

Page Denied



the hungarian student

On the Late Hungarian Massacre

By F. Mark Davis

THE BLOOD of our brothers cries out from the ground,
As Rachel our mother weeps over her slain,
Fallen at Kilian. Again we are bound;
And alone we tread out the winepress in pain.
In words, multitude, the nations now clamor,
Resolve, passing censure against the oppressor,
While thousands desert the dread sickle and hammer
At the frightful exposure. They seek a confessor.
But the foe, crafty, taunts us, "Men forget past events,
And your plea, 'Come and help lest you suffer our fate,'
Will be drowned in the din of new world ferment."
Even now in our ranks some murmur, "Too late."
Is it nothing to you, all you who pass by,
That a people, a nation, for freedom now die?



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"We Hungarians live in the purging fire of the times. Across our thousand-year-old history flash the deeds of our heroes, the bright words of our poets. We cannot evade our loyalty." (Tamasi)

THE CALL of our blood ranged us with martyrs of bygone days. Tempered by a decade of trials, we launched a superhuman effort to save our nation.

Only the Creator knows what force kept life's flame alight through every storm. On the black scrolls of crushed revolts, history records in gilt letters the names of our martyrs. Yet the past failed to dismay us or sap our strength and faith. Rising at the call of Destiny to defend the rights of nations and individuals, we again manned Europe's outer ramparts.

"The aged tree of Time sheds its leaves." (Arany) A lost generation wanders, stumbling, across the sere remains of the past, searching for a straight path through the miasma which for a dozen years has hidden the wavering future.

For an instant our small nation sent a ray of light into the dark, revealing the true face of the madness threatening civilization, tearing aside the veil of bland hypocrisy. But alas, the ensuing holocaust reduced our hopes to ashes. Still, we trust that the flames at least will rouse the free world from its slumber.

No longer can any man ignore our monument to freedom, inscribed with the unforgettable date—October 23, 1956—when we rose to wash clean with our blood the sullied image of human ideals, and proclaimed to the dull ear of materialists that beyond their earthly wallow is something worth living and even dying for.

Ours is a time of unanswered questions that block creative force, clip the wings of thought, cramp the will. What else could we have done in that stifling uncertainty than to reply for ourselves and the world in our own way?

This reply has marked for us a path from which we may not stray, the path of human dignity. In letters of blood it spells out the duty of



those who should have seen but didn't, or wouldn't.

Now the light is snuffed out, and again the old miasma chokes a riven Europe. Terror grips our towns and villages. For its valiant stand our youth has earned prison or exile. The dreams of our poets have been trampled. A nation lies in chains for having dared to claim its due.

For an instant let us stay the rush of time and from this milestone view the road ahead. True, our lives are shorter by a year, our wounds still bleed; but we do not vaunt our hurt. We seek understanding, not pity. Remembrance of our heroic dead will evoke, we trust, not just sorrow but emulation.

Bearing embers of that October pyre to the West, we speak in exile for those who cannot speak. Our voice is the voice of compatriots who met doom with a song on their lips. Our heart beats also for those who saw death as a release from dungeons and torture. Being one with them, our goals have not changed, only our methods. Speaking as friends to friends, we try over and over to rouse the world to a realization slow in dawning.

Perhaps our speech and admonition still fall strangely on Western ears. Yet would any man of honor fail to warn his host against the arsonist? And who knows better his

cruel visage than we who faced him for a decade and hurled his own torch in his face?

Recalling October, we hear the blast of machine guns, the voice of martyrs intoning our national prayer. You remember the headlines and radio bulletins. We know that youth in the West stood by us when we could not ask this. Now we ask youth to support us again, that our voice may be strengthened. At stake is not only the life of a small nation, but civilization and human dignity.

Trams run now where barricades stood, and the wounds of shell-torn houses have healed. But our borders are sealed once more with mines and barbed wire. The rains have washed away the blood of heroes. Thick prison walls mute the screams of the tortured. In Budapest people are forbidden even to remember.

Only we can voice the thoughts of those back home; only we can pay tribute to that autumn when our youth's blood stained red the fields and streets. In plighting our hearts to the mission fate has assigned us, we speak also for those who, under the shadow of the knout, make their vows in silence. We shall be true to our martyred dead—nor will anything ever still in us the clarion call of liberty!

by Joseph Takacs
Translated by Alex Harsanyi

5) Other (small-craftsmen, small merchants, and independent occupations.)

6) Class-aliens (those whose parents ever had more than one employee, had been army officers or state officials of rank during or before World War II, or had land exceeding 20 acres. Naturally children whose parents had been imprisoned or interned without a valid verdict by a court were also listed in this category.)

The children of party functionaries were naturally placed in category one with complete disregard for the original profession of their parents.

This classification system has never been made public. A confidential decree, the details of which were unknown to the public, contained provision for this system of categories. The personnel departments alone had copies of the decree and the employees of the personnel departments had exclusive jurisdiction over the assignment of admitted students to the various categories. The university personnel departments obtained information on stu-

dents applying for admission from party secretaries and other personnel departments. Small wonder that students against whose parents personnel department chiefs had developed a grudge were forever barred from the universities.

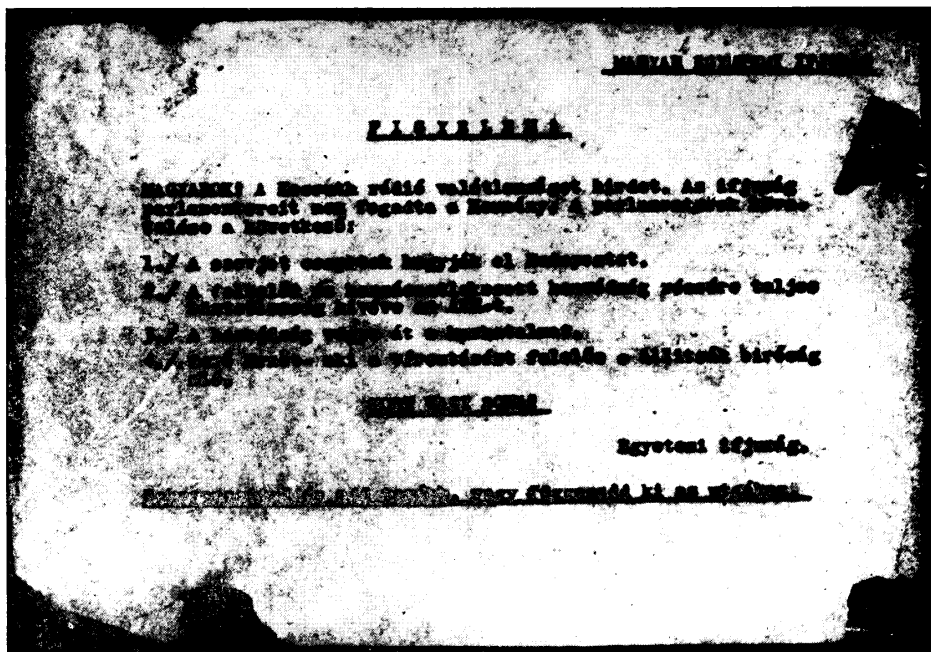
Certain percentage figures were taken into consideration in admissions to universities. Thirty to forty percent of all students had to be of worker origin, 15-20% students whose parents were classified as "intelligentsia," 25-30% students of peasant origin, 10-15% students whose parents were classified as employees, 5-10% students of other origin and only very exceptionally, students whose parents had been "class-aliens."

The admittance examination covered four subjects. A maximum number of 26 points could be achieved. Students who failed on every question got a total of 4 points. Theoretically a total of 12 points was needed to be admitted to the university. However, students of worker and peasant origin were admitted with 9 or even 8 points. Students whose parents

had been members of the intelligentsia had to have 15 points, "employees" and students of "other" origin 20-22 points. So-called "class-aliens" were admitted only if they had scored a total of 25-26 points on the admission examination. However, they had to have a special Ministry of Education permit to attend the universities.

A middle-school graduation diploma as a prerequisite for university admission was required only for regular daytime courses, and this too only during the two years preceding the revolution. For years students had been admitted to the universities without a middle-school graduation diploma, or having passed so-called "specialized matriculation degree" courses lasting only a few months after successful graduation from the "general school" (6-8 years). The universities also had evening and correspondence courses. The great majority of students enrolled in these courses had no middle-school background. Also the time spent on teaching in these courses was shorter than in the regular daytime courses. Na-

University Students' Demands





turally there were some outstanding students among those attending evening or correspondence courses too, but the majority were unable to hold their own at the university and later, after graduation, in life. The government's main interest in the correspondence courses was to give diplomas to persons who had been given a high position but did not have a proper educational background.

No matter how selective the regime was in respect to university students, it did not trust them. It forced the Communist youth organization upon them by making it compulsory to join DISZ. The students were divided into groups of 20-22 and each group had a leader, a DISZ representative and an "absenteeism trustee." The various classes had separate DISZ leaderships and the universities, or faculties, had DISZ top committees. This cell system paralyzed the students completely. The DISZ leader, in combination with the trustee in charge of students' political screen-

ing cards and the party secretary, awarded the insignificant amounts paid to students as stipends. Until 1953 the awarding of stipends had been based exclusively on "origin." The amount of the stipends also depended on these three party personalities.

The famous university sports clubs were disbanded, and all universities had a common sports club called *Haladás*, (progress). The leadership of this club consisted mainly of party functionaries.

Methods borrowed from the dark ages were put into effect during examinations. The old, well-functioning system of university examinations was abolished and the system of "state examinations" substituted for it. The state examination's most important subject was Marxism-Leninism, the second most important subject Russian language and the third (and least important) part of the examination consisted of regular subjects. Only the third part

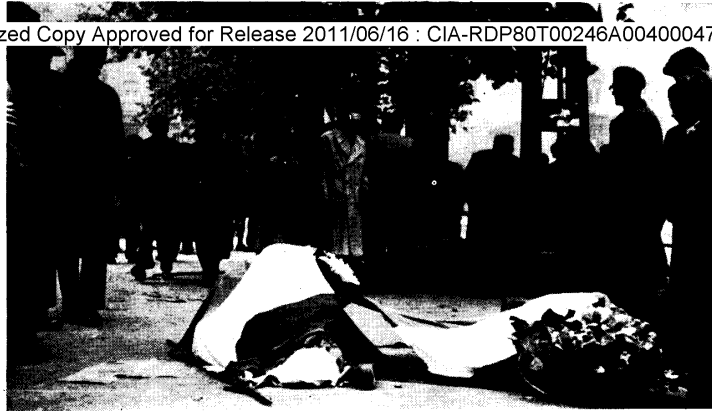
was directly related to the qualifications needed for the diploma.

One of the most serious grievances of graduated students was their inability to choose a job freely. After graduation they had to practice in their profession for two years.

This meant that after graduating, a student had to take up a job assigned to him by the government. The result of this was that the graduated students had to work for very low salaries in jobs which they themselves disliked.

The students as well as the professors always knew that this system was wrong. Dissatisfaction grew increasingly and in October, 1956, the students put down their demands in writing. On October 23 these demands set in motion the revolution of the Hungarian people against the Communist system.

Imre Farkas, former Chairman, Faculty of Mathematics and Physics, University of Agrarian Science.



Youth Organizations and the Revolt

THE PARTY was never sure of the allegiance of the youth. However, open clashes did not occur in great numbers before the end of 1955. From then on the "chauvinism, nationalism, political indifference, anti-political attitude, clericalism, insincerity, egotism and belittling of socialist achievements" of the youth had become staple topics of the newspapers.

After the XXth Party Congress the attacks upon the youth underwent certain changes: whereas before the Congress the youth and its educators had been made directly responsible for shortcomings, afterward the Communist Youth Association was blamed.

On May 21 to 23, 1956, the Central Leadership of the DISZ held a conference. The resolution passed at this meeting expressed the organization's strong self-criticism:

"There are grave shortcomings in the work of the DISZ organizations. . . .

- a) The effect of the cult of personality on the work of our Association has been our underrating or disregarding the role, creative force, opinion, and demands of the masses of youth. . . .
- b) We have restricted the spontaneous activity of the youth organizations. . . . In this atmosphere the initiative of the masses of youth became almost completely submerged. . . .
- c) As a result of this policy of

holding aloof from the demands of the masses, formalism became rampant in the work of the DISZ. . . . The covering up of errors and shortcomings became a habit as did the embellishment of reality.

The Executive Committee of the Central Leadership of the DISZ is primarily to blame for this situation."

The resolution mentioned several tasks whose fulfillment would lead to the rectification of shortcomings. However, it simultaneously upheld the slogan: "Fidelity to the Party," which had been the source of all "shortcomings."

