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ENGLISH

Jaszbereny. - Peasant contribution in food.
Shooting, beatings, deport. from Jasz
Return from deportation
Szolnok fighting

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE PROBLEM OF HUNGARY

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTY-EIGHTH MEETING (CLOSED)

Held at 1, Wallnerstrasse 6A, Vienna,
on Wednesday, 27 March 1957, at 9.30 a.m.

Chairman:

Mr. Alsing ANDERSEN

(Denmark)

Arrest and deport Vezprem

Resistance of inhabitants on deportation

Sombathely controlled by Soviet 4 Nov. arrests by Soviet
Russian troops refusal to fight

Soviet atrocities 4-8 Nov Buda

Arrests by Soviet end of Nov

Corvin group - ill treatment - better treatment Ungvar

Stayed demonstration by Kadar

Evidence of new troops in Hungary - Serial car #s

Increase of force during free week - air reconnaissance

Air ports occupied - and free

Increase of force from 600 to 4000 near Buda

Fighting in Miskolc

Negotiations for resumption work Miskolc. Demands 10 Dec

Arrest

At the invitation of the Chairman, Witness QQ took a place at the Committee table.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Committee I bid you welcome. As you wish to remain anonymous your name will not be mentioned. I ask you to tell us briefly as possible your personal experiences during the revolution. I understand you were deported and have been in the Soviet Union and that is a question in which we are especially interested so I ask you to concentrate on that point.

WITNESS QQ (interpretation from Hungarian): On the morning of 5 November 1956 I was captured by Soviet troops. With about eighty boys and forty girls who were university students I was taken to the Veszprem prison. There the AVH interrogated us several times with the usual procedures — the use of force and beatings — and there were cases — it happened to me — where they stood you up against a wall and shot at the wall all round you.

On 8 November the AVH said they would let me go free but instead of that we were put in open trucks. There were 150 people in seven trucks with four armed Soviet guards on each truck and we were taken to the Soviet Union. We proceeded on the following route towards the eastern border: We left Veszprem prison and went through Szekesfehervar, Dunafoeldvar, Kecskemet, Nyiregyhaza and Mateszalka. Probably about two o'clock in the morning we crossed the Hungarian border at Beregsurany. We knew we were crossing the border because the Soviet soldiers became more brutal than before, and we were not even allowed to stand up. The cold was very intense and most of us had inadequate clothing. Some people had been dragged out of bed and had only been allowed time to put on a light coat and there were several cases of pneumonia and other illnesses. Before crossing the border there were various incidents and if anyone moved in the truck they were immediately beaten on the head with a rifle butt and consequently fainted or got a severe head wound. About a kilometre from the border we stopped and Soviet soldiers stripped us of all our valuables. They stole from us with beatings, all our money, watches and any better quality clothing that we had. In this condition we were taken to Ungvar-Uzhorod prison. When we arrived there and the trucks stopped in the courtyard we were so cramped through not being allowed to stand up that we could not get off and they threw us off one by one and dragged us into very narrow investigating cells.

It is there that for the first time they took our personal particulars. We asked them if the people with us who were wounded, and especially one who had tuberculosis, could have medical aid. The answer to this was that we were Fascists and we should be glad that we were still alive. Between 6 and 7 o'clock that day they took us to have what was supposed to be a bath but we were only allowed to wash our hands and faces in cold water. We asked for food as we had not eaten for three days except for a little black coffee which was undrinkable and which we had been given at Veszprem. About 11 o'clock that night they brought to us in the cells some so-called supper but this was completely inedible for us.

During the morning of the next day they took us two at a time from the cells to be photographed and for a supposed medical examination where they gave us injections. While we were in this prison the treatment was fairly reasonable.

In the morning of 16 November we left for Stryj and we arrived on 17 November about 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning. During the journey we learnt from the conversation of the guards that we had been starting out on a longer journey and at Ungvar-Uzhorod we had all been shaved and they told us we would get food and water every morning. I think it is probable that during the journey they got orders to send us back to Hungary and from the prison at Stryj about 1,200 of us were sent back to Ungvar-Uzhorod.

While we were at Stryj we received similar treatment. They took our personal particulars again and promised to start hearings and anyone who was innocent would be allowed to go home.

On 28 November in Stryj I was in cell No. 63 and I saw there an inscription "Poznan 1956". We had been forced to learn some Russian and we asked the guards what this meant. They said that immediately before we arrived there had been Poles imprisoned there. This inscription was on a wooden bench and after we had asked questions about this we were transferred to another cell. On about 22 November at Stryj people under the age of sixteen were gathered together and sent home to Hungary.

On 23 November in the afternoon there was a man named Janos Buga in our cell, he was a soldier from Kiskunhalas, and he was taken ill. He had pneumonia and they took him to a doctor but that doctor, in my opinion, knew nothing about medicine.

I do not know very much about medicine but I believe that he received the completely wrong treatment for pneumonia. Instead of drugs they gave him hot-pack treatments and he suffered severe burns. What happened to him in the end I do not know because in the morning of 25 November they said we were going home and they took us back to Ungvar-Uzhorod.

At Ungvar-Uzhorod about 300 of us were taken to the NKVD -- the Soviet AVH -- and that is where the interrogations were carried on. At first they took place in a friendly atmosphere. They asked us how we felt. Most of us gave answers to the effect that what had happened was common kidnapping and was without any justification. To our question as to why we had been deported they said that this was done at the request of the Hungarian Government and when the Hungarian Government asked for it they would send us back to Hungary.

Although, as I said, the interrogations started in a fairly friendly atmosphere, they usually ended up by beating us or even inflicting greater torture on some people. Among the people from our cell there was a boy whose name I do not remember, he came from Budapest and was a deaf mute. Apparently he had been standing in line for bread in the 8th district and the Soviet troops dragged him away and he was taken to Ungvar-Uzhorod. Since he could not talk or make himself understood this poor boy could not explain that he had taken no part in the events in Budapest and he was taken away and held under impossible circumstances. Unfortunately, I know nothing further about his fate.

On 1 December we wanted to do something about the impossible conditions and about the food as it was almost completely inedible. I expect you have heard what the food consisted of so I do not think it is necessary to tell you again. Between 1 and 10 December, in order to get home, we organized a hunger strike among several cells. About 750 Hungarians joined in this strike and possibly as a result of this the interrogations were speeded up. About 11 or 12 December they started splitting us into groups according to different regions and on 14 December the first group started for home.

Without any justification or reason we started for Hungary a few minutes after 3 a.m. on 16 December. We arrived in Hungary during the evening of the 17th by the same road by which they had taken us away. It was the same road by which we went back in open trucks. Arrived at Veszprem they took us again to the Veszprem prison where we remained until 22 December. Meanwhile, on 14 December Veszprem women had organized a demonstration to demand the return of deportees, but the Soviet Command replied with armoured car weapons and broke up the demonstration with armoured cars. In the late afternoon of 22 December 1956 we were freed because they were afraid that the crowd which had gathered would storm the prison and liberate us by force. The prison commander then declared that they were only freeing us provisionally and that probably after the holidays we would again be put into prison. Therefore on 31 December 1956 I left and went to Austria. That in brief is what I can tell you.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank you for your valuable statement. Is it necessary to ask the witness questions? I think his statement on the whole confirms what other witnesses have said, and that is of course valuable. There being no other questions I thank you very much on behalf of the Committee.

Witness QQ withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman Witness RR took a place at the Committee table.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Committee I bid you welcome. I understand you were an assistant to Janos Szabo, and I ask you to tell us as briefly as possible of your personal experiences during the revolution.

WITNESS RR (interpretation from Hungarian): I personally took part in the revolution. I was assistant to Janos Szabo, and I was asked during the preliminary interview to give the Committee information on four points. One was the common fight of the students and the workers during the revolution and their unity, and the preparatory organization of the revolution. As to the organization before the revolution, it just did not exist. On 23 October, at about 11 a.m., the sixteen points came into my hands. That is when I first heard of them. Student delegates brought them to our plant and they were reproduced. After reading them we stopped

work and we spoke of our own conditions and the demands of the sixteen points. At the planned demonstration at the Ben statue ninety-five per cent of the workers appeared. An attempt was made to stop the demonstration at the Ben Square; for instance, they did not let us have a microphone. From there we went to the Kossuth Lajos Square. The Government were over-confident; they made us wait, but you cannot put off a million people. We heard Geroe's speech from the broadcast studio making people wait in front of the Parliament building. We waited for Imre Nagy more than three hours. The first shots at the radio studio occurred when an unarmed crowd asked for the sixteen points to be read on the radio and for the whole country to know about them. This was stopped by armed intervention. This is what caused the revolution to break out and made it an armed bloody uprising. In my opinion if they had done enough at that moment in answer to the demands of the people; if they had not made more than a million people wait for over three and a half hours; if they had not fired on a peaceful unarmed people, the whole matter would have been dealt with at the discussion table and the mass butchery at the studio would not have occurred. I can tell you what kind of people I met at the demonstration. I was there throughout. I met general school students, high school students, university students. All classes of society were there, janitors, engineers and so on. Party secretaries and spies were there too, as there are everywhere in Hungary.

