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CHAPTER XI

REVOLUTIONARY AND WORKERS' COUNCILS

H Introduction

H Revolutionary Councils

← A. Territorial Councils:

(i) The Provinces

(ii) The Transdanubian National Council →

(iii) Budapest

↔ B. Functional and Representative Councils:

(i) Students and Youth

(ii) Armed Forces

(iii) Intellectuals

(iv) Other Councils →

← C. Establishment of Revolutionary Committees within Government Departments

← D. Efforts for the co-ordination of Revolutionary Councils and Committees

← E. Contacts of Revolutionary Councils with the Government

H Workers' Councils in Factories

(In preparation).

The Hungarian Revolutionary Committee of Intellectuals

Conclusion

CHAPTER XI
REVOLUTIONARY AND WORKERS' COUNCILS

Introduction

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in factories,

No aspect of the Hungarian uprising expressed its aims more clearly than the creation of Revolutionary Councils and Workers' Councils. Within a few days, these bodies came into existence all over Hungary and assumed important responsibilities. Their chief purpose was to ensure for the Hungarian people real control of local government and of mines, factories and other industrial enterprises. There was even a suggestion that a National Revolutionary Committee might replace the National Assembly, while another proposal was that a National Joint Council could exercise the prerogatives of the Head of State. While nothing of the kind took place, the fact that such suggestions could be put forward at all illustrates the power concentrated in the hands of these Councils and the degree to which they were felt to reflect the desires of the people.

The first part of this chapter will deal with the so-called Revolutionary Councils and the second part with the Workers' Councils in factories. Before the end of October, the Communist Party apparatus had collapsed in Hungary, leaving a vacuum in public administration. By Article 30 of the Constitution of 18 August 1949, various local Councils had been established as organs of the State administration. Owing to the one party system, these Councils came under the direct control of the Communist Party and local autonomy was destroyed. As soon as the Communist Party apparatus collapsed, the Hungarian people demanded that democratic elections be held in all autonomous communities. Revolutionary Councils were created and took over the functions of the local administration.

Just as these Revolutionary Councils were an expression of popular dissatisfaction with the local councils of the régime, so the Workers' Councils were intended to establish real control by the workers in factories, mines and similar enterprises. Under Article 6 of the Constitution of 1949, the State and public bodies were to act as "trustees for the whole people" in the working of mines, large industrial enterprises and State-sponsored agricultural undertakings. In practice, this meant that rigid Party control took the place of the earlier capitalist system and, during the Rakosi régime, the Hungarian economy became completely subordinated as was seen in Chapter 9 to the interests of the Soviet Union. The Workers' Councils were an expression of popular disapproval of this state of affairs.

Revolutionary and Workers' Councils sprang up without any central direction or coordinating plan, but, as the days past^{ed}, efforts were made to achieve some degree of ~~coordination~~^{coordination}, ~~although~~ these efforts were still in a tentative stage when the second Soviet intervention occurred on 4 November. Workers, soldiers, students and peasants were the mainstay of the Revolutionary Councils. ~~Spokesmen for the Soviet Government drew a parallel between the creation of these Councils in Hungary and the establishment of the so-called Soviets in 1917 and 1921, which were set up in Petrograd and Kronstadt by the Russian workers, soldiers and sailors.~~ ^{Thus the people of Hungary followed the example set by the who} These Soviets also demanded free elections, freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly, free trade unions, the abolition of compulsory delivery of produce by the peasants and the release of political prisoners. In 1921 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union ^{denounced} ~~described~~ the Soviet of Kronstadt as "counter-revolutionary bodies organized from abroad." Identical accusations were made against some of the Hungarian Councils by the Soviet and the Kadar Government. It is ~~as~~ clear, ^{however,} that those governments ^{wished to present} ~~saw in~~ the Councils as a counter-revolutionary element, although on 28 October, the official organ of the Hungarian Workers' (Communist) Party, Szabad Nép, spoke of the Councils as follows: "quote" ^{when Mr. Kadar was still a member of the Nagy government.}

Official recognition was given to the Revolutionary Councils by Mr. Nagy on 30 October. He referred to them as "autonomous, democratic local authorities formed during the revolution." He spoke "in the name of the National Government" and asked for "full support" ~~to be given to the Councils.~~ ^{quote attached from them.}

