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**RETORSION AND ESCAPE, EMIGRATION AND
INCLUSION**

International help to the Freedom Fighters of 1956

SPECIAL ISSUES OF CEPSR IN TWO VOLUMENS

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Introduction

The **Central European Political Science Review Volume 18. Number 68-69** are special issues from every aspect with the title: **1956 of Hungary: Revolution, Democratization and Freedom Fight**. (Retaliation and Escape, Emigration and Exclusion - International help to the Freedom Fighters' of 1956).

With the studies of these issues we intend to commemorate the Hungarian people' uprising, revolution and freedom fight of 1956, as well as its background, its suppression and the European reception of Hungarian refugees. Through the collected scientific studies and recollections we can obtain an idea what it meant in the middle of the 20th century tyranny, the opposition against it, the retorsion, the escape from it and the international solidarity.

After 1956 many people summarized the events as that the strong Goliath defeated the weak David? Although the communist Goliath won with its force, but the moral victory – in historical terms – was achieved by the freedom loving, brave Hungarians. The various countries reacted quite differently to the events. The **Volume 18. Number 68-69 of Central European Political Science Review (CEPSR)** desires to commemorate the events with this double issue, as well as giving an example to each nation, which is fighting against dictatorship in order to achieve democracy and liberty.

We know that in 1956 every Eastern European country supported the suppression of the Hungarian revolution and freedom fight, as well as the Russian occupation. The Romanians and Czechoslovakians were absolutely supporting the Russian invasion, the Polish demonstrated a more moderate approach, while the Yugoslavs were looking for a solution which fitted their interests. Obviously we couldn't expect from the contemporary Eastern European communist puppet governments to support the rebellious Hungarians, however they didn't relate equally to the Hungarian revolution.

On the other hand, what was the situation with the free nations of the world? In the late 1950's, except for the Austrians, the Germans and the Spanish, the political elite of Western-Europe betrayed Hungary while they fought their democratic revolution and national freedom fight in 1956. The words and the acts became distant from each other. Although in their words many were indignant, but behind the political backstage they acted differently. Especially the American, British and French politicians refused to actually help the Hungarians. While in their Hungarian language broadcasts the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe encouraged the Hungarian armed resistance to fight and endure, in reality they blocked every military assistance towards Hungary.

The great powers (USA, Russia, UK and France) sacrificed the freedom of Hungary in order to achieve a more favorable outcome for themselves in the Suez crisis. Spain was the only Western-European government that intended to send weapons to Hungary and strongly fought for the Hungarian case being discussed in the United Nations General Assembly. Austria, which got rid of the Russian occupation just a few years earlier, bravely requested the removal of Russian troops from Hungary as well. The situation was different within the civil society, as well as the average people and the prominent intellectual and artistic environment, where a strong solidarity was demonstrated for the Hungarian cause. Several forms of support appeared, from the great assemblies and aid supplies during the revolution, and the support and reception of escaping revolutionaries after the Russian invasion.

Jean Cocteau (1882-1963), world renowned French poet and director, after the tragedy of 1956, he addressed the Hungarians in his 1957 book entitled "*Hommage des poètes français aux poètes hongrois*": "Dear Hungarians! You stars among the planets, just as all of you are poets because of the tragic act's lyre." Similarly did appreciate the Hungarian revolution of 1956 the Nobel Prize winning

author, Albert Camus (1913-1960). In his speech he gave on the first anniversary of the outbreak of the revolution, 23rd October 1957, he glorified the legacy of the Hungarians who were left alone: “The Hungarian blood is of such value to Europe and to liberty that we must protect each drop of it... the crushed, bonded Hungary did more for freedom and truth, than any other nation did in the last twenty years. So that this historic lesson to be learned by the deaf and blind Western society, much of Hungarian blood had to be spilled – and this bloodshed is coagulating in the memory.” “The Hungarian workers and intellectuals, beside whom we stand with so much helpless sorrow, know all of this, they are the ones who made us understand the deeper meaning of everything, and this is why if we share their misfortune, we share their hope as well. Despite their misery, their chains and their castaway existence, they left us a royal heritage which we must earn: this is LIBERTY, which they didn’t obtain, but gave it back to us in a single day!”