As to Janos Szabo and what happened at Szena Place, I was asked at the preliminary hearing to give more details about this. I would like to say something about what Szena Place was like on a first impression, and I would like to say a few words about Janos Szabo. I went to Szena Place on 26 October. I was carrying weapons and ammunition for the police. There I met Janos Szabo, one of the generally recognized leaders of the revolution. We called him Uncle John. He is a lean, tall man of about sixty years of age with prominent cheek bones and a large moustache. He is in appearance of true Hungarian peasant type. At first at Szena Place one could see only a tremendous surge of people. Trade school students, younger students, discharged army people, soldiers, a few young girls, were there. The attacks were sporadic and not organized. They surprised everyone. Everyone was prepared for death even, but no one was prepared to surrender. We defended against the Hegedues-Geroe regime the liberty we had won for such a short time. The battle flowed unorganizedly; there was continuous coming and going; there could be no military discipline, chiefly

because of people's families. The organization of the telephone message centre was attempted, but the opposition was made effective only by the common hatred of the AVH and the Russians. This was the force which kept everyone together. Later things became a little more organized, documents were prepared to allow people to come and go, but we could not bring any military organization into existence.

The next point that I want to tell you about the revolution is this. I went to Austria to get drugs, and I should like to describe how they tried to prevent the rescue of the wounded and to impede the work for them. When I returned from Austria, Russian as well as Hungarian identifications were required. The Russians impeded the transport of the drugs by firing on the Red Cross cars. On 24 October, for example, the three Red Cross trucks carrying drugs, blood plasma, clothing and food to Hungary were completely shot to pieces and the personnel killed. I was not an eye-witness of looting, but once, when we opened the first aid box of a Russian tank, we found foreign-made chocolate, one pair of women's shoes, one woman's hat, but no drugs and no medicine. The carrying of medicines was impeded by killing the personnel, and by barricading the road. Thus, when we left for Austria eye-witnesses told us that half an hour previously the AVH and Russians together stopped a rescue car, shot the wounded, executed the personnel, and drove the car off to an unknown place.

The next point I would like to speak about is my arrest, imprisonment and interrogation. On 4 November we again went to Austria for drugs. There were forty-five armed people so that we could stop the AVH or the Russians if they tried to take the drugs away. On 4 November we stopped at the AVH barracks at Sombathely.

(Witness RR)

There were forty-five of us freedom fighters from Szena Place there as well as AVH personnel, and the Russians and AVH people occupied the barracks. It was approximately 4 a.m. and I was unable to get a line through to Budapest so I sent a telegram to the Revolutionary Councils of Budapest to inform them of the Russian attack and give other data. I said that the majority of my comrades had already been put up against the wall. I have met here in Austria an AVH enlisted man who can prove that this is true.

As the overwhelming majority of my comrades had been taken prisoner, I dressed as a member of the AVH in order to escape and try to help them. I was not successful and at about 8 or 9 a.m. I was taken prisoner and put in the AVH prison with my comrades. We were not given any food and were threatened with execution. On the 5th they questioned us and AVH people took a stenographic record. There were Russian guards in the corridors and from time to time Russian leaders came in with interpreters and had the prisoners' answers translated. One of my comrades was kicked in the stomach and when he fell his head was kicked until it bled. They broke two broom-handles over a fourteen-year-old student and he could not stand for two days. The Russians came several times while we were under arrest and demanded our execution. They called us Fascists, bandits and murderers. We were not executed because of orders from above but told that we would be put to forced labour in the Soviet Union.

On the fourth day we were handcuffed in pairs and taken by Russians to the prison in Szombathely, where we spent about eight days, guarded by Russians. Twenty of my comrades were taken out and sent in covered trucks to Ungvar-Uzhorod, I think. A colleague of mine, a girl who was a first-aid worker, was taken to Ungvar-Uzhorod also and she was in the same cell there as the lady who will be speaking after me.

At 10 o'clock in the evening of 15 November we were taken, handcuffed in pairs, to the trucks. There were five trucks and in each there were eight freedom fighters and four guards armed with machine guns, preceded and followed by armoured cars. As we went through Baja there were two armoured cars on each side and one in front and one behind us. Hungarian civilians were walking about quite close to us but we could not speak to them because there was an order given that the moment anyone said a word he should be shot. We were forbidden to speak during this transfer

(Witness RR)

but in spite of that we did speak to our Russian guards. They were completely uninformed. They asked us where they were and what was happening and what the truth was. They said that several of their comrades had been taken to Siberia for forced labour because they had been in Hungary and did not want to fight against the Hungarians.

From Baja they took us to Cegled and put us in railway carriages. The station was surrounded by tanks and armoured cars and there were no Hungarian railway workers there. The trucks were taken close to the railings and backed on to the railway carriage, and the cover of the truck was fixed so that no one could see the transfer from the truck to the carriage. The carriage windows were painted on the outside with red paint. There were 200 of us in the carriage, including Cardinal Mindszenty's nephew, who remained in prison in Debrecen. They were unable to get a locomotive so we could not go farther by rail and were transferred again to covered trucks and taken to Debrecen, where we spent three days at the barracks.

At that time the United Nations was discussing the problem of Hungary and we hoped they would intervene and stop the deportation of Hungarian youth. Three days later they again took us to the local gaol, which was under Russian command and had Russian guards. On 24 November the Russians questioned us through interpreters, and here again a stenographic record was taken. I was freed on 25 November and I crossed the border on 16 December with a Czechoslovak boy who had fled from Czechoslovakia and had fought with the Szena Place group. We came over together and he is here in Austria now.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank you for your very interesting statement, which will be most useful to the work of the Committee. One member of the Committee would like to ask you a question.

Mr. GUNewardene (Ceylon): With regard to the incident on 24 October when you said that three Red Cross cars were attacked by the Russians, were you an eye-witness to that?

WITNESS RR (interpretation from Hungarian): I was at Szena Place and it was our liaison people who brought the news. We set out to determine where the Russian lines were. We went to the front of the American Legation and then to the Ministry of Finance, where we were able to get a car.

(Witness RR)

I should like to add a few words, if I may. I am one of the young people of Hungary. I have not had much schooling but I should like to tell you what I felt after my liberation and the feelings of those who remained at home. The Hungarian people are like a man who is sick unto death. If he is operated upon there is a faint hope that he may recover; if he is not operated upon he will surely die. The Hungarian people will continue to resist and will recommence the battle even though it seems useless. If they do not receive aid a few hundred thousand of them will again be lost — the Russians will deport them and wipe them out in the name of Kadar. We have nothing to lose; we have only hope.

I should like to thank you for giving me an opportunity to tell you this in the name of the Hungarian people. I hope I have been able to help them.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, I thank you again.

Witness RR withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman Witness SS took a place at the Committee table.

The CHAIRMAN: I bid you welcome on behalf of the Committee. I understand that you are an architect and we have your data here, so I would like you to make your statement.

WITNESS SS (interpretation from Hungarian): Should I speak independently or should I speak to the memorandum I handed in? Or perhaps you would prefer to ask me questions?

The CHAIRMAN: I would prefer you to make a statement of such details as you deem valuable to the work of our Committee. We would particularly like to have some information as to the atrocities committed by the Russians of which you say you have personal experience, including the firing of Red Cross trucks carrying white flags. We would also like any other information you can give us as an eye-witness.

WITNESS SS (interpretation from Hungarian): Since I left Hungary at the end of December and was in touch until the last minute with those leaders of the Hungarian intelligentsia who, during and after the revolution, led the Hungarian people, I should like to make certain observations. The Hungarian revolution, as is probably well known to the whole world, was not organized. It did not start as a revolution and in fact there are serious indications that if there was any organizing it was done by Geroe alone.

(Witness SS)

What I mean is that he prepared it according to the well known means at the disposal of Communists, in order to give a cause for further terrorist action. During the course of the summer there had been a period of relaxation after the Stalinist period. Geroe miscalculated, because he did not believe that the demonstrations planned by the youth would start such an upheaval which would become a revolution. He did not believe that the Hungarian people would not be impressed even by the appearance of Russian tanks.