Information on the establishment and activities of both the Revolutionary and Workers' Councils is still incomplete. The following outline is based on statements of witnesses connected with the Councils, monitored radio broadcasts from Hungary, Hungarian newspapers and leaflets distributed ~~by~~ on behalf of the Councils themselves.

quote for p. 2

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Party, on 28 October: "News comes all the time from all parts of the country about the setting up of municipal and county Councils, Workers' Councils, National Councils or Revolutionary Socialist Committees - many different names. All are alike, however, in being spontaneous, popular organs which came into existence through the upsurge of a new democracy of this country. We do not know who the members of the Councils are, we do know, however, that they are representatives of the workers and that they are being elected in a democratic way. There is none among them who would abuse the confidence of the people, who would misuse his power or think only of his personal position. Among them are those Communists who are respected and loved by the people. The good judgment and intelligence of the working masses are seen in the first measures taken by these popular organs. They consider as their first tasks the restoration of order and discipline, the restatement of the desires of the workers and the resumption of production, and they are trying to establish contact with the new Government because they wish to draw up with them their plans for the future."

4a. Official recognition was given on 30 October by Mr. Nagy the which were by him to Revolutionary Councils/referred to/as "autonomous, democratic local authorities formed during the revolution". He spoke "in the name of the National Government" and called for them to receive "full support". In addition, on 31 October, Mr. Nagy recognized the formation of the Revolutionary National Defence Committee which was to set up the new Armed Forces.

I. Revolutionary Councils

A. Territorial Councils

(i) Provinces:

As from 24 October, Revolutionary Councils were set up throughout Hungary in villages, towns, at district level and in the counties. Whole areas were brought under their control, in some cases after fighting with the "AVH". They at once assumed administrative responsibilities and ^{began to} ~~soon~~ addressed demands to the Government, some of which had considerable influence on the course of events.

Various terms were used to describe these Councils, such as Revolutionary Council, National Revolutionary Council, Revolutionary Committee, Workers' and Soldiers' Council, Revolutionary Workers' Council, National Revolutionary Committee, National Council, National Committee, Municipal Workers' Council, Workers' Council, ^(Socialist Revolutionary Committee) ~~Workers' Council~~. In this ^{chapter} ~~account~~, all Councils set up in the provinces will be referred to as "Revolutionary Councils".

Among the first provincial Councils, established around 24 October, were those of Debrecen, Gyor, Mosonmagyaróvár and Szolnok. The circumstances in which the Councils came into being varied from place to place. Sometimes, they were established after peaceful demonstrations, while, on other occasions, ^{armed} resistance by the AVH had to be overcome before it was possible to ~~proceed with the setting~~ up of a Council. The procedure followed in establishing the Councils also varied from place to place. The methods used included election by secret ballot at a general meeting, ^{or at} ~~at~~ a meeting of factory workers' delegates, ~~or at~~ ~~a meeting of~~ election by representatives of peasants, factory ~~work~~ workers and professional organizations. Sometimes, members of the Council were appointed by ~~acclamation~~ ^{acclamation} and sometimes ~~and~~ by open election from those present at the meeting.

The Councils included representatives of all segments of the population. In Debrecen, the Council had one hundred members of whom 60 per cent were workers, 20 ^{per cent} university students and 20 per cent representatives of the armed forces. The Council Gyor consisted of workers, peasants, soldiers and ^{intellectuals} ~~intellectuals~~ while half of the 28 members of the Council of Jászberény were peasants. A number of Councils included members of the police force, as well as of the Army. Some, such as the Council of Debrecen, kept Communist members throughout, while others

like that of ~~Pecs~~ ^{and Győr} dropped their Communist members after 1 November.

The Councils stressed in the newspapers and on the radio that what had taken place in Hungary was not a counter-revolutionary movement aimed at restoring the old order, but a democratic and socialist revolution intended to realize the national aspirations ~~of~~ of the working people. On 29 October, the newspaper Hetfoi Hirlap commented: "The demands ~~of~~ ^{essentially} of the Revolutionary Councils/ are, on the whole, identical and ~~ess~~ ^{they} socialist and democratic in their character and do not intend to ~~destroy~~ destroy the people's power. This is proved by the fact that, wherever Party organizations endorsed the aims of the democratic revolution, no action was taken against them."

