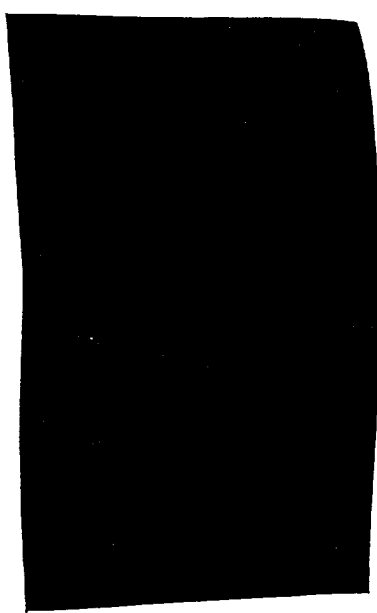


1. THE SITUATION IN HUNGARY (Information as of 2400,
4 November)

Comment on:



Fighting continues in Budapest and in certain isolated areas in the provinces, although Soviet troops and their collaborators in the new Hungarian "Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Government" established the morning of 4 November appear to be in control of all border areas and almost all key urban areas. The premier of the new Communist regime, Janos Kadar, reportedly declared late in the day on 4 November that "armed gangs of rebels are still murdering" and that there was still danger that they might get the upper hand. In midafternoon of the same day, Soviet aircraft reportedly bombed the western part of Budapest, some hours

after Moscow radio had hailed the "crushing" of the "counter-revolutionary and Fascist" forces.

At least seven Soviet divisions are believed to be engaged in the fighting--two normally stationed in Hungary, two that had been brought in during the fighting on 24-25 October and three that apparently moved in during the past several days.

some estimates place the increment since 24 October as high as twelve divisions. In answer to Ambassador Bohlen's remark on the evening of 3 November that the USSR was still putting troops into Hungary, Khrushchev answered that the Soviet Union had enough troops there, but if not, "We will add more and more if necessary!"

Fighting continued throughout the day on 4 November and reports of clashes between Soviet and Hungarian military units are confirmed.

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[REDACTED] the immediate mission of their units is to capture and disarm the Hungarian troops without violence, but in the event of opposition the order appears to be to destroy them. Other reliable reports indicate that the Soviet commanders are under orders not to conduct negotiations, to break opposition ruthlessly, and to disperse the population.

Resistance to the Soviet attack, launched throughout the country at about 0500 hours on 4 November, apparently was disorganized and conducted largely by irregular forces, including armed workers and students. The Hungarian defense minister and the chief of staff were arrested before the attack began by Soviet officers who had been engaged in negotiations--began the previous day--with them concerning Soviet troop withdrawal. Premier Nagy and most of the ministers in his short-lived coalition government were arrested in the morning when Soviet troops captured the Parliament building in central Budapest. Nagy had time only to announce the attack over Budapest radio at 0515 and to appeal desperately for help from the outside world. Virtually all free Hungarian radio stations in the country were in Soviet hands by noon.

The USSR's decision to resume military action against the Hungarian revolt apparently was made on 31 October after it had become clear that the program of the Nagy regime would result in the severance of close Hungarian ties with Moscow. Mikoyan and Suslov, the two Soviet leaders most closely concerned with Hungarian developments in the past, arrived in Budapest on 31 October, perhaps to announce this decision to Kadar.

The new Communist government headed by Kadar was formed coincidentally with the Soviet attack on 4 November; one of its first acts was to appeal for Soviet armed assistance to put down the "counterrevolution" of the "sinister forces of reaction." Nevertheless Kadar, in a speech at 0810, assailed the "Rakosi-Gero clique" for violations of legality, promised to carry out a national Communist, Gomulka-like program and, after calm is restored, to negotiate with the USSR and other Warsaw pact states for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

The fate of Hungarian political leaders who during the past week had declared themselves in open

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opposition to both the USSR and to Communism at home is uncertain. Cardinal Mindszenty, however, has received political asylum in the American legation in Budapest and Social Democratic leader Ana Kethely was safe in Austria when the Soviet forces attacked.

Reaction to the Soviet move elsewhere in the Soviet bloc has included echoes of the Moscow line from all Satellite capitals and from Peiping. Yugoslavia has also accepted the USSR's interpretation of Hungarian developments with virtually no reservations. Socialist party leader Nenni in Italy, however, has condemned the Soviet move. According to a Rome broadcast, Nenni stated on 4 November that the USSR's substitution of force and power for proletarian internationalism is unacceptable and expressed the hope that the Soviet Union will reconsider its move, withdraw its troops, and recognize Hungary's neutrality.