquarters building. The steel-reinforced doors to the building were torn loose. The building swung in and began destroying everything in sight. Someone lit a match. The ground floor and the second and third floors were aflame.

Communist personnel inside the building were unable to stem the tide. Documents, furniture and other objects from the interior were hurled out into the street and were quickly ignited. As the building burned inside the demonstrators outside, carrying Hungarian flags and singing the Marseillaise, the French National Anthem, paraded around the building and shouted "Resist the Communist party!"

Police efforts to control the crowd were unavailing. The attack on the Communist newspaper office was not so powerful. There those who succeeded in entering the building were, in effect, prisoners of the defenders. The newspapers, however, tried flaming fires. The demonstrators and advancing platoons at the advance.

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For the second day in a row the National Assembly was forced to suspend debate when Communist and non-Communist deputies turned the chamber into a bedlam over the Hungarian issue.

Three deputies sought to speak against the Soviet oppression in Hungary. Each was interrupted by howls of protest from the Communists.

The uproar reached its peak when Jean-Louis Tixeront-Vignancourt, rightist deputy and member of the World War II Vichy Cabinet, took the microphone to denounce the Soviet Union. He could not speak. His words were drowned out by Communist cries of "Murderer!" "Gestapo!" "Assassin!" and "Collaborator!"

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At the time the fighting was taking place at the Communist buildings, 5,000 non-Communist laborers, in response to calls of their union leaders, marched around Paris's City Hall protesting against the Soviet Union. In almost every other major city in France similar anti-Communist labor manifestations took place.

While all this was going on a quiet reception was being held at the headquarters building. The first two floors were completely burned but the third floor continued to burn smoke and flame. Police efforts to control the crowd were unavailing.

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HUNGARY IS BLOW TO REDS IN ITALY

BY ARNALDO CORTESE

ROME, Nov. 8.—The largest Communist party west of the Iron Curtain is in a crisis as a result of the events in Hungary. The Italian Communist party has been through crises before but this one seems to be different. It has manifested itself in the industrial North and has involved some of the party's oldest and staunchest stalwarts. Distraction was highest in Mantova, a Communist citadel in industrial Lombardy. The local Communist Federation issued a statement signifying the intervention of Soviet troops in Hungary as "incomprehensible" and contrary to the principles for which the Soviet Union says it stands.

It spoke also of "unpardonable errors, deficiencies and failures" committed in Hungary. The situation goes so out of hand that Senator Pietro Secchia, Communist chairman for all of Lombardy, rushed to Mantova to dispel the local Communists. Walls in the city were immediately plastered with posters attacking the whole general staff of the Italian Communist movement. From the national party leader, Palmiro Togliatti, on down.

Communist leaders in Dovodola in the province of Tril called a meeting to explain to the rank-and-file what had happened in Hungary. Not one person turned up. It is true that Dovodola is a small place, but it is also true that it is in the province of Emilia, which is a fertile field for Communists.

Thousands of people in all Communist party membership cards. It is reported that in the middle of Rovigo alone—a province of Communist oases in the middle of predominantly Roman Catholic Veneto—more than 3,000 cards have been given back. Events in Hungary undoubtedly have been given back.

Signor Nenni stood up in the Chamber of Deputies last Tuesday and declared for the first time that he was in disagreement with his Communist comrades. He added that the Hungarian rebels were without question "workers and peasants and sons of workers and peasants."

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Spaak Appeals to Shepilov
BRUSSELS, Belgium, Nov. 8—Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgian Foreign Minister, has sent a note to Dmitri T. Shepilov, Soviet Foreign Minister, asking him to stop the intervention of Soviet forces in Hungary.

The note also asked M. Shepilov to allow the Hungarians to establish a political regime of their choice.

The note, sent yesterday, stated "the Soviet intervention [in Hungary] is killing all efforts at the relaxation of international tension and making confident relations between the East and the West impossible.

Another example of Belgium's disapproval of Soviet action in Hungary was a unanimous recommendation by the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Belgian Senate urging that the recently concluded Belgian-Soviet cultural agreement be made inoperative.

In Liege last night a crowd of several thousand demonstrated against the Soviet action in Hungary. They shouted "Khrushchev to the gallows!" and "The Communists are murderers." Overwhelming the police, they smashed furniture in the Communist party office and burned a Soviet flag.

Denmark Silenced 5 Minutes

COPENHAGEN, Denmark, Nov. 8—A hush, as if all life had stopped, descended on Denmark at noon today. The country was honoring the Hungarians' valiant resistance to Soviet oppression with five minutes of silence.

Not since April 9, 1940, when Germany occupied Denmark, has the country been united in such a moving demonstration. At work, on streets and in homes silence reigned. The only sound was the tolling of church bells. Flags were at half staff on all official buildings.

Einar Gerhardsen, Premier of Norway, and Tage Erlander, Premier of Sweden, came to see H. C. Hansen, Premier of Denmark, to discuss the international situation.

