THE DOCTORAL THESIS

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THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE 1956 REVOLUTION IN THE MIRROR OF THE ANGLO-SAXON WORLD'S PRESS

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I. Significance of the topic, the research methodology:

In 1956, fundamentally changed the view of the western image about the Hungarian nation. The revolution has effect till nowadays and felt in shaping the mindset. The English-speaking world, including the U.S. press handled with high priority the events of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and its afterlife. The previous research mainly addressed the press materials collection in relation to the west of articles published so I considered the importance of examine this issue separately. Strengthened my determination to have concentrated mainly on the Hungarian newspapers focus of attention, but this has now changed. Occurred, especially since the 2006 revolution anniversary of the sharp increase in digital content is observed, which is enriched by several Western media with the resources. For example, the Open Society Archives has a wealth of articles available on the era in digital form. On this homepage we find the sources from Radio Free Europe, the collection of articles as well. Along with a complete copy of Hedervary collection. For research I must have used, the Google News Archive. This digital archive current moribund state is the most powerful source of help for the English-language press interested historians.

In view of this, and the reason was given for the possibility that we could analyze the Anglo-Saxon media and separate paper and articles whose appeared from 4th of November 1956 till 1962. This time interval is primarily an international history of the Hungarian revolution justified, as the Hungarian case last discussed to the UN on December 1962. Moreover, it turned out during the research that the West and thus including the Anglo-Saxon articles not only of the former revolutionaries later immigrants, but the Kadar government monitored, particularly highlighted articles which could be helped to judge, the 1956 revolutionaries on the court. So these are the Western press materials are part of the series "White Paper", which was issued with the aim of the Kadar regime to actually prove counter-revolution took place in 1956th Autumn in Hungary.

In contrast to the methodological problems have had to watch my choice of material objectivity on the issue. It was an impossible task, each article reading that was written in English about the subject. Serious problem as threatened by the fact that use more and more article cause more and more stories that will be fragmented and disjointed description of the event. So I decided that I will build my work around the key issues of the 1956 political history. Based on these three major themes were distinguished in the paper and thus, instead of a chronological outline the issues related to the various chapters are divided into the topic of my dissertation. The three major topics are: the political impact of the 1956 revolution,
the American and British communist newspaper, and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, Anglo-Saxon press and the Hungarian Refugees. The aim was that all three chapters form a closed and separate unit as well, but I faced a specific situation of Great Britain Press. These articles studied turned out to be a major political storm developed island countries due to the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the Suez suppression of armed conflict perceived in context. The site was clear and in opposition to the Liberal Party and the Labour Party to the Conservative British government's wartime aggression, in alliance with France and Israel against Egypt, influenced, or even caused the Soviet intervention. Kecskes D. Gustav and Csaba Békés works pointed out that the Soviet Union would intervene in the Hungarian revolution without the Suez events, but the Anglo-Saxon press nevertheless mostly as a fact handled that it does not have Hungarian revolution without the Suez conflict. This, however, caused a serious crisis of conscience in the UK, which is mainly influenced by the behavior of the Hungarian refugees, so the story have been transferred in the chapters about the refugees. The research gave priority to the history of the British and the American Communist Party. It is possible that many of these would have been more appropriate to attache as a footnote, but I just had to get to the conclusion that the Anglo-American communist party newspaper has thousand connections with the history of communist parties which control them. It was absurd to write only an analysis of how to respond to the events of the Hungarian Revolution. Showed a pattern of thinking which was closely linked to their existing policies at issue in Moscow.

Therefore, I examined the biographies of the American and British communist parties and the media's member, and it confirmed that I need to write a lot more here than the effects of the Hungarian Communist revolution, that it was caused in the press of the Anglo Saxon communist parties. Therefore, thoroughly dealt with prior to the period we are also events. Literature on the 1956 refugees trying thousands of threads to make the belief that the majority of Hungarian immigrants was merely economic refugees. Unfortunately, if we examine our history, we can conclude that, as more immigrant wave was out from Hungary. There is a kind of difference or identity separated from its search intent in each period date, but after the failed revolutions or because of economic and social problems in a new home search compatriot fellow.