^{A number of} Many of the Revolutionary Councils were fully supported from the beginning by the armed forces (Debrecen, Győr, Szeged, Szolnok, Veszprem), and by the local Police (Debrecen, Győr, Mosonmagyaróvár, Szolnok, Tatabánya, Veszprem).

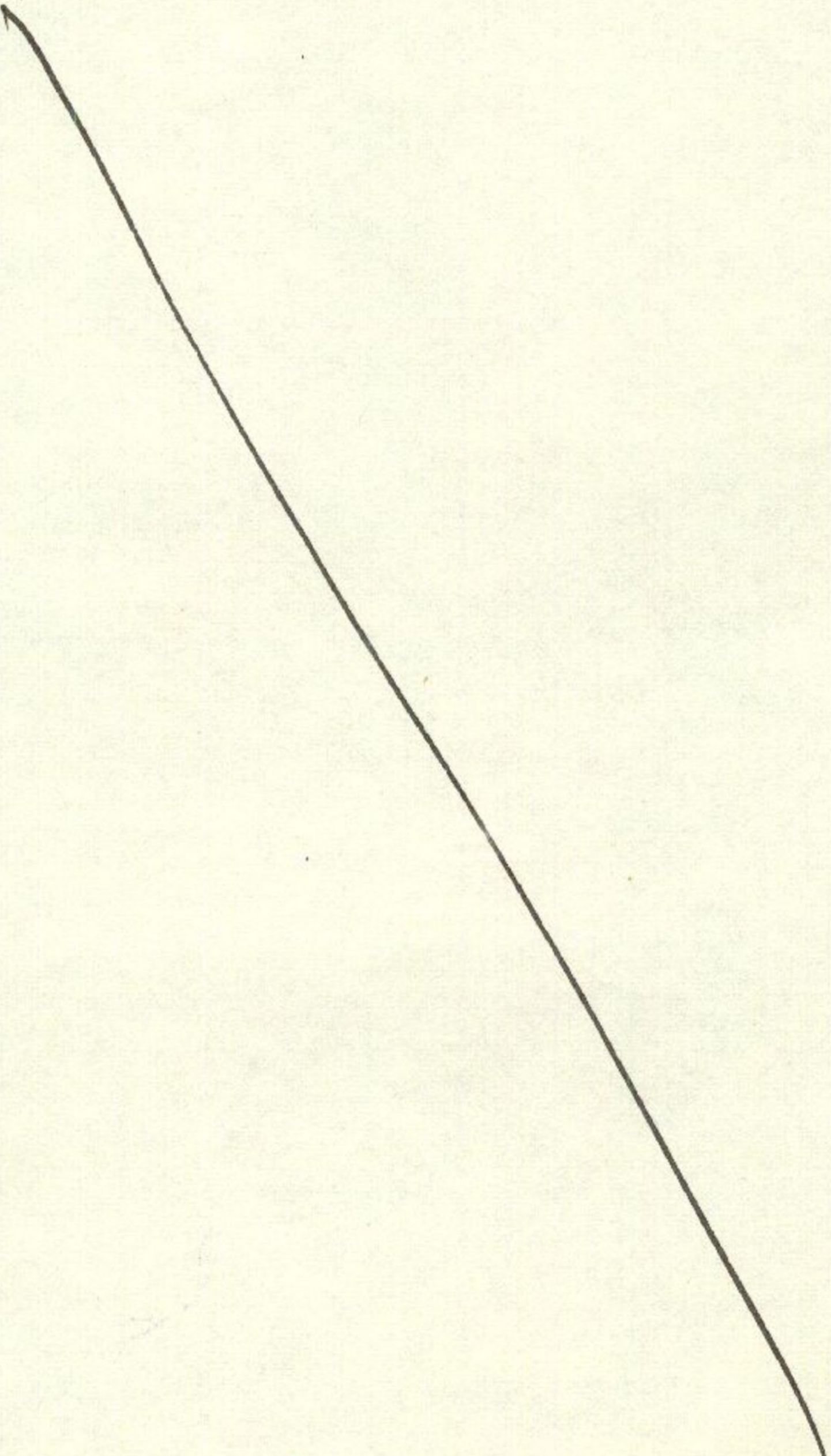
Many of the Revolutionary Councils had radio stations of their own, which broadcast news and announcements by the Councils during the whole period of the uprising. ~~These broadcasting stations controlled by the Councils were in various parts of Hungary.~~ The most important provincial radio centre ~~was~~ being in Győr, where Radio Free Győr and Radio Free Petöfi broadcast ~~on~~ on both medium and shortwave.