During the summer, attacks were directed against the "omnipotence" of the Party in questions pertaining to youth. The resolution of the Central Committee of the MDP (Hungarian Workers' Party) on some problems relating to the policy on the intelligentsia (*Social Review*, August, 1956) rehabilitated the intelligentsia living outside the confines of the party. This freed pedagogy from the dictatorship of party men.

Between October 1 and 6, 1956, leading Hungarian educators held a conference at Balatonfured. At this conference they tore apart the Communist educational policy in Hungary. At the end of the conference a resolution was passed. This resolution was entitled "The Platform of Fured," and in it Hungarian educators came out courageously in defence of freedom of culture:

"The participants of the debate

have unanimously come to the conclusion that the indispensable prerequisite of all further progress is the freedom of pedagogical research, the freedom of scientific criticism and the inclusion on the broadest front of all creative forces into education. . . . No power shall ever be able to divert us from courageously serving truth, the Hungarian people and the cause of the Hungarian child." (*Public Education*, October 15, 1956, p. 1.)

On September 28, 1956, the Petofi Circle debated the problems of education. Several participants of the debate demanded that the education of the youth be separated from daily politics and that "general, objective truths" be taught. (*Public Education*, October 15, 1956).

Parallel with the educators' efforts at democratization, the students too demanded more freedom in studies as well as organization. This movement led to the famous students' meeting at Szeged on October 16, 1956, in the course of which the university students abandoned the Communist youth organization, DISZ, and formed an organization of their own, the MEFESZ. The other university students of the country followed their example.

The MEFESZ started to organize, or rather to re-organize itself, on October 16, 1956. During the revolution several other youth organizations were established, but MEFESZ maintained a leading role until the end. After the revolution the university students and their organization unanimously opposed the Kadar regime.

The Hungarian Student

Youth Speaks

Excerpts from Radio Kossuth Broadcasts, October 22, 1956.

1) "...Tonight the students of the University of Economics in Budapest have started their important general meeting. The students of this University, as well as representatives of other universities, professors and delegates of the workers' youth, participated in the general discussion. The main topic was a proposed proclamation sponsored by the presidium of the meeting, concerning political demands which are supported by the party committee of the university and by the faculty.

The proclamation's preface points out that the students wish to continue in the spirit of constructive marxism, but are opposed to stalinism. The students have two tasks to fight for: the demand for true democracy both in the political and economic aspects of life, and the annihilation of all radical provocation and anarchism. All the demands were summarized in 22 points. Several of these concern problems on the national level, others express the most urgent demands of the university students. Political questions center on the demand for independent governmental policies both at home and abroad relating to the real interests of the country.

The students demand the reinstallation of Imre Nagy to government and Party leadership. The emotional climax of the meeting was the expression of brotherly feelings and solidarity with the Polish people in their heroic fight.

An exciting debate developed a-

round the question of whether the students should maintain the old framework of DISZ or should join the new MEFESZ. The general tendency was toward the new MEFESZ, supported by Professor Bela Fogarasi, who emphasized the importance of the continued unity of the youth."

2) "...The leaders of the Petofi Circle held a meeting tonight.

A full-scale debate developed on the country's most important problems. A resolution was passed to summarize the thoughts and demands of the intellectuals and students as voiced during this fall. Although the final text is not yet available, the resolution will request that due to the extraordinary situation of the country the Central Committee of the Party be called to order as soon as possible. Imre Nagy must be invited. Another part of the resolution asks that popular politicians who fought for democratic socialism and

for the ideas of Lenin be invited into the highest leadership of Party and State. The resolution will also call for a revision of the second five year plan and a positive program to solve the financial and social problems of the country."



Revolutionary National Guard Identification

A mentők nyilatkozata

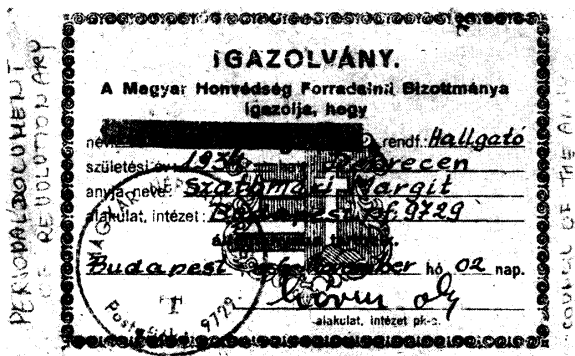
Mélyseges felháborodással értesültünk a nemzetgyilkos AVH-nak arról az aljas merényletéről, amelyel az Országos Mentőszolgálat becsületét és jó hírnevét kívánta sárbarántani. Az a mentőgépkocsival teljesen azonos külsejű gépkocsi, amelyen a Rádió ellen békésen tüntető magyar ifjúságra tüzelő AVH-brigantuk részre löszert szállítottak, nem az Országos Mentőszolgálat gépkocsija volt. Ezek óta tudtuk, hogy az AVH-nak aljas céljai elérésére mentőgépkocsijaikkal teljesen azonos, külsejű járművek vannak. Ekeken át hiába emelték fel az Országos Mentőszolgálat vezetői és dolgozói tiltakozó szavukat ez ellen, az akkori bűnös felső vezetés nem intézkedett. Ezenkívül a nemzeti felkelés első napján az AVH pribékjei két mentőgépkocsikat elrabolták.

Az Országos Mentőszolgálatnak odaadó szerepét mi sem bizonyítja jobban, minthogy két hősi halottunk, Rónafalvi Odón mentőorvos és Kecskés Sándor ápoló, egy életveszélyes állapotban lévő, továbbá három könnyebb sérültünk van, akiket kötelességük hősies teljesítése közben lőtték le, illetve sebesítettek meg a mentőgépkocsira orvul tüzélő AVH-brigantuk.

Méltóak leszünk hősi halottainkhoz, a forradalmi ifjúsághoz és megvédjük Hazánkat minden külső és belső ellenséggel szemben.

Az Országos Mentőszolgálat Forradalmi Munkásbizottsága

Ambulance Workers' Statement (See page 8)

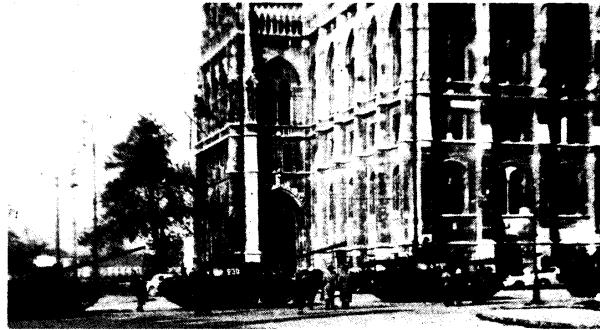


Revolutionary ID Card

A Student Diary

"OCTOBER 23, Tuesday. Many students went downtown to the offices and to the industrial sections to inform the workers about the 16 points, and to ask their help to carry them to victory. By 2 p.m., many factories had reported their intention of joining the planned demonstration. In the meantime students of the other universities met for the afternoon demonstration. Just before we formed our lines, the Ministry of Interior banned the demonstration. The leadership of the newly-formed MEFESZ sent student delegations to the Ministry of Interior and to the Politburo of the party. In their petitions the students demanded the right to demonstrate, and declared that they would not leave the universities until the permission was issued. Finally, at 3 p.m., the permission arrived, and we silently marched to the Bem statue. [General Bem, who was Polish, was one of the leaders of the Fight for Freedom in 1848-49 against Russian-Austrian colonialism.] More than 12,000 students were present from the University of Technology alone. As a result of this morning's activity, ten thousand workers, young and old people, came to the square. The capital seethed.

At 5 p.m. we finished our planned



Hungarian Parliament surrounded by Soviet tanks.

program. Then it was decided that we would go to the Parliament to submit our proposals and resolutions to the government. About 300,000 people crossed the Margaret Bridge. As we arrived in Pest, [the other side of the Danube] somebody shouted, "Let's tear down the Stalin statue, the symbol of our slavery!" At this call a considerable number of people went to where the statue stood. At about 7:30 p.m., accompanied by cheering and applause, the statue of Stalin fell down.

In the meantime hundred of thousands of people—students, workers, women and children—sang our national anthem with tears in their eyes: "Bless the Magyars oh Lord..." The people wanted Imre Nagy to come to deliver an address. The 16

points included his takeover of the government and the Party. Someone came to the balcony and said that Imre Nagy would arrive in half an hour. But the hated red star was still lighted on the tower of Parliament. Everybody shouted his wish: "Down with the red star!" In order to disperse the crowd, the lights were shut off in the square. Immediately torches were made from the special edition of the communist newspaper *Szabad Nep*. Finally, at about 7 o'clock, the light of the red star was turned off. After 3 hours Imre Nagy arrived, and appeared on the balcony at 8:30. The delay had made the people impatient, and Imre Nagy's calming speech was ineffective. Just as he finished his speech, a truck arrived from the radio station, saying that the secret police had opened fire on a group of unarmed students, who wanted to broadcast their 16 points. At first we thought these people might be provocateurs, and nobody moved. At this time it was hard to believe that the AVO would kill unarmed students. . . . But we had to believe it when another truck came from the radio station carrying the body of a 15-year old girl. . . .

When we arrived at the radio station, the narrow street was already covered with bodies, and machine-guns spit death from the windows. We stood there without any weapons. Finally the workers of the largest industrial district, Csepel, arrived on trucks with weapons. They could obtain them, because many war-industrial factories were in their area. And so it happened that by midnight thousands of students, workers and soldiers fought against the most hated of men, the secret police, and their helpers, the Soviet army. . . ."

Proclamation: Revolutionary Workers' Council, National Ambulance Service

"We are greatly shocked to learn of the heinous assault of the AVH by which they attempted to sully the reputation and name of the National Ambulance Service. The car looking exactly like an ambulance, which transported ammunition to the AVH bandits who fired at the peacefully-demonstrating youth in front of the Radio building, was not the property of the National Ambulance Service. We have known for years that the AVH has in its possession motorcars which are the exact copies of ambulances, to be used for their questionable purposes. For years the drivers and workers of the National Ambulance Service have objected to this practice in vain. The guilty leadership of those days took no steps.

Furthermore, on the first day of the National Revolt, the henchmen of the AVH stole two of our ambulances.

Nothing proves the devoted role the NAS plays more than its loss in action of Odon Ronafalvi, ambulance doctor, and Sandor Keeskes, orderly, and that one member of its staff was critically wounded and three members injured. All of them were killed or wounded by AVH bandits who fired at the ambulances while our members were heroically fulfilling their duty.

We will measure up to our dead heroes, to our revolutionary youth, and we will protect our country against all internal or external enemies.

Hungarian Youth's Sixteen Demands

Resolved at the Meeting of the Students of the University of Technology, Budapest, October 22, 1956

1. We demand the immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Hungary, in accordance with the peace treaty.

2. We demand new secret elections of the leaders of the MDP (Hungarian Workers' Party) on both the local, the intermediate, and the central levels, proceeding from the local levels upward; those elected shall urgently convoke a congress of the Party and shall elect a new Central Committee.

3. The government shall be reorganized under the leadership of comrade Imre Nagy; all the guilty leaders of the Stalin-Rakosi era shall forthwith be dismissed.

4. We demand public trial of the case of Mihaly Farkas and his associates. Matyas Rakosi, who is primarily responsible for all the crimes of the recent past and for ruining the country, shall be brought home and tried before the court of the people.

5. We demand general, equal, and secret elections to be held throughout the country, with the participation of several parties, for the purpose of electing a new National Assembly. We demand that the right of the workers to strike be safeguarded.

6. We demand that Hungarian-Soviet and Hungarian-Yugoslav political, economic, and intellectual relations be re-examined and regulated anew on the basis of full political and economic equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

7. We demand the reorganization of the entire economic life of Hungary. Our economic system—based on a planned economy—shall be reexamined by our experts, keeping in mind the resources of the country and the vital interests of the Hungarian people.

8. Our foreign trade agreements and the actual data on the never-completed reparations payments shall be published. We demand open and

truthful information on the uranium supplies of the country, their exploitation, and the concessions given to the Russians. We demand that Hungary be enabled to sell uranium ore freely, at the prices of the world market, and for hard currency.

9. We demand the complete revision of the norms applied in industry, as well as the immediate settlement of the wage demands of workers and intellectuals. We demand the fixing of a subsistence wage level for the workers.

10. We demand a reorganization of the system of deliveries on a new basis and the rational use of agricultural products. We demand the support of individually-working farmers on the basis of equality.

11. We demand the re-examination of all former political and economic trials by an independent court of justice and the liberation and rehabilitation of all those condemned unjustly. We demand the immediate repatriation of all prisoners of war and civilians who have been carried off to the Soviet Union, including the prisoners sentenced outside the country.