In the two special editions of No. 68-69 of **CEPSR** about **1956 of Hungary: Revolution, Democratization and Freedom Fight** – (Retaliation and Escape, Emigration and Inclusion - International help to the Freedom Fighters of 1956). We publish the best of studies and reminiscence coming from eight countries. Some of the authors deal directly with the Hungarian freedom fight, while others analyze from the Polish, Czech, Slovak, Russian, Romanian, Yugoslav, Italian, Spanish and American point of view, regarding how did the people and relevant intellectuals experience the revolution in the neighboring countries, and on what grounds did the politicians make their decisions in the respective countries.

The special edition contains the newest results of researches, explains a whole set of new issues for those who deal with geopolitics, history, international politics, while it positions in a questionable dimensions the dictatorships, the democracies, the transition to democracy, the freedom fight and the successful regime changes. It positions into a

different aspect the issue of national sovereignty, as well as the realist political approach and super powers' games.

One of the main goals of the journal editorial board is to make it available to the broadest circle of readers from among experts and persons with a serious interest in the issues of the unique space of Central Europe, from the different perspective of international relations, history, political science, sociology, anthropology and art-sociology, respectively. The main reason for publishing the **Central European Political Science Review** is to serve and to enhance Central Europe, to broaden and to spread the thoughts of Central Europeanism, and Europeanism.

We suggest you to read our web-site and contact our assistant if you have a paper for **CEPSR** or any questions:
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We dedicate our special issue of Central European Political Science Review to the memory of tragically hell died **Professor György Juhász** (1954-2017), who was author of this issue, and who kept building bridges between the nations of our region with his life and work as an educator and researcher. He did everything in his power to make the Croatian, Hungarian, Serbian, Slovenian nations understand each other better.

János Simon
Editor-in-chief

1956 of Hungary

Revolution, Democratization and Freedom Fight

SPECIAL ISSUES OF CEPSR about

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in two volumes

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FIRST VOLUME

LOGO !!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

Gyula Illyés (1902—1983)
A Sentence on Tyranny
(1950)

Where seek out tyranny?
There seek out tyranny,
Not just in barrels of guns,
Not just in prisons,
Not in the cell alone
Where third degree goes on,
Hot in the night without
Challenged by sentry-shout,
Not where in death bright smoke
Prosecutors' words provoke,
Not just in the emphasis
Of wall-tapped morse-messages,
Not in confession told,
Not in the judge's cold
Death-sentence: 'Guilty!'
Not in the military
'Halt!' and the snapped-out 'Aim!'
'Fire!' and the drums of shame
Scattering the squad as it
Drags the corpse to the pit,
Not in the furtively
Guarded, and fearfully
Breathed words the message bore
Passed through half-open door,
Not in the 'Ssh!' revealed
On mouth by finger sealed,
Nor confine tyranny yet
To rigid features set,

Peering through bars that still
Show, through that iron grille,
Cries that dumb throats retract
Stopped in the cataract

Or inarticulate tears
Deepening the silent fears
In pupils griefs dilate
Darkened by looming fate,

Not only in 'Viva!' cries
Track down all tyrannies,
Surging on tiptoe, strong,
In the acclaiming song.

Where seek out tyranny?
There seek out tyranny,
Not just in mustered bands,
Tirelessly clapping hands,

Fanfares, and opera-stalls;
Just as crude, just as false,
Monuments, art-galleries,
Though cast in stone, speak lies;

Yes, each framed lie can crush.
Even in the painter's brush,
Or in the car with slight
Noise gliding through the night,

Where it draws up and waits
Throbbing in front of gates,
There omnipresently,
More than your ancient God,

There seek out tyranny,
In school, in nursery,
In father's counselling rule
And in the mother's smile,

In, where a stranger puts
Questions that touch the roots,
Answering the stranger's gaze,
What the child always says;

Not just where barbed wire twines,
Not just between book-lines,
More than in barbed wire, in
Slogans that stun you:

There, more discreet, it is
In a wife's parting kiss,
Near you and at your back:
'When, dear, will you be back?'