Of considerable political ^{significance} ~~significance~~ were the demands put forward by the Councils to the Government on behalf of the people of their area. Some Councils gave qualified approval to the Government of Mr. Nagy, while putting conditions for full recognition. The great majority of Revolutionary Councils were unanimous in calling for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and the organization of free elections. Other demands ~~amongst those~~ put forward by the Revolutionary Councils of twelve Hungarian cities ~~were calls~~ ^{for} for a protest to the United Nations ~~against~~ against the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary, and for the United Nations ~~to~~ to deal with the Hungarian situation, ^{for} equality ^{with} for the USSR, withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, ^{the} ~~proclamation~~ ^{proclamation} of neutrality, free and democratic elections, liberation of political prisoners, dissolution of ~~the~~ AVH and freedom of speech, press, religion and association, ^{and} abolition of compulsory delivery of produce by the peasants. It was often emphasized that a return of the estates to their former owners would not be ^(considered) ~~considered~~. "The people have already decided as far as the question of land, factories and mineral wealth is concerned," one Council delegate told ~~the~~ the Government on 3 November. "The people will never alter that decision."

X) Debrecen, etc.

(See footnote 1) on p. 7 of Draft I.)

The Revolutionary Councils ^{controlled} ~~ran~~ the administration of the cities in which they were set up, dealing with all the major problems of local government and ^{taking} ~~adding to these~~ special measures to restore and maintain order by the setting up of a National Guard. Some collected medical supplies and food for the fighters and wounded in Budapest. Thus the Revolutionary Council of Jaszbereny, ⁱⁿ cooperation with the local peasants, from 30 October on provided the fighters in Budapest free of charge with ^{nearly} ~~more~~ ^{over} 10 kilograms of food, ^{on a daily basis}.



as well as by delegates of the Revolutionary Councils of BORSOD and = BACS-KISKUN⁶ Counties and the CSEPEL workers council

(ii) The Transdanubian National Council

Of all the provincial Councils, that which ~~has appeared to exercise~~ ^{appears to have} wielded the greatest ^{political} influence ~~on events~~ was the Transdanubian National Council. This Council was set up at a conference ⁱⁿ Győr on 30 October which was attended by about 400 delegates, 4 from each county and 2 from each city in the Transdanubian region. The conference was opened ^{by} the President of the National Revolutionary Council of Győr-Sopron county, Attila Szigethy. Demonstrations held in Győr during the previous day had demanded the formation of a "counter-government" to that of Mr. Nagy and had called for military help from the Western Powers. ^{However,} News reached the conference from Budapest about the ^{Inter}-Cabinet" which Mr. Nagy had just set up and about the opening of negotiations for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Under the impact of this news, the conference rejected the proposals for a "counter-government" and declared that it would immediately open negotiations with Mr. Nagy regarding free general elections, the ~~guaranteeing~~ ^{the Transdanubian Council} of human rights, the proclamation of Hungary's neutrality in the United Nations and other matters. The conference said that ~~it~~ would withdraw recognition from the Government, ~~x~~ if these demands were not satisfied.

It will be seen that the Transdanubian National Council took a strongly individualised line in its approach to Mr. Nagy's Government. ~~No other Council acted in quite the same way and~~ The meeting at Győr must have expressed views shared by many of the inhabitants of Western Hungary. Nevertheless, in spite of the proposal put forward in that area to establish a "counter-government", ~~it will be noted that~~ the Transdanubian National Council decisively rejected the idea, while insisting upon certain conditions, such as Hungarian neutrality, ^{before it would fully support Mr. Nagy,} It will be recalled that a Győr writer, Lajos Simon, as described in Chapter IX, had been the ^{the proclamation of} first ^{on 16 October,} Hungarian to call publicly ~~for~~ for the withdrawal of Soviet armed forces.