12. We demand full freedom of opinion, of speech, of press, and a free radio, as well as a new daily with wide circulation for the MEFESZ (Association of Hungarian University Students). We demand

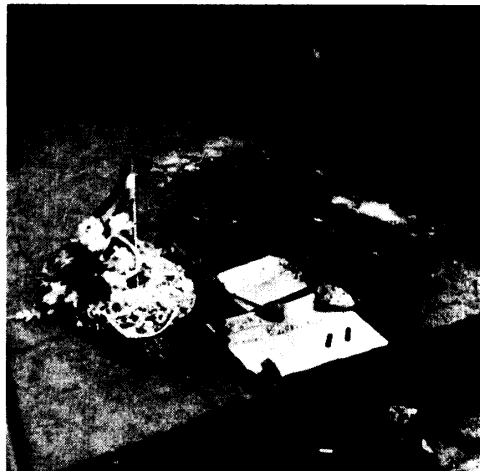
the publication and destruction of the existing cadre material.

13. We urgently demand that the symbol of Stalin's tyranny and political oppression, the statue of Stalin, be demolished. In its place, a befitting memorial shall be erected in honor of the heroes and martyrs of the 1848-49 fight for freedom.

14. We demand the restoration of the old Hungarian Kossuth coat-of-arms in place of the present coat-of-arms, which latter is entirely foreign to the Hungarian people. We demand new uniforms for the Hungarian army, befitting our national traditions. We demand that March 15 be declared a national holiday and holiday for workers, and that October 6 be declared a national day of remembrance and school holiday.

15. The youth of the Technical Universities of Budapest declares un-animously and with enthusiasm its solidarity with the workers and the youth of Poland and of Warsaw in connection with the Polish movement for independence.

16. The students of the Technical University of Architecture urgently establish the local organization of MEFESZ, and have resolved to call together a parliament of youth in Budapest for the 27th of this month, with the entire youth of the country participating by means of delegations.



A Student Remembers October 25, 1956

"IT WAS a cloudy, wet October morning. The 25th of October, the day which was registered in Hungary's history as 'bloody Thursday.'... The city was deadly quiet. The uprising of the 23rd seemed to be defeated. One could even taste the fear of the city. Cruel Mongolian faces appeared through the fog, sitting on the turrets of Soviet tanks, and the Tommy-guns of the secret-police officers guarding the streets were like exclamation-marks of the regime of terror.

I was on my way to see whether my sister and her family were alive or not. The last thing I remembered was my brother-in-law's furious face handling a sub machine-gun at the radio-station battle. As I made my way through the ragged streets, blocked and guarded by tanks, the people I met were silent and severe. There was no smile on their faces, only a flaming hate in their eyes. One could never feel more clearly our shameful situation, the humiliation of slavery, where the enslavers are cruel barbarians, and the slaves are the people of a freedom-loving nation with a thousand-year-old culture.

I arrived at the Hotel Astoria. The windows were broken, wires were tangled on the streets, huge shell-holes yawned at me from the walls of the University of Science. The books from the Soviet Information Center were still smoking on the street, and a half-burned picture of Stalin smiled sarcastically at me, as though he were saying: 'Well, you wanted to overthrow my yoke? Now you've learned that is better to live in communist "freedom" than to be the slaves of the capitalist-fascist imperialists! You know in communism the greatest value is human life!' Suddenly the silence was broken. A demonstration march approached, with black and national flags, shouting: 'We want freedom! Russians go home! Long life to the independent, free, democratic Hungary!' I hesitated for a moment, then with a sudden jump I joined the march. A student was beside me and a young mother with her three-

Gyula Hay Speaks . . .

October 25, 1956

"YOUNG PEOPLE, my friends—

I was with you and marched among you, arm in arm through the streets of Budapest. The national colors and the sign of Kossuth were with us from the statue of Petofi to the statue of Bem, and back to the Kossuth Square, but I have been fighting along with you for years for a new, young literature, for honor, for youth, for truth and for the people. I know you and I know you are honest patriots, that every breath you draw is true. If necessary I would stand at any bar of world justice to say: do not punish these young people; they are not the criminals. But this testimony will not be necessary. There are basic changes in the leadership of the State and the Party. Our most important demands are fulfilled. Imre Nagy is our man; his program is our program. Janos Ka-

dar learned in Rakosi's prisons what the Hungarians must be protected against. The fateful forces against which you had to be protected have left the Government with the dismissal of Gero. Your patriotic feelings were met with understanding. You don't have to fear revenge, but you don't have much time to lose either. We must revert immediately to peaceful means, and stop the armed fighting instantly. Even the quiet demonstrations are not useful now, because they might be misinterpreted. The time has come to fight with thoughts and ideas, without fear, and the representatives of the new—the young people and the younger spirit—will achieve a worldwide victory. Now you have to guard your lives; our country will need you badly in a new Hungary freeing itself from tyranny. This is the message your loving old friend has for you. . . ."

year-old son. As we marched through the streets, people came out of their houses and joined us. There were perhaps 10,000 men and women, mostly students and young workers, marching stubbornly to the Parliament. As we arrived at the square, the march stopped for a moment, for the Parliament was surrounded by Russian tanks. But then the 12 year-old girl who carried the flag stepped forward, and with solemn, slow steps walked to the front of the building, and we surrounded her. We sang the national anthem, and then the girl wanted to pose the Hungarian flag on the tank. Instantly, like the heralds of hell, machine-guns and tank-cannons shattered our song. From the roofs dozens of machine-guns opened fire on the unarmed, exposed mob. The Russians followed their comrades and fired their cannon from 12 feet into the living wall of people. I threw myself on the ground. I wanted to dig myself into the cold stone, but there was no escape. Bodies fell on me, the blood

ran in streams on the stones, the air was filled with screams and cries of the wounded and dying. A woman fell before me, dropping her crying baby on the street. Over the horrible sound of the machine-guns and cannon sounded the steadily louder music from hundreds of loudspeakers, the 'Egmont' overture by Beethoven. What a diabolic idea! I don't know how long the massacre lasted, it was eternity—I became older by years during this one short hour. And suddenly there was silence; the shrill-cries of the wounded strangely hurt my ears. I crept through bodies to the side of the square, and began to run, weeping with fear, fury and shame. I ran madly through streets, and finally I found myself in the arms of two Hungarian soldiers, who were asking me: 'Brother, what's the matter with you?' Stuttering, weeping, I told them. I knew only that I wanted to fight, I wanted a gun in my hand, to pay with the lives of Russians and communists for the innocently killed."

The Writers and Poets Address the Youth

Füst Milan:

"I am tired out, old and have seen much in the course of my long life, but never anything comparable to these events. I want to express here my amazement to you, my friends. I want to speak of the unheard of discipline of this revolt. This discipline lay not only in the fact that no robberies were committed anywhere—it is a known fact that no merchandise was touched behind the broken shop windows—which alone would deserve our greatest admiration. This alone did not constitute the miracle which shook me to the depth of my being and whose memory I want to take with me to the grave. The miracle which resurrected in my heart all my love for my compatriots was the political consideration and wisdom, the political moderation, as well as the heartfelt goodwill and helpfulness of the revolutionaries to their fellow-men.

These boys and this whole nation did not ask for the big landowners, for clerical dominions. It did not want to grab riches, it did not try to recall the dronelike princes of a defunct dynasty, it did not demand the return of the aristocrats. In this honorable and honest and disciplined revolution not a single selfish or fascist voice was heard. And this is what I am proud of and never will forget.

O, this revolution was modest indeed from a material point of view, sadly modest, and still, it was sublime, because materially it fought only for a modest living, while fighting for the most valuable goods of the spirit. And what are they? True democracy and true freedom!"

Bárávy Tamás:

"Beloved young brothers, youth of today, about whom so much evil has been said, who have been called frivolous and cynical, it is you who have given an everlasting example that there can be no hesitation when the moment comes, that an answer has to be given when Fate and Time question. And you have engraved in

the consciousness of the nation for centuries to come the lesson that life is impossible without morals, that in moral conflicts life ceases to be human life. All that has happened in these tragic days, all that you did, was inspired by the noblest of all human emotions: moral indignation. Never has there been a more beautiful, purer, more moving revolution.

What a bloody revenge was taken through you and by you for that hypocritical cynicism which mornings in your schools taught you an almost mythical reverence for the most beautiful ideologies, because they are the most humane, and then afternoons and evening threw before your amazed and dazzled eyes the horrible, inhuman truth.

Mornings your blushing, poorly clad teachers exulted to you about human equality, about a society free from exploitation. Afternoons you had an illustration of this equality in the curtained, luxurious cars whizzing past the throngs hanging off the trolleys. Mornings in school you heard about shining examples of human helpfulness and kindness, afternoons and evenings the many thousands of intrigues, the elbowing and fighting of a society debased in the scramble for the meager, everyday bread and 50 forint raises, sputtered around you.

Mornings in school you parroted the blessings of increased production,

nights the atmosphere in your homes was heavy with your mother's sighs, worrying about how to budget the money. This you could not understand; the country really produced more and more, except that your share never increased.

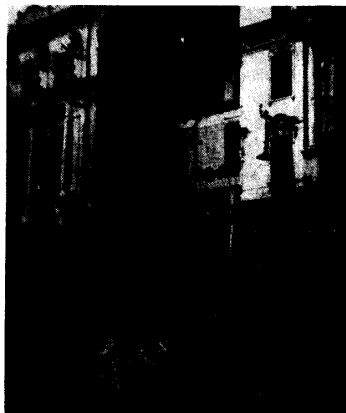
Then you realized that they were lying to you.

You did not realize this all at once. The awakening was slow, because human beings are made so that they do not want to relinquish their dreams once they have dreamt them. First you just rubbed your eyes, not wanting to believe them. You told yourselves that there were not as many luxury cars but many more trolleys than you saw. You believed that while your neighbors, the Blacks and Whites, had become corrupt climbers, obsessed by the wish for a career, other people were good, true and honest. You believed it was only your poor mother who was no good at budgeting, as even the papers wrote about the rising prosperity of the people.

But then came the time when you could no longer disbelieve your eyes. Then you saw clearly how the sinful tyranny of a narrow-minded guilty clique abases the beautiful struggle of one class towards progress by forcing it to run the gauntlet of another class.

By then you had learned to be en-

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The Writers' Manifesto

A Magyar Írók Szövetségének nyilatkozata

Nemzeti forradalmunk, szabadságunk és függetlenségünk kivívásának legnagyobb erénye az erkölcsi tisztaság.

A magyar írók kivették részüket a forradalom előkészítéséből. Kötelesek, hogy öröködjék a forradalom tisztaságán is.

Követelik, hogy vonják felelősségre mindazokat, akik a nép ellen vétkeztek. Ugyanilyen határozottsággal követelik azt is, hogy a bűnösök a szabad magyar bíróság előtt feleljenek. A nép ne az utcán ítélkezzék, hanem a tárgyalóteremben!

Felszólítunk mindenkit, hogy a vétkeseket bántatlanul adják át a nemzetőrség vagy a honvédség járőreinek. A személyi bosszú méltatlan hozzánk. Meggyőződésünk, hogy a magyar nép ebben is egyetért íróival.

A világ szeme rajtunk. Csodálja forradalmunk tisztaságát. Ne essék rajta folt!

Budapest, 1956 november 1.

A Magyar Írók Szövetsége

"The greatest virtue of the achievement of our national revolution for freedom and independence is its morality.

The Hungarian writers have had their part in the preparation of the Revolution and it is their duty to watch over its purity. They demand that all those who have committed crimes against the people be made responsible. And just as firmly they demand that the guilty answer before a free Hungarian tribunal. The people are not to pass sentence in the streets but in the courtroom.

We call on everyone to hand over the guilty to the national militia or army patrols. Personal revenge does not befit us. We are convinced that the Hungarian people agrees in this too with its writers.

The world's eyes are upon us. They admire the purity of our revolt. Don't let it be sullied."

*The Hungarian Writers' Association
Budapest, November 1, 1956*

thusiastic about the freedom-movements of colonial and semi-colonial people, but you were not allowed to speak of the freedom of your own people, of your own country and of its urgent problems. In the meanwhile you greeted each other with the word 'Freedom.' Even in your sleep you could recite, 'the greatest value is man,' but all around you you saw how the blinded representatives of that tyrannical clique treated the people here—the old ones who had worked all their lives as well as the young ones just starting in life.

Then you shrugged your shoulders and went to search for new ideals to replace those you had heard about in school. You began to run; from yourselves, from the anxieties hammering at your brain, from the thoughts chasing each other. All this could be borne no other way. And then for many came the zoot-suits, platform shoes, dancing and rum, passing loves, the what's the use attitude—anything, only no more meditation, only no more brain-wracking thoughts that drive toward madness.