Nikolai V. Slavin, Soviet Ambassador, protested personally to the Danish foreign office against demonstrators who smashed the windows of the Soviet Embassy yesterday. The Premier, who also is Foreign Minister, assured the Ambassador of the authorities sincere will to prevent a repetition of the incident.

The police used batons yesterday to disperse the demonstrators. One student was fatally injured.

Austrians Disrupt Red Rally

VIENNA, Nov. 8—More than 1,000 students broke up the rally held by the Austrian Communist party here tonight to celebrate the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

A score of Austrians, including three policemen, were injured.

A Government-owned building had been rented to the Austrian Communist party as early as three months ago when no one could have foreseen that the Bolshevik anniversary would coincide with the tragic crushing of the Hungarian revolution.

About 2,000 Communists turned out to listen to party speeches. When young anti-Communist burst into the hall, the

meeting soon became a free-for-all. Fighting spread into the neighboring streets and the police were hard put to re-establish order.

Argentines Score Soviet

Special to The New York Times.
BUENOS AIRES, Nov. 8—Hundreds of anti-Communist demonstrators defied the night sticks, tear gas grenades and charges of mounted policemen in a violent three-hour clash that ended at 1 o'clock this morning.

The battle brought an end to a Soviet Embassy party whose glitter already had been tarnished by the marked absence of scores of those who had been invited. The Ambassadors and representatives of all countries belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization declined to attend a reception marking the thirty-ninth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution.

Western diplomats confirmed that they had received instructions from their capitals not to attend the reception. Embassies also refused to fly the Soviet flag, a customary practice in celebration of independence days.

Meanwhile, the Christian Democratic party held a meeting at which it adopted a resolution calling on the Argentine Government to break relations with the Soviet Union.

Policemen Guard Embassy

The demonstration started as the Soviet reception began to get under way. Six policemen, armed with eight machine guns, were assigned to guard the entrance to the embassy.

As guests began to arrive a crowd of Hungarian sympathizers assembled outside the building shouting "Assassins!" "Long live Hungary!" and "Get out of here!"

By 10 P. M. the demonstrators totaled more than 500 and an attempt was made to enter the embassy. By this time embassy personnel had dropped the steel shutters over the windows, the police repulsed the initial attack.

Police reinforcements were called and officials attempted to deal with the crowd gently. But the crowd's determination called for stronger measures and the police attempted to disperse the demonstrators with tear gas grenades. Students started building bonfires in the street, with tenants in neighboring buildings providing the fuel for them.

Mounted police reinforcements made sporadic charges into the demonstrating crowd, which dispersed into neighboring streets only to reform again. By midnight more than forty persons had been arrested but it was not until 1 A. M. that the police, aided by firemen, managed to bring the crowds under control.

While these events were taking place in the capital there also was a serious disturbance in Rosario, the nation's second largest city. There the Communist party attempted to hold a rally to demonstrate its "solidarity with the people of Egypt."

Anti-Communist demonstrators clashed with the group. In a resulting melee three anti-Communist demonstrators received gunshot wounds.

Juan Carlos Rosada, president of the Roman Catholic Action group, was gravely wounded. Soldiers of the Eleventh Infantry Regiment were called in to patrol the city to prevent further trouble.

**COMMUNIST CRISIS
ARISES IN AUSTRIA**

Events in Hungary Cause
Unrest—Many Tear Up
Party Cards Publicly

By PAUL HOFMANN

Special to The New York Times.
VIENNA, Nov. 9—The Soviet intervention in Hungary has caused a crisis in the small but hitherto cocky Austrian Communist party from the top down to the rank and file of Austrian Communism anti-Russian feeling became visible today.

At the Communist party Central Committee in Vienna the draft of a congratulatory message that was to be sent to Moscow on the thirty-ninth anniversary of the October Revolution failed to win a majority, it was revealed. The message was proposed by Johann Kopenig, Moscow-trained Communist who is reputed to advocate strict adherence to the Soviet line.

If a congratulatory message has been sent at all, its wording was considerably cooler than Herr Kopenig's original draft, it was understood. No communication on that subject was made by Communist headquarters here.

Revolt in Provinces

The unrest in the Communist leadership found expression in the rebellion of some provincial party officials. In Graz, capital of the province of Styria, City Councilman Franz Kramer, a Communist, issued a statement saying: "I condemn the policy that has led to the events in Hungary and declare I intend to continue representing the Communist party * * * only if it places itself publicly on the basis of an independent and autonomous Austrian policy." Herr Kramer also demanded that "the main representatives of the Stalinist policy" should be thrown out of Austrian communism. This was understood to be a direct attack on Herr Kopenig.

According to Vienna newspapers, Graz is by no means the only scene of rebellion. Similar developments were reported to be maturing in Communist local organizations in various parts of the country. Sources close to the Social Democratic party, which is strongly anti-Communist, stated today that in a number of Austrian industrial plants Communist workers had protested against Soviet suppression of the Hungarian revolutionaries by publicly tearing up their party membership books.