Under the chairmanship of Mr. Szigethy, a delegation from the Transdanubian National Council met Mr. Nagy on 31 October at the Parliament Building. For

Ministry Broadcasting

several days Radio Free Gyor had been ~~announcing~~ the Council demands, including that for Hungarian neutrality. It was on 1 November, at 7.50 p.m., that Mr. Nagy made his historic broadcast proclaiming the neutrality of Hungary and announcing his appeal to the United Nations.

on the same day
~~Also on 1 November~~ at a meeting of the Council in Gyor, the proposal to establish a "counter-government" within the framework of the Transdanubian Council was again brought forward, but rejected by a overwhelming majority.

~~(iii) Ex~~

(iii) Budapest

Revolutionary Councils or National Committees were set up all over Budapest. As early as the night of 23 October, individual fighting groups elected from among their members the first temporary Councils to coordinate their forces and to present their demands to the Government. The leaders of these Councils came together at an early stage with those of the Workers' Councils in the same area, and proceeding to set up a ~~unified~~ *unified* Revolutionary Council, consisting of representatives of the ~~fighters~~ *freedom*, workers' councils and political parties. Several of the Revolutionary Councils of Greater Budapest were elected by democratic voting, but, in many districts, there ~~was~~ *had been* no time to organize mass meetings for a democratic election ~~before~~ *when* the Russian ~~intervention~~ *intervention* of 4 November.

focus
 The Committee ~~had~~ *received* information on the ~~Revolutionary~~ *Revolutionary* Councils of South Budapest, Csepel and Districts II, V, VII, VII, XII, XIV and XX. These Councils and Committees had an average membership of 20 to 25. Among the members were workers, ~~soliders~~, soldiers, police, students and other intellectuals, small artisans and small shopkeepers. They met every 2 or 3 days and, like the provincial Councils, undertook ~~the~~ *made* various responsibilities of public administration, as well as emergency tasks ~~made~~ *other* necessary by the fighting. After adopting the 16 demands of the students as a political platform, these Budapest Councils made ~~statements~~ *of their own* concerning their recognition or conditional recognition of the Nagy Government. The Councils expressed

their views in a newspaper, Esti Hirlap, which appeared through 3 November.

B. Functional and Representative Councils

i) Students and Youth

The Students' Revolutionary Council [of greater Budapest] was created on the eve of the uprising. Its first task was to help in organizing the various University manifestations in Budapest. Later, this Council was active in bringing together the various groups of student fighters scattered about Budapest, and in many cases, isolated from each other. The Council had a radio station of its own and a publication Egyetemi Ifjusag (University Youth) ^{it also} distributed leaflets and handbills. Later, the Council helped the Government in organizing the National Guard, a large part of which ^{was to} consist of ~~the~~ students. The Committee received as evidence of the Council's attitude a leaflet signed by it expressing confidence in Imre Nagy, a confidence which ^{had been} was said to ~~be~~ shaken for 2 or 3 days but to have become "stronger than ever". ^{in explanation of this change in attitude} The leaflet described how Mr. Nagy had been a prisoner of the AVH. (A photostatic copy of this leaflet is given as an annex to this report).

^{Revolutionary} The Free Hungarian Youth Alliance was founded on 27 October to include all revolutionary youth and student organizations. The Revolutionary Students' Council and various other new youth groups in Budapest became members of this Alliance. Its publication was the former organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Organization ^{DISZ} ~~DISZ~~ Szabad Ifjusag (Free Youth). The Alliance supported the 16 demands of the students and added others, including one for a strike of workers ^{to continue} until the departure of Soviet troops.

On 28 October a preparatory committee was set up for the Militant Organization of Young Workers and Working Youth. This was supported by DISZ and was intended to cooperate with student and peasant youth groups, and was to help ^{Guard} in the strengthening of the National

ii) Armed Forces

In the early hours of 31 October, at a meeting in the Ministry of Defense, representatives of ^{the} ~~several~~ Revolutionary Councils set up the Revolutionary National of the Freedom Fighters, the Army, the Police and the Frontier Guards.