Another proof of Geroe's provocation was that the Ministry of the Interior did not organize a youth demonstration at the beginning. Subsequently, having arrived from Yugoslavia, Geroe and the Ministry of the Interior authorized such a demonstration, but Geroe said he wanted to talk over the radio to the Hungarian public to influence public opinion. Naturally he had to prepare his address in advance and so he knew what he was going to say in regard to the Russian army, and it was therefore almost certain that the Russians had prepared to enter Hungary before the first shots were fired by the AVH. There was already an important grouping of Russians sixty-six kilometers from Budapest at Szekesfehervar, and obviously time was needed to prepare the move, so that the first Russian armoured cars would appear in Budapest early in the morning of the 24th.

Geroe and his cohorts also miscalculated because, as events proved, they were really less mature than the Hungarian people. They infected themselves with their own propaganda and did not realize that the embitterment of the Hungarian people had reached such an extreme point, as the heroism of the freedom fighters during the revolution proved. It was these circumstances that forced the Hungarians to rise to such a point of heroism, even though they must have known that the fight was hopeless.

What was it that made the fight so strong and the resistance so determined? Many people attempted to determine the causes during the revolution and later it all became clear.

First, during the long cold war and the propaganda period that accompanied it, all the free peoples learned that the free world must be united on the side of such an uprising. Secondly, after the outbreak of the revolution, during the first few days, the three great Powers -- France, United Kingdom and United States -- asked

(Witness SS)

that the Security Council should meet on the question of Hungary. It was true the Soviet Union vetoed this, but I believe this action of the three great Powers was nevertheless very encouraging to Hungary. Thirdly, there was the statement of President Eisenhower that if Hungary was able to secure its independence it would receive such economic aid that it would become one of the most prosperous countries of Europe. After this statement I myself heard Hungarian fathers of children declare that they now understood the meaning of the fight and were ready to die for their children's future. This can be understood because the economic position of Hungary was at such a low ebb that they felt the only thing that could save the future was an economic revival. Another encouraging fact was that after the first Russian attack the Hungarian question was put on the agenda of the United Nations and a quick decision was taken, even though to us in Hungary every minute seemed a year.

All these circumstances increased the confidence of the Hungarian people to the extent that they went on fighting and were not afraid to die. This is why the Hungarian revolution produced the events which are now well known to everybody. They did however take very much to heart the statement by Mr. McCarthy that ninety-nine per cent of the Hungarian people asked help from the West and did not get it while one per cent asked help from the East and they got it. The Hungarian people took up arms for themselves but they knew they were fighting for the West also, and their fate at present is worse than ever.

I have personal information about what is going on as refugees are continually arriving, with whom I establish contact. The situation is indeed sad and Hungarians will be very glad if the West will listen and pay attention to things that may change our fate. I have handed in a memorandum in which I explained certain facts and I shall be glad to give further details if you desire more information. Most of the things mentioned in that memorandum are things I witnessed myself, the others where I was not a witness are things in connection with which I was so close as to be the only one remaining alive.

The first event I would mention occurred between 8 and 10 November. I was standing in the doorway of a house, 22 Kinizsi Street in the ninth district of Budapest. Russian armoured cars were placed opposite this house. There was no resistance by the inhabitants who merely withdrew from the windows of the house,

(Witness SS)

but it transpired later that two children had been playing in a room which overlooked the street, and as they looked out of the window three heavy artillery shots were fired at them by the Russians. The remains of the two small children, who were blown to pieces, were buried by us. There was no reason for the Russians to shoot at that time. I picked up the fired shell in my hand, and it was still warm.

The second event occurred at Ferenciek Place between 10 and 15 November. A crowd of twenty to twenty-five people were standing in line for food, and the end of the line went round the corner into another street. From that street the Russians came and fired on them; two were wounded and one died.

The third case was a line of women, older men and children who were fired upon at Jozsef Street when they were standing in a food queue. In this case grenades were used, and although I did not see it myself I heard it from a reliable witness.

A fourth case occurred at the corner of Ferenc Street and Uelloei Street where a house caught fire and the people tried to put it out with water, but the Russians stopped the fire-fighting with bullets.

A fifth event which was similar occurred at the corner of Erzsebet Street, Lira House, when a furniture store in that building caught fire. I was there myself when the Russians told the people to go in and extinguish the fire with water or whatever they had, but from another side they received machine-gun fire from other Russians. Meanwhile, the firemen had arrived and they also were shot at by the Russians. It was only later when part of the house was in ashes that the people who were inside got out.

A sixth event occurred at Veres Palne Street in an apartment overlooking a courtyard. The Russians came into the courtyard, where two young men who might have been university youth freedom fighters put up their hands when they saw the Russians. The Russians waved to them to come close, and as they did so with upraised hands the Russians shot one of them in the leg and he fell to the ground. He was forced at the point of a gun to continue to come towards the Russians, then both of them were seized and pushed into a truck which was standing there, and taken away.

The seventh event took place at the central university building opposite which I lived. When the Russians occupied this university, about 7 or 8 November, they did not meet with any resistance. Some of the students went to the seminary next door and about fifteen people remained behind. The Russians put those fifteen unarmed people against a wall and shot them. I did not actually see the shooting but I saw the Russians putting the fifteen bodies on to a truck. A janitor of the building, who was hiding there at the time, told me he had seen the shooting and he later erected crosses on the spot where the bodies were buried.

The eighth event took place in the following way: On 6 November rescue cars were driving down a narrow street which leads to Calvin Place. There was heavy fighting going on at the time and the streets were crowded with cars, 'buses, trucks and rescue cars. All of the latter carried the appropriate signs, and all the personnel were in Red Cross uniform. Two people were sitting beside the driver of one truck and five people were inside. As this truck approached Calvin Place it slowed down and tried to proceed to its destination. At that moment the Russian tanks opened fire on it; two men immediately collapsed and the car turned around and went back along the street. We were looking out of the window and we shouted: "What happened?" It was then that we saw the bodies lying in the road.

I was an eye-witness of another interesting event at two o'clock in the afternoon of 27 October. There was much talk at that time of the murder of AVH people. I personally once saw an AVH man killed after he had been identified as a member of that organization, but that was on the first day; on the second day the situation completely changed. For instance, university students noticed that some AVH men were hiding on a roof. The students surrounded the building, fired warning shots in order to persuade the AVH to descend, and then posted guards on the surrounding streets. I was passing at the time and saw a green police car, containing two uniformed policemen, attempting to drive through one of the streets. The driver was asked to stop, he did not do so and the students shouted that the next car along the road should force it to stop. The students who occupied the next car jumped in front of the police car out of which stepped the two uniformed policemen. They were asked to identify themselves and produced the usual police identification. However, as their behaviour seemed somewhat suspicious they were

searched. Revolvers and AVH identification cards were found on them. It was well known at the time that two children had been shot by the AVH a few days ago in that vicinity and had been buried there. The crowds in the streets, being aware of this, wanted to attack the two policemen. However, I myself saw the students prevent this and lead the men away, under guard, to the appropriate authorities.

Towards the end of November I saw Russian soldiers descend from Russian trucks, under the leadership of AVH, and go from house to house. Young men in pairs were brought out of the houses and pushed on to trucks; it was well known that they were to be deported.

Those, and similar, events I heard from many trustworthy sources; probably the whole world knows of them by now. There is, however, one incident which I wish to relate of which I was not actually an eye-witness but arrived on the spot just after it had happened. A long queue had formed in front of a food shop on the Moricz Zsigmond Circle. They were fired upon by the Russians and many people died on the spot. Students immediately appeared and made arrangements for their burial and for a small funeral service to be held.

I have related the events of which I was an eye-witness. From twelve o'clock on 23 November when I saw the first student demonstration until the last days I saw many such incidents and I heard of many others. I am willing to answer any questions.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank you for your very detailed statement which, I am convinced, will prove to be of great value to the report of the Committee.

Mr. GUNewardene (Ceylon): You spoke of children who were shot while at play. Were you an eye-witness of this incident?

WITNESS SS (interpretation from Hungarian): It was at No.22, Kinizsi Street, 9th district of Budapest. Heavy fighting was taking place there at the time and the children were playing in one of the apartments of that house. The children had appeared at the window, and whenever the Russians or AVH saw movement at a window they commenced to fire in that direction.

Mr. GUNewardene (Ceylon): I am sorry but that was not my question. I do not want any details. Did you, or did you not, witness the incident yourself?

WITNESS SS (interpretation from Hungarian): I did not see the children when they were fired upon.

Mr. RODRIGUEZ-FABREGAT (Uruguay)(interpretation from Spanish): I refer to the question which has just been asked by the delegate for Ceylon. You said those children had been killed by troops. Were they Russian occupation troops in Budapest?