Therefore, I felt it extremely important that we set out in a separate section of the Anglo-Saxon press materials are dealt with.

Press the key materials used in this work were from the United Kingdom: The Manchester Guardian, The Times, as well as for the Communist newspaper Daily Worker / London /
represents. The United States was represented by, *The New York Times and The Time Magazine*, and the Communist *Daily Worker / New York*. Canada embodied in the thesis with two media product: *the Montreal Gazette and the Quebec Chronicle*. Australia's daily newspaper, *The Age* speaks in my works. In addition to these pages in the following press were also the materials of my research: *The Economist, Observer, Hungarian Freedom Fighter, New York Herald Tribune, Saturday Review, The Courier-Journal in Louisville, Worker*. Here it should be pointed out that *The New York Times* and *Time Magazine*, and *The Times* also include a special archival materials on their Internet site. This option is expanded research on the naming of the 1956 events. The method used for Glant Tibor 's work, who searched *The New York Times*, based on the sites individually if I look at the terms used by the Anglo-Saxons in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution prevalence. It can be seen my thesis as primarily concentrated for the English Press, published in English-speaking countries concentrated substances. But that's not all I have discussed, and it was also a useful context outlined topics. In some cases, such as when I tried to throw light on propaganda by the Kadar regime, I used also the articles from *Magyar Nemzet, Népszabadság, Népakarat*. It was necessary to write about the newspapers of the Hungarian émigré, and therefore a major requirement has been incorporated unwavering magazine was also published with the title *Magyar Szó* in London and *Rendületlenül* the newspaper of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters Association is quoted by the dissertation. Of course, the use of the Hungarian language newspapers were not the emphasis of the research, and my methodology.

**II. Issues and objectives:**

The events of 1956 were particularly in relation to the Soviet intervention on 4 November, in front of the world public opinion. For me, the key issue was that the Anglo-Saxon press exactly how it was painted by the Soviet armed forces in Hungary appearances in the responsibility of the Anglo-Saxon countries. Whether they were current U.S. political responsibility for the investigation? Offered an alternative or possible solutions to resolve the conflict? They saw an opportunity for any kind of intervention? It is also interested to see whether any feel remorse for what happened. Admitted to any mistakes and their mistakes?
Seriously employed in the role of the United Nations in place. We were curious as to whether their assessment of the UN’s work in the English-speaking press? How realistic is the assumption that the British commonwealth press of the United Nations was highly skeptical of the assumption that its participation in the Suez conflict in England were from international organizations as well.

It was also important to find journalist in the Anglo Saxon Communist Press who had the opportunity to openly stand by the Hungarian revolution matters. I was interested in how much has changed in the English-speaking communist politicians, journalists thinking of the Hungarian revolution of 1956?

The work was intended to create, a very existing alternatives offer some political historical issues in the United States or England’s role regarding the 1956 revolution beside the political history of the 1956 that was written by monographs to answer the above questions. An alternative that shows us how the English-speaking world see the Hungarian revolution to understand what it meant the Hungarian Revolution to them. Whether they had more than one incident of anti-communist propaganda? What was their opinion about retaliation? Who blamed for what happened? What did they think of János Kádár? The whole truth is that at the beginning of the research, I thought that the international press about the real outrage was much higher due to the Hungarian revolution of 1956 armed repression, the more that they want to use the Anglo-Saxon press about the chance to deliver a purely ideological crusade to against Soviet Union. I expected that the pangs of conscience, as described by the Magda Czigány phenomenon is not likely to cause the Anglo-Saxon press, single articles against the Soviet Union.

I had an aim it is, that compared to the opportunities, at what let me be allowed to illustrate the differences which can be experienced in the single Anglo-Saxon countries press with more articles.