And then the sanctimonious hypocrites, who had spun this terrible, devilish kaleidoscope of truth and

fancy before your eyes, stood up and without batting an eyelash dared tell you; you are cynical! What have they done to your souls, good God. . .

But now you have answered the poisoners of your souls, and what a reply you have given. You have made this October more glorious than March of '48 for many centuries to come [Kossuth's Hungarian Freedom fight began on March 15, 1848]. You have shown that despite the times in which you grew up you matured into men, you grew to be the most stalwart of all generations, yes, you grew into symbols in the eyes of your fathers and your future sons.

We, your older brothers, who are wiser because we are more cowardly, are moved to tears when we think of your brave deeds, your dead and living heroes. We bow our heads before you because you have accomplished what no one else before you has: you have sparked the truly Hungarian revolution. Its flames are welding our people into a true nation."

Nemeth László:

"The miraculous sight of the nation welded together so in its suffering

and humiliation, the unanimous determination of the workers, students and soldiers to become organized without any previous preparation—this uprising without a leader has surpassed not only my hope, but my imagination."

Pálóczi-Horvath:

"The era of horror only steeled our children and made them good politicians and brave fighters."

Déry Tibor:

"For years I have desperately watched Hungary's youth; it was deadly silent. On October 23 it arose and cleared the nation's honor. I raise my hat to it in awe and reverence. As I had wished, asked and hoped, our country now has a youth of '56 to match the youth of '48."

Tamási Aron:

"We are all praying—workers, peasants, youth and poets—for a better future, we who are always and steadfastly true to our country."

Violations of Human Rights

The Kadar Regime's Record Since November 4, 1956

DURING THE revolution which broke out on October 23, 1956, the Hungarian people fought for human rights and for the country's independence. These aims were essentially achieved on October 28, 1956, because at that time the Hungarian people were in a position to express their views freely, to publish newspapers, to hold meetings without restrictions; political parties were formed, labor councils and revolutionary committees were created in a democratic fashion, churches functioned without disturbance, the principle of private property was not violated and above all the will of the Hungarian people gained expression in matters of public interest.

In other words, before the Soviet Union launched its attack against Hungary and her legal government in the small hours of November 4, 1956; before the Soviet lords placed the power in the hands of Janos Kadar; the Hungarian people enjoyed complete personal and organizational freedom. Beginning with the Soviet attack and the installation of the Kadar regime all these rights were gradually withdrawn; in the following text we shall show, step by step, how the reign of terror has taken over in Hungary.

Immediately after the so-called "Revolutionary Worker and Peasant Government" assumed power, the total liquidation of Hungarian revolutionary resistance was launched with an extermination campaign unequalled in Hungarian history and with the deportation of Hungarian youths to the Soviet Union.

A front-page article in the November 20, 1956 issue of the *New York World Telegram and Sun* is devoted to the heroic deeds of the residents of Cegled. The people of Cegled have stopped a train taking deportees to the Soviet Union and set the prisoners free. The entire world is proud of this deed and the names of the people of Cegled will never be forgotten by humanity. The only ray

of hope amidst the plentiful bad news is the slowing-down of the pace of deportations. This resulted from the desperate protests of world public opinion. A secret ham radio station operating in the County of Szabolcs-Szatmar reported that between November 14 and 16 a total of 10,000 Hungarian deportees passed through this area on their way to the Soviet Union. The same radio station announced that 2,500 deportees rebelled against their Russian guards near Kisvarda on November 15, disarmed the guards and escaped.

According to reliable information, approximately 10 to 15 thousand persons, mainly young boys and girls, have been deported to the Soviet Union. Both "the Hungarian and Soviet governments denied that deportations have taken place."

However, the regime was unable to solve the Hungarian question by deportations alone. Despite the fact that Stalin termed the Hungarian question a question of boxcars—in a statement made after World War II—the national unity shown by the Hungarian people and the indignation of world public opinion have made it impossible for the reds to solve the Hungarian question by deportations alone. They could not very well drag 9 million Hungarians to the steppes of Siberia, and so Hungary had to be kept in a state of intima-

tion with the most radical methods. The following decree serves to bear out this contention:

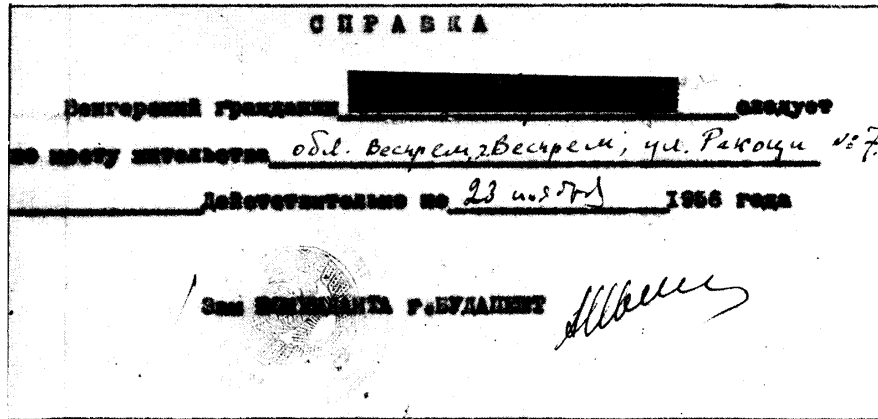
Section I of Decree No. 4/1957, with the force of a law, rules:

"... those who deliberately disturb the functioning of public utility services, water, gas, electricity, or obstruct the activities of organizations declared essential for the public by the government, are punishable by death."

All these measures and the steady grip of the harsh and unmerciful Russian military intervention were unable to break the resistance and determination of the Hungarian people. The official newspaper of the government and of the party, *Nepszabadsag*, had been forced to admit that the second 48-hour strike was one of the biggest in the history of the workers' movement. The workers resisted any attempts to break the strike, caused shop-managers to close open shops, forced trolleys and buses to stop, attacked Russian tanks with hand grenades and the police with their bare fists. On December 4, 1956, one month after the Soviet invasion of Hungary, 30,000 women marched to Heroes' Square to deposit wreaths under the monument of the unknown soldier. On December 6, 1956, Soviet tanks fired upon unarm-

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Student Travel Permit Signed By Soviet Commander of Budapest

ed masses. Demonstrators collapsed by the dozens as they marched up the streets silently with the national flags in their hands and clashed several times with police units and Russian units deployed against them. Later the demonstrators rallied again in front of the Western Terminal and several demonstrators were killed and injured in clashes that occurred there. The news of the bloody demonstrations spread quickly all over the city and more demonstrations and clashes occurred. The demonstrators demanded Kadar's immediate ouster and the withdrawal of all Russian forces from Hungary. On December 9, 1956, a huge, bloody clash occurred in Miskolc, which was briefly commented upon by the world press. The Communist version of this event was published in the December 14, 1956, issue of *Nepszabadsag* and reads as follows: "Early in the afternoon smaller groups rallied in the streets. The crowd advanced shouting: 'Hungarians march with us.' They stopped the trolley cars and finally succeeded in creating a shuffling around the immobile buses and trolleys at the corner of Szemere Street. Immediately the crowd started agitating; shouting anti-democratic and anti-Soviet slogans. The pedestrians—about 400 of them—immediately converged upon the group. Texts of leaflets appeared immediately: anti-Soviet poems, which the crowd wanted to have printed. Hungarian policemen and Soviet soldiers were posted in front of the printing

house. Now the counter-revolutionaries were no longer satisfied with diatribes. A depraved gang opened fire on the Soviet soldiers, the Hungarian police and the crowd from the roof and the basement of the building located opposite the publishing house. One soldier died immediately and two others were injured. Panic gripped the crowd. Many ran in the direction of the Szinva bridge, the bridge broke under them and many fell into the rocky bed of the brook. The counter-revolutionaries upheld their fire. The Soviet soldiers were forced to return the fire. The counter-revolutionaries set fire to the look-out on top of the Avas mountain. A group of about 60 counter-revolutionaries broke into the barracks of the Tenth Infantry Regiment through the back entrance and demanded that the commander of the police forces [Kadar militia] be handed over to them. Instead of complying with the demands of the counter-revolutionaries, the members of the police force pushed the group out of the yard of the barracks with rifle-butts. Not a single shot was fired. The policemen inside the barracks closed the entrances and returned to their quarters, when two shots were fired. One of the leaders of the police force, Comrade Alexander Oprendek, collapsed dead, struck by one of the bullets fired by the counter-revolutionaries."

The January 12, 1957, issue of *Nepakarat*, Budapest, had the following to say on the workers' demon-

stration in Csepel in which a few workers were killed: "Several workers of the Csepel Steel Works declared that they were unwilling to continue to work under their former leaders. These workers published provocative leaflets. A demonstration started and the state forces ordered the demonstrators to disband. Several groups of demonstrators attacked the armed state forces. The latter withdrew into the building of the central administration and fired some warning shots. The demonstrators sent a delegation consisting of ten persons to negotiate with Director Hegyi and the governmental commissioner. A rebellion broke out and shooting occurred. Later people also shot in self-defense. Bullets ricocheting from the ceiling injured Imre B. Nagy, who died later in the afternoon in the hospital. A woman was also injured. The crowd dispersed after the warning shots had been fired."

Moscow and the puppet Kadar regime did not waste much time before applying stronger methods. They tried the participants of the Miskolc demonstration. In the course of these demonstrations Communist newspapers were burned and revolutionary songs recited. Bela Barta, a 30-year old worker, who initiated the demonstrations with two colleagues of his on December 10, 1956, was mentioned by name by the Kadarist authorities. The court sentenced Bela Barta to 14 years' imprisonment,

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The Hungarian Student

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whereas the other participants of the demonstration were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 3 to 9 years.

The regime also began to arrest the members of the revolutionary workers' councils established in the first days of the revolution. Sandor Racz and Sandor Bali, two leading members of the workers' councils, were arrested. According to a dispatch from Belgrade at that time, 3,000 intellectuals and workers were arrested by the Kadar bloodhounds within a period of only three days. The extraordinarily harsh measures against the workers and against the freedom fighters were directed by the Russian General Serov, who is also the head of the Soviet secret police.

After the crushing of the revolution, the MEFESZ and the university students unanimously opposed the Kadar regime. On November 29, 1956, the representatives of 22 universities and academies elected an All-University Revolutionary Council which published the eight-point demand of the Hungarian university students in cooperation with the provisional executive committee of the MEFESZ.

This is a summary of the eight points:

1) The university students stand on their program of October 23, 1956. There is nothing "counter-revolutionary" in this.

2) We want an independent, democratic and socialist Hungary; we reject any leftist or rightist attempt at restoration.

3) We repeat the national democratic revolution's demands: the withdrawal of all Russian troops from Hungary.

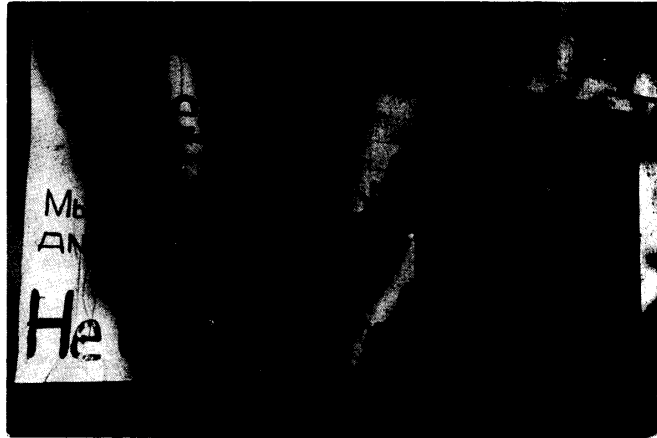
4) The university youth will participate in the rebuilding of the country.

5) The members of the new police force should be drawn from among the workers, the youth, the former members of the police (regular police) and the soldiers of the regular Hungarian army.

6) A new economic program should be worked out without delay.

7) University autonomy and reforms should be re-established and carried out. University students under arrest should be set free.

8) The MEFESZ should be allow-

Russian Soldiers! Don't Shoot! . . .

ed to organize freely and to publish its own daily paper.

None of the above demands were realized, and the regime continued to urge the MEFESZ to withdraw its demands. The provisional merged MEFESZ committees of the Technical University of Budapest and of the Construction, Industrial and Communication Technical University of Budapest made an appeal to all university students in the middle of December, 1956. This appeal, however, no longer contained the demands. All it did was to urge the regime to undertake reforms in the universities. However, this appeal did not fall in with the official party line in branding the revolution a "counter-revolution" and also urged the regime to "set free the university students who have been arrested innocently." The appeal still contained references to the beginning of the organizational work of the MEFESZ.