WITNESS SS (interpretation from Hungarian): Yes, Russian tanks fired on the apartment house in which the children were playing. One of the children was six years old and the other was five; they died in the apartment. I was standing in a doorway facing the three tanks when they trained their guns on the apartment and opened fire, causing the wall to crumble and fall. We were standing right in the doorway and saw it all. Apparently, the mother was in the kitchen and therefore was not killed. She had left the children to play, they had gone to the window and as soon as they were seen the Russians started firing. I could not see the children because I was in the doorway but I could see the tanks train their guns on the window and fire. I was, in fact, about 400 metres away in Uelloei Street which looks on to Kinizsi Street.

Mr. RODRIGUEZ-FABREGAT (Uruguay)(interpretation from Spanish): You spoke of a piece of shrapnel which is in your possession. Does that relate to that sad event?

WITNESS SS (interpretation from Hungarian): Yes, it fell from the third floor of the house into the courtyard, having bounced off the wall; we reached out and picked it up. It was with several fragments lying in front of the doorway in which we stood. We ran upstairs to see what had happened and the mother told us that her children were lying dead in the front room. Several of us picked up the pieces of their bodies, wrapped them in sheets and put them in a box which we buried.

Mr. RODRIGUEZ-FABREGAT (Uruguay)(interpretation from Spanish): Did these two children belong to the same family?

WITNESS SS (interpretation from Hungarian): No, they did not belong to the same family. One lived in the same neighbourhood and he was there to play with the other.

The CHAIRMAN: We heard that there were two children and I think this has been sufficiently elucidated now.

Mr. RODRIGUEZ-FABREGAT (Uruguay)(interpretation from Spanish): I would like to thank you very much.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): You mentioned an incident when some people were fired on, were you an eye-witness to that or did you hear it from someone else?

WITNESS SS (interpretation from Hungarian): That was on Jozsef Street and I was standing in the window of a neighbouring house when I saw that. They were fired on by machine-guns. When they fired with artillery I only heard that.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): When the house on Uelloei Street caught fire did you see this incident take place?

WITNESS SS (interpretation from Hungarian): I was there in the house at that time.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): I only want to be absolutely sure about what you have seen and what you have heard. Did you see the incident that took place on 7 to 8 November?

WITNESS SS (interpretation from Hungarian): Yes, that was in the "Lira" House. We could see it from a neighbouring street. I was standing at the window in a friend's apartment. In fact, my friend had pictures in the cellar and I helped him to save them later.

Mr. GUNewardene (Ceylon): You mentioned another incident where people put up their hands but were shot, were you an eyewitness to that?

WITNESS SS (interpretation from Hungarian): I was there in an apartment on Veres Palne Street. They called on us to go to the window overlooking the courtyard and it was from there that two other people and myself watched this event.

The CHAIRMAN: There are no further questions and we thank you very much for your statement and for answering our questions.

Witness SS withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Witness TT took a place at the Committee table.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Committee I bid you welcome. I ask you to give us your statement and I understand that you know exactly what information we require from you as an eyewitness to the events.

WITNESS TT (interpretation from Hungarian): On 26 October 1956 I volunteered to help as a first-aid worker and nurse. I was at the Peterfi Sandor Street Hospital until the 28th. We took the children to this hospital and the Russian soldiers were firing at it. The Red Cross car was not allowed to travel on this road. However, after questioning them they let them through but fired on the car.

On the 28th we were carrying wounded through the Republic Square and as we were going towards the Party headquarters which was run by Soviet troops they stopped the car and took the driver and myself into the building to interrogate us. There was a wounded man in the car and we did not want to leave him there but the Soviet troops and AVH men forced us to do so. The condition of this wounded man was very serious as he had been shot in the lung. While we were inside the building we heard a shot fired and when we came out a member of the AVH made the sarcastic comment that the condition of the wounded man was no longer serious and we

discovered they had shot him. I argued with the AVH but a Russian soldier hit me several times.

On 28 October I went to the Corvin Theatre and was there until 6 November. On 6 November they captured me. The Russians promised that if we laid down our arms they would let us go free and allow us to go home. We were forced to lay down our arms because some of us were wounded. The Russians said it was late and they took us to the Marie Theresa church. The next day they sent a delegation and asked us to go to the Corvin Theatre and tell the people there to lay down their arms. These people did not want to lay down their arms until they received news of any possible help from the United Nations. We were held captive in the church and we were given dry bread and water. They tried to force themselves upon the women.

On 9 November they said they were taking us out and handing us over to the Hungarian authorities and anyone who was not guilty would be freed. They took us out to armoured cars and with a tank accompanying us we went to Vecses and we were put on a train. They took away all our valuables and anyone who did not give them willingly was beaten.

In the early morning on 10 November we arrived at Ungvar-Uzhorod. They took us to the prison in prison vans and we were there until 1 December. On 1 December they took us home. Children under the age of eighteen had already gone home in the middle of November.

On 1 December the women were still there with the men. They did not treat us quite as cruelly as they did in the church in Budapest but as I said before they took away all our valuables. For instance, the chain I had round my neck with my religious medallion attached to it I could only save by putting it in my mouth under my tongue, but everything else they took away from us. They gave us dry Russian bread and I brought a piece back with me. Unfortunately, I have left it at home and I cannot show it to you. They gave us cabbage or cucumber soup and that was all we had.

This is a brief explanation of my experiences during the revolution.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank you for your information. This is similar to the testimony given by other witnesses and you have affirmed what they have told us.

Mr. SLIM (Tunisia)(interpretation from French): You said that you were held for several days in a church; were there only women, or men and women together there?

WITNESS TT (interpretation from Hungarian): There were ninety-eight of us in the church -- ninety men and eight women.

Mr. SLIM (Tunisia)(interpretation from French): You were there all night together, the men and the women?

WITNESS TT (interpretation from Hungarian): Yes, we were together night and day. The women covered themselves with rugs.

Mr. SLIM (Tunisia)(interpretation from French): How many women were there, approximately, at Ungvar-Uzhorod?

WITNESS TT (interpretation from Hungarian): There were twenty-five women including those under age. When those under age were taken home during the middle of November thirteen of us were in a cell and we were taken back to Budapest on 1 December.

I am afraid I forgot to mention this but while we were at Ungvar-Uzhorod they photographed us, full face and profile, and interrogated us four times, twice during the day and twice in the middle of the night.

Mr. SLIM (Tunisia)(interpretation from French): Were the women kept separate in this prison or were they in the same cells as the men or the children?

WITNESS TT (interpretation from Hungarian): We were all in separate cells. Minors under eighteen years of age were in a separate cell and the men were also. We were taken to wash and to have our daily exercise of ten minutes quite separately. We could not meet at any time and we did not see each other.

The CHAIRMAN: There are no further questions. Thank you.

WITNESS TT (interpretation from Hungarian): I would like to thank the Committee for its work in the name of those of us here and those still at home. I would like to ask the Committee to continue to do what it can for the Hungarian problem.

Witness TT withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Witness UU took a place at the Committee table.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Committee I bid you welcome. I know that you have been informed of the problems the Committee is particularly interested in and I ask you now to tell us of the events to which you have been an eye-witness.

WITNESS UU (interpretation from Hungarian): Before I mention the concrete facts I would like to start by saying a few words about the circumstances which led to the Hungarian revolution.

The CHAIRMAN: We have already heard a great deal about that, but I will not prevent you telling us about it though I will ask you to be as brief as possible.

WITNESS UU (interpretation from Hungarian): The political situation of the world brought about conditions in Hungary which forced the revolution to break out. The Hungarian people stood alone during the revolution, and I would like to give you some of the concrete facts about the inhuman things which were done by the Russians. As a participant and eye-witness I myself took part in the events in front of Parliament where about 25,000 people were demonstrating against the former Hungarian Government and against armed Russian interference. Here the AVH and the Russians opened fire and people were falling right and left next to me. According to my guess, at least 300 or 400 people could have been killed, and a great many wounded. The exact number could not be counted because voluntary ambulances were taking away the dead and wounded. My brother-in-law next to me received two serious wounds which have made him a cripple. Another concrete fact, of which I was not an eye-witness, happened at the corner of Petoefi Sandor Street and Parizsi Street. Freedom fighters were fighting for the Post Office building against the overwhelming might of the Russians, and when part of them fled a man who had been wounded and was waving a white flag was nevertheless fired upon. Another concrete fact is that the Russians and the militia went around the streets of Budapest capturing Hungarian youth. I was an eye-witness in Vaczi Street of a young man, who was reading posters on the windows of the stores, being captured by Russian soldiers from an armed vehicle. I do not know where they took him. A similar thing happened at Calvin Square, where I was also an eye-witness. At Marx Square Russian soldiers got out of armoured cars and surrounded young people walking in the streets, capturing about twenty-five to thirty of them and putting them on armoured cars and taking them away. I was not an eye-witness but heard of the following. About eighty of the freedom fighters were at the Faculty of Philosophy in the Piarist building where they were getting food. They were eating when the Russians began to attack the capital with their overwhelming might, and the Russians directed even heavier fire against the university centres of residence. At this particular point also they demanded surrender, and the young people did surrender because of the overpowering force of the Russians. The majority