I did not write about separate single countries, I discussed the differences in the given chapters rather.

I was aware of it because of beginnings already in connection with the refugees, that the recipient countries were not their positive experiences opposite the procedures of all of their compatriots.

Based on interviews collected by Adrienn Molnar can be outlined was, that the especially resolute immigration politics of United States did not really win the sympathy of the refugees of the Hungarian 1956 revolution. I hoped that the Anglo-Saxon newspapers support the refugees however and it is sentenced possibly USA the system of a rigid immigration rule. I
was looking for contexts between the press and the statements of the history of politics and I wanted to contrast published articles with the historical construction known by us currently as a separate world in the Anglo-Saxon press.

I considered it important one to demonstrate that the opinion of the witnesses of related events, his moulders did not face the statements of the posterity in all cases with the revolution.

**III. The content of the chapters of the paper**

Political echos title in a chapter, first in connection with the names of the revolution, I was looking for the answers with the Anglo-Saxon press's help. It turned out that there are not uniform formulae, does not exist only and sole concept rule of use onto the 1956 revolution in the sheets with an English language. So the revolution; uprising; rising; rebellion expressions all can be found in the Anglo-Saxon sheets. The analysis of his names belongs to the separate story of the 1956 revolution unfortunately, and because of this much more sensitive topic this question than it would be justified. Exactly for this due, in as much more difficultly understandable, that more draughtings figure in an equal measure near beside each other in the Anglo-Saxon sheets /revolution; uprising/. The single concepts the examination of frequency stems from it primarily, that some believe depends on taller place considering the content concept of the revolution, than the insurrection. In this there can be found the contradiction that those Anglo-Saxon articles are that the Hungarian 1956 revolution was called insurrection, the story was written down for a positive event similarly, than that they refer to the bygones as a revolution consistently.

Moreover, it that single Anglo-Saxon sheets claimed the event for a revolution or for a rebellion just, depend on the newspaper's home country relation to the Soviet, as Glant Tibor wrote it down in an analysis of his, in which he added it to it, that the usage of a word in the era and it was suspicious in United States especially, because a revolution in interpretation in the Soviet Union must be a communist one. Thinking further about this interpretation the uprising much more positive draughting, since it is not a communist revolution with a Soviet type. This does not mean that they did not use attributes for the judgement of the trend of the revolution however. Come on not too often, but the uprising appeared in the Anglo-Saxon sheets possibly anti-Russian, or the revolution was named as anti-Russian-anti Soviet draughting. The usage of the anti-communist uprising may appear possibly. Furthermore, the
Hungarian 1956 revolution onto the moment of a war of independence is relating in the sheets with an English language enough only the freedom-fighter onto a name to think. It turned out summarized that it is an Anglo-Saxon press used lots of names, for the 1956 revolution used, but in the background of these concept usages, we do not have to look for scientific fastidiousness and accuracy, but insecurity, concerning the contact being connected with Soviet Union and the communism.

The question of the intervention divided the English newspaper readers, but an agreement took shape in it, that a potential armed American intervention would have brought a world war to a head. The Americans said that the Hungarians' freedom is in their own hand. So the American newspaper did not offer other help than aids and the refugees' reception.

Great Britain is much more tortured question of conscience because of the Suez conflict remorse could not cope, while the effect of external events on the room for maneuver narrowed significantly, and they were the only supporters of American actions.

The American politics proceeded from the freeing idea of the East European folk expressed on the level of words and propaganda only, the it is necessary to assure Soviet Union that they do not make it nothing for the outrider states for freeing his program, that the propaganda of the Hungarian uprising made use of it for aims merely.

Of course from the Western European communist parties was weakened by the articles dealing with the demonstrations being directed against them, atrocities received an emphasized role in the Anglo-Saxon sheets. The communists and Soviet Union's condemnation was much more important than the question of the intervention.

