

Hungary & Eastern Europe - Sixty Years Ago A Press Review by a Hungarian Refugee

Revolt in Budapest
1956. 10. 23–31.

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Times 23X 956

HUNGARIANS URGE SOVIET TROOPS GO

Speakers at Open Meeting
in Gyor Also Ask Freeing
of Cardinal Mindszenty

By JOHN MACCORMAC

Special to The New York Times.

BUDAPEST, Hungary, Oct. 22—A withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and the release of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty were demanded by speakers in an open meeting last week-end in Gyor, it was disclosed today by the newspaper Gyor Sopronmegyei Hirlap.

The meeting, which was held in the Jokai Theatre, was described by the newspaper as "the first entirely free public and outspoken debate" since 1948.

[Budapest university students demanded the return of Imre Nagy as Premier, said a Reuters report of a broadcast from the Hungarian capital.]

Presiding at the meeting in Gyor was Gyula Hay, who won the Kossuth Prize for literature. He was one of the leading members of the Communist authors' group that voiced a demand a year ago for artistic freedom

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HUNGARIANS URGE SOVIET TROOP EXIT

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and he declared three weeks ago that "A writer must be free to think like a Marxist or a non-Marxist."

The meeting was said to be the first time that the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Hungary had been publicly admitted by the group of rebellious writers, said the Russians were welcomed guests in Hungary, but the presence of military units no longer was necessary.

"We live in an era of big changes," Mr. Hay said. "These began in the Soviet Union with Stalin's death. In Hungarian-Soviet relations, this change is unfortunately hardly noticeable, although it is quite obvious that no sound political relations could develop between Stalin's Soviet Union and Rakosi's Hun-

POLES DENOUNCED BY FRENCH REDS

Italian Party Omits Details
of Warsaw Events—East
German Changes Forecast

Special to The New York Times.

PARIS, Oct. 22—France's Communists, still unreconstructed Stalinists at heart, condemned by implication today the efforts of Poland's leaders to free themselves from Moscow domination.

French Communist leaders such as Maurice Thorez and imprisonment, Mr. Hay said he did not believe in religion but disapproved of administrative interference with it.

He told an inquirer who wondered why Hungarian newspapers were expressing different opinions about the culpability of Mr. Rakosi that this was be-

pected that the Soviet leadership would do all they could to re-intimate and friendly relations between the new Warsaw government and Moscow.

Aid to Poland Suggested

LONDON, Oct. 22 (Reuters)—The liberal Manchester Guardian proposed today that the United States provide economic aid to Poland "without strings" to help her fight against Soviet domination.

The West should then wait and hope that a stronger Poland, economically successful could resist Kremlin influence, the newspaper added.

Bonn Attitude Reserved

Special to The New York Times.

BONN, Germany, Oct. 22—West Germany Government assumed today a deliberately reserved attitude on the political developments in Poland.

This attitude is dictated by the Government's determination not to upset the presently favorable course of events in Warsaw.

Felix von Eckhard, federal

Evening Star 23x256

Hungary Seen Moving Toward 'Titoist' Orbit

BELGRADE, Yugoslavia, Oct. 23 (AP).—Yugoslavia and Hungary joined today in a call for independent development of communism "without any imposition, freely and voluntarily."

A communique signed jointly by top officials of both Communist countries underscored what is considered here to be a rapid movement of Hungary into the "Titoist" orbit of Communist states independent of Soviet control.

While the Hungarians appeared won over, a delegation from Bulgaria not long ago played it more cautiously, not consenting fully to the program of Yugoslav President Tito. The Yugoslavs considered the Bulgarian visit here a failure.

The communique said the Yugoslav and Hungarian Communist Parties would develop co-operation "on the basis of full confidence and sincerity."

They said the promotion of

amity between the Yugoslav and Hungarian peoples is necessary "in the interest of peace and progress in the world" and called for a broadening of economic and cultural relations.