In words that folk repeat,
'How d'you do's in the street,
In the then suddenly softer
Handshake a moment after

Making your lover's face
Found in the meeting-place
Freeze on the instant
Because it is present,

Not only in the interrogation
But, too, in love's confession,
In the words' sweet wine
Like a fly in the wine,

For even in your dreams
You are preceded:
In the bridal bed
And in the desire it bred;

Nothing you think fair
But it has already claimed;
Your bed it did share
Even when love was named;

It is in the plate, the glass,
In the nose and the mouth,
It is in the cold and the dark,
In the outer air and in your house;

As if through an open window
Came the reek of carrion
Or somewhere in the house
There was a leak of gas.

Talk to yourself and hear
Tyranny your inquisitor;
You have no isolation,
Not even in imagination.

The Milky Way through it becomes
A frontier terrain, scoured by beams,
A minefield, and the star
A spy-hole in a war;

The swarming canopy of the sky
Is a monstrous labour-camp:
The Orator Tyranny
Speaks from bells on the ramp;

From the priest to whom you confess,
From his sermon no less,
Church, Parliament, these
And the rack, are but stage properties:

Open and close your eyes;
Still its scrutiny lies
Upon you like a sickness,
Following you with memory's quickness.

Harks at the wheels of the train;
This is their refrain:
'You are taken prisoner, prisoner';
On the hill, by the sea, you inhale the same reminder.

In the lightning flash it is seen
In every unforeseen
Little noise; its dart
Lights up your astonished heart.

Where you rest, there it is
In boredom's manacles,
In showers that forge nearby
Bars that reach up the sky,

In the snow, whose fall
Sheer as a cell wail
Hides you while it looks
Through the eyes of your dog,

For it is in all you intend,
In Your to-morrow it is at hand,
Before your thoughts it is aware,
In your every movement it is there;

As water cleaves the river-bed
You follow and form it; but instead
Of peering from that circle anew,
Out of the glass it looks at you,

In vain you try to escape its wrath:
Prisoner and jailer, you are both;
It works its own corrosive way
Into the taste of your tobacco,

Into the very clothes you wear –
It penetrates you to the marrow;
You detach your sense from it, only to find
No other thought will come to your mind.

You look about, but what prompts your gazing?
You use your eyes, but what do they catch?
Already a forest fire is blazing
Fanned into flame by the stick of a match

Where carelessly you threw it down
As you walked, and forgot to tread it in,
And now it guards you in the town,
In field and home and the factories' din;

No longer you feel what it is to live;
Bread and meat, you do not know them;
You cannot have desire, nor love;
To stretch out your arms is now denied you.

Thus does the slave forge with care
The fetters he himself must wear;
You nourish tyranny when you eat;
You beget your child for it.

Where seek tyranny? Think again:
Everyone is a link in the chain;
Of tyranny's stench you are not free:
You yourself are tyranny.

Like a mole on a sunny day
Walking in his blind, dark way,
We walk and fidget in our rooms
Making a Sahara of our homes;

Because, where tyranny is,
Everything is in vain,
Every creation, even this
Poem I sing turns vain,

Because it is standing
From the first at your grave,
Your own biography branding,
And even your ashes are its slave.

*Watkins, Vernon (English transl.) 1976. in. Hundred
Hungarian Poems, Albion Editions, Manchester*

Events Preceding the Hungarian Revolution of 1956

by Alessandro Marengo

1953, March: death of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin. Power struggle initiated between Nikita Khrushchev, Georgi Malenkov, Lavrentiy Beria, Lazar Kaganovich, Nikolai Bulganin and Vyacheslav Molotov. Eventually by September of 1953 Khrushchev secured his power.

1953, June: Mátyás Rákosi, the dictator of communist Hungary since 1948, was summoned to Moscow. The Soviet leadership condemned the actions of Rákosi (who followed the hard-liner Stalinist approach) and ordered him to hand over power to the more moderate Imre Nagy. Meanwhile the Hungarian economy was at the brink of disaster, the communist system was unable to provide basic goods for the people, while a heavy industrialization policy was pursued.

1953, June – 1955, April: first government of Imre Nagy. His government intended to remain part of the Soviet bloc, but ended the brutal Stalinist system. Mass arrests were ended, political prisoners received amnesty. More focus was given to the needs of the people, while a politically more open atmosphere was present. Although some reforms were implemented, no punishment was given to the perpetrators of the hard-liner Stalinist dictatorship, even Mátyás Rákosi remained first secretary of the Hungarian Workers Party (MDP).