Only option left for the Anglo-American world to represent the Hungarian Revolution in the United Nations. Thus, the international organizations and the Hungarian issue soon became the subject of a separate international press as well. The British commonwealth newspapers treated with strong criticism of the United Nations, because its work was compared with its activity in the Hungarian Revolution and the Suez conflict regarding the organization.

They tried to point out that injustice with this apparently that while England and France the international organization, and the superpower champung forced it into the withdrawal, nothing happened apart from the condemnation of the Hungary intervention of Soviet Union in a numberless decision till then.

This was a justification for a British press there is not need for an organization which one can intervene against the countries that are not rather strong, or it has own interest of them to observe his decisions. Meanwhile it recognising that it may not be opposite United States was
obliged they have to stand to talk politics behind it, drawn weak ones to protect themselves with Soviet Union.

So while it was clear that this situation is not only the UN and British politicians are responsible, it was not possible to give a serious criticism to United States in the press.

In 1957 the Anglo-American newspapers began to decline in the interest of the 1956 Hungarian. Can be declared so, that Janos Kadar person was not important for the Anglo-Saxon press in this question emphasized. While we know that Janos Kadar was opportunity to influence the process. So it was not mandatory scenario showing that Imre Nagy should die. Moreover, the Soviet Communist Party 's Central Committee 1958th 5 February called for the resolution of any litigation of hard sentences, explained the need for generosity as well.