The two delegations yesterday wound up a solid week of discussions in Belgrade. In a communique issued today and distributed by the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug, they said they had noted with satisfaction that "tension in international relations had relaxed of late."

These two Communist parties bitterly opposed each other in the years after President Tito broke with the Kremlin and established his own brand of "national communism" in Yugoslavia.

The communique did not mention those old differences but stressed that the parties now were anxious for the closest co-operation. In the light of Poland's current effort to throw off Mos-

cow's control. There has been speculation that Hungary also was casting about for a way to free herself from Soviet dictation.

At the conclusion of the Belgrade conference, the Hungarians

invited the Yugoslav Communists to send a delegation to visit Hungary. The invitation was accepted.

Hungarian Communist Boss Ernoe Geroe was a member of his country's delegation. He, like

Marshal Tito, went to the Crimea recently for secret talks with Russia's top leaders—talks which presumably turned on Marshal Tito's insistence that Moscow recognize there "is more than one road to socialism."

Evening Star 23 X 2 16

Hungarian Throngs Cry 'Out With the Russians'

Thousands of Demonstrators Also Call For New Government Headed by Nagy

BUDAPEST, Hungary, Oct. 23 (AP).—Shouts of "Out with the Russian troops" and "We want a new government with Imre Nagy" were raised in a demonstration by thousands of university students, workers and off-duty soldiers in Budapest today.

The huge and noisy demonstration was held in front of the statue of Gen. Josef Pem, a Polish general who headed Hungary's revolutionary army in this country's 1848-49 war of independence against the Hapsburg monarchs.

The demonstration had a double purpose.

It was advertised first as a gesture of "sympathy and soli-

Hungary Seen Moving Toward 'Titoist' Orbit. Page A-4

arity" with the Poles, who threw Stalinist elements out of the Polish Communist Party leadership Sunday.

Secondly, it turned into a public mass demand for a similar Hungarian "declaration of independence" from Moscow control.

Many demonstrators shouted for free elections and freedom of the press.

Others demanded that Matyas Rakosi, the deposed Stalinist dictator of Hungary, be brought back from Russia "to stand trial before a tribunal of the people."

Police Do Not Interfere

Still others shouted demands for tearing down the huge Stalin statue in Budapest.

Police stood about the edges

of the crowd and did not interfere. They only sought to prevent cars and trucks from running into the demonstration.

The Hungarian Communist Party leadership had promised government reforms looking toward a "new leadership, democratically elected," but begged the country to be patient.

The official party newspaper, Szabad Nep, carried one of the frankest party public statements to date, directing it to the impatient youth of the country who have been demanding in meetings the reconstruction of the

Stresses Own Program

"The Soviet, Polish, Yugoslav or Chinese roads to socialism do not absolve us from mapping out a Hungarian road," it said. "No foreign experience can replace the ideological work we must do ourselves."

The party newspaper said that because of the country's economic situation, "we cannot comply with every demand immediately," and asked the students to be patient and refrain from pressing their demands in street demonstrations for action in a matter of days or weeks.

A return to power by Mr. Nagy would be a close parallel of what occurred in Poland with the restoration to authority of Wladyslaw Gomulka, once-commended anti-Stalinist. Szabad Nep did not call for Mr. Nagy's return as Premier, but its front-page editorial said:

"Our party and its newspaper side with youth, approve of their meetings and wish them much success."

The Communist Youth Organization under former Premier Nagy.

Mr. Nagy, purged from office when Matyas Rakosi was the party boss, has been restored to prestige and Mr. Rakosi is in virtual exile in the Soviet Union.

The newspaper promised a "Hungarian road" to communism, meaning a degree of independence from Moscow direction. Szabad Ifjusag, devoted a full page to reports of meetings last night of university students throughout the country.

The students demanded, among other things, an immediate party central committee meeting, government reorganization under Mr. Nagy as Premier, new parliamentary elections with resurrected non-Communist parties taking part, full freedom of speech and press, expulsion of Mr. Rakosi from the party and Parliament, public information on the nation's economic situation and its trade dealings with the Russians, and a public report on the disposition of Hungary's supplies of uranium, the raw material for atomic power.