The debating organ of the MEFESZ, consisting of the university students of all universities and academies of Budapest, accepted the above-mentioned appeal by the two universities of Budapest in its December 20, 1956, session. At this session a MEFESZ provisional national executive committee was elected.

Thereafter the MEFESZ began its organization on a national basis, and an executive committee session was planned for January 5, 1957, to which the representatives of all provincial

universities and academies had been invited in addition to the representatives of the universities and academies of the Hungarian capital. The topic of discussion was the drawing up of a MEFESZ program on the basis of the appeal made by the two technical universities of Budapest. The executive committee, however, went much farther, as planned, and in addition to the above-mentioned demands also asked for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops, "the free functioning and inclusion in the government of all parties functioning on the basis of socialism," the abolition of the death sentence, and in general espoused the ideals of the revolution. At the session several delegates demanded that the student association refuse to recognize the government and that the organization go underground. No decision was made on these two problems and discussions were therefore adjourned to January 12, 1957. According to an article which appeared in *Nepszabadsag*, the session of the MEFESZ scheduled for January 12 was postponed because of "technical difficulties." In reality the political police had arrested eight university organizers when they had heard that the famous student demands of October 23 were to be on the January 12th agenda. Suddenly the Kadar regime created a counter student organization, which was not known to anybody, but whose statements were and are published in

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the Communist papers contradicting the stand taken by the real students.

The resolute political stand taken by the young Hungarian intellectuals has caused the Kadar puppet regime serious headaches. Youth wanted to establish real democracy in Hungary, a thing diametrically opposed to the teaching of Muscovite Communism, and the government did its best to terrorize and break the university youth. The youth was not frightened by Minister of State Marosan's arrogant, threatening speech made in Pecs on January 23, 1957. Therefore, the government resorted to stronger measures in the first days of February, 1957. The police searched the students' hostels during the night and also raided their apartments. According to official reports, many sub-machine guns and rifles were found and "inciting" leaflets confiscated. Anti-Russian slogans are heard in lower-grade schools almost every day. On February 8, 1957, the police arrested seven middle-school students, because they had wanted to escape to Yugoslavia. Had they succeeded in their plan, the rest of their class would have followed them.

In January, 1957, the government launched its final assault on the youth. It stifled the resistance of the youth organization with the arrest of the MEFESZ leadership. Demonstrations in schools were followed by arrests. Educators were arrested or silenced with threats. Official reports announced that youth organizations had been "purged." At the beginning of February, 1957, "the youth organizations existing without a membership" fell completely in line with the official party policy. "They support the government and the construction of socialism and join the so-called 'Democratic World Youth Organization.'"

The third phase started on March 17, 1957, when the resolution of the provisional Central Committee of the MSZMP (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party) "proposed" the establishment of the Communist Youth Association (KISZ). Since then the other youth organizations have gradually withered away, either merging with KISZ, or discontinuing their activities. At the present time only KISZ and the Pioneer Association are func-

tioning. However, their membership is much below the membership of their parent organizations, the pre-revolutionary DISZ and Pioneer Association, and their existence is largely a formality. In their attempts at political re-education of the youth, they have not been able to achieve as much as their pre-revolutionary predecessors.

The government no longer considers the "counter-revolutionary" attitude of youth an indication that youth has been "led astray." According to the usually well-informed *New York Times* correspondent, John McCormack, in the period between the crushing of the national revolution and January 28, 1957, the Communists arrested seven thousand persons. Eighty percent of these were students, and the majority of all presently arrested Hungarians also are youths. The Russians have extorted confessions from Hungarian students deported to the Ukraine according to which the students wanted to help the imperialists with the "counter-revolution" of October 23, 1956. In his threatening letter addressed to the students of Pecs, Minister of State Marosan announced that Marxism will again be made compulsory in all Hungarian universities and academies. According to Marosan the university students misused the concept of university autonomy in the interests of the counter-revolution. At the end of January, 1957, middle-school and university students demonstrated in favor of an independent Hungary by wearing rosettes of Hungary's national colors. At the end of May, 1957, the Ministry of Public Education announced that it had re-introduced the teaching of Marxism-Leninism at the universities and middle-schools as a compulsory subject. Commenting editorially on the decree, *Nepszabadsag* stated that "it was the unalterable intention of the Communists to foil the attempts of counter-revolutionary elements. These elements still try to sabotage the correct education of our children." Emphasis is again on the social origin of the students at the universities, and their abilities are given secondary consideration.

The rectors appointed by Kadar to head Hungarian universities do

their best to please their benefactor. Endre Reuss, dean of the Technical University, and Imre Sandor, an assistant professor, made the following statement on the conditions of admission to the universities before the beginning of the fall term: "The number of points achieved (at the examination of admission), social origin and the 'class situation' are the decisive factors as far as admission is concerned. Symbolically, the criteria for students whose parents were members of the intelligentsia has been raised. Foreign and domestic reaction both accuse us for applying yardsticks, but a student of intelligentsia origin starts middle-school with a certain advantage. For instance, the son of an engineer is imbued with intellectual interest at home which he brings to school. . . . The principle of applying the same rules to every case is wrong, unhealthy and a yardstick torn away from reality. Qualifications for admission are also influenced by certain political criteria. We are disinclined to accept reactionary, class-alien elements to the universities and those who have fought with arms on the side of the counter-revolution. . . ."

During the revolution, revolutionary councils were established spontaneously, and democratically in almost every phase of life; in factories, kolkhozes, among intellectuals. They were the first steps toward a new, free way of life. During the first days of November these councils controlled the most important phases of life in Hungary. Decree No. 17/1956 of the Kadar regime abolished these democratic organizations:

"Experience has shown that the activities of revolutionary councils did not serve in any way the interests of the people. On the contrary, in each instance where they are still in existence they adversely influence and hinder state and economic reorganization and consolidation. For this reason the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government hereby dissolves and abolishes all revolutionary councils and their executive committees. . . ." (*Magyar Kozlony [Hungarian Gazette]*, December 8, 1956.)

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The Hungarian Student

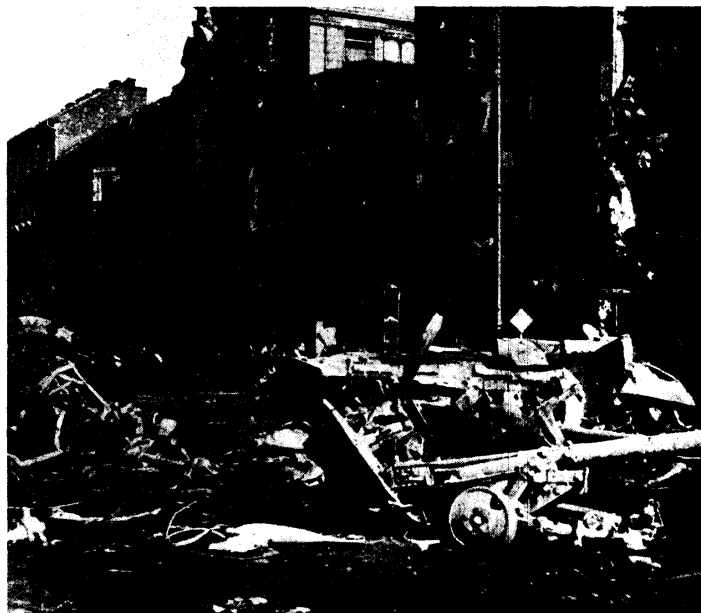
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The bolshevik reign of terror crushing human rights could not by-pass its strongest enemy—the churches. Church activities have been placed under government control. “In the Hungarian People’s Republic all appointments to Roman Catholic church positions and titles, as well as assignments which under the Roman Catholic church laws come under the jurisdiction of the Pope, and the carrying out of duties entailed by such appointments, require the previous approval of the Presidium of the People’s Republic. The same applies to transfers and dismissals.” (*Magyar Kozlony [Hungarian Gazette]*, March 24, 1957.)

The Communists have arrested several members of the Central Priest Seminary of Budapest. According to the official report, “counter-revolutionary” leaflets and other propaganda material were published in the seminary, revolutionaries were provided with food and several armed revolutionaries were hidden in the seminary. A senior seminarist, Istvan Tabodi, and several Roman Catholic priests, including Imre Varju and Antal Kukla, published a pamphlet in December and January entitled “Dear Friend,” which has been distributed in various parts of the country. According to the accusation the pamphlet “glorified the ‘counter-revolution’ and encouraged the enemies of the people to further resistance.” The alleged leader of the group of priests was Albert Egon Turcsanyi, a retired pastor, and Joseph Mindszenty’s former secretary.

As its power increased, the Kadar government re-introduced all those decrees which had been the direct causes of the October 23 events.

The Kadar regime has given a legal form to deportations, the expulsions going on ever since 1950. The latest decree of the Minister of the Interior, threatening deportation and expulsion, conjures up the worst days of the Rakosi regime. Bela Biszku, the Minister of the Interior, who is of Ruthenian origin, issued a decree in the *Official Gazette* on March 19, 1957. Under the terms of this decree, persons considered dangerous to the state and to state security from political and economic points of view can



be put under police surveillance, and expelled from their present place of residence. Such expellees are compelled to choose a new domicile within two weeks after receipt of the expulsion order. This latter decree means in practice that the Communist regime may confiscate the apartment of any person whom it dislikes may expell the owner of the apartment, and if the latter is unable to find a domicile with the help of private connections, he will be deported by the police as a vagrant without a job and possessions, as was done by Rakosi in the pre-revolutionary days.

The independent Vienne paper, *Die Presse* wrote in its June 6, 1957, issue that “the new Iron Curtain is much more dangerous than the old one was.” In a special report from the border, *Die Presse* said that some of the barbed-wire entanglements along the border were charged with high-tension electricity. The old Iron Curtain consisted of two barbed-wire fences with mines between them. Now three mine fields have been established parallel with the two existing barbed-wire fences, and the mines are deposited in such a manner that the slightest disturbance, even that

of a domestic animal, causes them to explode.

After the prohibition of the university students’ organization, Kadar considered the time ripe to throttle the voice of the writers. A *Reuters* dispatch from Budapest on April 22, 1957, stated: “The Communist Ministry of the Interior announced that the Hungarian Writers’ Association had been disbanded.” The Hungarian press explained this in the following way:

“By order of the Ministry of the Interior, the Hungarian Writers’ Association has been temporarily suspended.” (*Nepszabadsag*, January 18, 1957.)

“In the course of the investigation which followed the order of temporary suspension of the activities of the Writers’ Association, the Minister of the Interior determined that a segment of the Writers’ Association used the organization to carry out their attacks on the social order of the People’s Republic. For this reason the Minister of the Interior ordered that the Writers’ Association be dissolved.” (*Radio Kossuth*, April 21, 1957.)

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The radio also announced the arrest of outstanding public personalities:

"According to an announcement by the Ministry of the Interior, Tibor Kardos, Domokos Varga, Gyula Hay, Balazs Lengyel and Zoltan Zelk, writers, Sandor Novobaczky and Pal Locsei, journalists, have been arrested." (Radio Kossuth, January 25, 1957.)

"Tibor Dery of Budapest has been taken into custody on suspicion of subversive activities." (Radio Kossuth, April 21, 1957.)

The Supreme Court confirmed the sentencing of two men and a woman to death because of "counter-revolutionary sins." Simultaneously it commuted the relatively lighter sentences imposed by the Lower Court on three condemned to death. The three confirmed verdicts were those of the 25-year-old medical student, Ilona Toth, the former lieutenant, Ferenc Gonczi, and the 28-year-old Miklos Gyongyosi, who had been a former political prisoner freed from prison during the revolution. All three admitted having killed an AVH soldier. The Supreme Court commuted the sentences of the journalist Gyula Obersovszki and the playwright Joseph Gali from three and one year imprisonments, respectively, to death. The two had been accused of having written and distributed anti-regime leaflets. The third and most recent death sentence was imposed on Ferenc Kovacs, who had originally been sentenced to ten years imprisonment. The Supreme Court increased the sentences of the two men who had followed Kovacs's orders from eight years to 14 years, and from one year to eight years. All six persons sentenced to death have applied for mercy. Of these six persons only Gyula Obersovszky and Joseph Gali

have actually been pardoned. Owing to world-wide protest the court was forced to commute its own verdict.