Defense Committee. Local revolutionary army committees and military councils had been set up all over the country in different units, including the Air Force Command and the Military Academies. The ~~meeting~~ meeting of 31 October was convened by the Revolutionary Military Council of the Hungarian Peoples' Army, and called for repudiation of the Warsaw Pact "after immediate convocation of a conference of the signatory governments", ~~the~~ occupation of the ^{armies} ~~un~~ mines by the Hungarian Army, ~~as well as~~ ^{and} for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. ~~It also~~ set up a Committee of 21 officers, among them Colonel Bela Kiraly and Colonel Pal Matfer.

On 30 October Mr. Nagy had announced that the Revolutionary National Defense Committee, once it had been ~~formally~~ ^{has been} established, would form a new armed forces, made up of units of the army, the police, the revolutionary insurgents and the workers' and youth brigades. He declared that the Committee would "restore the internal peace of our country and create the conditions for ^{implementation} ~~implementation~~ of the government's programmes proclaiming on 28 and 30 October. The Revolutionary Defense Committee will operate until the new government ^{has been} ~~is~~ formed, through ^a general and ~~secret~~ elections ^{by secret ballot} and takes office."

Between 1 and 3 November the Defense Committee set up the Revolutionary Committee of the Public ~~Security~~ ^{Composed of the Army, the Police and the Factory Guards} Forces and took steps to develop the National Guard ^{latter formations} to be composed of members of armed formations who were not in the ~~army, police force~~ or ~~factory guards~~. Colonel Bela ~~and~~ Kiraly was promoted to General and appointed Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard, which was to enjoy equal status with the army and the police.

iii. The Hungarian Revolutionary Committee of Intellectuals

This Committee was set up on 28 October at a meeting held at the Lorand Eotvos University in Budapest. It included representatives of organizations of students, writers, journalists, artists, musicians, professors, the Betofi Club and the National Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. This Committee was the last

Hungarian body to broadcast an announcement on its work to the people of Hungary. This it ~~had~~ did at 4.30 a.m. on 4 November, as the second Soviet attack on Budapest was about to begin. Transforming itself later into the Council of Hungarian Intellectuals, it was to play an important part in events after that date.

C. Establishment of Revolutionary Committee^S within Government~~h~~ Departments

From 30 October, Revolutionary Committees were established in most of the Government Departments. Examples are the Ministries of Construction, Education, Food, Foreign Affairs, Internal Trade, Justice, Metallurgy and Machine Industry and State Economy. ^{Minister} Committees were ~~also~~ established in the National Bank, the Supreme Court, the Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, the General Directors^{ate} of the Railway and the Hungarian Radio. Revolutionary Committees were also set up in the Hungarian Embassy in Belgrade and in the Legation in Vienna. In some cases, the Minister was included on the Committee, as was Rezső Nyers, Minister of Food, while in others the Revolutionary Committees removed the Minister from his post, sometimes with officials serving under him. ~~By the time Mr. Nagy formed his second Government on~~ After 30 October, the Revolutionary Committees were in complete control of many Government Departments. ^{A number} ~~Several~~ of them issued statements and demands on questions of policy.

On 30 October and 1 November, two^{Lack} statements were issued by the Revolutionary Committee of the Foreign Ministry under the Chairmanship of Peter Med. The first condemned the "unwarranted interferences of Soviet troops" and called for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet armed forces. The second asked the "entire Hungarian people" to support the proposal^{which the Committee said} it had made on the morning of 30 October "for realizing the neutrality of Hungary for all time." The Committee also expressed the opinion that the Government should seek material aid from the great Powers and that the ~~B~~ bauxite and uranium^{um} of Hungary should be used to "create national prosperity."

The Revolutionary Committee of the Ministry of Education on 1 November declared that the teaching of Russian in primary schools must cease and that religious^{us} teaching must be given in accordance with the wishes of parents. On 2 November, the Committee said that "wherever possible, regular lessons should start [i.e. be resumed] on 5 November."