Some others, testing the new era of relatively free speech, are demanding that Russia withdraw its troops from Hungary and that the once-imprisoned Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty be restored as head of the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary.

N.Y. Herald Trib 24 X 256

Stirrings in Hungary

After Poland, Hungary? There is evidence to suggest that Budapest is preparing to follow Warsaw's lead in telling the Soviet Union that communism in eastern Europe must wear national dress from now on. There have been the same rehabilitations, the same popular demands, though less violent ones, for independence and "liberalization," the same economic discontent in Hungary as in Poland. There is, too, a political leader in the figure of Imre Nagy whose stature and nationalist sympathies closely resemble those of Wladislaw Gomulka. Nagy was forced from power almost two years ago for "right deviation," which meant he advocated converting heavy industry into consumer industry, improving conditions for the farmers and suppressing concentration camps. Only last July he was expelled from the Hungarian Communist party. He has now been readmitted, and there are indications he may regain full power as party first secretary or premier. If so, will he then insist, as Gomulka has done, on "equality" with the Soviet Union?

The Hungarian communist leadership has just returned from Yugoslavia, where it made official peace with Marshal Tito after years of hostility. Tito is the presiding genius of eastern European independence from Moscow. His doctrine of "many roads to socialism" has been sanctioned by the Kremlin itself. The

roads are multiplying. "The Soviet, Polish, Yugoslav or Chinese roads to socialism do not absolve us from mapping out a Hungarian road," suggests "Szabad Nep," the Hungarian Communist organ. The Hungarian parliament has just begun a new session. It remains to be seen whether the Hungarians choose this occasion to do their mapping.

There are, however, certain important differences between the situations in Poland and Hungary. For the Poles, "liberalization" appears to depend above all on the end of direct Russian rule. For the Hungarians, it may hinge primarily on questions of internal policy, on greater freedom of speech, on the institution of democratic processes, and the like, without necessarily challenging Soviet authority. In fact, the Hungarians may even be counting on the support of those men in the Kremlin who first set the entire chain of events in motion by downgrading Stalin.

But independence from Moscow does not necessarily mean that the states of eastern Europe will be any more friendly to the West or to its ideals of democracy and freedom. Yugoslavia is a case in point. Gratifying though these changes in the satellites seem, the West should never blindly assume their governments are preparing to abandon their support of the Soviet Union. No matter how many "roads" there are, communism is still at the end of every one of them.

Evening Star 25 X 9 16

Revolt in Budapest

If one is to judge from the scanty information which has filtered out of Budapest, the Communist authorities there have decided to put down the wild revolt which has swept that once-lovely Hungarian capital. And of course they can do this. Half-armed students and workers cannot hold out for long against troops, tanks, planes and machine guns. If the entrenched Communist authorities are ruthless enough, if they are prepared to kill enough people, they can put an end to the resistance in Budapest.

But they cannot kill the spirit which really armed this rebellion. They cannot suppress that yearning for bread and a little freedom which drives men into the streets, to die by the scores and hundreds in the face of overwhelming odds. Least of all can they satisfy the appeal of one Budapest radio broadcast, which promised that Soviet troops would return to their bases when order is restored, and which called upon the workers to "please receive our friends and allies with love."

It is impossible, at this time, to know precisely why the uprising in Poland has been tolerated, while the more violent eruption in Hungary has been met with such stern repressive measures. We should not forget that all of these Communist leaders—Russian, Polish and Hungarian—are pretty much of the same school. Perhaps the Russians felt that the situation in Poland, given a measure of national freedom, could be contained. Or it may be that the Hungarian revolt, since it was the Hungarian Communist government which called on the Russians for help, was directed against both brands of communism—Hungarian and Russian alike. Still another possibility is that the Communist hierarchy decided that Poland was all that could be digested at this time—that Hungary could not be permitted to slip its chains in the same week.