Two groups of French writers called upon the UN committee on the Hungarian revolution to prevent the execution of the death sentence on the two tried Hungarian writers. "The association of writers seeking truth" sent a telegram to Prime Minister Kadar. They wrote the following: "In the name of democratic freedom and humanity we beg you to prevent the execution." The same group sent a message to Tito, President of Yugoslavia, to Mao, leader of Communist China, and to Vladislav Gomulka, the Polish Party chief, asking them to intervene on behalf of the writers. The telegram was signed by such well-known writers as Francois Mauriac and Jean Paul Sartre. The French Socialist Party sent a telegram to Kadar "expressing the feelings of the workers" and asking him to spare the lives of the two writers. The telegram was signed by Robert Verdier, the President of the Social-Democratic Party's parliamentary faction.

The Association of French Pedagogues, with 230,000 members, also sent a similar telegram to Kadar. Two leading French Communist artists, Ives Montand and Simone Signoret, were among the masses of French protesting against the verdict. The Norwegian Press Association reminded Kadar of the German writer Carl von Ossietzky, who had been awarded the Nobel prize during the Nazi regime. Ossietzky had been Hitler's sharp opponent. Goering visited Ossietzky in his prison cell to try to persuade him to refuse to accept the prize. Then the Norwegians noted that a failure by the Hungarian authorities to spare the two writers' lives would lower them to the same

level, in the minds of all humans, as those who had sentenced Ossietzky.

The Spanish-born Pablo Picasso, the world most celebrated painter, who is a member of the French Communist Party, also sent a telegram protesting the persecution of Hungarian writers and artists. He asked that Obersovszki and Gali, who had been sentenced to death, be given clemency. Louis Aragon, the celebrated French Communist poet, joined Picasso in this demand.

The Hungarian-Soviet agreement, signed on May 27, 1957, serves as the legal authority for the above-mentioned measures and repressions. The text of the agreement reads as follows:

"The number of Soviet troops temporarily in Hungary, as well as the places at which they are to be stationed, will be determined by a special agreement between the governments of the Hungarian People's Republic and the USSR." (*Nepszabadsag*, May 29, 1957.)

By permitting the Soviet troops to stay on Hungarian soil, the Kadar regime went even further along the path of illegal action than the Rakosi group because, from a legal point of view, this is not allowed for either by the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Pact (Act XXI/1958), or by the Warsaw Pact (Act III/1955) or by the regime itself. The true picture is much darker than the possibilities implied by any of the above. The continuous harrassment, arrests, deportations, dismissals of persons who had participated in the revolution, the revival of the notorious AVH and the inclusion of the lowest type of individuals in its ranks are all phenomena clearly showing that the Hungarian people are presently subjected to the most terrible reign of terror and oppression.

* * *

In Exile, We Are More Than Just Students

WHEN WE crossed the Austro-Hungarian border in despair and frozen to death, the rattle of Soviet tanks resounding in our ears, we remembered the women in tears searching for the remnants of their possessions amidst the ruins of houses blown apart by the Soviets, and our minds were haunted by the spectre of Siberian cities, clustered around lead mines, composed of hundreds of thousands of deportees. The heroes have died, and the courageous have been imprisoned because they have stayed at home. The desperate have escaped. Some at home may even accuse us of cowardice. We have felt this, and the chocolate emerging from the gift parcels made us think of our loved-ones standing in line for hours for a loaf of black bread. We have been aware of this when we were honored as the idols expressing the heroism of a nation, though in most cases the merit should go to the many thousands of youths lying in unmarked graves at home, whose memory it is prohibited to honor.

Anybody coming from Hungary cannot become just a peaceful founder of a new home, "just" a student. We have other duties besides our studies. We have to make it clear to the world that in the Twentieth Century a slave-holding power, more ruthless than anything produced in antiquity,

has drowned in blood a small nation's desire for freedom. Never in history have so many of a nation's students exchanged the pen for arms, and the arms for traveler's canes once arms had been torn from their hands. Though our opportunities are few we have the strength and the honor to fulfill our duties. Even during the first weeks of their exile, students visited every part of the world, to study; to ask for help; to acquaint the world with the Hungarian cause, with one of the most significant revolutions of world history, with Communism and with everyday life under Communism. In many parts of the globe people perhaps heard of Hungary for the first time in their lives, and learned of a small people whose task for centuries has been to defend the West, Christianity and civilization from the barbarians.

At the end of December, 1956, the Association of Free Hungarian University Students was founded in Vienna. It became the successor of the MEFESZ liquidated by Kadar. Some university students managed to smuggle out to the West their rosters, their jealously-guarded revolutionary passes and their letters of accreditation in gift parcels or wrapped in newspapers. Thus in spring, 1957, Hungarian student organizations were founded all over the world.

We are proud of the fact that we have not been infected with the "emigration bug." We were imbued with one task: to arouse the inactive West. Istvan Laszlo lectured at 56 universities, and his collections netted \$90,000. This money was made available to the various charity organizations helping Hungarians. One of the leaders of the Association of Free Hungarian University Students traveled to Scandinavia, and as a result of his lectures the countries' youth protested against the events in Hungary.

Our representatives have also visited the Far East to bring the news of the emergence of a new type of colonialism home to the Asians and to help them to gain a picture of the true nature of the Soviets. The result of their trips may best be illustrated in terms of the declaration made by the Indonesian students' association. As a result of our work the youth of many nations have sent their protests to the Kadar government, and to its Soviet masters.

We are gradually facing greater indifference all over the world, and in the UN building the traitors, bred by the Soviets, are trying to make the world believe the opposite of what they did in Hungary. They will not succeed, however, for their deed is written on history's pages with the blood of 35,000 Hungarians.

Télégramme adressé le Lundi 24 juin 1957 - Ref. 542/413

Janos Kadar - Budapest

EXPRIMONS VIVE EMOTION ETUDIANTS FRANCAIS DEVANT CONdamnATION A MORT
INTELLECTUELS HONGROIS
DEFENDONS DROIT POUR INTELLECTUELS DE TOUS PAYS D'EXPRIMER LEUR OPINION
DEMANDONS REVISION DU JUGEMENT

UNION NATIONALE DES
ETUDIANTS DE FRANCE

Honored Sir!

I feel extremely obliged for having kindly communicated to me the successful news from Vienna.

The persecution of my family can have no other character but that of cruelty, as I had not neglected fervently to entreat repeatedly, my mother and sisters nay I gave them the strict order as Governor in no case to meddle with politics and I know the prayers of the son and brother were not misregarded and I am sure the orders of the Governor were obeyed.

Availing myself therefore of your generosity, I beg leave to adjoin here 600 dollars, humbly requesting that you may be pleased to direct Mr. Mc Curdy to dispose of 100 dollars, to alleviate (if possible) the little wants of my poor sisters in prison. I know what petty tortures are connected with a prison of the bloody tyrant. - I am acquainted with. I from the rest of 500 dollars, I would humbly request Mr. Mc Curdy 200 dollars to be sent immediately to my Mother for January and 100 dollars monthly on the first of February, March, and April.

I hope he will not think that he is promoting revolution by ~~such~~ thus employing in smaller shares the small sum. And I like it to be sent thus, instead of at once.

Could the Legation of the U.S. without implying any political obligation out of mere humanity interpose that my sisters (the poor prisoners) and my mother might be allowed to leave Europe, and to come to the U.S. States; this would be the greatest consolation to my sorrowful heart. I would thankfully repay every cost of their transportation to America.

These are my humble requests. - Be pleased to excuse me for the boldness of expressing them. But you are so humanly kind, and I am so misfortunate. This my excuse.

I pray God that you may never come into the condition, neither as a patriot nor as a man, to know any thing of the burden, which weighs upon me. - But I will abide my fate, though I apprehend ^{that} my expectations in respect to the foreign policy of the U.S. are about to fail although my prophecies as to the universality of impending danger to the principles of freedom on earth become sooner realized, than even I have expected.

I am Sir with the highest regards.

Your most obedient servant

L. W. R. [Signature]

To the Honourable J. Webster
Secretary of State

Department of State

Activities

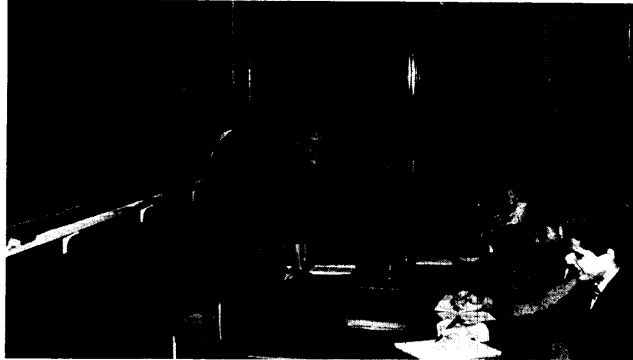
A NEW call for help has been made by Hungarian refugees still living in Yugoslav camps. We must do our utmost to remove from refugee camps those who fought up to the last moment, or who did not give up hope until all hope vanished. . . . Swedish students have put together their resources to pay the tuition of a Hungarian colleague of theirs. . . . Belgians have sponsored 80 Hungarian students in Yugoslavia and brought them to Belgium. . . . A collection of funds for Hungarian students in Yugoslavia is under way in America, Canada and in all parts of the world. . . . The U.S. Senate accepted a memorandum presented by the Hungarian students in America asking that 50 Hungarian students now in Yugoslavia be allowed to come to the United States.

Our student colleagues in Italy collected money to be spent on Salk anti-polio vaccine for the small children in Hungary now exposed to a raging polio epidemic.

Our representatives are already negotiating in Nigeria with the international student organization of the Free World, COSEC. They are negotiating at COSEC's seventh Congress for recognition of the exiled Hungarian student organization.

What we have accomplished so far is only a small fraction of the duty we owe to those who have remained in Hungary. The task of the second Hungarian student delegation scheduled to go to Africa in the near future will be to remind the African peoples of the Hungarian fight for liberation, and to win the recognition and sympathy of the African students.

In recalling what may have been the happiest hours of our lives, October 23, 1956, we now must take stock of our work, our tasks. Quite possibly we are facing the most difficult year in exile, but we are going to take up work with the hope that the time will come when Free Hungary will need a great many engineers, physicians and economists trained and graduated in the West.



Language Course in Sweden

OBSERVATION POST - City College, New York Offer 20 Scholarships To Hungarian Students

Twenty scholarships to the city's municipal colleges have been made available to qualified Hungarian students, the Board of Higher Education announced on Monday.

The full-tuition scholarship will allow students coming to this country under the Refugee Relief

Act to attend City College, Hunter, Queens, Brooklyn, and the Staten Island Community College.

Arrangements for the choice and placement of individual students will be made by World University Service, according to President Buell G. Gallagher, national chairman of the organization. It is not yet known how many of the twenty will come to the College, Dr. Gallagher said.

The motion to create the full-tuition scholarships was made by Charles H. Tuttle, senior BHE member, at the body's monthly meeting at Hunter College. Mr.

Tuttle, who has been on the Board since 1913, pointed out that this is the first time, to his knowledge, that such scholarships have been offered.

Although attendance at the Municipal Colleges is normally restricted to students living in the city, the usual residence and citizenship requirements have been waived in the case of the Hungarian refugees.

"We all have deep sympathy for these people, who have been ready to give their lives and blood for freedom," Mr. Tuttle said in proposing the resolution.

The presence of Hungarian students on the college campuses, he asserted, "would be an inspiration for all students and faculty members."



Mindszenty House in Belgium

The Djakarta Meeting

AFTER visiting Indonesia for four weeks and having friendly meetings with *Perserikatan Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Indonesia* (P.P.M.I.), its member organizations and other student organizations in several university centers, such as Djakarta, Jogja, Bandung, Surabaya and Malang, the Delegation of the Union of Free Hungarian Students—*Szabad Magyar Egyetemisták Szövetsége*—has met with the Executive Committee of the P.P.M.I. and discussed cordially certain common problems. Among them were:

1. the statement of the Sixth International Student Conference in Ceylon, September, 1956, on colonialism and totalitarianism, which recognises that students are involved in the struggle for national independence, and deplors that in many countries dictatorial and totalitarian regimes are endeavouring to distort the freedom of access, study, teaching and administration of universities, making them political instruments for the strengthening of particular groups rather than autonomous communities devoted to free inquiry;

2. the Constitution of the International Union of Students (IUS) which, among other things, aims for a better standard of education, full academic freedom and students' rights, the promotion of national culture, appreciation of the culture of all peoples, and the love of freedom and democracy;

3. the Final Communique of the Asian-African Student Conference in Bandung, 1956, which condemns and resists colonialism in all its manifestations and recognises the right of peoples and nations to self-determination;

4. the statement of the P.P.M.I. on November 4, 1956, concerning East Europe, which declares solidarity with the struggle of the Hungarian students in their striving for national independence and freedom for their country, and condemns every military intervention which suppresses the fulfillment of the right of self-determination;

5. the principles of the Hungarian Revolution:

- a. withdrawal of foreign troops and full national independence
- b. multi-party system based on free elections
- c. neutrality

These constitute the UFHS' basic demands which were re-confirmed by the UFHS Conference in Lichtenstein, May 30th—June 2nd 1957;

6. The aim of the Indonesian Revolution for full national Independence including West-Irian which is still, now, under Dutch colonial rule;

7. the statement of Indonesia's minister of Foreign Affairs on November 12, 1956, before House of Representatives on the situation in Hungary, which expressed regret over the intervention of the Russian Army in Hungary.