(Witness UU)

of those who surrendered were captured and, as we heard, were taken from the country in trains. Of the leaders about five were executed without any trial in one of the courtyards of the Faculty. As to the concrete facts in the neighbourhood, there was in the western railway station a demonstration which was called a counter-revolution. The Kadar Government tried to convince the masses politically, a counter-demonstration was organized and a crowd came with various Kadar and Russian slogans. We later heard that these people had been hired for daily wages to stage a pro-Kadar and pro-Russian demonstration. Militia units, which had been formed, and Russian troops accompanied these counter-demonstrators, who numbered about eighty. They drew up under red flags and shouted pro-Kadar and pro-Russian slogans. Around the western railway station there always used to be a large crowd of Hungarians walking in the streets, and this was interesting because at this time there was a curfew. Because of the previous events people had remained very much at home and did not have much opportunity of being in the streets. These counter-demonstrators shouted slogans and the people there at first started to argue with them. Later fists were raised and there was nearly a fight. There was a general mêlée, and firing by the so-called militia and the AVH broke up the fighting. I myself hid in a doorway for protection but several people fled to the railway station where they sought refuge partly in the waiting-room and partly in the trains in the station. The militia and Russian soldiers followed them and there were several woundings when they were fired upon. I was an eye-witness of an incident when revolutionaries, against whom nothing could be proved, were taken from a train and to the police station. They had no proof of why they were travelling. They were people who were just taken out of a train to the police station.

I would like to thank the Committee very much for hearing me, and I would be glad to answer any questions. Even if there are none I would yet like to thank the Committee very much for hearing me.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank you very much for your statement, and if no questions are asked it will be not because the Committee are not interested but because we have already heard so many witnesses. I want to assure you of that. Are there any questions? There are none, and so I thank you.

Witness UU withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman Witness VV took a place at the Committee table.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Committee I bid you welcome. You are already aware of the sort of information in which the Committee is specially interested and so perhaps you will give your statement.

WITNESS VV (interpretation from Hungarian): In connexion with the events of the revolution I would like to tell you that immediately after the first day -- the revolution began in the morning -- there was a cease-fire and several Hungarian people went out into the street in front of the Hotel Astoria. There I was one of the eye-witnesses of truck No. FC816 going by trying to pick up wounded. A Red Cross nurse got out of the truck to go to the first wounded in front of the Hotel Astoria. The Soviet troops in front of the hotel shot her dead on the spot. The crowd dispersed and we did not get a chance to go to her until half an hour later, by which time she was dead. I do not remember her name, but we all remembered the number of the truck from which she got out -- FC816 -- and we all remembered her appearance, which I can describe. Between eight and nine o'clock on 25 October we were standing on the corner of Kossuth Lajos Street because there was firing in a neighbouring street and we did not dare go near. Every morning people tried to buy bread. That morning a waiter, whose name we later found out, came out of a door and waved to the Russian soldiers on the other side of the street to indicate that he would like to pick up a piece of bread that had fallen to the ground. The Soviet soldiers waved that he could pick up the bread; the waiter went to the edge of the sidewalk, picked up the bread and made as if to go back to the door. One of the Soviet soldiers immediately shot him, and we could not help him; we could not get as far as that particular house. The waiter was buried that very day next to the memorial in Apponyi Square, and he is probably still there. At 8 a.m. on 26 October we were standing in our accustomed place to see what would happen. In Szép Street a Soviet armoured car, No. 541, stopped opposite to us; the crew broke the window of a store, took what shirts, linen and underwear they could, crammed them into the armoured car, and left. That was armoured car No. 541. For a while the Hungarians wrote this number on the walls of the buildings and the windows of the stores, -- "Beware of No. 541."

At seven o'clock on 8 November at Petoefi Sandor and Kossuth Lajos Streets, near where I live, armoured car No. 716 stopped in front of a shop. The Soviet crew broke the shop window and all the goods fell out on to the pavement. The men grabbed what they could — cakes, sweets, bottles of champagne and liquer — and put them into the armoured car.

On 10 November about eighty or a hundred people were standing in line for bread and other food at a delicatessen opposite the Franciscan church. I was there with an air force friend and his wife, and from the Kossuth Lajos Street side an anti-tank gun rumbled by and fired a volley. Some of the shells went through the door of the church and one of them hit a man named Koeselszky, an engineer. When the volley was fired the crowd dispersed and by the time we got back the man was dead. We took his body and his small child to the church and unfortunately I do not know what happened after that.

On 12 November I went to Kispest, near Budapest, where my mother was living. On the border between Kispest and Budapest Soviet troops were checking people going to and coming from the city. They stopped a railway employee just ahead of me who was carrying bread in his brief case, and who had his son with him. When they asked him for his papers he could not get them out quickly enough. Standing behind with an automatic revolver was a Soviet soldier whom we thought to be an officer (Soviet officers coming into Budapest were equipped with modern automatics) and he drew his gun and shot the railway employee who still had his hand in his pocket. He was shot in the throat and collapsed. The people nearby were very indignant and angry voices were heard. The officer left and the soldier threw the bread at the dead man, who was later taken to his house. I made a note of his name, Volt Fazekas, and he lived in Bocskay Street, Kispest. In the excitement I was unable to get the number of the house.

I was not an eye-witness to the following incident. On 14 November an old friend of mine, Gyula Horvath, a captain in the Air Force, came to see me with great difficulty and told me that he had seen two university students at the economic faculty in the Kecskemeti Street being searched by Soviet soldiers. As they were standing against a wall armoured car No. 412 stopped nearby. When the Soviet soldiers had left and while the students still had their backs turned and their hands in the air one of the Russians in the armoured car fired at them and they fell to the ground.

(Witness VV)

They were taken to Professor Dr. Zoltan Vegh de Tatraalja who gave them first aid, and as far as we know they did not die.

In connexion with my statement I would like to say that we noted the registration numbers of armoured cars and determined that during the first part of the revolution the serial numbers of the Russian armoured vehicles ranged from 100 to 300. In the second Soviet intervention the numbers were from 300 to 700 and these came to Hungary from Ungvar-Uzhorod and Munkacs. The serial numbers of vehicles belonging to Russian troops stationed in Hungary were all above 800. From this we could tell that they did not have sufficient armoured vehicles at first and had to bring these in from outside Hungary. During the one week of liberty which we gained for ourselves by fighting, completely new serial numbers were coming into Hungary.

I would ask your permission to mention here that I have in my possession certain military information which may not interest the Committee as such. For instance, they tried to persuade old flyers like us to attack the Soviet army but we said this would give the Russians a chance to use propaganda against us since they were already calling us Fascists. We agreed however to serve in an advisory capacity if necessary. Under the Warsaw Pact it had been agreed that the Hungarian Air Force, in the event of war, should be of assistance in an advisory capacity to the Soviet Union.

I would like to conclude by giving you certain information which we learned from Colonel Nador, a former member of the Hungarian Air Force. At the beginning of the free week aerial reconnaissance showed that there were no large armoured formations of Russians in Hungary. On 29 October aerial reconnaissance showed that near Budapest in Nepliget Park there were fifty-two armoured vehicles and in the general vicinity of Budapest between 150 and 220 armoured vehicles and petrol-driven cars. During this week, in the same way, about 4,000 troops were counted, and this figure included reinforcements and supply troops for the armed forces. So the Russians used our week of freedom, while they were promising to withdraw from Hungary, to increase their forces and bring in more and more troops. They tried to mislead us but aerial reconnaissance showed that armoured vehicles were coming to Budapest from the direction of Zohony -- Nyiregyhaza -- Debrecen -- Szentes -- Hodmezoevasarhely -- Szeged. They wanted us to bomb these formations but we would not agree to do so. We said any such action by us would be used as propaganda against Hungary, and that in our opinion we should fly immediately to Munich and get in touch with the United Nations, but this did not come to anything.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank you on behalf of the Committee for the details you have given us, many of which are new to us.

Mr. SHANN (Australia): Towards the end of your statement you referred to information which was obtained by aerial reconnaissance. Could you tell me whose aerial reconnaissance it was? Was it on behalf of the Hungarian Government while it remained free of the control of the Soviet Union?

WITNESS VV (interpretation from Hungarian): No. On 29 October 1956 the head of the Air Force, Colonel Nador, asked a major in the Air Force called Frauenhofer if, in the event of the Russians refusing to leave Hungary, the former Air Force officers would agree to bomb them. We did not know what to do but we reported at the Air Force headquarters and immediately requested that aerial reconnaissance should be started. By one o'clock on the 29th the first aerial reconnaissance report had already been received by telephone. The order to carry out aerial reconnaissance came from Colonel Nador, who was the leader of the free Hungarian Air Force.