1955, April: the political positions of Imre Nagy weakened in Moscow, consequently he was relieved from the post of prime minister and was expelled from the MDP party. His policies were seen as too liberal and open, while he wasn't following enough the Soviet type of socialism. Apparently,

a more hard-liner communist group was returning to power, but the briefly open political atmosphere deeply influenced the Hungarian people.

1956, February: secret speech of Soviet leader Khrushchev, in which he denounced the personality cult of the Stalin era, as well as the mass oppression. The speech was soon revealed by the West, while it had a deep ramification in the Soviet bloc. Especially in Hungary, where the people became more active in denouncing publicly the atrocities suffered during the Rákosi era (1949-1953).

1956, June: workers revolted in Poznan, Poland. This was seen as a serious challenge to the communist system. The Polish workers' revolt had a positive effect on young Hungarians, although the brief Polish revolt was brutally crushed.

1956, July: the hard-liner Mátyás Rákosi was expelled from the government and he was also relieved from his position as first secretary of the MDP party. This was not enough, the people's desire for justice was growing: mostly they wished to see the hard-liner communists being prosecuted, while they requested the reform-minded Imre Nagy's return to power. The people were also infuriated by the fact that after Rakosi's resignation, his long-time collaborator and ally Ernő Gerő was elected as first secretary of the MDP party (Ernő Gerő also took part in the mass oppression of the Rákosi era). Meanwhile Rákosi was forcefully relocated to the USSR, effectively going into exile. Mátyás Rákosi would never be allowed to return to Hungary.

1956, September - October: the Hungarian civil society became active again and several meetings were organized. The mayor civil movements were the informal "Petőfi kör" and the various university student organizations. Imre Nagy was very popular amongst the people, his reforms had a brief but positive effect on the population and his

political views were especially appreciated by the previously mentioned university students. On October 22nd, the network of university students decided to secede from the communist youth organization in order to form the independent MEFESZ (Alliance of Hungarian University and College Guilds).

1956, October: several manifestations are held in Polish cities against the Soviet regime. The Hungarian university students, while having a large meeting at the Budapest University of Technology (BME) on October 22nd, collectively decided to organize a pro-Polish solidarity manifestation the next day, October 23rd.

Events of the Hungarian revolution of 1956:

October 23: the university students held a solidarity demonstration for the Polish workers near the Petőfi Statue in Budapest at 3.00 PM. The Ministry of the Interior originally banned the demonstration, but later they allow it to occur. During the demonstrations the people's anger turned against the dictatorship and they cut out the Soviet-style coat of arms from the Hungarian banner (this banner with the hole in the center later became the symbol of the revolution). The demonstration gathered momentum and they marched to the Bem Statue where they continued their peaceful protest. The choice of the statues was symbolic, as both Petőfi and Bem were leaders of the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49. The demonstrators requested the return to government of Imre Nagy, while they decided to march to the Parliament building, where the Hungarian National Assembly was located. Imre Nagy conducted a brief speech from the balcony of the Parliament building, yet he wasn't supportive of the demonstrations. Meanwhile the crowd grew significantly, approximately 200.000 people. In the evening, a significant part of protestors marched to

the colossal Stalin statue, which was situated near Heroes Square. At 9.30 PM, the Stalin statue was torn down and destroyed as the main symbol of the communist repression. Meanwhile, another significant group of the protestors marched to the Hungarian State Radio headquarters (8th District, Bródy Sándor street) and demanded the broadcast of their petition. They were also infuriated by an aggressive radio speech given by Ernő Gerő, one of the main perpetrators of the hard-liner communist dictatorship (he mostly labeled the protestors as a chauvinist-nationalist mob, while he defended the communist system). The people stormed the Hungarian State Radio headquarters at 9.00 PM, where the first fatal casualties occurred. The communist secret police, the ÁVH was ordered to fire at the protesters, but they were quickly outnumbered and the Radio fell into the hands of the protestors by the dawn of October 24th. At the same time, the protestors sieged the headquarters of the “Szabad Nép” newspaper, which was the main daily paper of the MDP party. Simultaneously the leadership of the MDP party voted to implement personnel changes inside the party, while the previously excommunicated Imre Nagy was already present in the party meetings.