The Revolutionary Committee of the Ministry of Justice on 2 November said that a draft decree providing for the release of political prisoners, except those convicted for illegal executions, was ready for consideration by the Council of Ministers.

The Revolutionary Councils in the Supreme Court and in other Courts on 31 October ² and 1 November called for the abolition of secret trials.

The Revolutionary Committee of the ~~Supr~~ Chief Prosecutor's Office reported on 3 November that it had begun to review cases of political crimes, and a hundred young people ^{were} ~~had been~~ set free who ~~were~~ ^{had been} charged with seeking to flee the country, "being no longer able to endure the poverty and terror."

The Revolutionary Committee of the Central Planning Board on 30 October demanded^{ing} among other things, the ^{denunciation} ~~denunciation~~ of all economic ~~and~~ political and military treaties.

The Revolutionary Committee of Radio Kossuth (Radio Budapest) said on 30 October that the radio had been an institution of lies for many years past. It had lied during the night and during the day and on all wavelengths. From now on, it would tell the truth. A similar statement was issued on the same day ^{by} the Hungarian Telegraph Agency (MTI), on behalf of its staff, members of the Smallholders, Communist, Socialist and Peasant Parties.

D. Efforts for the Coordination of Revolutionary Councils and Committees

By the end of October more and more demands were made for the establishment of a central organization to coordinate the work of the numerous Revolutionary Councils and Committees. The second Soviet intervention prevented the establishment of

such an organization, but certain attempts were made^{along these lines}. There were plans to form a National Revolutionary Council, on the lines of the Transdanubian National Council to which reference has been made above. Similar Councils would have been established for the region between the Rivers Danube and Tisza and for the ~~the~~ ^{Hungary} eastern provinces. Witnesses stated that the central organization of Revolutionary Councils would have been built from the bottom and not from the top. It would have cooperated with the Government to prepare for the holding of free elections. A specific proposal for such ~~an~~ a central organization was made by a delegation from the Workers' Council of County Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, which called on Mr. Nagy and Mr. Tildy^{Nov.} locally elected members of the Workers' Councils in Budapest and ~~the~~ ^{the} provinces.

Before the uprising, the mass organization known as the ~~National Bureau of~~ the Peoples' Patriotic Front (PPF) had been led by the Hungarian Workers' (Communist) Party, although predominantly made up of non-Communists. On 28 October this ^{organization} ~~bureau~~ set up the Central National Committee, with the task of uniting and coordinating the activities of locally elected revolutionary bodies. It was said that the Committee would keep the people informed on the activity of ^{in such} ~~these~~ bodies and the scope of their authority ^{on} ~~the~~ through the press and the radio.

The Hungarian National Revolutionary Committee was set up by Jozesef Dudas, a former member of the National Peasant Party. This Committee had a newspaper of its own from 30 October, the Magyar Fuggetlenseg (Hungarian Independence). The first number of this newspaper published a 25 point resolution which the Committee had submitted to the Government. The Committee declared that it would not recognize the Government of Mr. Nagy until the latter included ^{in his Cabinet} the "elected representatives" of the ^{Hung. National Rev.} Committee and others. It called for repudiation of the Warsaw Pact, for Hungarian neutrality and for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops. Mr. Dudas also issued a statement on 30 October inviting the National revolutionary organs to send delegates on 1 November to a National Congress of Revolutionary Delegates.

He asked that these delegates should be Hungarians with a clean conscience, who had never taken part ~~in~~ in the policies of the old regime or the regime Rakosi and Gero, but had always been "on the side of freedom and progress".

The next day, Magyar Fuggetlenség announced that this Congress had had to be postponed indefinitely because Budapest was surrounded by Soviet forces which prevented delegates from the provinces from entering the city. On 2 November the newspaper stated that all the 25 points submitted to the Government had been implemented ~~and had been paid for by the blood of Hungary's sons and daughters.~~ ^{later} Josesuf Dudas was arrested and executed by the Government of Mr. Kadar.