(Witness VV)

Colonel Nador was the leader of the Hungarian Air Force who gave the order for aerial reconnaissance to be made. I even knew the pilot of the 'plane, Flying Officer Istenes, who made a reconnaissance over Zahony. He reported to us that between nine and twelve o'clock on the 29th there were on the Hungarian side of Zahony 150 armoured cars as well as Air Force personnel. There were movements towards Miskolc. He also reported that aerial reconnaissance had established that on the other side of the river Tisza there were 100-150 units moving along, with some infantry. These were going in the direction of the southern part of Szeged, and a small unit was going towards Vac.

The aerodrome command at Kalocsa wanted to bomb the convoy going towards Budapest carrying supplies and materials, but the Commander-in-Chief would not agree to this. Then Colonel Nador and I were asked to fly to Munich immediately in order to get further instructions.

Mr. SHANN (Australia): I did not ask for all that information; I merely wanted to know — which you have told me — whether this reconnaissance was under Hungarian control. It was. I had understood that the Russians had kept control over Hungarian aerodromes during this period. How was it then that the Hungarian Air Force was able to make independent reconnaissance of Russian troop movements if it is a fact that the Russians retained control over the aerodromes?

WITNESS VV (interpretation from Hungarian): This is not quite correct, because during this week that was "free", the greater part of the aerodromes were functioning under the leadership of Hungarian forces and went into the air for reconnaissance purposes. The Soviets were only functioning at the aerodromes at Toekoel and at Veszprem, Szentkiraly, Szabadja, near Lake Balaton. During those days occasionally transport 'planes came in from the direction of Czechoslovakia and Soviet Russia. I will give you a list of the aerodromes, as follows:- Kalocsa, Kunmadaras, Kiskunlachaza, Szekesfehervak, Tapolca and Papa. Around these aerodromes there were no Soviet units, and it was only after the second Soviet attack that the Russians obtained complete control of them, because on Saturday, 3 November, in the

early morning Colonel Zsolt informed us that all the Hungarian aerodromes were surrounded. This only happened towards the end of that "free" week. At three o'clock on the morning of the 3rd the Russians surrounded all the aerodromes, when strong armoured units had already arrived in Hungary. Therefore from 28 October to 3 November the aerodromes were completely under Hungarian command and there were no Russian units near them.

Mr. SHANN (Australia): This information is of considerable importance to the Committee. I do not wish to ask any further questions about Soviet troop dispositions but I wonder whether you would be prepared to make available to the Secretariat for translation and circulation to the Committee the information which you have as a result of the reconnaissances and other sources of information.

The CHAIRMAN: I understand you have delivered the desired information.

WITNESS VV (interpretation from Hungarian): Yes, but I have only one copy, and I should like it back.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): According to your reconnaissance, how many Soviet armoured cars were there in Hungarian territory during the first intervention?

WITNESS VV (interpretation from Hungarian): I only know what the Air Force Command told us; at the moment of the first intervention as far as I know an armoured unit consisting of 300 armoured cars was standing at Keoskemet. We could not believe this at the time because we had come through Keoskemet and there had been no trace of so many armoured cars. We thought the maximum number could only be 200, and we estimated the number of small armoured cars around Keoskemet at 500-600 and these were not front-line armoured cars, but only reserve armoured equipment, because the Russians did not imagine there would be a revolution in Hungary. The 500 or 600 armoured cars were divided between several towns mostly around Budapest, and according to the Commander of the Air Force they did not dare to leave the towns because if they came to Budapest to help, the towns would be left unprotected. This

estimated number increased so much during the so-called "free" week that by the end of the week on the basis of reconnaissance they were already speaking of 4,000 units. I would mention that the Soviet armoured cars were stated by the Air Force Command, based on data obtained from the freedom fighters, to have had to leave Budapest because they did not have ammunition. This was supported by the fact that on the 29th mostly ammunition-carrying caravans were seen going towards Budapest from Debrecen and Szolnok.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): You were not able to carry out reconnaissance at the second Russian intervention?

WITNESS VV (interpretation from Hungarian): During the second intervention there was no possibility of doing this because on the morning of 3 November the people were arrested.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): You talked about going to Munich for instructions; from whom?

WITNESS VV (interpretation from Hungarian): At that time there were with me at the Air Force Command four or five officers as technical advisers; among them was Frauenhofer. He proposed that Kiraly, Nador and I should fly out to Munich to get instructions. In view of the political situation of the West at that time, and the fact that intervention by the Air Force might mean a full-scale war, and might not conform to the aims of other countries, we wanted some advice. This however was not carried out as we did not fly to Munich.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): From whom did you seek advice or instructions at Munich?

WITNESS VV (interpretation from Hungarian): We did not know the individuals, we did not have foreign connexions, but we thought if our plane arrived in Munich we could seek the advice of the United Nations before taking any steps that would involve Free Hungary in an embarrassing position.

Mr. GUNewardene (Ceylon): There is no United Nations Organization in Munich.

WITNESS VV (interpretation from Hungarian): We knew that, of course, but we could not come down in Austria because it is neutral, we could not telephone from Budapest, and so we thought we might be able to communicate freely with the outside world from Munich.

The CHAIRMAN: We thank you very much for your helpful statement.

Witness VV withdrew.

At the request of the Chairman Witness XX took a place at the Committee table.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Committee I bid you welcome. You have been informed in advance of the type of information in which we are interested. Please proceed with your statement.

WITNESS XX (interpretation from Hungarian): During the revolution I was in Miskolc, which is the second largest city of Hungary.

No special events took place on 23 October. The first demonstration occurred on 24 October when Soviet troops, going in the direction of Budapest, passed through Miskolc and were stopped by a crowd of 500 or 600 people. Those Soviet units were very tired because they had come from the other side of Zahony, they told us. After the Soviet troops had left a large crowd of people went to a factory outside Miskolc in order to persuade the workers to join them.

On 25 October the students organized a demonstration in front of the Petoefi statue and then proceeded to three printing offices with the request that their demands be printed. At first the newspaper offices would not agree to that because it had transpired that AVH came to the offices and threatened the staff. Then the crowd, adopting the motto: "Let us help Budapest!", drove around the town enlisting people who wished to help. That day nothing more happened. The next day news

(Witness XX)

spread through the city that one of the cars, full of those volunteers, had been arrested by the AVH. On hearing that, a huge crowd gathered in front of the AVH headquarters in Miskolc demanding that the people be set free. An AVH captain, called Gati, stood at a window threatening the crowd with a gun. The mob was trying to enter the building; two or three minutes later a man called Antal, formerly a policeman but then in AVH pay, gave the signal to fire and from the windows, doors and cellars shots were fired on the crowd. Antal himself threw two hand grenades. After about ten or fifteen minutes of shooting a cease-fire was apparently ordered so that the streets could be cleared to enable the inmates of the headquarters to leave in safety. Among the victims of that fighting were Marika Gromsz, an eighteen-year old student, a miner and the janitor of a factory. The AVH were trying to escape when miners from Ozd and Borsod arrived; they forced the doors and occupied the building and some of the AVH were caught and put under arrest. In the meantime, the Workers' Council had taken over the administration of the town; they co-operated with the military councils and created a voluntary militia, members of which were mostly recruited from among university students, high school students and young workers. They took over the radio station of Borsod province (in which Miskolc is situated) and also confiscated the lists of people who were in AVH pay, including details of the pay received by each person. Over the radio they ordered those AVH informers to appear at a certain place. Fourteen of those who obeyed were arrested and appeared before tribunals. About that time news arrived from Nyiregyhaza that a train, consisting of eight carriages, had passed through there and was proceeding out of the country in a north-easterly direction. Notes had been thrown out of the train informing people that the occupants were being deported from Hungary. The train was stopped at Hatvan and forced to turn back.

All the inhabitants of Borsod were very happy about the programme of the Nagy Government and it seemed likely that work would be resumed on 5 November. However, at 4 o'clock in the morning of 5 November motorized units of Soviet troops drove through the city at great speed. They proceeded to the university, surrounded it and the students members of the militia, who were resting after their night duty, were fired upon and many were wounded. Gabor Kiss, a first-year student who had been

(Witness XX)

born at Hehalom, was killed. At the same time, from a locality six or eight kilometres from the city, the Russians opened fire on the university. The students started to resist but this seemed hopeless and they retired towards the Buekk mountains, with the Home Guard. The leaders of the Workers' Council of the province were arrested. They were: Attila Nagy, an actor, Rudolf Foeldvary and Dioszeghy, and others. The Soviet command prohibited people from leaving the city of Miskolc and ordered them to surrender their arms. In view of the fact that most people did not dare to go to the Russian command to surrender their arms, and that others had retreated to the mountains, nobody appeared at the Russian headquarters.