October 24: significant number of armed clashes erupt between the protestors and the law enforcement units, especially the secret police units (ÁVH) are the most brutal. The first units of the Soviet Army marched into the center of Budapest (requested by the Hungarian government), although the Soviet attack is not properly coordinated and Soviet troops cannot stop the rebellion. Around 250 people died during the events of October 23-24. Important political changes occurred: Imre Nagy became prime minister again. Although a reformer, in the beginning Imre Nagy condemned the protests and accepted the Soviet interference.

October 25: peaceful protestors gathered in front of the Parliament building in Kossuth square. Suddenly unknown pro-communist units, probably the ÁVH secret police, started to fire from the top of the building at the crowd standing in Kossuth square and more than 200 people were killed by the snipers. Meanwhile, the hard liner communist first secretary Ernő Gerő was relieved from his position, and János Kádár was elected as first secretary. The communist government labeled the protests as counterrevolutionary events, but Imre Nagy promised reforms. Armed insurgency spread into the countryside, the fighting intensified.

October 26: the Hungarian People's Army disintegrated, several army units joined the revolution. The heaviest fights in Budapest are around the Kilian barracks. The fighting intensified in the countryside, the number of casualties grew. This was the day when the Mosonmagyaróvár shooting occurred: border guard units fired at the peaceful protesters, more than 90 people were killed. Similar shootings occurred in Nagykanizsa, Kecskemét and many other provincial towns.

October 27: fighting continued, while the protesters demanded the resignation of the entire government, except for Imre Nagy, who meanwhile appointed several non-communist ministers in his government (most notably Zoltán Tildy and Béla Kovács, who were persecuted in the 1950's). Imre Nagy stopped those military plans that requested a greater oppression of the revolution.

October 28: Imre Nagy changed his political attitudes: his government stopped labeling the events as "counterrevolutionary and fascist" acts, instead they declared the events as a genuine revolution. In his speech, Imre Nagy declared the formation of a new government and assured the revolutionaries of his support. He declared the events as a democratic and legitimate revolution, while he announced the

cease-fire and the withdrawal of Soviet forces from the capital Budapest. He also declared a general amnesty and the abolition of the hated secret police, the ÁVH. Meanwhile, Soviet troops became uncertain and stopped their massive attack against Budapest, although heavy fighting continues in the countryside. The government, not trusting the loyal communist units, created a new para-military organization named National Guard (Nemzetőrség). In the United Nations (UN), the Hungarian issue is discussed, while the USSR heavily objected to integrate this issue into the UN agenda.

October 29: Soviet troops initiated their retreat from Budapest. The Hungarian Ministry of the Interior declared the dissolution of the hated secret police (ÁVH), while they initiated to disarm these units. Several former ÁVH members and whole units requested refuge at the Soviet Army. Meanwhile several revolutionaries joined the new National Guard. The party apparatus of the ruling MDP party disintegrated, local administrations were run by revolutionary councils. While the Hungarian events continued the Suez-crisis initiated, which distracted the world's attention from the Hungarian revolution. Charles Bohlen, United States ambassador to the USSR, assured the Soviets that they wouldn't interfere in Hungary, effectively accepting the future Soviet military intervention to crush the Hungarian revolution. Meanwhile the Soviet authorities in Budapest (led by Anastas Mikoyan and Mikhail Suslov) falsely guarantee the Soviet non-interference to the Hungarian government.

October 30: Soviet units continued their withdrawal from Budapest. In the morning, the protestors stormed the Budapest headquarters of the communist party (MDP) in the Köztársaság Square. The siege endured several hours, former members of the dissolved ÁVH secret police units

fired back. Ultimately the protesters seized the building and lynched several communists. In the afternoon, Imre Nagy declared the end of the single-party state and announced future multi-party free elections. Several mayor communist party functionaries took part in Imre Nagy's government, including János Kádár. The communist members seemingly accepted the new elections and the end of the single-party state. Meanwhile an autonomous group of revolutionaries managed to liberate Cardinal József Mindszenty, who was sentenced to life imprisonment by the communist government in 1949 (he was in house arrest since 1955). Imre Nagy officially rehabilitated Cardinal Mindszenty and recognized his religious position. Simultaneously the liberation of political prisoners initiated, around 3000 prisoners were set free.