Of one thing, however, we may be certain. The process of disintegration which has set in in the Communist empire is not going to be permanently checked without the most brutal suppression. The Poznan rising and the East German riots were beaten down. But the ferment continued. If Poland and Hungary go the way of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and East Germany lie ahead. So what will the Communist bosses try to do? Will they fall back on naked force, and if so, will it be enough in the long run to beat down the centuries-old craving of men for a little freedom, a little better place in the sun?

Evening Star 26 Feb 56

CONSTANTINE BROWN

A Danger in the Uprisings

Soviet Turn to Greater Violence Feared If Satellite Revolts Snowball Too Fast

Reaction in the Nation's Capital to the startling developments in Poland and Hungary has been largely one of pleasure mixed with caution. There has been a dearth of really dependable information on which our top policymakers can safely base conclusions, although the wires and cables have been hot from Vienna and Berlin with all sorts of rumors, stories, and speculation.

What seems to worry the foreign policy planners most right now is the possibility that the snowballing uprisings in the satellite nations will go too fast. If they get out of hand, as the Budapest situation did, the answer will be sharp and brutal—Russian tanks and machine guns, repression, and the restoration to power of the old Stalinist bureaucrats. Already, spokesmen in the State Department are contrasting the relatively easy success of the Poland turnover with the bloody violence of the Hungarian change.

Events in Budapest started peacefully enough, and quickly brought the substitution of former Premier Imre Nagy for the pro-Stalin caretaker premier, Erno Geroe, who has served since the downfall of Rakosi. But apparently the mere de-Stalinization of the Communist regime in Hungary was not enough for the Hungarians. Their deep hatred of the Russians, a matter of national tradition since Czar Nicholas I sent a Russian army to suppress the Louis Kossuth revolt against Austrian rule in 1848, quickly became evident in the streets.

More significantly, there were signs during the Budapest fighting that intellectual and

student thinking is more definitely anti-Communist than even the most optimistic Westerners had supposed. The Hungarians have been under a dictatorship a long, long time; after World War I had ended the Hapsburg rule of Austria-Hungary, Admiral Nicholas Horthy, calling himself a "regent" for the vacant throne of the Court of St. Stephen, ruled the nation with a grip of steel until 1944. Few if any Hungarians can remember the taste of freedom.

Thus what started out to be a liberalization and a "democratization" of the Communist regime in Hungary quickly broke out of bounds. It swiftly took on the aspect of a genuine popular revolt, strangely similar to the revolt in Petrograd in 1918, when the Czar's empire was shattered. And most significant of all, the renamed Premier Nagy did not call on Hungarian police and troops to shoot down their compatriots. He knew better, apparently. The Hungarians would have quickly supported the rebels. Instead, he sent an emergency plea for Russian troops, tanks and machine guns. They responded.

This move, it may be expected, will do nothing to add prestige to Nagy in Hungary. It is inconceivable that the Hungarian people will voluntarily continue in power for very long a man who called on the hated Russians to slaughter Hungarian fighters for independence and freedom. Only with the support of Red army bayonets can Nagy continue to rule.

What the uprising in Hungary and the political upset in Poland readily indicate is the basic weakness, the rottenness

at the core, of the satellite empire. It is plainly, more plainly than ever, a slave system. Since the revolt in East Germany in 1953, ruthlessly suppressed by Russian troops, there have been many unmistakable signs that the slaves were awaiting their opportunity to strike a blow for freedom.

The freedom these men seek is not at the moment the freedom of American interpretation. The freedom the satellite slaves want is the right to live as free men, to work at jobs they want, to farm their own fields, to choose their own homes and ways of life, and to worship the God of their choice. They want to cast off the chains that bind them to an all-powerful state, chains that sear their present and make hopeless their future.

The stirring of anger and resentment that gave rise to the outbreak will be deeper than ever now, and the myth of eternal friendship between the Russians and their captive peoples is again exposed for what it is.