Only the Communist Workers' Councils' members were allowed to create a new council and this was led by Kohal and Grosz who took orders from the Russians and were merely puppets. That council was called "The Workers' and Peasants' Council".

There were strikes at the mines and in all the heavy industries. AVH men, dressed in civilian clothes, collaborated with the Russians in making arrests. A resistance movement was formed in the city, consisting mostly of students and actors. It was then that Kadar sent one of his deputy ministers, Ferenc Herceg, to Miskolc to ask upon what terms the workers would be willing to resume their work. As no meetings were permitted by the Russians, a secret meeting was held at which the delegate of the Workers' Council informed the Government delegate that one of the conditions which would have to be fulfilled, was the re-establishment of Workers' Councils having the same terms of reference as under the Nagy Government of 23 October. He also demanded that the workers who had been arrested should be freed. Not until those conditions were fulfilled would work be resumed. Ferenc Herceg took note of those demands and returned, under Russian guard, to Budapest. Subsequently, a delegation consisting of four people from Dorog went to the Parliament building and negotiated there with Karoly Olt and Antal Apro for the release of the imprisoned workers. Antal Apro gave his word of honour as a minister that this request would be met. This was not acceptable to the delegation.

(Witness XX)

Later on Rudolf Foeldvary, who was the party secretary before the revolution, was released and we heard that when he was asked where he was arrested he did not want to answer and later it transpired that he had negotiated with the Kadar group and betrayed the people of the province.

Foeldvary took over the leadership of the Workers' Council without being elected but as we who really represented the workers could not enter that building we met in another place. They then reorganized the militia which we had wanted to organize except that they did it, of course, with the Russians and it was composed of all the people who fled during the days of the revolution and the AVH. A new uniform was given to them. At the same time, the members of the Workers' Council who were not willing to support what Foeldvary was doing, because it was clear by that time that he had betrayed the people of Borsod, were arrested. There were two people I can mention by name who were taken away -- Barna Nagy, an electrical technician, and Janos Makkay, who was working in the industrial section, a skilled labourer who was twenty years old. Through an interpreter who worked at the Soviet headquarters and who was from Carpathia-Ukraine we learnt that these two people were taken to the Rudolf barracks.

The AVH asked the miners' delegate to appear. They wanted to arrest him and gave the excuse that he was working against Kadar. The miners protested violently against this and the AVH were forced to release him.

On 10 December there was a silent demonstration by the women. About 200 of them talked with each other and said that in honour of their dead they would organize a demonstration and this demonstration increased to about 10,000 or 12,000 people as it was held on a Sunday and many people, of course, were free. These people went through the streets of Miskolc shouting "down with Kadar". The AVH and the Russians drove across this crowd. At the corner of a street a tank that ran over a small boy was completely surrounded by the population and immobilized. In the evening the loudspeaker announced that by order of the Soviet command a curfew would be imposed at half-past six. However, the crowd did not obey and they stayed in the streets. They wanted to go to the Workers' Council building but that building was surrounded by armed Russian soldiers.

The next day my home was searched and I escaped. I have only heard about what happened in Miskolc after that.

I have finished my statement and I am ready to answer questions.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank you for your very interesting statement on the events that took place in your town of Miskolc.

Mr. DESCHAMPS (Australia): Can you give us any further indication of the attitude of the rural population towards the revolution?

WITNESS XX (interpretation from Hungarian): During the revolution, on the 25th, the peasants of Borsod province went in a crowd to Miskolc with banners. Also, the Revolutionary Council of Miskolc and the members of the students' parliament of Miskolc went into the countryside to speak to the peasants and they were very well received. We were short of food and we went into the countryside of Borsod province and told them about our plight. They gave us many car-loads of food for nothing to help us out.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): Can you tell me what the population of Borsod is?

WITNESS XX (interpretation from Hungary): Approximately half a million. Miskolc has a population of 160,000.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): Can you tell me the number of freedom fighters in the university?

WITNESS XX (interpretation from Hungarian): All the university students at Miskolc were freedom fighters.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): About how many?

WITNESS XX (interpretation from Hungarian): About 3,000.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): Can you tell me approximately how many people were killed during the revolution in Borsod province?

WITNESS XX (interpretation from Hungarian): Unfortunately, I cannot give an exact answer. What I know about it I have heard from the people in Miskolc.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): What do you know?

WITNESS XX (interpretation from Hungarian): When I was still at home the number of dead was approximately eighty to ninety. Later on I learnt from friends who followed me out of the country, on 15 and 16 December, there was an additional number of 150 dead. I should like to emphasize that I was not at home at that time.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): In the province itself there was not much fighting?

WITNESS XX (interpretation from Hungarian): There was fighting after 4 November when the Russians occupied the city of Miskolc and the people with arms went to the Buekk Mountains, then there were several battles in the province.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): Can you give us a rough estimate of how many people were killed in the province, in the mountains or elsewhere?

WITNESS XX (interpretation from Hungarian): I do not want to say anything about which I have no exact data and I have no exact information on this.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): You said you put the AVH people before tribunals. What tribunals were these? How were they constituted?

WITNESS XX (interpretation from Hungarian): They were first placed under provisional arrest in the prison of the province and then their case was transferred to the Solicitor-General of the province. Unfortunately, they never came to trial because on 4 November they were released by the Russians.

Mr. GUNewardene (Ceylon): Were these tribunals appointed by the Revolutionary Council or the previous Communist Government?

WITNESS XX (interpretation from Hungarian): When they were handed over to these tribunals the Workers' Councils were already formed and were composed of people who were on the side of the country, therefore, I would say that these tribunals were composed only of those people who were on the side of the revolution.

The CHAIRMAN: There are no further questions and we thank you for your information.

Witness XX withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Witness YY took a place at the Committee table.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Committee I bid you welcome. We now ask you to give your statement of the events which you know from personal experience.

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): The population of Jaszbereny was only informed through the radio of what happened in Budapest.

The CHAIRMAN: Would you tell us where that village or town is situated?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): It is in the middle of Hungary, 100 kilometres east of Budapest. It was only by radio that the population of Jaszbereny was informed of what happened in Budapest on 23 October. As there was no organization or uprising in Jaszbereny before the 23rd, naturally, there was

none after the 23rd and we were only guided by the dictates of our consciences. By the 25th the Russian insignia disappeared from official places and was replaced by our national colours and after that date the Red Star was also removed.

Three thousand workers in the Jaszbereny factories, as well as the intellectuals first carried out a sit-down strike and then later by an open strike they expressed their solidarity with the heroes of Budapest.

With the support of the bus conductors and again without any previous organization 150 inhabitants of Jaszbereny were able to overthrow all the statutes of the Soviet and establish a Revolutionary Council. At first, there were only a few members in that council but on 28 October the peasants of Jaszbereny and that region arose. The peasants of Hajta, Ujerdoe, Oeregerdoo, Homok and Toeteveny met and they decided to mobilize all Jaszbereny in order to bring about the success of the revolution.

The next day, 29 October, a market day, they decided to have a meeting of peasants there, and couriers were sent to the peasants at Zsombikos, Alsómuszaly, Felsőmuszaly, Teres, Ret, Negyszallas, Mecsoe and Rekettyes. On the morning of 29 October, therefore, there were more than 1,000 peasants at the market place of Jaszbereny. From the balcony of a house there a peasant from the town made a speech and announced that the peasants were heart and soul in favour of the aims of the revolution and would do all they could in co-operation to realize them. It was decided that at least fifty per cent of the members of the Revolutionary Council should be peasants; the Revolutionary Council was therefore reorganized and enlarged, and of the twenty-eight members fourteen were elected openly there from among the ranks of those present at the meeting. This fifty per cent proportion of peasants in the Revolutionary Council remained unchanged. The main purpose of the Revolutionary Council was to effect the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the holding of free elections. The first demand, namely the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, meant much danger to Jaszbereny because since 1945 there had continuously been 1,200 to 1,500 Russian soldiers there, and during the revolution these had been increased to 6,000, while there were so many armoured cars and tanks that there was not enough room in the barracks or on the market place and some were even surrounding the whole town. In spite of this the population of Jaszbereny had as their first demand the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The demands put forward at the general strike were also accepted by the peasants of Jaszbereny who declared that they would support them. First of all, in answer to the request of the non-agricultural part of the population, the peasantry undertook to work in the autumn so that the population would be assured of bread in the following Spring. They undertook, and carried out the undertaking, that they would supply the non-agricultural population with sufficient food supplies which would be brought to the market place and sold at the prices prevailing before 23 October. From then on this arrangement was carried out and worked smoothly. Furthermore, they considered it one of their main tasks to furnish, without monetary return, as much food as possible to the freedom fighters and wounded in hospital in Budapest. The first meeting of the peasant population took place in the school at Hajta on