October 31: Cardinal Mindszenty arrived to Budapest, while the people received him with great enthusiasm. Imre Nagy's government declared that negotiations were initiated with the Soviet Union regarding Hungary's exit from the Warsaw Pact and the complete withdrawal of Soviet forces. However, Soviet troops continued to enter Hungary from the east.

November 1: Soviet troops shut down air traffic, while Hungarian Army units were ordered not to counterattack. Imre Nagy refused to leave the country, while he requested the Soviet ambassador (Yuri Andropov) to explain the Soviet Army build-up. In the evening radio speech, Imre Nagy declared the Hungarian neutrality effective. Meanwhile, several communist government members (including János Kádár), disappeared. It was revealed only later that they were collected by the Soviets and secretly flown to the USSR. While in the capital Budapest and in the countryside several old and new political parties were formed, the people felt that the revolution had won.

November 2: the fighting ended in the entire country, although Soviet troops continued their secret build-up. Imre Nagy's government continued its protest against the Soviet presence. Meanwhile Nikita Khrushchev, based on the Yugoslav dictator Tito's advice, decided that János Kádár would be the new leader of Hungary and that Soviet forces would crush the revolution in Hungary to preserve the socialist system.

November 3: during the day the Hungarian military delegation, led by defense minister Pál Maléter, continued their negotiations regarding Soviet troops' withdrawal from Hungary, until the KGB abruptly arrested the Hungarian delegation around midnight. Soviet troops meanwhile closed Hungary's borders with Austria.

November 4: massive Soviet attack began against Budapest. Imre Nagy broadcasted a dramatic radio speech at dawn, he declared that Hungarian troops (mostly National Guard units) were defending the country from the Soviet attack. The revolutionaries were quickly overwhelmed by the Soviet supremacy and manpower. Imre Nagy received a guarantee from the Yugoslav Embassy that they won't be extradited to the USSR or Hungary, so they relocated there. Simultaneously with Imre Nagy's radio speech, another radio speech was given: János Kádár announced from the city of Szolnok the formation of the Revolutionary Workers'-Peasants' Government of Hungary and declared the government of Imre Nagy as a counterrevolutionary illegal organization. Imre Nagy and most members of his government took refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy around 8 AM. Although fighting restarted, the Soviet forces quickly occupied Budapest within one day. Around 135 Hungarian people died during the second Soviet attack, according to the official figures.

November 4-9: several armed revolutionaries continued to fight, although the Hungarian revolution was already lost. Between late 1956 and early 1957, more than 200.000 people left Hungary to escape the communist dictatorship.

November 4 - December 8: János Kádár's new government was appointed by the Soviets, but it lacked consensus from the Hungarian people. Initially, apart from the early revenges of pro-communist voluntary units (so-called "pufajkások"), the Kádár government showed restrained. They promised to maintain many reforms of Imre Nagy's government, clearly this was a move to buy time. They dialogued with the workers and some revolutionaries, but they clearly waited to settle the situation and meanwhile they disarmed and disbanded potential resistance units (mainly the National Guard), promising a general amnesty. This "soft" attitude ended on December 8th, when prominent aggressive communist figure György Marosán admonished the workers that the single party state has been re-established and that they would use force if necessary. On the same day (December 9th), in the city of Salgótarján the communist forces opened fire against the peaceful protestors, killing many people.

From this date the mass arrests, repressions and executions were initiated, which reached their pinnacle **in 1957 and in 1958.**

1958, Imre Nagy, the communist politician, who was appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungarian People's Republic on two occasions. Nagy's second term ended when his non-Soviet-backed government was brought down by Soviet invasion in the failed Hungarian Revolution of 1956, resulting in Nagy's execution on charges of treason two years later on **16 of June, 1958.** They hanged him.

1963. The Kádár-regime ended the terror, when a “partial amnesty” was given, granted only due to pressures coming from the United Nations. Imre Nagy (and many of his companions) were lured to leave the Yugoslav Embassy, because Kádár had promised them amnesty as well. Ultimately Imre Nagy was arrested (along with his team) and was later executed in 1958 after a show trial. Many of his comrades were also executed.

According to the official statistic data, 2.652 people died while 19.226 people got injured during the revolution, and during the mass retorsions, 453 people were executed by the new pro-soviet communist government (leading by J. Kádár). We don't have non-official statistics about the numbers of sacrifice. 200 thousand Hungarian refuged abroad.