Evening Star 26 X 256

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT:

Russian Tank Fires On Budapest Crowd

By ENDRE MARTON
Associated Press Foreign Correspondent

BUDAPEST, Hungary, Oct. 25 (AP).—Parliament Square in Budapest became a battlefield shortly after noon today (Thursday) when a Russian tank opened fire on a few thousand peaceful demonstrators whose only weapons were Hungarian flags.

Reports from other parts of the capital told similar stories.

At 10 a.m. a crowd of about 2,000 men and women, waving flags and shouting "This is a peaceful demonstration" passed in front of the United States Legation toward the nearby parliament building.

They greeted the American flag, waving from the legation building, with beaming faces. The marchers waved their hats and some shouted:

"Why don't you help us?"

Tanks Roll Up

Two huge Russian tanks and an armored car drove up—packed with young Hungarians fraternizing with the Russian soldiers. All were smiling uneasily.

Other tanks and also a number of Russian guns were mounted at various corners of the huge Gothic parliament building.

Demonstrators sent a three-member delegation into the building, which houses the prime ministry.

While waiting the return of their delegation, they shouted slogans such as "down with Geroe" and "release our prisoners." (Ernoe Geroe was ousted Thursday as first secretary of the Communist Party in Hungary).

The Russians remained friendly but kept away from the crowd and prevented demonstrators from reaching a gate leading to the prime ministry.

I took cover in a doorway and looking out saw a tank firing wildly.

Then three armored cars drove up packed with Russian soldiers, but they aimed their guns toward the sky before they fired.

Saw Woman's Body

How many became the victims of the shooting in Parliament Square could not be ascertained. I saw the body of a woman lying under the arcade of the Ministry of Agriculture, opposite the parliament building, and three other bodies lying on the street car track.

When I re-visited the scene in the afternoon the bodies had been taken away. One eyewitness said there were about two to three hundred dead on this square but figures naturally are exaggerated sometimes in such critical times.

The same eyewitness also said that it was not the Russian tank I saw that started the shooting, but a bunch of security police shooting into the back of the crowd facing parliament.

Simultaneously other unidentified elements, probably also security police soldiers, opened fire from the roofs of nearby buildings.

The fact is that many Hungarians arrived atop Russian tanks and armored cars. They say the Russian soldiers assured them that they had no intention to keep fighting the people and had received orders to return to their bases. Others said that all this was a fake.

Orders for Soldiers

My impression was that those fraternizing with the crowd really meant it, but orders came later that the square—center of Hungarian political life, with the Communist Party headquarters,

This is the first dispatch to come through direct from Endre Marton, Associated Press resident correspondent in Hungary, a Hungarian national, since he reported the beginning of the revolt Tuesday night. After it was received last night further efforts to reach Mr. Marton were futile, with telephone connections cut off.

the ministry of defense and other ministries clustered around parliament—had to be cleared of demonstrators.

I could not see a single Hungarian soldier, neither army nor security police. At least in this area all the work was done by Russian troops.

The crowd shouted "the radio is telling lies." Budapest radio is the only operating medium of public information—no newspapers have been printed for two days—and it frequently has called the rebels "counter-revolutionary," "reactionary elements," "fascists" and "armed gangs."

I can not know, of course, what the political sentiments of the crowd at the Parliament Building were but it is a fact that none of them had arms.

Flag Is Weapon

I was present when a truck with a few Hungarian frontier guards was halted at a corner near Parliament Building and a young man in the crowd discovered that there were firearms in the truck.

"Go and get them," said one of the soldiers.

"No, our weapon is the flag," said a middle-aged man who seemed to be in command of the unit.

But as to the question of who actually is in overall command, the answer obviously must be that nobody seems to be in command of the rebels.

Earlier I toured the neighborhood of the big block of red brick houses on Madach Square, site of heavy fighting Wednesday. The picture was frightful indeed, resembling the grim days after the siege of the city in 1945.

Buildings Hit by Gunfire

Shiny passenger cars with Austrian and other foreign license plates in front of Astoria Hotel had broken windshields. All windows of the hotel were smashed and big holes, unmistakably made by gunfire, gaped on the walls on various buildings.