28 October. It was here that was coined the slogan "Food to the freedom heroes", and on 30 October food was taken in three four-ton trucks, including pork, beef, bread, butter, and all kinds of vegetables. Food supplies began to be assembled in the town and it was here that the delegates of the Revolutionary Council accepted the gifts of the population. Such large quantities were gathered that daily two or three four-ton trucks transported the gifts of the inhabitants of Jaszbereny. These gifts were given solely to the freedom fighters to be distributed to all Hungarians who participated in the revolution and were wounded, and no payment was required for them. The peasants of Jaszbereny provided the freedom fighters daily with 10,000 kilograms of food. The commander of the Soviet units in Jaszbereny, accompanied by two other officers, called on the Revolutionary Council. He was informed that the Revolutionary Council represented the will of the people and that the population had empowered the council to carry out their wishes. The commander promised not to interfere in internal affairs, and promised that Soviet units would not leave the barracks for manoeuvres. In spite of that, between 4 and 5 p.m. on 4 November several tanks and armoured cars went from the barracks to the main square of the town, surrounded it, and Soviet soldiers jumped out and started firing on the people who were taking their Sunday walk there and who were unarmed. The dead numbered about twenty-five to thirty. In order that the people should know of as few deaths as possible the Russians removed some of the dead. The tower of the Catholic church, which was considered to be a work of art, was shot through by the Russians and the church set on fire. The members of the Revolutionary Council were arrested by Soviet soldiers with the cooperation of the AVH, being taken away from their houses by night. Eight of them were taken in open Russian trucks to Szolnok, namely Dr. Sandor Altorday, an engineer, Mihaly Besztery, a skilled labourer, Bela Imre, a building manager, Dr. Pal Nagy, an agricultural proprietor, Dr. Andras Pusztay, formerly in charge of supplying the town and himself a small proprietor, Istvan Repas, a skilled worker, Istvan Szigeti, another worker, and Jenoe Zsak, a photographer. Afterwards they were beaten mercilessly in the Soviet barracks, kicked and had their ears torn. They were transferred to the provincial prison from where, on 9 November, four of them, namely Dr. Sandor Altorday, Bela Imre, Dr. Pal Nagy and Istvan Repas, together with three inhabitants of Szolnok, were taken in an open truck to the Soviet Union, first to Ungvar-Munkacs prison and then to the prison of Ungvar-Uzhorod.

(Witness YY)

From the Ungvar-Uzhorod prison they were brought back on 10 December to Hungary. I spoke to every one of them and they said unanimously that their treatment had improved from day to day. According to the Soviet soldiers of Hungarian origin, the only reason for this was the discussions that were going on in the United Nations on the subject of the deportations. The more strongly the United Nations condemned the deportations and Russian interference in Hungary, the more the treatment improved. It was to this that the cessation of deportations was due, as was the return of at least some of the deportees.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank you for your interesting statement and the delegate of Australia would like to put a few questions to you.

Mr. SHANN (Australia): I should also like to thank the witness for what I regard as a very valuable statement indeed. I just want to clear up two points.

You have shown clearly the support which the peasant population in your area gave to the idea of the revolution. Do you know how the peasant population came to organize itself? Did they have meetings in the small towns to decide whether to support the revolution or did they go in to the main centres -- I think you mentioned market day -- on market day and meet there and take a decision to support the revolution?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): First we held a meeting at the school in Hajta at which the peasantry decided that in our area we would do all we could. We thought it best that not only some of the peasantry but all the peasants of the province should be brought in to help and we therefore took advantage of the market day to call together all the peasants of the area and try to convince them that they must help in every way possible. Our general idea was that we in Jasz could not fight with weapons but must do all we could to ensure the provisioning of those who were fighting. This task we carried out until 4 November.

Mr. SHANN (Australia): You have referred to decisions being taken on production and on prices. How were these decisions taken? Were they taken at the meeting by all the peasants which was held on market-day or were they taken by a smaller group of people and accepted by the peasants?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): This was decided at first at the school in Hajta where there were about 200 to 250 people present. The next day, when the weekly market was going on, we told all the peasants except those who were actually taking part in the market and they accepted our decision enthusiastically.

Mr. SHANN (Australia): I have one other question. Do you know whether the system which you followed in your part of the country was also followed in other parts?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): Yes, I can state very definitely that at Heves Province, to which I fled and where I continued my work of provisioning, the people were helping a great deal and transporting provisions to Budapest and other parts of the country.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): What is the name of the province to which you belong?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): I lived at that time in Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnok Province.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): What was the population of that province?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): Between 250,000 and 280,000.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): Were they mainly agricultural people?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): Agricultural and factory workers.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): What was the name of the chief town there?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): Szonok is the capital of the province.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): Was there any fighting at Szolnok?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): Yes, there was fighting at Szolnok partly to break down the Hungarian communist organization and partly against the Russians. On 4 November the Russians attacked the Hungarian barracks and before the Hungarians could put on their clothes they were fired upon and many of them were killed.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): At what points in the province was there fighting?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): At Szolnok, Jaszbereny, Mezoetur and possibly in Karcag, but I am not sure about this last.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): About how many people were killed in this fighting?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): At Jaszbereny twenty-five or thirty were killed, and at Szolnok a good many more because they found the soldiers asleep in the barracks. I do not know the exact number but I heard it was about 200. At Mezoetur ten or fifteen were killed.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): Do you know if any Russian soldiers were killed?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): The Russians say there were some, but we did not know of any.

Mr. GUNewardENE (Ceylon): You referred to a crowd being shot at on 4 November and twenty-five to thirty people being killed. What was the size of the crowd at that time?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): It was Sunday afternoon and people were walking peacefully in the streets. There could have been two or three hundred of them and all who could not flee died.

Mr. GUNewardene (Ceylon): You referred to people who were arrested being kicked and beaten in the Soviet barracks. You were not an eye-witness to any of that?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): Yes, I saw it myself and I too was kicked and beaten.

Mr. RODRIGUEZ-FABREGAT (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): Your statement is very important and I would like to put the following question to you. What were the farmers and the peasants thinking when they espoused the cause of the revolution? Did they simply want to liberate Hungary from Soviet influence or did they want to change the economic structure of the country?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): Before all else they wanted to liberate the country from the rule of Soviet Russia so that Hungarians could be free to decide their own way of life. Secondly, whilst most people admitted that socialist ideas might be accepted through peaceful evolution, they would not have these ideas forced on them. The great majority of the population wanted to stop such attempts to force the system on them.

Mr. RODRIGUEZ-FABREGAT (Uruguay) (interpretation from Spanish): That is to say, the peasant population was in favour of the socialist system of land ownership?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): The peasants thought that if someone wanted to be a member of a collective agricultural unit, he should become a member of his own free will. Similarly, if he wanted to continue to farm independently and privately, he should be allowed to do so.

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Mr. RODRIGUEZ-FABREGAT (Uruguay)(interpretation from Spanish): You mean that under the existing system imposed upon Hungary the peasants were not free to decide whether or not they would participate in collective farming?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): The people were forced to join the collective agricultural units known as T.SZ.CS.

People do not farm independently, no one has his own farm. Everything, all the sowing, and reaping, is done in common. This is directly contrary to the individualistic nature of Hungarians and they cannot get people to join such units without force. Even if a farmer did not join such a unit he still could not carry on farming privately because he would be under orders as to what kind of crops he must raise. They forced us to raise crops for which the climate and soil of Hungary was unsuitable, so that as a result the cost of production was much greater than the amount the State paid for the produce.

Mr. RODRIGUEZ-FABREGAT (Uruguay)(interpretation from Spanish): But does this mean that the peasants wanted to revert to the old system of private property, the Latifundia?

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): The peasants did not want to return to the Latifundia, the system of the great estates, but they wanted to work their own farms of five, ten or fifteen acres. No sane peasant wanted to go back to the great estates system obtaining before 1945. The reform of 1945, even though it had some drawbacks, some unjust measures, was generally approved by the people. The peasantry only wanted the opportunity for private enterprise and individual farming.

Mr. RODRIGUEZ-FABREGAT (Uruguay)(interpretation from Spanish): I should like to thank you very much for your statements which clarify many of the things we have heard, and which are very important to the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: I understand there are no further questions, so I also, on behalf of the Committee, thank you very much for your interesting statement.

WITNESS YY (interpretation from Hungarian): I should just like to say it was my patriotic duty to tell you all these things. I volunteered to appear before the Committee so that I could call your attention to these things, and so help my country.

Witness YY withdrew.

The CHAIRMAN: I have to inform the Committee that in addition to the three names left on our list we have other witnesses to hear who had been left out at first and who are now available. The meeting stands adjourned until 3 p.m.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.