Center → E. Contacts of Revolutionary Councils with the Government

From 26 October on, Mr. Nagy and other members of the Government, received a great many delegations sent by Revolutionary Councils and National Committees from different parts of Hungary. ^{Practically} ~~Particularly~~ all of these presented demands to the Government, as has been described in the specific instance of the Transdanubian National Council. The Revolutionary Councils and National Committees of Greater Budapest also had numerous contacts with the Prime Minister. A witness who was Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of South Budapest said that he saw Mr. Nagy on four occasions between ~~21~~ 22 October and 3 November. On 1 and 2 November,

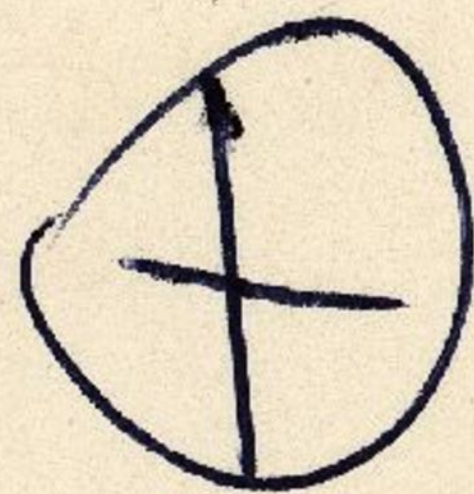
Further ~~meetings~~ meetings were held between representatives of the Government and ~~each~~ *the above mentioned revolutionary bodies to which joined* bodies as the Students' Revolutionary Council, the Hungarian Revolutionary Committee of Intellectuals and Revolutionary Committee of the Hungarian Free Trade Unions, *and the Writers Union.*

At a meeting on 2 November in the Headquarters of the Builders' Trade Union, representatives of the Revolutionary Council *emphasized* that Hungary wanted to live in peace with all countries, but that "Hungarian neutrality was worth no more than the paper it was written on so long as Soviet armed forces remained on Hungarian soil." Another demand ~~presented~~ *at these meetings* put forward concerned the Broadening of the Government on a ~~coalition~~ *collation* basis. *the* A witness reported that representatives of the Revolutionary Councils formed a committee of three, who called upon

*Some of them
"against the will
of the Government,
and at the price of the
defeat of the Soviet
troops."*

*Joseph
Dudas
Center*

0230



56. The Hungarian National Revolutionary Committee, together with the delegates of the Revolutionary Military Council, the Revolutionary Insurgent Forces, ^{of the Hung. Army} the delegates of the Committee of the Intellectuals and the Revolutionary Students' Council, ^{the} ~~had~~ ^{and} talks in a favourable atmosphere with Prime Minister Nagy on

On 30 October, Mr. Nagy, ^{had talks with representatives of} was presented with proposals ~~based on~~ a draft prepared by Mr. Dudas, acting in the name of the freedom fighters. ~~According to Magyar Függetlenség~~ According to Magyar Függetlenség of 31 October, these proposals were to be transmitted to the Government by Mr. Nagy.

57. Two days later, Magyar Függetlenség stated that all the twenty-five points were implemented, ~~of~~ of them "against the will"

Mr. Nagy to impress upon him the need to reorganize his Government.

CONCLUSION

The general impression which emerges from a study of the Revolutionary Councils and National Committess is that of a spontaneous, national-wide movement to assert the right of the Hungarian people to ^{assume the} ~~real~~ direction of their affairs and ^{lives,} ~~control of Hungary's destiny.~~ This movement ^{took shape} ~~began~~, as did the uprising itself, ~~very~~ largely at the local level and ^{there was in the beginning} ~~often with~~ little or no contact between the various groups. Nevertheless, ^{as in the case of the students and intellectuals,} a board identity of aim underlines ^{both} ~~their~~ demands and ^{the} ~~their~~ methods. It is clear that ^{the formation of} ~~these~~ Councils ^{was a new} ~~expressed~~ very widely felt ^{by} ~~desires~~ of the Hungarian people ~~at all levels and it can be assumed that~~ The pressure ~~that~~ ^{they} were able to exert in favour of democratic methods ^{doubtless} ~~have~~ played a great part ~~in shaping the~~ ^{new} Hungarian political and economic scene, ^{had} ~~the~~ second Soviet intervention ^{of arms} ~~shattered~~ the Councils plans. *the dream of independence.*

END

OF

PART I.

of Chapter XI.