The sources also revealed that U.S. foreign policy is needed so as a matter of Imre Nagy and his associates in the litigation because it is able to continue to fight, the propaganda battle against the Soviet Union. We can get away with this and the act of the Hungarian case before the United Nations to end well. The Anglo-Saxon media articles ever lost weight while they were slowly forced to admit that this emerging Kadar regime was not as bad as the Rakosi system. Articles on these topics began to appear in 1959 in the English pages of The Times , which soon joined The New York Times, while the UN was started out of breath in the Hungarian case, which is mostly was kept alive by USA, but the Anglo-Saxon press is detected by a shift in the perception of positive change in the Kadar. Yet in 1960, Kadar trip to New York , and the United Nations in a speech on quite coolly informed the New York Times, but a year later he made news that the Hungarian government groping for corrections American relations through the media. Soon , thanks to the two countries agreed background on December 1962, the Hungarian case was removed from the UN agenda. And there it was open to Janos Kadar transformation of the Anglo-Saxon press. However, not all English-language newspaper endorsed this turnaround. The Canadian Montreal Gazette resented it on one expressed for example one the Hungarian reports USA withdrawing in his article so in his 1962 December. But this did not influence the process in which Janos Kadar was glorified. The Time Magazine informed the Hungarian party leader, in which even it was left without a criticism, about a separate interview in 1986, discussed that it was one of the most important act in the life of Janos Kadar what he committed in the 1956 revolution, and he was proud of it. The next section of the dissertation investigated the events of 1956 through the British and American Communist Party daily newspapers prism. Soon a Communist Party members met plenty who encounter problems with their party's policies even before the revolution. The American Communist Party (referred to as CPUSA ) Daily Journal Daily Worker editor John
Gates was later could not understand why the Soviet Union was not in favor of the Second World War in 1939, starting the war against fascism. Similar problems caused the British Communist ranks and JR William Gallacher Campbell, the Soviet Union forced through the Comintern that initially do not support their country's anti-fascist struggle. It turns out that for the political interests of the Soviet Union is not the same as the communist ideology and this test proved to be more serious tear western communist. However, in 1941, when Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union all in one fell swoop changed. But it remained in the minds occurred. For me, when it became clear that the real debates in the western communist parties still need to look behind the Soviet Union's political steps in the image. What the two parties reached the critical years of 1956, we have had to face problems caused by the cold war. In the United States began mccarthysm such red-baiting has significantly reduced the size of the CPUSA. The British Communist Party (hereafter CPGB) has lost the prestige that won during the II World War, Khrushchev, the leader of the Soviet Union Communist Party made a speach for XX. Congress within condemning the crimes of Stalinism, that serious trouble brought the CPGB and the leaders of CPUSA. The illusions were over, which was destroyed on the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. Posed a particularly difficult situation is the same as the party's image appeared on a daily basis for the on 4th November 1956, Soviet intervention. Both parties adopted a resolution assistance they controlled press, the CPUSA did not seem supported by the Soviet intervention, however, the party leaders of the party's General Secretary Eugene Dennis, and President William Z Foster stayed vote, it is anticipated the emerging struggle for change wishing to party opposition and among the party leadership. The CPGB leadership on November 4, 1956 decision of the Communist Party supported the policy of the Hungarian case. This party's opposition did not accept the American John Gates, editor of the CPUSA daily basis, or to join the Communist journalists began strongly criticize the party and the Soviet Communist Party and stood by the Hungarian Revolution. Of course, for the faced of party leadership, did not look good eye on everything that happened in the U.S. *Daily Worker*. In fact on the basis of readers' letters and become perceptible differences within the party. The party leadership had an open letter in the newspaper under the 1956 Soviet intervention on 4th of November. Decision could not be adopted in the matter, but this confrontation carefully reduced the number of newspaper readers. Back in a critical situation and the party leadership did not attempt to save him. Although John Gates did everything that was in a position, but could not replace CPUSA leaders of the party XVI Congress on 1957th February. First, the foreign editor Joseph Clark left the newspaper, and after John Gates. The newspaper was ceased on 1958th in January.
The British sister newspaper, the newspaper of the CPGB with the same name, bearing the *Daily Worker* was in a completely different way. There was no strong personality who could be in the position to fight for party leadership. The editor and JR Campbell defended the leadership CPGB and the Soviet Union under. Within the newspaper, formed an opposition group the led by James Friell caricaturist, but they did not dominate the paper and Friell had to leave too soon. The CGBP is determined, to send a correspondent at the time of the revolution, who writes reports in the taste of the Soviet Union and the CPGB about Hungarian revolution. However, this proved to have failed, because the truthful reports of Peter Fryer have been heavily censored or not printed by the *Daily Worker*. In fact Fryer was finally expelled from the party. The opposition Communist intellectuals saw the absurdity of renewal *Daily Worker*. So it has established a separate newspaper, named *Reasoner* before the 1956 revolution, by the leadership of two left-wing historian E. P. Thompson and John Saville. So they used a very different strategy because they have other possibilities. The U.S. *Daily Worker* eliminated, while the London *Daily Worker* survived but the CPGB had to pay a heavy price for it. They needed to request a financial assistance from the Soviet Union. This fact was kept secret until 1989.

The third major part of my work is contained the discussion about the refugees. For the Brits, the refugee question thoroughly intertwined with the Suez intervention. The remorse that caused the erroneous assumption that the British intervention in Egypt, in agreement with the French, caused by the crushing of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. This assumption is published in journals of the American and British opposition newspapers. As a result, the Hungarian refugees arrived in the UK with almost no prior selection. The English papers were waiting for heroes, but instead, they got people who certainly were dissatisfied with the service, and the resulting work. In fact, it soon became clear to the British journalists that some people came specifically to England, because it was believed to be easier to reach from there to overseas. The British press has released soon, a group of refugees accusation that British Ambassador in Vienna promised them the possibility of further emigration. The government denied this, and there was another time that the refugees point out imperfections while American newspapers also had to face the fact that their own country will not accept only those refugees who are thoroughly examined on the basis of their use, and their reliability, and their health. In *The New York Times*, Max Frankel asked questions from American political leadership. In working with refugees on the quota system? Indeed worthy and justified in the U.S. on the basis of the selection of refugees, as relatives, reliability and health? Communist countries should be encouraged residents to flee to America? Did The the
Congress prepared for the law and the consequences of such encouragement? The press was felt such a great love for the Hungarian refugees, therefore could not accept that some of our compatriots felt very less the English hospitality. But there were serious problems too, there were refugees who would have worked in mine field of the UK, but some communists sympathetic miners refused to accept them to their pits. The miners had a strong trade union movement, according to the articles they feared their jobs and their strong trade union from the Hungarian refugee. The refugees in addition after their glorious days of the past, caused problems for their demonstrations against the Kádár government and Soviet Union, because of the foreign imperial ambitions of the host countries. The English-language media eagerly reported the former heroes protests about the police actions.