Both side agreed to the following points:

- I. to cooperate with each other and recognize the UFHS as the representative of the 6,000 Hungarian students living in 14 different countries outside of Hungary;

- II. to exchange information and delegations;

- III. on the request of the UFHS Delegation, the PPMI agreed to ask all the member-organizations of the IUS and the National Union of Students associated with the International Student Conference to take more interest in the situation of the students in Hungary, to make their stand on the events in Hungary known, and to protest the trial and the imprisonment of Hungarian students by their Government.

The P.P.M.I. expressed its hope and desire that the Hungarian students now living abroad will soon be able to return to a free and democratic Hungary.

We express our hope that the friendship and cooperation between our organisations will strengthen the freedom and peace-loving peoples in their struggle for democracy and national independence.

Djakarta, June 17, 1957

For the Delegation of the
Szabad Magyar Egyetemisták Szövetsége

(Alpar Bujdosó)

Sz. M. E. Sz. Vice-President

For the *Badan Pekerdja*

P.P.M.I.

(Augusdin Aminoedin)

PPMI President.

Mahasiswa Hongaria didepan Mahasiswa Bandung

Oleh: Wartawan IDEA



Delegasi Mahasiswa Pelarian Hongaria. Dari kiri kekanan adalah Karoly Derecsky, Balaas Nagy, Separ Busdosodan, Tamas Vaci. (Kl. A.I.D.)

From Newspapers and Broadcasts

"A Salute to the Revolutionary Student Committee of the University!"

Dear friends:

We have joyfully learned that the youth of Budapest University has created its revolutionary organization. We know that you have many things to think about now. In spite of this we are asking you to take part in the defense of public order and of public safety in addition to the other things you have to see to. The semi-annual examinations are still far away but you have now passed the sublime examination in patriotism and in ready devotion *summa cum laude!* If life is to be led back into its normal path public order is a primary need. Afterwards you can lay down your arms and take up your books again. Your arms, your intelligence and your fairness are badly needed now in the defense of revolutionary legality and in the safeguarding of public order. Join the National Guard, strengthen our lines! That is what we, policemen of Budapest, ask you to do now.

Best wishes to the work of the Revolutionary Student Committee of the Universities!"

Revolutionary Committee of the Headquarters of the State Police.

Magyar Rendor, special undated edition

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"Russians Out!"

Monday evening a seven-member delegation of the insurgents of Hay Square visited the Revolutionary Committee of University Students. The leader of the delegation, E. B., reported that the delegates of the insurgents (Revolutionary Federation of Budapest) deliberated Monday morning with Prime Minister Imre Nagy and that in the most important questions agreement had been reached. The first demand of the Hay Square insurgents—the immediate withdrawal of all Soviet troops—is identical with the wishes of all of us. The insurgents agreed to deliver their arms to the Hungarian army simultaneously with the withdrawal of the Russian troops and to join the

militia. Imre Nagy promised that soon the other demands of the insurgents will also be negotiated and fulfilled.

In the parts of the city which the insurgents have conquered (between Bem barracks and Hay Square), order has been restored. On Rose Hill scattered units of the security forces are disturbing the peace here and there but they are, according to the insurgents, of small importance.

The Revolutionary Committee of University Students has decided to dispatch material to the district and to support the incorporation of the insurgents into the National Guard."

Fuggetlenseg, October 30, 1956

**

An Englishman in Budapest:

"Terrific! Wonderful!" he began, then he added: "Never in my life have I heard of such a formidable revolution! But be careful now to be able to enjoy the fruits of your wonderful heroism also! What I am going to say now may sound outmoded, but I shall say it nevertheless: Let us pray that after a triumphant revolution you are able to win the peace too. And just a few words more: From now on if I hear Hungary mentioned anywhere, I am going to take off my hat!"

Izazsag, November 1, 1956

**

Berlin Students want to help in Reconstruction of Hungary:

Berlin, November 1

"The students of Berlin declared Wednesday evening that they are ready to do volunteer work in the reconstruction of Hungary. The Federation of German Students forwarded the offer by cable to the universities of Budapest.

In the great hall of Berlin Free University Wednesday evening, hundreds of students expressed their solidarity with the Hungarian Freedom Fighters.

Willy Brandt, the speaker of the West Berlin parliament, pointed out that the revolt in Hungary proves the superiority of the power of the spirit above the spirit of power. Regarding conditions in the Soviet Zone of Germany he declared that

in Germany too an end has to be put to the policies of force against people who want only to be free. The time of the removal of the Stalinists is approaching."

Kis Ujsag, November 2, 1956

**

From Hungarian Students in Moscow:

"The following message was received in Budapest from Hungarian students in Moscow:

—We, the Hungarian students in Moscow, support the appeal of the Revolutionary Committee of the students of Budapest University which was transmitted on October 31, 1956 by Radio Free Kossuth. We feel that in these fateful days we should not remain far from our beloved country. We wish to fight shoulder to shoulder with you for an independent Hungary."

Kis Ujsag, November 3, 1956

**

They do not want to remain in Moscow:

"We have learned from young men studying in Moscow that the competent Soviet authorities are trying to intercept the return home of youngsters living there, in spite of the fact that these young people wish to return to an independent Hungary and to their families. In the name of the revolutionary youth of Hungary we protest against these actions and demand that the necessary conditions for the return of these young people be immediately created."

Valosag, November 2, 1956

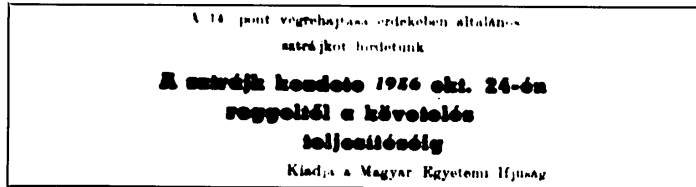
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Students of Poznan University to the Hungarian People:

"On October 31st the students of all Poznan Universities held a mass meeting in Poznan. The meeting adopted a resolution in which the solidarity of the students with the Hungarian people is declared and it is resolved to give collective aid to help the victims. In their speeches the students appealed to young people to donate their blood for the wounded."

Nepszabadsag, November, 1956

(Continued on page 24)



"Strike from October 24, 1956, until our demands are met."

Tanczos Gabor, Secretary of the Petofi Circle:

"Fellow Hungarian Young Men and Women,

I speak to you in the name of the Petofi Circle, the organization which has done so much in the past months to fight for a true democracy and to eliminate the shameful dictatorship of Rakosi. The enthusiasm you have shown in the last few days is very highly valued by us; we respect your true patriotism. We are certain you had nothing to do with the few cruel robberies. We know that the mistakes committed in the past, the mistaken leadership of Erno Gero, have filled many with bitterness and led to actions which were not originally intended. But now our leaders are the right ones. Janos Kadar, who has suffered prison, has become the First Secretary of the Party, and the Council of Ministers is headed by Imre Nagy, for whose rights we fought so hard. We must start to work and study again. No more precious human blood must be lost. We shall prepare ourselves for great deeds, for the building of a truly democratic Hungary, Socialist in a Hungarian way and equal with any other nation. We must achieve a democratic school system, university reform, and improvement of student hostels. But we cannot build, give accommodation, raise the standard of living and educate while the guns are roaring. Return to your homes, to your parents, to your student quarters. Give your confidence to the Government of Imre Nagy, who will soon make reality of the will of the patriotic youth."

**

Proclamation to the youth of Gyor-Sopron County:

"Young people, young workers, young farmers, students!
The National Council of Free Re-

volutionary Hungarian Youth has been formed in Budapest. The university students and the young workers have joined the council.

Your fight is just! Thousands of young workers and students have taken up arms against the dictatorship of Rakosi. All your demands are justified!... We removed the last representative of Rakosi's clique, Erno Gero, from the leadership of the party in accord with the demands of the entire people of the country. Our demand for the formation of a new national government, consisting of true Hungarian patriots, has been fulfilled. In Imre Nagy, we have a government leader who has relentlessly fought for the independence of the Hungarian nation... The party is led by Janos Kadar, who has been imprisoned by Rakosi... Order, discipline, calmness are necessary so that the government can fulfill every point of our just demands. Our youth has taken part in heroic fighting, following the example of the Budapest youth. The youth of Gyor, too, gave martyrs to the cause. Young people! Take the lead in the restoration of order!

Do not allow yourself to be misled by irresponsible persons. Support the government which is a result of our fight and which will fulfill our demands. Help the work of the National Council of Gyor-Sopron county with all your might. Participate in the activity of the workers' councils in the factories... Fight for the realization of the demands of working youth. We will soon publish the names of the council of free revolutionary Hungarian youth in Gyor-Sopron county. Let our watch-word now be: Order and calmness in Gyor!"

**

Excerpts from Gyor-Sopron County Radio Broadcasts:

"Last night the leaders of the Gyor youth council held a long, vehement

discussion and an organizational meeting... The youth representatives support the program of the temporary national council... We wish to create a unified youth organization; this, however, shall not resemble the formal and impotent activities of DISZ (Union of Working the youth support the program of the temporary national council... We Youth)... A youth rally will probably soon be held... The youth council calls on organizations and in particular trade enterprises to request the help of youth if they need transportation facilities or other assistance. The workers will return to their jobs on Monday in their own interest; schools, of course, will stay closed."

**

Message of the Revolutionary Student Committee:

"...All armed University Students must return to their posts immediately..."

Leaflets of the Revolutionary Student Committee:

"... We give our confidence to Imre Nagy. That was our slogan on Tuesday October 23, and although we had our doubts for one or two days, now our confidence in him is restored and is stronger than ever. It now appears that he was a prisoner of the AVH for two days, and also that he made his first radio speech while the AVH kept him at gunpoint.

It is clear from his latest declaration that the proclamation of martial law is not his responsibility. Even the request for the intervention of Soviet Troops was made without his knowledge, and the Rakosi-Gero bandits wanted to undermine his popularity by tying his name to the intervention.

We believe in Imre Nagy, and beg him not to lose the confidence of the people. He must separate himself from the traitors. He must clean out all the old dirt remaining in his Government, those persons who really deserve the anger and hatred of our people. He must induce the complete withdrawal of all Soviet Troops from the entire country, and see that the

(Continued on page 25)

The Hungarian Student

25

AVH members do not infiltrate the newly-organized police force. Nagy's good faith has been proven by many of his actions, and we urge him to continue in the right path. His compliance with the will of the people will increase the confidence of the people in him...."

**

Proclamation of the Revolutionary Committee of University Students:

"We regard today's political leadership as provisory. We support Imre Nagy, but only as far as he and his Government comply with our demands. We will use all possible means to keep him away from the influence of the old 'Stalinists.' That is the reason we insist on the ousting of all old Stalinists, like Antal Apro, Erik Molnar, Ferenc Nezeval, Janos Csergo, Mrs. Jozsef Nagy.

But we would like to see Anna Kethly in the Government, Gyorgy Lukacs as Minister of Education, and Gyula Illyes as Minister of Culture. We wish to see representatives of the youth in the Government. We demand immediate action of the Government to withdraw all Soviet troops from Hungary, and that this operation be terminated by November 30, 1956. If we get a decisive and sincere response to our demands from the Government within three days, we will cooperate to restore national production in order to stop further financial losses of our people.

Our demands are in accordance with the will of the people and the newly elected revolutionary organizations. We want neither stalinism, nor capitalism. We want a truly democratic and truly socialistic Hungary, independent of all other countries.

Finally, we demand that all servants of the treacherous Stalinist-Rakosi clique be dismissed immediately from the Radio. These weaklings shamelessly denounced the glorious freedom fight of our people only a few days ago. We insist that the Revolutionary Council of the Hungarian Radio effecting these dismissals be assisted by the youth who initiated the fight for freedom. The Revolutionary Committee of University Students should be invited to the radio

"We Trust Imre Nagy..."

1956. okt. 31.

„NAGY IMRÉBEN BIZALMUNK?”

Ez volt a jelző még kedden, október 23-án. Ez a bizalom két-három napra megingott, de most erősebb, mint valaha!

Kiderült, hogy Nagy Imre két napig csúszó foglya volt. Géppisztolyokkal a háta mögött mondta el első rádióbeszédét.