All the streets around are strewn with debris. Cables and trolleys dangle down into the street. Shops are burned out. All this is the remains of the fighting Wednesday afternoon.

That clash appeared to Western observers watching events from the windows of the British Legation as a war between tanks, machine guns and infantry on



ENDRE MARTON
Tells What He Saw

—AP Wirephoto

the one side and a handful of snipers on the other.

The demonstrations Tuesday afternoon turned into a revolution the same night and into what can be termed virtually a war on Wednesday.

That reached its climax probably the next day.

There are, naturally, no reliable figures on casualties. But all hospitals are packed with wounded.

Hungarian Army Puzzle

One puzzle is the attitude of the Hungarian Army. It is still not completely solved.

The fact is that I could not see Hungarian soldiers anywhere and earlier saw only a few obsolete small tanks with Hungarian crews parking peacefully near the Defense Ministry Building. Rumors that they sided with the youths were not confirmed.

Reports coming from the countryside to MTI (the official Hungarian news agency) indicate that the story is the same in every major city. I saw reports from Győr, Szeged, Szolnok, Pécs and other cities telling the story of Russian tanks, demonstrations and killings.

Many reports said that local authorities, including army and ordinary police, joined the youth and revolutionary committees which were formed.

A crowd practically besieged both the United States and British Legations for hours and both British Minister L. A. C. Fry and United States Charge d'Affaires Spencer Barnes had to address the crowds to soothe them.

Hears Roar of Weapons

As I was sending this dispatch from Buda, the most peaceful part of Budapest, machine guns and other weapons could be heard roaring somewhere in the city. On my return to the parliament area I found the square guarded by Russian tanks and guns.

In the area from Madach Square to Calvin Square all was quiet. Russian tanks were standing at the corners. The streets were covered with glass fragments.

Steel helmeted police stood in front of the battered Astoria Hotel.

There was dead silence around

the radio buildings. Streets were dark. Two Hungarian and eight Russian tanks towered in the fog.

But there was much clamoring some two miles from there on Marx Square near the Western Railway station. There the Red Star printing plant was retaken by Hungarian troops who drove AVH (secret police) soldiers from the building.

At about 6 p.m. when I was there about 2,000 enthusiastic Hungarians, disregarding the curfew, gathered in front of the building cheering whenever an army officer appeared on the balconies to throw down bunches of leaflets to the crowd.

Soviet Withdrawal Demanded

The leaflets, signed by the "new temporary revolutionary government defense committee" said in part that "we solemnly swear over the bodies of our martyrs that the cause of Hungarian independence and freedom will conquer."

The leaflets demanded among other things the immediate cancellation of the old Warsaw agreement (under which Soviet troops are stationed in East European nations), that the army should take over the task of maintaining order as long as the security police was not disarmed and the danger of bloodshed persisted.

On Wednesday, from early morning until nightfall, an atmosphere of revolution reigned over the city.

Tanks were rattling through the streets along with trucks with steel-helmeted soldiers armed with sub-machine guns.

There were overturned cars and barricades.

A column of tanks roared along the Budapest boulevard toward the besieged radio building.

Streets a Battlefield

The streets around the radio building appeared to be a battlefield. Streets and doorways were packed with young demonstrators.

Opposite the building an army passenger car was burning. About a dozen of the youth leaders climbed the first floor balcony of the radio station with a huge Hungarian flag and remained there while the windows of the second and third floor were packed with

uniformed AVH soldiers. All windows of the building had been smashed earlier.

While I was there between 11 p.m. and midnight the AVH refrained from harsher methods and only a few tear gas bombs were thrown occasionally. But many young men on the street showed submachine gun bullets to Western newsmen.

"Yes, we want to get in and tell the world the truth through the air," a young woman told me with tears running down her cheeks. The tears rolled because of tear gas bombs.