Few Attend Party Fete

How deeply the Red rank and file has been shaken by the Hungarian events was evidenced here last night by the poor attendance at the official Communist party celebration of the anniversary of the October Revolution. Only a few hundred persons turned out to listen to party speakers. Political workers of the anti-Communist parties reported that well-known Communist stalwarts stayed at home yesterday.

**SOVIET ATTACK HIT
BY DAILY WORKER**

Hungarian Action Is Scored
as Harmful to Socialism
—Party Board Splits

By PETER KIHSS

The Daily Worker strongly criticized today the Soviet Union's use of force in Hungary. The Communist newspaper here called editorially for an immediate meeting of the Big Four heads of government to discuss Eastern Europe and the Middle East.

The Worker editorial was written yesterday following a split in the national committee of the Communist party of the United States. A committee majority also decried use of Soviet troops in Hungary in a statement adopted last Thursday—before yesterday's attack by the Soviet forces.

The majority was understood to be made up of perhaps nine or ten members and alternates living in New York City, apparently including John Gates, Worker editor.

The only votes made known were a "yes, with qualifications" by James Jackson and abstentions by Eugene Dennis, party general secretary, and Benjamin J. Davis, former City Councilman, William Z. Foster, national chairman, was absent.

Wash. Evening Star

NOV 9 1956

**Daily Worker Cartoonist
Quits Over Hungary**

LONDON, Nov. 9 (AP)—The Communist Daily Worker announced today its political cartoonist has quit because he "profoundly disagrees" with the organ's support of the Soviet action in Hungary.

Cartoonist James Friell had been with the Worker 20 years, using the pen name Gabriel.

The participants in last night's Communist meeting were greatly outnumbered by youthful anti-Communists who staged counter-demonstrations. In the ensuing riots the police were particularly tough. Some anti-Communists complained today that policemen seemed to show an exaggerated eagerness to protect the Communists from the hostile crowd.

Whether this criticism is justified it is plainly discernible that the Austrian authorities are leaning backward to avoid any appearance of anti-Communist discrimination. Chancellor Julius Raab's church-supported People's party, particularly, appears to fear the Soviet Union might construe any anti-Communist gesture by Austria as a violation of her neutrality.

Mr. Meany was proposing a complete economic boycott. Mr. Meany asked Mr. Eisenhower also to block every effort of Moscow to seat in the United Nations the Hungarian puppet regime it has imposed by brute force on the Hungarian people."

Mr. Meany's message said: "Free labor and freedom-loving people throughout the world cannot keep silent about this Communist butchery of the Hungarian nation."

An AFL-CIO spokesman said Mr. Meany was proposing a complete economic boycott. Mr. Meany asked Mr. Eisenhower also to block every effort of Moscow to seat in the United Nations the Hungarian puppet regime it has imposed by brute force on the Hungarian people."

Mr. Meany asked President Eisenhower in a telegram to urge every country outside the Iron Curtain to sever all cultural, scientific, technical, and economic relations with the Soviet dictatorship and forthwith to discontinue the exchange of any such delegations with the U.S.S.R."

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At the same time the refugee flood seems to be drying up, Mr. Road disclosed. Two days ago there were 1,000 refugees, he said; yesterday 600. Civilian refugees are taken to one of the three camps established at Traiskirchen, Graz and Judenan. Dr. Victor Bierman of the Austrian Ministry of Interior said Hungarian soldiers fleeing from their homeland were being interned in Austria under the Hague Convention and taken to a camp adjoining an Austrian Army barracks in Upper Austria. According to Dr. Bierman, the 12,000 refugees arrived in two groups. The first group of about 3,000, mostly from Budapest, reached Austria during the last week of the year.

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EISENHOWER ACTS
Plans Special Steps to Speed Machinery of Refugee Law

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8—President Eisenhower ordered "extraordinary measures" today to help Hungarian victims of the Refugee Act, passed in 1953, which permit the issuance of visas to 5,000 refugees "from behind the Iron Curtain who find asylum in Austria or Germany."

Normally, administration of the act is cumbersome, each applicant must have an assurance from a sponsor that he will have a place to live and a job or other financial assistance that will guarantee him economic independence of the government. James C. Hagerly, White House press secretary, said that the Administration might have to "waive" the job-assurance requirement.

Asked whether the law permitted this, Mr. Gately replied: "It's too late to change the law. We are going to get the people in here."

The security-check requirement will also be eased, Mr. Gately said. "We are going to take extraordinary measures to make sure we do not get the wrong ones but that we do get the right ones processed," he said. The President's action was in reply to an appeal from the Austrian Government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for aid to Hungarian refugees.

Mr. Hagerly said General Eisenhower planned to ask the newly elected Congress for legislation to continue the admission of refugees into the United States.

The first trainload of 500 anti-Hungarian men and women to leave for the United States since Oct. 28, 1956, was reported to have poured into Austria. The 12,000 Hungarian refugees who have poured into Austria since Oct. 28, 1956, were reported to have poured into Austria. The 12,000 Hungarian refugees who have poured into Austria since Oct. 28, 1956, were reported to have poured into Austria.

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