Legújabb nyilatkozatából kiderült, hogy a statáriumot és a szovjet csapatok beavatkozását nem ő rendelte el. Ez csak a Rákosi—Gerő-féle gazemberek fogták rá, hogy megbuktassák.

Mi tehát hiszünk Nagy Imrének.

De feltve intjük, vigyázzon a nép bizalmára! Azonnal különítse el magát a hazaárulóktól! Azonnal takarítsa ki a kormányból a régről ittmaradt szeméket, azokat, akiket joggal vet meg és gyűlöl a nép.

Intézkedjék, hogy a szovjet csapatokat vonják ki az országból!

Intézkedjék, hogy az ávosok ne furakodjanak be az új rendőrségbe!

Nagy Imre helytállását már eddig is sok helyes intézkedés igazolja!

Sürgötte várjuk a többit is. Amilyen mértékben Nagy Imre teljesíti a nép jogos követeléseit, bizalmunk oly mértékben fog benne növekedni.

**EGYETEMI FORRADALMI
DÍKBIZOTTSÁG**

station and be permitted free passage in the studio and the Council."

Signed by: Istvan Pozar,
Janos Varga, Jozsef Molnar,
Janos Pap

**

Meeting at the Technological University:

"To defend the achievements of the revolution and to maintain public order.' Under this slogan the students and teachers of the Technological University met Wednesday afternoon. Among those assembled were many who had fought under the heroic leader of Hungarian youth, Lieutenant Colonel Marian, in the

noble fights of the national revolution.

The resolution thus adopted soon was implemented. University Battalions were formed within the National Guard.

We hail the noble decision and the action of the teachers and students of the Technological University and we ask them to take part in the work of the National Guard in the greatest possible numbers. They are badly needed in maintaining order in our capital and creating the feeling of safety which is necessary in order for work to start again."

Kis Ujsag, November 1, 1956

(Continued on page 26)

Magyar mérnökök és műszakiak!

Nagy Imre új kormánya a nemzeti egységet képviseli. Az ország ügyeit az új kormány meg fogja tárgyalni a néppel. A népgazdaság útszervezetét és a fontos műszaki kérdéseket meg fogja tárgyalni a mérnökökkel és műszakiakkal. Sem fordulhat többé elő, hogy szakkereskedésben szakértelem nélkül döntenek! A szakemberek szavának ezentúl nagy súlya lesz hazánkban! Semmi sem fogja háttérbe szorítani a szaktudás érvényesülését és megbecsülését.

Támogassátok az új kormányt!

Hungarian Engineers Trust the New Government and Imre Nagy

"Hungarians!

We, the young freedom fighters of Corvin Square (Kilian), have fought till now and have not spoken.

Now that we are able to speak again our first very serious words are addressed to all brother Hungarians, asking them to preserve the most complete public order everywhere or to restore it wherever this be necessary as soon as possible.

By doing this we do not give the Russians the excuse to remain in our country under the pretext of safeguarding order.

To preserve public order is the first national task now preceding any other point of view and any interests of any party.

To stir up trouble is treason today! We beg everybody to listen to us!"

The young freedom fighters of Corvin Square (Kilian)
Igazság, November 1, 1956.

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Meeting of the Smallholder Party Unit of Roland Eotvos University:

"The Smallholder Party Unit of Roland Eotvos University held a meeting Friday morning at which problems concerning the university students and the people of the country were debated. The resolution accepted at the meeting took joyful notice of the liberation of Archbishop Cardinal Joseph Mindszenty and of the fact that he had once more taken over his bishopric duties. At the same time the resolution states that Cardinal Mindszenty is a martyr of the whole Hungarian people with no distinction as to religion, and that owing to his high ecclesiastical posi-

tion his person should not be dragged into political disputes as has been wrongly done in the last few days by certain persons."

Kis Újság, November 3, 1956.

**

Autonomy for the Universities! the Rector, the Deans and the Professors of Roland Eotvos University sum up their Demands in a Very Important Statement:

"The management and the body of professors of Roland Eotvos University have issued the following statement explaining that they were from the beginning in full agreement with the demands of the students.

The doors of the university should be open to all who have received the necessary basic training for higher education and who wish to study. Freedom of teaching is demanded, which means that the teacher should be in a position to express his scientific opinions according to his convictions freely in word, as well as in writing. Further, complete freedom of learning is demanded, which means that every student should be able to attend lectures on those subjects which he or she wishes to study within the framework of the regulations for examinations. For this purpose parallel courses should be created. It is necessary to create and to assure the autonomy of the university and to secure the autonomous decisions of the university itself in scientific and educational questions as well as in nominations for offices at the university. The complete and independent competence of the university and the faculty boards must be restored and a real representation of the stu-

dent body must be assured. The removal and transfer of university professors should be made impossible. Unjustly removed professors should be reinstated immediately. The granting of decrees should be the exclusive privilege of the universities. The Committee of Scientific Qualification, whose activities are contrary to scientific opinion and demands, should be dissolved.

Furthermore, the creation of a free youth organization is deemed necessary. The present wretched accommodations and supplies must be urgently improved. The body of professors has no confidence in either the present chief of Hungarian education, Albert Konya, or the present chief of higher education, Deputy Minister Istvan Soter.

Nepszava, October 30, 1956.

**

October 31, 11:35 p.m., Radio Miskolc (operated by the Worker's Council of County Borsod):

"Summary of the demands made by the October 26 general session of the student parliament of the Miskolc secondary schools.

1. We support the resolutions and the demands of the youth of Dimavag [Machine Factory, Diosgyor] and of the universities.

2. We demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory.

3. We demand the immediate repatriation of Hungarian prisoners of war and other prisoners from Soviet Union.

4. We demand that all persons who have been serving the Rákosi dictatorship be dismissed immediately and be called to account.

5. We demand that all persons guilty in the intervention of Soviet troops and in the declaration of martial law be tried by a people's court.

6. We demand the immediate termination of the Warsaw pact and of all other secret military pacts.

7. We demand a rejection of the Soviet loan.

8. Our country shall be a member of a Danubian Confederation as planned by Kossuth.

(Continued on page 27)

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9. We demand the modification of the constitution and the restoration of the Kossuth coat-of-arms.

10. We demand the return of the natural resources of our country to Hungarian ownership.

11. We demand the examination of all trade agreements disadvantageous to our country.

12. Our country shall not side with any foreign power; we shall be neutral.

13. We demand that the members of the AVH [Hungarian Security Police] and the police, who have killed innocent Hungarians, be placed before a court immediately.

14. We demand the reorganization of our agriculture in a profitable way, and the abolition of compulsory deliveries.

15. We demand that instruction in the Russian language be made an elective subject.

16. We demand the abolition of norms and a more just wage settlement.

17. We demand that March 15 be declared a national holiday and October 6 a memorial day.

18. We demand that October 23, the starting day of the freedom-fight of our country, be declared a national holiday.

19. The instruction of history in the schools should be independent of daily politics."

The student parliament of the Miskolic secondary schools Miskolc, October 26, 1956

"The above points were declared by the parliament of the secondary

schools on October 26, but . . . persons did not provide for forwarding them. Therefore the resolution is being broadcast by radio."

**

The patriotic students and teachers of the former College of Foreign Languages sent us the following protest: "We are protesting against the appointment of director Joseph Hermann to the Revolutionary Council of the Intelligentsia. Director Hermann was a subservient lackey of the Stalinist system, which he tried to force upon everybody, and he has always oppressed every patriotic movement at the college. His appointment would soil the honor of the revolution.

Igazsag, November 1, 1956.

New Zealand University Students' Association

INCORPORATED
(NEW ZEALAND NATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS)

**TELEPHONE
48-772**



ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO
THE SECRETARY
P.O. BOX 1884
WELLINGTON, C.I., N.Z.

**NORWICH CHAMBERS,
153-155 FEATHERSTON STREET,
WELLINGTON, C.I., N.Z.**

1st July, 1957

**His Excellency Mr. Janos Kadar,
Prime Minister of Hungary,
Prime Minister's Office,
Buddapest,
HUNGARY.**

Your Excellency,

This Association wishes to record a strong protest against your Government's action in arresting students without justification, imprisoning students without proper trial and in sentencing students in trials where they have no opportunity of obtaining a fair and impartial hearing. The actions of your Government in this regard are contrary to the accepted standards of free and enlightened democratic Governments.

We would ask you in all humanity to reverse your present policy of subjugation in so far as it affects students who may have participated in an uprising to overthrow a Government which had neither the respect nor the confidence of the citizens it purported to govern.

Yours faithfully,

**(J.D. Dalgety)
PRESIDENT, NZUSA.**

CONSEJO ESTUDIANTIL UNIVERSITARIO
UNIVERSIDAD DE COSTA RICA



San José, mayo 20 de 1957

Señor
János Kádár,
Primer Ministro de la
República de Hungría,
Budapest - Hungría.

Señor Primer Ministro: Por este medio el Consejo Estudiantil Universitario (C.E.U.) de la Universidad de Costa Rica, alere ante usted formal protesta por los asesinatos y atrocidades que el gobierno de usted ha perpetrado de contra los estudiantes de esa noble y heroica república.

Si mismo condenamos energicamente el fallo del Tribunal de Justicia por el cual se decretó la pena capital al estudiante de medicina asesinado por su solo hecho de haber participado en la revolución. Tal fallo lo condenamos por ser contrario a las más elementales normas de justicia y ser contrario a las resoluciones de las leyes, las cuales han demostrado ser más fuertes.

En todo régimen democráticamente constituido, se concede la libertad de expresión y de acción en toda la amplitud de la palabra y las regimenes democráticos respetan el derecho de rebelión de los ciudadanos cuando estos van en busca del mejor bienestar de la Patria.

Por todo esto nosotros solicitamos a usted que comente le para, si todavía no se ha a los estudiantes, a los cuales hay que darle el trato que se merece por su calidad de tal, y así mismo demandamos la libertad de todos aquellos que ahora se encuentran en prisión y pedimos se les otorgue todas las garantías reconocidas a los que aun se encuentran alijados.

Esperando que usted sea favorablemente nuestra petición nos escribimos de usted atentamente

Alberto Raven R.
Presidente C.E.U.

Isa Argüello N.
Vice-Presidenta
Internacional C.E.U.

Me han pedido los estudiantes húngaros desterrados con motivo del alzamiento de octubre 1956 que les exponga mi opinión sobre su actividad en el destierro. Confieso que si me honra el encargo, también me deslizo ya muchos años de destierro, pero no me parece suficiente esta circunstancia para justificar con algo más. Vayan pues tan sólo ciertas reflexiones que me sugiere la situación.

Parece que la inspiración más honda de los estudiantes húngaros pudiera ser la que expresa la divisa de Guillermo de Orange: Je maintiendrai son los más asociados de todo lo que esta causa significa. A ellos se vuelve la atención cuando de Hungría y su libertad se trata.

Esta tarea me parece implicar en primer lugar un deber de estudio, claridad, objetividad, no sólo en cuanto a la revolución de octubre sino en cuanto a la situación actual y su probable evolución. Hay que mantener libre y pura una corriente de información factual.

Viene después una labor de cultura, crítica y creadora, que mantenga vivo el interés en un país que tan honda huella ha dejado y sigue dejando en la cultura europea a pesar de su relativa exigüidad.

Por último, un tesón que rechace siempre toda se-dicente solución barata u oblicua del gran clima europeo. Los estudiantes húngaros no pueden olvidar que son oriundos de la provincia húngara de Europa; y habrán de aliarse la Cortina de Hierro.

Al lado de otras tareas de lucha espiritual e intelectual, toda la que daría a los estudiantes húngaros mucho que hacer en apoyo y socorro de sus compatriotas explotados inhumanamente por el capitalismo comunista.

1957, agosto 7.

Salvador de Madariaga

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"November 4, 1956"

A painting by Tibor Danielfy.

First Prize at a Paris Exhibition.

...from a letter written to the Bishop of Friburg about 200 years ago

"TE DEUM LAUDAMUS in offering for my life, existence and hopes.

I have made a holy vow because I have seen the horror of horrors. I have made it in atonement for so much humiliation to humans and Hungarians, so much abasement to life and holiness it makes the heart break, the reason unbalanced. To me and all of us who have seen and lived through these years, the sunshine, spring and summer are incomprehensible. All that is born and remains the same is incomprehensible. We but repeat one line of the Lord's Prayer, 'Thy Kingdom come.' Our Bible opens at the same page always; 'Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness.' And the symbol of our lives has become one with the symbol of the holy cross, because evil ones have passed sentence upon us. And they have killed justice when they crushed us, because we no longer can believe in justice on this earth. These things I thought, and then I knelt and continued to pray, "Thy will be done."