Statue Toppled

The mood was more like a carnival on Stalin Square where the crowd finally succeeded in dragging down the eight-meter (about 26 feet) high bronze statue of the former Soviet ruler from its high pedestal at 10 p.m.

Only the two empty boots of the statue of the late Russian dictator remained and a tattered Hungarian flag was placed in one of them.

The statue itself was dragged along Budapest's main street, named after Stalin.

With the help of a truck, jubilant processions of some hundred men and women, ridiculing Stalin and everything he represented, passed the Soviet legation and stopped on November Seventh Square. They left Stalin's trunk there, apparently not knowing what to do with the huge chunk of bronze.

Nagy Waits to Talk

Though Imre Nagy, the man the young demonstrators demanded take over the premiership, tried to soothe their passions by addressing them in front of Parliament, he met little success.

Moreover, I heard voices of dissatisfaction, especially around the radio building, where the youths were especially bitter because sub-machine guns had been used.

Mr. Nagy apparently made an almost irreparable mistake by waiting for hours before he finally was willing to address the youths.

Most of the young people I talked with later maintained that the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian soldiers sup-

ported them in one way or another.

There were, for instance, reports that the students and other elements got their sub-machine guns and ammunition from the soldiers.

Today the tone of the radio changed significantly and Mr. Nagy's last appeal in fact was directed to "soldiers, young men, young workers and everyone who is still fighting," almost begging them to stop.

Hunted by Helicopter

In Buda, on the right bank of the Danube, things were much quieter although a small group of rebels found refuge on the rocky side of Gellert Hill. They were hunted by a Russian helicopter.

The situation was slightly better this morning until fighting flared up again after 10 a.m.

How many Russian troops were brought to Budapest could not be ascertained, but there are a remarkable number of huge T-34 tanks. I counted more than 50 when I passed them Wednesday afternoon parked near the parliament building.

Most of the Russian soldiers seemed very young.

The same applies to the rebels. Most of them are students and young workers.

The demonstrators showed amazing courage.

I saw them boldly going straight toward tanks and guns with only a flag in their hands and demonstrating against far superior forces ranging from tanks to submachine guns.

What the outcome of all this will be remains anybody's guess. They have achieved a lot already.

Mr. Nagy took over and he signed an order introducing martial law that doubtless harmed his former immense popularity. But so far I have not heard single shout against him.

The greatest thing doubtless is that Mr. Nagy has promised to negotiate with the Soviet Union the withdrawal of Russian troops from Hungary.

Wash. Post 31 X 256

How Far Hungary?

The desperately beset Nagy regime in Hungary continued to pile promise on promise yesterday in a frantic bid to restore order without the full use of Soviet armed might. What it offered, and the circumstances in which it spoke, promised more of the form than of the substance of freedom. But the proffered Gomulka-style foreign policy and Communist-led multiparty government apparently were acceptable to some if not all of the disorganized rebel leaders. The demands of the holdouts for United Nations-sponsored free elections and complete ouster of the Russian army appear to have little chance of realization at present. It seemed only a matter of time until the combination of Nagy's concessions and Moscow's might would restore order.

Denunciations of Moscow by the Nagy-controlled Budapest press, the recall of the Hungarian representative to the U. N. with Budapest support for a Security Council airing of the revolt, the reported threat that the Hungarian air force would be used against the Russians if they did not remove from the capital, all attested dramatically to the desperation of the Communist regime. But the still present Red army—and the Kremlin's declaration that it will not be withdrawn without the consent of the Moscow-controlled Warsaw Pact powers—gave warning that there was a limit to the concessions and that the limit had about been reached.

Unfortunately, the Israeli invasion of Egypt had diverted the West's attention from the opportunities in the Hungarian revolt to reveal Communist imperialism for what it is, and the British-French landing had also seriously weakened the moral position of the West on precisely that issue. Even if the end of the Hungarian revolt is near, however, the heroic rebels have shaken the Communist world to its foundations and perhaps paved the way for a better if not ideal state of affairs in their battered nation.