

3. Early in October, as if in response to the ferment in Poland, there was further unrest among students and intellectuals. Budapest was the scene of a mass march of 200,000 for the re-burial of Rajk who had just been "re-habilitated" after his execution for Titoism in 1949. Rakosi fled the country, but Geroe remained at the helm and attended the Black Sea talks with Khrushchev and Tito.

4. On October 23, student demonstrations in Budapest erupted into violence involving both the Hungarian security police and Soviet troops. Geroe is credited with asking for or condoning the use of Soviet forces in an attempt to suppress the initial uprising. On October 24, Nagy, known as a national deviationist and regarded as the most popular of the Hungarian Titoists, replaced Geroe. The Communist Party of Hungary was dissolved and re-formed as the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party with Kadar still First Secretary. The government was re-formed as a coalition, including members from other parties of which the most important were the Smallholders Party and the Social Democratic Party.

5. The governmental shuffles were not enough to avert a week of violence and confusion. It is impossible to sort out the aims of the various rebel groups which sprang up, for they ranged from national communist across the political spectrum to democratic socialist, peasant and possibly even farther right. They seemed to have no concrete or integrated plan or policy. Initially they demanded a representative government, the resignation of Rakosi associates, economic reforms, freedom of speech and assembly, democratic elections and withdrawal of all Soviet forces. As the shaky government yielded on these initial demands, violently anti-Russian and anti-communist elements among the rebel groups eclipsed the Titoists. Nagy was pushed further and further in his attempts to accommodate the ever-increasing demands of the rebel groups. He announced the end of collectivization of agriculture. He demanded and temporarily obtained the evacuation of Soviet forces from Budapest. He sought the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Hungary and, after new Soviet units began to move into Hungary, he announced, on November 1 and 2, Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and called on the United Nations to support Hungary's "permanent neutrality".

6. The deployment of Soviet troops is of some significance. Our best information — although it cannot be regarded as entirely firm — is that when the revolt began on October 23, Soviet forces in Hungary consisted of two divisions totalling 32,600 men. As the rebels gained strength, the Russians began a military build-up on October 25. Between October 25-27, one division of 15,000 men was moved in from the USSR and, on the latter date, 10,000 men were transferred to Hungary from Roumania. By this time there were four Soviet divisions of 60,000 men in the country. On October 29, the Soviet forces began to withdraw from Budapest at the insistence of the insurgents and Nagy and in accordance with the promises of Zhukov and Shepilov.

7. On October 30 came the statement from Moscow defining Soviet policy towards Eastern Europe. We do not know whether the terms of this declaration encouraged Nagy and the rebel leaders with whom he was beginning to identify himself to go still further to satisfy the anti-communist and anti-Russian elements in the uprising, or whether Nagy's realization that the USSR had reinforced their military position in Hungary caused him to denounce the Warsaw Pact on November 1 and demand publicly the withdrawal of Soviet forces. His appeal to the United Nations on November 2 to support Hungarian neutrality suggests that fear was stronger than an attempt to placate the anti-communists. By denouncing the Pact he may also have wished to destroy the legal basis for the presence of Soviet troops. Whatever Nagy's motives the immediate Soviet reaction was to send three more divisions into Hungary from the USSR between November 1 and 3 (thus increasing their total strength in Hungary to seven divisions totalling about 200,000 men) and attack Budapest with three divisions on November 4. They clearly were not prepared to permit