The refugees created their own magazine, but the majority of these pages could not completely apolitical forum for the Hungarian emigrants. The Irodalmi Újság is managed well, but the articles of the Nemzetőr, and its serious tone of the debates provoked among the refugees caused that the Hungarian refugee students compression United Free English Student Organization denied that the Nemzetőr itself appointed a Hungarian immigrant students page. Despite the debate, both newspapers provided opportunities for the Hungarian refugess and intellectuals to make a living and thinking together.

IV. The results of the research:

The most important results of my research can be summarized in the following points:

1st More names existed in parallel with simultaneously in the Anglo-Saxon press onto the events of the 1956 Hungarian revolution. That names it was not established based on the accurate historical concept usage at all, but many times, it was based on a relation changing, that constantly being connected with Soviet Union.

2nd After November 4 in 1956 when the Soviet intervention begun, admittedly based more articles to the English-language press does not support any armed intervention to assist the Hungarian revolutionaries. In fact, they did not write a question of political and economic pressure, but rather supported the Cold War propaganda activities.

3rd The most published articles in the The English-language pages were declared that they saw a major link between the Suez intervention and the failure of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.
4th The newspaper of British Nation had been particularly critical of the UN 's activities because they saw a sharp contrast between the handling of the Suez crisis and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. Much truth was formulated by them, but the realities and the aggrieved self-esteem were not taken into consideration. Meanwhile the illusion of the great power not existing already in the reality that motivated their attack against the international organization.

5th The condemnation of Nagy Imre and Pal Maleter and their execution, was in the focus by the Anglo-American press. Khrushchev and the Soviet Union was blamed for the judgment. Janos Kadar and his responsible almost never have mentioned it. This case was used as a propaganda against to the Soviet Union.

6th The English-language newspaper then started to better deal with Janos Kadar, Hungary, when the Hungarian issue has been very uncomfortable and became obsolete for the Western power. This shows that even before December 1962, when the agenda of the Hungarian issue would have removed by the United Nation, articles were appeared, which has appreciated in welfare activities of the Kadar regime.

7th The British and the American Communist Party daily newspaper also suffered a serious blow due to the military defeat of Hungarian revolution in 1956. Stated on the basis of the weakened CPUSA and CPGB history that the treatment of the Soviet Union's political steps were caused the most controversy before the Hungarian question. Also the fall of parties had begun before the Hungarian revolution of 1956, which they associated with the published press releases difficulties as well.

8th The daily newspaper of CPUSA is terminated because the party leadership did not want to maintain a newspaper with firm and serious financial difficulties in the hands of the internal party opposition.

9th The daily newspaper of CPGB although was not terminated, but it was in need of financial assistance of the Soviet Union, which prevented the creation of an independent CPGB from the Soviet Union Communist movement in the long run.

10th In the English-language press was too high ethical standards and expectations for the Hungarian refugees. Therefore, when any different phenomena was observed, it was highly exaggerated. This behavior facilitated by the British, because they felt guilty which fed from the belief that the British Suez intervention contributes to the Hungarian 1956 revolution downfall.

11th For the British press was incomprehensible that the majority of Hungarian refugees has arrived in UK because it was believed from easier access to overseas countries.
In the English-language press, the problem of the Hungarian refugees occurred even when their demonstrations made it difficult in the relations between the host country and the Soviets.